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# Bilingualism and Identity: Chinese students' perspectives on an independent bilingual school 

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#### Abstract

The growth in the number of schools in China offering a Mandarin-English bilingual education has occurred in response to globalisation. China has developed these schools as a way of promoting and protecting Chinese identity and heritage, whilst also ensuring China has citizens with the English language proficiency to be able to communicate with other countries on the global stage. In addition to this, due to the number of Chinese nationals achieving domestic university degrees, there is a widely held belief that degrees from universities in Anglosphere countries are more prestigious and offer greater opportunities for employment. This context has led to the development of independent bilingual education schools, such as Huili School Hangzhou (HSH) where this research project was based.

Understanding that the students who attend HSH are aspiring to study and work abroad in Anglosphere countries in the future, means HSH has a responsibility to ensure their bilingual education model prepares students for this. The aim of this research project was to explore the topics of bilingualism and identity in the HSH bilingual education model from a student perspective, to ascertain if it was having the desired impact on students. The research was grounded in the interpretivist paradigm, and included the use of a workshop, participant-led photography, individual interviews and focus group. These methods were used to gather perceptions from students, in both Mandarin and English, as an interpreter was included. A thematicanalysis was subsequently conducted, which produced three themes from the data. These were: the importance of using Mandarin to support English language acquisition, the significance of relationships and an appreciation for Chinese identity and cultures.

The findings demonstrated that students viewed languages and cultures as geographically bound. Participants viewed their home language of Mandarin and Chinese cultures as part of their identity, whereas, their second language of English was described only as a 'tool' or necessity for them to achieve their dream of studying abroad. The participants shared how the HSH bilingual education model could be improved by teaching Chinese social studies in grades 9 and 10, by consistently encouraging students to draw on their translanguaging skills and by providing more opportunities to interact with foreign students. All of the participants vocalised a lack of confidence in their English language proficiency and understanding of cultures related to the Anglosphere. The recommendation is made that HSH considers how their bilingual education model can be altered to overcome the current dichotomy between Mandarin and English within the school, to encourage languages and cultures to be seen as diverse and not geographically bound. This is suggested to be important to be able to implement the recommendations made by the participants, and to prepare students for the diverse countries and cultures they are aspiring to live in.


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## List of abbreviations

CEFR - Common European Framework of Reference
CSS - Chinese Social Studies
ESS - English Social Studies
HNH - Huili Nursery Hangzhou
HoD - Head of Department
HSH - Huili School Hangzhou
IB - International Baccalaureate
IELTS - International English Language Testing System
IGCSE - International General Certificate of Secondary Education
JH - Junior High
SLT - Senior Leadership Team
SMT - Senior Management Team
TOEFL - Test of English as a Foreign Language
WCC - Wellington College China
WCH - Wellington College Hangzhou
WCIH - Wellington College International Hangzhou

## Chapter 1：Overview

## 1.1 －Introduction

This chapter will set the dissertation in context，by providing an overview of the setting within which I work and where the research project was based．Then，I shall go on to explain my positionality，the rationale for the research and the research questions before describing the significance of the research for the school，the participants and myself．Towards the end of the chapter a summary of research methods will be provided，before a description of the overview of the dissertation．

## 1.2 －Context of an independent bilingual school in China

The research project was based in Wellington College Hangzhou（WCH），an independent，co－educational bilingual and international school．The school is located in Hangzhou，in the south－east of The People＇s Republic of China （henceforth referred to as China），south of the commercial city of Shanghai．This school is the third campus developed by the Wellington College China（WCC）group， and is a collaboration between WellingtonCollege UK，an independent boarding school established in 1853 and Ms．Joy Qiao，the Founder and Chair of Governors． Ms．Qiao was born in Shanghai，and went onto study at Oxford University，this combination of being educated in China and theUK ignited a passion to build a chain of schools designed to offer the very best bilingual education，combining the latest pedagogical approaches from the geographical East and West．The school incorporates China＇s national language ofPǔtōnghuà（普通话），henceforth referred to as Mandarin，and the English language．The school values of respect，courage， integrity，kindness and responsibility are the foundations with which the WCC group is built upon，and all stakeholders areencouraged to embody these in all they do．

WCC built its first campus in Tianjin in 2011，and subsequently developed sister schools in Shanghai in 2014，Hangzhou in 2018 and Nantong in 2022．To provide some context on the school＇s location within Hangzhou，there are six other independent schools within the city，offering international curricula such as the International Baccalaureate（IB）or International General Certificate of Secondary Education（IGCSE）．WCH charges the highest fees for its educational provision，and
due to its location and boarding provision it generally attracts students whose family homes are within 1－3 hours outside of Hangzhou．

The campus in Hangzhou consists of three different schools，starting with Huili Nursey Hangzhou（HNH）which educates students aged 2－6 years old．These students then divide into two different pathways，one being to go on to study in Wellington College International Hangzhou（WCIH），which offers a full international curriculum but is only open to foreign students．Alternatively，they can go into Huili School Hangzhou（HSH），which is a bilingual curriculum school combining the Chinese and English National curricula and is open to both Chinese nationals and foreign students．Both of these schools educate students from 6－18 years old，ultimately leading to IGCSE／A－Level exams and the Chinese Zhongkao （中考）exam for Chinese nationals only．

