

**The construction of new ‘student’ identity: Focusing
on Chinese pre-sessional English learners**

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July 2022

Abstract

Identity and language attracts much interest in the relevant research communities; however the majority of existing studies focus on immigrants who have little English-learning experience before they arrive in their new countries. Their lack of experience of English learning, means they do not have many experiences of contacting with English-speakers, and then do not have suffered the evaluations, whatever acceptances or denials from English speakers. But for some Chinese students, after learning English at least for a decade, their English competence have been regarded as not qualified to enroll the Masters programme. Required to attend a pre-sessional programme which means language or identity denials from native speakers, are likely to position Chinese pre-sessional students in a community with fiercer power relations and identity struggles. The investigation of Chinese pre-sessional students' identity construction, including their views on the Chinese Academic Community and the Local British Academic Community, could draw a fuller picture of how language learners perform, negotiate and construct identities within power relations.

In order to carry out this investigation, discourse analysis was used in an analysis of data collected from an 8-week pre-sessional programme. Semi-structured interview, classroom observation and stimulated recall interview were conducted, based on participants' English-learning experience and their opinions in their processes of identity performance, negotiation and construction.

The results suggest that participants' new 'student' identity construction cannot replace entirely the identities constructed in the Chinese Academic Community. In addition to the teachers' encouragement of challenging teachers' power positions in the Local British Academic Community which could be seen as teachers' give-up of own powers in the community, their not understanding or speaking Chinese would result in students' noncooperation or problems in constructing new English 'student' identities. This

would imply that educators need to focus on students' identity struggles from the perspectives of power relations.

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Acknowledgments

I owe a great debt of gratitude to many people who supported me academically, financially and spiritually during the period of my PhD study from 2017 to 2021 at the University of York.

From the start to the end, I am fully indebted to Dr. Paul Roberts, my supervisor. I received your constant and patient support right from my application to study for a PhD. It is you who has taught me how to think and write in a Western academic way without countering or denying my ideas. Thank you for being kind and cheerful, honest and consistent. Mostly thank you for your enthusiasm and your trust in me and my work, never giving me up when I became stuck in meaningless thoughts again and again, giving me the confidence to keep going. More than a supervisor, you are an understanding friend in my personal and family problems. For me, you are a model that reminds me how to be an excellent teacher and person in the future. It's my greatest honour to have you as my supervisor.

Thank you Dr. Bimali Indrarathne for helping me to keep reflecting on my research by providing critical feedback, based on your wealth of research experience and knowledge.

I am also grateful to Professor Leah Roberts and the Department of Education. Thank you all for providing me with a precious opportunity of a magic journey that I cannot forget in my whole life. Thank you for your invaluable help and assistance for me to construct my academic identity gradually in the past four years.

I owe special thanks to my participants. For reasons of confidentiality, their names cannot be revealed; however, their kind support and illuminating perspectives are enshrined in my heart.

Last but most importantly, I owe deep and sincere thanks to my family. Thank you my parents for supporting me with your unconditional love to encourage me not to give up. Thank you to my younger brother for urging me to be a good sister and qualified researcher, not only for my academic dream but also for yours. Thank you my lovely pet dog Bei'er for coming to my world and giving me an additional love.

Thank you all for the endless patience and understanding. I have never regretted to come to the UK to seek a new and meaningful life.

Author's declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Chapter One -- Introduction

This chapter is organised into four sections. It will first start by providing the context to this research, showing its significance and specifying the research questions. The author's personal interest will also be shared. Then the layout of the remaining chapters will be described.

1.1 Previous research in identity and English learning in communities

English has traveled, spread or flowed (Appadurai, 1996) around the world as a product of colonisation, and current forces of globalisation, under the impact of English-speaking countries, in particular Britain and America, which have possessed, or still possess overwhelming political and economic power. As a result, the population of English-speakers, including native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS) has increased to around 2 billions (Jenkins, 2015). Among these speakers, NNSs are more in number than NSs (Crystal, 2012), meaning that English provides a means of communication available for almost everyone: as Kirkpatrick (2013: 155) says, it is a language 'used as medium of communication by people who do not speak the same first language'. Apart from its communication function, English, arguable not a neutral language (Descarries, 2014), also enables individuals to perform or represent their cultural backgrounds or individual identities through their communication. English is constructed by the speaker, and in turn the speaker is also constructed by what English language he or she uses.

Identity as a construct is not a new idea for psychologists. Originally, researchers (i.e., Erikson, 1968) suggested that people's understandings of themselves or the society would change across time, space, or contexts. Identity was firstly defined as a relatively stable concept that one could only alter four or five times in an entire life, but this

definition was quickly superseded with the arguments that identity is ‘part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership’ (Tajfel, 1974: 69). However, this definition has itself been criticized for not conceptualising identity’s dynamic trait that concludes the discursive connections between self and group (Mitchell & Myles, 2004).

In last three decades, identity construction in communities via the English language has received additional consideration and research interest. According to Norton (2010: 349), in the theory of social constructivism, language could be defined as discourse constructed in a community which has “its own set of signifying practices”. The same words may be understood as having different meanings by different individuals because of their multiple personal identities, leading to the idea that communities are sites of struggles and characterized by the interweaving of power. The power relations produced in these communities could be positive and equal, but many times, they are negative, tense and unequal (Collazos & Gomez, 2019). Language, then, is not a neutral tool for communication, but is constructed in a variety of meanings by the people who speak it. Language users' speech cannot be understood without an understanding of them as people; and they themselves cannot be understood without an understanding of their social relationships (Bourdieu, 1977). Every time an individual speaks, he or she will negotiate their sense of self (or their personal identities) in relation to the community which they are in. Collective identities will also be constructed in this process across time and space.

Norton Pierce’s (1995) research on immigrant women’s English learning in Canada raised a series of research in identity issues which regards the language-learning context as a significant factor in identity construction (Norton, 2000). Norton proposed the concept of investment to describe language-learning motivation from the perspective of a sociological construct. In Norton’s view, social identity refers to ‘how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed

across time and space, and how that person understands possibilities for the future' (ibid, p:5). Language learners cannot 'be defined unproblematically as motivated or unmotivated, introverted or extroverted, inhibited or uninhibited', as all these 'affective factors are frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in a single individual' (ibid, p:5). Based on her theories, the identity of language learners is dynamic and constructed according to different times and contexts.

Subsequently, many scholars have shown great interest in researching language learning in different contexts. Regarding the immigrant context, Miller (2003) investigates how immigrant students' social identities constructed through one-to-one interactions in Australian high school impact their spoken English. Liang (2006) conducted research in Canada to explore the ways in which Chinese immigrant students construct individual and group identity via code-switching in high schools. Pavlenko (2001) studied the relationship between gender identity and gendered positions in identity constructions in a group of female immigrant students when studying abroad.

In terms of language learning and identity research in study abroad contexts, many scholars have worked on researching the mutual influences between language learning and learner identity and how language learners perform or construct their identities in new communities, which may be different from those in their home countries. Sato (2014) suggests that when students return from a short-term study-abroad programme, they may maintain the identities they have constructed for a long time. Fang and Baker (2018) explore how Chinese students construct their language-teacher identity via English as a Lingua Franca during study abroad in English-speaking countries.

1.2 Importance of this research

The studies referred to above highlight research into different aspects of the relationship

between English language learning and identity construction in multiple contexts, focusing on English language learners who immigrate or study in English-speaking countries. However, there is still a research gap existing in the field of language learning and identity construction in other communities.

In China, English as a core and compulsory subject for every student, has been identified as an international language to assist the country in being exposed to global scientific and technological advances, central to its propulsion towards modernisation; a series of supporting measures have been introduced, such as expanding provision, improving the quality of English learning and teaching, reforming the English curriculum and teaching pedagogy. (Feng, 2007). English has been regarded as a vital factor in the development of China and the Chinese; English has a spreading acceptance in China as it is considered to be representative in development of prestige, social progress, cultural refinement and economy. It is emphasised that English proficiency is to be one of the most significant and defining characteristics of talent in present-day society (Hu, 2008).

Although students have learned English in China for at least one decade, they are nevertheless identified as international students who do not have experience of achieving an academic degree in English-speaking regions, they are still required to attend exam-focused courses and pass the IELTS tests in order to meet the language requirement of their target universities in the UK. Unfortunately, for the participants in this study, the most vital reason why a pre-sessional course is chosen is because they have failed the IELTS, which means their English competence has been denied by native English-speakers before they start their journey abroad. For immigrants, they usually cannot speak English until they have been living in the target communities for a while; for students studying abroad, according to previous research, they do not have the experience of having their competence denied by native English-speakers before assimilating into the new academic communities. Hence, there is a need to explore Chinese pre-sessional students who have this special background and denial experience

of English learning, as none of the studies and scholars so far has touched upon this potential research area in the field of Higher Education. Besides attempting to address this research gap, this study also aims to contribute to the broader context of research into English as Second Language and identity (see Block, 2007; Norton, 2000; Norton Pierce, 1995; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004).

1.3 Aims of this study and research questions

This study aims to investigate the construction of new ‘student’ identities in a Higher Education institution in England. It focuses on a group of Chinese pre-sessional students who do not meet the language requirement of the target university, aiming to explore how this group of students construct their new ‘student’ identity in the new academic communities in the process of English learning.

The research questions of this research are thus as follows:

- 1) In the process of stepping from the CAC to the LBAC, are there identity struggles in performances, negotiations or constructions?
- 2) How do Chinese pre-sessional students view the CAC in which they have been educated?
- 3) How do Chinese pre-sessional students view the LBAC?

1.4 Personal story

The starting point for my study came from my own experiences. Before I came to the UK, I grew up and was educated for decades in Chinese and in China schools. English was a compulsory subject for most students in my generation from junior school on. Teachers paid more attention to reading and writing competence, rather than listening and speaking, because students would not be tested for listening and speaking in the

Gaokao (China National University Entrance Examination). My English teacher in the senior school suggested I should choose English Language as my undergraduate major. For almost every student majoring in English Language, the UK and America are the 'dream' countries. In my final undergraduate year, I had the chance to come to the UK to take a Masters degree, but did not take the chance up. The most significant reason was that, as an English Language major student, I had many marvelous, imaginative expectations about how the UK would be, and I could not accept the possible situation that the reality would not conform to my imagination and expectations. It was a fear and confusion rather than an expectation. So, I entered another university in China to start my graduate life.

In the graduate college, the students in the department of Education should go to the local primary or middle schools for teaching practice for half a year. During the time of being an intern English teacher in the local schools, I found the problems I had experienced were still existing. For example, there was no opportunity for students to practice listening and speaking in the English class, and what English cultures they were learning were somehow limited and outdated, which meant they might have a similar experience or struggle to mine when getting a chance to go abroad. In addition, it was interesting that students had different understandings of their reasons for learning English. Some of them, being exposed to English cultures and being abroad, said they wanted to be more international with English; others, having never being abroad, thought English was just a compulsory subject for them to pass the Gaokao. What they believed would affect English learning feelings, performances or, to be more academic, identity.

After the teaching experience in schools, I started to prepare my application for a PhD programme. I hoped to continue the dream journey to the UK that I had not taken three years previously. The first hurdle I needed to surmount was the IELTS, designed by English native-speakers, which was an English language test for people who wanted to study or work in the UK. I met the writing and reading requirement of the universities

the first time I took the test; however, prolonged training deficiency in listening and speaking made me struggle for a long time. The confidence I had constructed in learning English for a dozen years had been hit. Finally, I had to accept the truth that my English competence had been denied by native-speakers and I could not pass the listening and speaking test without access to a local British environment. I stepped on the plane to the UK with an 8-week pre-session offer and all my imaginations, expectations and fears.

During the pre-session time, I was taught multiple principles that were distinct from what I had learnt in China. For example, critical thinking is one of the popular constructs in British education institutions but has never been taught in Chinese universities. Not only me, but my classmates in the pre-session programme could not at first fully understand and correctly apply the concept of critical thinking to our essays. In addition, we were encouraged to challenge the teachers, being told that “*There is no silly question and sometimes no right answer at all in my class*”, which was completely different to what I had been taught in China. Once in a group discussion, we discussed these confusions since our arrival in the UK. I held the view that we should listen to the teacher and adapt to the local academic disciplines so as to achieve a better academic result. However, one of the classmates said “*I’m Chinese. Why should I obey all the British rules? I’ll go back when I complete the British course. The same to you*”. Then I started wondering why I would like to integrate into the local academic communities and why my classmate would not.

In the following investigation, I have tried to find the answers in the personal and the collective identities constructed with multiple languages in different communities. When stepping towards a new community, what identities individuals have constructed in other communities may be inapplicable to the new community norms. I think both my classmates and I noticed the differences and conflicts happening between two communities, but our different views regarding ourselves and the two communities dictated our different performances, negotiations or constructs. I have treated myself as

a person who should assimilate into the local academic communities, but my classmates identified themselves as Chinese, albeit studying in the local academic communities. Study of the relevant literature showed that language, as a social construct in communities, also affects individuals' performances, which inspired me to explore how (i) Chinese pre-sessional students regard the Chinese Academic Community (CAC) and the Local British Academic Community (LBAC) and (ii) their identity performances, negotiations, and constructions in the process of stepping from CAC to LBAC.

1.5 Structure of this thesis

Following this introductory chapter, the thesis will be divided into seven chapters. The chapters are outlined below.

Chapter 2 will firstly seek to define identity in the context of Higher Education. In particular, the chapter will detail which aspects of identity issues this study will focus on, with explanations of individual identity and group identity respectively. It will be argued that the concept of group identity is more appropriate in characterising the LBAC and describing members' performances in that community. The chapter further explores, by way of a literature review, learners' identity, especially English learners, in education institutions.

Chapter 3 will firstly consider 'English' as constructs that are constructed in a world of activities by individuals: English identity is a social and cultural process of construction through English language. The chapter moves from setting a definition boundary of the use of 'language' and 'English' and then moves to explain the functions of English: communication and representation. English as a communication tool means it meets individuals' needs to communicate, express, cooperate or exchange information with each other. The representation function of English allows individuals to present their sense of selves and explore others' through specific discourse. The last part of this

chapter will introduce the relationship between English and identity showing that English is a key mediator in the construction of an English cultural and social identity.

Chapter 4 discusses the historical and political background of English development in the world, in order to investigate the ways in which NNSs, in particular Chinese, construct and shift identities through English. English language has become the dominant means of communication in the current world, in which, along with being recognised as a marker of influence and power, English is also being regarded as a marker of culture and identity, shown through multiple English varieties. Because of power relations, people in different communities are likely to influence or choose a specific variety associated with the identities of the community members. This chapter also discusses the development of China's English education and varieties. Pidgin English is the earliest English variety to have appeared in China at the time of British colonial expansion. It was regarded as a communication tool between Chinese and western powers but was also a representation of Chinese identity at the time. China English, distinct from Chinglish which is considered to be a form of 'broken English' or interlanguage, does not show any Chinese interference but has characteristics in Chinese pragmatics, sentence structure or discourse, and is considered a language for communication with different communities and a representation of Chinese speakers' identities in social practice.

Chapter 5 will start with an explanation of 'speech community' and 'discourse community'. Speech community is a group of people who share the same norms of language, and the interactions in discourse community are entwined with more power relations: members' positions are dynamic and fluid and they will choose the proper discourse to move or remain in the community. Chinese pre-sessional students may be learning in speech communities, but within which the language identities they have or will construct are possibly happening in discourse communities with language mixing or code-switching. In order to achieve a legitimate position of speaking or using English language, Chinese students tend to prefer native-English models to other English

varieties, China English included. This tendency and struggle to be native-like has led learners to negotiate their positions and perform or construct identities to integrate into the target community. The pre-sessional programme in this study is a discourse community in which students' discursive performances will be monitored, vetoed or allowed by the powerful members. Outsiders perform the role they want to be and construct identities to be accepted within the English language or community discourse.

In chapter 6, methodological approaches are presented. This chapter explains the philosophical assumption that following social constructivism, identity is the production of language and power relations, and individuals are the results of what they have experienced or spoken. This chapter describes the use of discourse analysis and how it is used analyze the data.

Chapter 7 is the results and discussion chapter analyzed data and interpretation will be shown in three sections. The first section, Community Membership I, will show how participants regard the CAC; their views on the LBAC will be explained in the second section, Community Membership II. The third section, Identity, will describe participants' identity performance, negotiations, and construction from the CAC to the LBAC. The literature reviewed in the previous chapters will also be discussed with the data analysis in this chapter.

Chapter 8 will make a conclusion of the full thesis and present the limitations. It will also discuss the implications to theory and practitioners. This chapter will conclude with a personal reflection of this research.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter has described the development of my research interest in language, identity and community, and has explained the research contexts in which Chinese pre-sessional

students' learning identities are studied when shifting between two communities. With an analysis of participants' discourse in the CAC and the LBAC, their identity performances, negotiations, and constructions in the new community will be presented.

Chapter Two -- Identity and community issues

Identity is a word and research field to which much attention is paid by scholars. The issues surrounding the meaning of identity have been referred to as the ‘touchstone of our times’ (Jenkins, 1996: 8). Within popular discourse the word identity is used in many ways and for many purposes. When shifting from familiar communities to a new communities, Chinese pre-sessional students may encounter with different community discourses and then construct new academic identities. It is therefore a necessity to explain whether both academic community participants have positioned are discourse communities or not, and also a challenge for researchers to agree on a definition and figure out the connections of identity to other sociological terms. This chapter will attempt an explanation of the meaning of the specific academic communities and identity, and discuss the relationship between identity and language and language learners, aiming to set a theoretical foundation for the empirical study.

2.1 Defining CAC and LBAC as discourse communities

For the purposes of the rest of this chapter, it will be essential to clarify two important concepts underpinning this thesis -- China Academic Community (CAC) and Local British Academic Community (LBAC).

CAC mainly refers to academic communities most of whose members share the Chinese language as discourse or norms. It is not easy to judge whether an academic community is a CAC or not from members’ nationalities or from where the community is located. For instance, a community cannot be identified as CAC even though most members are Chinese students who share English or other languages as community discourses or norms in a Chinese higher education institution. In other words, the CAC does not exist only in China’s territory and open to people of Chinese nationality, but can be found or identified in other countries when its key element – the Chinese language as shared

discourses or norms -- has been met.

Similar to CAC, LBAC means a structure sharing English as community discourse or norms, which engages English academic activities in the UK. Regardless of nationalities, Chinese students can be accepted as insiders by gatekeepers of LBAC once they obey the rules of speaking, identified as local English academic discourses or norms. The 'local' here in the LBAC signifies that, unlike CAC and BAC (British Academic Community) which can be found in other countries, LBAC is the specific community that only exists in a specific country -- the UK.

Both CAC and LBAC are 'communities of practice' (CoP), being considered as a concept of learning taking place within organizational settings, which are socially constructed and involve participants collaborating to develop new knowledge and skills (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Compared to its use in CAC, English plays a vital role for community members to communicate or exchange in LBAC. Chinese students enrolling in this pre-sessional programme should prepare for their academic study in English and/or prepare for academic life in an anglophone context, with their English identities constructed in the CAC. Beyond the CoP, it is more appropriate to define CAC and LBAC as discourse communities since they are both communities 'in which expression of thought, either written or spoken, share characteristics of vocabulary, communicative intent, subject matter, form of presentation, etc.' (Bragd et al, 2008: 200). In addition, the word 'share' suggests that 'expression of thought' is public in the communities (ibid), which shows that community members treat discourse as a collective practice. From this perspective, every insider of the community could be the gatekeeper to judge who can enter as an accepted member, for the discourse is shared and public to every insider.

When stepping from CAC to LBAC, outsiders of LBAC (also insiders of CAC) should perform the organised discourse or norms in front of insiders of LBAC, in order to be accepted as members. For instance, in the pre-sessional programme, students need to

demonstrate their qualified competence of academic English to tutors or degree examiners who function as gatekeepers, so as to be allowed to move on the next stage of the academic communities.

2.2 The definition of identity in this study

Even within and between academic disciplines, identity has proved a challenging term to define precisely (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). The word is used by a multitude of disciplines including sociology, linguistics, anthropology, political sciences, psychology, geography, history and philosophy (Jenkins, 2014; Pollard & Filer, 1999, 2000). Filer and Pollard (2000) point out the apparent impossibility of comparing the use of the word across these different disciplines. They comment that the term identity can have completely different conceptual meanings to different writers. Breakwell (1986) comments that, when discussing similar concepts, writers may use different words such as 'self', 'ego', 'personality', 'self-concept' and 'self-image' to refer to broadly the same phenomenon.

These multiple descriptions of one term have caused some to claim that 'identity' is so ambiguous a word as to be of little use as a research term for analysis (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000). However, even those who dispute the usefulness of the term, find it impossible to identify an alternative word to replace it satisfactorily. Brubaker and Cooper state (2000: 8):

Even the most sophisticated theorists, while readily acknowledging the elusive and problematic nature of 'identity' have argued that it remains indispensable.

It was therefore decided to use the term 'identity' in this research, firstly to avoid confusion between evaluative and descriptive elements, but also because of the added benefit of this being the term chosen by a number of other writers whose work has

influenced the development of the project, scholars such as Pollard (1985), Filer and Pollard (2000), Giddens (1991) and Falsafi (2010).

Following this decision and based on the acceptance of the ongoing need for the term, a clear definition of the meaning and use of the word identity was required, for clarity's sake, within this study. Firstly, it is essential to state that 'identity', as it is referred to within the study, is defined as group identity rather than individual identity. Much work has been done in educational research exploring language learners' understandings of individual identity. This present research has also collected and analyzed data about individual identity, but, given that the research background to the study, which concerns participants' aims in experiencing a pre-session course in the LBAC, group identity has to be the main focus. At the same time, the important work on individual identity allows a better understanding of aspects of participants' experiences and, in particular, highlights how those individual identities may impact either positively or negatively on their identity negotiations or constructions.

That said, the purpose of this study – exploring Chinese pre-session students' identity negotiations or constructions within the new, LBAC, learning situation, locates the concept of identity primarily within a group or collective, within which the multiple and dynamic elements of individual identities are located.

2.3 Individual identity

This study will, then, mainly focus on group or collective identity in Chinese pre-session students. It is still, nevertheless, significant to figure out participants' individual identities in order to understand the process of integrating individual identity and group identity.

As has been mentioned above, Breakwell (1986) points out that there are a variety of

names to refer to ‘identity’, names such as ‘self-concept’, ‘ego’ and ‘personality’ Indeed, in reality, not for scholars, but for individuals, it is difficult to separate the descriptive element of self-understanding from that of the evaluative element when the individual makes judgments about this understanding. Lawrence (2006: 3) provides a helpful illustration of this:

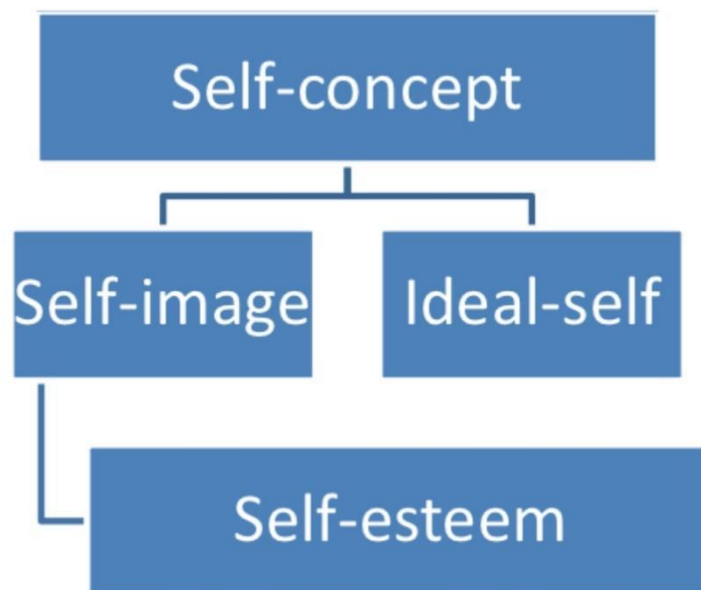


Figure 1 Definition of identity

Lawrence (2006) indicates that ‘self-concept’ consists of two elements. ‘Self-image’ is defined as how the individual views him- or herself from both physical and mental characteristics. ‘Ideal-self’ is the vision to which the individual aspires. Lawrence (2006) includes the notion of the evaluative element of identity by the use of ‘self-esteem’ which is proposed as the discrepancy between how the individual views him- or herself and how he or she imagines him or herself to be. If the discrepancy is negligible, the individual’s self-esteem will be high, but if ‘self-image’ and the ‘ideal-self’ have a large difference between them, the individual’s self-esteem will be low.

Lawrence’s (2006) model was useful in enabling a consideration of how the descriptive and evaluative elements interacted during participants’ studying time in LBAC. For

example, before coming to the LBAC, the participant might have imagined what they would experience or attain, and what kind of person they would become from the pre-sessional programme. These imaginations are what Lawrence calls 'ideal-self': participants' self-esteem will be decided by the discrepancy between self-image and ideal-self.

It is acknowledged that different disciplines propose different ways in which an individual role identity, such as learner identity, is constituted. MacBeath (2006) states that the concept of self has been the research focus of psychological and sociological literature and then of interest to neuroscience. In psychological literature identity is considered to be an internal individual element; what some have termed a private internal matter (Falsafi, 2010). Within psychological literature a number of tripartite models have been developed to explain the ideal of 'self'. Freud contributed with the terms 'ego', 'id' and 'superego'. Berne (1961) used the term 'child', 'parent' and 'adult' and Damasio and Dolan (1999) used the terms 'protoself' (the unconscious self), 'core self' (the conscious self) and 'autobiographical self' (the extended consciousness). All these models are based on the belief that identity is an internal process shaped by one's own internal voice.

In contrast, sociological literature proposes that individual identity is formed, not on an individual basis but in relation to the surrounding social context in which the individual is operating. We learn who we are by comparing ourselves to others around us and by receiving information from them about their views on us and our appearance, words, discourses and performances. Mead (1934) explained this process by distinguishing between the 'I' and 'me' and defines 'self' as the interaction or relationship between these two parts of one's identity. Jenkins (1996: 20) defines the 'I' as the 'ongoing moment of unique individuality'. In addition, social constructivism theorists (e.g., Walkerdine, 1981) have suggested that the idea of identity as a single unified entity is an illusory concept. They suggest that the self does not exist outside the social context or relationships within which it is created.

The individual identity constructions of Chinese pre-sessional students in LBAC cannot be studied without considering the impact of society, since the relationships between individuals and communities or environments which stem from the society are so closely connected that it is impossible to discuss one's individual identity construction with ignoring the negotiation or assimilation of 'self' in LBAC.

2.4 Group identity

In Turner's (1982: 15) definition, a group is consisting of 'two or more individuals who share a common social identification of themselves or, which is nearly the same thing, perceive themselves to be members of the same social category'. The groups which will be discussed here in this case involve two or more individuals who are cognitively aware of the shared membership of a group, which might be a friendship, academic connections, or classmates.

Group identification refers to a feeling of unity between an individual and other community members with sharing a common community discourse/norm (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). The feeling of unity, or shared identity or community discourse/norm, which drives a person to portray inter-group activities and events communicating in multiple languages, for example, 'us' or 'we'. The utilization of associative pronouns outlines the intertwining of a individual's self-identity with the groups to which he or she positions (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The impact of different group memberships, from the aspects of social identities, combines with an individual's difference and eccentric personal identity to comprise his or her self-concept (Turner, 1985). Brewer and Gardner (1996), and Prentice, Miller and Lightdale (1994) examined the personal-social identity dualism, arguing for a more nuanced thought of the social groups to which an individual might position. Accordingly, Brewer and Gardner (1996) divided social groups into two kinds: (1) collective and (2) relational identity, (gender or sports team)

as the results of an attraction to group totems, symbols, and characteristics (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Prentice et al., 1994). Although members in collective groups have interactions, the essential attraction and attachment stem from positive assessments of inter-group characteristics. Relational identification, in contrast, emerges because of interpersonal attachments that also contribute to a person's self-concept (Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Prentice et al., 1994). As Prentice et al (1994: 485) explained: "in these groups, the strength of group attachment depends critically on the extent to which one knows, likes and feels similar to other members of the group." The collective-relational dualism represents that an individual might utilize distinct group memberships to fulfill group affiliation or interpersonal objectives.

In this case, it is hard to simply define whether LBAC is a collective group or relational group. In a broad sense, the LBAC usually has shared group goals and discourses, and most of the interactions between group members are positive, promoting the development of the group or group members. Meanwhile, in this process, members might construct sub-groups when involved in identity negotiation or construction, in order to ensure the performance of positive interactions most of the time.

Chapter Three -- Function of English language interweaving with identity issues

In order to avoid misunderstanding from the beginning, it is worthwhile to set a definition boundary of the use of 'language' and 'English' in this section. The term 'language' is used from a twofold perspective: (i) 'A language' – a noun with an article and a plural structure and/or the possibility of a defining, prepositioned adjective – indicates a system by which people communicate (e.g., 'the English language or 'the Chinese language; 'British English' or 'China English'). Argued by Simpson (1994), this use of term is not controversial, but well-defined. (ii) On the other hand, 'language' – a mass noun without article and plural – is generally used to make assertions about 'language'. Traditionally, linguistics and philosophers have considered the functions of language as being communication and representation. Language is what empowers individuals to articulate things, thoughts and attitudes in an intelligible way and to transmit the outcomes to other people. Likewise, 'language' is depicted as a type of behaviour, further, to 'represent' the 'real self' (Zuberbuhler, 2015). Language empowers us to communicate who we think we are and how we are associated with others in this power-existing society. The functions of communication and representation are personally interwoven, and for each situation, language is the primary or essential means by which individuals carry out the vital tasks of fostering their comprehension of the world, communicating with one another and negotiating their own positions with it (Joseph, 2004). This section will discuss the different functions of 'English' language (not THE English language) on the basis of its functions: communication or representation.

3.1 English as constructs

Our comprehension of the world is dictated by what kind of language we use (Whorf,

1956). individuals actively use language to build or assemble a universe of activities and organisations around them. They build and rebuild the universe not only through language, also through language used jointly with performances, interactions, non-linguistic symbol systems, objects, tools, technologies and particular perspectives of thinking, valuing, feeling, and believing. ‘Reality’ is constantly sifted through human language – we cannot acquire direct access to it (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Gergen, 1994). ‘Rather than reflecting the world, language generates it’ (Witkin, 1999: 5), organizes and controls social activities (Gergen, 1994). In other words, language incorporates all social, economic, cultural meanings inside itself (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Gergen, 1985, 1994).

Language use could construct the world we know, which potentially has a significant effect on our constructs of thoughts and action, if a particular type of language use (Holtgraves & Kashima, 2008) is repeated by an enormous number of individuals in a community. Language could construct our cognition of the world or reality, in other words, how information from the senses is used to make and store knowledge, what knowledge is, and how knowledge is used. This idea is captured in the following passage from Sapir (1929):

Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving particular problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the ‘real world’ is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. (P, 209)

Language is characteristic for the expression of a person or a group of individuals; language is a key part of identity. It is the means by which we express our innermost

selves from one generation to another (Rovira, 2008). 'Language -- both code and content -- is a complicated dance between internal and external interpretations of our identity' (Gibson, 2004: 1). Words - language - have the power to characterize and shape individuals' experience. It is a result of language that individuals could name their social experiences. Language and identity are indivisibly connected with each other. While language is the medium utilized by people to negotiate self-concepts in different contexts (Pierce, 1995; Norton, 2000), identity construction is a social and cultural process which is refined through discursive practices. Therefore, the capacity to apply a particular set of language resources in a specific context impacts the developing process of identity (Trechter & Bucholtz, 2001). Here a group of people, Chinese pre-sessional students, is exercising its ability to use a set of resources which have been acquired in institutional settings and which can, albeit loosely, be categorised as 'English'. Confronted by a discourse in which 'English' is prominent, the group experiences the unease of a subculture (second-language-speaker culture) in a state of tension vis-à-vis the dominant culture. In other words, it is the way wherein language, in this case, English is utilized which decides to which social group members are permitted entrance. Faced with different interlocutors, individuals and groups will exploit different language resources in order to get access to, or form a position in, the target communities, which might result in identity confusion. This will be explained in detail in the following sections and will be observed and commented on in the data analysis of this study.

3.2 English as a communication tool

Language has at least two functions: public communication and representation. For international communication, English has become the means above all others. Chomsky (2013) emphasizes that language is the inborn ability of people with a hereditary establishment and other identities, such as universality and autonomy. It follows that the emergence of language (and, therefore, English) is due to human beings' need to

communicate and cooperate with each other. With the communication function of language, people can coordinate individuals' behaviours and actions, and transfer the accumulated experience of life to the next generation. Malinowski (1989: 312) points out that, 'In its primitive uses, language functions as a link in concerted human activity, as a piece of human behaviour.'

With colonisation and globalisation, English has become to be used by an increasing population; it must therefore satisfy more and more complex communication needs: as world-wide users have gradually gravitated to English, their experience has led to an extension and enrichment of its phonological, lexical, syntactic and semantic resources, as well as its means of expression which have tended to become more and more flexible, various, and vital. The presence of a global lingua franca provides a gigantic benefit to an enormous number of individuals. This incorporates both NSs and NNSs. The latter prefers to learning and using English since they understand how indispensable a vehicular language is for international cooperation. This is true for economy, politics, and many other social activities. As a communication tool, English has recently been given a variety of names (Erling, 2005; McArthur, 2004). Considered as the labels of English, such as English as an international language (EIL), World English (WE), English as a global language, World Standard (Spoken) English, English as a lingua franca (ELF), some researchers use terms conversely (e.g., Seidlhofer, 2003), while others accentuate the differences between them. For instance, Prodromou (2008) clarifies that he uses EIL to describe English in a global context including English NSs and ELF when excluding them.

3.3 English as a representation tool

Regarding the representation function of English, the indexicality of language, referring to an association of a language or other linguistic forms with some types of socially significant characteristic, could be most obviously observed in code-switching

circumstances, where speakers shift between various languages that have distinct social meanings in their communities. For example, Dubois and Horvath (2003) describe how French, once used as a symbol of identity for Cajun individuals in Louisiana, is being positioned in the conversations or interactions of young Cajun individuals in English with French-accent, as many of them do not speak French. When these youngsters cannot use French to perform their Cajun identity, they would communicate in a French-accented English with what linguistic resources they do have.

When the indexicality of language works in or between communities, ‘outsiders’ may show specific behaviours to acquire community membership. This process of using language is not culturally neutral and certain forms of English are markers of power. Pennycook (2009) demonstrates that English is embedded in the process of globalization because of power relations: English builds communication barriers and, in turn, has an influence on power relations. Tollefson (2000) has warned that this language asymmetry would cause significant social, political and economic inequalities. An India study of English teaching shows English does not only damage the local languages, cultures and ways of learning and teaching but also emphasises the values of the elite Indian middle class (Ramanathan, 2005). In Miller’s (2000) study on ESL students’ socialization into the mainstream in an Australian high school, he demonstrates that, white students usually assimilate quickly and make friends with English-speaking classmates and grasp discourses in English, Chinese students have problems being seen as members of the mainstream, because they cannot be regarded as powerful, legitimate English users. Isolation emphasizes and magnifies the powerful or powerless status of English speakers. To some extent, then, English is a barrier for others to learn and develop.

In mainland China, English is not a daily means of communication or representation tool, but Chinese students must learn English from their childhood. Although some argue that learning English is for international communication, issues of representation, of indexicality, are sure to arise. It is therefore necessary to explore how Chinese

students negotiate the identity conflicts when they are faced with English users who seemingly belong to and represent a dominant culture. For this study, Chinese students intended immersion in a British academic community is taken as a clear context for this.

3.4 English and identity

Learning English as a second or additional language has complicated and academic purpose that involves fostering identities to adapt the new language and culture (Gee, 2001; Ibarahim, 1999; Talmy, 2008; Valdes, 2001). In China, although Chinese is the main language to be used in daily life, English is required to be learnt from the third year at primary school. For some students, English is just a compulsory subject to be tested in every entrance examination. However, in this study, it is argued that English has become the communication, or representation tool to negotiate and construct identities in LBAC. These identities are related to students' language choices and performances when interacting with classmates or teachers in class. In this process, the particular challenge faced by students who must attend a pre-sessional programme is not only linguistic but also cultural, social and academic.

Over the past four decades, researchers in second language research, Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Kramsch, 2000, 2006; Lemke, 2003; Norton-Pierce, 1995; Norton, 2000), sociolinguistics (Labov, 1972; Eckert, 2000), linguistics (Bernstein, 1973; Fishman, 1989), and linguistic anthropology (Ochs, 1993) have demonstrated how language is a crucial mediator in the construction of cultural or social identities.

In SLA research, Norton Pierce (1995) identifies the basic role that power plays in the language-identity relationship by positioning identity in a social context. Through constructing a relationship among social contexts, resources and investments, Norton suggests that a person's linguistic investments in second language learning influences the types of linguistic resources that are introduced to the individual, which thus

illuminates the person's ability to learn or speak. In her research of language learning and identity, she separates between a student's motivation and investment:

[I]nstrumental motivation generally presupposes a unitary, fixed and a historical language learner who desires access to the material resources that are the privilege of target language speakers. In this view, motivation is a property of the language learner -- a fixed personality trait. The notion of investment, on the other hand, attempts to capture the relationship of the language learner to the changing social world. It conceives of the language learner as having a complex social identity and multiple desires. The notion presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space. (Norton Pierce, 1995: 18).

Through her work, Norton Pierce (1995) and Norton (2000) suggests the role that positioning plays as it applies to language learning in a particular social context. This positioning perceives how students foster language what they are learning in a world where power dynamics, from the perspectives of politics and society, and the positioning that happens through these dynamics, impact the learner's social experience and chance to communicate with the learned language, as well as the learner's investment to construct their language and identities.

Norton's (2000) research in language and identity could be applied to a wider field by distinguishing how the communities or organizations within society, and more explicitly, individuals' positions in these communities, decide the kinds of resources learners have approached and the manners by which these approaching impacts on identity constructions. Hall (1990: 222) argues that we need to consider 'identity as a production,

which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation'. Besides, identities are dynamic -- in that they are 'never complete' -- and constructed within representation through language. Identity could be constructed through individuals' representation in social activities and includes not only how people represent themselves, but also how others perform the representations through positioning. In understanding identity as not an essence or core part of a human being, but rather a positioning and a representation remind people of questioning the social and political structures that support or lead this positioning. Hall (1991) further complicates these thoughts by illustrating how identity is constructed through individuals' positioning and representation with language, but is at the same time set up across 'difference' and should be perceived as a process that is told or aware of from the position of others. It means the ways in which we construct our identities and understand ourselves and others is by identifying who we are and what we are not. An application of these ideas to identity construction taking place in the academic context will allow for an understanding of students' experiences and the ways students are positioned, and position themselves, through language learning.

Gee (2001: 99) defines identity as 'being recognized as a certain kind of person in a given context'. Although he does not question or prove that every individual has a 'core identity' which will not shift across time and place in his theory, he demonstrated the manners by which the elements of individual's identity are reliant upon socio-cultural, historical, and political factors. Two of these factors are of crucial to this study: institution identity and discourse identity. Institution identity is constructed through the position an individual may position or may be assigned by other community members, and is established through the authority of the institution or the agents of the institution (notably teachers). In this study, Chinese students have been identified by the institution as unqualified academic English-users, no matter whether or not they accept this identity. Findings in this research highlight, in an academic context, how students participate in English learning, how they position or are positioned, and how they communicate with more qualified members.

In terms of discourse identity, Gee (2001) shows how an individual constructs an identity through discourse, or interactions; he also emphasized that, through the linguistic interaction, a characteristic, a trait or an identity, of an individual could be constructed or re-constructed. The language speaker's interactional identity would be shaped or affected by the relationship between interlocutors' and speakers' relational individual identity. One's individual or group identity construction is not only accomplished through the mixing with other interlocutors through discursive interactions, but also in the sense of personal difference with other community members over a span of a conversation, which makes individuals learn or examine their own language output, or to be more accurate, their discourses, in their interactions with others. Chinese students might also have this identity negotiation via discourse during their pre-sessional time in the LBAC, in order to construct or re-construct specific identities.

To sum up, this chapter has discussed English on the basis of its functions -- communication and representation when associating with identity issues. As constructs, English could construct the world, or to be more specific, the community in which we are. English also has an impact on individuals' construction of thoughts and performances. As a communication tool, English is not a neutral means for individuals to exchange information or interact with community members, because of the existence multiple identities, resulting in various understandings of the same thing. As a representation tool, the indexicality of English language enables individuals to be understood by other community members and shift identities among different communities.

Chapter Four -- Historical and political background of English flows in the world

The historical and political influence of the historically English-speaking countries has, for economic, political, cultural reasons, transformed English into a common tool of communication and representation. Through centuries of colonialism, neocolonialism, Cold War expansionism, and, most recently, globalization, English has traveled, spread, or ‘flowed’ (Appadurai, 1996) and has been used as an effective means to spread the systems of capitalism, democracy, and moral values. This chapter will introduce English flows in the world mainly from the perspectives of colonization and globalization, in order to ascertain the ways in which NNSs, especially Chinese, construct and shift identities via English.

4.1 Development of English colonisation and globalisation

The influence of British colonialism has, in part, brought about the situation with English currently in the some time ago colonized regions of the world and furthermore different parts. With the expansion of British Empire, English, was spread to every corner in the planet and presently is used or spoken throughout the world.

Colonialism is the foundation, support, securing and expansion of colonies in one territory by individuals from another territory. With occupation in forcible activities, the social structure, government and economy in the colony are changed by the colonisers. They exploit the resources of colonies and force their culture and language on these colonies. For example, in British colonies, the colonized people needed to change over their religions to Christianity, gain proficiency with the English language and English literature in academic institutions. Learning colonisers’ language and culture, to some extent, could improve colonies to negotiate their identities and then accept the fact being

colonised. Consequently, they adopted western values and the colonisers had the options to manage by consent rather than violence.

Colonialism initially ventured into China after the triumph of the British Navy force in the first opium war (1839-42). Before the end of the second opium war (1856-60), colonialism further reinforced its traction inside Chinese territories. For a long time, there has been an continuous discussion on whether the effect of colonialism on China was positive or negative. As Cajete (1994: 11) states, ‘from the beginning of contact with European culture until the present, education has been a major area of conflict and concern’ for indigenous people. This is otherwise known as interior colonialism where explicit methods of control are applied to ‘ensure the ascendancy of a nation and its white elite’ (Tuck & Yang, 2012: 5). It is realised that there was just inconsistent and unsystematic advancement of English starting from social or cultural contact then in South China (Bolton, 2006). According to Bolton, the most punctual Western missionary schools were set up in South China, such as in Macao and Hong Kong in 1839. In 1862, Tongwen Guan, the first known English school sponsored by the Chinese government was set up to meet the urgent requirement for China to learn popular military and technical knowledge from the West in order to oppose future foreign invasion and to more readily adapt to the Western powers in national and global affairs. Then, suffering more defeats, the Chinese government focused more on official English teaching to improve the situation, considering that China could only become modernized by learning from the Western powers, in other words, the English-speaking powers. At the turn of the twentieth century, thirteen Protestant Christian colleges which ‘had a profound influence on Chinese education’, had been established across China (Bolton, 2006: 231).

One of the ‘profound influences’ is the appearance of Pidgin English. It is argued that Pidgin English only affects the language education and usage in China, however, the influence on representation or identity construction cannot be denied, either. Another influence of colonialism on China is how Chinese people have seen themselves and the

world from. Before colonialism, Chinese people regarded China as ‘stand(ing) out as a prosperous looking giant among the multitude of premodern societies’ (Rozman, 1981: 141) and themselves as the most powerful people, holding the absolute power in the world. But colonialism introduced not only wars, but also identity confusion and doubt. The Chinese thought they had to be awakened from their slumber and imbued with the virtues of a dynamic West. They began to suspect and examine their standing positions in the world and to imagine what power colonialists had.

The Global or World English phenomenon can be traced back to the powerful economic systems built by British colonialism, which assembled clear different layers of human traffic, representing geographic and demographic patterns of language conveyance today (Mufwene, 2010). This ‘traffic’ can be seen to account for two different, but related phenomena. On the one hand, ‘World English’ can be seen as a collection of various English varieties: English has become assimilated or ‘indigenized’ in very many parts of the world (Mufwene, 2009), changing its features in because of the past interaction habits of its new speakers, and meeting new communicative necessities (Mufwene, 2010). The result is what have been termed NVEs – New Varieties of English – with specific groups of speakers using a specific variety in specific situations. These NVEs can be codified and institutionalised and, therefore, can constitute examples of adjective English, existing alongside traditional varieties such as British English and American English. As such, NVES are examples of languages in the first of the two definitions given in chapter 3 above. On the other hand, the growth and persistence of English, from colonialism to globalization, has led to the phenomenon of World English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). Despite early attempts at codifying ELF, it is now firmly recognised that there is not, and cannot be an ELF variety. English as a Lingua Franca refers, clearly, to the second definition of ‘language’ outlined in chapter 3 above: a means of communication and representation without an obvious connection to any national culture and without the possibility of institutional regulation.

David Crystal (1997: 1) raises the question about English being a dominant means of

communication in his book:

How could such a dramatic linguistic shift have taken place in less than a lifetime? And why has English, and not some other language, achieved such a status? it has all happened so quickly. In 1950, any notion of English as a true world language was but a dim, shadowy, theoretical possibility ... fifty years on and world English exists as a political and cultural reality.

As well as, or as part of, a means of communication it cannot be avoided that English also somehow affects the way people represent themselves whatever may be their aims in using it.

The success of NVEs and of ELF does not depend on any qualities inherent in English, but rather on the power of its speakers (Johnson 2009: 136). English is recognised as a marker of influence and power, and a ‘repositor(y) of culture and identity’ as well (p, 137). Concerning power relations, people in different English-using communities who are trying to move towards centres of power and domination, are likely to try to emulate the language use of those already in powerful positions. As English continues to strengthen as a world lingua franca, so forms of speech of those in power are likely to influence the ways in which those not in power will try to shape their language. When it comes to identity, people in different communities are likely, most of the time, to choose the specific English variety associated with that community and, therefore, their identity. For instance, British people may use a British English variety when they are talking with other British people in the UK. But when they have lived in America for some time, they might choose to learn and speak in an American accent or use an American English variety. Similarly, pre-sessional students from China might use a Chinese variety of English (Chinglish, Chinese English and China English have all been identified as possible varieties) when faced with interlocutors in China. But they will be taught, and will need to learn an academic English variety through their pre-sessional experience while, at the same time, understanding that in this way they are improving

their prospects of more powerful positions in international contexts. In this process, their new identities will be constructed via a negotiation, struggle even, of power relations.

4.2 Development of English education in China

In current China, English is the most-studied foreign language. In numerous situations, English instruction starts in primary schools and some city students even begin to learn English from kindergarten. In most cases, middle schools and universities take English to fulfill a prerequisite to teach a second or foreign language. Grown-ups are likewise keen on learning English for different purposes. Disregarding the huge number of individuals learning and communicating in English, the language has up to now never been a specialized communication tool among native Chinese themselves, but has been reserved for correspondence with outsiders. mainly serving utilitarian or instrumental purposes, in either economics or politics, or both. But within the process of China becoming an international country, the identity problem or conflict between being more 'local' or more 'international', needs to be confronted.

4.2.1 Pidgin English

The introduction of English happened in the eighteenth century, when western powers came to China with colonialist intent. Around then Chinese people thought minimal with regards to the rest of the world because of the Qing dynasty's policy of seclusion. However, as the Qing government was forced to open the door, some Chinese people, had to communicate with non-Chinese, so pidgin English grew steadily. It took shape when the British established their first trading post in Guangzhou, in the Pearl River Delta, coming into existence because of the requirement for English-speaking merchants and the local Chinese to communicate with each other. Stoller (1979) and Tryon et al. (1996) suggest that Pidgin English arising because of Chinese-British

communication may not comprise and illustration of a 'high-high' trade. In other words, Chinese-British relations was unequal at that time. Since the British were in a politically and economically hindered position, restricted by the Canton System which was intended to favour Chinese authorities, it cannot be an instance of commonly gainful trades: British and other foreign merchants required China considerably more than China required them, since the incomes from the exchange with the West were minimal to the Chinese when contrasted with the incomes of their Asian exchange (Fairbank, 1953).