I work in the Junior High（JH）school，equivalent to a UK secondary school，within HSH，which is the bilingual school at WCH．JH is open to students aged 12－16 years old and contains four grade levels from Grade 7 （UK Year 8）to Grade 10 （UK Year 11）．On joining the school every student is allocated a house，namely Hui，Li， Si，De or Xian and students collect house points in the hope of being awarded the house－cup at the end of the year．Out of 347 students currently enrolled，there is only 1 foreign student（a French national），as they tend to choose to attend WCIH instead．As the medium of instruction is majority English in WCIH their curriculum is more accessible for foreign students，most of whom do not speak any Mandarin． There are specific rules from the Zhejiang ${ }^{1}$ Education Bureau which preventthe integration of students from HSH and WCIH being together．The only exceptionto this are some IGCSE options subjects in grades 9 and 10，such as economics or global perspectives，which due to the class size，may have students from both schools．

In terms of standardised assessments in HSH，Chinese national students have the option to sit the Chinese Zhongkao（中考）exam at the end of Grade 9 （UK Year 10），which is the senior school entrance exam in China and marks the end of the Chinese compulsory curriculum．Whereas this examination is optional for HSH students，the examinations in Grade 10 are not，as all students will sit IGCSE

[^0]examinations and then have the option of continuing into the sixth-form to study for A-Levels, before applying to university abroad. HSH does not currently offer the Chinese Gaokao (高考) exam, which would normally be sat by students at the end of Grade 12 to enter a Chinese University. Due to undertaking international standardised tests (IGCSE / A-Level) the students are all applying to study at universities outside of China.

The JH department has 347 students and 57 staff from across China and Anglosphere countries around the world. For the purpose of this dissertation, I use the word Anglosphere to refer to Kachru's (1992) concept of 'inner circle' countries. These are the USA, UK, Australia, New Zealand and Canada where English is a native language. This research project included eight student participants in total, selected using stratified random sampling (see section 3.7). Table 1.1 shows the curriculum we offer, and how many lessons students have each week. All lessons are taught in English, apart from math and well-being which are taught bilingually, and Chinese and Chinese social studies (CSS) which are taught in Mandarin. In addition to these lessons, all JH students attend compulsory flag raising on a Monday morning, where the Chineseflag is raised and saluted whilst the national anthem is sung by all students, who are referred to as 'young pioneers'. All JH students also attend a weekly assemblyon a Friday afternoon, which has a different theme each week as led by alternatingdepartments or houses. Finally, students have three 45-minute school activity sessions and students sign up tothe class they wish to attend. Activities offered range from sports such as kayakingor football, to cooking classes and board games.

| Subjects (language of instruction) | Grade 7 | Grade 8 | Grade 9 | Grade 10 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| English (English) | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Science (English) | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 |
| Chinese <br> (Mandarin) | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 |
| Maths (Mandarin and English) | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Chinese Social <br> Studies - CSS <br> (Mandarin) | 2 | 2 |  |  |
| English Social <br> Studies - ESS <br> (English) | 2 | 2 |  |  |
| Music (English) | 1 | 1 |  |  |
| Art (English) | 1 | 1 |  |  |
| Performing Arts (English) | 1 | 1 |  |  |
| ICT (English) | 1 | 1 |  |  |
| DT (English) | 1 | 1 |  |  |
| PE (English) | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Well-being <br> (Mandarin and English) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| University Prep (English) |  |  | 1 | 1 |
| IELTS (English) |  |  |  | 1 |
| IGCSE Option 1 (English) |  |  | 3 | 3 |
| IGCSE Option 2 (English) |  |  | 3 | 3 |
| IGCSE Option 3 (English) |  |  | 3 | 3 |

Table 1.1 Subjects taught, language of instruction and number of lessons each week grade 7-10
The school has been open for five years and has entry points throughout the year for new students, the majority of whom join from the Chinesepublic school system. These new students can find the transition from public
schools into HSH quite challenging because the learning environment, language use and pedagogical approaches in HSH differ greatly from public schools. As an illustration, HSH offers greater levels of English immersion, in terms of language and culture as demonstrated by the number of English medium of instruction lessons in table 1.1.

In contrast, in the public school system all subjects are taught by Chinese nationals and although English has been a compulsory subject since 2003 from Primary 3 onwards (Haidar and Fang, 2019) how it is taught, and thenumbers of lessons allocated to it each week are different. Students have three forty-minute English lessons which is the smallest amount of time allocated to anyof the compulsory subjects in China (Qi, 2016). In a review of 24 academic journalsresearching the teaching of English in China, Wenfeng and Gao (2008) identify thatalongside a shortage of teachers, the pedagogical approaches used are based on traditional Confucian beliefs on authority and a teacher-centred approach (see section 2.4). Lessons are grammar focused, with less opportunities for discussionswhich may be in part due to the teachers' own English language proficiency (ibid.,2008). Fang (2018) explains that Chinese teachers of English rely on teaching thecore skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing, proposing a need for them to be "trained to pinpoint, critique and negotiate linguistic and pedagogical ideologies" (p. 23), which is more in line with HSH's approach. Due to the numberof new students who join HSH throughout the year it is important teachers understand where the child has come from, to ensure appropriate support can beprovided for their transition - both academically and pastorally.