But after the Opium War, the inequality moved in the opposite direction: Pidgin English was developed mostly as 'a means of communication between foreign Masters and Chinese servants and a medium used in retail shops catering for foreigners' (Cheng, 1992: 164). Whichever way the inequality went, Pidgin English first arose for communication in international trade. The Chinese characteristics of Pidgin English are a representation of Chinese identity. Western powers played an important role in 'pidginizing' their own language (Hall, 1944), which became a presentation of English identity as well. Despite persisting for well over a century, Pidgin English has, since the 1990s, gone into steep decline. This is, naturally, connected to the rise of Standard English education in schools. With globalisation, English-speakers hold more and more power in the world, leading to the marginalization of Pidgin English, a language that cannot be understood by people from other cultural backgrounds: it cannot become a lingua franca.

4.2.2 China English

English was spoken between Chinese people and foreign traders as early as the seventeenth century, but it was not until the late 1970s, with China's Reform and Opening-up policy, that the meaning of English was again perceived with the aim of modernisation and 'international stature' (Lam, 2002: 247). But the 'China English'

spoken by individuals in China has never been institutionalized by officials, and its lack of official status typically restricts its uses, which is one of the reasons for the debate around what China English (CE) is.

According to Xu (2008: 4), CE is defined as:

A developing variety of English, which is subject to ongoing codification and normalization processes. It is based largely on the two major varieties of English, namely British and American English. It is characterized by the transfer of Chinese linguistic and cultural norms at varying levels of language, and it is used primarily by Chinese for intra- and international communication.

But the notion of CE was presented much earlier by Ge (1980), who arise a few instances , including 'imperial examination' (科举考试), 'four modernizations' (四个现代化) and 'May Fourth Movement' (五四运动). These are the terms explicit to China that do not make sense for non-Chinese English users.

Since Ge's (1980) work, numerous researchers have discussed the issue of CE versus Chinglish, which is viewed to act as an illustration of pidgin English, broken English or interlanguage. Li (1993) recognised CE and Chinglish, asserting that the centre of CE depends on regulating English and that CE does not show any L1 (Chinese) impedance but has Chinese attributes in lexis, sentence structure and discourse. Pinkham (2000: 1), interestingly, portrayed Chinglish as a 'misshapen, hybrid language that is neither English nor Chinese but that might be described as English with Chinese characteristics'. Hu (2004) applied a continuum to depict both CE and Chinglish as English learners step by step arrive at the different degree of CE from the base. Since in Tang's (2015: 1567) view, the ultimate purpose of English in China requires English students to transform from English knowledge talkers to powerful cross-cultural communicators equipped for utilizing English and of participating in or facilitating

cross-cultural communication, and afterwards through China English, ‘the construction of a pragmatic intercultural identity need ensure that any English virtual or vicarious socialization or enculturation will not replace or overshadow the Chinese collective identity’.

A subsequence issue identified with the CE debate is whether it ought to be considered to have a place with the NVE family, that is, whether CE is spoken or used for the purpose of communication or identification. Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002: 276) recommended decidedly that a ‘natural process of language change will inexorably lead to a shift away from an exonormative model to a model based on China English’ since CE is perceived as a developing variety. Hu (2004) argued that CE should be viewed as a standard language in the WEs family due to the monstrous number of English users in China currently and China’s global communications with the world. This claim has not been upheld by different researchers, who have fought that CE is as yet viewed as a presentation variety of English regularly utilized for inter-cultural communication purposes (He & Li, 2009; Yang & Zhang, 2015), on the grounds that ‘few local Chinese use English entirely for intra-ethnic communication’ in Chinese communities (Li, 2011: 106). It is a continuous undertaking for researchers to classify the Chinese variety of English assuming that they have the desire to distinguish the variety within the NVE paradigm (Fang, 2017; Xu, 2010). To be sure, CE might have fostered certain provisions when used among speakers who share Putonghua as a lingua franca. Be that as it may, according to an ELF view, CE is definitely not a fixed English variety, as Chinese speakers of English use English in adaptable ways relying upon the various interlocutors. Since CE has not been institutionalized by the Chinese government, Chinese people may not have a clear concept of what CE is. They are speaking or using English just because it is a language for communication and a representation of their identities in a style of social practice.

In conclusion, due to the development of English colonisation and globalisation with power relations, English language has become the dominant communication tool in the

current world, in turn, the language domain contributes to the powerful status of English-speaking countries, which causes the desire of learning English. In this study, the nonrecognition Pidgin English and CE in China might influence Chinese pre-sessional students' attitudes towards native-English models and then identity construction.

Chapter Five -- Power struggle: Legitimacy of English usage in communities

With the global spread of English, it sometimes has been shown that English is a social practice that reflects individual and group identity. Affected by the western power, English is not only a means of communication, but also tools for represent speakers' identities. For NNSs, as Norton (2013) points out, when in contact with English-using communities, if ELF speakers have the desire to be an insider, they would shift their linguistic norms or legitimate discourse, and express their 'sameness' (specific community identity) to 'insiders', in order to be identified as a community member. The process of attain the legitimacy English identity is influenced by power relations.

5.1 Speech community and discourse community

Chinese students have learned Standard English (SE) and may be using a form of CE when speaking with foreigners; these practices will have left marks on their identities. In the LBAC, students need to integrate into both an NS speech community and an international discourse community.

Defined firstly by Bloomfield (1933), speech community is 'a group of people who interact by means of speech' (p, 42). As well as communicating in the same language, these individuals additionally share with the same opinions about what is considered 'proper' or 'improper' usage of language (ibid: 155). Hymes (1974) focused on the way that insiders of a speech community are bound together by norms of language -- 'a speech community is defined as a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech. Such sharing comprises knowledge of at least one

form of speech, and knowledge also of its patterns of use' (p, 51). And 'a person who is a member of a speech community knows not only a language but also what to say ... sharing of grammatical knowledge of a form of speech is not sufficient.' (ibid:49, 123). Bloomfield's (1933) and Hymes' (1974) work have defined the speech community as a group of people who are sharing the same norms of language. Labov (1972) adds that 'a speech community (...) is a group of people who share a set of social attitudes toward language' (p, 248).

Given that, in very many contexts, not even NSs speak or use SE (and of course, CE is not limited to China), Chinese students may experience both communicative and representational confusion when they study outside of China and use English for intercultural communication purposes.

In contrast to the speech community, discourse communities such as the international academic community have been described as groups that have objectives or purposes, and use communication to accomplish these objectives (Swales, 1987). In Swales' explanation, the discourse community must have its own particular genres, its own arrangement of particular phrasing and vocabulary, and a significant degree of mastery in its specific region. These objectives may be officially settled upon (as on account of associations or groups) 'or they may be more tacit' (Swales, 1990:24). The manners in which individuals communicate with each other and exchange information differ as indicated by the groups. These might incorporate meeting, newsletter, informal conversations or a scope of sorts of written or spoken communications (Swales himself prefers the writing to the speaking ways) (Swales, 1987). Swales records six standards for characterising a discourse community: (a) common goals, (b) participatory mechanisms, (c) information exchange, (d) community-specific genres, (e) a highly specialized terminology, and (f) a high general level of expertise.

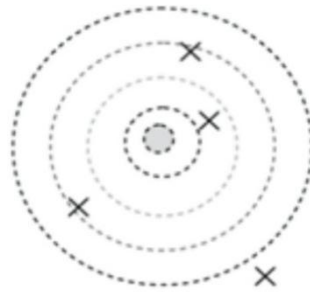


Figure 2 Situatedness in Discourse Communities

The Figure 2 (Beth & Foster, 2010) above is helpful to illustrate how people can be situated. The boundaries of the circles are dynamic and fluid. Imagining the very centre in the circle standing the most powerful people in the discourse community, the other members in this community will choose or learn the ‘proper’ discourse in order to float inside or remain in the community. The powerful insiders position in the centre are not only gatekeepers to community access but also the essential validators of new knowledge or information submitted for acknowledgment by the discourse community. Scattering from the centre, the emanating concentric circles address situatedness. The spaces situated on the limits of each circle address openings for movement of progress. They exist for the movement of people inside the community, just as for the change to the community’s storehouse of knowledge (ibid).

Chinese pre-sessional students in the UK have a two-fold task: on the one hand, they are likely to feel the need to attempt integration into the largely native-speaking speech community forming the wider context for their studies. On the other, they find themselves obligatorily participating in a fixed-term English learning programme because of the un-recognition of their English competence by central members of an international academic discourse community. In the current study, the focus is a group of precisely these Chinese students, who have not been identified as qualified academic English-users; their tutors, standing in the core place of the pre-sessional programme, and agents of the receiving institutions, possess the power and could decide if the students have the qualification to enter into the local academic discourse community.

This thesis will focus more on the discourse community and how the Chinese students in the study perform in order to gain entry into a local British academic community, a microcosm of the international, English-using academic community.

5.2 Achieving legitimacy for Chinese students

Thus far this chapter has emphasised how English is an important medium for global communication and indicated how its use in different communities is inevitably shaped by those communities' local languages and cultures, with particular reference to China. In China, where Pidgin English and Chinglish have declined, learners of English seem to show enthusiasm for a native-English model. Those aiming for an international Higher Education experience often strive to do so by gaining access to the 'very centre' of a British academic English community through performances in a discursive context.

5.2.1 Chinese students' attitudes to English varieties

Despite the changed status of English in the global stage, the standard varieties of British and American English have been taught for a long time and learnt as the only international acceptable pedagogical models in China (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; Bolton & Bulter, 2004). This normally realized English model secures the NSs' central position and sets an unattainable model or goal for NSSs: this has been called 'monolingual native speaker bias' and regards non-native learners as failed NSs instead of as legitimate and competent bilingual users (Cook, 1999; Jenkins, 2012). This seemingly hopeless contradictory and pedagogical practice is likely to lead to identity confusion issues. Language is believed to be linked with speaker identity, and NNSs are normally disposed to wander from NS-based norms and to be in favour of local linguistic features (Li, 2009). NS-based pedagogic models are linked to standardness and correctness, prompting a 'grassroots practice' of an '(unquestioning) submission to a native-speaker

norm' (Seidlhofer, 2005, cited in Jenkins, 2006: 172). Hu (2004: 31) found that 100% of the respondents (1251 surveys from students in a mainland Chinese university) respected British English and American English to be the two main English standards, and cases that '[t]his belief has been inculcated into them, and their teachers before them, by all the language books that they use'. Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) led an overview with 171 mainland Chinese college students (88 students are English majors and 83 students are engineering majors). They were approached to demonstrate how much they agreed or disagreed with 14 set statements. 124 students (60 English majors and 64 engineering majors; about 72.5%) strongly dismissed the assertion 'only native speakers can speak standard English', which gives researchers information that most Chinese students believed Standard English to be an achievable objective for NNSs learners such as themselves. As for the statement 'when I speak English, I want people to know I'm from China', a sum of 104 students (60.8%) disagreed, particularly female participants (60 out of 64). And the statement 'one day there will be a variety of English called Chinese English', 45.6% of the students disagreed and 28% agreed, the rest of them were neutral. The conclusion could be drawn, that few educated Chinese, particularly female English majors, seemed 'happy to sound Chinese' when communicating in English, and that 'China English' did not appear to be 'socially acceptable' (p, 277). These research findings could be used to assert that the participants in this study are not 'happy to sound Chinese' when they are speaking English. Sounding more like a native speaker could maximise their opportunity to be accepted by the 'insiders' because native-like pronunciation is a social practice that represent the 'sameness' as they endeavor to construct a community identity in the British (native-speaker) academic community. In the process of approaching NS English model, EMI has been introduced in Chinese universities and students think or imagine themselves are legitimate English users (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; He & Li, 2009). Nevertheless, for Chinese pre-sessional students here, their English competence have been denied by 'international' English tests designed by NSs. So have their identities, constructed in the process of learning SE in China.

5.2.2 Identity, investment and discourse community in English learning among Chinese students

For Norton (2010) identity has connections with the notion of investment which defines language learners as a group of people who have complex and multiple identities reproduced in social interaction across time and space. Aiming to be recognised as powerful members possessing symbolic and material resources, language learners ‘invest’ in the target language and then achieve an increase in the value of their cultural capital and social power. Instead of judging learners in traditional dichotomous concepts such as good/bad, motivated/unmotivated, introvert/extrovert, etc., investment provides another way to take into account power in different contexts leading to multiple learning outcomes. According to Norton (2013), unequal relations of power impacts on the investment of language learners’ learning experienced, as well as the context oriented, social, and historical nature comparative with language use. All things considered, the main reason for learners to invest into a target language incorporate an objective of securing representative assets (e.g., language, education, friendship) and material assets (e.g., capital goods, real estate, money). The comprehension of investment in language learning enlightens the states of how relations of power limit the chances for language learners to speak or use the objective language (Teng & Bui, 2018). Researchers can examine the relations of power in various learning conditions and the degree to which these conditions and power relations shape learners’ obligation to their English learning.

Besides their language learning outcomes, language learners’ identities can also be influenced by their investment in the target language. It is more likely that scholars understanding investment theory will pose the question “To what extent are students and teachers invested in the language and literacy practices of a given classroom and community?” (Darvin & Norton, 2017: 228) than the traditional question “Are students motivated to learn a language?”, which may not show a full picture how language

learners negotiate the relationships among motivations, learning outcomes and power in different contexts. For example, a student who is highly motivated can have low learning outcomes when he or she does not invest accurately or necessarily in the language practices of a given classroom. Relationships are constantly in struggle and students' negotiations of these relationships are complex and dynamic, which causes investment to be complex, contradictory, and in a state of flux (Norton, 2013; Norton Peirce, 1995). As Kramsch (2013: 195) notes:

Norton's notion of investment, a strong dynamic term with economic connotations ... accentuates the role of human agency and identity in engaging with the task at hand, in accumulating economic and symbolic capital, in having stakes in the endeavour and in persevering in that endeavour. In the Norton American context, investment in SLA has become synonymous with 'language learning commitment' and is based on a learner's intentional choice and desire.

Students' ability to distinguish and explore fundamental examples of controls impacts their investment specifically pragmatic norms and literacy practices (Kim, 2014). In Norton's (1995) view, the multiplicity, discontinuity, and social nature of identity prompts students' struggles across time and space, which makes English learners' investment in language learning alterable because of their views of the capital resources of discovering that target language. Identities are unbounded but identified with students' ideology and are at this point not attached to fixed regions, patterns, or social relations. As represented in Darwin and Norton's (2015) model, investment is positioned at the convergence of identity, capital and ideology (Figure 3).



Figure 3 Darwin and Norton's 2015 investment model

This investment model shows the construct of investment which complements the construct of motivation. Norton (2013: 4) argues that ‘while motivation can be seen as a primarily psychological construct, investment must be seen within a sociological framework, and seeks to make a meaningful connection between a learner’s desire and commitment to learn a language, and their complex and changing identity ... it signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it’. When investment happens in a discourse community, language learners not only invest in language learning, but also in the targeted discourses. Given that in a discourse community, such as CAC and LBAC, discourse is the way of thinking and using language shared by all community members, English language learners, wishing to pursue the recognised knowledge required by gatekeepers in the target discourse community, are inevitably influenced by the discourse constructed in other communities. Similarly, investment in other discourse communities is likely to impact the language learners’ subsequent investment in their chosen target community, itself a construct of the interwoven power relations in two different discourse communities. For the participants in this thesis, when Chinese pre-sessional students have movements across various communities, the value of their economic, cultural and social capital also moves across existence. Their learner legitimacy and self-positioning are consequently constructed in various ways.

5.2.3 Learner legitimacy with positioning in discourse community

Learning, seen as a positioned process of participation in a specific discourse community, entails the negotiation of ways of being a person in that context (Wenger, 1998). Subsequently, ‘because learning transforms who we are and what we can do, it is an experience of identity’ (p, 215), a process of becoming, or trying not to become a certain person, instead of a straightforward aggregation of skills and knowledge. Some Chinese students learn English because of their desire for internationalization (as imagined), and others learn English in order to avoid being called a ‘bad student’ because of their lower score in the English examination under the SE framework. These two groups of students seek different identities. The former desires membership of an international English-using community; the latter prefers identification with the local community. Different goals lead them to different ways of constructing identities. Their desire could also be hybrid, as could, therefore, their identities. These kinds of views partly come from information exchanging, partly come from their own imaginations (Xue & Han, 2015). Through the ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson, 1991), students could perceive an association with individuals beyond their immediate social networks. Pavlenko & Norton (2007) contend that the thought of imagination, as an approach to appropriate meaning and create new identities, permits us to rise above the attention on English learners’ immediate environment. Furthermore, learning another language, maybe more than some other educational activities, reveals the craving of students to construct their scope of identities and to contact more extensive universe.

However, it is argued that despite the significance of the function of language in identity construction, language learners cannot achieve direct recognition of membership by the target discourse community (Cook, 1992; Kramsch, 1998). In other words, English community membership may not be granted automatically to any English speakers, regardless of whether English is the speaker’s mother tongue or not. Achieving membership, that is, achieving learner legitimacy in the target discourse community, needs negotiation and involves a struggle for the right to speech (Bourdieu, 1977; Miller,

2004), and additionally, the right to position in the communities (Sole, 2007). According to Foucault (1984), individual language users or speakers who are subjectively motivated to take up specific positions within various discourses can accomplish the process of identity construction.

From the perspective of positioning, when participants are positioned as 'subjects' by discourses, or make their own and others' activities socially determinate, language and identity arrive at a balance whereby these participants might find the way to negotiate identities by adapting language. This means that when individuals are empowered to negotiate their identities by adapting language, in so doing, they may achieve greater identity/language coherence. Individuals do not, then, simply act either in obstruction to or in consistence with discursive practices, but are fit for practising decisions according to those practices. In view of social constructivism rules that recognise both the constitutive power of discourse, specifically, 'discursive practices', two theorists, Davis and Harre (1990), argue that a person arises through the processes of social communication, not as a somewhat fixed finished result but rather as one who effectively assists with comprising the discourses of which they are a section:

Accordingly, who one is [must always be] an open question with a shifting answer depending upon the positions made available within one's own and others' discursive practices and within those practices, the stories through which we make sense of our own and other people's lives. (P, 46).

As indicated by the authors, 'positioning' is simply the discursive process whereby identities or 'selves' are situated in communications and performances or as noticeably and subjectively coherent participants in 'jointly produced story-lines' (1990:47). In speaking and performing from a position, individuals are bringing to the specific circumstances their set of experience as a subject being.

In this study, examining the ways in which participants positioned themselves in the past is not the research aim; rather the concern is how, as subjects, they choose a position in the new environment. Despite being identified as ‘student’ in the context of educational institutions, either Chinese or British, each participant still has space to position herself in different ways. Chinese pre-sessional students have the need to enter the ‘very centre’ of the British community, and ultimately international academic community, considered as a discourse community in this case. They throw themselves actively or passively into the power relations. The process of achieving correct or standard language in the specific community could be seen as a process of achieving enough power or constructing community identities.

5.2.4 Language identity and its relation to discourse community and group identity

The previous section having clarified that this study intends to focus on ways in which ‘outsiders’ – Chinese students – attempt to enter a British, and ultimately international, discourse community, this section will now show the relationships among language identity, group identity and discourse community.

The participants in this thesis attend the pre-sessional programme mainly to meet the language requirements set by a UK university, which is regarded as an academic community. From participating in various academic activities regularly to pass the final examinations, students have to satisfy the expectations of their programme tutors in order to achieve a certification of the pre-sessional programme, to be more academic, to achieve membership of the LBAC. This process is also a transformation time for language identity, especially group identity.

As referred to in the above sections, since identities are constructed through discourse practices within a CoP, it is believed that identities can be considered as social positions that individuals assume as they interact with others within communities, by following

certain rules and conventions, while at the same time exercising their agency through their individual discursive choices (Hyland, 2012; Flowerdew, 2011). For instance, an individual can assume him- or herself to be an insider of the LBAC by following the classroom rules or conventions (albeit without yet being accepted) but also, inevitably, perform his or her CAC identities. Luke (1996: 86) suggests that language learners with multiple identities constructed in other communities have the choice to decide their own positions in daily interactive behaviours and the positions ‘offer possibilities for difference, for multiple and hybrid subjectivities that human subjects make and remake...’. Additionally, they have to learn how to negotiate discourse, competence, identities, and power relations so that language learners could participate in and construct accepted group identities and then be recognised as legitimate and competent members of the target discourse community (Morita, 2004).

On the other hand, there is a need to consider the tension between conforming to target community discourses and claiming own personal identities, that is, the conflict of group identity and individual identity is an important theme in identity research in the professional academic context (*ibid*). In a discourse community, or to be more precise, in the LBAC in this study, there is a shared academic goal that is about meeting the language requirements of the university after the end of the pre-session programme: so participants have to invest in LBAC-styled language learning and student identity construction, which means they must perform in an LBAC way in front of other insiders or prospective insiders. However, as Fairclough (1993) points out, more and more people have accepted that individuals now have more opportunities to perform uniqueness, rather than obeying the rigid community discourses or norms prescribed by particular social roles or identities, therefore, discursive practice become an essential performance for identity construction. The ways in which Chinese pre-session students perform or negotiate group/individual identities when shifting between academic communities via discourse is researched in this thesis.

Chapter Six -- Methodology

This chapter introduces the research approach undertaken for this study: the methodology and philosophical assumptions are both addressed. The chapter begins with an introduction of the aims and objectives of the study, including a statement of the research questions. Second, the philosophical context of the research is explored, with a focus on social constructivism. Thirdly, the research design and sampling approach are described. Fifth, the data collection methods and analytical practices are shown.

6.1 Research question

This study aims to explore how Chinese pre-sessional students construct new ‘student’ identities using the theoretical framework of social constructivism. From this, the study aims to develop theoretical insights into how the changing linguistic environment influences the construction of identity. The research questions of this study are:

- 1) In the process of stepping from the CAC to the LBAC, are there identity struggles in performances, negotiations or constructions?
- 2) How do Chinese pre-sessional students view the CAC in which they have been educated?
- 3) How do Chinese pre-sessional students view the LBAC?

6.2 Philosophical assumptions

This research is based upon the underlying philosophical bases of interpretivism and constructivism. It takes as axiomatic that a single and fixed reality does not exist and those realities can differ across time and space. The research attempts to provide the contextual depth associated with interpretivism while steps have been taken in order to

overcome its drawbacks: results in interpretivist approaches have been censured as far as reliability, validity and the capacity to generalise, alluded to collectively as research legitimization.

Following Stake's (1995) suggestion, validity has been ensured in this research by the presentation of solid descriptive data, leading to an understanding of the meaning of the experience under study. Further, multiple data sources have been used and an identifiable chain of evidence has been established, providing an academic result (Remenyi et. al. 1998).

In order to achieve greater reliability, Denzin's (1970) suggestion has been followed inasmuch as the research uses multiple and independent methods. Systematic data collection and case access have been established in order to create strong triangulated measures and findings have been set reinforced by combining participant observation with narrative sources and documentary sources (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) in a solitary case.

As with many qualitative research projects, this research does not claim the generalizability of a positivistic, quantitative project. The goal here has been to provide a description of specific study (including the data collection procedures) that would permit generalisation of the research procedures in similar contexts (Kidder & Judd, 1986; Vaughan, 1992). Although, for example, this one cannot provide adequate proof to make robust generalisations, it actually could set up the presence of a condition, situation, or phenomenon (Van Maanen, 2011), which is sufficient for the motivations of this sort of exploratory study (Remenyi et al, 1998). The aim here is to present a study that could be generalizably applied to this study's theoretical propositions (Yin, 1984), establishing a qualification between analytical and statistical generalizability (Yin, 2003).

The research is also founded on a constructionist view of knowledge and education,

which regards identity as socially constructed. Reality is not absolutely true but ‘simply more or less informed’ via social interaction and meaning (Guba & Lincoln, 1994:118). As such, reality, in the same way as identity, is viewed as subjective and not fixed, in contrast to the positivist and post-positivist theory that reality is more objectively formed and fixed outside the realm of social interaction.

Where most psychologists use the term ‘constructivism’ in its most broad and essential meaning, Sexton (1997) separates mankind’s set of experience into three times: premodern, modern, and postmodern. Each of these three eras has a specific ontological viewpoint that explains how individuals have managed the events, issues and problems. In the premodern period (from the sixth century B.C. through to the Medieval Ages) the focus was on dualism, idealism, and rationalism. Faith and religion assumed focal and vital roles, and ‘effective change efforts were prayer, faith, thinking, and/or reasoning’ (Sexton, 1997:5), while the modern period (from the Renaissance to the end of the nineteenth century) focused on empiricism, logical positivism, logical procedure, the identification of reality, and legitimacy. Sexton (1997) explains the third and present period as postmodern/constructivist and emphasises the creation, as opposed to the discovery, of individual and the so-called social objective truths. Scholars and theorists begin to investigate how individuals know, as well as what they know. In constructivists’ eyes, they see reality as

Noumenal -- that is, it lies beyond the reach of our most ambitious theories, whether personal or scientific, forever denying us as human beings the security of justifying our beliefs, faiths, and ideologies by simple recourse to ‘objective circumstances’ outside ourselves. (Neimeyer, 1995:3)

In constructivism, all individuals are dynamic producers of life experience, not passive acceptors of reality or so-called ‘truth’. ‘To know is to construct, not to find’ (McAuliffe & Eriksen, 1999: 268). Neimeyer (1993) believes constructivists would regard knowledge as an produced and constructed meaning framework, instead of a

steady and external entity. For example, individuals are consistently ‘in the language’ of their way of culture, language, time and place in history, despite the fact that they can take a pretty much basic position toward those effects on their meaning making. In this research, participants are not regarded as passive ‘victims’ of individuals’ social contexts, because they are responsible for their decision-making, development and achievement. They construct their whole experience of a pre-session programme; they do not simply find and undergo it.

6.3 Epistemology -- Social constructivism

While personality might once have been considered as a relatively fixed phenomenon, part of an observable external reality, independent from the observer, this view has been largely superseded by one which accepts that identity (now a more familiar term than personality) is relatively fluid (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1991, 1994) and, crucially here, not knowable through straightforward observation, given that there can be ‘no objective evidence that you can appeal to which would demonstrate the existence of your personality’ (Burr 1995:21). The social constructionist paradigm proposes an epistemological approach which acknowledges the fuzziness of reality and the impossibility of objective observation: by constructing reality in a particular way, it is possible to gain knowledge about and within a particular construction. Here, it is proposed to consider identity formation as an ongoing, negotiated process and to gather data which might show the validity of the construct.

Social constructivism posits a critical role for language in how people determine the nature of their experiences. As people use language, they appear to shape their self-view while also giving shape to the world around them. To be clearer, considering language as a verb makes sense by allowing people to language themselves. This study focuses on Chinese pre-session students who are newly arrived in an English-using environment. Given that most of them were willing and keen to gain access to the ‘very

centre' of the British academic community, their language and language-related behaviours were the focus of the study, based on the notion that their choice of language forms might be an indication of a negotiated process of identity construction.

In the process of identity formation, individuals are not always satisfied with merely 'entering' a community; after the 'entering', they might have the desire for powerful membership, that is, for developing a more powerful identity. Building on the previously mentioned constructivist notion that language determines self and context (Neimeyer, 1993), data collection and interpretation in this study was further driven by the post-modern sociological theory that language is also an index of power relations (Rabinow, 1984). Being an 'insider' is far from an end. In a British Higher Education setting (as in countless other settings), 'insiders', however far from the 'very centre', all possess a certain level of power to dominate language forms which are used to continue the process of structuring the academic environment and to index their positions of power within it. The process of trying to achieve this is likely more difficult for, in this case, Chinese pre-sessional students, because they come from settings which have been differently structured and in which power relations are differently indexed. In this study, language data was gathered that shows how students attempt to find their way out of contextually powerless identities and then reach for more powerful ones.

Under Austin's (1962) sense of 'function', language in the constructivist view can be used to construct the world and also to work as a form of social action (Cavanaugh, 2015). While trying to determine the nature of their experiences, individuals negotiate their identities to seek to index themselves as more powerful potential players in a Higher Education context. All these endeavours could be regarded as socially interactive behaviours. In this way, their use of language is not primarily descriptive, but persuasively to accomplish goals (Burr, 1995). From this perspective, each use of language is a 'performance'; people 'perform' social actions to determine their sense of self, to structure the community and to establish an appropriate level of power for themselves within the community.

Constructivist psychologies share the belief that there is not one method which can provide a purely objective way to understand people and the world. Interpretivism and social constructivism are thus appropriate as the ontological underpinnings of the research approach in this study. Social constructivism has constituted the epistemological basis for the gathering and interpreting of data in this thesis.

6.4 A qualitative approach

This study aims to explore the way in which Chinese pre-sessional students construct new ‘student’ identities when shifting from different academic discourse communities. Though the two communities associated in this thesis are different, it is impossible to design a quantitative survey to ask participants to choose which ‘student’ identity they think might characterise them, CAC or LBAC members. This dichotomous use of two identities would fail to capture how participants understand and perform their identities. Additionally, another limitation of a quantitative survey is its inability to collect in-depth or detailed answers related to identity constructions from participants (Braun & Clarke, 2013). For example, an individual is believed to have multiple identities; recognising him- or herself as a CAC member does not imply a rejection of an LBAC identity.

So, as can easily be adduced, a qualitative methodology was conducted to fulfil the aims of this study and answer the research questions (Creswell, 1998). A qualitative approach was adopted as the best way of ascertaining how the discursive performances enacted by Chinese pre-sessional students might be shaping the construction or negotiation of their new ‘student’ identities, given the suitability of such an approach when there is a need to obtain accounts from people and an endeavour to perceive implications and understandings. This procedure is usually inductive, and research data are applied to construct concepts and theories (Creswell, 1998; Henn, Weinstein & Foard, 2006).

while the opportunity is exploited ‘to collect and rigorously examine narrative accounts of social worlds’ (Silverman, 2011: 144).

6.4.1 Issues of validity and reliability

In terms of validity and reliability in qualitative research, there is no single stance or consensus for qualitative researchers (Creswell, 1994). In qualitative research which mainly uses semi-structured interviews, readers do not have confidence in the results unless researchers are able to demonstrate sufficient rigour.

Mears (2017: 187) argues that ‘the validity of interview research is related to its appropriateness for studying what it claims to inform and its veracity in reporting’. Validity cannot be guaranteed within a standard method or procedure, but the credibility of the results can be improved (Maxwell, 2010) through various tools including mechanical recording, ‘rich’ data, use of contradictory evidence, member checking, respondent validation, quasi-statistics, neutrality, triangulation, and fair dealing (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Mays & Pope, 2000; Anderson, 2010; Bisman, 2010; Maxwell, 2010; Birt et al 2016; Gray, 2018). Within a qualitative study, on the other hand, reliability is sometimes referred to as ‘dependability’ (Rolfe, 2006, Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2013), ‘confirmability’ (Jensen, 2008) or ‘consistency’ (Arksey & Knight, 1999). Unlike quantitative investigation, statistical tests cannot be applied to demonstrate reliability of qualitative research (Sutton & Austin, 2015).

In this study, triangulation has been applied in order to provide more opportunities to evaluate validity and reliability. As Patton (1990) suggests, the consistency of information gathered at different times and by different means within qualitative methods should be cross-checked. Three interviews (including the stimulated recall interview) have been conducted at different times during the one-year data collection period; six classroom activities have been video-recorded; and one-to-one conversations

between the teacher (Mary) and the students have also been filmed. As Leki (1995: 239) demonstrates an extensive amount and variety of data resources ‘ensure triangulation of the information gathered to contribute to a more complex, richer, and thicker description than might be possible through the examination of a single data resource’.

6.5 Preparations before data collection

6.5.1 Site selection

The pre-session programme in which the study was conducted was chosen since it was an excellent example of an institution providing language courses to predominantly non-British students in a British Higher Education campus. The study was conducted in a research-intensive university in the North of England, anonymised as RINEU from now on in order to maintain anonymity and to ensure the confidentiality protection of participants. According to the official website of RINEU, there are 18,930 students from over 150 countries learning on the campus, among them 24% are international students and 5% are Chinese students.

The university delivers four length types of pre-session programmes for international students who need to acquire an English language requirement for entering to the next degree-level programme, that is 4, 8, 18 and 20 weeks.¹ The length of course students should take according to their IELTS scores and how much they need to improve to approach the English language requirements for the degree-level programme they wish to study. The university's pre-session courses are also tailored by subject area, with a concentration of students in Management degrees and in postgraduate Language Teaching (TESOL) degrees. They are designed to help international students improve their language competence, communication and study or research skills and prepare

¹ These four length types of pre-session programmes were offered in 2018 which was the year I collected the data. In 2019, the four lengths have been changed to 5, 10, 15 and 20 weeks.

them for their future study in the university. This research was carried out in the academic year 2018-19 (8-week pre-sessional programme included), and lasted 13 months. All the participants were based in the same department and campus.

6.5.2 Gaining access

A vital benefit that ‘insider’ researchers generally have over ‘outsider’ researchers is the general straightforwardness with which they can obtain entrance and fabricate compatibility with the research participants. However, once gained, the participants’ private information should be secured and continuously maintained (Nelson, 2012). In this case, access was gained by personal contact with one of the tutors of the 8-week pre-sessional programmes, who gave her approval to conduct the research in and with her class.

6.5.3 Selection of participants

The participants in this project were Chinese students who attended an 8-week Pre-Sessional programme at RINEU. These participants were chosen because their situation of newly-arrived academic migrants provided, potentially, a very interesting field for an exploration of language-based identity negotiation and power relations. Another reason to choose Chinese students as participants was that, after decades of learning SE, tensions between this and the language discourse prevalent in RINEU could be used to explore identity formation in a hierarchical community. As has been clarified above, identity construction finds itself at a crossroads when an individual comes into a new environment; new environments also suggest, potentially, new power relations. The Chinese students chosen for this project had all very recently arrived in a new environment where the power relations, and the way in which those relations were articulated, were also very new: by dint of being required to attend a pre-sessional programme, the students had been identified, by those in power in the new environment,

as ‘insufficient’. Their task, as laid before them, might be achieved, in their imaginations, by the adoption of new identities.

Participants were all prospective Masters students with similar language levels and expectations of their pre-sessional and future postgraduate programmes. All participants were female and were between the ages of 21 and 28 years. The table underneath shows a summary of the student participants at the very beginning of the project.

Participants	Age (years) ²	Gender	Masters major
YF	24	Female	TESOL ³
LH	22	Female	TESOL
ZY	22	Female	TESOL
CY	25	Female	TESOL
SY	21	Female	TESOL
HM	21	Female	TESOL
JZ	22	Female	TESOL
ZW	23	Female	TESOL
PX	22	Female	TESOL
TP	23	Female	TESOL
WA	23	Female	TESOL
YX	24	Female	TESOL
RD	22	Female	TESOL
WY	23	Female	TESOL
Mary (Tutor)	28	Female	Linguistic

Table 1 An overview of participants

Although the study initially intended to apply sequential sampling to take into

² The ages were participants’ then ages in the year of data collection, 2018.

³ TESOL refers to an postgraduate major named Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages.

consideration the determination of participants who were probably going to provide the most significant data to empower a further refinement of the developing present theories (Teddlie & Yu, 2007), some of the students were very reluctant to participate in the research. Thus, those students were accepted, who had self-selected to take part. The fieldwork was initially prepared to take place over a one-year time to allow for a group of Chinese students to be followed from their initial pre-session programme through to their degree course and for an exploration of their perspectives at different stages of their experience. Originally it was planned to follow a total number of 14 students. However, the study plans must be changed for various reasons. Initially, the quantity of respondents must be reduced as some of them hesitated to participate in the research and, further, the excessive amount of data led to a focus on only one participant most of the time.

6.5.4 Background of participants

The pre-session programme aims to provide students, who have not met the language requirement of the university, the time to acquire the academic knowledge required to undertake their following courses. All the student participants come from China, mostly Eastern China, except for CY who was born and grew up in Xinjiang Province. The family backgrounds of the students have not been investigated, but if one looks at the cost of enrolling on the Masters programme shown in the University's official website, it may be deduced that the student participants' families are middle-class. All the student participants have achieved a bachelor's degree in English from medium-range universities in China. Participants have not been chosen deliberately, although there is no male student in this research. It may be claimed that a focus on a single gender may cause potential identity problems in communities. However, the main aim of this study is to investigate how Chinese pre-session students construct a new 'student' identity in a new academic community, which means gendered identity is not the significant focus, and furthermore, a mixed-gender community may cause members' identity

constructions to be more complex.

Mary had been a tutor of the pre-sessional programme for at least three years at the time of this data gathering. She comes from a European country whose mother tongue is not English. Although she had been living in the UK for more than three years, she could be identified easily as a non-native English speaker via her accent. Some of the student participants complained about this, since they expect to have an ideal(ised) English teacher, but they finally accepted Mary because of her professional performance in academic knowledge-teaching.

6.5.5 Role of the researcher

It is important to mention the researcher's biases and values going into this study, since 'the qualitative researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Data are mediated through this human instrument, rather than through inventories, questionnaires, or machines' (Creswell, 1994: 144).

As introduced in the beginning of this thesis, the researcher used to be a pre-sessional student and aims to explore the new 'student' identity construction in new academic communities. Coming from a middle-class family in the middle part of China, the researcher is undertaking a PhD programme in TESOL. In 2018 (the year of data collection), one year after enrolling in the programme, the researcher had become familiar with the teaching strategies and norms in LBAC. It is not surprising that tutors in LBAC cannot speak Chinese and they are expected to teach students regarding English language as a shared community discourse rather than a communication tool.

Student participants were not contacted before they enrolled in the pre-sessional course. During the data collection, in order not to influence the students' academic performance, all the academic questions from participants were refused an answer by the researcher,

which might cause some participants to be unwilling to continue to be part of the study.

6.6 Research methods

This section outlines an overview of the research methods adopted and how they contribute to responding to the research questions. Each method is then discussed, and then providing a detailed account of how the study was conducted. The data collection was lasting over a one-year time of thirteen months ranging from early July 2018 to late August 2019. The timeline of the data collection is shown in Table 2.

Time	Research method⁴
Early July 2018	First interview with student participants
Late July 2018	Interview with tutor participant
Mid-July 2018 to late August 2018	Six non-participant observations
Mid-September 2018	Second interview with student participants
Late November 2018	One-to-one conversation between student and tutor
Late August 2019	Stimulated Recall interview with selected student

Table 2 Timeline of data collection

6.6.1 Semi-structured interviews as the main research method

Interviews were adopted as the main research method of data collection for this research since they provide more space for participants to describe their experiences and feelings: researchers obtain information reflecting the respondents' social construction of their

⁴ All the interviews conducted in 2018 were semi-structured interviews. The interview conducted in 2019 was a stimulated recall interview.

world, since Seidman (2006: 11) contends that ‘interviewing, in most cases, may be the best avenue of inquiry’. In addition, based on the social constructivism framework, semi-structured interviews would focus more on dialogue, conversation and talk in the co-creation of meaning (Anderson, 2008).

Semi-structured interviews were carried out at key stages throughout the academic year with the purpose of understanding themes of the agencies' lived daily world. Schostak (2006) described the interview as the process of both constituting and deconstructing various viewpoints. Kvale (1996:27) suggests that ‘the structure of the research interview comes close to an everyday conversation, but as a professional interview, it should involve a specific approach and technique questioning’. In this research, studying in a pre-session programme involves the development of a student’s identity as a member of the course community. Through experiences with their peers and tutors, participants come to know who they are and what they have changed in the community. In order to have more exact and performed answers, interviewees were regarded as partners rather than objects of the research and were therefore responded to, making for some variety in discussions. A set of guideline questions were produced but depending on the interviewee, these could be changed or extended to other related topics. The interviews were carried out using a thematic approach following the student journey through their Masters life at university. For example, the theme for interview two was their English names and ready identification, so this needed to be held at a time when the students had completed their pre-session course on the understanding that, after eight weeks, they might already have a rough concept of a UK ‘student’ identity. The questions for each interview were kept to a minimum to allow the participants to elaborate.

Interview one (Week one of pre-session programme, early July 2018)

Following lessons learnt from the pilot study, 14 female Chinese students were asked to participate in the study, this reducing gender as a major variable. The first interview was in week one, to ensure that the students had not been influenced deeply by the British

local academic communities. The main aim of this interview was to obtain some background details of the participants and allow them to express their opinions about 'student' identity and their possible behaviours in British classes. Questions were also asked about the differences between Chinese and British classes and help from different teachers and classmates. Their imaginations about future British academic life were also addressed.

Interview two (After completion of pre-sessional programme, mid-September 2018)

One student went to another Higher Education institute when she had finished the pre-sessional course, so there were 13 students participating in the second interview. The second interview focused on teaching, learning and assessment processes that the students had encountered during the eight weeks. Issues were addressed including approaches to learning and whether expectations had been fulfilled or not. There was also had a deep discussion about English names, as identity could be encoded in a name (Seeman, 1980). The reason why I did not ask the 'English name' question in the first interview because in the first week when they come here, I did not know whether the student participants had English names. Although all the participants are from China, they did not use each other's Chinese names even after class. Questions were also asked to explore whether the students chose to position themselves, after the pre-sessional course, as more Chinese or more British.

Interview with pre-sessional tutor (Week three of pre-sessional programme, late-July 2018)

In order to better understand the teacher's opinions and expectations about the pre-sessional students, the non-native speaker tutor was interviewed in the third week. The same questions in the students' interviews were asked of the tutor for comparison purposes. For instance, the tutor was asked: 'what is your definition of a student' aiming to analyse the teacher's possible behaviours when faced with conflicts in students' behaviours.

6.6.2 Non-participant observations

Non-participant observation (Pole & Morrison, 2003) was adopted as a research method as it collected a vision of the performance of being a Higher Education student in a British programme context. The goal of observation data collection was that it provided a way to record students' discursive performance in interactions with classmates or tutor. The identity of the observer as a researcher, not a participant, was transparently recognised observation of the experience directly, which had the additional ethical advantage of permitting the confirmation of informed consent (Pole & Morrison, 2003). The aim of the non-participant observation was informed with the participants before the observation taking place; paper-based consent form was obtained from all participants agreeing to participate in the research.

Video observation (Week two to seven of pre-sessional programme, mid-July to early September 2018)

There were six video observations from the week 2 to week 7. It was decided not to record the whole eight weeks of the pre-sessional in order, firstly, to reduce the influence of the observer on proceedings and, secondly, to keep the amount of recorded data to a manageable level.

For the purposes of analysis, classes were selected the class in which students had more interactions with the tutor or their classmates. There were, however, limitations. In the first instance, it was impossible to recognize what a specific student was talking about during group discussion. A second problem was that, because of the angle of the camera, it was not possible fully to capture every student's performances. However, it became obvious that there was not, in fact, a need to film everyone since some of the students were not willing to cooperate with the tutor and adopted behaviours with the obvious intention of avoiding being recorded. These behaviours proved a prediction that the camera would cause a negative effect in the class; on the other hand, this was of no analytical significance since those students were performing because of the cameras

rather than because of the new environment and tutor.

One-to-one conversation between student and tutor (At the end of term one, late-November 2018)

From an analysis of the data collected before this step, it was found that there was not sufficient material to show the participants having interactions with their tutor in English, because they spoke and discussed in Chinese in the interview and group discussions. Thus, in order to draw a fuller picture of the three participants' performances when they were speaking in English, three one-to-one conversations were recorded, at the end of the November, between the students and their pre-sessional tutor. The main objective was to see how the students performed when speaking in English; no mandatory questions were therefore set. Instead, several themes were given to the tutor to ensure they had enough topics of conversation. Questions about the difficulties students had met were discussed in detail. They also had conversations about their English learning strategies.

6.6.3 Stimulated recall interview

Whereas the collected data from semi-structured interviews and video-recorded observations addressed the participants' imagined or 'real' performances occurring in the LBAC, the stimulated recall interview (SRI) was used to tackle the issue of how and why participants enacted particular performances.

To put it another way, the aim of applying SRI in this study was to acquire an understanding into why the participant decide to perform in the certain ways (Calderhead, 1981; Dempsey, 2010). SRI data would be compared to data collected by semi-structured interviews and video-recorded observations. There are a number of important elements to the application of this kind of interview in an academic context. First, it is important to ensure the participant understands how the SRI will be run by the

researcher (Griffioen et al, 2020). In order for an interview to be successful, explaining the structure of the SRI will not only help put the participant at ease, if necessary, but also enable the participant to be a better cooperator in the research. Secondly, in the pilot study, when the interview was finished and participants asked to review and check written notes, some of them refused and all of them expressed embarrassment at seeing what they had talked about in the interviews. Investigating why there was embarrassment is not the aim of this research, but this phenomenon could be used to improve the SRI protocol applied here. As well as acknowledgment, trust is also an important factor to be considered. The reason why CY was chosen as the only participant to attend the SRI was because of her cooperation throughout the study and her trust in the researcher, which could, to some extent, soothe her embarrassment when watching her own videos and, more importantly, recruit her curiosity about the collected data. The SRI was audio recorded for in-depth analyses.

At the end of the participants' Masters programme, CY was selected as the one to attend the SRI. Before the SRI, CY was apprised of the data collection process in order to allow her some understanding of the aims of the data collection. In the SRI, she watched videos of her classroom performances and was asked to point out the performances that she felt interesting or unusual. To avoid, as far as possible, researcher interference and to ensure objectivity, the general question "What did you see in the video?" was used, rather than questions pointing out the performances directly. Verbal prompts were also used to urge the participant to reflect all the more profoundly concerning what she was listening or watching herself speaking or doing. Only when the participant did not notice a major performance were the videos replayed and particular performances referred to: CY was then asked the reasons or motivations for her performances. This interview lasted three and a half hours, since there were many videos to be played or replayed.

6.7 Data analysis

An inductive research method was applied to the data analysis in this research. In qualitative research, theory rises out of the data collected from the field work, in spite of the fact that it is not as simple as that. Patterns, trends and themes in the data needed to be found through careful and skillful questions to develop opinions, concepts and themes, and methods of relating them to one another. The scholars affect this procedure from their life or academic research experiences and from the literature and so their hypotheses will impact the study, from planing and designing the research aims and questions through to conducting the data analysis (Richards, 2015).

Following the inductive idea of this research, the method to analysis changed flexibly depending on the collected data. A social constructivism research method was adopted in the data collection. Such a method was considered most suitable to address the research questions; this was because the questions look at the construction or negotiation of new 'student' identities through discursive performance. In other words, it was considered that Chinese students' experience in a British programme could be understood via the structures of language, discourse and power (which will be discussed later in this chapter).

A critical point of social constructivism is to investigate and deconstruct entrenched binary oppositions in order to uncover how they construct 'hierarchical tables of value' (Peters & Humes, 2003: 112) which privileges one side/aspect/individual over the other. This empowers social constructivism to explore constructions of oppression by analysing the existing power relations in communities and how insiders perform the identity or membership in groups, institutions or communities. A social constructivism method believes that language is the core element to individuals' practice and community performances (Peters & Humes, 2003). This research method can be applied to inquiry about discursive and material constructions which limit the manner in which researchers think about Chinese pre-sessional students and to investigate how academic

experiences in communities are constructed discursively to see additional possibilities in what researchers underestimate as intrinsic (StPierre, 2000). A portion of the vital philosophical concepts relating to social constructivism include language, discourse and power will be discussed and explained in the following sections.

6.7.1 Language

In structuralism (Saussure, 1966), ‘idealized’ language speakers or hearers apply and explain the language’s firm patterns and constructions; language using (or performance, discourse) could be influenced by memories, weariness, slips, mistakes etc., and cannot be viewed as reflecting of ‘idealized’ language patterns. However, social constructivism regards language not as a group of ‘idealized’ structures autonomous of their speakers, but as struggles to create meaning (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984, 1986). Language is a social practice used by agents to language themselves in return. Language learning, in Bakhtin’s view, is a process of struggling to speak or use language aiming to participate in a particular discourse community. Using specific language or discourse means using a tool which others in the specific community have used before.

In recent times, Hall, Cheng and Carlson (2006) have argued that speakers of multiple languages can engage in community communications in those languages resulting from their access to take part in the community practice where those languages are spoken. Dissimilar to the people who accept that language competence goes before language performance, Hall et al. identifies that people vary in their admittance to participation, as indicated by their social or linguistic positioning in the communities.

6.7.2 Discourse

Foucault’s writing on discourse (1972, 1980) has changed the way social constructivism consider with language and how it functions in constructing the society. Foucault

portrayed discourse as ‘practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak’ (1972: 49). Social constructivism is more related with questions, for example, how discourse works, how it is constructed and what discourse’s social impacts are. The inquiries are the sorts presented in analysing any form and as such, they are inserted into the research questions of this study (StPierre, 2000). Applying Foucault’s research method allows scholars to feature the thoughts and hypotheses about language education. Fejes (2008) suggests the approach to explore how power relations functions in Higher Education and to investigate the influences of such operation of power relations in communities. The discourses applied in the pre-session programme Chinese students attended are not only functions of language, but are socially positioned structures of discussions, categories and concepts that hold importance and power.

Once a discourse becomes standardized, it is difficult to think beyond it. Discourses of the Community of Practice (CoP) constitute an example. The principles of a discourse imply that it simply makes sense to construct meaning in specific ways; other practices or norms would become and maintain difficult to be understood or accepted in the same CoP. For the insiders, they have been accustomed to the conventional discourse. However, outsiders have the chance to become 'insided' only when the discourse they use has been identified by insiders.

6.7.3 Power

Following a humanist methodology, individuals normally possess agency which provides them power to perform in the society: power is something that every individual would have, which could be conveyed. The conflicts desiring for social justice might attempt to give away power, to engage the less favored to keep away from matchless quality. Based on a social constructivism method, conversely, power is not regarded to be a negative idea, nor is it viewed to belong to one person. Social constructivism believes that power is not a belonging. It attracts people’s attention from the person or

group possess power to the way power is performing or exists in relationships (Wendt and Boylan, 2008).

Foucault (1982) thinks that power, something that could be constructed or shared in society, exists in relations. His research regards power relations and how power is consistently representing in individuals' relationships in communities. The power relations are not fixed; they are dynamic, and they could be modified across time and space. It is crucial to analyse the power relations, in order to reveal what is being constructed in communities. According to Foucault's method, power....

"categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise, and which others have to recognise in him" (1982: 781).

Such power attaches people to their own identities, then impacts the manner in which they communicate with others, which gives a clue as to how Chinese pre-sessional students assimilate into the local British academic community by the discourses available to them in a particular period. External power relations determine which community individuals would like to be in; internal power relations provide language learners a way to gain access to the 'very centre'. 'Legitimate' (powerful) and 'illegitimate' (powerless) speakers are distinguished by their differential 'rights to speech' or their 'power to impose reception' (Bourdieu, 1977: 648).

6.7.4 Language mixing or code-switching

One of the primary questions in regard to the concepts of Language mixing (LM) and Code-switching (CS) is the reasons they are performed or constructed in any case (Brezjanovic-Shogren, 2011). What is the motivation or the inspiration behind bilingual language performance?

Firstly, the answer was proposed by Gumperz (1982), who recognised two kinds of CS, situational switching and metaphorical switching.

Situational CS is driven by a specific circumstance where an individual speaks one code for one circumstance and one more code for another circumstance. In metaphorical CS, the point is the motivation in assurance of which language will be spoken. For instance, individuals will speak two distinct languages for two different themes. This clear and immediate connection between languages and the social contexts, as proposed by Gumperz, implies the 'definition of each other's rights and obligations' (1982). In addition, Gumperz argues that the connection between the language and the social situations is really complicated and that 'participants immersed in the interaction itself are often quite unaware which code is used at any one time' (Gumperz, 1982).

Another model related to this study was arisen by Myers Scotton (1993), known as Makedness Model, in which he argues that a bilingual speaker has a feeling of makedness, regarding the connection with the interlocutor who is mainly the person selecting the code in the communication. In such a circumstance, the individual is regarded having the ability to perform rational that he or she could settle on either the unmarked choice, the more safer and the more anticipated decision, regularly spoken by an individual, or the marked choice which is usually unexpected in communications (Myers Scotton, 1993). In contrast to Gumperz's argument that bilingual speakers are a group of individuals who cannot notice the distinctions when they switch the codes, Myers Scotton argues that, in general, speakers could notice the influences of the mixing or switching, such as the result of making the marked and the unmarked choice.

Given that the LBAC is a discourse community, Auer's (1998) definition of CS would be adequate for the discourse analysis conducted in this research, which defines CS as the symbol of community membership specifically sorts of bilingual communities. Discourse-related CS implies a pattern that goes 'beyond the sentence' because it has

connections with broader research contexts and social factors which typically impact the discourse (ibid).

6.7.5 Process of analysis

This section outlines how the data analysis was carried out, describing how central labels, identified in the research, were arrived at, along with the broader categories which were developed to encapsulate them.

6.7.5.1 Data analysis: Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis refers to an analytic tool to identify, analyse and report patterns or ‘themes’ within data for descriptive purpose (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi et al., 2013), and it is suggested that it should be applied in order to deal with the salient implicit or explicit themes from the interview data, and to capture the preconceived theoretical frameworks and emerging new ideas from raw data (Joffe, 2012). This study aims to investigate the discursive meanings and performances of the participants to the two distinct academic communities in the process of identity construction. The main focus of the research is to understand how participants’ thoughts and performances influence their academic ‘student’ identity negotiation or construction, rather than focusing on their academic experiences and significant events taking place in the discourse community. Thematic analysis, in this case, serves as a tool to approach and analyse subjective interpretations of ‘student’ identity when shifting between two academic discourse communities in a more systematic way.

6.7.5.2 Transcribing and making notes: open coding

This stage involved transcribing the data from interviews and video-observations and taking notes about anything interesting which related to identity and community. Data

was transcribed by the researcher despite there was large amount of data and time involved for the advantage of the first level analysing. Initially, all the recordings of interviews and videos were listened to attentively and transcribed in order to identify all the narrative episodes that emerged. Patterns and potential consistencies were sought beyond the individual or group episode throughout the data, with attention being paid to where labels first appeared and ended, the transition between labels and the content of each one. At this stage, there was no specific focus on answering the research questions: rather an attempt was made to obtain a general overview of the participants' verbal or non-verbal behaviours. Information from the researcher's knowledge was added. Figure 4 provides an example of the initial coding.

When a transcription was complete, it was read through it repeatedly. Although this was constrained by the pre-set research questions, an attempt was made to reach the data with a open mind to find out differences, similarities, themes, topics, behaviours, and how identity constructed or negotiated and anything else. Notes were taken on the paper copy of anything which seemed relevant, significant or interesting.

This process was interesting and valuable but it soon became apparent that it was difficult to continue because the themes or labels coming out from this approach were too general and huge to be categorized. Thus, a new level was begun with a view to an orientation to what was happening in the discourse.

First interview.
07/2018.

☆ CY (case study?)

-你对学生的定义是什么?

- (笑) 我对学生的定义..... why hesitated?

-对

-我觉得学生就是做好他在某一阶段, 就是学习阶段该做的事情。然后并且在这段时间养成, 就是他, 就是为他以后未来发展做好规划, 养成一个好的习惯和心理状态。然后嗯.....也就是在学业方面, 自己的未来成长发展方面, 和心理方面.....做好这些事情的人 (笑) 嗯!

-其实就是说学习要学好, 考试要考好之类的吗?

-不, 我觉得因为学生是一个小的名词, 它上面还有, 就是我们每个学生最基本的概念, 然后才做好学生自己的事情。所以我们先要基本把人的事情做好, 再做学生的事情。所以我记得学生肯定要包括我刚才说的最基本的事情。(笑)

-那你觉得你的这个看法是大家都是这样看的吗?

-嗯.....有些人可能会注意到, 刚其实我不是说, 做人做好嘛, 有些人可能不是特别在乎个人素质, 或者是那些方面。但是有些人肯定会在乎。但是我觉得大部分人肯定是在乎的, 因为现在都很文明啊, 然后自己的学业搞得很重要, 然后我觉得大家, 应该都是这个看法吧。

-也有可能说像你这样的人.....

-嗯, 肯定是部分人会

我虽然是个好学生, 但是可能品行.....

-我不在乎, 对, 我不在乎其他方面, 我觉得我是个好学生就够了。

-那你觉得如果人们问你, who are you, 然后你的答案会永远就是说 I'm a student 吗?

-当然不会 (笑) 我觉得学生, 就是 student 只是一个身份的概念。你有很多身份啊, 你在不同阶段会有不同的身份, 对吧? 你不可能一生下来就是个学生, 对吧? 对对对对对。所以我记得我肯定不会这么回答的, 我肯定会回答很多很多啊, 因为我想了就很多很多啊。

-你在什么样的情况下会直接回答 I'm a student?

-比如说在教室老师问我说, 他会限定自己身份的时候, 是个老师的时候, 我才会回答说我是个学生。或者是, 在.....反正就是一个教学环境下,

-如果说你上社会兼职打工期间, 你也会这样回答吗?

-看情况吧。如果, 如果想找个借口的话 (笑)。比如说他会嫌我做的不太好, 然后我会说我是个学生, 没有太多的工作经验。兼职的时候, 那当然是我还没有走出社会。

- (笑) 我觉得你真的是跟大多数人回答的不一样

-啊? 真的吗?

-对对对, 我之前做 pilot study 啊, 还有刚刚采访你的几个同学 (笑) 但是这样也挺好, 也挺好。你觉得你身边的人, 同学啊, 老师, 亲戚, 父母, 你如果想成为一个好学生, 他们应该基于你什么样的帮助呢?

-给予我身边的帮助?

- Points:
- ① student is an identity and people have multiple identity
 - ② Before student, we're people (?). many said this as
 - ③ caring about the 'student' identity or not, well. seems a big problem to CY.
 - ④ Identity shifts with time and places. (self-position?)

Is there other data show this?
CYs

Same idea with Mary.

she said others care, but why she didn't care about this

Identity changes across stages

"It depends" Context or position?

"Students and working experience" She thought these two things didn't have connections. Why?

Figure 4 An example of the initial coding

6.7.5.3 Sorting codes

Notes were made on the transcripts according to what participants were saying or performing. Shown in Figure 4, the mass of notes and codes led to a focus on the related discourse in community, language and identity. The early coding results (Table 3), including audio and video data, in a list of categories are shown below. All the codes have been categorized into OVB (Objectively Verifiable Behaviour) and IOB (Interpretation of behaviours shared with other observers).

Discourse/Action	Category
Agreement	OVB
Answer confirmation/Unconfident	OVB/IOB
Answer exchanging or confirmation/ Friendly	OVB/IOB
Clapping	OVB/IOB
Classmate attraction	OVB
Classmate avoidance	OVB
Classmate avoidance/Unconfident	OVB/IOB
Compliance with teacher	OVB
Concentration	IOB
Confidence	IOB
Confident with own answer	IOB
Confident with own answer/Prefer being active	IOB
Confident/Enjoyment	IOB
Confident/Perform to be a good student	IOB
Confusion	IOB
Contradiction to previous narratives	OVB/IOB
Contradiction to previous behaviours	OVB/IOB
Embarrassment	IOB
Enjoyment	IOB
Enjoyment about the praise	IOB
Feeling easy about class content	IOB
Friendly	IOB
Goodness – to the teacher	IOB
Gossip	OVB
Gossip/Feeling easy about the answers	OVB/IOB
Happy with own right answer	IOB
Homework discussing with classmates	OVB/IOB
Ignorance	OVB
Language mixing	OVB

Mind wandering	IOB
Relaxation	IOB
Relaxation/Feeling easy about class content	IOB
Relaxation/Happy with own right answer	IOB
Relaxation/Mind wandering	IOB
Relaxation/Response to pressure	IOB
Relaxation/Sleepy	IOB
Response to praise	IOB
Seek for answer confirmation	OVB
Seek for authorized answer	OVB
Seek for authorized answer/Showing concentration	OVB/IOB
Self praise/Enjoyment	OVB/IOB
Showing concentration	IOB
Showing concentration/Agreement	IOB
Showing concentration/Seek for authorized answer	IOB
Shyness	OVB/IOB
Sleepy	OVB
Sleepy/Relaxation	OVB/IOB
Stress	IOB
Superiority – to teacher’s echoic question	IOB
Teacher attraction	OVB
Treating teacher as friend	IOB
Unconfident	IOB
Unconfident with own answer	IOB
Unconfident/Classmate avoidance	IOB
Unconfident/Enjoyment	IOB
Unconfident/Feeling questions funny	IOB
Waiting for praise	OVB

Table 3 Early coding results

This early categorisation couldnot be accommodated clearly in my research; it was therefore narrowed with a focus on the basis of identity negotiations, performances, or constructions in communities using the followingpoints:

- 1)What participants were discussing, for example classmates, exams, academic activity, teachers, language, other English native speakers, etc.
- 2)What participants were acting through talk or performances, for example, explaining, discussing, questioning, demonstrating, suggesting.
- 3)Mentioned identities, for example, Chinese, British, teacher, (good/bad) student,

foreigners (meaning non-Chinese in this research).

This led to a simplified category of the codes, shown in Table 4.

Codes	Description
Awareness of identity	Identities participant has awared of
Affirmation of British identity	Recognition of British academic identity
British context	British community
Chinese context	Chinese community
Context (not specific)	Community without specific mention
Community norms	Real or imagined community norms participant has mentioned
Identity construction	The new 'student' identity participant has constructed during the one-year's learning
Identity confusion	Answers or observable behaviours shows participant has confusion about identity
Imagined identity	Imagination of academic identity
Language mixing and code-switching	English phrases used in Chinese-speaking interviews and group discussions
Power performances	Participants' discourse reflecting power relations
Refusal of British identity	Disagreement of British academic identity
Seeking membership (either Chinese or British)	Answers or observable behaviours shows participant would like to be regarded as a community member
Perform to be a good student/Answer exchanging or confirmation	Correcting English discourse with members of Chinese community
Perform to be a good student/Prefer being active	Showing positive behaviours to be accepted by members of British community
Perform to be a good student/Showing concentration	Showing positive behaviours to be accepted by members of British community

Table 4 Simplified categories

With a smaller and more organised set of data, all discourse identified with a specific category in one document were collated: for instance, all the 'good student' transcripts were recorded into one document. At this microanalysis stage, a set of questions, recommended by Rampton (2006), were posed:

- 1) What sort of performance do participants have in the data?
- 2) What is the participant doing here?
- 3) Why that happen at this point?
- 4) What else may have been done here but was not?

In addition, the following questions were added:

- 1) How is the participant performing the discourse? What discursive performance is being performed?
- 2) How do other participants react?
- 3) What related identities are being performed?
- 4) Are these identities confirmed or rejected by other participants in the communities?
How is the confirmation or rejection performed?

Working on these simplified categories and questions, it was decided to keep the categories narrow in order to assist with dealing with the data and to allow fuller exploitation of the huge data. In terms of constructs, identity is the main focus in the research. Identity could be constructed in diverse environmental settings through different discursive performances. In turn, the constructed identity could also affect the agent's discursive performances and position in the target communities. All of these discourses and performances cannot be discussed without the context (British context, Chinese context and unspecified context). In order to avoid ambiguity, the British context emerged not only in a British community. In other words, participants could mention the British context in a Chinese community as well, which as same as the Chinese context. Therefore, it would become clear that the coding could be sorted into

three groups: (i) Community Membership I referring to CAC; (ii) Community Membership II referring to LBAC; and (iii) Identity referring to negotiations, performances or constructions either in CAC or LBAC.

6.7.5.4 Multilingual issues happening in the data collection and analysis

The aim of the pre-sessional programme is to train students to master qualified English competence in order to adapt to the Masters courses they intend to undertake. However, all the student participants, as well as the researcher, come from China, where the mother tongue is Chinese, which inevitably leads to a situation that the first language choice for communication is Chinese, even when talking about British communities. English has been taken into account to be applied in the interviews; however, it may cause misunderstandings between researcher and students for they do not yet meet the language requirement of the university. In the first interview, most of the students spoke Chinese naturally without any hesitation with the researcher, except for HM and ZW who asked which language they should speak. It was clear to the researcher that they felt some relief when it was agreed that Chinese could also be acceptable. With the experience of attending the first interview, student participants communicated with the researcher in Chinese almost all the time in the following data collection sessions.

In order to avoid the translation issue that linguistic equivalence does not mean conceptual equivalence between Chinese and English, all the data was transcribed and coded in Chinese. In this way, the researcher, coming from a similar language background to that of the student participants, was able to understand interviewees' meanings most effectively. For example, in the first interview, when asked about 'what is your definition of 'student'?', most of the participants mentioned that 'student' was associated with 'schools or universities', which could be easily understood by other Chinese, for 'student' and 'schools or universities' in Chinese has the same character 'Xue(学)'. Thus, transcribing and coding the data in Chinese was assumed to be most

appropriate in order to avoid any misunderstandings when translating Chinese into English.

6.8 Ethical issues

Power relations not only exist in the communities where this research was conducted, but are also a vital factor that needed to be noticed and considered between participants and researcher. After the teacher, Mary, has given her consent for the conduct of the research, some of the students came to inquire whether the researcher was an examiner of the programme, who intended to record their performances as an extra evaluation to decide whether they were good students or not. In order to reassure the students, the researcher introduced herself and her research proposal, briefly and without the detailed research aims. Mary was persuaded to confirm that there was no extra evaluation of the pre-session programme.

All participants were provided with written information regarding their participation in the research. The consent form concluded the purpose of the research, what participation would be involved and how data would be collected and stored (see Appendix 1 & 2). Participants were also notified if they did not want their data to be collected or shared, they could ask to withdraw at any time during the data collection. When they chose to withdraw, their data would be deleted, including audio, video recordings and any notes made during the class. The data was stored on a computer and the Google Drive, and could only be accessed by the researcher and her supervisor. The data would be kept for eight years after the completion of this research. Every recording and note were named in participants' anonymous names.

In the interviews, on the premise of ensuring data were collected successfully and accurately, participants had the choice to decide where, when and how to conduct the interviews, in order to make them feel relaxed and free to speak or narrate their own

feelings or experiences. When participants preferred being interviewed in a public area after the class, the researcher would wait outside their classrooms to prepare for the interview questions. If they chose to be interviewed in their rooms, the researcher would go to their accommodation. The purpose was to provide a comfortable and relaxed atmosphere for participants and encourage them to share their experience in CAC, LBAC and in the identity issues.

In the video observations, participants were asked for their opinions to decide where the camera should be placed in the classroom, given the teacher's and several students' worries that they might be distracted by a stark non-academic object. The teacher participant, Mary, had been asked again to confirm that the camera would not interfere with her teaching activities. All the cameras were borrowed from the IT Services of the university. Every time, before recording, the SD card was checked to confirm it was empty and had enough storage space. After each class, the video recordings were immediately uploaded via a university computer; the SD card was then emptied, and several checks were carried out to ensure the recordings had been deleted before the return of the the cameras.

To ensure that the power relations between participants and researcher would not affect the research, participants were notified of every step of the data collection and, in cases where participants approached the researcher for academic help, no such help was forthcoming. The participants had also been informed that the findings could be shared with them after the submission of the thesis.

6.9 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a rationale for the methodology, research design, and data collection and analysis methods applied in this study. The chapter has attempted to justify applying a social constructivism method to explore how discursive performances

shape and compel Chinese pre-sessional students' new identity construction or negotiation and has argued that the selection of a case study approach is more suitable to investigate the academic experience of Chinese pre-sessional students in British academic contexts. A social constructivism approach utilizing FDA allowed this study to analyse how Chinese student's new identities have been constructed by language and power relations. An intrinsic case study method enabled the study to investigate the specific discourses that construct the academic experience of Chinese pre-sessional students in a particular institution. This chapter has incorporated a discussion of a scope of data collection approaches, with additional support for applying of interviews, non-participant observations and one-to-one conversations along with an explanation of how these data were analysed. The chapter has also considered the ethical issues associated with this study.

Chapter Seven -- Results and Discussions

This chapter presents the case of this research with the collected data from interviews, classroom observations and conversation observations. Data analysis in this study connects insights acquired from linguistic and social analytical approaches and intends to make a contribution to the comprehension of the complex ways in which multiple and dynamic identity positions impact, on the expected community membership conditions during a pre-session course. As discussed in the methodology chapter, the data has been coded into three main categories:

- 1) Community membership I (constructed in a Chinese context);
- 2) Community membership II (which would be constructed in the local British academic context);
- 3) Identity (which is associated with performances constructed either in community membership I or community membership II).

Through these three categories, the data will answer the following research questions:

- 1) In the process of stepping from the CAC to the LBAC, are there identity struggles in performances, negotiations or constructions?
- 2) How do Chinese pre-session students view the Chinese Academic Community (CAC) in which they have been and educated?
- 3) How do Chinese pre-session students view the Local British Academic Community (LBAC)?

The data analysis will be listed based on these three code categories -- CMI, CMII, Identity. The *Community Membership I* category identifies the participants' experience and social relationships in Chinese communities which might have inspired the academic performances in *Community Membership II*. The category *Community*

Membership II, will represent how participants perceived, expected or desired to enter the LBAC. The *Identity* category will show the identity negotiation, assimilation and construction during this process. With the comparison of two community memberships, the Identity category also sketches out the relationship between two social positions and discourses.

The major findings address what happened, and how these discursive performances constructed and reconstructed the participants' subjects in English learning. The discourses which arose out of the data are characterised and explained by participants' narratives. The participants' statements constructed lived reality which contributed to this research. The discourses constructed from the data analysis relate to each other and they expand on the significance of the participants' academic English learning periods.

7.1 Community Membership I

These codes show how Chinese pre-sessional students 'perform' their construction of the Chinese community through discourse. Having grown up in Chinese communities, Chinese pre-sessional students have, automatically or passively, constructed Chinese community memberships. It is inevitable that wherever the communities were, are or will be positioned, the performances of 'Chineseness' cannot be covered, being unobservable.

Given the background of the Chinese pre-sessional students in this research (they all grew up and were educated in China), what performances and discourses they have constructed have been affected by other members in the Chinese communities. In an academic community, whether a Chinese one or British one, the teacher and the student are the two most significant agencies. Understanding the relationship between teacher and student cannot be ignored since it is the basic relationship to maintain operations of the communities.

7.1.1 Power

When talking about their past learning experience in Chinese communities, participants' narratives show that the teacher-student power relation is a shared community norm that maintains the community in action.

(PoI=Phase of interview; SbOP=Shared by other participants)

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 11

Extract 1 YF's view about Chinese teachers

1 In home, it is always the teacher that tells you what is right or wrong, which
2 is um... We only have two choices. Only following what teacher said is the
3 right things, that is, what teacher tells us is always right (...) The [Chinese]
4 classes are duck-stuffing teaching.

In the beginning of this extract, YF makes a claim that the teacher in China is the person who could judge what is right or wrong. The following description might be a sign of her lack of satisfaction with the teachers' judgment or performances. She hesitated here because, first, perhaps, she does not have an accurate word or phrase to evaluate teachers' judgment, or second, she thought the word was too negative. Then she articulates another "*fact*" she believes in: "*we only have two choices*" and explains what she thought. The first choice "*only following what teacher said is the right thing*" proves her claim in the beginning of this extract, especially the word "*only*" shows YF's feeling of the power impact from teacher. The second choice YF raised is somehow another version of the first choice. Students in CAC could only do what teachers asks them to do, otherwise they would be blamed for doing a wrong thing. In other words, it means "*what teacher tells us is always right*", which also manifests the power relations in the teacher-student relationship in Chinese communities. So, it would be clear to say that in the teacher-student relationship in CAC, the teacher is standing in the very centre.

They control the power to evaluate and decide the “*right thing*”, which means students as members without much power, have been requested to listen to and obey whatever the teacher says.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 3

Extract 2 CY’s description of the English class rules in China

5 We [English classes in China] are like a seminar, a small seminar. In our high
6 school, only the teacher can speak. You can’t stand or walk around on the
7 class. We have a um...rule, but unlike the rules here, it’s difficult.

In this extract, CY mentioned the English class rules in China, but without detailed explanation. In line 5, she defines the Chinese English-class as “*a seminar, a small seminar*”. She gives this information in English, which could be seen as an identification with the British English classe. But from the perspective of power relations, it reflects CY’s lack of satisfaction with the teacher-student relationship in CAC, since in line 6, what she explains about the “*seminar*” in China does not conform to the seminars in LBAC. In her narratives, the teacher is the only person who can speak in the class and students are forbidden to stand or walk around during the class time. The word “*only*” here, similar to YF’s usage of “*only*” in extract 1, shows the teachers’ powerful status or position, which is firm in CAC. In line 7, the sentence “*unlike the rules here*” seems to indicate that CY’s lack of satisfaction with the Chinese English-class.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 12

Extract 3 YF refuses to argue with her teachers in Chinese communities

8 In China, it depends. Some teachers are very dogmatic, that is ... Forget it.
9 Less is better than more (laugh). Just try your best or try to do what you
10 want. If you really don’t want to do it, don’t make yourself embarrassed.

In the first interview, YF discussed the attitudes on arguing with teachers in the

academic communities. It is clear to see that, in line 8, she does not provide a negative answer and allows a little latitude, saying that she would have different performances when faced with different teachers. “*Some*” is the same expression as “*it depends*”. She uses “*dogmatic*” to describe the teachers and intends to make further explanations but stops. It may be because this reminds her of an unhappy experience when arguing with teachers in CAC. It seems likely that YF says “*forget it*” to herself rather than to the interviewer, a person who is not an insider of the specific CAC she was in. Perhaps “*less is better than more*” is what she has learnt from arguing with teachers in CAC, showing that teachers, no matter what position they are in, possess more power than students. This has made YF’s claim, “*it depends*”, less convincing and more like an escape from talking about arguing. In line 10, it seems that YF has summarized a set of experiences to handle this circumstance. The adjective “*embarrassed*” might be her real feeling after once arguing with her teacher in CAC, which shows again that teachers in CAC have positioned themselves in a more powerful place than students.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 5

Extract 4 HM chooses to listen to her teacher more than her parents in academic circumstances

11 First of all, I have my own judgment. In this specific [academic] circumstance,
12 I might listen to the teacher. But it depends, if it’s my choice to do so, I’ll
13 listen to my teacher more than my parents. I won’t agree with them [parents].

In this dialogue, the situation has been set as an academic one. The teacher, as the significant member in academic communities, based on the previous analysis of the extracts, would be considered authoritative and powerful by students in CAC. HM, however, in this extract, uses “*first of all*” as an emphasis to express her own authority and power before talking about making choices between teachers’ and parents’ opinions, which, to some extent, is a resistance against teachers’ power in CAC. After the self-emphasis, HM still chooses to listen to teachers, but sets the circumstance in an academic one. Then in line 8, she expresses her authority and power again with the

explanation that she would follow her teacher more than her parents, when she has a choice of preference. In line 13, she ends this narrative with the claim “*I won’t agree with them*”, but without clarifying who “*them*” are. It seems that “*them*” refers to not only her parents, but also her teachers in the CAC. This short claim is abrupt, and it appears that HM has omitted the premise that if the choice is not what she wants to do, she will not listen to anyone but will stick to her “*own judgment*”. It is hard to judge whether this is her real experience or her imagination but can reflect the impact of teachers’ power in the CAC.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 4

Extract 5 ZW’s trust in her teachers

14 I’d like to talk about my experience of applying for UK’s universities. At that
15 time, I changed my major and finished the National Graduate Entrance Exam.
16 My major is English Literature, so all of my teachers are majoring in this.
17 When I was applying for the Masters programme, I’ve asked my tutor’s
18 opinion about what major to study and how to write personal statement and so
19 on. Actually, my teachers didn’t have the experience of studying abroad, so
20 they didn’t know clearly about the application stuff. But they still told me
21 what they knew as much as possible, for example, how to write and express
22 my ideas and guided me within their scope from a shallow level.

With sharing the application experience, ZW tries to express her trust in her teachers in the CAC. She describes the background to clarify that her teachers and her were not professional in applying for British Masters programmes, which means they both are outsiders of the LBAC but have the same goal to be insiders. It is interesting that she still chose to ask for her teachers’ advice about the application and preparation. The reason might be related to the power relations in the CAC. ZW understands her teachers’ powerless positions in the LBAC, but because of the powerful positions in CAC, her teachers are believed to be persons who can give guidance in attaining the ticket to enter the LBAC. It is clear that the power relations between teachers and students in CAC

could also play a positive role, that of improving students' trust in teachers.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 3

Extract 6 TP's story of the way her teachers influence her

23 For teachers...I think I've met...including why I study this major is inspired
24 by two of my teachers. I think, I was a teacher as well. So, I think teachers are
25 very important to students, because everything they do or say will have an
26 impact on the sensitive students. So, for me, I hope my teacher could help and
27 encourage me more. I had a low self-esteem because of the percussive
28 education from my childhood. I felt that I couldn't do anything. But I met a
29 teacher in the high school who helped me so much that I wanted to reconnect
30 him to thank him, even now I've graduated from the high school. He
31 encouraged me and believed I could do anything, so I got the courage to try
32 something new. What he said most was that he believed me and it's good to
33 be trusted. In addition, when in the college, when I was a fresher, I had lots of
34 phonetic errors because of the neglecting of English learning. My phonetic
35 teacher, he's quite...How to say...He's so professional in oral English that
36 helps me correct a lot of phonetic mistakes. But you know, English has some
37 exaggerated sounds, but we're a little bit gauche. I'm shy. Once he said a
38 sound, I imitated timidly and the classmates around me were laughing. At that
39 time, I was feeling...oh my, that feeling again. Our teacher said seriously that
40 she was right, why you were laughing, which gave me an affirmation. So, I
41 think these two teachers have provided me, even for now, a great impact on
42 choosing this major.

Based on the previous analysis, it is clear that teachers are positioned in the very centre of the CAC; students may be unsatisfied but have to obey the regulations and teachers' orders. But not all the students have negative feelings about the power relations. TP's narrative shows that her major choice and other English learning behaviours have been affected by teachers. At the beginning of her narrative, she pauses for a few seconds and

gives a certain answer, that her teachers influenced in decisions such as which subject to major in. Her understanding of the role of teachers is different from that of other participants. In line 24, she identifies herself as a teacher too, which might be the reason why she acknowledges the impact from teachers since she used to stand in a powerful position in the CAC. In line 27, TP describes herself as a low-esteem person, which could explain why she mentions the “*sensitive students*” (line 26). As a former powerful teacher and also a sensitive student, she knows the importance of teachers’ every word or action and hopes (line 26) to have care and encouragement from teachers. The words “*sensitive*” and “*low-esteem*” she uses to describe herself might be negative, because she explains that she was sensitive was because of the percussive education from childhood, which reflects that TP has the same opinion as other participants that she, to some extent, is not satisfied with the teachers’ powerful position in the CAC. However, on the other hand, the powerful position is also a way that can help her, a low-esteem student, out of the sensitiveness. She mentions her phonetic teacher in her undergraduate time as an example. When she talks about an experience when she was laughed at by her classmates, she firstly uses the personal pronoun “*we*” and secondly “*I*” (line 37), which could be seen as a symbol that she considers the classmates standing in a similar position to hers, but the usage of “*I*” shows she realized her low level compared to other community members. This might also be the reason why she imitated her teacher’s pronunciation “*timidly*” (line 38). The “*affirmation*” she felt (line 40) might be because on the one hand, of the positive behaviours coming from the powerful teacher. On the other hand, teacher’s objection to other high-level community members (in TP’s imagination) is an encouragement and affirmation of her level being similar to that of others.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 2

Extract 7 Effect from teachers, classmates and parents in WA’s view

43 Teachers must be very professional and know how to guide students. When I
44 was in the college, there were a few thoughtful teachers that I can’t understand

45 their thoughts sometimes. Every time when I really felt my inner mind had
46 been purified after the class. I found life was amazing and there were so many
47 beautiful thoughts. Classmates...The academic atmosphere for sure. If (s)he
48 says, oh, I have a lot of homework today, I don't wanna do it, you'll feel tired,
49 too. But if they say with fun that how to write this assignment, what ideas I've
50 got, you'll be infected. Parents...my parents don't rule me in this (academic)
51 thing. They just let me do whatever I wanna do. In terms of learning, don't
52 rule me, or I'll feel annoyed.

WA's attitudes towards others' guidance and advice in academic activities are different when faced with different persons. She provided this answer after being asked "*If you wanna be a good student, what the people around you can do to improve you?*". Apparently, a specific group of people was not pointed out. However, the first group that has come to WA's mind is teachers. It is easy to understand that, ignoring whether WA is "*a good student*" or not because of the mention of "*a good student*" being a vital identification whether in the CAC or the LBAC, it is natural for WA to think about teachers, constituting another fundamental group of people making up the academic communities. It is interesting that WA mentions the teachers first, then students, which reflects that in WA's view, teachers are more powerful than students in an academic community. From line 43 to 47, she uses several adjectives to describe the ideal teachers, that is, professional and thoughtful. And she says she felt purified after receiving the thoughts from these teachers. It could be argued that from WA's (student) point of view, a good teacher should be professional, thoughtful and familiar to guiding students, even though their thoughts cannot be understood by students. To some extent, these characteristics could indicate a teacher standing in a powerful position in the CAC, and this incomprehension would be regarded as a kind of "thoughtfulness" by powerless students, such as WA.

When talking about the classmates, another significant group of insiders in an academic community, WA holds the view that their attitudes towards homework assigned by

teachers and academic atmosphere will impact greatly on other students. Standing in a similar position to other classmates, WA's performances will be affected, though their behaviours are regulated by powerful members. From this perspective, teachers' power has limitations or boundedness. It could work better if most of the students identified teachers' positions and have a proper understanding of the academic activities.

Parents were the last group of people WA mentioned, and also the least significant WA thought when relating with academic communities. She will feel annoyed if her parents try to "rule" (line 50 & 52) her in the academic performances, which shows that WA does not identify her parents as having academic ability or power in the CAC.

In the interviews, other participants have expressed a similar idea, that parents can do nothing in the academic activities. RD, PX and CY think the role of parents is to provide financial support, and JR and TP identify their parents' spiritual support in their learning.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 13

Extract 8 RD's narratives of parents' financial support (I=interviewer)

53 I: If you wanna be a good student, what help the people around you can help
54 you?

55 RD: Money (laughs). Since my parents and relatives don't have a higher
56 education degree, if in terms of academic thing, they can't provide
57 anything, except from the financial and spiritual support.

58 I: What about teachers and classmates?

59 RD: Academic or the spiritual encouragement.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 13

Extract 9 PX's narratives of the support she received from people around her

60 I: What help from the people around you, such as parents, classmates, friends,

- 61 and relatives, will support you to be a good student?
- 62 PX: They...the financial support so far.
- 63 I: Only the financial part? What about the spiritual one?
- 64 PX: Spiritual...Encourage me always, such as, via calls, tells me take care of
- 65 myself and don't forget to study.

RD and PX's immediate reaction of the support from the people around her, is financial support. In line 53, RD mentions that her family members did not receive Higher Education which might be an identification of the power in academic communities in RD's mind. That is perhaps also the reason why RD thinks her parents and relatives cannot help her in the academic activities. Compared with her family members, teachers and classmates are considered as the vital members in the academic communities and are the ones who RD would ask for help or support on the academic activities.

Summing up, teachers' power in the CAC is identified by most of the community members, including the students, as an important influence on students' performances and behaviours. Not all of the students are satisfied with the teachers' powerful position, but they have to obey teachers' orders since obedience is one aspect of the community discourse in the CAC. On the other hand, other than the negative effect, teachers' power established by their professional standing means a better understanding of how to guide and educate students. And it is for sure that teachers' power also has limitations in the CAC when some of the students show negative performances with respect to teachers' powerful positions. Even though parents are not insiders of the academic communities, their support could work well to help participants to be a good student.

7.1.2 Teaching focus

From their powerful position, teachers in CAC have their teaching focus to educate students, in order to fulfill the learning goals shared by community members. In the

interviews, participants were asked to narrate what they did in a class in CAC. In extract 1, YF has described the CAC's teaching style as "*duck-stuffing teaching*" which is a new thing for the LBAC context and might be hard to understand for the people who have been educated in the LBAC since childhood. CAC's members, however, are familiar with this description. This phrase means that in the CAC, students usually learn passively, like ducks being stuffed, having to accept what people give them without thinking. It can be regarded as a default teaching focus, that is, the teacher-centred strategy in the CAC.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 11

Extract 10 SY's judgment of the English teachers in China

66 Chinese English-teachers only cared about the teaching content rather than the
67 feelings of students.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 12

Extract 11 TP's judgment of the teaching strategy in China

68 In China we focus more on the input. Teachers teach the knowledge, and we
69 make notes in case that we miss something.

In SY's view, the emphasis of the academic activities in CAC is always on what teachers do or how they act. It is also related with the issue of power, which teachers possess more than do students. The "*teaching content*" SY mentions in line 66 is the knowledge that students must learn in order to achieve the CAC's shared community goal. Another participant, TP, has a similar judgment to SY's. In line 68, she describes the situation using the personal pronoun "*we*", meaning that she regards teachers and classmates as members in the same community, and showing that "*focusing more on the input*" is a community norm that has been fully or partially accepted by community members in the CAC.

It seems that in teachers' opinion, the community goal is more important than students'

feelings. In other words, teaching content has more connections with academic activities than the feelings of students. In the perspectives of the powerful members in the CAC, focusing more on the academic things is what they need to do. Other factors, such as students' feelings in the learning process should be ignored, which is an embodiment of students' powerless status in the CAC.

However, depending on participants' narratives, not all Chinese teachers insist on the 'duck-stuffing type of teaching'. CY had a different experience with teachers in her time as an undergraduate. She reported that her tutors preferred to be friends with students, which resulted in providing her with a model for her career.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 2

Extract 12 CY's narratives of her tutor

70 My tutor of my first and second year in the university, is a very very very very
71 excellent translator who is famous in China. Besides this, he is a PhD in
72 Computer Science and is apply for the PhD in Mathematics. (...) He is very
73 nice and humble, not like other tutors, never being conceited with his PhD
74 Degree. (...) He is the only person influencing me a lot on becoming a teacher.

In the first interview with CY, she talked about her most favorite and respected tutor in her undergraduate time in China. She used the same adverbs four times to express her admiration for the tutor (line 70). Having introduced the tutor's academic achievements, such as her being an excellent and famous translator, a PhD in Computer Science and a prospective PhD in Mathematics, it is clear that CY's admiration comes from this. It is interesting that CY does not mention anything academic that happened in the class, only her impression of the tutor. Compared with SY's and TP's apparently negative judgment of their teachers, it cannot simply be said that the reasons are their different backgrounds. Indeed, these participants come from different provinces of China, but the education policies and teachers' powerful positions are similar. In particular, they are positioned in the same CAC, whose shared goal is to learn what teachers tell them. The

only difference among their narratives is that SY and TP talk about the teachers in-class behaviours, but CY mentions the tutor beyond the class.

In a narrow context, because of the power impact, teachers in the CAC might pay more attention to students' academic performances than to their real feelings; however, in a broad context, what teachers received from the students is not always negative.

7.1.3 Being or becoming silent in class

As analysed above, the teacher-student relationship construct in Chinese communities seems to be constructed with a rigid hierarchy in which teachers are always positioned in a powerful place, which results in a situation that students choose, or are taught to be quiet in the class. This performance could be seen as a form of 'Chineseness'.

PX attributed the silence in class to English teachers in China. The teaching approaches Chinese teachers applied are teacher-centred. Similarly, ZY narrated that the difference between teachers in China and in the UK has to do with whether students would be given the opportunity to speak or communicate in class.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 12

Extract 13 PX's narratives of the difference between CAC and LBAC

75 [Teachers in China and UK] That's quite different. Here [UK] teachers
76 encourage us to speak actively. But teachers in China think as long as they
77 focus on what they teach, I don't need to care about the students.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 9

Extract 14 ZY's narratives of the difference between CAC and LBAC

78 Compared with Chinese teachers, the biggest difference is we have been
79 provided more chances to communicate and discuss. (...) In China, firstly there

80 is not many opportunities to speak in class, secondly even we have the
81 opportunity, we are not willing to speak.

These dialogues happened in the first week of participants' 8-week pre-session programme. At this stage, they might not have a thorough understanding of the differences between CAC and LBAC, but what they have realized would be the phenomenon which inspires them to think about the situation or following performances. In line 66, PX says that students were encouraged by teachers in the LBAC to speak actively in the class. The teachers PX mentions here are already members in the LBAC into which PX and other participants would like to enter. In contrast, teachers from CAC, as PX describes, insist on the teaching content rather than the students. In other words, students in the CAC are not encouraged to speak in the class, as these students are identified as illegitimate speakers by the powerful members in CAC.

In extract 14, ZY's narrative verifies PX's statement that students in CAC are not identified as legitimate speakers. In addition, in line 80 to 81, she points out the second reason why the students are silent in the class: because of their unwillingness to speak. This performance might result from their powerless positions and identifications as illegitimate speakers.

Besides the influence from teachers, classmates, who, more precisely, are other community members, also impact on the silence, ZW reported that classmates would laugh at the student who spoke out with a wrong answer.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 13

Extract 15 ZW's description of her classmates

82 We Chinese come here, in the class, you know, we are silent. Everyone dares
83 to speak because we dare to make mistakes and then others [classmates] will
84 Laugh at you.

There are two points that need to be attended to when ZW says “*we Chinese come here*”. First, the subject “*we Chinese*” shows that ZW identifies herself and other classmates as members coming from the same community. Then “*come here*” means ZW is aware of “*here*” as a different community from the one “*we*” were in; “*come*” emphasizes the willingness with which the CAC members work their way towards the LBAC. In English, “*you know*” is usually used as a filler with no specific meaning. In Chinese, however, any information following the phrase “*you know*” (你知的 ni zhi dao de) refers to what the listeners should or must know and understand. It is evident that ZW has identified the interviewer as a co-member of the CAC, so she thinks the interviewer understands that “*we are silent*” is a community discourse in the CAC.

The phenomenon of classmates expressing negative feedback to students who makes mistakes in class, could explain why ZY (see extract 14) says they are not willing to answer even though chances for speaking have been provided in the class.

HM narrated her feelings concerning expressing oneself in China and in the UK. She considers that not only levels of courage, but also discussion topics are different between the two communities.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 8

Extract 16 Discussion topics between HM and her classmates

85 I think, anyway, I dare to speak when I come here, especially when I exchange
86 my opinions with others. In China, this kind of situation is very rare, that is,
87 generally, for example, chatting is just, for example, chatting with classmates
88 about family affairs. But there is basically no way that we talk about academic
89 concepts or theories (in China).

HM expresses her fear of speaking in the LBAC, particularly when she has to communicate with others. The “*anyway*” (line 85) manifests her acceptance of this

situation in the LBAC. Then she argues that she has the opposite behaviour in China, but it is interesting that the topics HM dares to chat with her classmates about are “*family affairs*” (line 88) which are obviously not academic. As her classmates and her are both members in the CAC, it can be shown from her narrative that they do not discuss academic topics either as they might do, along with HM, in the LBAC. It could be argued that HM perhaps does not realize how she repeats her CAC’s behaviours in the LBAC, suggesting that community discourse has continuity and repetition that could influence the following discourse or performance in a new community.

CY mentioned the classroom atmosphere to present the situation that Chinese students preferred being silent in class. In addition, she expressed a similar opinion to HM's, that in China students usually chat during discussion time.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 2 SbOP: 3

**Extract 17 Difference in classroom atmosphere between China and the UK, in
CY’s view**

90 In fact, the atmosphere in foreign class (in China) is relatively relaxed and
91 free. There are some rules for you to abide by in Chinese class. We feel bored
92 even in the normal class. At home, we are all the same. The Chinese are more
93 introverted. They are not willing to speak and show off, but they are free to
94 speak at abroad. Although we sometimes discuss in Chinese (in the UK’s
95 class), we’re still willing to speak. Although our (pre-sessional) class was
96 quiet before, it was, um...How to say? In fact, everyone is quite willing to
97 talk. I’d like to use English for discussing. If in China, the discussion is
98 basically a chatting time. If there is a task needed to be presented later, we will
99 discuss it. If there is no task, we’ll just chat. Sometimes in group discussions,
100 efficiency at home is not very high.

In line 90, the “*foreign class*” CY mentions refers to is the English classes in the CAC taught by teachers whose mother tongue is English. Though this kind of class is taught

by members grown up and educated in a western academic community, its broad context is still in the CAC, requiring behaviour with CAC's community discourse or norms, which explains why CY uses "*relatively*" (line 90) to describe the class atmosphere. In line 81, the rules "*we*" (CAC members) should obey are community norms, which have been explained or analysed in the previous extracts, such as keeping silent in class, obeying teachers' orders etc. From 91 to 95, all the personal pronouns CY uses are plural, which means, in CY's imagination, "*feel bored*" (line 81), "*all the same*" (line 92), "*more introverted*" (line 93) and "*not willing to speak or show off*" (line 83) are the default community discourse or norms in the CAC. In line 94, CY argues that her classmates and she have a preference for speaking in the LBAC, even though they are discussing the topics in Chinese, which is the shared community discourse in the CAC. The reason might be the "*relatively relaxed and free*" atmosphere, which is a symbol of teachers' relative powerful positions in the LBAC when compared to teachers in CAC.

This interview is the second one conducted with CY after the 8-week pre-session programme, so her description between the lines 95 to 97 is her feelings of the LBAC's class with the usage of "*although*". As she described, her pre-session classmates and she used to be silent during the first few weeks, which proves that the silence developed as a community discourse in the CAC has continuity and influences participants' performances in the LBAC. In line 96, CY did not provide her narrative of the last few weeks of the programme, but according to the logic of the turning sentence, it could be deduced that students had become less quiet by then.

CY also talks about what the group discussions would be like in the CAC. It is clear that the group discussions are task-oriented in CY's view. Only when there is a presentation that needs group members to complete, that is, where they have shared the same community goal, would she and her CAC's classmates start to discuss and pursue the shared goal. From this perspective, in the CAC, students are regulated to be silent in class; and in the smaller communities in the CAC, for example, the discussion group

consisting of students without much teachers' participation, are affected less by teachers' power.

Similar to CY, TP also mentioned the language environment. Further, she represented language proficiency as an obstacle to communicating freely with others .

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 12

Extract 18 Difference when answering in different languages to TP

101 It's because there are really very few chances to speak English in China. In
102 fact, many times some ideas are in my brain, but I don't know how to express
103 it (in English). If you want to speak in Chinese, you can still say a few words.
104 But if you are asked to speak in English, you will get stuck there. Others don't
105 know what you are expressing, and they also don't know what they are
106 expressing.

In 101, the problem raised by TP has been shown to be a community norm in the CAC. Another reason causing this phenomenon is that Chinese students' mother tongue is, obviously, not English, and the frequency of using or speaking English is less than in countries in the Inner and Outer Circles, which results in few chances for CAC members to practise how to express their ideas in English. As discussed before, teachers in the CAC do not identify students' legitimate positions to speak English. In addition, the environment in which "*there are really very few chances to speak English in China*" (line 101) emphasizes the illegitimate identification of students for speaking English in CAC.

In classroom observation, CY was observed as being silent sometimes in class. Extract 19 is the transcript of one of her silence times.

Extract 19 M=The tutor Mary; C=CY

107 M: Did you do your homework?
108 C: Yeah. (Low voice)
109 (Without looking at the T)
110 (Smile)
111 (Talking with the group members)
112 M: Have you get your notes this week?
113 C: Yeah. (Low voice)
114 (Without looking at the T)
115 (Playing her phone)
116 M: Do you remember what I asked you to write ...?
117 C: (Looking at the T)
118 (nod)
119 (Yawn)

This extract is part of a lesson observation in the second week of the pre-sessional programme. Before starting formal teaching, the tutor Mary firstly asks whether the students have done their homework or not. CY answers in a low voice without eye contacting Mary, and then talks with her deskmate. Mary, having not received firm answers from the students, repeats her question in a detailed request. CY still responds to the tutor in a low voice without looking at her. Then, when Mary asks the ‘*homework*’ question a third time, CY looks at her and nods rather than making any noise. Extract 20 is a transcript of CY’s narrative about extract 19.