WCH also offers weekly boarding provision for both HSH and WCIH students in grade 3 / year 4 upwards. In JH we have 139 boarding students, which is $40 \%$ of our student body. Boarders live in a six-storey boarding block, known as 'Ming house' as part of the school's house system, with 2-bed split gender dorms on each floor. Boarding provision is offered from Sunday until Friday when boarders go home. During the week boarding students have access to additional academic provision, through homework sessions with our Heads of Department (HoD) as well as the Wellington Academy programme where parents can pay for additional classes. Equally, boarding students have a range of extra- curricular activities which utilise the school's range of facilities outside of school hours. For example, they can play sports, do arts and crafts, visit the library or simply relax in the
common rooms with friends. A weeklyboarding assembly is held where special awards are handed out and students aregiven important information and notices.

Having provided an overview of the context for this research, I shall now describe what practitioner research is, and why it is important to consider positionality.

## 1.3 - Practitioner Research and positionality

My research project was an example of practitioner research as it occurred within my place of work at HSH, where I am the Assistant Head of JH. Practitioner research has become a commonly used term in educational discourse(Bartlett and Burton, 2006) and other disciplines (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003). It describes the "experiential learning approach" (Koshy, 2010, p.7) undertaken by teachers who collect and systematically analyse data from their context, reflecting on the process and disseminating findings to improve practice (Campbell, 2013). The aim of improving practice is enhanced by the researcher'sfamiliarity with the context, which draws upon an immersive, deeper-levelunderstanding of the setting, which is essential in practitioner research (Drake and Heath, 2011).

As noted by Stenhouse (1975), practitioner research is a way to bridge the gap between theory from the academic world, and the tacit knowledge from teachers and leaders in schools. Dimmock (2016) proposes that this involves a movement in the focus of knowledge production, shifting it from universities to schools. The knowledge gained from practical experiences of dealing with teaching, learning and leadership problems is most often used by practitioners. Practitioner research draws upon a combination of academic and experiential knowledge (Dimmock, 2016; Handscombe, 2014) and, as Stenhouse (1975) proposes, teacher-as-scholar and teacher-as-researcher stances are both important. This is because teachers develop through learning from professional research in the academic world, as well as completing systematic enquiries into their own practice. This was my hope in undertaking this research project, as it provided the opportunity to combine academic and theoretical knowledge about bilingualism and identity formation, alongside first-hand experiences from students, to deepen my understanding and improve provision at HSH.

As a practitioner researcher, my positionality included "beliefs, practices, standpoints" (Schwandt, 2007, p.11) and ways of viewing the world, informed by my life experiences and current context, which will have influenced my research.

As described by Holmes (2020), a researcher's positionality "can be seen to affect the totality of the research process" (p.3). Positionality is particularly relevant to practitioner research, as the researcher is responsible for the design, facilitation, data collection and analysis themselves. Therefore, key decisions are made at every stage which are influenced by a researcher's positionality. As noted by Smith et al. (2021), positionality is particularly important for EdD practitioner researchers to acknowledge, not only for the reader's benefit, but for the researcher to be able to identify their connections to the context and the effect these have on the research. Holmes' (2020) also emphasises the importance of the researcher acknowledging their positionality but also proposes allowing for this influence as they cannot separate themselves from the research process.

One way of acknowledging positionality, proposed by Merton (1972), involves identifying researchers as either insiders or outsiders, based on their access to the knowledge of a community and its people. Explaining that, to be an insider, "you have to be one in order to understand one" (p.15) Merton proposes that knowledge is accessed through belonging to a group. This is juxtaposed with being an outsider, who "no matter how careful and talented, is excluded in principle from gaining access to the social and cultural truth" (ibid., p.15). However, I found that, in practice, it is of questionable usefulness to dichotomise an insider or outsider position. Instead, these positions should be seen as a continuum (Collins, 2002) and fluid (Merriam, et al., 2001). As described by Deutsch (1981) "we are all multiple insiders and outsiders" (p.174). As social beings, we have "a fluid nature to our identities and the socialspaces we traverse" (Jacobson and Mustafa, 2019, p.2) meaning we all foregrounddifferent parts of our identities depending on the context we find ourselves in. Insection 3.5 I discuss how my positionality shifted between these two positionsthroughout the research.

To support researchers in identifying their positionality, reflexivity has been proposed as an important ongoing process as it can help to "identify, construct, critique, and articulate their positionality" (Holmes, 2020, p. 2). Reflexivity is an ongoing process, as aforementioned, practitioner researchers design, facilitate and analyse - all steps which will be influenced by their positionality. Therefore, reflexivity helps the researcher recognise any potential biases throughout the research and consideralternative approaches (Hofer, 2017). Seen as different from reflection, reflexivity involves the researcher questioning their decisions,
including "a self-monitoring of, and self-responding to, our thoughts, feelings and actions" (Corlettand Mavin, 2018, p.377).

In this section practitioner research and positionality were described, drawingon the idea of "insider" and "outsider" positions (Merton, 1972, p.15) and the importance of reflexivity (Holmes, 2020). In section 3.5 I reflect on my roleas a practitioner researcher, and how my positionality influenced the research.

In the next section key terminology is defined to provide clarity on how specific vocabulary is to be used throughout the dissertation.

## 1.4-Key terminology

As I will go on to explore, the topic of bilingualism is a broad subject with a multiplicity of different terms used in various contexts. Therefore, it is important to establish which terms and associated definitions will be used in this dissertation. I draw on the work on terminology by García (2009) which puts the bilingual person at the centre of the definition, as opposed to a linguistic viewpoint which focuses on grammatical accuracy. This aligns with my belief in a student-centred approach, with the focus on the individual, and helps to ensure the research retains a holistic view of bilingualism rather than focusing solely on language proficiency. For example, a term often used in bilingual literature is that of 'mother-tongue', but this does not provide clarity as identifying the language being referred to is not always possible, and it is gender andrelationship specific (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981). Drawing on the example of China, García (2009) identifies how Mandarin is seen as the 'mother-tongue', although it may not be the language used within the home with a mother, which instead might be one of fiftythree recognised minority languages. Therefore, the term "home language" (García, 2009, p.49) will be used to refer to the language participants grew up using at home.

The term, 'second-language learners / speakers’ is also a contentious one, as García (2009) explains, "second language learners robs bilingualism of its possibilities of being considered as the norm for large sections of the world's population" (p.50). This means that the dichotomy created by using terminology such as 'first-language learner' and 'second-language learner' automatically separates a bilingual person's connectedness with their two (or more) languages. A personal reflection on the problems associated with being a second language
speaker of English is offered by Fu (2019) who discusses the importance Garcia's (2009) writing had on her. Fu (2019) has lived in America for thirty years and has a higher proficiency in English than in her home language of Mandarin, however, she was still viewed as a second language learner. To highlight the non-linear progression of learning a second language and emphasise the importance of being able to draw on home-language practices to develop a second language, the term 'emergent bilingual’ (García, 2009) will be used. Whenreferring specifically to the new language students are learning (i.e. English), andnot the student themselves, I will use the term 'second language'.

Within the specific of the HSH context, I will use thephrase, 'HSH bilingual education model' to refer to how Mandarin and English areincorporated into HSH. This includes, but is not limited to, curriculum, timetabling, school values, teaching practices, nationalities of the school community (teachers, students and parents), facilities and marketing. This phraseincludes all aspects of HSH, which has a unique bilingual identity - as no other school outside of the WCC group will offer an identical experience. By this I mean, that even if schools follow the same curriculum, this will not be taught in the sameway and aspects such as school values and timetabling are likely to differ.

In this section the key-terms have been defined, the next section shall discuss the rationale behind the research project.

## 1.5 - Rationale

As I shall discuss in this section, the rationale for this research stemmed from my personal interest and experience as an international teacher, in addition to the significance bilingualism and identity have in the context of HSH as an independent bilingual school in China. Moreover, I will describe how there is current lack of research in this area, and how it was a suitable research project for my Educational Doctorate.

My interest in bilingualism and identity have stemmed and developed from my experiences of having worked in four different countries, three of which do not form part of the Anglosphere. Schools I have worked in have always incorporated bilingualism, whether through the formal curriculum or through teaching strategies. My experiences of having worked in independent schools in India and China has demonstrated similar aspirational pathways for students whoattend
these institutions. Such fee-paying schools are marketed on excellent standardised exam results and their ability to help students gain places at top international universities in Anglosphere countries.

Considering the Chinese context specifically, the growth in the number of students aspiring to study abroad has risen due to the increase of tertiary education within China. Since restoring the Gaokao (高考) exam in 1977, more Chinese nationals have attended universities within China. However, the rising number of graduates has meant a domestic universitydegree does not guarantee employment. This has resulted in foreign university degrees being seen as more advantageous to securing a good job. Cebolla-Boado et al. (2018) describes how degrees from top-ranking universities in Anglosphere countries, which have large Chinese student bodies, are seen as particularly prestigious. Therefore, there is an interest from Chinese parents, to send their children to schools which incorporate the English language so that their child hasthe option to attend a university abroad.

Understanding this pathway for students highlights the need for HSH to ensure it is preparing students with the second language proficiency and understanding of the diversity of cultures around the world. Equally, as a bilingual school the model needs to ensure the home language and associated cultures are also taught and appropriately embedded to support students' development of their national identity as Chinese people. This is not only a requirement from the Chinese Zhejiang Education Bureau, but part of my beliefs in the purpose of bilingual education. I believe HSH has a responsibility to prepare students to study and work in both Anglosphere countries and China. Debate about national identity is a significant issue for bilingual education in China, with opposing views on how much foreign languages and cultures should be taught (Feng, 2009). I will explore these issues further in section 2.3.2.

Having worked at HSH for three years, it was apparent that no consultationhad been undertaken with students to establish from their perspective whether the HSH bilingual model and the initiatives SMT decide upon met their needs. Equally, an understanding of whether students felt confident that the HSH modelprepared them for studying and living abroad was an important insight, to be ableto ensure we were meeting the needs of the students. I would like to acknowledge that there is a democratic student voice structure embedded into HSH, but the aforementioned are not topics they have been consulted on.