Date: August, 2019 PoI: 3

Extract 20 I=Interviewer; C=CY

120 I: What did you see in this video?
121 C: I saw nothing. I think I’m normal.
122 I: Could you describe the scene what you’ve seen?
123 C: (Describing when watching) Um...Mary asked the homework. I answered

- 124 and smiled. Oh, I was playing the phone. I nodded. There is nothing
125 strange.
- 126 I: OK. May I know why you don't respond to Mary loudly?
- 127 C: Because they (other students) all didn't answer loudly.
- 128 I: Any other reason?
- 129 C: Um...Well, you know, um...Perhaps I didn't do the homework (laugh).
130 Chinese teachers won't ask us whether we have done our homework or
131 not. Is unnecessary. They can check it rather than asking it out.
- 132 I: Why did you play the phone?
- 133 C: Because the question is no need to answer.

At the beginning, CY reports that she did not notice anything strange in the video. However, when asked to describe the scene in her own words, shown in line 124, she sees herself responding to Mary, playing with her phone, and nodding. She explains first that she did not respond to Mary loudly because of her classmates' performance. What she did was just doing the same performance as other community members. Although it was difficult to ascertain whether or not she and her classmates believed that the tutor Mary was positioned in the same community as them, it is beyond doubt that all of the students who answer in a low voice, including CY, come from the Chinese community. Thus, in order to represent their community membership, they choose to perform 'Chineseness' (being or becoming silent in class), which is perhaps shown in line 130. CY narrates that "Chinese teachers won't ask us whether we have done our homework or not" which might be believed to be a shared community norm in the Chinese academic community. Therefore, for members of a Chinese community, this question is "*unnecessary*", since it does not conform to Chinese community norms, even though the question is raised by a member coming from the LBAC which CY and her classmates might want to enter. In line 133, CY justifies her performance of playing with her phone with the same explanation: that Mary's question is "*unnecessary*".

7.1.4 Conclusion

The extracts in this section show that there are two main community discourse/norms existing in the CAC: the identification of teachers' powerful positions and students' illegitimate status to speak English. Teachers' powerful positions result in students' obedience towards them during academic activities. Students' silence is also the result of a community norm under which students are not legitimate English speakers in the CAC class. These two community discourse/norms impact on participants' construction of the CAC and also on their performances when perceiving a different community. At this stage, they somehow maintain performances constructed in the community they are already in when faced with the members of the community they are willing to enter. Student participants ponder their confusions, fears and curiosity about the new academic community, which influences their following performances and identities. In terms of the new 'student' identity, most of the student participants do not have a clear concept of what challenges or problems they may face. The performances and identities they have constructed in the CAC have constituted one of the reasons that causes Chinese pre-sessional students' assimilation or negotiations in the LBAC. From this perspective, it is clear that the journey of constructing a new 'student' identity has just begun and starts at a point that is rather uncertain.

7.2 Community Membership II

For anyone immersed in a local British academic community (LBAC), whether accepted or not by the insiders and whatever their hierarchy position is in the community, community membership is an inevitable issue either for insiders or outsiders. This section will investigate community membership in LBAC through the aspects of teacher (being an insider) and student participants (being an outsider or becoming an insider).

7.2.1 Teacher's perspective

The teacher participant (named anonymously as Mary) has worked as a tutor of the pre-sessional programme for several years. During her working time in the university, she has completed her Masters programme and received a PhD offer in English Linguistics, which means, even though she is from a non-English speaking country, she has already been accepted as an insider of the LBAC and has adopted the community norms.

7.2.1.1 Definition of student

In the first week of the pre-sessional programme, an interview was held with Mary in order to explore her opinions of the 'student' identity and her experience and expectations of being a tutor of the programme. When asked her definition of 'student', she answered with a question:

What do you mean by student? Student or good student?

This question was unexpected; however, from this question, it is clear that in Mary's mind, there are huge differences between 'student' and 'good student'. The students who meet the criteria set by Mary could be regarded by her as good students. As Mary is an insider of LBAC, these criteria are evidence of her understandings of representations of the community membership.

She was asked to start by defining 'student'. She gave complex conditions of being or becoming a student. Firstly, she defines a student as primarily a human being:

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 1

Extract 21 What is your definition of student?

134 First of all, it's a human being (laughs). It's a human being, human being...um
135 ...place us, um...set us in situation, having particular aim. Then after achieving
136 the knowledge, he's stop being a student if he doesn't want to do it. Um...
137 interacting with other students and teachers, um...understanding norm ours at
138 school or university, and for filling different tasks and different stages.

From Mary's interview transcript, it can be seen that she has a clear boundary or structure of which traits a student should have. She uses six verbs to describe a 'full' picture of a student, that is: place, set, have (line 135), interact, understand (line 137) and fill (line 138). The conjunction "*and*" (line 138) shows that, in her mind, only if a person meets all these six conditions, could he/she be called a student. But most importantly, the prerequisite of being or becoming a student is that the individual is "*a human being*" firstly (line 134). Mary repeats this phrase three times, which could be seen as a pause in thinking, but is perhaps more like an emphasis in her answers. This prerequisite is easily understood and accepted, but beyond expectation since, given it is a common sense, there is no need for it to be emphasized three times. This answer represents Mary's thought that whether a 'student' or a 'good student', the individual should firstly be a person who has preferences.

In line 135, the words "*place*" and "*set*" have resonance with Foucault's (1984) positioning. For Chinese students, their learning experiences in LBAC are relevant to a view posited by Foucault that 'the main interest in life and work is to become someone else that you were not in the beginning' (Martin, 1988: 9), which forms into things more than 'the seductive allure of the learning society' (Gallacher et al, 2002: 496). Learning English, especially the experience of a pre-sessional programme, is a need, although it might likewise be a 'seduction', and it establishes a huge undertaking via which students advance towards the aims to which the learning is a tool or device. In addition to the fact that they have the desire to learn, and learn in a distinct language, in so doing they regularly have to 'become' another form of themselves, studying and socialising in the new and usually alien community.

However, the difference is that in Mary's description, she uses "*a human being*" (an identity) as a grammatical subject. In that way, the sentence "*a human being places us...set us in situation....*" can be interpreted as 'it is a kind of group identity that determines the condition where an agent should be, not I (the personal identity) control our identity'. Then, in line 135 to 136, Mary interrupts her own answer by giving another condition under which a person cannot be called a student. She shows that she has a concept that individuals have autonomous initiative of shifting or constructing their own identities, which conforms to her view of "*human being*", that a person has preferences. Further, "*situation*" (line 135), "*particular aim*" (line 135) and "*norm*" (line 137) are in good agreement with the Community of Practice – a community of individuals who engage on an ongoing basis in some shared endeavour, interest or position.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 0

Extract 22 What is your definition of a good student?

139 I think good student, in my opinion, a good student is um a person who is
140 passionate about what they do, even though their grades do not reflect that
141 passion and the level of their knowledge, they are still, they still find
142 something really interesting not for the um educational requirements but for
143 their own needs.

Mary uses a word - "*a person*" (line 139) – similar to "*a human being*" (line 134) to start her answer of defining "*good student*", making it evident that no matter what identity is, in Mary's opinion, people is always the general-identity. Other identities, such as "*student*" or "*good student*", are all sub-identities in the structure of an agent. As a teacher, Mary does not judge or categorise students with objective criteria, for example, "*grades*" (line 140) or "*level of knowledge*" (line 141), but with "*passion*", which is a subject representation; the same goes for the "*educational requirements*" (line 142) and "*needs*" (line 143). "*Passion*" and "*needs*", from the perspectives of an

agent, could be interpreted as goals of communities. To some extent, as an insider of LBAC, Mary's criteria for judging 'good student' reflect the entry requirements of the community. She focuses more on the subject representations rather than object performances, possibly because of what she has received from her LBAC educational experience. Since being a non-native English speaker but accepted as an insider already, her judgment and performance of Englishness have been influenced and will influence other outsiders who have the desire to achieve insider status in the same way.

Mary's definitions of 'student' identity demonstrate that she admits there are communities existing in the world, at least in the context of school and university, in which identities could be constructed and identified whether actively or passively. And students are a group of people who first have preferences, and who subsequently will position themselves in the target situation or community.

7.2.1.2 Dealing with students' community discourse/norm

In a community, all members share a same goal or a passion for something they want and perform, and figure out how to perform it better as they communicate consistently. This definition implies the essentially social nature of individuals' language learning. Although Mary has her own view of "*good student*" as someone who should pay more attention to subject representations such as "*passion*" and "*needs*", there is no doubt that Mary's understanding of LBAC cannot neglect the shared community norm. The following illustration could be an explanation of this. In the introduction class of the first day when students have arrived in the UK, Mary printed out a classroom rules poster and stuck it on the wall (See Figure 5).

Classroom Rules

Teacher's expectations:

- ① Use English only (I do not understand Chinese!)
2. Electronic devices only for the educational purposes
3. If you do not understand, ask!
4. There is no right or wrong answers, all ideas are welcome

Students' expectations (towards the teacher, fellow students and visitors):

1. Try to keep clean in the classroom.
2. I hope that everyone can help each other.
3. If possible, I hope that our teacher could help us when facing challenges.
4. I hope the teacher will be not too strict with our final exam...all pass..hhhh
5. I hope our teacher and classmates can try to help each other both on life and study
6. I wish that there are more creative activities in class so that everyone can join together.
7. I hope to work together with more people.
8. Try to keep silent when others are speaking so that we can listen clearly.
9. Try to not interrupt others' conversation, making sure everyone has opportunity to share their ideas .
10. I hope classmates can help each other.
11. Complete every task on time.
12. I hope that we can be divided into several groups and help each other.
13. Be happy and never bring any negative emotion into this class.
14. I hope our teacher can organize more group activities rather than just tell us how to do, everyone need a chance to explore and explain their own viewpoints.

Figure 5 Classroom rules of the pre-session programme

Mary's title for the poster is classroom rules, but actually it includes the expectations of the class from herself and the students. She even circled her first expectation of the students—Use English only, because all 14 students come from China, but Mary did not

understand Chinese at all. This could be a reason to explain why Mary insists on the students speaking English only, however, considering that the 8-week pre-session programme is a British English-speaking course, it is designed for international students who need to meet an English language condition for entry to degree-level study, so it could be deduced that “*use English only*” is a way Mary thinks useful and effective for her students to meet the course requirements. Further, in a LBAC where English is a shared discourse to be communicated, performed and constructed, “*use English only*” could be seen as a community norm of LBAC. Either from the criteria of Mary’s or the programme’s, speaking English performs outsiders’ “*passion*” and “*needs*” waiting to be accepted.

In Bicchieri’s (2005: 10) description, ‘norms’ refers to ‘behaviors, to actions over which people have control, and which are supported by shared expectations about what should/should not be done in different types of social situations’. They are always explained as ‘informal, as opposed to formal, codified norms such as legal rules’ (p, 8). In this study, as it is an English learning programme in a LBAC, “*use English only*” is not only the expectation from Mary, but conforms to the expected rules (not required rules written in the handbook) of the programme.

Even though the student participants have been asked to “*use English only*”, it is noticeable that most of the students still choose to speak Chinese in chatting and discussing time in class in front of Mary, which seems to represent a power struggle between Mary and students, and also an identity struggle among students. In a class but containing 14 students (all Chinese grown up and educated in the CAC) and only one English-speaking teacher (studying and working in the LBAC), the power struggle must be fierce because of the huge inequality in the number of people. Besides, with the encouragement to challenge teachers, raised by Mary, her power position might also be challenged by students. Compared to not being recognised as legitimate English speakers in CAC, students have been identified as legitimate English speakers in LBAC because of the community discourse/norm “*use English only*”. On the other hand, “*use*

English only” means students cannot speak or use Chinese language in the LBAC classes, which is an unrecognition of legitimate Chinese speakers for participants. Further, Mary as the only one person who cannot speak or understand Chinese in the class, has been identified as the more powerless one in the CAC in participants’ views. For these reasons, the power struggles between teachers and students have resulted in students having the courage to speak Chinese in front of Mary.

When asked for her opinion about her awareness of students using Chinese in the class time, Mary answered as shown in extract 23 below.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 0

Extract 23 What is your opinion about students speaking Chinese on the class?

144 [Use English only] That’s one of the rules, but I’m very lenient about this.
145 You probably noticed there are times when I remind them, and I have to
146 remind them because that’s the rule. But I’m not very strict about this one.
147 Because I understand them, they may need to do in their first language. But at
148 the same time you try to encourage them for using English as much as
149 possible. And I want to make this one clear. Listen, this is English class.
150 We’re speaking English and I don’t understand Chinese and that’s the main
151 reason. But there are times when they really need Chinese, and I can’t say
152 anything about this.

First of all, Mary described “*use English only*” as “*one of the rules*” which means students should obey it, but she then showed her attitude about the rule was “*lenient*” (line 144). In line 147, she expresses her understanding of the students: the fact that they “*need to do in their first language*” conforms her leniency. Nevertheless, there is a limit to Mary’s leniency when she clarifies “*this is English class*” in line 149. What is implied here is that Mary points out to the students the specific community which they are in or they should enter. In this community, “*we’ are speaking English*” (line 150): it is a community norm and English is a shared language or discourse for community

members to communicate in and represent themselves. However, in line 151, Mary expresses her understanding of the situation that students insist on communicating in Chinese. The view “*they really need Chinese*” sounds like an excuse for Mary’s insufficient power to stop students from speaking Chinese, and also refers to Mary being already aware of the students’ identity struggles jumping between the CAC and the LBAC.

With this flexible community norm, it is clear that speaking Chinese in a LBAC is somehow not appropriate. Allowing students to speak Chinese or not depends on how Mary judges when the students “*need to do in their first language*”. Unfortunately, Mary “*(doesn't) understand Chinese*” and she does not have the need to enter a Chinese community, so the leniency, to some extent, is a quite reluctant behaviour from an insider. But as speaking English is encouraged in class, a student who speaks English more would be regarded as a good student.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 1

Extract 24 Is a student who is always speaking English in your class more like a good student?

153 It depends upon what they really want. If they really want, you know, be high
154 achieving student. They have to use the target language as much as possible.

In this extract, Mary demonstrates her belief that being a good student depends on what students “*want*” (line 153). This expression is similar to the “*need*” in extract 22 (line 143). It seems that Mary does not want to position herself as a judge. It implies that in Mary’s opinion, the criterion of ‘good student’ is skewed towards students’ “*need*” or “*want*”, internal characteristics.

In the interviews, when asked about the reason why Chinese students prefer to keep silent on class (which has been analysed in the Community Membership I as being a community discourse/norm identified by students in CAC), Mary says:

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 0

Extract 25

155 It's not enough knowledge on the topic. So, you don't know how to...how to
156 respond...how to challenge it.

Mary, as an English speaker working and receiving education for years in English academic communities, does not have the experience of studying in the CAC, which causes her lack of “*enough knowledge*” of students’ keeping silent in the pre-sessional classes. She treats Chinese pre-sessional students as newcomers to LBAC who have not figured out what the community norms are. The pauses here show the expectations that Mary has of the students, such as “*respond*” and “*challenge*”. In order to help the student participants adapt to the community norms, Mary provides her suggestions:

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 5

Extract 26

157 Asking them questions and keep repeating that they are free to express your
158 opinion. I never say that somebody is wrong. I just...I just try to give...provide
159 them feedback in a way that encourages them to ask questions in the future.
160 So, it's not about discouraging them from, you know, asking questions.

From this extract it is clear that though “*free to express your opinion*” has not been written into “*classroom rules*”, it has been already a community norm in Mary’s class. She keeps “*repeating*” (line 157) to students the behavioural norm. What is interesting here is the different personal pronouns in two suggestions she provides-- “*asking them questions*” and “*keep repeating...they...you...*”. The pronouns “*them*” and “*they*” are used as collective pronouns which here refer to Chinese pre-sessional students either as outsiders of LBAC or community members of Chinese communities. However, the pronoun “*your*” indicates perhaps that Mary has made the same request many times and formed a habit. A second interpretation is circumscribed by the difficulty of recognizing

whether “*your*” is a collective pronoun or a single collective, or in other words, a personal identity or a group identity; but the conversion of the pronoun might mean an addressing of the importance of student participants’ opinions.

From the above extracts, it could be argued that Mary’s position is not identified as powerful by students compared to teachers in the CAC, since firstly Mary’s encouragement to speak English has recognized students’ legitimacy of speaking English, and secondly Mary does not solely focus on students’ academic achievement, but also on their feelings and learning motivations. A third suggestion is that Mary’s tolerance for students communicating in Chinese with other members coming from the CAC shows that she might notice their identity struggles in entering the LBAC.

7.2.2 Student’s perspective

All of the student participants come from China and have received about one decade of English language education in China. While English is without doubt the global language and the current choice of lingua franca in the world, the social situation in China is largely characterised by monolingualism. Consequently, the community membership that the student participants have constructed in a Chinese community is different from what they will or should construct in LBAC. In this section, the participants’ expectation and endeavour will be presented as will the extent of the acceptance of the community membership in LBAC.

7.2.2.1 Expectation, imagination and endeavour

Chinese pre-sessional students’ English language competence has been judged as unqualified to meet the direct entry requirements of an English Masters course. The goal of the 8-week pre-sessional programme is to help international students to meet the English language condition for entry to degree-level study in the university. Though the

8-week pre-sessional programme might be the first chance or channel for the student participants to contact with LBAC, they should have some imagination, including expectations, of the different community based on their experiences and hence should endeavour to assimilate into the LBAC.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 10

Extract 27 PX's expectation of pre-sessional programme

161 PX: I wish um I could have more courage to express myself and don't have to
162 translate Chinese into English in my mind before I speak.
163 I: Are you afraid of speaking in Chinese? Or just in English?
164 PX: In English. I find it is hard to express in English. I'd like to speak in
165 Chinese.

English, as the shared community discourse in the LBAC, should be mastered if student participants are to be accepted by the insiders. PX's expectation of the pre-sessional programme is to have the courage to speak English without the process of language shifting, though "*English*" in PX's view might not refer specifically to academic English. This expectation shows PX has a preference for being a member of the LBAC. She explains that her fear only happens when speaking in English, which could be understood in terms of students coming to a different community where the discourse might not be the same. PX's expectation of the courage to speak in English also means she has the desire to master the community discourse/norm in the LBAC.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 10

Extract 28 ZY's expectation of pre-sessional programme

166 I hope I could improve more on speaking and listening. I think this is um
167 necessary in the foreign country, so I hope to improve on these two aspects.

As is evident, ZY desires improvement not only in spoken English, but also in listening. The reason she provides is that these two competences are "*necessary in the foreign*

country” (line 167). Here “*necessary*” implies she understands the importance of speaking and listening though without clarifying whether she means academic English or not. While she does not clarify what “*the foreign country*” is, she is clearly referring to the UK where she will be studying (also might not the LBAC). There is an implication here that her motivation to improve English is because of the necessity to function practically in the specific language or discourse with which to communicate across communities beyond Chinese ones.

Further, many participants seemed to expect more in the way of assimilation into further community life in England.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 8

Extract 29 HM’s expectation of pre-sessional programme

168 First of all, my English must have been better than it is now. Secondly, I could
169 adapt to the following Masters course quickly. In fact, I’m still worried that I
170 can’t keep up the future programme or understand what the teacher will be
171 talking about.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 9

Extract 30 WA’s expectation of pre-sessional programme

172 What I hope to achieve is to learn lots of academic concepts, such as how to
173 write an essay, written English um more professional. The Masters course, I
174 hope I could adapt it at least in the academic aspect. I want to be more
175 professional in the writing, so that we could have a better academic life.

In contrast to extracts 27 and 28, these two extracts show students’ expectations regarding academic English, including written English and language associated with their further Masters academic studying. HM and WA regard English as a tool to assimilate themselves into the LBAC. In lines 169 and 174, the repeated word “*adapt*” implies they have treated the pre-sessional time as a transition. Lave (1991) and Wenger

(1998) argue that learning is not only a cognitive step of studying new skills and knowledge, but is also part of changing participation methods in different communities with shared discourse norms or practices; since learners become more comfortable for the norms or practices in the new community, they would perform more responsibility in the community and construct more activeness .

Date: August, 2019 PoI: 2 SbOP: 7

Extract 31 CY's expectation of the pre-sessional programme

176 I'm a relatively pessimistic person. I'll make the expectations as low as
177 possible in advance. I hope I could get a higher English score than my IELTS.
178 That's all. I'm not expecting to communicate with natives without any
179 pressure. It's impossible. I think it's impossible because there are all Chinese
180 around me. I can speak Chinese. I don't have any expectation, just get a higher
181 score than IELTS.

CY's expectation of the pre-sessional programme is more related to academic issues. At the beginning of her narrative, she firstly describes herself as a "*relatively pessimistic person*", not only to lower the expectations of the pre-sessional course, but also to lower teachers' academic expectation of her. In line 177, she mentions the IELTS, which represents the level of academic English required to be offered a place in the Masters programme. The reason why CY attends a pre-sessional programme is that her academic English competence has not been identified as sufficient by the LBAC members, so it is necessary for her to improve her academic competence in the pre-sessional course. Her expectation to "*get a higher English score than...IELTS*" is one of the academic goals of the pre-sessional course. From line 178 to 180, CY states that she does not hope to "*communicate with natives without any pressure*", because she is surrounded by other members of the CAC whose community discourse is Chinese. So it seems that CY does not notice that English communication with natives and academic English competence are two different things.

In these extracts, participants imagined English would be “*necessary*”, and English teachers would teach more “*professional*” academic concepts, which suggests a positive way for students to endeavour more on the pre-sessional course, the LBAC. No matter what role they have assigned to English, what expectation they have had, most of the students are aware of the importance of English in the LBAC and willing to make efforts to improve. However, the goal of the pre-sessional programme is to improve students’ academic competence in order to adapt to the future Masters study. Spoken English is vital to the daily communication in the local British communities, but not applicable to the LBAC, because of the distinction between these two kinds of communities. Students have their own values, beliefs and the learning habits and experiences in CAC: it is likely for some of them to resist the choices and positions they have made outside of LBAC.

7.2.2.2 Acceptance and resistance

In interactions between insiders and outsiders from one specific community, insiders are often presented as the model and sometimes imagined as an idealized version by outsiders, under the assumption that outsiders should conform to the community norm that insiders have presented. Assimilation into a community is evaluated in terms of how closely entrants approximate to the community norm. In this study, Mary, as a tutor of the pre-sessional programme, might be regarded as a LBAC model by the student participants. Students understand that they should, and are educated to obey the community norm.

As noted in a previous section, “*use English only*” is an expectation from Mary, or to be more precise, it is a community norm of LBAC that students should obey. Nevertheless, it seems that most of the students choose to communicate in Chinese in class when in group discussions.

Extract 32 CY's experience of being forbidden to speak Chinese in class

182 I think she [Mary] paid special attention to me. Because in fact, we were all
183 speaking Chinese. I was not the only one, but she would always find me
184 speaking Chinese in the first place. There was a time when I spoke only one
185 sentence in Chinese, she just heard it and said no, then I got it. But our topic
186 then was light and funny, not academic ones. I thought it would be OK with
187 Chinese. The topic was funny and interesting and classmates around me were
188 all speaking Chinese, so I ... um... I didn't think too much about it. I did it
189 unconsciously.

When asked why she insisted speaking Chinese with others on class, CY instantly responds with her guess that she was the key focus for Mary. The word “we” (line 182) means that CY thinks that, at that time, she identifies herself within the community of which all her classmates are members. In the analysis in *Community Membership I*, it was shown that students use the personal pronoun in many extracts to express their identification, positioning themselves in the same community as others, whether consciously or unconsciously. CY feels herself special for Mary because Mary often ignores others speaking in Chinese. Besides this reason, CY explains in line 186 that, since the topic is not “*academic*”, she has an excuse to communicate with others in Chinese. It is clear to see that CY understands and agrees with Mary that they should “*use English only*” in class, because the classroom is an academic environment. In LBAC, English should be used as the only language or discourse because it is shared by LBAC members, even though the topics discussed are not academic. However, Chinese pre-sessional students, even though they have the desire and expectation to enter the LBAC, undeniably share another membership, Chinese community membership, since they have grown up and been educated in a community where they share Chinese as the same community discourse and regard teachers as power holders who should be obeyed without resistance.

Despite the multiple community memberships and shared languages, language choice is not the only community norm the student participants should obey. As shown in Figure 4, the fourth rule set by Mary is “*There is no right or wrong answers, all ideas are welcome*”. In the interviews with Mary, she expressed this idea by stating “*I like disagreement*”. Mary also encouraged students to express different opinions in group discussions.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 5

Extract 33

- 190 I: If you don't want to obey what teacher says, what will you do to persuade
191 her?
192 CY: I don't like to argue with others. But it depends. If the person is Mary,
193 yes, I will. She is willing to listen to me, then I will try to persuade her.

As is evident, CY does not answer the question straightforwardly but defines herself as a person that “*don't like to argue with others*”. This self-definition implies that when there are power conflicts, CY might choose to avoid confrontation. In the Community Membership I, shown in extract 12, a motivation for CY's respect is the teachers' profession in academic activities. Here, when faced with the insiders from LBAC, she might change her principles because she has been told by Mary that expressing different opinions is allowed as a community norm. In other words, Mary's profession has been identified by CY, and in her mind, a teacher who prefers to listen means he/she could accept different views from a powerless member.

Date: August, 2018 Phase: Observation

Extract 34 M=The tutor Mary; C=CY

- 194 M: OK, you carry on the examples two through six.
195 C: (Answer the question) (Low voice)
196 M: (Eye contact) (Walk forward C)

- 197 C: ...Um...after the 1995 is the first stop. (Look at M)
198 M: Oh, yes, it's another one, good!
199 C: (Smile) (Stop looking at the M)
200 M: I need to wear my glasses. I didn't see that.
201 C: (Smile to M) (Without looking at M)
202 M: Very well done, Evangeline (CY's English name)!
203 C: (Nod) (Keep touching her hair) (Without looking at M)
204 M: Can you see that?
205 C: (Nod) (Only C has the reaction of M's question)

The first interesting point in this extract is that CY answers Mary's question in a low voice without being picked on, which means CY has had the courage to "*respond*" in class even though her courage was not sufficient. Mary then behaves according to her interview statement by "*provid(ing) feedback*" (line 159). She had eye contact with CY and walked forward to her, which could be seen as an encouragement to CY's response. Thus, in line 197, CY continued her answers in a normal voice and the following "*look at M*" is a piece of behaviour intended to seek affirmation from a powerful insider. In lines 198 to 203, interactions between Mary and CY, Mary praises CY's performances three times (line 198, 200 and 202), but every time CY receives praise and affirmation, her follow-up performances ("*without looking at M*" and "*keep touching her hair*") are more likely an avoidance in order to cover shyness and nervousness. This may be due to the fact that having grown up and been educated in Chinese communities, even though Mary has repeated the new community norm many times, CY still has not adapted well to the LBAC. It is however certain that the encouragement and feedback have some effect on CY's following performances. In lines 204 to 205, when Mary raises a new question, CY is the only student nodding her head in response to Mary, which shows that she has received Mary's feedback and affirmation. This extract shows how CY's community discourse/norm constructed in the CAC affects her performances in the LBAC. As a member of the CAC, she has been educated to keep silent in class, so when she comes to the LBAC, where students are encouraged to speak in English, she

performs constraint at first, but loses her inhibitions soon with Mary's continuous encouragement. CY may not have changed her performances in the LBAC without Mary's encouragement, but the change may also be due to her identification with the LBAC's community discourse/norm. In this process, she expresses her desire to enter the LBAC, seen through her changing after the encouragement.

7.2.3 Conclusion

Summing up, this section has focused on how participants regard the community and its membership. For Mary, a representative of the powerful members in LBAC in student's view, the community norms are set based on her understanding of what "*student*" or "*good student*" is and expectations of the student participants. For Chinese pre-sessional students, as newcomers with memberships and norms constructed in Chinese communities, changing is not always easy. Their acceptance shows students' expectations and endeavour to the LBAC, while resistance to and alienation from LBAC illustrates their identity conflicts and negotiations during the assimilation process.

Regarding the new 'student' construction, Mary shows her utmost understanding of the challenges and problems that student participants have encountered, especially for Chinese pre-sessional students whose English competence has been denied by IELTS examiners, who are legitimate English speakers. Speaking in a LBAC, from Mary's view, could somehow be accepted only when Chinese pre-sessional students have difficulties in communicating ideas in English, although Chinese is not the shared discourse in LBAC. However, for Chinese pre-sessional students, their positions as legitimate English-speakers is not only denied by IELTS examiners but is also denied by their English teachers in CAC. It is precisely the dual denials which enhance the uncertainty of constructing the new 'student' identity in the new academic community. Nevertheless, (i) the conflicts between Mary and student participants, (ii) Mary's and

CAC English teacher's attitudes to English, and (iii) the community discourse or norms of LBAC and CAC, all manifest the complex situation or positions where Chinese pre-sessional students are, in particular the severe issue of identity construction or negotiation they have encountered. Compared with the first week when they had just arrived in the UK, several weeks' assimilation in the LBAC has already influenced Chinese pre-sessional students' identity construction. On the other hand, the compliance of LBAC's discourse and norms also shows participants' recognition and willingness vis-à-vis the new academic community, and the new 'student' identity that the participants might construct.

7.3 Discussion about Community Membership I & II

The sections of Community Membership I & II illustrate how Chinese pre-sessional students regard the CAC and the LBAC, and how they attempt to show allegiance to the CAC or willingness to enter the LBAC. The data extracts show that students' performances are mostly associated with power relations involving teachers and shared discourse/norms in the communities. In all extracts above, students' legitimacy in English speaking or using is approved or achieved by, for example, powerful members' requests and focus, by different understandings or imagination of membership and community, or by any subjectivity the participants themselves have.

7.3.1 Powerful members' requests and focus

In the CAC, students are requested to obey, and identify with teachers' orders and values on what is right or wrong, which, to some extent, strengthens the powerful positions of teachers in return. For example, due to the teaching focus being mainly on English examination results, students in the CAC are not provided the power to judge the rightness or wrongness of English knowledge; this alongside being asked to keep silent in the English class, has resulted in the uneven power relations in the CAC.

According to the extracts in Community Membership I, most of the participants have awareness of the situation. They have grown up and been exposed to the convention discourse/norms constructed both by teachers and students in the CAC. It is quite contradictory that in the CAC discourse community, whose sharing language is Chinese, the sharing goal is to improve qualified English competence. Swales (1987, 1990) explains that a discourse community as a group has its own specific genres, a group of specialized terminology and vocabulary, and a high level of expertise in the specific research field; the goals in the discourse community have been shared and agreed publicly or tacitly. For the CAC in this study, members perform in a more tacit way that regards English as a compulsory subject rather than an international language or lingua franca; they do this in order to achieve the goal of improving their English scores in examinations. It might be one of the reasons why participants have been identified as unqualified English speakers or users before they come to the LBAC.

In contrast to the uneven situation in CAC in which teachers possess the absolute power, things seem to be going better in the LBAC. Apart from the similar goal of helping to improve students' English competence (though CAC focuses more on writing and reading), there are various differences between the two discourse communities. The essential difference is the shared discourse/norms whereby LBAC teachers identify students with legitimate English users through encouragement or praise for English speaking in the class. This difference is based on the different functions of English language played out in the two communities.

In the CAC, since English is not the common communication language, good English scores could represent a good student identity for students, which is an association of language indexicality. This finding is the direct opposite of what some researchers have argued. Ramanathan (2005) claimed that English teaching would cause damage to the local languages and further local memberships. However, in this study, it is shown that students' CAC memberships (student identities) have been improved instead of being damaged. English learning has been a construction of student membership and identity.

In the LBAC, English is not only the shared communication tool for insiders, but also the representation method. Participants have been encouraged to speak or use English language repeatedly by the powerful insiders, and most significantly, they are identified as legitimate English users without any hesitation. In Miller's (2000) study about how Chinese students could be accepted by the local academic English-speaking communities, it was concluded that there were usually problems for Chinese students being seen as legitimate English members; this conclusion is at variance with what has been demonstrated in this research. It seems that the Chinese pre-sessional students are welcomed by the powerful insiders in LBAC. Though they are still regarded as powerless, it cannot enhance the views that being accepted as legitimate English users. In other words, Chinese pre-sessional students are welcomed to be entered into the LBAC, although still being recognised as powerless members, their legitimate English speakers' positions have not been denied by Mary via the classroom rule "Use English only". Someone may argue that this particular rule is serviced for Mary's not speaking Chinese, however, considering English is the shared community discourse/norm in LBAC, it could be understood that allowing to use the shared discourse/norm is, to some extent, a recognition of the community membership.

7.3.2 Understandings or imaginations of the membership and the community

Due to the unbalanced English teaching focus (writing and reading is more important than listening and speaking) in CAC, participants' imaginations and expectations in LBAC are divorced from the reality of the academic goals set by insiders. For instance, some participants identify local English discourse/norms with LBAC ones. When discussing about their expectations of the pre-sessional programme, many participants think that what they want to achieve from the course is an improvement in spoken English and in understanding native speakers. But daily English communication is distinct from academic English usage: spoken usage in daily communication in UK

settings is not normally allowable or applicable in academic institutions. It is hard to evaluate whether Chinese pre-sessional students know the difference, but one of the reasons for this gap between expectations and reality may have to do with their membership or common discourse constructed in the CAC. They share the same language, Chinese, as their community discourse, so speaking Chinese, trouble-free, between their day-to-day community and their academic community in CAC may result in the misconception that English communication follow the same logic.

From a non-native speaker's perspective, participants with this kind of misconception have identified themselves as illegitimate English users (which conforms to what their CAC teachers think), through their desire to understand or be understood by native speakers. Some scholars (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; Bolton, 2004; Cook, 1999; Jenkins, 2012) have pointed out that British and American English have been taught and learnt as the only two internationally acceptable pedagogical models in China, which makes Chinese students think that the way English language native speakers speak should be somehow safe and that the way non-native speakers speak or perform, beyond the British and American English models, is somehow marked, and negatively marked. The above extracts show that this rooted view is associated with Chinese pre-sessional students' membership of CAC where teachers and students prefer the NS English model rather than other English varieties. On the other hand, in previous research, it has been found that Chinese students in Higher Education institutions believe themselves to be legitimate English users in the process of approaching a NS English model (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; He & Li, 2009). The findings in this research appear to present a nuanced picture. Distinct from the context of previous studies, the focus here has been Chinese students in LBAC instead of CAC. Because of increasing opportunities to be exposed to English communication, Chinese students may find the gaps between their imaginations and reality. In addition, the denial of English competence before they arrive in the LBAC has been another factor to impact on Chinese students' self-identification as legitimate English users.

7.3.3 Participants' subjectivity associated with membership

From a social constructivism point of view, it is individuals' own choice to decide where they want to, or should position themselves via discourse in communities, that is, the position or the understandings of the community memberships have connections with individuals' subjectivity (Foucault, 1984). As shown in the data extracts, Mary, the teacher participant in this study, holds the view that students having "*passion and needs*" in learning would be more likely to be identified as 'good students', which would indicate that a powerful membership in the LBAC requires individuals to possess enough subjectivity in their own learning. In the CAC, however, students are likely to be requested to be "*silent*" which is a performance of subjectivity restriction in English language learning. As teachers possess more power in English learning in CAC, students have to accept the position in which teachers ask them to stand. This low subjectivity is not only what CAC's powerful insiders would like to see, but also shows students' performances in allegiance to CAC's membership.

In terms of high subjectivity required in LBAC, the reasons are related to the powerful insiders' understanding of membership (see Mary's extracts). In Darwin and Norton's (2015) model, language learners' investment in learning is a product of the relationship between identity, ideology and capital. Language learners' community membership could be shaped or constrained by the ideologies (shared community discourse/norms) of different communities and then in turn their capital, that is, community power or resources, would be determined as 'perceived and recognised as legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1987:4). Based on these theories, and being encouraged to perform more subjectivity, Chinese pre-sessional students should have invested more in aspects of English learning such as speaking English in group discussions in LBAC. Paradoxically, however, they still prefer communicating in Chinese even in front of a powerful insider of the target community. The investment model emphasises individuals' choices or performances, but has not taken into account their attitudes about other community members. To some extent, high subjectivity will increase learners' investment in English learning, but the

community discourse/norms may be changed when individuals possess enough power or capital. For instance, though Mary is regarded as a powerful member in LBAC by Chinese pre-sessional students, her classroom rule -- "*Use English only*" has been ignored sometimes in group discussion when her subjectivity cannot work well. Student participants are fully aware of the rules Mary has set, but where high subjectivity has been allowed, when powerless members have more power than other powerful members, the rules will be broken.

7.4 Identity

This section analyses ways in which multiple identities are performed, negotiated or constructed in bilingual interactions in LBAC. An individual's identity construction could base on the process of identity performing and negotiating; similar to this, his or her identities could also be performed following negotiation or construction. These three processes do not have a specific order and may happen simultaneously. Students' identity could be performed, negotiated or constructed in the society communities which manifest at the level of the individuum; these three processes characterize students' identity integrity, independence and sequence performances in the system of social interactions and relationships. Based on this, this section will comprise an analysis of the identity phenomenon in two main directions: students' identification of 'student identity' (at the individual level), and identity shifting, confusing and negotiation in the LBAC context.

7.4.1 Identification

Considering identity construction, it is necessary to focus particular attention on self-identification, as it is an inevitable process for students to realize their certain social roles in the specific context. In this study, it is held that Chinese students' understanding of self-identification of their roles in the LBAC would impact on their performance in

the academic activities.

7.4.1.1 'Student' identity

In the first interview, 14 students were asked for their view about 'student' identity in the first week when they arrived in the UK. It is widely accepted that identity is 'an internalized set of role expectations' (Simon, 2004: 23) that it is both constructed by earlier understanding of experience and impacts how individuals respond to future situations. In the analysis of *Community Membership II* (CM-II), it was shown that students expect themselves to make improvements in English language competence even though some of them did not seem to sense that daily English communication is distinct from academic English competence. This different expectation of the 'student' identity might cause different identity performances, negotiations or constructions.

In terms of the views of 'student' identity, most of the students consider that the most vital element in being called as a "*student*" is to "*complete the tasks assigned by teachers and achieve higher scores*", which is distinct from the teacher, Mary's idea, who evaluates students on their subjectivity rather than on disciplinary power (shown in extracts 21 and 22). In the section *Community Membership I* (CM-I), student participants' view and narratives of their experience in a Chinese context were discussed. For Chinese students, disciplinary power in an academic context in China could be felt more directly than that in LBAC, given that obedience is a set community norm in the China context. From the students' narratives, "*complete the tasks assigned by teachers*", it is clear to say that, at least in this study, Chinese students have positioned teachers, who possess the disciplinary power in the very centre of the Chinese communities. Though participants have moved to a new LBAC and been told the new community norms by Mary, an insider and power possessor in participants' eyes, the identities constructed in China contexts cannot be changed in a short time and will influence students' performances in their following academic activities.

The second main view on ‘student’ identity, “*learn new things*” may have connections with the Chinese language which is the shared discourse in the CAC. The term ‘student’ is translated into ‘学生’ (Xue Sheng), and either ‘study’ or ‘learn’ is translated into ‘学习’ (Xue Xi). The same Chinese character ‘学’ (Xue) figures in these words or phrases, so that students have been given an impression, rooted in Chinese culture, that they constitute a group of people who should learn or study new things in school (translated as 学校) or university (translated as 大学). Influenced by this Chinese language, members in the CAC would think that students are a group of people who should study or learn in schools or universities. Although LBAC’s members may have a similar understanding of ‘student’, they might have a nuanced interpretation because of their use of the English language.

One participant (CY) gives a different answer about ‘student’ identity.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 1

Extract 35 CY’s view about student identity

206 I think because student is a small noun word. Above this, basically, we every
207 student is a person. We must do the human affairs well before we do the
208 students’ affairs.

In CY’s opinion, every ‘student’ should be a person first, which is not only a reflection on biological properties, but also on the values and attitudes “*we*” (line 206 and 207) have. In line 206, the term “*small*” implies that CY regards the ‘student’ identity as a part of her ‘person’ identities. In addition, she uses the personal pronoun “*we*” twice in this transcript, which means she thinks this is common sense and widely accepted. CY’s category about identity shows no difference from Mary’s, shown in Extract 35.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 1

Extract 36 What is your definition of student?

209 First of all, it's a human being (laughs). It's a human being, human being um
210 place us um set us in situation, having particular aim.

In Mary's view, being a human being firstly is a premise for being or becoming a student. She repeats "*human being*" three times, starting her narrative with the phrase "*first of all*". The repetition implies she is thinking how to answer the interview question in a proper way, and also shows her strong identification of her identity category, that 'student' is a sub-identity of "*human being*" identities.

CY and Mary share a similar idea about 'student' identity, but when asked if this idea could be accepted by others, CY's answer seems in contradiction with extract 35.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 2

Extract 37 Do you think your ideas about 'student' are accepted by others?

211 Um some may notice that um actually, I don't mean student should to be a
212 good person. Some people may not particularly care about their personal
213 qualities, or other aspects. But some people may care. But I think most people
214 will definitely care about this, because it's a civilized society and people have
215 a great passion in learning now. So I think they um that's what we all believe.

In Extract 35, CY believes that only people who complete "*human affairs well*" could be qualified to deal with "*students' affairs*", which shows that a student should be a good person first. However, in Extract 37, CY pauses for a few seconds to answer the question. She is perhaps thinking about how to organise her narrative, but may also be indicating her unsureness regarding her previous ideas. In line 211, she states that "*some*" people perhaps hold similar ideas to hers. The use of the word "*actually*" to some extent demonstrates an assumption that CY notices that her narratives in extract 35 are absolute and might cause ambiguous interpretation. Her explanations in lines 212 and 213, include the modal verb "*may*", indicating that "*it is possible for others do or do not*

care about being a good person”, which, on the one hand, shows CY’s unsureness of her assumption again, and on the other hand, more objectively, indicates that it is hard to figure out whether people choose their performance by intrinsic or extrinsic reasons. Swales (1990) argues that people use ‘may’ and other forms of expressing uncertainty to discuss necessary, additional ideas that the speaker wants to expose and to address. It is interesting that though CY uses “*may*” twice, she first uses it to describe someone who “*may NOT*” perform the regulations she believes in. The order demonstrates her disagreement regarding not caring about “*personal qualities, or other aspects*” (line 213). On the other hand, “*may*” could indicate that CY is performing her identity negotiations to the interviewer or that she had noticed others’ (probably her classmates in the pre-sessional programme) identity negotiations between “*good person*” or “*good student*”. For the people who “*have a great passion in learning*” (line 215), in CY’s mind, what they care about is academic issues; “*good person*” might indicate the people who do not have trouble in identity negotiations.

The adversative conjunction “*but*”, as a discourse marker (Fraser, 1999), shows her thoughts as well. The core meaning of an adversative relation is ‘contrary to expectation, from the content what is being said (external) or from the communication process (internal)’ (Mahaputra, 2013). So, from the two “*but*’s” in line 213, it is implied that CY expects that a student should firstly “*be a good person*” and “*care about their personal qualities, or other aspects*”. In line 215, the phrase “*a great passion in learning*” is a positive descriptive characteristic, echoing “*a good person*” in line 212, which suggests that CY still insists on her statement expressed in extract 2. Compared to the Extract 35, the difference is CY expresses her certainty that the premise of being a good student is to be a good person, however, in Extract 37, her unsureness of this statement at the beginning of the narratives encourages somehow a strong identification that ‘student’ is a sub-identity of ‘people’.

7.4.1.2 Place-identity

On the basis of multiple identities (answers of who we are), the question of where we are is inevitably involved. In the students' narratives, when explaining their understandings of 'student' identity, they express the legitimacy context within which 'student' would function.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 6

Extract 38 YF's ideas about the context of being called 'a student'

216 Only when in schools can we be called student. But I think wherever you are,
217 even though you enter the society in the future, you can be called student, if
218 you position yourself in a learning place. That's all.

This narrative took place after YF explained her understanding of 'student' identity in the first interview. As discussed in the former sections, participants' performances and identities could be influenced by the communities they are in. Because of the time when the first interview was conducted, it could be argued that YF's ideas about the context of being called a 'student' is, to a large extent, affected by the Chinese communities she is in. In line 216, YF states that one could be called student "*only when in schools*". This statement identifies the legitimate context of 'student' identity in a narrow range. In Chinese contexts, as discussed in the first half of this section, the translation of "*school*" and "*students*" into Chinese have the same character '学' (Xue), which affects Chinese community members' understanding of the legitimate context of being called "*a student*". However, it seems that YF does not fully agree with this community norm. She provides her own detailed ideas, that the decisive factor of being called "*a student*" has to do with the position or place (line 218) an individual is in. In terms of place identity, initially presented by Proshansky (1978: 155), it is defined as 'those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, feelings, values, goals, preferences, skills, and behavioral tendencies relevant to a

specific environment'. Identities are credited to a position by social individuals who have distinct skills, interests, or power in that particular community. In her narrative, YF agrees with the statement that the student identity is closely associated with place, "schools", and she extends the range of legitimate context from "schools" to "learning place". From this perspective, it could be argued that YF has conceptualised identity here as a position in relation to a social representation. Because of the dynamic attribute of position and place, identity can also be seen here as a rational and dynamic process.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 8

Extract 39 In what situations will you reply with 'I'm a student'? (Unlined words or sentences are said in English)

219 For example, when the teacher asked me questions in the classroom where she
220 identified herself as teacher, I would answer that I was a student. Or, in um...
221 Anyway, in a teaching environment, academic.

Similarly to YF, CY also mentioned a place that would make the 'student' identity legitimate. There are three conditions in the example she describes: the interlocutor ("the teacher"); the place ("the classroom"); and the self-identification of the interlocutor (she identified herself as "a teacher").

Whether monolingual or bilingual, in an English-speaking context, the language or discourse chosen by a speaker is somehow determined by the interactant. These interactional settings (or language patterns) are usually characterised by the people who speakers communicate with (Green & Abutalebi, 2013; Grosjean, 1998). And in getting things done through language or discourse, individuals also regulate their social relationship with others. In turn, language or discourse would emerge as a vital perspective of identity; individuals normally speak language and language-related communicative performance as a way to construct and keep a positive identity (Giles & Johnson, 1987; Stell & Dragojevic, 2017). Faced with a teacher, CY chooses to perform her 'student' identity as a response to the 'teacher' identity.

The second decisive factor CY thinks to determine the legitimacy of ‘student’ identity is ‘place’, in the same way as YF explains: a vital element for individuals performing their identities. In line 219, CY mentions place with the phrase “*in the classroom*”. It should be noted that the preposition “*in*” used here by CY seems to emphasize the specific and necessary position where people could perform a ‘student’ identity. This aspect of identity linked to place can be described as ‘place-identity’ (e.g. Proshansky, 1978). It has been defined as a ‘pot-pourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas, and related feelings about specific physical settings, as well as types of setting’ (Proshansky, Fabian & Kaminoff, 1983: 60). Place-identity is a sub-structure of self-identity, similar to gender and social classifications, and is included perceptions and understandings in regard to the context. These insights and conceptions could be coordinated into two sorts of groups: one group comprises of memories, thoughts, values and settings; and the other one comprises of the relationship among different contexts (home, schools, classrooms or neighborhood) (Proshansky & Fabian, 1987). In this narrative, CY mentions a place (“*the classroom*”) using the preposition “*in*” to provide a legitimate context for valid ‘student’ identity; further, regarding identity construction or negotiation, place (here the classroom) offers an opportunity for an individual (the teacher) to perform her ‘teacher’ identity. This leads to an understanding of the third condition mentioned by CY.

Identity constructs as people figure out how to separate themselves from others around them in the communities, and similarly, place-identity creates as a person, or in this case, the teacher and the student learn to see themselves as different from, but have connections with, the social context. In line 211, CY suggests that a legitimate context for being called ‘a student’ should be a place in which the teacher would identify herself with ‘teacher’ identities. This is the third factor mentioned by CY, leading to a consideration of the concept of ‘self-identity’ in social identity theory. A place can be characterised as a social substance or ‘membership group’ furnishing identity and is regularly related to a certain group of community members, a certain community norms

and social situations (Twigger-Ross et al., 2003). On the basis of social identity theory, it is easy to deduce that CY thinks she is in the same group or community as a teacher because of the “*academic*” environment (line 14). It is also important to highlight here that whoever the ‘student’ or the ‘teacher’ is, these are both “*academic*” roles or identities in the legitimate context of being called ‘a student’ in CY’s understanding, since the process of identification is a process of making individuals similar to other community members.