The final decision to research the topics of bilingualism and identity using student voice, aligned with the purpose of undertaking an Educational Doctorate, which is to develop professional practice through combining theory and a research-based approach (Bourner et al., 2001). By using theory to inform the research, combined with being able to draw on first-hand experiences of students, I could gain an insight into the impact of the HSH educational model and areas for further development, to continue to improve practice. Although the data collected is from the voices of the students involved in thisresearch project (see section 3.2), as a researcher, it is ultimately my interpretation since, as described by Braun and Clarke (2021), the interpretive element is part of the thematic analysis process (see section 3.9).

Having discussed the rationale behind the research project, the next section details the aim the project sets out to achieve and the specific research questions that guided the study.

## 1.6 - Aim and research questions

The aim of the research project is to explore the topics of bilingualism and identity in the HSH bilingual education model from a student perspective. To pursue this aim, the following research questions were identified:

1) How do students perceive bilingualism in relation to their identity?
2) How do students perceive their home language, second language and associated cultures are developed through the HSH bilingual educational model?
3) How do students feel the HSH bilingual educational model can be altered or improved?
4) How well do students feel the HSH bilingual educational model prepares them for their futures?

These research questions were designed to cover the topics of bilingualism and identity both as more general topics, and specifically in relation to the HSH bilingual education model. It was important to ascertain what bilingualism and identity meant to the participants, to then be able to understand how their discussions and photos represented this view of bilingualism and identity within HSH. As my positionality (see sections 1.3 and 3.5 ) may mean my definitions of these topics are different to the participants', therefore, gaining clarity from the
beginning was important. I will now discuss the significance of the research.

## 1.7 - Significance of the research

In this section I shall describe how this research project contributes to a greater understanding of topics and of a context that are currently underrepresented in existing literature. I shall then explore how it is beneficial for HSH, the participants and myself as the researcher and practitioner.

Despite an increase in the number of bilingual schools within China since the 1990s, there remains a lack of empirical research in this area, with any existing literature focusing mainly on challenges and recommendations, or having methodological weaknesses (Gao and Wang, 2017; Yu, 2008). Liu and Chong (2023) have recently conducted a qualitative synthesis of research, written in the English language, exploring bilingual education between 2018 and 2022. Their review included sixteen research projects and focused on student and teacher perceptions. However, Liu and Chong (2023) explain they are "small scale studies" with "limited number of interviews and small sample size" (ibid., p.4) and findings from each are not generalisable. The review by Liu and Chong (2023) provides interesting insights such as the necessity for clear categories of bilingual education in China and the mixed perceptions students have of such education, which will be discussed further in section 2.3.1.

On conducting a review of Chinese academic journals written in Mandarin and relating to bilingualeducation over a ten-year period, He (2011) found the ones related to secondaryeducation "were non-research-based, general introductions to bilingual educationprogrammes and expressions of personal views" (p.93). These had been written by government officials or teachers of other subjects, and were consequently disconnected from daily practice.

I have been unable to find any research papers on independent bilingual education contexts, exploring bilingualism, identity and student voice with teenagers. As identified by You and Dörnyei (2014) research in secondary education (the JH age group) in China is an underrepresented area. Research studies which have included JH aged pupils have focused on aspects of education which differ from those in my research. Some examples are, Xiong and Feng's (2018) study into a publicly funded foreign language school with grade 7-9 pupils, which explored the context of the school and impact on academic results. Also, Rehamo and Harrell (2020)
who explored minority language bilingual education in elementary and secondary schools in Liangshan Yi autonomous region.

More research into bilingual education in China appears to have takenplace in both younger and older educational settings. For example, in 2001 the Chinese Government made English language a required subject from grade 3 upwards in public elementary schools (Ministry of Education of China, 2001). Thisled to research into bilingual education in independent settings with children younger than grade 3 as this was the only place children in this age group could learn English (Feng, 2012). The area with the most research into identity and student perceptions of bilingual education has taken placewith university students in China (Gao et. al, 2005; Tong and Shi, 2012, Liu and Chong, 2023). On a related topic, research has also been conducted into Chinese students' motivationfor learning English, again this has been with university students (Fang, 2018), ora combination of university and upper secondary students (UK years 11-13) (Youand Dörnyei, 2014).

This demonstrates that there is a gap in the available knowledge regarding bilingual education in China, identity and student voice with 12 - 16-year-olds. As describedby Baker (2007) "the world knows very little about bilingual education in China" (p.7). My research aims to provide some insights into this underrepresented area in current academic discourse both in terms of age group and topic.

### 1.7.1 - Impact on Wellington College China and the Junior High School

Being part of a group of schools (WCC) which is aiming to become the best bilingual education provider in China, it is important HSH continually refines their model to meet this aim. There has been a significant growth ofbilingual education in China (see section 2.3.2), however, the lack of research means best practice has not yet been identified to be replicated or to inform practice. Findings from my research are not generalisable, however, the study willprovide insights into the impact the HSH bilingual education model has on students. I will share the findings from this research with the Senior Leadership Team (SLT) at WCH and across the WCC group. I hope this will illustrate the effects of decisions from a student perspective, in addition to providing ideas about how to develop provision. This is important to ensure HSH is offering the current students' the best bilingual education to support their goal of studying and working in Anglosphere countries.

### 1.7.2 - Impact on the participants

The participants involved in the research will also benefit from the project, as they have a chance to share their opinions and help develop the school. Exploring the topics of bilingualism and identity in a safe and supportive environment, will benefit participants both in their present context and in their future lives at university and beyond. The research provides a safe space to explore and discuss their identities and to establish what 'bilingualism' means to them. It allows them to ask questions of themselves and peers, whilst having space to consider their (or their families) choice to study abroad, not solely from an academic perspective but also from a personal perspective, which will help them to understand themselves better.

Consequently, being part of this study may help them develop confidence in expressing who they are and ultimately to understand and appreciate both Mandarin and English languages and associated cultures in a critical perspective. Long-term, this understanding could help them become active citizens in whichever country they choose to settle in. Any potential discomfort from discussing identity is addressed by attempting to create a supportive atmosphere and encouraging voluntary participation (see section 3.4.1). This is ensured by having consistently clear communication from the beginning and throughout the project regarding the purpose of the research, how results are anonymised, and by ensuring participants know they have the right to withdraw at any time without needing to give any explanation (see section 3.4).

### 1.7.3 Personal significance

Professionally, conducting this research project will help to increase my understanding of bilingual education and the Chinese context, which will improve my ability to be successful in my role as the Assistant Head of JH. I am continually making decisions regarding the educational offering at HSH, and by being able to draw upon student voice feedback from this project, combined with a theoretical understanding from the reading I have undertaken, means my ability to make meaningful and impactful decisions will hopefully be increased. Undertaking an Educational Doctorate will also be beneficial for my career, as knowledge gained from this experience will help me to improve my practice and will provide opportunities to undertake different roles within the bilingual independent school context, such as a Head of School.

In this section I have described how there is currently a lack of existing research into bilingual education with JH aged students in China. My research project has benefits for HSH, participants and myself. Gathering student opinions through this research project will hopefully help develop the HSHbilingual education model, increase participants' confidence in talking about themselves and their identity, as well as helping me professionally to ensure decisions I take in my role are impactful.

Having discussed why I am undertaking this research, in the next section I provide an overview of the research methods selected.

## 1.8 - Research methods

As I will go on to discuss further in depth in chapter 3, the research methods chosen for this project have been selected in line with my social constructivist viewpoint. It was important to me to provide the eight participants with the opportunityto build understanding collaboratively whilst also providing scope to share ideas on a one-to-one basis. The research project consists of:

1. Workshop - to introduce the project, undertake creative activities and elicit initial understanding ofthe topics of bilingualism and identity.
2. Participant-led photography - a chance to take photographs of areas around the school which demonstrate their thoughts on bilingualism and identity, away from the influence of other participants and myself as a researcher.
3. Individual interviews - a chance to discuss up to 10 photographs they have taken, and how these link to their ideas on bilingualismand identity.
4. Focus group - to finalise the project and discuss as a group what their thoughts are on bilingualism and identity.

On completion of the focus group, I manually transcribed the audio- recordings in English from each of the sessions, whilst utilising a transcription service to transcribe and translate the Mandarin into English (see section 3.8.5).From this, a thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) was conducted (see section 3.9) to identify key themes (see chapter 4), which will be discussed in relation to current literature (see chapter 5).

## 1.9 - Overview of dissertation

The structure of this dissertation takes the form of six chapters. The first chapter
(i.e. the current chapter) provided contextual information, alongside the rationale, research questions and significance of the research project.

Chapter two provides a literature review which covers bilingualism (see section 2.2), English language bilingualism in China (see section 2.3.1) and the growth of bilingual education models (see section 2.3.2). This chapter also covers the topics of linguistic landscapes and schoolscapes (see section 2.2.5) cultures and identity (see section 2.2.6), language purism (see section 2.2.7) and assessment of bilingualism (see section 2.2.8). The chapter concludes with adiscussion on the concept of childhood in China and how this is connected to student voice (see section 2.4), as the research project was designed for studentsto share their perspectives.

The third chapter provides an overview of the interpretivist paradigm (see section 3.2), considerations undertaken for conducting research with children (see section 3.3) and ethical considerations (see section 3.4) I will offer a reflexive discussion on my positionality (see section 3.5), and the inclusion of an interpreter (see section 3.6). I shall also discuss how participants were selected (see section 3.7), before describing and reflecting upon the methods chosen (see section 3.8). The chapter will conclude with reflections on the process of undertaking a thematic analysis (see section 3.9).

Chapter four draws on the thematic analysis discussed in chapter 3, to present the three key themes which emerged from the data set. This leads into chapter five, where I present a discussion on how these themes provide answers to the aforementioned research questions (see section 1.6).

Finally, in chapter six I offer a summary of the key findings based on the participants' ideas (see section 6.2) before making recommendations as to how I feel their ideas can be implemented at HSH. Following on from this, I shall discuss the limitations of the research (see section 6.3). These include the effects of my positionality (see section 6.3.1) and of the inclusion of an interpreter (see section 6.3.2) as well as the logistical and technical challenges faced (see section 6.3.3). The chapter concludes with suggestions for further research (see section 6.4), and a summary of the research project (see section 6.5).