7.4.2 Identity shift

In entering a new environment and attending a pre-sessional course, which is considered to be an academic-preparation programme for unqualified users of English, Chinese students might or should experience an identity construction period if they want to be accepted by the LBAC. The literature review addressed the question of how the process of identity construction is a process of seeking sameness from other insiders of target communities. It has been shown that Chinese students’ performances have been affected by identities constructed in Chinese communities (see the sections of ‘Community membership I & II). This journey is not as smooth as students may have imagined. The attempts at entering into target communities are sometimes accompanied by uncertainty or unsure performances in identity construction. The languages or discourses shared in LBAC and Chinese communities are so different that participants’ language choice in identity construction or shift are influenced by uncertainty. The contrary, the uncertainty impacts on their language choice.

7.4.2.1 Uncertainty and identity

Wenger (1998) has acknowledged the role of imagination in forming the self-identity of those operating within a community of practice. Imagination is a ‘different kind of work of the self -- one that concerns the production of images of the self and images of the

world that transcend engagement' (Wenger, 1998: 177). He sees educational imagination as a way of 'looking at ourselves and our situations with new eyes...taking a distance and seeing the obvious anew...being aware of the multiple ways we can interpret our lives' (p, 272-273). Based on these imaginations of the new world or new communities, individuals cannot always be sure about their identifications of themselves or others, and this kind of uncertainty, to some extent, forces individuals to negotiate their identities to adapt to, or be accepted by different communities, which affects their identity constructions and group behaviours.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 8

Extract 40 What other situations will you reply with 'I'm a student'?

222 It depends. If, if I want to look for excuses (laughs) when I'm doing a
223 part-time job. For example, if the superior thought I didn't do a good job, I
224 would say I was a student and didn't have much working experience.

In the first interview CY was asked in what situations she would not respond with 'I'm a student'. Her understanding of the 'student' identity (see extract 35 and 39) shows she believes in the existence of multiple identities and that people would perform a different identity depending on different contexts. It is easy to understand how the academic environment is a rational context or place for individuals to perform their 'student' identities. But in other contexts, for example, when "*doing a part-time job*" (line 222), CY performs her 'student' identity to avoid a negative judgment, which could be considered as a performance to show her difference from other community members in the working environment. In this short narrative, CY expresses her certainty about her 'student' identity in a non-academic community. It should be noted here that the first interview happened in the first week of CY's sojourn in the UK, so her answers then were based on her identities constructed in China. In other words, she is familiar with her 'Chinese student' identities and is certain of the individuals' uncertainty about 'student' identity, since the community members in a working environment (non-academic) are not sure, possibly, about an academic identity.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 3

Extract 41 CY's expectations of the pre-sessional course

225 I'm a relatively pessimistic person. I'll make the expectations as low as
226 possible in advance. I hope I could get a higher English score than my IELTS.
227 That's all. I'm not expecting to communicate with natives without any
228 pressure. It's impossible. I think it's impossible because there are Chinese
229 around me. I can speak Chinese. I don't have any expectation, just get a higher
230 score than IELTS.

However, when the context changes to an academic one, things might be different. This extract also comes from an interview taking place in the first week. When talking about the expectations of the pre-sessional programme, CY starts with a self-identification as "*a relatively pessimistic person*" (line 225). CY admits she has an identity inclusive of pessimism which has influenced her attitudes and performances in further studying or social activities. The result is that she makes "*the expectations as low as possible in advance*" (line 225 and 226). Because of her pessimism, she is not certain about her language learning and possible language progress. In line 227, she states that she does not expect "*to communicate with natives without any pressure*", which is another way of saying that she thinks there should be no pressure when communicating with natives in English. The second reason why she is not sure about her English learning is that, despite her expectation to enter the LBAC, she also identifies herself in Chinese communities with Chinese (community members).

The situation she is in and her pessimism-laden identity might cause uncertainty in her assimilation into the LBAC. Having a dubious outlook on one's reality and, specifically, how one should act or perform, and how other community members will perform could be disrupting -- even aversive (Jonas et al., 2014). Uncertainty makes it complex to foresee and design performance in such a way as to be able to act efficaciously. Shifting in different communities and performing different identities has been motivated by this

uncertainty and further attempts. On the other hand, the feeling of uncertainty, especially uncertainty about, or connecting with who he or she is and how the individual should perform, motivate identity construction or negotiation (Hogg, 2014).

When faced with the uncertainty, whether individuals are aware of it or not, the process of social self- or group-identification could be regarded as a pathway to reduce, and protect from, uncertainty (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). Uncertainty-reduction is considered a core motive for identity construction (Hogg, 2006).

7.4.2.2 Identity negotiation when faced with members from multiple communities

Given that an individual has multiple identities, whether personal ones or group ones, when encountering different interlocutors from multiple communities, he or she might negotiate identities to reach certain purposes. Similar to identity, people have multiple community memberships as well. In the LBAC, Chinese pre-sessional students will meet people who not only come from the CAC, but also from English-speaking communities. Understanding the identity and community membership of the interlocutor would determine the negotiations of an individual's identity.

Date: September, 2018 PoI: 2 SbOP: 2

Extract 42 YF's views on communication with non-Chinese

231 I think, after all, there are differences in cultural background, and then...
232 Relatively speaking, I think Chinese people may have a better understanding
233 of your needs, because they can understand your language, and answer your
234 questions according to your needs. Foreigners [non-Chinese people] also want
235 to help you, but there may be some um...(S)he can't get your point, and it's
236 still a little difficult. But they are quite enthusiastic too. I think foreigners
237 [non-Chinese people] are...The people are nice.

In this extract, YF uses the phrase “*after all*” to emphasize that she understands there are communication limitations caused by “cultural background”, which is the premise on the basis of which she would have different performances (which also can be seen as identity shifting or negotiations) when chatting with people from different “*cultural background*”. Then in line 232, her non-absolute narrative, “*relatively speaking*”, also shows her understanding and awareness of the distinctions between different cultures. She makes a claim that Chinese people could understand her well because of their similar language, which is a symbol of coming from the same community. A shared language is a significant factor to constitute a community; with the indexicality inherent in language, people could ascertain who the speaker is and what his or her needs may be and then “*answer your questions*”. For the people from other communities that do not share the same language with the speakers, may find it “*a little difficult*” to communicate and provide help. In line 236 and 237, YF evaluates the non-Chinese people who would like to help her with two positive adjectives -- “*enthusiastic*” and “*nice*”, which could be regarded as an implicit way to express her views that non-Chinese people could not understand her questions and needs well. It might be one of the reasons why Chinese pre-sessional students prefer to communicate more with other Chinese students, despite having been set in a LBAC. YF seems to have a communication confusion when the interlocutors are coming from communities whose shared language is not Chinese, for example, the LBAC. However, instead of regarding the confusion as reluctance to enter the LBAC, the positive judgments on non-Chinese people (who are considered as insiders of LBAC by YF) show her preference to make changes, in other words, shift or negotiate identities to assimilate into the new community.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 2 SbOP: 1

Extract 43

238 I: Do you know the final assessment of the 8-week programme?

- 239 YF: Just listening, speaking, reading and writing.
240 I: Did your teacher tell you the details?
241 YF: She told us several days ago, but I didn't listen carefully (laughs).

YF shows her careless attitude about the assessments of the pre-session course in this extract, which firstly can be shown from the word “*just*” (line 239). The four aspects of English competence (listening, speaking, reading and writing) are general examination parts that all language tests should include. On the other hand, “*just*” reflects YF’s avoidance and cover-up of not being familiar with the important academic things which she, a member of the academic community, should have known, which could be verified again from her action -- “*laughs*” (line 241). In order to figure out the possible reasons why YF has such carelessness and avoidance, she was asked whether her teacher (Mary) explained the assessment details and answered definitely that the teacher did notify them of the details but that she, YF, did not “*listen carefully*” (line 241). She does not explain why she had that reaction, but from her “*laughs*”, it is clear that she is also aware that carelessness is not the right performance for a student of an academic community. In this interview which was recorded in the first week of the pre-session course, it seems that, in addition to YF’s unqualified English listening competence (identified by insiders of LBAC), she is affected by her other Chinese classmates in the pre-session programme. Identified as unqualified English speakers but prospective insiders of LBAC, YF and her Chinese classmates who have memberships in CAC, and who have shared Chinese language for decades, seek help in what to them is a more familiar way, for example, speaking Chinese or performing in a Chinese way.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 5

Extract 44 YF’s narrative about the differences between Chinese and non-Chinese

- 242 I: If sometimes, as Chinese, do you feel embarrassed when foreigners
243 (non-Chinese) don’t understand what you say?

244 YF: A little worried but um...Your vocabulary is limited. You think you've
245 made it clear, but (s)he still can't understand it, I'll be a little worried. But
246 it won't be very embarrassing, because they won't think you're wrong or
247 what. I think one of the good things about foreigners is that, unlike us
248 Chinese, sometimes we Chinese will answer you when only heard a rough
249 idea, but in fact, (s)he doesn't fully understand what you mean, but (s)he
250 will give you the answer. The foreigners have one good personality that
251 if (s)he doesn't get your meanings, (s)he will ask you again, confirm with
252 you again, and then answer your questions accurately. (S)he won't answer
253 you in an unclear and general situation.

It is interesting that in the extract 42, YF shows a preference for communicating with Chinese people because they “*have a better understanding of your needs*” (line 232), however, YF has a different narrative in this extract. She describes her feelings of not being fully understood by non-Chinese with the phrase “*a little worried*” instead of “*embarrassed*”. From the speakers' perspectives, feeling “*a little worried*” in contrast to feeling “*embarrassed*”, emphasises individuals' subjectivity in communications, since it shows speakers' desire to be understood by interlocutors. In line 244, YF's first reason about non-Chinese inability sometimes to understand her has to do with limited vocabulary. It could be deduced directly that the vocabulary here referred to is English rather than Chinese. YF feels worried not only because of her vocabulary limitation, but also because of not being fully understood by people from the target community. From line 247 to 253, she describes the difference of communication attitudes between Chinese and non-Chinese. She criticizes Chinese people for their casual attitudes in not listening to speakers carefully, and praises non-Chinese people's “*good personality*” (which could be regarded as an identity) that takes questions seriously. When YF talks about Chinese people, she uses the personal pronouns twice: “*us Chinese*” (line 247) and “*we Chinese*” (line 248), which seems to indicate that, deep down, she identifies herself as Chinese more than non-Chinese. As such, she has a strict value judgment concerning Chinese people and Chinese communities: that the casual communication

attitudes with other insiders is to be criticized. On the other hand, non-Chinese people's "good personality" of "ask(ing)" (line 251) or "confirm(ing)" (line 251) the question and "answer your questions accurately" (line 252) which maybe because of outsiders' limited vocabulary has been praised and identified by YF, an outsider of the LBAC. When converting her positioning point to a view of the insider in LBAC who has such a serious attitude in communication with her, YF may also be affirming her identity as outsider. In addition, it is possible to say that YF's praise for the "good personality" shows her desire to enter the LBAC, and the serious communication attitude of insiders in LBAC shows their acceptance of YF.

Date: September, 2018 PoI: 2 SbOP: 13

Extract 45 HM's view about being influenced by other classmates

254 I think, anyway, my feeling is that I dare to say more when I come here,
255 especially when I express my ideas with others. After coming here, everyone
256 is doing it in this way, then I think it's OK for me to say anything. Perhaps
257 people feel that I have changed to a new environment, maybe as a foreign
258 student, I should perform like this, so I do this naturally. And after coming
259 here, I feel obviously that um...In China, I feel that I have nothing to say, that
260 is, you have something in mind um...In fact, students want to speak when in
261 China, but they, I don't want to express because others won't do that, either.
262 Or only one or two students desire to express.

HM makes a point that she has more confidence to speak and exchange ideas since arriving in the LBAC. The reasons may be Mary's (the insider's) encouragement and the shared community discourse/norms that "everyone is doing it in this way" (line 256), which gives her the courage to express her ideas. In line 257, she identifies herself as "a foreign student" referring to an outsider of the LBAC. It is needs to be focused on here because before line 257, what she narrates and describes give the impression that she has been influenced by insiders of LBAC to construct new community identities and performances. However, although she does not clarify what community the "people"

(line 257) come from, CAC or LBAC, it is clear that the “*people*” are likely insiders of CAC because of HM’s self-identification as a “*foreign student*”. Additionally, it is interesting to analyse why HM believes she will perform “*naturally*” in the new community. She seems to consider her confidence to “*say more*” (line 254) as an identity that is already deeply rooted in her mind, which can be shown in line 260 where she claims she has “*something in mind*”. In line 259, when talking about the reason why she chooses to keep silent in Chinese English-classes, HM freely admits that she has “*nothing to say*”. As discussed in the Community Membership I, it may be because of strict class rules, teachers’ requests, or illegitimate English speakers in Chinese communities. But the fact is that students do “*have something in mind*” and “*want to speak*”. Due to complex reasons and situations, HM has been conditioned to be quiet by other classmates. In conclusion, it seems that not all identities or performances are constructed when positioning in a new community; an individual could be influenced by others, but sometimes what they will do is to negotiate identity and perform it.

7.4.2.3 Learning as negotiated identity in educational transition

Educational transition can be perceived as the shift from one academic institution (primary school to secondary school, school to university or college, the shifting of study place between colleges) to another one. It can also be described in more complicated definitions, such as shifting from one study context or learning institutions to another one (the shift between private assessments to public assessment, the shift from undergraduate study to graduate study, the shift between the study of arts to science). In this research, the pre-session programme can be conceptualised as a pre-postgraduate study in LBAC, which provides a preparation time for unqualified academic English-users to adopt and learn the target community norms. Chinese students should shift not only from an undergraduate context to a pre-postgraduate programme, but also from Chinese contexts or communities to English ones.

Extract 46 CY's imagined different LBAC identities and performances with Chinese communities

263 I'm just um...I define myself as a good student. I think as a good student, it's
264 own definition, not others' views that good student are people have good
265 grades and behaviours, ranking top among classmates. I just hope I'll have a
266 small progress. This is my goal. Like IELTS test I've talked about, I'll set
267 goals to make myself better than before. My elder sister who is studying in
268 Australia is excellent. She perhaps is my model. I'll go forward that way. But
269 I won't say I can complete the 8-week pre-session course within one day, so
270 I'll continue the study in my Chinese pattern. But maybe um because I've
271 never been working hard since I was little (laughs) um perhaps a little bit
272 harder later. This is the difference.

CY starts the topic with a self-definition -- "*good student*". But it seems that she holds a different definition of "*good student*" to her imagined "*others*". In her eyes, characters of good students should be beyond or be distinct from "*good grades and behaviours*" and "*ranking top*". She did not mention her scores and ranking in China during the one-year period of data collection, so it is hard to understand if, ignoring "*good scores and behaviours*", what extra characteristics a good student should have, and why CY defines herself as a good student. In the following sentence, "*I just hope I'll have a small progress*" (line 266), the word "*just*" could indicate that she knows that from others' views, she cannot be described as a good student. But she appears to be a little reluctant to admit being a bad student. So she does not have a high expectation about herself, considering that only "*a small progress*" is enough. She goes on to mention her "*excellent*" (line 268) elder sister who was studying in Australia. She does not give the reasons why she sets her sister up as her model, but it could suggest the possibility that CY has been affected by her sister's academic identity, an Australian student, or more broadly, a member of an English-speaking community. When referring to the possible difference of behaviours between Chinese and British classes, she positions herself as

'not working hard' in her Chinese studying patterns, which explains why she is not satisfied with others' views of "*good student*".

In this narrative, CY identifies herself as a good student, the definition of which is different from others' academic views, admits that she has not been a hard-working student since childhood, but sets up her sister in Australia, who is excellent in English academic communities, as her learning model, which is interesting and contradictory. It seems that she tries to persuade herself that she is no less a "*hard working*" student through setting up an excellent student in an English academic community as a model. Identity negotiation and construction are involved in this identity struggle between a student and a good student.

Given her self-definition, CY's performances and interactions with her classmates (possible LBAC members) and the tutor (a current LBAC member) during the pre-sessional time need to be focused on.

Date: August, 2018 Phase: Observation SbOP: 2

Extract 47 M=The tutor Mary; C=CY

273 M: Who wants to read their sentences? Which group?

274 (Waiting for response)

275 I think Aurora, she wants to read the sentence.

276 C: (Looking at Aurora with smiles)

277 (Aurora was reading the sentences)

278 M: What do you think?

279 C: (Clapping) (Talking with desk mate)

280 All students: Brilliant.

281 M: Yeah, I like that.

282 C: (Clapping) (Bending over the desk with laughter)

283 M: And I think Evangeline really wants to read the sentence.

- 284 Am I right, Evangeline (CY's English name)?
285 C: Yes. (Laughs) (Reading the sentence)
286 Brilliant! (Clapping)
287 M: (Laughs)

Mary first nominates Aurora to read the extract of her essay draft after waiting several seconds for someone to respond. Then when she asks the whole class's opinion of Aurora's writing, the students chorus "*Brilliant*", a form of praise frequently used by Mary. This demonstrates that not only CY but most of the students have become familiar with, and accept Mary's discourse. CY then claps hands and shifts her posture forwards with laughter, which may be seen as a way of demonstrating her positive emotion for being accepted as an insider. When she finishes reading her essay extract as requested, she praises herself with "*Brilliant*" without delay: the discourse item "*Brilliant*" has clearly become a shared item used in the Mary-student community.

CY's student identity has been affected by Chinese academic communities where she was educated. Her subsequent performance in class has influenced Mary's expectation of CY's academic feedback. So Mary negotiates her teaching strategies to complete the academic activities, at the same time, CY also negotiates and shifts her learning identities to get affirmation from Mary.

7.4.2.4 Language-mixing or Code-switching?

Language is a vital factor to understand how individuals regard themselves or other community members and how they use language to construct identities (Gumperz, 1982; Collins & Blot, 2003). As bilinguals, Chinese pre-sessional students might position themselves as prospective members of LBAC, however, whether they will be accepted by the insiders or not, it should not be ignored that they are current members of Chinese academic communities. Studying in a context of LBAC, they might convert the

language they use when shifting their identities. However, there is an important point in terms of how to distinguish, in language usage, between language-mixing and code-switching, and the respective connections with identity construction.

The term language mixing means comparable situations to those described by Weinreich (1953: 1) who viewed them as linguistic interference, that is, ‘instances of deviation from the norm of either language, which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language’, while code-switching is characterised as the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence, or constituent (Kim, 2014; Yow et al., 2006).

During the data collection, participants usually mixed their languages or discourses in interactions when interlocutors shared both languages and discourses. For instance, when communicating with Mary, who does not speak Chinese, participants chose to speak English all the time. But when communicating with other Chinese pre-sessional students in the class or the interviewer (also Chinese), students expressed their ideas by mixing Chinese and English.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 12

Extract 48 I=Interviewer; YF=Interviewee (Bold words or sentences are said in English)

288 I: What’s your definition of the term **student**?

289 YF: I think whatever who you are, as long as you can learn something, acquire
290 something, you are in a place of **student**. You are a **student**.

291 (… …)

292 I: Have you discussed this definition with your classmates?

293 YF: (We) didn’t talked about the **student**’s definition specifically. Perhaps
294 most people think **student** is um...Only when in schools can we be called
295 **student**. But I think wherever you are, even though you enter the society

296 in the future, you can be called **student**, if you position yourself in a
297 learning place. That's all.
298 I: Will you answer **I'm a student** when people ask you **who are you**?
299 YF: Yes.
300 I: Do you have different replies when facing with people in different
301 identities and backgrounds?
302 YF: If he asks me in a formal situation, I will say I am a **student** from XX
303 schools.

This dialogue was recorded in the first week of YF's sojourn in the UK. The interview was conducted mostly in Chinese, but the words in bold were spoken in English. It is interesting to analysis YF's narrative influenced by the interviewer's unconscious code-switching.

The question in line 288, was asked in Chinese except for the term “*student*”, expressed in English. Apparently, YF has been affected by the interviewer's language choice, so she chooses to say the word “*student*” in English as well, whether consciously or unconsciously. The reason this language choice has been identified as code-switching is because, from YF's perspective, the interviewer as a person studying in the LBAC for more than one year has been recognized as an insider already. The interviewer's language choice of saying “*student*” in English somehow represents an insider's understanding of the student identity. In other words, saying “*student*” in English could be a sign for YF that there are differences between a Chinese “*student*” and an LBAC “*student*”. Following the interviewer's language choice is an identity negotiation for YF to represent her desire to enter the LBAC. Thus, one of the differences between language mixing and code-switching is that code-switching usually has close connections with identity issues.

Date: July, 2018 PoI: 1 SbOP: 9

Extract 49

- 304 I: So others can't be called students?
305 ZW: Yes. I think if expressing this in English, we can find anyone with
306 learning ability. He can only be called **learners**, but it is stricter to
307 call **students**, right?

In this interview with another participant, ZW, the interviewer expressed the term “*student*” in Chinese. It is interesting that ZW does not say “*student*” in English either. The only point when she does mix her languages in the dialogue about ‘student’ identity is shown in line 306 and 307. However, in this short narrative, it would be appropriate to define this language choice as language mixing rather than code-switching. As discussed before, in Chinese, the term ‘学’ (xue) can be translated into either of two English words -- learn and study. There is no distinct difference between ‘learn’ and ‘study’ in Chinese understandings, while these two terms can be explained in two connected but different directions in English. In ZW’s narratives, she chooses to express her ideas using English terms because of a better explanation and understanding.

Date: November, 2018 Phase: Observation SbOP: 2

Extract 50 Mary and CY’s dialogue about CY’s Russian name (M=Mary)

- 308 M: So what’s your proficiency level? Have you achieved how to read it?
309 How your Russianess?
310 CY: (Laughing with covering her face) Primary. Original.
311 M: (Laughs)
312 CY: Just one year. Because I just learn...I’ve just learnt one year. I read per
313 week, one class per week. Maybe just (1s) no more than 30 class. Just
314 learned grammar, pronunciation. It’s too much to learn, so...
315 M: What about the alphabet? Have you learnt the alphabet?
316 CY: (Nodding) Yes! Yes! (Laughs)
317 M: Do you know how to write your name? (Passing the pen and paper)

318 CY: Let me think about...不行, 不行, 我的名字 (No, no, my name) (Writing
319 on the paper)

Mary is the tutor of CY's pre-sessional programme and she does not speak Chinese. It will cause misunderstanding or ambiguity if CY communicates with Mary in their un-shared language. However, in line 318, CY speaks a short sentence in Chinese in front of Mary when they are talking about the proficiency of CY's Russian language. She knows Mary cannot understand Chinese, but insists on doing so, which could be a signal of identity avoidance. From the previous analysis, CY has been seen to be a "pessimistic" person who has "low expectation" of her English competence, which might result in her LBAC identity construction. Although in this narrative their topic is not English learning, CY's nervousness could still be observed since she and Mary communicate in English. When not using English, no matter whether "pessimistic" or not, CY could acquire enough identity certainty by using her native language. So CY inserts a short Chinese expression into her English-speaking communication, in order to seek a temporary avoidance from the English identities: this could also be seen as an identity negotiation in LBAC.

Date: August, 2019 PoI: SRI SbOP: 5

Extract 51 CY's reactions when being forced to speak English by Mary

320 Everyone was speaking Chinese, not only me. But she (Mary) could find me
321 among crowds every time ... She said to me, "No.". Then I understood ...
322 [Use English only] is our classroom rule, but I didn't obey it indeed. In fact, it
323 could be understood. A group of Chinese will speak Chinese naturally. People
324 in my age, if speaking English all the time, is a little pretentious. Something is
325 not convenient to communicate in English. **It's hard to say.** It's hard to say.
326 **It's hard to explain.** It's hard to explain.

In the classroom observation, CY always speaks Chinese when faced with her Chinese classmates, but when noticed by Mary, she will switch her language to English

immediately. CY's correction and following explanation shows that she knows the identity Mary has set for her and what she should do. The switching of language in this context is a shift of identity as well. She is identified with the student position, which could be verified in the bold sentences. She articulates the bold sentences in English, and repeats the same meaning in Chinese (shown as underlined sentences). It is interesting that she expresses the same meaning both in English and Chinese. When talking about methods to improve spoken English, CY says she set a plan with her Chinese friends to communicate in English all the time, but she does not insist on this. The first reason she gives is "*I forgot it*"; she then says, "*speaking English to Chinese is like to pretend something or somebody*", and "*other Chinese would laugh at us*". She knows that "*the people who judge others have problems*", but she still cannot communicate with Chinese in English without embarrassment. On the other hand, when expressing her feelings of studying English both in Chinese and English, it could be understood that she feels it difficult not only in a position of an LBAC student, but also in a position of a Chinese student. When she faces her classmates from the pre-sessional class, she cannot ignore their membership in the CAC, though her classmates and she have been sitting in a class in the LBAC. Refusing to speak English with her pre-sessional classmates could be seen as a refusal to recognize her classmates as members in the LBAC.

In addition to these language choices, there is another notable participant. HM, who is one of the few students does not have an English name, uses only a little language mixing or code-switching in the interviews compared to other participants. She explains the reason why she does not have an English name: "*I think there is no English name can represent me*". Compared with other participants' reasons to have English names ("*my Chinese name is hard for foreigners to pronounce*", "*I just want to be locals*", "*my English teacher told me to have an English name*" etc.) HM admits that her Chinese name is difficult for Mary to pronounce, but she still wants others to call her by her Chinese name, which is not a simple insistence on her original name, but rather shows her certainty concerning her Chinese or English identities: consider her expression: "*I*

feel relaxed and out-spoken when speaking in English". Thus, from HM's narrative, on the one hand, her language choice is a way to construct target identities and on the other it is also a representation of the certainty of identities individuals have constructed.

7.4.3 Discussion about identity

The Identity section has aimed to answer the research questions concerning whether participants have identity struggles or conflicts when shifting between two communities and how they negotiate, construct or perform identities to show allegiance or affiliation with CAC and LBAC. As their English identities are constructed with uneven power relations in CAC, Chinese pre-sessional students have various imaginations about the LBAC and its programme. From the above extracts, it has been shown that, when stepping towards a new community, individuals do have identity confusions if they would like to be accepted as new members of the community.

7.4.3.1 Identity representation and construction via English learning

English learning enables individuals to have opportunities to develop an identity to accommodate the new language and culture (Gee, 2001; Ibarahim, 1999; Talmy, 2008; Valdes, 1997). As shown in the above extracts, it is interesting that Chinese students, who are identified as illegitimate English users by powerful members in CAC, have constructed English identities mainly in Chinese language. Their particular English learning experience makes participants construct multiple identities which represent not only 'English' selves, but also 'Chinese' selves. The two selves cannot be separated but overlap or interweave with each other. If a certain type of language has been learnt or used by a large number of people in a community, the language use would have an impact on members' thoughts and actions (Holtgraves & Kashima, 2008). CAC members have constructed a unique world or reality via their English learning which is a means of conveying their selves from generation to generation (Rovira, 2008).

Therefore, it is difficult to claim that English identities could only be represented through English language for Chinese pre-sessional students; it cannot be simply established what people are only through what languages they use.

Gee (2001) divides identity into two parts: institution and discourse, for he believes that one's identity is influenced by sociocultural, historical and political factors. For Chinese pre-sessional students, apart from their CAC identities, they have been identified as unqualified English users by native speakers before entering LBAC, no matter whether they accept this institution identity or not. Their discourse identities could be represented or constructed by the relationship between interlocutors' and speakers' relational individual identity. Positioned in a new community with a kind of identity premise, participants regard English learning in LBAC as a way to improve English language and adapt to a new environment. Wenger (1998) considers learning is a process of constructing or avoiding constructing specific identities rather than simply learning knowledge or skills. Although some of the students do not identify with this view, what they have done or spoken in LBAC classes represents their tendencies of becoming good students, as powerful insiders of LBAC would like them to be.

7.4.3.2 Insiders' tolerance in English

With the development of English colonisation and globalisation, English has multiple varieties around world, for example two varieties related to Chinese identity: Pidgin English and China English. For the participants in this study, who are a group of people who come from the same country and share Chinese as their communication language, they rarely use or speak English for communication. Although English speaking is required during their learning time in LBAC, Chinese pre-sessional students still refuse to use English in group discussions or when interlocutors are also Chinese, for representing identities via English language would be regarded as "*pretentious*".

In addition, mistakes are more likely to be pointed out in CAC members' communications in English, while native speakers seem to have greater tolerance. It is possible that native speakers' tolerance could be traced back or extended to other English varieties which are distinct from native English models. Pidgin English arose because of the need for English-speaking traders and the local Chinese to communicate with each other (Fairbank, 1953). And China English has been shaped by both Chinese and English linguistic and cultural norms, and 'used primarily by Chinese for intra- and international communication' (Xu, 2008: 4). Yet these two English varieties have been accepted by native speakers, although they currently do not have official status, nor have they been institutionalized by officials in China. From the perspective of identity issues, English is recognised for the purpose of modernisation and 'international stature' (Lam, 2002: 247), but Pidgin English and China English are considered not to be representations of native English identities for Chinese users. This is the reason why only British or American English is taught or permissible in Chinese academic environments and why English mistakes (or speaking Pidgin English and China English) would be pointed out by Chinese but ignored by English native speakers. These point-outs are un-identifications of incorrect English identities or Chinese identities.

7.4.3.3. Positioning theory, identity shifting, discourse

It has been verified in this study that identity shifting cannot be avoided when individuals have two or more community memberships. According to Foucault's (1984) seminal work, people will choose their positions in communities mainly by discourse that is as fluid and dynamic as identity. Even with the premise that positions participants as unqualified English users before entering the LBAC, these participants could still decide their own positions when in contact with the new discourse community. The findings in this research seem to indicate that things are more complex. As Chinese students have become the majority group in the LBAC class and Mary is the only person who cannot understand Chinese 1, everyone in the class except Mary has two

community memberships and identities. They change positions and shift identities when interacting with different interlocutors. Language and identity might come to a condition of equilibrium if individuals were positioned in or assigned to a powerful place, since they would have more power to determine their own and others' discourse and academic performances to negotiate language and identities. Although there are still shadows of CAC discourse or identities in participants' performances in LBAC, Mary's encouragement and tolerance have helped them to adapt to English academic discourse and identities efficiently.

7.4.4 Conclusion

As Giddens (1991) clarifies, as individuals in the identity construction people should figure out not only the aim and context of their thoughts and performances, but also to take responsibility for those thoughts and performances. The position or place is not fixed as identity. But dynamics could increase the uncertainty of identity construction even though the uncertainty, to some extent, shows individuals' desire to enter the LBAC. When shifting between different communities with this uncertainty, learning as a negotiated identity reflects students' obedience as insiders (understood as community norms), and the feedback they receive when responding to insiders' academic requirements (which might create or change community norms). In addition, language choice could also be a representation of students' identity shifts. When students have more uncertainty in identity construction, they may use more code-switching in communications. Conversely, language mixing or code-switching could be beneficial to their identity construction or negotiation.

7.5 Conclusion of the identity construction process

As a group of students whose legitimacy as English-speakers has been denied by English teachers in CAC and by the IELTS examiners, Chinese pre-sessional students

have constructed a 'student' identity that keeps quiet in classroom and obeys almost every order from the English teachers in CAC. This obedience, as one of the CAC's 'student' identities, is constructed in a community where teacher-student power relations are severe. Teachers have been regarded as positioned at the 'very centre' of the CAC, and English is not only a compulsory subject taught to students, but it is also recognised as a manifestation of power relations, considering how the CAC's discourse and norms have been required. Therefore, at this stage, before student participants arrive in the LBAC, the new 'student' identity construction has yet to start.

With confusions, fears and curiosity, and especially with their membership as 'illegitimate' English-speakers, Chinese pre-sessional students arrive in the LBAC, a completely new academic community whose discourse and norms are distinct from those in the CAC. Differences may cause changes. Whether they accept the new community discourse or norms or not, Chinese pre-sessional students have been told the 'classroom rules' by Mary in the first week of the pre-sessional programme. When talking about their expectations of the pre-sessional course, student participants demonstrate their thoughts and attitudes towards English language learning, although some of them cannot tell the difference between academic English usage and daily English communications, which to some extent affects their identity construction. During the pre-sessional period, student participants choose to speak English with Mary all the time, not only because English is the shared discourse in the LBAC, but also because Mary cannot understand Chinese at all. However, when faced with members coming from the CAC, in most of the student participants' views, speaking English is a kind of "pretentiousness" and will cause ambiguity and ineffective communication. This performance is a nonrecognition of LBAC's identities in the CAC, but it is a confirmation of CAC identities as well. At this stage, Chinese pre-sessional students perform their new 'student' identity specifically in LBAC and cannot be observed in CAC.

After the pre-sessional programme, the completion of the course means student

participants have been identified as legitimate academic English-speakers from the perspective of the institution. The admission of entry into a Masters programme, which is another LBAC, shows that the student participants have already been recognised as insiders of the target community. Compared to the dual denials from the English teachers in CAC and the IELTS examiners before the pre-sessional course, the dual recognitions from Mary (an LBAC insider) and the higher education institution (LBAC insiders as well) confirm and then enhance the student participants' new 'student' identity constructions. In terms of the power relations in LBAC after the pre-sessional course, student participants perform more obedience than they do in the pre-sessional period. They realize and enjoy the relatively relaxed relationships with teachers. All these factors contribute to the new 'student' identity constructions inasmuch as Chinese pre-sessional students would prefer to see themselves as LBAC insiders rather than CAC insiders.

Then at the end of their Masters programme, when re-examining their LBAC 'student' identity, it is found that things have gone back to the start point where student participants show more allegiance to CAC rather than to LBAC. But this nonrecognition is different from the situation before the pre-sessional programme. At this stage, student participants have already constructed the new 'student' identities and can shift the different identities across different communities and time. It is their choice to perform identities accordingly. Though in the LBAC, teachers deny students' CAC memberships, discourses or norms, as well as what CAC English teachers do, LBAC teachers still show their tolerance and understanding when Chinese pre-sessional students communicate in Chinese with each other. However, when student participants realize the journey's end is coming, they perform more willingness to identify with CAC memberships.

In sum, the identity construction process during the one year, including the pre-sessional course and the Masters programme, shows that the new 'student' identity starts with confusion, imaginations and expectations of the new academic community;

after the pre-sessional course. It has been shown from the above extracts that the new 'student' identity is in process; in the middle of the Masters programme, students perform more like a LBAC student rather than a CAC members; nevertheless, at the end of the year, the recognition of LBAC members has decreased and been weakened over time.

Chapter Eight -- Conclusion

This chapter first provides a summary of the research results according to the three research questions. Based on these, theoretical contribution to identity and language learning in academic settings will be outlined. Finally, implications, limitation and personal reflections of this study will be explained.

8.1 Summary of findings

The summary of the findings in the research will be summarized in this section. The primary research aim was to investigate Chinese pre-sessional students' identity performances, negotiation or construction. The study aimed to provide answers to this basic aim by answering the following questions:

- 1) In the process of stepping from the CAC to the LBAC, are there identity struggles in performances, negotiations or constructions?
- 2) How do Chinese pre-sessional students view the CAC in which they have been educated?
- 3) How do Chinese pre-sessional students view the LBAC?

8.1.1 Confirmation of the existence of identity performances, negotiations or constructions

After the analysis of the data, the answer to the first research question is definitely a 'yes'. Alongside their shifting between two different academic communities, Chinese pre-sessional students have experienced struggles in identity performances, negotiations or constructions. The three processes would not happen in a fixed order, and in most cases, students' identity activities would not include all three processes at the same time.

In order to provide more details about the three situations, the following two research questions have been designed. Sections 7.3.2 and 7.3.3 will summarise participants' views on two different communities respectively, and section 7.3.4 will summary the key findings on how students perform, negotiate or construct their identities.

8.1.2 Performing allegiance to CAC on the basis of power relations

This sub-section summarizes the findings from this research to answer the second research question: 'how do Chinese pre-sessional students regard the CAC in which they have been educated? How do they attempt to show allegiance to this CAC?' The analysis reveals the power relations in CAC, that is, teachers are treated as powerful members, and students are identified as powerless. This uneven power relation has been accepted as a community discourse/norm impacting English education among community members.

The first effect of power relations in CAC is students' obedience to teachers. Students are aware of the existence of power relations in the communities, and, interestingly, they do not intend to struggle against the powerful members, that is, the teachers, even though they do not agree with teachers' views of how to be a student. Students rarely perform their unwillingness in front of their teachers, but obey what they have been told and educated into constructed as a community discourse/norm in CAC. From the extracts, it seems that students have not thought about resistance against the conventional power relations in English learning in CAC, since they acquiesce in teachers' power in setting community rules.

English is a compulsory subject for every Chinese student. Through participants' narratives, however, regardless of the functions English (communication and representation) has in the world, Chinese English-teachers only focus on the teaching of writing and reading because of the examination requirements, which results in students'

unrealistic imaginations or expectations of LBAC (this has been discussed in section 7.3.3) and later fierce identity struggles (explained in section 7.3.4). Besides the teaching focus, another request from teachers is that students should keep silent in class unless they are allowed to speak, although there are few opportunities for students to talk. Participants express their dissatisfaction but still choose to obey the rule, and these repetition performances by Chinese students have made 'keep silent' as another shared community discourse/norm in CAC.

Despite the negative emotions regarding teachers, students are likely to, to some extent, enjoy the power constrictions. For some Chinese students, power is a means of setting rules to govern their conduct, but it is also an umbrella or resource to protect or shield themselves from risks that powerless members might not notice. This could be seen as students' imaginations of CAC; judging whether it is true or false is not the main focus of this study, but this performance, repeated by members, has been accepted widely in the CAC.

It becomes clear, then, that there is a performance logic in the CAC. Teachers have been identified as powerful members by institutional discipline and then recognised by students; meanwhile, students have been positioned in a powerless situation. On the basis of their rule setting, teachers are able to ignore the functions of English (communication or representation), but at the same time help students improve English competence for English examinations. Although students are not satisfied with what teachers do, they choose to obey teachers' orders rather than putting forward their own ideas, since the right of judging right or wrong has been controlled by teachers, and the rule of keeping silent in class has positioned students in a powerless status. Without objections, these rules will be confirmed and repeated by members to construct shared community discourse/norms.

8.1.3 Showing willingness to enter LBAC with insistence on CAC norms

The previous section summarised how Chinese pre-sessional students regard the CAC and how they show allegiance. From the students' perspective, obedience could somehow be seen as a community discourse/norm that every CAC's member should adhere to. When moving forward to and in a new academic community, Chinese pre-sessional students might perform in a different way, although with a discourse or norm which they have constructed in other communities. Hence, this section concludes the key findings in the third research question: 'how How do Chinese pre-sessional students regard the LBAC? How do they attempt to show willingness to enter the LBAC?'.

In CAC, students' obedience has been accepted and constructed as a community discourse/norm. For teachers in LBAC, however, obedience would position them in an embarrassing place. There is no doubt that teachers in an academic community possess more power than students, not only because their positions are set by institutional disciplines, but also because they have mastered more knowledge. When there are uneven power conditions, there are power relations. It seems that the power relations in LBAC are less fierce than that in CAC. As shown in the extracts, students in LBAC are encouraged to "*challenge*" the teachers, which is opposite to obedience. From the teacher participant's narrative, challenging is likely to become a shared community discourse/norm in LBAC, and is expected to inspire students' "*passion*" and "*needs*" in English learning. Imagining is good, but it might impact on students' performances in the following learning process.

When receiving a contrary shared community discourse/norm, students seem to perform uncertainty at first, which is perhaps understandable because of their prolonged experience in other communities. After the uncertainty, students might begin to take tentative steps towards the boundary of "*challenge*". For example, "*Use English only*" is a classroom rule set by Mary, the identified powerful member, since English is the

shared language in LBAC. However, there are few students who obey this classroom rule when they communicate with other Chinese classmates, or Mary does not get involved in the group discussions. This performance conforms to Mary's encouragement to "*challenge*", but is also a probing activity for students deciding not to be obedient. Mary has not imagined this situation, so she has "*nothing to do*", but only express her understanding that students can speak Chinese in class if they have the need. This giving-up could be regarded as a reflection of the power relations in LBAC: teachers and students' positions are more fluid and relative, while those in CAC are fixed and absolute. On the other hand, it indicates that students' identity struggles might be ignored by powerful members (explained in section 7.3.4).

From Chinese pre-sessional students' perspectives, when stepping towards a new academic community, they are not familiar with what they will experience. Most of their performances are based on imaginations and constructs in CAC. The first construct performed by students is one in which, naturally, they still accept LBAC teachers as powerful community members; as such, they will obey what teachers tell them to do. As the encouragement of "*challenge*" is raised, students become confused and uncertain of LBAC membership rules and also, their identity. "*Challenge*" is somehow a reflection of disobedience, and it is a contradiction for Chinese pre-sessional students to obey the shared "*challenge*" norm. In addition, students insist on keeping silent in class, just as they have been educated in CAC, despite teachers in LBAC supporting active performances. The reasons are complex. After a long-term teaching focus only on writing and reading, students do not master and have no confidence in English speaking competence. One of the reflections of this problem is that they seem have no distinct concept between daily English communication and academic English use. When talking about their expectations of the pre-sessional programme, some of the participants say they would like to communicate with the locals freely, which is not an academic requirement of the LBAC. So, Mary, as a powerful member, who is familiar with the community discourse/norm, requests students to "*use English only*" in class, in order to help them assimilate and adapt to the new academic community. Nevertheless, in a

LBAC class, accompanied by the encouragement of “*challenge*”, when the teacher has been the minority person and most of the students are coming from another community, teacher’s power would be weakened or even ignored by students. Students’ performances, such as “*speaking Chinese*” and “*keeping silent*” become part of “*challenge*” and obedience.

However, it cannot be concluded that students do not have the desire to be members of the LBAC. Even though they cannot make a distinction between daily English communication and academic English use, they still know English is the shared language in LBAC. Teachers’ encouragement to “*challenge*”, to some extent, provides more space for students to explore the new academic community and learn the community discourse/norm. In particular, it has been shown in the extracts that although students have some confusion, they do not feel excluded by powerful members in LBAC, which leads to an improvement in students’ acceptance and assimilation of the new community discourse/norm.

8.1.4 Positioning selves with fluid identity constructions

The analysis in Chapter 6.5 shows the way Chinese pre-sessional students perform, negotiate or construct ‘student’ identity when they position themselves or have been positioned in LBAC.

When in CAC, students choose to perform obedience to teachers because of the influence of power relations that regard teachers as powerful members while students are recognised as powerless. Students are educated mainly in English writing and reading rather than speaking and listening, with the aim of helping them to achieve higher scores in the examinations. English education in CAC is likely to service examinations, with the two primary language functions -- communication and representation being ignored. Participants describe that they are asked to be silent in

class and only teachers have the right to judge what is wrong or right; in daily communications, since English is not the shared language in CAC, there are also few opportunities for students to practise or speak English. But it is inevitable that students could still construct English identities, although in Chinese, with their subjectivity and power having been limited to an extent that the powerful members could accept. This is not only an “*unidentification*” of students’ power, but also of their positions of being legitimate English speakers from teachers in CAC. These unbalanced education and examination designs cause corresponding unbalanced English competence in Chinese students, and further their unrealistic or incomplete imaginations of English academic communities.

In contrast to their counterparts in CAC, powerful members in LBAC, despite still positioning students in a relatively powerless place, at least identify them as legitimate English users. This definitely results from the fact that English is the shared community language in the new community, but it also shows a confirmation and an allowance of students’ subjectivity.

Distinct from Mary’s ‘student’ definition, that “*passion*” or “*needs*” are criteria of being good students, Chinese pre-sessional students are likely to define students as a group of people who are in a learning process or condition, and whose positions are in academic places or environments. Apparently, Mary, the powerful insider from LBAC, seems to focus more on an internal factor, that is, individual identity, to identify whether a student is good or not, while Chinese pre-sessional students, the relatively powerless members, wherever in CAC or LBAC, judge ‘student’ identity from an external factor -- group identity. This might be one of the reasons why Chinese pre-sessional students prefer to insist on speaking Chinese in group discussions even though they have been asked to communicate in English in LBAC, since their insistence shows their allegiance to CAC ‘student’ identity via other Chinese classmates.

The allegiance does not mean participants deny the ‘student’ identity of LBAC.

Considering students' unrealistic and incomplete imaginations of LBAC that are constructed in Chinese, their allegiance is a means for students to seek identity certainty when they find there are gaps between imagination and reality. These identity confusions make students try to negotiate identities in order to position themselves in a relatively powerful place. It should be noted that students are powerless members in front of CAC's teachers, but teacher-student power relations would disappear when teachers are absent. Meanwhile, in not speaking Chinese and not being regarded as a legitimate Chinese user, Mary's position in CAC seems to be one of being powerless, while students become powerful.

Regarding the negotiations taking place in a language learning process in academic communities, it has been shown in the extracts that Chinese pre-sessional students are aware that the pre-sessional programme is a preparation and transition time for them to assimilate and adapt to the LBAC, and it is also an opportunity to construct a new 'student' identity. Given that students have been identified as illegitimate English users by CAC teachers, and unqualified English speakers by LBAC members because of their failure in meeting language requirements, that is, IELTS, before they arrived in the UK, their learning has become the primary way for students to negotiate English identities constructed in Chinese so as to, firstly, show willingness to construct a new 'student' identity in LBAC, and then achieve academic grades that conform to the CAC's understanding of 'good student' identity.

With these identity struggles, it is obvious that their Chinese language would not be abandoned by students, even though they are already in a British community and have been told to "*use English only*" which is a community discourse/norm in LBAC. Their views or choices of language depend on their judgments of interlocutors. When faced with a speaker, Mary, who comes from LBAC and does not have CAC membership, they would speak English only in order to ensure the communications could be understood; this performance is also a reflection of showing LBAC 'student' identity. When the interlocutor has been identified as an LBAC powerful member with, in

addition, CAC membership (such as the researcher who has been studying one year in LBAC more than the student participants), students would choose Chinese as the primary discourse: but the usages of English have been affected by their LBAC identities and the researcher's English discourse usages. Moreover, when communicating with other Chinese classmates who position themselves in a power place similar to their own, students mix their languages only to the extent of using some English terms that only exist in LBAC (for example, seminar, TESOL, English names etc.), but avoid speaking English to prevent themselves from being criticized as “*pretentious*” by CAC members. In students' narratives, the specific group of LBAC members without CAC membership, represented by Mary, are identified as “*enthusiastic*” and “*nice*” for their greater tolerance of Chinese pre-sessional students' speaking English. In other words, it would be more appropriate to conclude that this tolerance is an acceptance of students' identity negotiations or constructions from LBAC members' perspective; intolerance of speaking English, expressed by Chinese classmates, shows that instead of regarding it as an objection, the CAC ‘student’ identity could gain more identification than that in LBAC.

8.2 The contributions of the thesis

This study has attempted to lay a valuable foundation in knowledge of identity construction when students shift between two communities in the context of their English language learning. The several modest contributions to the development of present existing knowledge and the current exploration of the research in the field are listed below.

8.2.1 Contribution to theory

The first contribution to theory refers to the theory of Kachru's ‘Three Circles of English’ model (1985). In Kachru's definition, the Inner Circle is made up the

traditional bases of English and its speakers who are providers of English norms; the Outer Circle are places whose speakers communicate in official non-native varieties of English because of the history of English colonialism; people in the Outer Circle challenge English norms and develop them; the Expanding Circle (China is standing in this circle) represents countries where English is not usually spoken and which are dependent on English norms. However, in this study, how students regard Mary shows that participants who come from the Expanding Circle do not conform to how Kachru defines them as English norm-dependent. If the model works, Mary should have been identified as powerless and unqualified in norm-providing, given her background as a citizen of the Expanding Circle. But in the LBAC where she affiliates with the communities of the Inner Circle, Mary was naturally accepted as a powerful member by Chinese pre-sessional students. As shown in the extracts, the English discourse or norms Mary used during the class were recognised and imitated. It is thus clear that Kachru's model is not suitable to describe current English communications in their fluidity and complexity.