## Chapter 2: Literature Review

## 2.1 - Introduction

In this chapter, I shall discuss existing literature on topics relevant to my research project. As this is a piece of cross-cultural research, due to my identity as a British national who does not speak Mandarin (see section 3.5.4) conducting research in China (see section 3.5.3), the literature is that which was available to me in the English language (in the original or in translation). This means it is possible that there is literature related to the Chinesecontext in the Mandarin language which I remain unaware of.

I have divided this chapter into three key parts, namely bilingualism (see section 2.2) in which I explore the concepts of balanced and dominant bilinguals (Peal and Lambert, 1962), early and late bilinguals (Pearson, 2008) and different models of bilingualism (García, 2009) in education. I also discuss the notions of translanguaging (Williams, 1994; García, 2009), language purism, and culture and identity. In the second part of the chapter, I shall look specifically at bilingualism in China (see section 2.3) by discussing the role of English-language bilingualism and the growth in bilingual schools. Following this I will conclude the chapter with a discussion on the concept of childhood in China and student voice (see section 2.4), as my research project draws on this to gain student perspectives on the HSH bilingual education model.

## 2.2- Bilingualism

The term 'bilingualism' is a challenging one to define, beyond the fact that it includes "the presence of two or more languages" (Dewaele et al., 2003, p.1). When considering bilingualism, as Baker and Wright (2017) discuss, a distinction needs to be made between "language ability and language use" (p.3), as "communication includes not only the structure of the language (e.g. grammar, vocabulary) but also who is saying what, to whom, in which circumstance" (ibid., p.4). This includes skills such as "anticipating a listener's response, understandings and misunderstandings, sometimes clarifying one's own language to ensure joint understanding, plus the influence of different status and power between people" (Baker and Wright, 2017, p.13). This is important as HSH has a responsibility to ensure their educational model teaches linguistic skills, whilst
also encouraging cultural awareness and understanding so students are able to use their second language appropriately in diverse contexts.

In the remainder of this section, I explore the concepts of balanced and dominant bilinguals, early and late bilinguals, models of bilingualism and the link these have to translanguaging, before discussing the importance of culture in bilingualism.

### 2.2.1 - Balanced and dominant bilinguals

First described by Peal and Lambert (1962) the idea of balanced and dominant bilinguals has been widely discussed. Balanced bilinguals are those who have similar proficiency levels in both of their languages, whereas dominant bilinguals have higher levels in one language. Balanced bilinguals, also known as 'ambibilinguals’ (Moradi, 2014), whose "competences in both languages are well developed...equally fluent" (Baker and Wright, 2017, p.9) are less common (Wei, 2007) despite the fact that this is a popular understanding of bilingualism. Balanced bilingualism is an "idealized concept" (Baker and Wright, 2017, p.9) as people tend to use their different languages for different purposes depending on the context. For example, a home language could be used at home with friends and family, whereas the second language could be used at work, with the two languages not overlapping (Wei, 2007). Therefore, it is unlikely a bilingual person will possess exactly the same proficiency in both languages, and it is more likely that one language will dominate (Baker and Wright, 2017; Moradi, 2014).

As Treffers-Daller (2019) argue, language dominance is based on a combination of language proficiency and language use - meaning how frequently the language is used and in which contexts, for example, work, home or school. The context is an important consideration, as the number of opportunities for a bilingual person to use each of their languages will impact on their language dominance. As I shall go on to discuss in chapter 5, this is particularly relevant to the Chinese context, where there is no exposure to English language outside the bilingual school. The next section discusses how bilingualism can occur at different ages.

### 2.2.2 - Early and late bilinguals

A widely explored area in bilingual research, is that of the impact of age on learning a second language. Early bilingualism refers to bilinguals who learn a second language before puberty (Pearson, 2008), and are normally viewed as having potential to achieve native-like proficiency in both languages (Beardsmore,
1986). Although the concept of the 'native speaker' has been suggested to be ambiguous (Davies, 2004), a point I shall return to in section 5.3.2. Early bilingualism can then be further subdivided in two additional categories, namely simultaneous and sequential. Simultaneous refers to the process of learning the home language and second language at the same time, and normally occurs before the age of three in families with bilingual parent/s (Baker and Wright, 2017). As García (2009) identifies, young bilingual children usually understand by the age of two which language, or combination of languages, to use to communicate. Sequential bilingualism, on the other hand, occurs after the age of three and happens when a second language is learnt after the home language, this tends to happen when one or more languages are learnt in the home and the additional language is learnt through starting kindergarten or nursery schools (Baker and Wright, 2017). Late bilinguals, on the other hand, learn their second language after puberty, and therefore are seen as 'second language learners' (Pearson, 2008) or 'emergent bilinguals’ (García, 2009). The next section shall discuss how different models of bilingual education develop from different types of bilingualism.
2.2.3 - Types of bilingualism - subtractive, additive, recursive and dynamic

Developed from work by Lambert in 1974, who distinguished between subtractive and additive bilingualism, García (2009) proposes two additional types of bilingualism, namely recursive and dynamic. These four types are observable in different educational settings around the world and illustrate how different educational models are deemed appropriate in different contexts.