In terms of another model referenced in this research, that is, Darvin and Norton's model of investment (2015), it has been shown that individuals' multiple community memberships have not been considered. According to the investment model, the encouragement of performing more subjectivity, should lead students to invest more in speaking English in the pre-sessional class, whose shared community language is English. However, even when monitored by an LBAC member, students still prefer Chinese as the primary discourse to communicate with their Chinese classmates. They have been told, and are aware of the significance of using English, that it is a criterion for LBAC members to judge whether good students or not. In the same way as for identity, the concepts (capital, resources, power, investment, etc.) in an investment model are also fluid and multiple. When shifting between two different communities, interweaving with these complex identity and model factors, students' investments or performances cannot be predicted simply by a single model.

In addition, Bourdieu's theory of power (1996) is emphasised in this study, along with the application of Foucault's position theory (1984). In Bourdieu's (1996) view, the source of domination that fixes or preserves social hierarchies, whether cultural or linguistic, is presented as symbolic systems; power is a fundamental concept to understand and investigate how society and organizations construct (Bourdieu, 1996; Friedland, 2009). Power relations exist in communities to regulate members' performances and their further and following identity constructions. As argued in Foucault's position theory (1984), instead of simply obeying or objecting discursive practices determined by positions, individuals choose the discursive-related positions, acknowledging the influence of power relations (Davis & Harre, 1990). There is a mutual relationship between power and discourse: power determines what discourse would be produced or constructed; in turn, discourse transmits and produces power. It could be observed that participants' choices of position in communities are decided by their then judgments of interlocutors, and interlocutors' choice of position would also influence participants. This whole complex of communications further impacts on existing power relations, positions that members choose, and multiple community discourse. Rather than 'fixed' and 'opposite', 'fluid' and 'dynamic' are more appropriate adjectives in interpreting what happens in communities when associated with power, discourse and position.

8.2.2 Contribution to empirical study

This research has some contributions to the current empirical literature. While it is obvious that a range of study focusing on immigrants moving towards English-speaking countries, there are few studies focusing on students with identity construction issues. In particular, the participants in this study are a group of students who have been learning English for a decade at least but are identified as unqualified English speakers before arriving in the UK. This is the biggest distinction between the participants in this research and other empirical studies. Immigrants participating in Norton's (2000)

research are adults in the initial stage of English learning and do not have the experience of being denied their English competence before their arrival in the new communities. In addition, Norton pays more attention to investigating how participants interact with locals beyond the English class; work, and therefore results, focusing on newcomers in an academic community, is somewhat limited.

This research therefore consequently makes modest contributions to the current empirical research. In particular, it adds to an expanding literature on Chinese students' identity constructions when shifting to different academic communities in the context of English language learning. This study expects to show lights into how Chinese pre-sessional students regard CAC and LBAC, and how they perform, negotiate, or construct a new 'student' identity in their learning experience.

8.3 Implications for practitioners

This section tries to provide answers to the 'so what' question presented to every research. The key findings in this study provide implications for teachers, instructors, trainers or students in English language learning and teaching in a number of ways.

As discussed in the literature review, there are two functions of English -- communication, enabling people to exchange ideas and information, and representation, which offers individuals opportunities to represent who they are or are not (Zuberbuhler, 2015). Nevertheless, because Chinese people do not use English in daily life, students have few chances to communicate with each other in English. Powerful members, the teachers in CAC, do not identify students as legitimate English users by not allowing students to judge what is right or wrong and requesting them to keep silent in class. Focusing on writing and reading resulting from an examination bias leads to students' unbalanced construction of imagination and expectation on LBAC, which may possibly cause identity confusions.

The negative results of English learning in CAC might provide a warning for policy-makers, indicating the presence of serious faults in the current English curriculum and examinations. The findings indicate the extent of students' understanding of the teaching focus and reveal the potential problems of CAC's English education: for example, teachers appear to have a negligible or negative effect on students' English communication and representation. Whatever the teaching aims are, as participants describe them, in such an examination-score orientated community, teachers only serve to improve students' scores, and students become slaves to the examinations. Speaking and listening are not tested either in the regular or formal English exams. So a focus on speaking and listening is a waste of time for people in English education, and it can even uselessly take up precious time for students needing to learn writing and reading, which the exams require most. Even for students who pass the Gao Kao and then enter a university to start their undergraduate journey, there are not enough English-speaking classes for them to practise or communicate in English. Given that English is not the shared language in Chinese communities, educators might try to create more opportunities for students to use English, and changes might be made to exams, such as adding listening and speaking test parts.

Modifying policy and exams does not mean it is unnecessary to pay attention to teacher training. Educators, especially English teachers in CAC, might consider the significance of students' descriptions of their perceptions, orientations, and motivations in learning English. Some students may want to be more international, or find a 'window' to communicate with the world via English learning; others may like to be more local, for example, achieving higher scores or being identified as Chinese in English interactions. These various learning orientations would affect students' learning investment, so educators might have a careful look at students' motivations and evaluate their reasons for English learning related to identity construction, and think about each student as an individual learner with subjectivity, based on a suitable framework of an English teaching curriculum and its requirements.

This study might also serve to inform educators of the powerful positions in English learning, particularly identity performances, negotiations or constructions on the basis of power relations. The powerful position of teachers, however, does not mean students should be educated and regulated with low subjectivity that represents little or no right to perform discourse or position in the self-chosen place. The dissatisfaction from students implies they have the need to show subjectivity, or to be more precise for this study, individual identity. It seems that teachers ignore students' needs and treat identity constructions as useless for achieving higher scores in the exams. But English learning is not all about examination achievements. In CAC, educators must be aware that it is not normal and reasonable for students to construct English identities mainly in Chinese. This would cause a variety of problems in students' future learning in English communities. Firstly, as shown in the analysis of the extracts, with unrealistic and incomplete imaginations or expectations (constructed on the basis of unbalanced English training) in moving toward a new academic community, students would have a fiercer identity struggle and even encounter interference in their adaption to the target discourse and community membership. For example, when talking about the expectation of the pre-sessional programme, students seem not to have a clear picture of the distinctions between daily English communication and academic English usage, which results in more identity confusions if they find that what nonacademic English usage (i.e., slang) they have mastered cannot apply to or be accepted by the LBAC. This nonacceptance and unrecognition would further demotivate students in English learning. On the other hand, for teachers in the LBAC, it would be meaningful if they could encourage students' English usage in a moderate range, regardless of whether the purpose of English is for daily communication or academic use. Since besides the CAC and LBAC students have a position in, they also have desires or ambitions towards other communities, for instance, a local British community. Although this is not an academic community, students could also improve their English communication competence to some extent. Encouragement to enter these communities would be a means of increasing students' investment in English learning and a development of the

sense of LBAC membership.

This study has drawn a picture showing how Chinese pre-sessional students show allegiance to the CAC and, at the same time, their willingness to enter the LBAC. Teachers who do not have membership of CAC probably cannot understand the deep reasons why students choose the community positions or perform in a way that is different from conventions in LBAC. Incomprehension or even misunderstanding often come with the unawareness of students' identity struggles. From the extracts, it is to be noted that CY has suffered a failure in the mock exams during her pre-sessional programme. In the interviews, she described herself as a pessimistic person who could not handle much pressure. However, according to the observations, it seemed that Mary did not totally understand why CY failed and attributed the failure primarily to not speaking English in class. This simple and superficial attribution is unlikely to lead to an effective way to solve complex identity problems.

Regarding the performances showing an insistence on speaking Chinese in LBAC, Mary's choice was to ease the language restriction and express her understanding of the necessity for communication in Chinese among Chinese pre-sessional students. However, from the researcher's view, Mary's choice is somehow a giving-up of power, and it further transmits a type of confirmation that Mary's powerful position has been degraded. According to the above extracts, the reason is that when LBAC teachers are positioned in a place where students all come from another community which shares a language, they would become powerless and excluded from the community in which students are positioned. The implication arising from this study in terms of solving this problem and firming teacher's powerful positions, is to make sure the majority of the students are not all from the same community. One of the aims of a pre-sessional course is to improve student's English competence. With the risk involved in constructing English identities in a different language, educators might consider students' cultural backgrounds and set up classes which consist of various students from different communities, in order to ensure LBAC teachers would not be in a minority, which is

Mary's position.

In terms of the English learners who will experience or who are already experiencing the shifting between two different academic communities, this study shows some implications of their identity struggles. Before stepping toward the new academic community, students clearly need to understand that there might be gaps between imaginations and realities. Individuals' performances in the new academic communities are affected inevitably by their experience in other communities. This cannot be denied and avoided. The identity struggles and confusions happen not only because of the gaps, but also are associated with the different power relations compared with other communities. English learners need to be encouraged to obey the orders of powerful members according to their own needs.

8.4 Limitations of this study

This study has attempted to provide a detailed and concrete picture of identity performances, negotiations or constructions in academic settings. Limited to a small number of student participants in a particular education programme, this study's results and conclusions cannot be regarded as generalizable. It is argued here, however, that, without attempting to address general problems, there is much to be gained in taking an interest in a particular case and learning more about it (Stake, 1995). This research focused on a specific group of English learners' (Chinese pre-sessional students) experience at one UK Higher Education Institution. Through detailing and interpreting students' narratives and performances, similarities and differences in how experiences are lived have been demonstrated, as participants shift between various academic communities; these results may interest others who are working in the field of English learning in Higher Education or other similar interaction contexts.

There are two further possible limitations which need to be clarified before any

summary of findings, in order to ensure an understanding of the context in which the research results should be interpreted. The first of these is that Mary, the teacher participant in the study, is not an English native speaker and comes from the Expanding Circle, as do the students participants. In a LBAC community, it is a convention or stereotype that the powerful members' mother tongue should be English language, or to be more strict, should be Standard English: according to Kachru (1985), people from the Inner Circle are English-norm providers, while people in the Expanding Circle are English norm-dependent. Here it is argued, however, that Kachru's model cannot adequately reflect or explain the current phenomenon of English use around the world: section 7.4 below will address this in more detail.

The second possible limitation is that all participants are female. It might be more interesting if there were data collected from male students. But firstly, the pre-session programme selected for conducting this research is offered for prospective students in a department of Education in a Higher Education institute. The reality is that for Chinese students, females are more willing to choose Education-related majors than males. Chinese male students are rare in Education and, in this HEI, had been allocated to different classes.

Finally, and more generally, although the original intention had been to collect one-year's data from all 14 student participants, regrettably, not all the students in the group were willing to cooperate. Also, the lengths of interviews varied greatly from person to person. Some of the interviews finished within ten minutes, while others lasted without intermission for more than one hour.

Some participants were excluded from the data because of their 'wooden' performances in the class. It might have been useful to ask if students could explain such performances during their interviews. Unfortunately, their noncooperation in the following interviews made it difficult to collect enough data.

8.5 Further directions

Following what has been considered above, the expectations of this study, in addition to the research aims, has been to investigate the identity construction process among Chinese pre-sessional students in the context of English learning. It is hoped that understanding how students perform, negotiate or construct identities while shifting communities will assist researchers with recognising and narrow down research areas for future investigation and exploration. As for educators, they may, through continued research results, gain enough knowledge about why students have particular performances and about dealing appropriately with students' new identity construction in adapting to the new community. Finally, learners might benefit by becoming aware of the struggles and confusions when encountering interlocutors from the target community.

This study has observed students' identity processes from a community whose powerless members have low subjectivity, to another community in which powerless members perform in a way with high subjectivity. The specific context has led the research to achieve limited results, which, conversely, offer a potential area for future research to explore similar identity processes in students from a high subjectivity community to a lower one. A comparison of these two would add to knowledge on performance patterns or provide a fuller picture of how academic identity is constructed.

The preceding sections have emphasised that the student participants in this study all have the same CAC membership, which means they have two shared languages (Chinese and English) which could be used in communications. Although the power relations in this study are easily observed, the finds might have limitations and cannot be generalized to other English learners who do not have the CAC membership. A potential research project, involving learners whose cultural backgrounds are different from each other -- implying that all participants can only communicate in English - would be useful in order to examine how the power relations are constructed and how

these multiple memberships or discourses interweave with each other, and then how these constructs and performances influence new identity constructions.

Reiterating, the student participants here are all from China and intend to study a Masters programme preceded by an 8-week pre-sessional course. Further research could be extended to (i) other levels of programme (undergraduate or PhD), (ii) females and males, (iii) different disciplinary backgrounds of students who aim to study other modules or programmes, such as marketing or mathematics. In similar to this, the framework of this research could be extended to multiple degrees of research, different genders, different countries, different subjects and disciplines.

Further, an alternative methodology, distinct from the one employed here, could be considered, aiming to gain broader insights. For instance, a mixed-methods approach involving a quantitative study might reveal more meaningful insights.

8.6 Conclusion: Personal reflections

Having explored this new ‘student’ identity construction process of Chinese pre-sessional students in the context of academic community shifting, I have understood English learners’ views on different academic communities when associated with power relations. Certain questions I had at the beginning of this study, in terms of reasons why pre-sessional students hold multiple opinions in dealing with teachers’ requests and classroom rules, have become clearer. On the one hand, the aims of the pre-sessional programme are to provide preparation time for pre-judged unqualified English speakers to adapt to the following postgraduate courses: the rules of this community are similar to those of other LBACs. As such, the relatively relaxed atmosphere and power relations, compared with those in CAC, and the further postgraduate programme, allow students to have more time to assimilate, construct and perform acceptable community identities. On the other hand, Chinese pre-sessional students, as the majority group of

people in the LBAC classes, tend to feel more sense of CAC membership, which essentially has overpowered teachers' power; they then go on to construct special 'student' identities that could meet the LBAC's academic requirements, but also could be accepted and identified by CAC members.

The first time I exchanged my confusions with other pre-sessional classmates before my PhD study, the query I had encountered: "*I'm Chinese. Why should I obey all the British rules? I'll go back when I complete the British course. The same to you.*" inspired me to start thinking about the deep-rooted reasons and corresponding performances behind the question.

In the first interviews with student participants, many students asked me whether my research was about psychology. Positioning myself as a sociolinguistic and focusing my study on identity issues, I was curious as to why students would form this kind of understanding about the project. After several small talks, students told me they would prefer to regard behavioural changes as being controlled by individual psychology (internal factors) rather than by the direction or impact of others (external factors). This attribution made me start to review the applied research methods and interview questions again, so as to avoid the psychological inclination. I paid more attention to their discourse and performance observations and analysis, without getting involved in judgements concerning truth or falsehood.

During the observations, it was quite interesting that my participants had performances similar to my 'pre-sessional selves'. For instance, I was not willing to perform actively no matter how much the teacher encouraged me; similarly, some of the students performed in a wooden way, that did not provide feedback to teachers. I constructed that identity because the alternative might have made me feel shame or given a sense of antisocial behaviour, leading to my experiencing being laughed at or criticized for my activeness by other CAC members. "*Keep silent*" is a widely-shared community discourse/norm in CAC and it is extremely difficult to make changes.

As explained in previous chapters, CY was chosen to be the person participating in the case study because of her positive co-operation and average performances (not too active nor too quiet) in LBAC classes. We then developed such a precious friendship that she said she would like to speak anything which happened to her in her British academic life, which provided a relatively relaxed atmosphere to conduct the final interview, which lasted for three and half hours. She held the same query as my pre-sessional classmates: *“Why do you want to obey all the British classroom rules?”*. I had no answer when I was questioned, but after almost two-year’s academic life here, I explained to CY: *“Because you wanna to achieve a degree that was awarded by LBAC, obeying the academic rules might be a more efficient way.”* CY seemed not agree with me and thought our different views were caused by our different academic levels and goals in the LBAC.

In my third year of the PhD programme, one and half a years after the completion of the 8-week pre-sessional course in which I collected the data, Mary, the then pre-sessional teacher asked me if I could provide some advice on her own PhD project. She was collecting data about how students with diverse cultural backgrounds and mother tongues communicated with each other. Her project proceeded smoothly until the data collection with Chinese students. She complained to me that feedback from the Chinese participants was rare, and that without clear orders, they seemed to not know what to do. It was interesting that, even with several years’ experience of being a teacher whose students were in large part Chinese, she still could not realize how to handle CAC’s community discourse/norm. I suggested that she should issue orders directly to her Chinese participants because they were newcomers to LBAC and could not adapt to the new environment and discourse so far.

After the analysis of the data, I began to have an answer to my classmate’s query. Just as CY’s guessed, the reason may be our different academic levels in the LBAC. Although both were identified as unqualified English speakers by LBAC members

before we came to the UK, I intended to have a three-year PhD programme, which would make me eligible to be issued with a PSW visa.⁵ After graduation, while for CY and other pre-sessional students whose LBAC's programme was a Masters one that lasted for only one year: they would be not allowed to apply for the PSW once graduated.⁶ From a political perspective, I was likely to feel more acceptance by LBAC than other pre-sessional students, which encouraged me to obey all the academic rules here. It would be interesting if the same research could be conducted on Chinese pre-sessional students of year 2021-22, since the PSW visa has been officially opened for all international students in the UK, which means they do not have an acceptance different from mine.

When I am writing this chapter, Chinese students, perhaps, are experiencing a significant reform of education system. The Ministry of Education of China demands that the Junior students who fail in the Middle School Entrance Examination are not eligible to upgrade to the Senior Schools, which means they have lost the opportunity of achieving the bachelor's degree that cannot be accepted by most of the parents and students. It cannot be imagined by non-Chinese that, due to the universalization of Higher Education in China, Chinese parents and students have monumental enthusiasm and passion in the Higher Education degree. When the hope of studying in a Chinese university is small, students will definitely advert their eyes to UK, USA or other developed countries, or most likely, other English-speaking countries. With being learnt English for years, English-speaking countries might be the first choices. Even though in this pandemic time, the population of Chinese students who choose to study an undergraduate or postgraduate programme in the UK has been increasing (HESA, 2021). More Chinese students implies that it becomes more important and necessary to focus on Chinese students' identity constructions in the LBAC.

⁵ PSW visa refers to a graduate visa giving applicants permission to stay in the UK for at least two years after successfully completing a course in the UK.

⁶ In 2018, when I collected my project data in CY's pre-sessional programme, the PSW visa has not been opened to the Masters students.

I have without doubt greatly benefited from the experience of studying and researching here as a person, a student and a researcher as well. It has furnished me with one more method to research on a LBAC classroom and a community of practice. The professional findings also have implications for practitioners in the similar research contexts. Researchers with similar interests can also accept this research as a ladder for further discussions and research in the future.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Consent form (Student participant)

Information Page

The Construction of Identity of Student: Focusing on Chinese Pre-sessional English Learners

Dear Student,

I (Nan Huang) am currently carrying out a research project to investigate how Chinese students construct their new identity of ‘student’ in pre-sessional classes offered at the University of York over a period of 8 weeks. I am writing to ask if you are able to take part in the study.

What would this mean for you?

This would mean that I would ask you to:

- (a) Provide your application documents, such as recommendation letters, personal statements and CV, which aim to let me have a better understanding of your previous background as a student.
- (b) Take part in a one-to-one interview, lasting about 10 minutes, with me. We will talk about the Chinese English-teacher who affected you most, your own opinions about your expectations of the pre-sessional course. The interview will be audio-recorded.
- (c) In the 8 weeks of class, I will be recording you and your classmates in class. I will divide the recordings across the 8 weeks into three stages: early, middle and

late. Only two classes in every stage will be recorded.

- (d) At the end of your pre-sessional course, you will be asked to take another interview with me. You do not have to communicate with me in English, you can speak to me in Mandarin if you wish to.

Anonymity

Only my supervisor (Dr. Paul Roberts) and I will have access to any non-anonymised data at the start of the data collection. The data that you provide (e.g. application documents, video recordings of the class and interviews) will be stored by code number. Any information that identifies you will be stored separately from the data.

Storing and using your data

All data will be stored on a USB stick and on a password protected computer. The data will be kept for 8 years after which time it will be destroyed. The data may be used for future analysis and shared for research or training purposes, but participants will not be identified individually. If you do not want your data to be included in any information shared as a result of this research, please do not sign this consent form.

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time during data collection and up to 2 weeks after the data is collected.

Information about confidentiality

The data that I collect (application documents / video/ audio recordings / transcripts) may be used in anonymous format in different ways. Please indicate on the consent form attached with a checkmark if you are happy for this anonymised data to be used in the ways listed.

Please note: If I gather information that raises concerns about your safety or the safety of others, or about other concerns as I perceive them, I may pass on this information to

another person.

I hope that you will agree to take part. If you have any questions about the study that you would like to ask before giving consent or after the data collection, please feel free to contact me by email (nh951@york.ac.uk), or the Chair of Ethics Committee via email education-research-administrator@york.ac.uk

If you are happy to participate, please complete the form attached.

Please keep this information sheet for your own records.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Yours sincerely

Nan Huang

**The Construction of Identity of Student: Focusing on Chinese Pre-sessional
English Learners
Consent Form**

Please initial each box if you are happy to take part in this research.

I confirm that I have read and understood the information given to me about the above named research project and I understand that this will involve me taking part as described above.

I understand that the purpose of the research is to investigate how Chinese students construct their new identity of 'student' through discourse and power in pre-sessional class.

I understand that data will be stored securely in a USB stick and on a password protected computer and only Nan Huang and her supervisor will have access to

any identifiable data. I understand that my identity will be protected by use of a code/pseudonym.

I understand that my data will not be identifiable and the data may be used

in publications that are mainly read by university academics

in presentations that are mainly attended by university academics

in publications that are mainly read by the public

in presentations that are mainly attended by the public

freely available online

I understand that data will be kept for 8 years after which it will be destroyed.

I understand that data could be used for future analysis or other purposes, for up to 8 years.

I understand that I can withdraw my data at any point during data collection and up to 2 weeks after data is collected

Signature _____

Date _____

Appendix 2 Consent form (Teacher participant)

Information Page

The Construction of Identity of Student: Focusing on Chinese Pre-sessional English Learners

Dear teacher,

I (Nan Huang) am currently carrying out a research project to investigate how Chinese students construct their new identity of 'student' during and throughout the 8-week pre-sessional classes. I am writing to ask if you are able to take part in the study.

What would this mean for you?

Before the pre-sessional course, I will ask you to take part in a short interview lasting 10 minutes about your expectations of the pre-sessional course, your opinions about how students take part in class, as well as your own role as a teacher during these sessions. For the next 8 weeks, I will set up a video recorder in the corner of the classroom in several randomly selected classes. I will be recording the lessons to see how students interact, learn and communicate with you. Not all of the 8 weeks will be video recorded, but I will let you know in advance which sessions will be. During the pre-sessional course, I will also discuss with you about students' performance, as recorded on the video. The purpose of these discussions is to investigate whether and how you as a teacher affects the students' identity construction.

Anonymity

Only my supervisor (Dr. Paul Roberts) and I will have access to any non-anonymised data at the start of the data collection. The data will then be anonymised and stored by

code number. Any information that identifies you will be stored separately from the data.

Storing and using your data

Data will be stored in a USB stick and on a password protected computer. The data will be kept for 8 years after which time it will be destroyed. The data may be used for future analysis and shared for research or training purposes, but participants will not be identified individually. If you do not want your data to be included in any information shared as a result of this research, please do not sign this consent form.

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time during data collection and up to 2 weeks after the data is collected.

Information about confidentiality

The data that I collect (Video / audio recordings / video and audio transcripts) may be used in *anonymous* format in different ways. Please indicate on the consent form attached with a if you are happy for this anonymised data to be used in the ways listed.

Please note: If I gather information that raises concerns about your safety or the safety of others, or about other concerns, as I perceive them, I may pass on this information to another person.

I hope that you will agree to take part. If you have any questions about the study that you would like to ask before giving consent or after the data collection, please feel free to contact me by email (nh951@york.ac.uk), or the Chair of Ethics Committee via email education-research-administrator@york.ac.uk

If you are happy to participate, please complete the form attached.

Please keep this information sheet for your own records.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Yours sincerely

Nan Huang

**The Construction of Identity of Student: Focusing on Chinese Pre-sessional
English Learners
Consent Form**

Please initial each box if you are happy to take part in this research.

I confirm that I have read and understood the information given to me about the above named research project and I understand that this will involve me taking part as described above.

I understand that the purpose of the research is to investigate how Chinese students construct their new identity of 'student' through discourse and power in pre-sessional class.

I understand that data will be stored securely in a USB stick and on a password protected computer and only Nan Huang and her supervisor will have access to any identifiable data. I understand that my identity will be protected by use of a code/pseudonym.

I understand that my data will not be identifiable and the data may be used

in publications that are mainly read by university academics

in presentations that are mainly attended by university academics

in publications that are mainly read by the public
in presentations that are mainly attended by the public
freely available online

I understand that data will be kept for 8 years after which it will be destroyed.

I understand that data could be used for future analysis or other purposes, for up to 8 years.

I understand that I can withdraw my data at any point during data collection and up to 2 weeks after data is collected

Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix 3 First interview questions

- (a) What is your definition of a student? Do you think your definition is widely shared?
- (b) If people ask, 'who are you?', do you always answer 'I'm a student'? What other answers do you give? Do your answers depend on circumstances?
- (c) How can other people (teachers, parents, friends, relatives) help you to be a better student? Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?
- (d) What is the expectation of your pre-sessional course? I mean, after 8 weeks, what do you want to achieve?
- (e) Do you think your pre-sessional class will be the same as your English class in China? What are the similarities and differences in your imagination?
- (f) In order to become a good student in the pre-sessional class, will you have the same behaviours as your English class in China? What actions will you continue to do? And what possible different behaviours will you do?
- (g) If your teacher has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?
- (h) If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?

Appendix 4 Second interview questions

- (a) Do you remember your definition of 'student' in the first interview? What was it?
And do you agree or disagree with your previous definition?
- (b) Have you achieved your expectations of the pre-session programme?
- (c) Why did you insist speaking Chinese with your group members when Mary had already told you "Use English only"?
- (d) What are the differences of the English class between the Chinese one and the British one? Why?
- (e) What is your English name? Why did you choose this as your English name?
- (f) Which identity would you like to be regarded, a British student from China, or a Chinese student who is learning a British programme? Why?
- (g) Do you think you are the same when speaking English and Chinese?

Appendix 5 Mary's interview transcript

(M=Mary, the teacher of the 8-week pre-session programme; I=Interviewer)

I: May I know what's your definition of student?

M: My definition of student?

I: Yes. What traits do you think a good student should have?

M: Student or good student? It's um...

I: OK, first student.

M: First of all, it's a human being (laughs). It's a human being, human being...um ...place us, um...set us in situation, having particular aim. Then after achieving the knowledge, he's stop being a student if he doesn't want to do it. Um... interacting with other students and teachers, um...understanding norms at school or university, and for filling different tasks and different stages and progressing from level to level demonstrating that we achieve these aims basically.

I: So what about a good student?

M: Good student?

I: Do much better than other students?

M: I think good student, in my opinion, a good student is um a person who is passionate about what they do, even though their grades do not reflect that passion and the level of their knowledge, they are still, they still find something really interesting not for the um educational requirements but for their own needs.

I: So have you shared your opinions of a good student with your current students?

M: With my student?

I: Yes, with these pre-session students.

M: We discussed good student is, I mainly tell them, what they are expected as a student at university. So I will tell them um I would I would speak with them about what's expected from them as students at university at this particular level in this institution. So I think so. Yeah. Yeah.

I: I have noticed that there is a paper saying something that they can do in the class.

So the first one is to speak English always, but some students, I mean, most of the students, they discuss the questions in Chinese. So what's your opinion about this?

M: [Use English only] That's one of the rules, but I'm very lenient about this. You probably noticed there are times when I remind them, and I have to remind them because that's the rule. But I'm not very strict about this one. Because I understand them, they may need to do in their first language. But at the same time you try to encourage them for using English as much as possible. And I want to make this one clear. Listen, this is English class. We're speaking English and I don't understand Chinese and that's the main reason. But there are times when they really need Chinese, and I can't say anything about this.

I: Do you think a student who is always speaking English in your class is more like a good student?

M: He's got greater chances that he would achieve their aims in the future. So it depends on what they are really want. You know, be high achieving student, they have to use the target language as much as possible.

I: If a student has a different opinion about the topic, or she doesn't obey your order in the class, what will you do?

M: I like they have different opinions. It means they think. It demonstrate they think and they approach this particular problem from different perspective. There must be may something which I'm not aware of. It's really I invite discussion and disagreement and things like that in my class. I'm very happy. It also increases dynamics and people are more interested in what is going on. Yeah? So it's not about challenging teacher authorities about if in dialogue.

I: Will you try your best to persuade the students to your opinion?

M: Um...I asked them their arguments and then I asked whole class. OK, so do you, do you agree with this person's reason? And then we all decided "no", they would say straightaway. No or yes. Also, we all know straightaway what's the correct line of thinking and you know...

I: So as a teacher, you like to be challenged?

M: Yes, I do like the challenging, yeah.

I: Do you think a student who likes to challenge you is a good student, in your opinion?

M: It is. Yeah, I think so.

I: I have noticed that in my first observation, the first class when you encouraged the students to argue with you, but...but they said...they said no and keep silence. What's you feeling that time?

M: Um...I invite different opinions. So even if they do not come up with opposite or different...or arguments, I think it's fine. I would show them that I'm open for different views and different opinions in the future, situation like that happens in the future. And in that situation, when they have specific argument reason, they can speak it out.

I: What reasons do you think could be? Why did this happen?

M: Not enough knowledge on the topic? So you don't know how to...how to respond, how to challenge it. Personality? Confidence? Maybe due to confidence of the person, may know something more, but it's not confident enough to speak to challenge the tutor and speak in front of the whole class.

I: Do you think maybe they're Chinese students, so they don't want to challenge teachers?

M: (Sighs) This is what they said. They told me in informal feedback and there is something they've been used to, and they say that this is something which is very difficult to change. However, it's like from year one, I see them like more confident, so I can see this kind of very slow progress in the way they um...they respond to...and they um...the conversation is going in the class. Yes. So I don't know whether I got used to them or it's changing so um...Oh, it's very difficult for me to say, you know what I mean.

I: What will you do to improve this?

M: Asking them questions and keep repeating that they are free to express your opinions. And um... I never say that someone is wrong. I just, I just try to give, provide them feedback in a way that encourages them to ask questions in the future. So it's not only about discouraging them, you know, asking questions. Um...What

else we could do?

I: Ask them to do more homework (laughs)?

M: I don't know if that's the solution, because we also have to be reasonable about this one, because sometimes the more you keep them, the less they do. So it's better to keep a less, in my opinion, and making sure that they really understand this.

I: This class you're teaching now, they're all Chinese students. Have you taught some other classes that there are several non-Chinese students?

M: Yeah. I have some European students before, and mixed with some Chinese students.

I: Have you noticed some differences between the Chinese students and non-Chinese students?

M: There are cultural differences for sure. So for example, I don't remember exactly what the topic was, but it did happen in one of the classes.

I: In my pilot in April, there was one non-Chinese student was very active. I mean more active than other Chinese students.

M: I think it's not because of background or nationalities. More about um...more about his stages, because he's PhD student. He's a PhD student and he's a bit older, and he's a university lecturer back in his country. So I feel like he's trying to, you know, maintain his his presence and stress the fact that, you know, he's at higher level. Do you know what I mean?

I: Yeah, show off (laughs).

M: Kind of, yeah? Yeah, someone who leaves the place where he's a leader there, and he's...He had this position at this personality which which um...made him probably to behave in this way.

I: OK, thank you, thank you for your information.

Appendix 6 First interview transcripts of student participants

Appendix 6.1 CY's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; C=CY)

I: What's your definition of student?

C: (Laughs) My definition of student...

I: Yes.

C: I think student should perform well within some time, that is, do well in the period of learning. And in this period, (s)he should plan for the future, develop a good habit and mental condition, and um...in the learning, in future development and mental health um...doing well (laughs). Yes.

I: So you mean student should study well and have a good score, right?

C: No, no. I think because student is a small noun word. Above this, basically, we every student is a person. We must do the human affairs well before we do the students' affairs. So I think students should definitely do what I said the the basic things (laughs).

I: Do you think others have the same opinion with you?

C: Um some may notice that um actually, I don't mean student should to be a good person. Some people may not particularly care about their personal qualities, or other aspects. But some people may care. But I think most people will definitely care about this, because it's a civilized society and people have a great passion in learning now. So I think they um that's what we all believe.

I: That means just like you said, there are someone...

C: Yes, there absolutely are some people may agree with this.

I: I'm a good student, but perhaps my conduct...

C: I don't care, yes, I don't care other aspects. I think it's enough that I'm a good student.

I: If others ask you "who are you", will you always answer with "I'm a student"?

C: Definitely no (laughs). I think student, student is just a concept. You have many

identities. You have different identities in different periods, right? You can't born as a student, right? Yes yes yes yes yes. So I think I won't absolutely answer like this. I can reply with other answers, because I'm a thoughtful person.

I: In what situation you will answer "I'm a student"?

C: For example, when the teacher asked me questions in the classroom where she identified herself as teacher, I would answer that I was a student. Or, in um...Anyway, in a teaching environment, academic.

I: Will you answer this when you're doing a part-time job?

C: It depends. If, if I want to look for excuses (laughs) when I'm doing a part-time job. For example, if the superior thought I didn't do a good job, I would say I was a student and didn't have much working experience.

I: If you want to be a good student, what kinds of support do you think the people around you can provide?

C: Such as teachers...No, like the family, relatives, parents, and they provide me the financial support mainly, yes. Firstly, I come here to study. And they can support me mentally, and this metal support can also be provided by family members, relatives and your friends. Because friends can't support you the tuition fees, most of them can't. So they can support me on economy or spirit.

I: What about the teachers?

C: Teachers are, I think...Um, that's why I choose TESOL as my major. I think teachers are people with conscience. They may not only give you financial support, also mental support. Sometimes, teacher gives us more than parents ... But they don't have a blood relationship with you.

I: Is there any connection with what you said that teachers should be human beings firstly?

C: Yes. I think teachers have many identities, I mean, they are responsible. They would treat students as their family members, feeling like family members. I'm a teacher, but I treat you as my family members, just like my kids, doesn't it? I had an intern experience, so I had that feeling. Sometimes I was tired, but when thinking about they were my students, I must finish my job with treating the students as my

relatives or children. In that time, I would establish an identity, just like a mother, a father, or the relatives.

I: You think that kind of caring is beyond teachers' responsibility and duty.

C: I think it is. I think yes. I, actually, don't want to define teachers as great persons. Their duty is to teach and educate students, but in reality, they have done more than that.

I: So this is the factors that influence you to be a teacher in the future?

C: Of course. Before the undergraduate, I've never thought about to be a teacher. I hated English. I hated learning English most (laughs). I looked at my English teacher, when I was in the Senior School, I looked at my English teacher's face, I felt...I felt when I looked at his/her face, I thought I would never be a teacher. But when I entered the university, a Normal University, there was a high possibility that after achieving a Masters degree, I would be a teacher. And since the intern time, I decided I wanted to be a teacher. My tutor of my first and second year in the university, is a very very very very excellent translator who is famous in China. Besides this, he is a PhD in Computer Science and is apply for the PhD in Mathematics. He didn't have spare time because he was writing books or translating something. He is very nice and humble, not like other tutors, never being conceited with his PhD Degree, or being proud of his educational background. He's very humble. He is the only person influencing me a lot on becoming a teacher. And many of my family members are teachers, they...The supervisor in my intern time said to me: "I wish you wouldn't become a teacher in the future." It's really tired to work as a teacher, everyone says that to me. But I have my own ideas. The tutor I respect impacts me. Despite his influence, I don't want to a teacher at all.

I: Do the foreigner teachers and classmates here influence you?

C: To be a good student?

I: Yes.

C: Definitely. Because...I haven't meet many foreigners here, most of them are teachers, and the classmates in my course. And they, they are...among classmates, we compete each other. Every one wants to be better, not to be the top one. But we

want ourselves better than others, or the same as others. And...and teachers...my previous foreigner teachers would...would...(s)he would, like, I think...The non-Chinese teachers' teaching strategy may be different with Chinese teachers. They encourage and not ask students to be NO.1. The relaxing learning environment they create subtly influence us on learning and communicating freely and smoothly, and they won't criticize me if I'm at a loss of words or don't understand what they've said, which makes me want to be a better person in language learning.

I: What's your expectations of the pre-session programme? After eight weeks, what kind of person do you want to be, or what results do you want to have?

C: I'm a relatively pessimistic person. I'll make the expectations as low as possible in advance. I hope I could get a higher English score than my IELTS. That's all. I'm not expecting to communicate with natives without any pressure. It's impossible. I think it's impossible because there are all Chinese around me. I can speak Chinese. I don't have any expectation, just get a higher score than IELTS.

I: What's the difference of English class between UK and China?

C: There are similarities, and differences as well. The difference is, We [English classes in China] are like a seminar, a small seminar. In our high school, only the teacher can speak. You can't stand or walk around on the class. We have a um...rule, but unlike the rules here, it's different. But teachers would encourage us to express ideas, and hoped that the classroom would be more active, and hoped students um...Because now China's educational concept is also very new. It is changing with time flies. It is changing all the time, and it is similar to the Western countries. However, in the specific process of our practice, there must be disadvantages of our previous education methods which can't be eliminated in a short time, right? The model of teachers' education for decades cannot be changed easily with simple updates. So the previous model also exists, and the current model also exists, our country's teaching methods are more like mixed ones. The foreign model is the new one. I think it's OK. Because we also have that kind of seminar, like this kind of small model. I think it's pretty good. Both at home and abroad, um... The two aspects, the two I just said are similarities and differences. The teachers' attitudes

are also similar. Foreign teachers may be more relaxed. Teachers require less strict grades and balanced development of students. That is, we should not only focus on our studies, but also develop our thinking. Domestic teachers pay more attention to the results. Teachers hope that the students they teach will be fruitful, well, that's right.

I: You mean Chinese education is result-orientation, while others are process-orientation?

C: Right. Yes yes yes. Kind of, but not all of them, most of them are.

I: If you want to be a good student, what are the similarities and differences between home and abroad?

C: I'm just um...I define myself as a good student. I think as a good student, it's own definition, not others' views that good student are people have good grades and behaviours, ranking top among classmates. I just hope I'll have a small progress. This is my goal. Like IELTS test I've talked about, I'll set goals to make myself better than before. My elder sister who is studying in Australia is excellent. She perhaps is my model. I'll go forward that way. But I won't say I can complete the 8-week pre-session course within one day, so I'll continue the study in my Chinese pattern. But maybe um because I've never been working hard since I was little (laughs) um perhaps a little bit harder later. This is the difference. The same is that I will be the same as before, that is, the learning method is the same, because I majored in English, and now I'm learning English. At that time, we learned English in the same way, so there was no difference in learning methods. It was just the rhythm. The rhythm of the language class would be very slow. But I think it should be faster now. Then I'll adjust it according to the actual situation. Then now, I'll follow the previous and comfortable steps. Because if I push myself too hard, I can't do anything. So I will still do things at the same pace as before, and then it will just be more...

I: But the learning methods are different, and if your tutor has some different requirements, what will you do?

C: Yes, she (Mary) has, but she hasn't reach my pressure limit (laughs).

I: What's the different requirements?

C: Let me see... I can't remember it clearly. There's no need to translate this part. (laughs) Well... Yes, the content of our course is different. In China, the articles teachers want us to read will be more... more um more academic. But um in China, the readings are more biased on... um, literature and life. Literature will be related to your interest or history. But academic, it is more professional. So I will adjust, so I will, that is, so I will say that I will spend more time looking up words, or more time... Because words, words are related to context. Then you may find your own field of interest, because Mary's task is generally to choose the topic you are interested in. So this is pretty good. I just choose the one I like, the academic one and the professional one. So I think I'll adjust myself like this way.

I: If Mary has different opinion with you, will you persuade her?

C: No. I will explain my point of view, but I won't...Everyone has own idea. I'm not in China now. I may do that at home. If you think the Chinese people are not very good, I must convince you that the Chinese are good. But if I'm abroad, if... If you think the Chinese are bad, I won't convince her. I'll just tell her what the good aspects of the Chinese have. Because everyone has different ideas, I can't impose my own ideas on her. I can persuade her, but it's your problem whether you listen or not. I have told you my point of view. If you want to listen, you accept it. If you don't want to listen, I won't force you.

I: So you express your ideas...

C: Yes, it's enough that you know what I think. You know my idea, you have your own idea, but you know my idea after all.

I: Are you afraid of being regarded as bad student if you do this?

C: No, no, I think... Unilateral um, I don't understand the teacher's idea. But unilaterally, I don't think the teacher would think me in this way. Because I think, because it is generally said that western education is a little more developed and opener than China, they can accept more different views. Relatively speaking, I think China, school or University in China...in high school, it may be because the teacher is more authoritative and you haven't master enough knowledge that time.

But in university, teachers will encourage you to say what you think. If you convince me, teachers won't think you don't regard me as a teacher and you don't respect me. Especially the tutor I respect very much, he is very very democratic. If he puts forward an idea that we all don't agree with, he will... For example, he puts forward an idea when we are study in our class and ask us whether we agree or not. If most of our class don't agree, he will listen to us. So we didn't... we didn't say we wanted to convince him, but we were all democratic. If the teacher thought we were right and agreed with us, he would listen to us. I think so. So now this situation is common in China, and then in foreign countries, I don't think the teacher will um...He may think that your idea is more interesting. I haven't heard it before. Wow, if you can convince me, you will be great (laugh) because Mary...it depends on what you say and whether you can convince me. She encourages you to do this, right.

I: Will you persuade your classmates when you have different views?

C: In the past, I will, but now, I won't.

I: Why?

C: Well... Maybe, just... It may involve my own problems. Because I am a person who is slowly becoming more and more mature. As I just said, if I keep persuading him, I will appear a little, a little aggressive and a little competitive. Then we often, when cooking, for example, do we want to put this ingredient? Imagine this, let me give an example, do we want to put this ingredient? I don't want it. Do you support me to put this ingredient now? They say no, and then they will, because, because, it's just a try. For example, I listen to him and he supports me to put the ingredient. The result is like this. The result is good. We will do it next time. If the result is bad, just listen me next time. I will wait for a result first, and I won't argue for a right or wrong now if it's not a very, very principled issue or a very important issue. And I may divide people in my mind. This person, like Mary, is willing to listen to me and be convinced by me. On a certain issue, I will convince him. If some people are stubborn and stick to their views, then it's no need to persuade him. It's useless.

I: OK, thanks for telling me these.

Appendix 6.2 YF's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; Y=YF)

I: What's your definition of student?

Y: I think whatever who you are, as long as you can learn something, acquire something, you are in a place of student. You are a student.

I: Do you think others agree with you?

Y: I think so.

I: Have you discussed this with your classmates?

Y: (We) didn't talked about the student's definition specifically. Perhaps most people think student is um...Only when in schools can we be called student. But I think wherever you are, even though you enter the society in the future, you can be called student, if you position yourself in a learning place. That's all.

I: Will you answer "I'm a student" when asked "Who are you"?

Y: Yes.

I: Do you have different replies when facing with people in different identities and backgrounds?

Y: If he asks me in a formal situation, I will say I am a student from XX schools.

I: How can other people help you to be a better student?

Y: We can discuss some problems with each other. Um... Give each other a little help... When I encounter difficulties and I ask them for help, they can give me some guiding suggestions.

I: Is there any help of your study?

Y: For example, we can do some group discussions or complete homework together. If you don't fully understand some of the teachers' questions, ask some students. I think they will give you some guidance.

I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?

Y: I think, after all, there are many differences in the cultural background, and then...Relatively speaking, I think Chinese people may have a better understanding of your needs, because they can understand your language, and answer your

questions according to your needs. Foreigners [non-Chinese people] also want to help you, but there may be some um...(S)he can't get your point, and it's still a little difficult. But they are quite enthusiastic too. I think foreigners [non-Chinese people] are...The people are nice.

I: If sometimes, as Chinese, do you feel embarrassed when foreigners (non-Chinese) don't understand what you say?

Y: A little worried but um...Your vocabulary is limited. You think you've made it clear, but (s)he still can't understand it, I'll be a little worried. But it won't be very embarrassing, because they won't think you're wrong or what.

I: But when Mary is talking with you, she can't understand you...

Y: I think one of the good things about foreigners is that, unlike us Chinese, sometimes we Chinese will answer you when only heard a rough idea, but in fact, (s)he doesn't fully understand what you mean, but (s)he will give you the answer. The foreigners have one good personality that if (s)he doesn't get your meanings, (s)he will ask you again, confirm with you again, and then answer your questions accurately. (S)he won't answer you in an unclear and general situation.

I: What is the expectation of your pre-session course? I mean, after 8 weeks, what do you want to achieve?

Y: I hope I can finish my essay (laughs) before deadline. I can, I can understand the articles given by the teacher.

I: Do you know the final assessment of the 8-week programme?

Y: Just listening, speaking, reading and writing.

I: Did your teacher tell you the details?

Y: She told us several days ago, but I didn't listen carefully (laughs).

I: What are the similarities and differences in your imagination?

Y: I think the biggest difference, I think, at present is that in China, teachers will tell you the standard answer, whether this thing is right or wrong. In foreign countries, everything you say is right. As long as you can prove your point of view and explain your point of view, everything you say is right.

I: This is the biggest difference in your mind?

Y: Yes. In home, it is always the teacher that tells you what is right or wrong, which is um... We only have two choices. Only following what teacher said is the right things, that is, what teacher tells us is always right.

I: What are the similarities?

Y: The same point may be that the atmosphere in the classroom is very good and quite positive.

I: Do you think you're active in the China's classes, or...?

Y: In China, we discussed that just now, The [Chinese] classes are duck-stuffing teaching, that is, you should remember what the teacher says. But teachers in foreign countries want us to discuss, group discussion, or just discuss with others, or what. Anyway, you must have your own personal point of view. You should explain your problem and point of view.

I: Will you do when teachers have different views with you?

Y: Well... I think he must have his reasons for doing something. If his reason can convince me, I will still listen to him. If he is... It depends on the reason why I don't want to do it. I'm just principled. If I don't want to do it, I'll tell him my reasons and hope he respects me. But generally, I'll obey the teacher.

I: Will you try to persuade the teacher?

Y: I will give him a... First of all, I have to think about a reason, that is, whether it can be accepted by him. If I have this reason and I think it is an unconvincing reason, I won't tell him. But if I insist on this reason and I think my reason can be accepted by him, I will tell him.

I: Are you worried the persuasion will make you being regarded as a bad student?

Y: I don't think so. Every one has...um personal needs.

I: It's perhaps because you're in UK now, did you treat your Chinese teachers in this way either?

Y: In China, it depends. Some teachers are very dogmatic, that is ... Forget it. Less is better than more (laugh). Just try your best or try to do what you want. If you really don't want to do it, don't make yourself embarrassed.

I: Will you persuade your classmates if they have different views?

Y: Um...Yes! But I will not make it particularly controversial, I mean , I won't emphasize my own views and makes it like a debate. I will explain my point of view to him. If he doesn't accept my point of view, but his point of view is also reasonable, both sides can be correct. It doesn't have to be that one view is right, the other must be wrong. It's about mutual tolerance and understanding.

I: So the student identity is not the first choice when you face with classmates?

Y: Firstly I'm their friends.

I: But standing in front of teachers, you're firstly a student, am I correct?

Y: In fact, I think we should also communicate equally with teachers. Don't consider he is a teacher, so I should listen to him. This idea is not quite right. Because after all, teachers may be different, that is, their ideas are different from our ideas, so it is difficult to communicate. But we should let them try to understand what we think.

Appendix 6.3 SY's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; S=SY)

I: What's your definition of student?

S: You mean in a broad view, or my own understanding?

I: Your own understand.

S: Students are um...their main task is to complete the tasks required by the teacher. But I think at present, students can also do many things beyond the scope of the term. For example, to help teachers, we can correct what teachers say, as students. And then we can go beyond this limit a lot and engage in some activities.

I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?

S: I think so, perhaps not in China, but it is widely accepted in western countries.

I: Do your classmates have different opinions?

S: We didn't discuss this issue, but I think they can do this well.

I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?

S: If he asks me who are you, I may first tell him my name, my identity, and the then is which university I am studying.

I: What will you answer when asked about your identity?

S: Identity...I am a student.

I: Do you have other answers?

S: I'll possibly say I am Chinese, or where I am from.

I: Giving different answers when facing different people?

S: Yes yes yes.

I: How can other people, such as, teachers, parents, friends, relatives, help you to be a better student?

S: Well... If I want to be a good student, my relatives should, in fact, they can't provide much help, just some verbal blessings. But the teacher's words, I think at this stage, we should first rely on our own performance. The teacher won't force you, because it's you that want to be excellent, and then I (referring to the teachers here) ask you to do so. Only when you say you want to make progress and ask teachers for help, they will help you. I think it's up to me.

I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?

S: Because during this period, I haven't known many foreign students, and all the students are Chinese. But teachers are foreign. I think foreign teachers encourage us more. Then in the classroom, there is no such feeling as the so-called dignity and inferiority. Everyone is equal. If you have any question, they will be very happy. In particular, if you discuss their problems, uh... For example, if you disagree with their views, they will be happier if you reflect and refute them. So this is different, I think.

I: What is the expectation of your pre-sessional course?

S: I hope that after eight weeks, the first thing I worry about most is my academic writing. Because I don't think I know much about this aspect, especially the structure. I hope to learn more about this part during this period. Another thing, I hope my oral English can be improved.

I: Do you think your pre-sessional class will be the same as your English class in China?

S: The four years in China, it is normal that everyday teachers speak, we listen and

take notes. But in the pre-sessional classroom, there are all kinds of discussions and various forms of group activities every day. Anyway, I feel very lively in class, and we don't need to sit in rows. We sit as a circle.

I: What about the patterns of your behaviours and thinking?

S: At present there is no big difference. But I believe that if I continue to attend the activities and discussions in this form, my critical thinking will be developed further, because the things discussed (in critical thinking) every day should be divided into positive aspects and negative ones. I think this is a great remedy for me. I didn't have that thinking patterns before.

I: So your teachers didn't teach you this before?

S: No, they didn't.

I: If your teacher has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?

S: I think it still makes sense to see the specific points of rightness and wrongness of this matter. If it's true that he is right, we will follow it, even though we don't agree with it. But if his answer is not unreasonable, after such western thinking training, I think we will stand up and tell him that's wrong. And I believe that the teacher here (in the UK) will not be very fierce or suppress you. He will express his point of view and let you express your point of view.

I: Are you worried that the teachers will think that you are not a good student, if you try to persuade them?

S: No, I think they're happy. Today, when we questioned a question, she was very, very happy. Then she said: "that is what I am looking forward".

I: Will you argue with your classmates who have different opinions?

S: Um... I think most of the time when we have different opinions is when we discuss problems, and we mainly just express our views. If there are different opinions, I may not persuade him to fully agree with my opinions, but I will say my opinions and discuss with them.

Appendix 6.4 HM's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; H=HM)

I: What's your definition of student?

H: Need to have classes.

I: That's all?

H: As long as having something to learn, (he) could be called as student.

I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?

H: I think so.

I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?

H: Yes, for now, I will say I am a student. When I find a job, if I am a teacher, I will say I am a teacher. It depends on what my future career is.

I: So it depends on the different people and places.

H: Yes.

I: How can other people around you help you to be a better student?

H: Um...parents...how...Mostly, they educate us.

I: About the principles of being person?

H: Yes.

I: What about classmates and teachers?

H: The teachers...teachers...I think the most important thing is that in this process, the most important people is, um...parents. The teachers just, first of all, he imparts knowledge from the teachers' view. The second is how to be a good student. Anyway, I think if we only talk about imparting knowledge, the teachers are important. In addition, if teachers give students a little more positive affirmation, it will have a better effect on students.

I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?

H: I think, anyway, I dare to speak when I come here, especially when I exchange my opinions with others. In China, this kind of situation is very rare, that is, generally, for example, chatting is just, for example, chatting with classmates about family affairs. But there is basically no way that we talk about academic concepts or theories (in China).

I: Why?

H: I think, anyway, my feeling is that I dare to say more when I come here, especially when I express my ideas with others. After coming here, everyone is doing it in this way, then I think it's OK for me to say anything. Perhaps people feel that I have changed to a new environment, maybe as a foreign student, I should perform like this, so I do this naturally. And after coming here, I feel obviously that um...In China, I feel that I have nothing to say, that is, you have something in mind um...In fact, students want to speak when in China, but they, I don't want to express because others won't do that, either. Or only one or two students desire to express.

I: What's your expectations of the pre-session course?

H: First of all, my English must have been better than it is now. Secondly, I could adapt to the following Masters course quickly. In fact, I'm still worried that I can't keep up the future programme or understand what the teacher will be talking about.

I: Anything else?

H: The domestic class focuses more on teaching theories.

I: What kind of theories?

H: For example, we are very worried about the grammatical errors and spelling mistakes of this sentence we write. But in fact, Mary can understand it. She doesn't force us to write the sentences natively. But this can't be accepted in China.

I: In order to become a good student in the pre-session class, will you have the same behaviours as your English class in China?

H: First of all...The British universities pay more attention on logical thinking. But in China, I feel that... I think what we say in here's class is closer to life, and we don't need to say something theoretical or vague.

I: If your teacher has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?

H: Obey her.

I: Why?

H: Because I won't say resistance soon. But in fact, I found that the children, who are still in junior high school, have begun to rebel against their teachers. I had an

internship before. Some students would speak to their teachers: “I don’t think it’s necessary for me to do this homework. It’s a simple copying. I don’t think it’s necessary. I think it’s just mechanical copying.”

I: Well, teachers at abroad encourage you to express different views as well.

H: But we don’t think we have much experience. The teacher must have his own reason for asking us to do it. For us, there are not many things we are particularly willing to do. Most of them are half willing and half unwilling. I want to do it because I want to do well in my English. I don’t want it because it’s either too complicated or really boring. But I still choose to do it.

I: If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?

H: I will tell him my opinion, but I don’t need to say that you must accept my opinion. Because there are a lot of group discussions now. For example, if we share views, you may feel that what he said is not very logical and does not accord with your logic. You’ll tell him you think so. But as for whether he agrees or not, it’s up to him.

I: So it’s his own business whether he agree with you or not.

H: Yes, we can discuss. But generally we don’t argue for the topic all the time. I don’t think people coming from China will choose to argue with classmates.

Appendix 6.5 JZ’s first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; J=JZ)

I: What’s your definition of student?

J: I think students are a group of people seeking knowledge, and then use this resource to improve themselves.

I: Mainly focus on learning.

J: Yes, the dominant role in learning.

I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?

J: I think most people think so.

I: Is there anyone around you hold the different views?

- J: I don't know.
- I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?
- J: You don't have to use 'student' to explain your identity, you can use others. For example, it is very simple to answer with who I am, my gender and basic personal information. It's not always to reply with 'student'.
- I: In what situation will you answer with your other identities?
- J: Such as the informal situations.
- I: How can other people help you to be a better student?
- J: My parents or colleagues?
- I: Yes.
- J: I think most of the help I need is encouragement. Don't discourage me too much. All I need is spiritual support.
- I: You're confident.
- J: Yes, most of the problems you need to solve it on your own.
- I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?
- J: I feel that the teachers have talked about some details in class these two days. Their teaching methods are very different. They will consider all the problems for you from the perspective of students. Like in China, I don't need to consider learning from the humanization perspectives. I just need to pay attention to efficiency, nothing else.
- I: Perhaps Chinese teachers focus more on results.
- J: Correct, they (British teachers) focus on process and they are more humanized.
- I: What is the expectation of your pre-sessional course?
- J: First of all, I hope my oral English will be improved, and because I feel that I... often feel a little timid, I hope I can overcome these. We have group discussions every day and often express some of our own opinions. I hope I will actively participate in this process.
- I: Do you think your pre-sessional class will be the same as your English class in China?

- J: Most of the domestic students aim at exams. They can clearly tell you that learning English grammar is necessary and you need to go in this direction every day. But learning here mainly focus on cultivating thinking patterns of English... how to think.
- I: In order to become a good student in the pre-sessional class, will you have the same behaviours as your English class in China?
- J: Well.....
- I: What actions will you continue to do? And what possible different behaviours will you do?
- J: Let me see, I think...the thinking aspects.
- I: Mainly on thinking?
- J: Yes, not too tangled with grammars. We should... redefine English and look at it as a tool. Mainly on how to express my thoughts and ideas.
- I: What about your behaviours?
- J: I feel that in foreign countries, most of them... Just participate more in discussions, rather than studying alone as before. More cooperation.
- I: If your teacher has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?
- J: I think it depends. Because something, even if you don't want to do it, but in that case, you should do it, so even if you don't want it, you should complete it.
- I: What situations?
- J: Um.....
- I: For example, you have different views, will you try to persuade them?
- J: I perhaps will.
- I: Did you do the same in China?
- J: Generally, no.
- I: So why will you do this when you're at abroad?
- J: Because of the whole environment...the teacher often encourage you. Teachers often say that I especially like different views, I especially want to hear different voices and refute my voice. However, most of the domestic teachers may be

reluctant to do so. If students talk too much, they will waste teachers' time.

I: If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?

J: I think I will strive for it and express my views

I: Is it because Mary encourage you to do so?

J: Yes, Mary always says: " I like disagreement."

Appendix 6.6 ZW's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; Z=ZW)

I: What's your definition of student?

Z: The definition of student?

I: Yes.

Z: In my opinion, the main task of students is to learn and acquire knowledge or skills.

If you want to be an excellent student, you must first have the ability to acquire knowledge, and then...inclusiveness. Your ability of understanding knowledge, I think, is also very important, because you will find that everyone has their own different understanding of a point. For example, we may have different definitions of students. So for students, this aspect is also very important. If a person has unique understanding ability, I think he is an excellent student.

I: As you said, everyone has different understanding of students, and some people may not recognize your understanding of students.

Z: Yes, they may think that this group of people whose main purpose is learning is called students, but others may think that students are, for example, any person on the roadside. He may be doing something. No matter what his role is now, he may be an engineer, but he is learning some skills, so he is a student.

I: What if he's learning not does not conform to his major?

Z: Yes, people like this may also be students. But my definition is relatively narrow. I think learning tasks can not be separated from the scope of the campus in which this part of people are called students.

I: Others can't be called students?

Z: Yes. I think if expressing this in English, we can find anyone with learning ability. He can only be called learners, but it is stricter to call students, right?

I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?

Z: Yes, I will tell them what I study or what my major is. Just give them a very clear definition of what I'm doing.

I: Do your answers depend on circumstances or persons?

Z: Of course. For example, when you face...we are peers, I will say I am a student. But when you face a relative's child who is younger than you, you may not tell her that you are a student or what your role is, but what you are doing. For example, I am in school, but you will never tell her that I am a student, right?

I: How can other people help you to be a better student?

Z: First, I need support and understanding. At my age, it's possible to go out to study... Many families may not understand the choice that going study abroad after work. They may think that girls, in their twenty-four or five, should choose to settle down, buy a house, buy a car, get married and have children. But going abroad...it may be inconvenient for family members to contact you, and they will be very worried about you. Someone may think I'm wayward. But I'm particularly happy that my family supports me. They think girls should be knowledgeable and go out to study.

I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?

Z: I'd like to talk about my experience of applying for UK's universities. At that time, I changed my major and finished the National Graduate Entrance Exam. My major is English Literature, so all of my teachers are majoring in this. When I was applying for the Masters programme, I've asked my tutor's opinion about what major to study and how to write personal statement and so on. Actually, my teachers didn't have the experience of studying abroad, so they didn't know clearly about the application stuff. But they still told me what they knew as much as possible, for example, how to write and express my ideas and guided me within their scope from a shallow level. After coming here, what the teacher changed us is a kind of concept. Now Mary changes us Chinese many thinking... We Chinese come here, in the class,

you know, we are silent. Everyone dares to speak because we dare to make mistakes and then others [classmates] will laugh at you. But Mary told us in the first class that there was no correct answer at any time. Don't be afraid of making mistakes. This fundamentally changes our... because when we were young, the teacher would tell you to make as few mistakes as possible, so that you can get high marks. But for Mary, there is no standard, and then you can speak freely.

I: So Mary teaches you that students should perform in such a way that influences your understandings of student.

Z: Yes, teachers can't be judged good or bad. They are just doing things in the right way they believe.

I: What is the expectation of your pre-sessional course? I mean, after 8 weeks, what do you want to achieve?

Z: A very important part of the purpose of attending the pre-sessional class is to prepare for my future study. Because we all know that in foreign countries, you know, unlike our usual universities in China that the teachers only focus on teaching. The class here pay great attention to communication and discussion. But, um...firstly, we have to adapt to this learning mode. Then, in the language environment, there are some classmates that some of them have not passed the language test. For example, they had difficulties in communication, and sometimes they could not express themselves well, especially in listening and speaking. Because we need a conversion process, we will practice speaking and listening in the pre-sessional class, so to a certain extent, it can speed up the formation of the process generated from listening in your mind, and then writing, that is, we write this essay which is different from the model given to us in China. Because most of the domestic essay models seem to use the APA model of the United States. Anyway, our school uses this model.

I: APA is also used here.

Z: But I feel that it is different from ours, because I feel that what is abstract or something like that...it seems not the same. There is a difference. All aspects of listening, speaking, reading and writing will enable us to adapt to future learning as soon as possible. Everyone comes to the pre-sessional class for this purpose, don't

they?

I: Yes, you also hope to adapt to the following study.

Z: Yes, for me, I came to the UK...Why did I choose the UK? Because I think the UK... On the one hand, it is not only about academic, but also advantages comparing with our own country, so I chose here because I really want to get in touch with better education. On the other hand, I hope I can learn from this um...Maybe we think Westerners are more open-minded and advanced. I really hope to have a more open mind and not be so conservative. Never worry about what will happen tomorrow, right? In fact, we should have a longer and further vision, not only to see tomorrow, see next month, see... Everything may happen, all the possibilities should be planned.

I: Is this what you've learned in the past week?

Z: Yes, because the teacher said that you should make a good plan and have a timetable, so you wouldn't waste time and have the bad habit of procrastination. Everything must be under your control.

I: Is there any change of your behaviour and thinking?

Z: Yes, because you know, I was always a happy go-lucky person (laughs), but after coming here, I think I have a little self-motivated. You know, in China before, after the class, the teachers will tell us what we will learn in the next class, so you will feel very fixed and boring. Because you know what to learn for next class, you have to review in advance, right? But here, the teachers may tell you the topic of our next class? He won't tell you what he will do.

I: Not telling you the requirements either?

Z: No, so it will make you feel fresh. On the other hand, it does exercise your reaction ability, because you won't prepare anything in advance. If he asks you a question, you have to catch it, and you have to practice your reaction at any time.

I: If Mary has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?

Z: (Laughs) I don't think Mary will ask me to do what I don't want to do.

I: What if the teachers in your Masters programme?

Z: If the teachers, of course, if he, how to say? Well... It's normal that we have different views. Because everyone has different views, there may be some small similarities, but if you two find that they are different, then use evidence try to persuade others.

I: Even if he is your teacher?

Z: Yes, we must. You must tell the teacher what you don't want to do. If he asks you why, tell him why. If the teacher gives an irrefutable reason, for example, if you do this, I'll offer you a PhD place, then I (laughs)...If he can't give a reasonable reason, I think why should I waste my time doing something that is good to me. I don't want it. My body and mind can't be satisfied. I don't want to do it.

I: But it's possible that, in teacher's mind, a good student should listen to the teacher.

Z: I don't think a good student should obey his teacher.

I: Should express different views?

Z: Yes.

I: But do you have the performance in China either?

Z: In China, we sometimes argue with teachers in class. But sometimes I do find that, and the teacher suddenly finds that he's wrong. Yes, he is wrong. And I think if he's a good teacher, he should not feel that he is absolutely authoritative. He may listen to his students. The students' view haven't been noticed before, so he will adopt the students' opinions.

I: If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?

Z: Yes, we are all equal. In the same classroom, everyone just plays different roles, but we stand in an equal position.

I: Including the teacher?

Z: Yes, so when you refute my point of view, I accept it, but you have to give me a reason. As long as your reason can convince me, I will change my view, right? But if you can't convince me, I'll stick to mine and you can stick to yours. I won't interfere with your opinion. But if you can't convince me to change my mind, I won't change.

I: If you think teacher and student are equal, do you think the so-called power they possess is the same?

Z: It may depend on what kind of role a teacher establishes in students' mind, I think. Some teachers, he is, he may have more research in academic field and think that this teacher really has the authority to speak. For example, I have some small misunderstandings or incomprehensions. I go to ask the teacher to explain this to me. I may think what he says is right during listening. Because within the scope of my current knowledge, I can't find a point to refute him. Maybe one day in the future, I suddenly, for example, I find a book in the library um...why is it different from what the teacher has said? I may go back to him.: "The point you told me last time, I found it different in this book." I did the same thing when I was in the college. In learning linguistics, I remember that many times, the teacher would process this content according to his own understanding. So you will find that there will be a little difference. The teacher will explain to you that his idea is also right and that idea is also right. It depends on yourself to judge which idea is more suitable for you to understand. Or you can generate another understanding based on the two of us, which is also right.

I: Is there a feeling that as we just said, students' power can be continuously increased through teachers in universities?

Z: Teachers and students, they just have different roles. Teachers just play the role of organizer and leader in a student group. His role is not... I said positions, maybe positions in the society. Our positions are equal. Students will not say that because you are a teacher, I will please you. For example, send you gifts every month, I won't. But academically, maybe the teacher reads more books than we do, and he may have a deeper understanding of these contents than we do. He may be a little more authoritative than us in academic terms, and he may have a more important position. Because you can never say that the authority of students and academia um...even if you publish an article, the first author is the teacher, isn't it? Thus, they are only have higher positions in the academic scope, not in social perspectives.

Appendix 6.7 PX's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; P=PX)

I: What's your definition of student?

P: Student's definition? Which aspect?

I: What kinds of traits do you think students should have?

P: They are full of youthful spirit (laughs) and feel eager for knowledge. He has great respect for his teachers.

I: Can an 80-year-old man be called a student if he is eager for knowledge?

P: Of course.

I: Do you feel strange that he says he's a student when facing with others?

P: I think I can accept it. I also hope I have the energy to study in my 80s (laughs).

I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?

P: Maybe.

I: What different views do you suppose?

P: There must be some people think it's too old to learn.

I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?

P: Yes.

I: Do your answers depend on circumstances?

P: Yes. But if I go out to work, I won't say I'm a student.

I: Why?

P: Because when I go outside to work, I'm not a student anymore.

I: What if a part-time job?

P: Part-time, then I'm still a student, and I'll say I'm doing a part-time job at the same time.

I: So you think students should be in schools, and if he finds a job and go outside of the campus, he can't be called as a student?

P: Yes, it is.

I: What help from the people around you, such as parents, classmates, friends, and relatives, will support you to be a good student?

P: They...the financial support so far.

- I: Only the financial part? What about the spiritual one?
- P: Spiritual...Encourage me always, such as, via calls, tells me take care of myself and don't forget to study.
- I: What about your classmates and teachers?
- P: Students will help each other. We eat and study together everyday. Teachers, I think our pre-sessional teacher is very nice and often encourages us. She accepts many views, that is, there is no wrong and correct answer of a question. All views are welcomed, so it's different with what we feel in China.
- I: What are your teachers in China be like?
- P: Correct answers...Definitions...
- I: You think Mary doesn't have that...?
- P: No.
- I: Is this the biggest difference?
- P: Yes.
- I: Do you think your pre-sessional class will be the same as your English class in China?
- P: [Teachers in China and UK] That's quite different. Here [UK] teachers encourage us to speak actively. But teachers in China think as long as they focus on what they teach, I don't need to care about the students.
- I: Teachers may wish students have good marks.
- P: Not in universities.
- I: What is the expectation of your pre-sessional course?
- P: I wish um I could have more courage to express myself and don't have to translate Chinese into English in my mind before I speak.
- I: Are you afraid of speaking in Chinese? Or just in English?
- P: In English. I find it is hard to express in English. I'd like to speak in Chinese.
- I: Did you be required to speak in English in China's English classes?
- P: Yes, when in classes taught by foreign teachers, but we've seldom been asked for this in China's teacher's class.
- I: Most of your English classes are taught by foreign teachers?

- P: We have foreign teaching classes, about one or two a week. It is oral English class.
- I: Taught by China's teachers?
- P: Yes.
- I: In order to become a good student in the pre-sessional class, will you have the same behaviours as your English class in China?
- P: I'll active more enthusiastically and keep up with the teacher.
- I: What about your thinking patterns?
- P: Thinking patterns um...Feel nothing changes.
- I: What actions will you continue to do?
- P: Taking notes. If I have to deal with a lot of information at the same time, such as listening to a lecture, I will take notes. I may ignore what the teacher says and just focus on the notes. Maybe didn't catch some key notes.
- I: How will you fill the leaking later?
- P: I plan to practice listening in the near future (laughs). I want to keep up with them. Because we watch that kind of seminar video in class. If the teacher speaks, especially when foreigners speak, we really can't understand what they are saying. They spoke quickly with a low voice. The words they use seem different from standard English.
- I: Will you ask Mary to repeat what you haven't understand?
- P: Yes, but this rarely happens. She usually speaks very slowly.
- I: If Mary has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?
- P: No, I'm used to it (laughs).
- I: Why? Do you think students should be like this?
- P: Yes, we've been educated like this since childhood.
- I: But you are abroad now. Maybe for Mary, she thinks students should have a so-called spirit of resistance.
- P: Yes, but I'm not used to it yet. I still feel that what the teacher says is right.
- I: If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?

P: I will express my point of view, but I will not impose my ideas on others.

I: What if Mary asks you to try your best to persuade people who disagree with you?

P: Yes, I'll provide more evidence to refute the classmates.

Appendix 6.8 TP's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; T=TP)

I: What's your definition of student?

T: Student, the first word is learning. Needing a curious, an upward um...

I: Thirst for knowledge?

T: Yes, yes, thirst of knowledge. I want to know what that thing is, instead of playing or fooling around every day, which I think is more worthy. At least you should know what you need at this stage. I have to learn at this age.

I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?

T: I haven't discussed it with others. This is my first time to answer the question. So this is my personal point of view.

I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?

T: Yes.

I: How can others help you to be a better student?

T: In fact, I am a free-ranged person. My parents don't interfere me with my study. They give me the freedom to make decisions by myself, for example, which which school I wanna go from primary to high schools, the nine-year compulsory schools. I made the decisions that what undergraduate major I like, where I want to go. My families educate me not to make mistakes on principle issues, and I can make my own decision on the rest of the things. So far, if they want to help me, I think it should be the support and understanding.

I: What about your teachers and classmates?

T: Because classmates, we only chat at school. Because we're at the same age, we sometimes talk about today's homework, or talk about today's funny things. For teachers, I think I have encountered, including why I study this major is because of the teacher's inspiration. Personally, I think I was a good teacher in previous two

years. So I think teachers are very important to students. Because his words and deeds, including his communication with students, will have an impact on sensitive students. So for me, I hope my teacher can help me more and encourage me. Because of the percussive education when I was a child, I had a low self-esteem when I was a child. I would feel that I was bad everywhere and I couldn't do anything. But I met a teacher in middle schools, so far, even after graduation, I hope to find him and thank him. Because I think he helps me a lot. Because he encouraged me and believed that I could do so, I would try it slowly. What he said most was that he believed me, so I think such trust is very good. In addition, in universities, there are also in high school, but it is not obvious in high school as in college and middle school. When I was a freshman, I didn't pay much attention to English since I was a child. I had a lot of phonetic errors, not standard. But there was a phonetics class in college, and my phonetics teacher was also quite good. How to say? His was very professional, and he was also a professional oral English teacher, so he helped me correct a lot of phonetic errors. But you know spoken English has some exaggerated sounds, but we can't speak it well, so I was a little shy. After he said a sound, I said it a little timidly, and the students around me were laughing. At that time, I would feel oh my, the feeling came again. Our teacher said very seriously that what she said was right. "What are you laughing at." That gave me a affirmation, so I think what these two teachers gave me, till now, my choice of this major has been greatly influenced. Therefore, I think the great help of teachers and students is trust, encouragement and understanding.

I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?

T: Well... In fact, my pre-sessional teacher, I said this with my desk-mate, she made me feel being more respected. This is the biggest difference I think. This feeling is really good.

I: What is the expectation of your pre-sessional course?

T: After eight weeks, just like the self introduction when I came here, because I'm a slow coach, it will be difficult to change myself within two months. The most

important is for following's study, so I hope to make some new friends in the following two weeks. I hope learn more in the academic aspect. When I introduced myself, I mentioned that I was poor at the essay and writing, so I hope to have more ideas, including understanding the critical thinking, logic, concepts and writing. I hope to make a great improvement. At least in the following writing classes, I could feel like I've learned this before. And when the teacher talks, even if I don't understand, when the teacher talks, I think I should probably have a foundation in advance, rather than starting from scratch. Secondly, I hope to say...Because there is rarely discussed at home, in fact, many times some ideas are in my mind and can't be expressed. If you want to speak in Chinese, you can still express it with a few words, but if you speak in English, you'll get stuck. Others don't know what you're expressing, and they don't know what they're expressing as well. So in addition to writing, I also hope that this aspect can be improved a little.

I: Do you think your pre-sessional class will be the same as your English class in China?

T: In China we focus more on the input. Teachers teach the knowledge, and we make notes in case that we miss something.

I: What's the differences of your behaviours and thinking patterns?

T: Trying not to look at things only from one side. The feeling is just like there is a tree which has a trunk and a lot of branches. So I think it's very good. Slowly, after seeing things from more aspects, I think my mind, including views, will be more inclusive. Whatever for academic issues or for manners, I think it's understandable. So I think it's good for the characters.

I: What actions will you continue to do?

T: Maybe when you learn English (laughs), you still have to check what you don't know. I bought another vocabulary book. There will be a large amount of information to be learnt this week. I will go to see the third article soon, but really, after all, there are many professional terms in academic papers that I don't understand. I think the continuation is also what the teacher said...words are the basis, including sometimes looking at the grammatical structure...these basic

methods of learning English will be continued. For the rest, those thinking patterns will be slowly tried in UK's way.

I: If Mary has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?

T: Actually, um... What I think first is that she asked me to do it...but I'm a relatively traditional student after all. Because she is a teacher, I should respect her. When she asks me to do it, I'll do it, because I think she is a teacher. I'll try to see what will happen next. Because after all, you know that feeling. If it is not within my ability, I will put forward my own opinions or ideas to see if the teacher can guide me.

I: So you'll try to persuade her.

T: Yes, there will be a negotiation. At the beginning, asked me to do it, I will still do it. After all, I am a teacher and I am a student. I need to respect her for her identities. Just sitting back. When I'm really in trouble, I'll go back and ask the teacher for help.

I: If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?

T: Will try to express myself, because there are different views in our group. When the teacher asked us to say our own views, we would clearly say that our group has two views. I will express my point of view, and I will let you listen to my point of view. I will also listen to your views, but I won't force you to obey me. Because I think that's your point of view, that's your idea. Because everyone's life background is different, resulting in different views and ways of looking at problems, you may look at it from this perspective, and my conclusion is from that perspective. So I don't think I'll force you to accept my view. But I won't say I don't accept you at all or accept you completely. I will reserve my own opinion.

I: It's perhaps because Mary thinks there are no definite answer. What if you're in China now? The teachers may say that I don't want two answers, but a definite one.

T: In fact, when I was in schools, I didn't agree that the answer was definite, because sometimes when I read some books, and when I was working, because I don't want to... I don't want to be too absolute. Because things are not absolute, the philosophy

that I learned at school used to say that there was no absolute side of things, they had both sides. So I think, finding a balance point...this thing is much better, then I choose it, that thing is much worse, then I don't want that. In my domestic examinations, as long as it was a question with open-answers, my score was not high, but I think when the Chinese teachers say these things what I don't agree with, I will only think it in my heart, I won't speak it out. But here, I will try to express, because the teacher say so. So I won't show my disagreement in China, which in fact I don't quite agree with this behaviour.

Appendix 6.9 WA's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; W=WA)

I: What's your definition of student?

W: The main purpose of students is to complete their studies and fulfill their responsibilities. For example, they should attend classes on time, complete their homework according to the requirements of teachers, and have their own after-school life, such as their own interests.

I: If there is a man who is in his twenties or seventies, is still studying with own interests, can he be called as a student?

W: Yes, some people are reluctant to learn at a young age, but some people want to learn something challenging. You can learn at different stages. Even if you learn piano at the age of 60, you can certainly call him a student.

I: As long as he is learning, he can be called as a student.

W: Yes.

I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?

W: I think so, because my definition of students is not the kind of students who study in school. Students can be defined as, for example, they can use computers, or in tutorial classes and so on. As long as they are learning, no matter what they learn, music or some professional things, they can be called students.

I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?

W: Maybe when I was at school, when I went out to play, he asked you what you

were, firstly I thought student. But it won't be like this after graduating from college or graduate school. I'll say I'm working, just like some social identities. But if I was in school, I would answer that I was a student.

I: But just now you said that as long as this person was studying, he was a student. But why don't you say I'm a student when you're new to the work that still needs to learn?

W: I think, especially in China, this is related to habits. We habitually call college students and postgraduates as students. But as long as you get out of the school environment, it'll be very strange when you answer that I am a student. You will say what I do, which may be more recognized.

I: How can other people help you to be a better student?

W: Teachers must be very professional and know how to guide students. When I was in the college, there were a few thoughtful teachers that I can't understand their thoughts sometimes. Every time when I really felt my inner mind had been purified after the class. I found life was amazing and there were so many beautiful thoughts. Classmates...The academic atmosphere for sure. If (s)he says, oh, I have a lot of homework today, I don't wanna do it, you'll feel tired, too. But if they say with fun that how to write this assignment, what ideas I've got, you'll be infected. Parents...my parents don't rule me in this (academic) thing. They just let me do whatever I wanna do. In terms of learning, don't rule me, or I'll feel annoyed.

I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?

W: Classmates...It seems that there are more discussions abroad and deeper understanding of various students' ideas. I feel more helpful in life. In learning...homework and your thinking...the same as those in China. But the teachers are very different. Maybe my university teachers also respected me...it doesn't matter whether your answer was right or wrong. They respected your answer. There was no unique answer. I found that teachers here are too gentle.

I: Mary?

W: Yes, she's too gentle (laughs). Talking to her is like chatting with friends. It's a

weaker feeling that she's a teacher, but she does lead you as teachers. She makes me feel more comfortable and equal, and does better than domestic teachers.

I: What is the expectation of your pre-sessional course?

W: What I hope to achieve is to learn lots of academic concepts, such as how to write an essay, written English um more professional. The Masters course, I hope I could adapt it at least in the academic aspect. I want to be more professional in the writing, so that we could have a better academic life.

I: Do you think your pre-sessional class will be the same as your English class in China?

W: It's mainly about group discussions, and then... In fact, I feel that our university also attached great importance to this. Because I was majoring in English. But no, almost 80-90% of the time now is spent in group discussion, and the teacher teach us that a lot. This is the teacher's guidance, and then we have a conclusion, and then she adds more things.

I: Does she judge you right or wrong?

W: No, she said that there was no unique standard, but she would finally give her own answer, especially from the academic aspect, which is more objective.

I: In order to become a good student in the pre-sessional class, will you have the same behaviours as your English class in China?

W: Um...I think in China, in fact, even if it is a group discussion, even if we are English majors, teachers often answer by roll call. But now it's you that decide what you want to say. At first we didn't dare to say it, but the teacher was too nice. It doesn't matter if the answer was wrong.

I: If your teacher has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?

W: Such as homework?

I: Perhaps.

W: Maybe obey her. I want to pass the programme.

I: What if you two have different views?

W: I can keep my thoughts.

I: Won't you persuade her?

W: I don't think it's necessary. I can say my own view. She can say his. There's no need to convince her.

I: Is this because students should obey teachers?

W: No, I think it's good that she has her ideas, and I also have my ideas. There's no need to convince another person. If she wants to know, I will share my thoughts. But if it is for the purpose of persuasion, I don't think it is necessary.

I: If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?

W: We have four people in a group, everyone puts forward their own views. I think the number of people who support the views of which side is the largest, we will choose which.

I: What if you're in the majority side?

W: I think at the beginning, for example, we...won't say which is a good opinion. If he thinks his opinion is good, we'll choose his. In terms of position, for example, our group once had a topic. Mary needed three reasons from the positive or the negative side respectively, but two people in our group agreed and two people disagreed. We wrote down the three views of the positive side and the three views of the negative side. We wrote all the views down.

Appendix 6.10 ZY's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; Z=ZY)

I: What's your definition of student?

Z: Students just need to learn, get a higher degree, and want to constantly enrich themselves, improve their ability, and constantly supplement their knowledge.

I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?

Z: Almost, students just want to learn, and then ask teachers for advice, or study textbooks.

I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?

Z: Yes, I do so far.

- I: What other answers do you give?
- Z: The current situation, no, the answer should I'm a student.
- I: How can other people help you to be a better student?
- Z: In fact, parents can't provide much help. Teachers are generally... The teacher's duty is to impart knowledge and teach us what he wants to tell us. But I think as a good student, the main responsibility lies with myself. Actively previewing and reviewing by yourself, and then applying the learned knowledge to future work and life. The responsibility is still on yourself, if you are a good student.
- I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?
- Z: Compared with Chinese teachers, the biggest difference is we have been provided more chances to communicate and discuss.
- I: What is the expectation of your pre-session course?
- Z: I hope I could improve more on speaking and listening. I think this is necessary in the foreign country, so I hope to improve on these two aspects.
- I: Do you think your pre-session class will be the same as your English class in China?
- Z: In China, we mainly study the grammar...practice and apply it...mainly for the exam, for the exam. At abroad, to be honest, we didn't adapt at the beginning. But slowly I felt that I had more opportunities to express. But I still hope to learn something about examination and grammar, which is influenced by Chinese traditional education.
- I: In order to become a good student in the pre-session class, will you have the same behaviours as your English class in China?
- Z: In China, firstly there is not many opportunities to speak in class, secondly even we have the opportunity, we are not willing to speak.
- I: Did Mary encourage you to speak more?
- Z: Yes, she said there was no right or wrong answer.
- I: Are you worried that you're not regarded as a good student when your answers are different with others?

- Z: No, I think maybe the teacher would prefer such an answer. If my answer is different...maybe I'm the right one?
- I: Did you perform like this in China?
- Z: We don't dare...it's not about daring....I don't want to speak. We don't want to speak. In China, we spoke, but not as much as that at abroad.
- I: Are you afraid of being laughed by classmates or making teachers unhappy?
- Z: Worried about making mistakes and being laughed by others, not because of teachers' unhappiness, in China.
- I: Will you rebel against teachers' different opinions with you?
- Z: No.
- I: Will you try to persuade her?
- Z: I might express my thoughts to her. Because there is no right or wrong views, everyone has different views on one thing. If I really disagree with her, I will talk to her and communicate with her. I won't keep resistance. There should have communications.
- I: If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?
- Z: Yes, maybe this is what he thinks and that's what I believe. I will not convince him if involving matters of principle. If there is only one answer, I will try my best to persuade him.

Appendix 6.11 RD's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; R=RD)

- I: What's your definition of student?
- R: Students are people who need to learn. You have learning needs. If you go to a specific place, you can get your knowledge through some forms.
- I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?
- R: I think it is.
- I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?
- R: Yes, when asked about identity, I'll say student.

- I: What other answers do you give? Do your answers depend on circumstances?
- R: No.
- I: If you wanna be a good student, what help the people around you can help you?
- R: Money (laughs). Since my parents and relatives don't have a higher education degree, if in terms of academic thing, they can't provide anything, except from the financial and spiritual support.
- I: What about teachers and classmates?
- R: Academic or the spiritual encouragement.
- I: Is there any difference of the help between Chinese teachers and British teachers?
- R: Almost the same. I haven't feel some obviously different.
- I: What is the expectation of your pre-session course?
- R: I think it's the speaking. Because speaking is the most important part of a language. Only when you could speak it out, others could communicate with you.
- I: Do you think your pre-session class will be the same as your English class in China?
- R: Absolutely no. In foreign countries, there are mainly seminar in class. In China, the class is full of exams and homework.
- I: What's your opinion about the relationship between teachers and students?
- R: The relationships between students are similar, because we are all friends, and we are all Chinese, so we don't have extra feelings. The teachers... more... nice and approachable. We can say anything we want to say.
- I: In order to become a good student in the pre-session class, will you have the same behaviours as your English class in China?
- R: Perhaps performance. We should cooperate with the teacher and give her feedback.
- I: Did you cooperate with teachers in China?
- R: Domestic teachers focus more on the results. You're a good student if you have a high score.
- I: Teachers here pay more attention on the performance?
- R: Yes, not only performance. Here, we pay attention to the progress of every achievement.

- I: If your teacher has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?
- R: No way, maybe influenced by Chinese education.
- I: Do you think the students here should rebel against teachers?
- R: I think it should be expressed, but shouldn't rebel...I can communicate with her what I believe, she may adjust...Because Mary said in the first class, if you had any ideas, tell her what you think. If there are too many assignments or the progress is too fast, you can tell her that she will adjust according to your requirements. But maybe I still won't mention that to her, and I feel that the students can keep up with her. If you're the only one can't adapt it, you won't mention it.
- I: Do you worry about being laughed at, or that teachers think you're not a good student?
- R: No, I don't. I just feel like I'm fine. Try harder. And so far, I don't feel that I can't keep up. There is something I need to adjust.
- I: What if you have different views?
- R: Academic views? No. I'm not afraid of this even in China (laughs). I think it is OK to express the different views.
- I: What if you have different views with classmates?
- R: Yes.
- I: Will you try to persuade them?
- R: I'll try to persuade them.

Appendix 6.12 WY's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; W=WY)

- I: What's your definition of student?
- W: I think students are people who are learning and constantly learning.
- I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?
- W: Partially.
- I: What other definitions?
- W: Others may think that only when they are still in school can they be called

students.

I: But you think the definition of students is very broad and should not be limited to campus?

W: Yes.

I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?

W: This is not true. I will answer it according to my identity in school or work.

I: How can other people help you to be a better student?

W: Unconditional support.

I: Such as?

W: It may take a little extra energy to learn something I am interested in, but it may affect... For example, spending time on family or somewhere, which can be supported and approved by them.

I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?

W: In China, I think they will...help you more. For example...they will keep teaching you knowledge. I think they will give you more guidance. There are many courses in China. But there are few classes here.

I: What is the expectation of your pre-session course?

W: I hope I can improve my English a little and know more about the academic atmosphere. And the Masters...no sudden change in learning methods. It will be better to have a transition period.

I: Do you think your pre-session class will be the same as your English class in China? What are the similarities and differences in your imagination?

W: Like what said just now.

I: In order to become a good student in the pre-session class, will you have the same behaviours as your English class in China?

W: I think I will think more here. In China it's just like that we constantly accept new knowledge from others.

I: Teachers in China didn't provide the opportunities to speak?

W: Yes, but not so much.

- I: If your teacher has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?
- W: I should...I think she will respect different thoughts and ideas. I don't think you'll be forced to do something here.
- I: Will you persuade her?
- W: I'll try, but stick to my bottom line.
- I: Are you afraid of not being regarded as a good student when not obeying Mary?
- W: I am, but...
- I: Influenced by Chinese teachers?
- W: Yes, I feel like I must listen to the teacher. In case of conflict or contradiction with her, my studies will be affected. But I'll try to express my different views.
- I: If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?
- W: Yes.
- I: More fierce?
- W: I'll prefer expressing more my own opinions.
- I: Is this what Mary encourages you?
- W: Yes.

Appendix 6.13 LH's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; L=LH)

- I: What's your definition of student?
- L: Learning and not um...can't teach others.
- I: Do you think students are people whose task is just learning but don't need to teach something?
- L: You can share something in the community, for example, you are good at something, and others are good at other things, and we have the same goal...such as I'm majoring in Education, and he majors in Education as well.
- I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?
- L: Almost.

- I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'?
- L: I'll say my name first, then student.
- I: How can other people help you to be a better student?
- L: In terms of education um...Educators actually have many sources that can be used to help us choose the major.
- I: What kind of help did you have when choosing the major?
- L: No, everyone chose the major by themselves.
- I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?
- L: The communication with foreigners is not as smooth as with Chinese. It's like...when you're ill, I will definitely not ask for foreigners' help.
- I: What about the academic things?
- L: I sometimes couldn't understand what the teacher said.
- I: Why didn't go to ask for Mary's help?
- L: Asking classmates is more convenient. The teacher (laughs) she's speaking English, I still can't understand her.
- I: But classmates' answers are perhaps not right.
- L: But it's more smoothly to communicate with classmates.
- I: What is the expectation of your pre-session course?
- L: Improvement of my communication. And the learning...I hope I can learn something useful for my Masters course.
- I: Do you think your pre-session class will be the same as your English class in China?
- L: There are many discussions in the Britain classes. Teachers don't show you the answers directly, but divide the students into several groups and ask you to discuss the topics, which is a good way to develop our creation.
- I: In order to become a good student in the pre-session class, will you have the same behaviours as your English class in China?
- L: Well (laughs), the long-term plan is to pass, not fail in the pre-session course. But in China, if I can get 100 points, I won't allow myself to complete the test only with

98 points. But here, I just want to pass with the minimum requirements.

I: Why? Do you feel the exams are difficult?

L: Mary showed us a clip of the listening test yesterday. It's not like the listening tests in China that we listen to a question, then write a word or choose a right answer. The British ones...we need to organize the sentences what we've heard and write down our views of the questions.

I: Do you feel panic when can't answer the questions?

L: Not at all. Teachers here encourage us more.

I: If Mary has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?

L: She likes different answers. But you know, my communications in English, well...I want to persuade her, but when thinking about my English, I just gave up.

I: Are you worried about not being regarded as a good student when you give up persuading Mary?

L: No. Mary treats us equally, not like Chinese teachers, you can clearly figure out which student they like or hate most.

I: If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?

L: I won't persuade my classmates, only express my ideas. It's a little rude to force somebody obey you.

Appendix 6.14 YX's first interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; Y=YX)

I: What's your definition of student?

Y: They're in a learning position, for example, in schools um like us now.

I: So it's a group of people who is in an academic environment?

Y: Of course.

I: Do you think your definition is widely shared?

Y: I think so. Perhaps others don't agree with me, I accept that, but this my views.

I: If people ask 'who are you?' Do you always answer 'I'm a student'? What other

answers do you give?

Y: Yes, because I'm a student now, at least for these years. In the future, I maybe answer that what kind of job I will be doing.

I: How can other people help you to be a better student?

Y: Well, I think parents are...parents can provide the financial support. Other relatives, I'm not expecting for their support. They're only your relatives, not your parents.

I: What about your teachers and classmates?

Y: Teachers, yes, teachers can support me a lot on the academic issues. You know, they're important members to establish an academic group. My classmates I met so far are very nice and friendly, but sometimes I don't want to discuss what happens in schools or universities. It's like um...I need a short break to jump out of the learning circles.

I: Do you think the help you get from Chinese people would be different from the help you would get from British people?

Y: I guess it's because of the language. In China, we can communicate without any barrier, but when coming here, I'm not familiar to the local customs or dialects, people seems quite nice and patient when speaking with us. That makes sense. Because when I meet a foreigner who is confused with something in China, I'll be very happy to help him, because he is a foreigner and Chinese is not his mother tongue.

I: What is the expectation of your pre-sessional course? I mean, after 8 weeks, what do you want to achieve?

Y: Communication. Only the communication.

I: Aren't you worried about you pre-sessional course?

Y: No.

I: Why?

Y: Because the previous student of the pre-sessional course said that it was easy to pass if you listened to the teachers and complete the assignments.

I: Do you think your pre-sessional class will be the same as your English class in China?

- Y: More freely. Teachers here seem not want to limit us in a fixed position. And um...ah! The language. We can discuss something in Chinese (laughs).
- I: What topics did you talk about in Chinese with your group members?
- Y: You know (laughs), it's not realistic that we discuss academic things all the time. Mary can't understand Chinese, so sometimes we talk about some casual topics.
- I: But it is not what a good student should do (laughs).
- Y: Yes yes. But the academic topics were not so difficult and it took us only five to ten minutes to draw a conclusion, but Mary usually gave us half an hour to discuss, so...(laughs).
- I: In order to become a good student in the pre-sessional class, will you have the same behaviours as your English class in China?
- Y: I think a good student should achieve higher scores, no matter where he is. Mary said there was no right or wrong answer, but in the exams, most of the questions had only one right answer.
- I: What actions will you continue to do?
- Y: Listen to the teachers and complete the homework, and and um...high scores.
- I: If your teacher has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you obey the teacher?
- Y: Of course, why not?
- I: But Mary also said she liked challenging and different answers.
- Y: But the exam is there. Mary and the exams, which one do you think is more important?
- I: I got what you mean. So you won't try to persuade her?
- Y: Most of the time I won't, because she is the teacher and she is more familiar with the western academic rules, she must know what answer is the teachers here want. I just listen to her and take notes.
- I: If your classmate has a different opinion or requires you to do something, will you persuade her?
- Y: I don't think so. I don't want others think I'm a um...rude. Sometimes the arguing and persuasion can destroy our friendship. Sharing is OK. And if I have many many

different views with my classmates, they may think that I'm not with them. I don't want that kind of feeling.

Appendix 7 CY's second interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; C=CY)

I: Why did you answer “I’m a pessimist” in the first interview when you answered the expectations of the pre-sessional class?

C: It’s easily for me to...um I always minimize my expectations. I’m afraid that, in the future, if I expect me to achieve a high goal which I can’t approach. It’s impossible to achieve a high goal within eight weeks, so I will set it relatively low, and then, so, um.. That’s it. The greater the expectation, the greater the disappointment, so I think I’m a pessimist, so I said that.

I: In your definition of students, you say “student status is an excuse for not doing a good job”, so will you take pessimism as an excuse for you not to meet your expectations? Have you ever thought so?

C: No, I haven’t. It’s a little complicated. I think, I think, of course, I hope I can meet my requirements. I really want to meet my requirements, but I usually...In fact, it likes a psychological hint. I feel that the question you’ve just asked is a quite psychological question. I think that is a um...just lower my goal, that is, the goal should not be set too high. In fact, I always encourage myself with psychological hint, which makes myself not be too stressed. Because I am a person with too much pressure, I can’t perform normally. I am a person who can perform extraordinary in a relaxed environment. So the ‘pessimistic’ I said before, not totally, not completely, not very extreme, just like draw a conclusion of my views on expectations.

I: Did you achieve your own expectations?

C: My own expectations, um.. In fact, I’m quite satisfied with the result. It’s just that I’m a, um.. Although I’ve lowered my expectations, I am actually a person who pursues long-term goals. I am a proud person and hope I can be better and better. So I think it’s...but I have no regrets. Yes, but it might be better.

I: If given by a second chance, is there anything you want to improve?

C: Well...perhaps my mind. There was a mock test in the middle of the programme. It

was a reading test. I didn't pass it. I never thought I could fail. I thought I did well. I thought my answers were to the point, except for several questions that every one did not the answers. Mock test is just for us to experience what the real test will happen. I thought my score might be similar to theirs, but I failed. Mary was shocked as well. I had a lot of pressure before. This thing was unexpected to me, so it became the last straw that killed me. Just kidding (laughter). I mean I broke out directly. I was very sad, so I cried. At that time, my mentality was not particularly good. Mary said to me: "You are an adult. I understand that you have a lot of pressure. You can release it by crying. I hope you can adjust your attitude." She said: "You have to learn to accept the results." She said something that comforted me, and I knew it all. But I was in a bad mood at that time, so that I had pessimistic ideas about reading and whether I could pass the language class in the future, which really affected me later. But after a few days, Mary paid special attention to the dynamic of my mentality. She would wink at me in class and ask me how I was today, whether it was better than before, and pay attention to my performance in class. Although I am still worried about the real reading test, I will work harder and adjust my mind a little bit, but in fact, I feel it is still quite difficult. If I have the second chance, I hope I don't have that pessimistic mentality too much... Too ups and downs. I hope I can be more stable, even with that unexpected failure. I also hope that I can stabilize down-to-earth to meet the future, and not focus on the past. Adjust the mentality... other learning methods ... procrastination ... I was not so serious at that time, that's all.

- I: Why did you speak Chinese in class when Mary told you no to do so?
- C: I think she paid special attention to me. Because in fact, we were all speaking Chinese. I was not the only one, but she would always find me speaking Chinese in the first place. There was a time when I spoke only one sentence in Chinese, she just heard it and said no, then I got it. But our topic then was light and funny, not academic ones. I thought it would be OK with Chinese. The topic was funny and interesting and classmates around me were all speaking Chinese, so I ... um... I didn't think too much about it. I did it unconsciously.

- I: Did her performance make you feel stressed?
- C: ...Yes, I noticed many times she was watching me. So I was sometimes aware of my speaking Chinese without her remind. It was not very good at the beginning, but it was OK later.
- I: What impressions do you want Mary know when your speaking language converting from Chinese to English?
- C: Letting her know that I am speaking English.
- I: Actually, you can choose not to listen to her.
- C: [Use English only] is our classroom rule, but I didn't obey it indeed. In fact, it could be understood. A group of Chinese will speak Chinese naturally. People in my age, if speaking English all the time, is a little pretentious. Something is not convenient to communicate in English. It's hard to say. It's hard to say. It's hard to explain. It's hard to explain.
- I: It might be pretentious that speaking English in China, but now you're in UK, it's not a big deal to say English in this academic place, especially in the class.
- C: But not suits in our group and class.
- I: Did you all think that it was pretentious to communicate in English, even when Mary had already said "do no speak Chinese"?
- C: No, no, sometimes, for example, um.. I think this is an occasional idea. Sometimes, originally, it's, for example, you speak English, this topic, you... It's very, very difficult, and then you've been saying it in English, but what you say is not on the point. People next to you will think you're pretentious. This is a very occasional phenomenon. Most cases is that there is a topic, but speaking in English can not well express your real ideas. You are afraid of being misunderstood by others, and when you finish, people maybe say, ah? What? Then you have to explain it in Chinese, and sometimes when you say it in English, people will not pay attention to it. Then when you finish, people will ask: "What are you talking?" Then you have to share your ideas again in Chinese. This happens so many times in class. They don't understand you when you speak in English. They have to explain it again. And sometimes you don't know the English words, so just express ideas in Chinese.

I: What are the differences of classes between UK and China?

C: Although the domestic class advocates autonomous learning, teachers still pay close attention to you. Generally in universities, we can study what we should autonomously, but teachers still pay great attention to your homework, or something like class performance. There is a high percentage of teacher activity in our study life. If you are assigned to finish a reading list in China, teachers will certainly check whether you have read the books or not. This is a big difference to me.

I: Which one do you like, Chinese one or Britain one?

C: Let me see, um...um...The Britain one.

I: Why?

C: Um..... In fact, the atmosphere in foreign class (in China) is relatively relaxed and free. There are some rules for you to abide by in Chinese class. We feel bored even in the normal class. At home, we are all the same. The Chinese are more introverted. They are not willing to speak and show off, but they are free to speak at abroad. Although we sometimes discuss in Chinese (in the UK's class), we're still willing to speak. Although our (pre-sessional) class was quiet before, it was, um...How to say? In fact, everyone is quite willing to talk. I'd like to use English for discussing. If in China, the discussion is basically a chatting time. If there is a task needed to be presented later, we will discuss it. If there is no task, we'll just chat. Sometimes in group discussions, efficiency at home is not very high.

I: Did you feel pressure from the domestic classroom rules?

C: No pressure, just felt being restricted by invisible things.

I: You like things that make you feel more freely?

C: Yes.

I: When did you have the English name?

C: When in university. My name was Charlotte, but when in my second or third year, we had a foreign teacher who was Greek. We had a good relationship. I gave him a Chinese name, and he gave me a Greek name. But I was used to be called Charlotte, so I kept the new name. Now when I come to the new university, I want to change a new name. I also like my previous name, but my current name is Evangeline.

- I: Did your previous name only be called in the English classes taught by foreigner teachers in China?
- C: Yes.
- I: Did your classmates call your English name in those classes?
- C: They would call me English name if they got used to it.
- I: What about in the daily life?
- C: Sometimes they called me Charlotte as my nickname. Somebody would, only part of them called me like this.
- I: Did you feel awkward that somebody called you English name in a Chinese street?
- C: No (laughs). I often, I call my friend their English names. My friend thinks it's interesting, too. Because all the girls major in English have a natural sense of superiority (laughs).
- I: Where does your superiority come from? The ability of speaking English?
- C: We can speak more than two languages (laughs). We must learn a third language.
- I: Why don't you continue using Charlotte as your name?
- C: Because I'm in a new university, that name has been used for four years. Because if I don't use the Evangeline, I won't have a chance to use it in the future. This opportunity just gave me a chance to use a new name. I used that name for four years, and I will use this new name for another four years (laughs).
- I: Will you use this name until your graduation?
- C: Yes.
- I: Which name do your pre-sessional classmates call you? Chinese one or English one?
- C: English one.
- I: All of you have English names?
- C: Correct. And they created many new ways to call my English name, such as Evan, Evangelina or Lina. Because my name is difficult to pronounce, Chinese people will find it difficult to remember it. So many of them will transliterate my name in Chinese, and then call my transliterated name instead.
- I: Do they call your English name after your pre-sessional course?

- C: Um...They sometimes call my Chinese name, sometimes English name.
- I: Do you feel you're different "selves" when being called different names?
- C: No.
- I: But you said you changed a new name because of changing to a new place. So do you think because the English self is a new identity, so you need a new name?
- C: No. If one name stands for one identity, I can just simply change my Chinese name. But it isn't. I'm ... well, it's another story. There is one thing you use it for a long time, you can't use it forever, although the name is a lifelong thing. I think I have the chance to use my new name in a new school. Sometimes I still use Charlotte. So I don't think it's two different identities. I just have a lot of English names. If different identities should have different names, I think this person has split personality.
- I: No no no. This is not independent person or personality. It's identity.
- C: Identity?
- I: Yes, for example, your parents will definitely call your English names, and you must have a private name that can only be called by your parents.
- C: It's true.
- I: Why did you name yourself Charlotte?
- C: I name myself Charlotte because the first letter of the name is the same as that of my family name. C is the third letter in the alphabet, and I like the number three. I like (Detective) Sherlock as well. Its pronunciation is quite similar to Charlotte. That's why I name myself Charlotte. It's a very British name.
- I: Have you decided to come to England then?
- C: No, I didn't decide at that time. I just thought I would come to Britain if I went abroad.
- I: If you find that the meaning of your English name is inconsistent with yourself, will you change your name?
- C: If it happened before I name it, I would find a name with the meaning I prefer. If I had been called that name for two or three years, I wouldn't. Because I named myself not because of the meanings at first, but for other reasons.

- I: It has some connections with you.
- C: Yes. Charlotte is me, and I am Charlotte.
- I: Two identities, a British student from China and a Chinese student learning a British programme, which one do you think you are?
- C: The latter one.
- I: Why?
- C: (Laughs) This question is so sudden...Because I'm Chinese essentially, I'm a Chinese student. I come from China to learn abroad, a Britain programme.
- I: What about without considering the nationality?
- C: I can't. sorry, I can't.
- I: How about considering from your behaviours and thinking patterns?
- C: Still the latter one.
- I: Do you wish to be the first one?
- C: Without considering the nationality? I can't answer this question without considering nationality.
- I: For example...?
- C: If I don't consider my nationality, I will still think about, because after all, I've been lived in China for so long. I'm used to Chinese things, and I can't change it all at once.
- I: Supposing you go to other countries and chat with others, and others ask you where are you from, what is your answer?
- C: I'll say XX (a city name), UK. I'm studying in University of XX. I'm Chinese. When I travelled to Liverpool, the staff in the museum asked me where did I come from when I borrowed the audio guide. I said XX, I was studying in XX.
- I: If he didn't specifically ask you what's your nationality, would you deliberately say I'm a Chinese?
- C: Of course, I would.
- I: A few days ago, I received a letter asking me to register to vote. The receptionist said that I must fill in it because I was a UK student. How do you understand the definition from others? Because the receptionist knew very well that I was not a

British citizen and I had no right to vote.

C: Why should I care about other people's definitions? I obey the law. I know I'm a Chinese, and I can't change my thinking mode. I also want to become a person who looks much like the British or American having an open-mind. Everyone wants to make their thinking more active and creative. It's not about identity or nationality. Standing in his shoes, he thinks I am a British student, which I think is reasonable. From my point of view, I think I'm a Chinese student, which he thinks it's reasonable. The two don't have conflicts.

I: If you define yourself as the latter one, will it influence your learning here?

C: Absolutely! Definitely. Why do I have to consider my nationality? Because I'm really patriotic. There are many things. If I encounter cultural conflicts, I must be very tolerant first. But I certainly think China is better. Objectively speaking, China is better, or if Britain is better, I'll also say Britain is better. But selfishly, I hope I am Chinese, and I don't mind the impact of this identity on my understanding of culture and learning. Because whatever country or race you are, you should first have a positioning for yourself before you can look at other identities. People have different identities. I'm the latter one, and I can be the first one as well. The two are not in conflict, but I prefer the second one.

I: So it doesn't matter whether you're the first one or not?

C: No.

I: You also said that the second one will affect your education here. Won't you worry?

C: Will affect, but will not hinder I accept my learning contents here. This obstacle does not mean that it will hinder me from accepting thoughts and language. It just makes me, how to say, just makes me compare...but I can still accept it. In fact, I like British culture very much. I sometimes feel that British is what I imagined, so it won't affect me to accept these.

I: How do you find the balance point?

C: Balance point?

I: Yes. I mean, how can you have a better integration into the study and life here without abandoning the second identity?

C: It seems natural. I haven't thought about it. I came to Britain to accept different cultures, learn languages and improve my ability. This is another education system. I'm just thinking about how to use this knowledge, because if I return home, how can I use it to our country's system, or how can I help improve...um or develop and publicize our country's things in the UK. I don't think the two conflict. After all, Britain is a more diverse country than China, so there has discrimination and tolerance. And everyone has multiple identities and so many nationalities, so I don't think I've thought about this problem. I think it's natural and balanced. I really didn't think about it.

I: Do you speak English unconsciously in class or when communicating with your classmates?

C: Yes.

I: Have you noticed this?

C: Yes yes yes. Sometimes in China, some words maybe um...

I: What do you mean by in China?

C: Yes. Oh! How to say it? Let me see...Many times, you know, our Xinjiang has a lot of languages and a lot of learning. I'm majoring in English. I have to learn Uyghur and I have to learn Russian. Sometimes, you know when there is no substitute word, there happens to be a foreign word you just learned. Russian and Uyghur are easy to be confused. Sometimes I can't remember the specific word when I speak English, so I use Russian or Uyghur instead, It's especially natural. After arriving in the UK, people around us are speaking English, unless sometimes, we chat like this (in Chinese). If we can better explain it in English, such as the term deadline. It is more understandable to say deadline, and it's strange to say the term deadline in Chinese. However, if I explain this with the people in China, I should say that this deadline is the date of our homework. It's natural. It's OK. It's a very normal thing.

I: Do you think you're the same when speaking in English or in Chinese?

C: This sounds like a philosophical question.

I: For example, you pre-sessional classmate said she was outspoken when speaking in English, but dared to express herself in Chinese.

C: What? She's quite brave. I can't. When speaking in English, I'm um...No, I'm not.

It depends. What's your question?

I: Do you think you're the same when speaking in English or in Chinese?

C: Yes. The same. Nothing different.

Appendix 8 CY's observation transcripts

(C=CY; M=Mary)

Appendix 8.1 The first observation transcripts

M: Did you do your homework?

C: Yeah. (Low voice) (Without looking at the M) (Smile) (Talking with the group members)

M: Have you get your notes this week?

C: Yeah. (Low voice) (Without looking at the T) (Playing her phone)

M: Do you remember what did I ask you to write ...?

C: (Looking at the M) (nod) (Yawn) (Attention wandering)

M: (Talking about something about the test)

C: (Come to herself) (Talking with group members) (Looking at the T) (Smile)

M: (Finish the topic of test) OK?

C: (Yawn) (Lean back) (Deep breath)

M: What do we need to do to insert in your essays?

C: (Attention wandering) (Touch her upper arm)

M: Can we just take others idea ... ?

C: (Stop looking at the M)

M: Copy a piece ... or sort it out...?

C: No. (Low voice) (Without looking at the M) (Playing the phone)

M: What do we need to do?

C: (Playing the phone) (Lean back) (Looking at the M)

M: Why do we need to do this?

C: (Stop looking at the M) (Playing the phone) (Murmur) (Chuckle) (Looking at the classmates) (Looking at the M)

M: Why it is so important?

C: Protect their rights.

M: Yes, exactly, to protect their rights.

C: En hmm. (Nod) (Yawn) (Without looking at the M) (Without looking at the M) (Looking at the M) (Yawn) (Keep looking at the M, while some other students are looking at the handout) (Yawn) (Smile) (Looking at the M)

M: OK, so we have in-text...

C: In-text. (Low voice) (Looking at the M)

M: Let's concentrate on this one...

C: (Looking at the handout)

M: ...and if you open your textbook, on page 122...

C: (Finding book in her bag) (Talking with group member) (Yawn)

M: So read what these books contain (...) Spend two minutes on it...

C: (Read the book) (Looking at the M, while most of the students are looking at the handout) (Looking at the handout, while most of the students are looking at the M) (Yawn) (Looking at the M) (Yawn) (Looking at the M) (Looking at the handout, while most of the students are looking at the M)

M: OK, there is no difference, if you don't want to...

C: (Looking at the M)

M: Is it clear? What is clear?

C: (Murmur) (Look at the M)

M: Lina, could you defend your claim? Why do you think it's clear then?

C: (Look at Lina) (Smile) (Look at the M)

Lina: (Keeping silence)

M: OK, which one do you think it's easier? At the beginning or at the end?

C: (Yawn) (Look at the M)

(Another student is answering the question)

M: Really?

C: (Laugh)

M: So which one do you think it's easier when you have to introduce somehow...

C: En... (Low voice)

M: ...or you have to ...

C: (Smile) (Stop looking at the M) (Murmur) (Smile)

M: Which one is easier?

C: (Murmur)

M: (Response to C) Yeah, the second one...

C: (Smile) (Yawn)

M: ...that we need to choose correct verb...

C: (Nod) (Yawn)

M: Can you see that?

C: Yeah. (Low voice) (Yawn) (Make notes) (Attention wandering)

M: OK, don't worry if you don't know any mistake...

C: (Look at the M) (Yawn)

M: ...we have to be very specific and very careful with reference, OK?

C: (Look at the M) (Smile) (Talking with group member)

M: OK, you carry on the examples two through six.

C: (Answer the question) (Low voice)

M: (Eye contact) (Walk forward C)

C: ...Um...after the 1995 is the first stop (Look at the M)

M: Oh, yes, it's another one, good!

C: (Smile) (Stop looking at the M) (Touch her hair)

M: I need to wear my glasses. I didn't see that.

C: (Smile to M) (Without looking at M)

M: Very well done, Evangeline (C's English name)!

C: (Nod) (Keep touching her hair) (Without looking at M)

M: Can you see that?

C: (Nod) (Only C has the reaction of M's question) (Without looking at M) (Read the handout carefully) (Yawn) (Communicate with her desk mate)

M: (Asking question)

C: (Murmur) (Nod) (Yawn)

(C's group members look at C's answers many times, and C explains the answer for the group members with smiles)

(Reading the handout carefully)

M: Evangeline, do you wanna tell us?

C: (Answering the question) (Without looking at M)

T: Brilliant! Yes?

C: (No reaction) (Looking at the student A who is answering the question)

M: (Laughs) Just one?

C: (Answering question without M's mentions) (Low voice)

M: How did this one go?

C: (Answering correctly with looking at M, while A kept answering the question) (Smile)

M: Again! Stop! Evangeline is the specialist for this (Laughs)

C: (Laughs) (Without looking at M)

M: Any question?

C: No. (Low voice) (The only one responds to M) (Answering question with looking at M and then laughs) (Answering question in low voice and then looking at group member)

M: ...and the second one is 2005...

C: Yeah. (Looking at M) (Looking at her desk mate)

M: Yeah?

C: (Laughs) (Looking at M from time to time, answer question without M's mentions in low voice) (Yawn) (Reading handout carefully) (Having several discussions with group members) (M asked questions to all of the students, C murmured in a very low voice and then smiled) (Attention wandering) (Yawn)

M: Which one do you think...

C: (Answering in a low voice)

M: Yes, so we have ...

C: (No reaction) (Attention wandering, while others were looking at the black board) (Looking at M) (Playing the phone) (Yawn) (Doing what M told the students to do) (Reading handout) (Discussing with group member) (Answering questions with other students) (Playing the phone) (No discussion with group member until her desk mate asked C question) (Drinking water) (Leaning back while her group

members were all focusing on the handout) (Yawn)

Appendix 8.2 The second observation transcripts

M: Hello, everybody, how are you?

Students: Fine.

M: How are you?

C: Fine, thank you, and you? (Laughs)

M: In the second class, do you remember what we are going to do?

C: (Talking with desk mate) (Searching on the laptop) (Looking at the M) (Searching on the laptop) (Looking at the M)

M: Can you notice anything? Yes? OK, show anything to your group.

C: (Discussing in Chinese)

M: (Came to C's group)

C: (The only one to response to M's question) (Discussing in Chinese)

M: Have you notice that?

C: (Murmur) (Looking at the M)

M: It's a very strong claim, yes?

C: (Talking with desk mate) (Smile) (Looking at another group)

M: So we have, again, two aspects, use both vocabularies and grammar, so you have to pay attention to specific words like ...

C: (Looking at the M)

M: No doubt, someone was very confident about their claims, OK?

C: (Murmur) (Smile) (Talking with the desk mate) (Looking at the M)

C's desk mate: But in other concept, we aware that the author is confident.

M: Are you a researcher? Do you carry on an experiment?

C: (Looking at the ceiling)

Desk mate: Ah, no.

C: (Looking down and adjusting sitting position) (Looking at the M)

M: So what types' purpose of that?

C: (Discussing with desk mate)

M: May? Might?

C: (Discussing with desk mate)

M: Give me more. Should? Could?

C: (Looking at the M)

M: OK, so what types of the verbs there?

C: (Murmur)

M: Do they have the special name? Model verbs.

C: (Discussing with desk mate)

M: Do you know that?

C: (Discussing with desk mate with laughter)

M: OK, try to re-read this sentence using model verbs. Redraft this sentence...

C: (Looking at the M) (Yawn) (Looking at the laptop) (Discussing with group members)

M: Who wants to read their sentence? Which group? I think Aurora, she wants to read the sentence.

C: (Looking at Aurora with smiles)

M: (Aurora finished reading the sentence) What do you think?

C: (Clapping) (Talking with desk mate)

Students: Brilliant.

M: Yeah, I like that.

C: (Clapping) (Bending over the desk with laughter)

M: And I think that Evangeline really wants to read the sentence, am I right, Evangeline?

C: Yes. (Laughs) (Reading the sentence) Brilliant! (Clapping)

M: I'll give you 10 minutes, OK? So look at your essay, open your laptops and ...

C: (Looking at her laptop) (Discussing with group members)

M: (Coming to C to check her essay)

C: (Explaining) (Keeping looking at her essay) (Discussing with group members)

M: OK, if you have any follow questions in this session, please ask me. I just want to make you aware of hedging of language, OK? ...

C: (Keeping discussing with desk mate)

M: So let's move on to next session, OK?

C: (Yawn) (Looking at the M)

M: There are two problems here. First one is related with something called ... Do you know what is that?

C: (Murmur) (Discussing with group member) (Looking at the M) (Playing with phone) (Looking at the M)

M: I'll share you a document, if you have any doubt about your expressions or words, you throw it on this document, OK? I'm sharing you now, and you look for expressions.

C: (Asking her desk mate) (Looking at laptop) (Looking at the whiteboard) (Discussing with group member)

M: What do you think?

C: (Smile) (Murmur)

M: ...Would that be acceptable?

C: (Looking at the M)

M: How would you replace it?

(Another student is answering the question)

M: It's related to, yeah?

C: (Nodding) (Looking at laptop) (Looking at desk mate) (Hands up automatically to answer questions)

M: (Asking other students) What do you think?

C: (Smile)

M: That's good.

C: (Laughing)

M: 'Beyond that', it is [academic], yeah? What's wrong, what do you think? Evangeline, is that you?

C: Yeah. (Laughing) (Playing the phone) (Looking at the M)

M: (Pointing to the words on the whiteboard to ask whether those are formal or informal)

C: It's fine. (Answering in a low voice)

M: It is.

C: (Looking at desk mate) (Raising eyebrows) (Answering questions with other students) (Looking at the M)

M: Have you get a better sense of the vocabulary now?

C: Yes. (Leaning back in the chair) (Looking at another group)

M: Have you moved to another point?

C: Yes. (Looking at the M)

M: Now, cohesions. What are they?

C: (Response to M in a low voice)

M: Match?

C: Yeah... (Expressing her ideas without looking at M)

M: No. So apart from match, what else do we need?

C: (Bending over the desk with laughter with her desk mate) (Keeping explaining her ideas) (Looking at the M) (Playing the phone) (Looking outside)

M: Think it about for two minutes.

C: (Discussing with group member) (Playing the phone) (Looking at the laptop)

M: Reference list in alphabet order. What does it mean?

C: (Nodding) ABC. (Looking at the M) (Smile)

M: Good.

C: (Smile) (Looking at the M) (Answering desk mate's question)

Appendix 8.3 The third observation transcripts

M: (Introducing what will be showed in the evision, including marks and feedback)

C: (Laughing while most of the students were sighing) (Taking the handout out and reading the essay as M ordered) (Yawn) (Looking to the M) (Talking with desk mate with hand covering mouth)

M: (Ordering students to read essay to find the answers)

C: (Nodding) (Discussing with group members) (Yawn)

M: I want to know the names of the methods mentioned in this paragraph.

C: (Reading the essay) (Answering)

M: Is this the provided name in this text?

C: (Answering influently)

M: OK, so we have four now. Evangeline, you mentioned something which ...

C: Yes. (Looking at the M)

M: And the second one, how does it called?

C: (Answering clearly)

M: (Laughs) And the next is very difficult to find. Evangeline, you start it.

C: Audio-lingual method. (Looking at the M)

M: Very good. Anything else?

C: Situational method.

M: Good.

C: (Discussing with group members)

M: Anything else?

Another student: Cooperative learning.

M: Cooperative learning? What do you think, everybody? It's a method or approach?

C: (Murmur) (Looking at the M) (Looking at the handout) TBLT.

M: What's that?

C: (Laughs) Task-based language teaching. (Looking at the M)

M: Now, I'd like to work in groups and each group ...

C: (Looking at the M) (Nodding) (Yawn)

M: Any question before you start?

C: No.

Appendix 8.4 The forth observation transcripts

C: (Yawn)

M: You still remember the qualities?

C: Yeah.

M: Yeah?

C: (Smile)

M: So what S stand for?

C: Sufficiency.

M: T?

C: Typically.

M: Good. A?

C: Accuracy.

M: R?

C: Relevance. (Looking at group member and laughing)

M: Read the short passage and ...

C: (Looking at the M) (Reading the passage with a pen in hand)

M: (Coming to C's group)

C: (Asking questions)

T: (Coming to C's group)

C: (Asking questions) (Yawn) (Looking at the M)

M: Let's move to group two. What is claim and how this author use evidence to support his claim?

(C's desk mate answered)

C: (Leaning back) Yeah. (Smile)

M: Choose or select what?

C: The evidence that support your claim. (Looking at the M)

T: Exactly.

C: (Answering questions with other students) (Yawn)

M: Summary? What is summary?

C: (Murmur) (Looking at desk mate) (Smile) Summary is the main idea. (Low voice)

M: And paraphrase?

C: (Answering) (Looking at the M)

M: I know you can read (Laughing). Say it in your own words.

C: (Answering) (Looking at the M) (Discussing with new group member)

Appendix 9 CY's one-to-one conversation transcripts with Mary

(C=CY; M=Mary)

M: So what makes you interested in Russia and its language?

C: Um....(8s)... Why...

M: Why not Spain, not India, not Italy?

C: Cause in the university, we have just two choices to choose the second language to learn. One is Russian, and Russia is the neighbor of China. And...

M: What is the other language?

C: Japanese.

M: Really? So why Russian, not Japanese?

C: Yeah, because I think Japanese is easy, easy to learn than Russian. And in my hometown, Russia is useful to your future career. It's also have the same border...

[...]

M: So what's your proficiency level? Have you achieved how to read it? How your Russianess?

C: (Laughing with covering her face) Primary. Original.

M: (Laughs)

C: Just one year. Because I just learn...I've just learnt one year. I read per week, one class per week. Maybe just (1s) no more than 30 class. Just learned grammar, pronunciation. It's too much to learn, so...

M: What about the alphabet? Have you learnt the alphabet?

C: (Nodding) Yes! Yes! (Laughs)

M: Do you know how to write you name? (Passing the pen and paper)

C: Let me think about...不行, 不行, 我的名字 (No, no, my name) (Writing on the paper)

M: We can talk about it. When you are writing, we can talk about how you writing it.

C: How you are writing this?! Oh!

M: I'll tell you...Come on. Let's...

C: (Writing)

M: That's good, because you have to pick the sounds...

C: Yes, I see the first name of my Russian...I can't remember that. Um...In the class, we don't talk about the name, just say your Chinese name, like *(C's Chinese name), please answer this question...

M: I just want to see your writing...Or write something else

C: (Sigh) (Covering the paper when Mary shifted posture forward) Don't see that. (Writing) So do you know Russia?

M: (Shaking head)

C: Oh, that's good.

M: I learned it a lot of time ago...

C: Really?!

M: But I forgot everything else...

C: (Showing Mary the paper)

M: (Reading the Russian)

C: (Reading the Russian)

M: That's beautiful.

C: Yeah. Yeah.

[...]

M: What do you think? Do you find it's so popular among Chinese students affects your performance, your grades and your final results?

C: Um (1s). As for me, I want to improve my English, the basic skills. But there are so many Chinese. We make friends with Chinese. So we talk about in Chinese, not English or another language. So maybe it's necessary for me to improve my English level, some extent, not all situations...some...some...

M: Yeah. I can see your point, because you share an accommodation. At your lectures, your seminars, all Chinese around you. What if you undertake an experiment one day you speak English only with everybody? Would it be possible to organise? To change and (F: No.) just speak... Lets' see, on the Monday, English only. What do you think if you organise a challenge like that?

C: We've had... set this plan...

M: Really?

C: Yes. But it didn't work. (Laughs)

M: Why it didn't work?

C: Um (3s). Sometimes we forgot this plan. We just forgot. And using Chinese is more easier and more clear to explain what we think. And sometimes we just don't want to say English. Because it's very weird when you speak English with another Chinese around you. They will find this people is...is...is...I can't describe this mood. If...As for me, if there are some Chinese boys or girls talk about in English, I'll think they are so um pretend to be a British man or English or ...

M: Do they know about the judgment?

C: Um yes, yes.

M: So you are scared to be judged to pretend to be someone you are not.

C: Not scared. Just...one of my friends have this judgment when some others speaking English but they are Chinese...

M: Who has the problem if somebody judge somebody? Who has the problem?

C: Of course the person who judge it.

M: So what's the problem if you speak English and you have purpose and you have reasons to do this one, and if the reason is as good as improve your English and be more proficient, then why do you care about it?

C: Actually, I don't care about it. I learn the vocabulary I use it. I learn the grammar I use it. You know the two Chinese they can understand what they said in English, because they have the common mistakes in the English, so they can understand. Um... so they won't correct the mistakes, just let them go. And continue to talking, continue to talk. Yeah. So I think, it's also some extent useless because the useless talking...

M: So you mean if you speak to another Chinese person, they won't correct you?

C: Yes. They understand me and I understand what they said.

M: But when you realize the vocabulary shortage, this word is missing, who will suppose to take an action?

C: Me.

Appendix 10 CY's stimulated recall interview transcripts

(I=Interviewer; C=CY)

(C was watching the first clip of the videos)

I: OK. Mary asked you whether you had done your homework...

C: Did she ask?

I: Yes.

C: Really?

I: I'll show you again.

(Replaying the video)

C: (Laughs) Obviously, I didn't do the homework. I even forgot what the homework was. Ah, that's me?

I: It is.

(Fishing the replay)

I: It is impossible that you didn't do your homework. But why did you have that laughing expression? I'm really curious about that.

C: Can I say I can't remember that? (Laughs) I can't remember what the then homework is. Perhaps I was worried about being asked by Mary. I'm just guessing.

I: I find that in the videos, you have lots of little movements in the classes...

C: Because I'm vivacious.

I: Did you perform the same in China?

C: Except that I was sleepy that day.

I: But in this video, you yawned for about thirty times...

C: We usually had classes in the morning.

I: But you were active in the class, which is contradicted with you said.

C: Except for the yawns, I was vivacious.

I: Why did you answer Mary's question usually in a low voice?

C: Ah?

I: I can show you the videos.

(Playing the videos)

C: Because Mary didn't ask me to answer the questions.

I: OK, now let's watch this clip.

(C was watching the video)

C: I remember that I performed actively in this class.

I: Yes.

C: Mary praised me (laughs).

I: I feel that you're a person who likes to be praised.

C: Aren't you?

I: (Laughs) I mean, it seems that you hope to be praised every time.

C: If I behave well, she should praise me. If I behave badly, don't be too cruel to me.

(Playing another clip)

I: Have you noticed that you've interrupted another classmate's answering the question?

C: I remember that everyone didn't want to answer the questions, did they? Because it was too early, wasn't it? Because the answer to this question was similar to that of the previous question, I answered that, but I don't want to disturb the person who was answering, and I had a good relationship with her, so I smiled, so my voice was relatively low.

I: But Mary heard that and stopped you.

C: (Laughs) Because we are good friends. When she was...It was fine at the beginning. She often winked at me in class and made some small moves that we both understand, so I (laughs)

I: What do you mean by small moves?

C: Sometimes when she thought I was too noisy in the class, she would wink to me, and I was like, OK, got it! It's our privity.

(Playing the clip)

I: Chinese teachers understand the set of phrase ‘Fine, thank you, and you?’, but non-Chinese teachers may be confused about your reactions.

C: We explained that later, not the recorded class. She asked us ‘why are you laughing this?’, we said ‘we learned this from the Chinese textbooks’.

I: But she didn’t understand this in the recorded class. Were you worried it would cause embarrassment?

C: To be honest, no. We did the same thing on other classes. Teachers seemed very happy.

I: What was your motivation?

C: We did the same thing before. Our student representative did this as well. So they did it, I did it. They didn’t say it, I wouldn’t say it neither. I’m not the person who likes to make others awkward.

I: So you like following others?

C: No! I...I...don’t like going with the flow. I’m considerate. If I do something too prominent and independent, I will consider others’ feelings. But I’m definitely not a follower.

(Playing the clip)

I: Why didn’t you have reactions when Mary asked what you had done in past days?

C: Didn’t I?

I: No, you didn’t. The same with the first clip I showed to you.

C: Ah, I was playing the phone. I didn’t listen to the teacher. I was replying the messages.

I: Did Mary notice that?

C: I don’t think so.

I: Aren’t you afraid of being regarded as a bad student if she found this?

C: No, she wouldn’t. She loved me (laughs).

I: (Laughs) When did you two become friends?

C: The...the...She knew I was active, so she often asked me to answer the questions. After our first mock reading test...

I: When was the mock reading test?

C: Um...in the forth week?

I: But this happened in the third week.

C: Well...she might think I was looking up for vocabularies.

I: Did you do the same thing in China?

C: Yes! University teachers don't care about you using phone in the class. The same with foreign countries, actually.

(Playing a clip)

I: I can feel that Mary focused on you in your group discussion time, and you were always the only one to ask questions.

C: Yes yes, that's me.

I: Is this also because of your characters?

C: I like her and I know the answers of her question. If the teacher is my favourite, I'll answer the questions even I'm not able to answer it. It is about my characters. I'll raise questions, or it may be too embarrassing.

I: Did you ask questions in this way in China?

C: Yes, I ask questions because I know little about the questions. We rarely have group discussions in China. And in domestic...domestic...let me see, occasionally...

I: Not so frequent like here?

C: No, not as frequent as here. (In China) Sometimes we could have time to ask questions, but some class didn't provide us opportunities to raise questions. We needed to look up the vocabularies and phrases by ourselves. It depends on what the class is.

I: In your Masters, did you ask questions frequently?

C: Yes. I would answer if I knew it. Yes yes yes yes yes yes...Because our group...yes yes yes yes...

I: Were you afraid of giving the wrong answers?

C: Yes, I were. Absolutely. There were two classes. I forgot what the classes were. Anyway, I spoke a completely wrong answer, but I knew what the right answer was. I didn't know why. I didn't find the reason till now. But teachers said nothing, and

others said nothing. So I'm not worried about that.

I: Is this the difference you think between with the classes in China?

C: There were few opportunities for you to answer question, actually. Whatever the classmates, or somebody...They knew a lot. So when we all knew the answer, we would say it together. So there was no chance for me to ask question, and my classmates could help me. When the classmates didn't understand my questions, or I wanted to know a better problem solving methods...But in China, the teaching content is different, teachers and classmates are different, they know a lot...and if you ask the teacher, it's just a child's play for the teachers, because the classmates know the answer as well. It's weird if I ask the teachers these simply questions. So I think the differences are the teaching content and the teachers. I didn't get lots of chances to ask or answer.

I: Did you consciously develop yourself to ask questions frequently after coming to the UK?

C: I didn't aware of this until you asked me. It may related to my characters. I'll change myself when facing with different people. If the whole class are quite, I'll be quite. If the class is active, I'll be active.

(Playing the video)

I: What did you see?

C: No (laughs).

(Replaying)

C: I only noticed that I looked to the floor and chatted with my desk mate. That's all.

I: I think you might ask your classmate a question and then looked at her. She nodded. And your other group members laughed. And Mary said no to your answer. You looked to the outside and then the floor. These were what you performed in this clip.

C: Yes, that's correct. But how did you analyse this?

I: I'd like to discuss your then feeling.

C: Let me see. Let me see. Based on my understanding of myself, I think I knew the answer, but I didn't want to say it. I think...I think I told the answer to my right-hand

classmate, and my left-hand classmate...I looked at her. She knew the answer as well. She answered it. The answer was right. So whatever...I looked the floor because I was thinking, and I looked outside because I had already known the answer.

(Playing the video)

I: What did you see?

C: Nothing. I think I was normal.

I: No, there are some details.

C: (Watching the video again) I was combing my hair. I called PX. No, nothing. Um...What was I doing? (Laughs) PX was...I was reading the article. Was it me that said brilliant?

I: Yes.

(Replaying)

C: I said that with PX together (laughs). You can check that again.

I: But there is one thing you perhaps don't notice. After Aurora finished answering the question, you clapped, not in a formal way...

C: I clapped like that always (laughs).

I: Really? This was the only time you clapped in all observations.

C: OK.

I: Clapping is not your regular behaviour?

C: You can understand like that. But I'm always the first one to clap.

I: Yes. You were the first one in this clip. But the first time, perhaps others didn't notice you. But you expressed that information. So in the second time, others clapped hands with you.

C: There is no formal or informal clapping, anyway (laughs).

I: (Laughs) I agree with you. But you didn't notice that when watching the videos.

C: I clapped my hands naturally (laughs). I performed naturally in the classes.

I: Why did Mary ask you to answer the question?

C: Because I laughed loudly. "Oh, Evangeline, I know you want to answer, don't you?" Our class atmosphere is really relaxed and happy.

I: The following videos showed in group discussion, when Mary went to your group,

you performed actively.

C: What? This is not like the real me. Were I active?

I: It was not the real you?

(Playing the videos)

I: Did you notice that Mary paid more attention on you?

C: Of course. I'm worth it.

I: Did your Chinese teachers do the same on you?

C: Um...it's...it's...My tutor...yes. Other teachers didn't know my name clearly.

Teachers who knew my name would pay close attention on me.

(Playing the video)

C: Do you know what was I thinking about?

I: What were you thinking about?

C: I didn't what to do.

I: Exactly. That's what I code here. Confusion.

C: My mind was wandering.

I: Did you remember...?

C: No, but I saw I asked my desk mate what to do next. I didn't know why I wasn't focus on teacher's speaking.

I: So why did you have these two conditions, sometimes active, sometimes wandering?

C: En...En...(laughs). I don't know why. Just like what teachers say, students can only focus their mind within the first twenty minutes. There are forty-five minutes every class. We can't focus our mind all the time. So I think it's students' habit.

(Playing the video)

C: (Watching the video) Did you see that? I was normal. En, my mind was wandering...I handed up to answer the question, actively (laughs).

I: Yes.

C: Actually, in pre-sessional class, I was...

I: Did that always happen?

C: In fact, Mary asked the question to all the students, not only to me. But I found

sometimes, it depends on who was willing to answer it.

I: Did that happen in China?

C: Yes, yes. I handed up like this (performing how she handed up in China). It's cute (laughs). I raised my hand very high.

I: This is the behaviour you continue to do here?

C: It is. I like raising my hand very high (performing again how she handed up).

I: What about you Masters courses?

C: My Masters? Um...yes, I did, I did, I did. I performed like this (performing) (laughs). It's funny.

(Playing the video)

C: Thank you for filming my side face. Oh, I had lots of little movements. This girl was freezing without any movements (laughs). Look at me and look at her (laughs)!

I: Which movements attract you?

C: My beauty and my hair.

I: Anything else?

C: Nothing.

I: I noticed that when Mary asked whether you did the assignment, you leaned back. What's that mean?

C: I did the assignment. It was like the movements that I looked the floor. I did the assignment, I knew the answer, so I was calm.

(Playing the video)

C: (Laughs) What was I doing? I'm an idiot. I was playing the phone. Perhaps replied the messages. I leaned back, and...I didn't look at Mary or the blackboard several times.

I: This twenty seconds was the only time that you looked so serious in all recordings. Why? Was it because of the mock reading test?

C: She didn't notify us the mock test. She was teaching the references.

I: I can show you the earlier recordings.

(Playing the clip)

C: Ah! I get it. She mentioned that we would have a mock reading test next week. So

the time of the previous video and this one was the time that we (Mary and CY) had a good relationship. She mentioned that...Yes.

(Playing the video)

I: See, you looked so serious.

C: Actually, I didn't care about the mock test. I perhaps know what happened. At the beginning, Mary was asking our assignments. I did the assignments. It was very easy. And I answered the questions. I was sleepy, so I yawned. I thought I had mastered what she taught, so I thought I didn't need to listen to her. After a while, my mind was back...

I: You found you had lost your mind?

C: Yes. I noticed it just now. The then...someone was answering the question. I knew the answers. And then I was back.

I: Did that happen in China?

C: Of course. I often lost my mind in Chinese classes.

(Playing the video)

C: (Focusing on and talking about her face and make-up). I saw nothing.

(Playing the video)

I: What did you see?

C: No, I didn't see anything special.

I: Why did you look at others when Mary asked the questions?

C: Did I?

I: Yes. I can replay the clip.

(Replaying)

C: Because she was asking about the homework.

I: Why didn't you respond to Mary?

C: It was not worth answering. For me, the questions about assignment are not big deal. Silly questions.

(Playing the video)

C: Was it me that was talking?

I: Yes.

C: Oh my! I answered perfectly. Is there any problem?

I: You don't expect you can provide a perfect answer?

C: Yes, I've expected that. I was answering the question. Yes, I was active.

(Playing the video)

C: Because I was not sure my answers, I looked at others. Are you curious about this?

I: (Laughs) Why did you laugh after answering?

C: I don't know (laughs). I don't know. I don't know the reasons. No reasons. There is no reason for laughing.

(Playing the video)

I: What did you see?

C: I yawned. And I laughed.

I: When did you laugh?

C: I didn't noticed that.

I: It was after you answered Mary's question again.

C: Because I found no one, except me, knew the answers. Well, I guessed that based on my current thinking.

(Playing the video)

C: I spoke the wrong answer. The wrong answer.

(Playing the video)

I: My feeling is, I'm not sure, maybe these clips record your performances of last several weeks, so you and your group members performed more actively.

C: Perhaps.

I: Had you noticed your group members were more active in the last several weeks?

C: I think it's because of their personal characters. They were quiet in the class, but after the class, they were very active. It's possibly that, in the last several weeks, they have gotten used to here's teaching styles.

(Playing the video)

I: I'm curious that you're usually very active in the class, but why did you answer the questions in a low voice?

C: Because I didn't want to answer it, and no one wanted to answer. But Mary picked

me, so OK. I answered it. After Mary gave me a “good” or “stop” sign, I would stop, or I would keep saying.

(Finishing the playing)

I: Have you noticed that you sometimes answered the questions without Mary’s call?

C: Yes.

I: Why? Did you do that in China.

C: Yes. If I know the answer, I’ll answer it.

I: Is it related to your definitions of student? Do you remember your definitions?

C: No, I don’t. Can you repeat that?

I: If I ask you now, what’s your definition of student, what’s your answer?

C: (Laugh) definition...learning.

I: Anything else?

C: Just student (laughs). What was my answer?

I: OK. What’s your definition of good student?

C: I think a good student should have good learning and characters.

I: You said besides the student, (s)he should be a human being firstly.

C: Correct.

I: Do you think there is connections between your definitions and your performances of answering the questions?

C: Um...yes. I think you should answer teachers’ questions, right? If you don’t know the answer, you can keep quiet. But I’ll feel embarrassing if I don’t answer the questions.

I: Is there any difference of your two identities, a Chinese student and a British student?

C: Well...the differences...I remember you’ve asked this question before. Um...I said no, but now I think there are differences.

I: What are the differences?

C: Environment. Environment is different. The environment can influence people’s behaviours. Teaching strategies, or the teaching content, or the knowledge can influence...In fact, I still think, essentially, most things cannot be changed, but the

thinking and behavioural patterns can be changed. Learning methods can be changed, but the essential can't be changed. The things can't be changed are essential.

I: What do you mean by essential?

C: It's...Just like what I said just now, wherever I am, I'll respond to teachers if I know the answers.

I: So you don't deliberately decide your performances, no matter you're in China or the UK?

C: No, I don't.

I: Why did you have more little movements and keep quiet at the beginning of every class?

C: Most of time, there was no reason. If you must find a reason, I just...I think the questions were no need to be answered. There was always others to answer it. And the beginning of the class, it was relaxed, so I...I was relaxed, I had lots of little movements, such as leaning back, combing my hair, because I knew the answers, so I wouldn't discuss that with my classmates.

I: Did Mary's attention on you make you feel stressed?

C: Sometimes. Because it's just...average...actually, Mary thought she had a good relationship with me. And you definitely found some details that, she paid close attention on me, but she treated other students in the same way. It was mainly because I was active, she wanted me to provide the answers, so she would look at me. If I just didn't know the answers, I didn't want to answer it, I would feel stressed. But I tried to...If I didn't know the answers, I would try to figure out what the right answer was. It was a positive pressure, not a negative one.

I: Is it because you enjoyed the praise, you performed actively?

C: No, it's because of my characters.

I: Is this related to the tutor and your sister studying in Australian?

C: No, it's completely irrelevant. I'm not a person who likes to set others as my model. They give me pressure, but the impact is positive. I won't study hard just because of others doing that. I just learn how they manage their study in the daily life. My

sister...She is my model who making me stressed, but I haven't been influenced by the pressure.

I: Did the Chinese teachers praise you a lot?

C: The class in China is huge. Teachers only praise the student who they can remember the names.

(Playing the one-to-one conversation between Mary and CY)

C: No! I don't want to see myself in the videos. Why did I hesitate so long time?

I: Did you really think Japanese was easier than Russian?

C: Yes, it was my real thought. But Mary asked me why, the two reasons were I thought immediately to answer her questions. But the reasons were the real. But these were not the reason why I wanted to travel to Russia. I just wanted to go there. No reason. But I really think Japanese is one-hundred times easier than Russian (laughs).

C: Can we skip this part (laugh)? I don't write my Russian name often. But she knows me very well. She asked me to write my Russian name correctly.

I: I think Mary lied that she didn't understand Russian.

C: Yes, she did.

I: Did you feel relaxed when you heard she said she didn't understand Russian?

C: No, I knew she understood the Russian. I knew she lied.

I: Why did you perform the trust that time?

C: We have a different understanding of "understand the Russian". She thought she couldn't speak Russian fluently, so she said she didn't understand the language. XXX (Mary's country) is near the Russia, so she can understand what I've written. I said a phrase in Russian, and she replied to me in Russian as well. So she can understand the Russian. Look! She smiled. She understood it. Look! I know she understands it!

I: Just like what you said, you and Mary are friends, so why did you nervous when you chatted with her?

C: Because I was speaking English (laughs).

I: Because of the language.

C: Yes yes. In our second and third term, Mary was the teacher of one of my chosen modules. We developed a good relationship and I was a participant of her pilot study. We talked about a lot about the life, future, career last time we met. I didn't nervous that time because I thought English was not the obstacle between us any more. We discussed the casual, or the academic topics at the beginning. I felt relaxed. It's just...chatting. But when she asked me why chose Russia to be the trip destination, no reasons, I really didn't know the reasons.

I: But you could just answer that no reason, I just want to go there.

C: Then what will happen (laughs)? I'm proving analysing material to you (laughs).

(Playing the video)

C: She had problems in understanding to me.

I: I think it's fine. What identity did you treat Mary in this one-to-one conversation, teacher or friend?

C: Teacher.

I: But this didn't happen in the classroom.

C: Yes, I know that.

I: Was this the reason you still felt nervous that time?

C: Yes, it was.

(Final interviews)

I: How many non-Chinese you've made friends with?

C: Mary.

I: Only Mary?

C: Yes.

I: What's your feeling when you communicate with her?

C: You mean now, or...?

I: Now.

C: I think she's my friend.

I: When did you change your mind?

C: I don't know. Perhaps suddenly, I didn't feel nervous.

I: Do you have the experience of introducing yourself in front of non-Chinese?

- C: I experienced it three times. The first time was in our pre-sessional class. Mary asked us to say our names, where we came from, what our favorite things are, and she gave everyone a note that there was a question that we must answer. The second time was um...I introduced my three favorite things. The third time, the teacher asked us to make a self-introduction, so I did.
- I: How did you make the self-introduction in China?
- C: In China, the self-introduction usually happens in a formal situation, such as job interviews. Generally, we don't have lots of chances to introduce ourselves.
- I: Do you have non-Chinese classmates in your Masters programme?
- C: I have.
- I: Is any difference when you have the group discussions?
- C: Nothing different.
- I: Do you adapt to your academic study or the life here?
- C: Yes.
- I: When did you feel that you were not belong to here?
- C: Yes! In the Chinese New Year (laughs). I'm not locals, so I don't have Christmas or the Halloween.
- I: How do you seek help when you have some academic questions?
- C: Sending emails.
- I: Are there some things that bug you?
- C: At first, I must check my words carefully.
- I: Does this still trouble you?
- C: No. I know everything (laughs).
- I: Why? Because you are familiar to sending emails, or you have a good relationship with teachers?
- C: Familiar to sending emails.
- I: What's you feeling when speaking English in the class?
- C: Nothing.
- I: What about speaking in Chinese?
- C: It's weird. Because I'm in the UK.

- I: What are the differences between Chinese cultures and British cultures?
- C: Politesse. That influences me to be more polite.
- I: What about the academic things?
- C: In class, teachers don't point out your mistakes directly. They like praising student. The atmosphere is relaxed and harmonious, not the teaching strategies. And the equal...feeling equal in academic situations. Relaxed, polite and harmonious. China...the thousand-year's history, so we pay much attention on respecting teachers.
- I: Which identity do you prefer, a Chinese student who is studying in British, or a British student who comes from China?
- C: The first one.
- I: Why?
- C: (Laughs) I remember I chose the same identity last time. At first, I'm Chinese. I'm not belong to the race here, not belong to here. So it'll influence me a lot, unless I was born here. So I think I come from China, and I'll go back to China.
- I: Do you think you're a member of here?
- C: Living here, yes.
- I: With your student identity?
- C: Student identity...I'm studying in the Britain. I'm an international student. It doesn't matter whether I'm a member of here or not. I'm a member of the class.

Abbreviations

BAC	British Academic Community
CAC	Chinese Academic Community
CE	China English
CM I	Community Membership I
CM II	Community Membership II
CoP	Community of Practice
CS	Code-switching
EIL	English as an International Language
ELF	English as Lingua Franca
ESL	English as a Second Language
FDA	Foucaudian Discourse Analysis
LBAC	Local British Academic community
LM	Language Mixing
NNS	Non-native Speaker
NS	Native Speaker
NVE	New Varieties of English
PoI	Phase of interview
RINEU	Research-intensive University in the North of England
SbOP	Shared by other participants
SE	Standard English
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SRI	Stimulated Recall Interview
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
WE	World English

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