Firstly, subtractive bilingualism results in a person's second language being used more frequently than their home language. An example of this is an immigrant family in America, who have come from a non-English speaking country. They adapt to the expectations of an English monolingual society, especially in education where their child's home language is not used. Subtractive bilingualism assumes that "for language-minoritized students to become full members of society, they must give up their home language" (Flores and Beardsmore, 2015, p.208). Consequently, as the home language is not being usedoutside of home, the second language becomes their dominant language (Fillmore, 1991). Assimilation into the majority language and associated cultures are the aim, which can both implicitly and explicitly send messages to children about their home language not being as
valued or as important as the dominant language. Thisin turn has implications for children's sense of identity. The most extreme form of subtractive bilingualism, submersion, completely prohibits the use ofthe home language at school and has been found to be the experience of a large number of language minority students around the world (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000)

Additive bilingualism also involves adding a second language, but in this case, the home language is still maintained. Examples of this include countries such as China or Korea (Baker and Wright, 2017), mainly in the form of fee-paying schools "for prestigious groups and the elite" (García, 2009, p.44). In such schools children are educated in both a second language, such as English, and their home language. The benefits of additive bilingualism "may not only be linguistic and cultural, but social, economic and cognitive as well" (Baker and Wright, 2017, p.5). However, additive bilingualism may cause some families to abandon their home language, in favour of the majority language of that country (ibid., 2017). The impact of decisions related to home and second language choices will inevitably have an impact on children's learning and on their identity.

The third type is recursive bilingualism which occurs when traditional languagesare revitalized by the community as they "reach back to the bits and pieces of an ancestral language as it is reconstituted for new functions and as it gains momentum to thrust itself forward towards the future" (García, 2009, p. 45), an example of this being Māori in New Zealand. Since being re-instated as an official language in 1987, passed by an Act of Parliament, Māori language and the associated cultures are now embedded into different educational models in preschools, primary and secondary schools (Benton, 2015) offering future generations a chance to use this language.

Finally, dynamic bilingualism describes the "multiple complex communicative acts that do not in any way respond to the linear models of bilingualism" (García, 2009, p.46). Instead, dynamic bilingualism reacts to the globalised, diverse world where interactions occur through different mediums, both online and in-person. This involves bilingual people drawing on the full linguistic repertoire of both/ all of their languages, as needed by the context. García (2009) uses the useful metaphor of additive bilingualism being like a two-wheel push bike, both wheels equal on a linear path. Whereas, dynamic bilingualism is an all-terrain vehicle, each wheel able to move independently, relying on the other wheels to deal with
the "communicative ridges and craters" (García, 2009, p.87). This dynamism is needed when dealing with diverse individuals, societies, contexts, cultures and languages. Dynamic bilingualism moves away from the traditional monoglossic ${ }^{2}$ views on bilingualism, where languages can be viewed as separate from each other, and instead adopts a heteroglossic ${ }^{3}$ approach, linked to Williams (1994) notion of translanguaging which I shall discuss in the next section.

### 2.2.4 - Translanguaging

Translanguaging was a term first used by Williams (1994) in Wales, to describe the practice of using both Welsh and English in a planned way, within a classroom environment for different purposes (García, 2009). Since then, the term has developed to include "multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds" (García, 2009, p.40). The focus for translanguaging is on the speaker's use of their full linguistic repertoire and how this is used for communication, as opposed to studying which language or code is being used (Creese and Blackledge, 2015).

Previously, a focus within sociolinguistics had been on 'code-switching', with the aim of exploring how different codes were used. Code-switching consists of two types, namely: intrasentential, where the language switch occurs within a speech phrase; or intersentential, where the switch occurs between phrases (García, 2009). Code-switching has been argued to promote language separation (Lewis et. al, 2012) as it views each language as a discrete entity. This occurs from an outsider perspective, where language labels such as 'English' and 'Arabic' are identified in speech. Translanguaging on the other hand, moves away from the heteroglossic view of trying to identify which language is being used, and instead considers how the speaker draws upon their full linguistic resources to communicate in different settings (García and Wei, 2014).

Translanguaging refers to how linguistic resources are used in response to the complexities of communication in a range of different contexts, both online and offline (Blommaert, 2014). In light of the Covid-19 pandemic, and the growth of online communication for both educational and social purposes, the online world has become a space where translanguaging is evident (Ou et al., 2021). An

[^1]example is provided by Ho and Tai (2021) who describe how translanguaging is observable on YouTube in English language teaching videos. Both the videos produced by the teachers and the comments left by students demonstrate translanguaging. They included responses in standard / non-standard language varieties, the use of emoticons / graphics and questions seeking clarification on how to use vocabulary in different contexts (ibid., 2021).

Translanguaging strategies in educational settings encourage emergent bilingual students to draw on all of their languages, using language as "a resource rather than ignore it or perceive it as a problem" (Baker and Wright, 2017, p.434). Thus, moving away from traditional monoglossic ideas that two languages can be completely separated, García and Wei (2014) propose that translanguaging pedagogy has the potential to transform education for students from linguistic minority backgrounds, as it normalises their use of both languages. Baker and Wright (2017) also emphasise advantages to this approach, proposing four benefits that can come from encouraging translanguaging in the classroom: to gain a deeper understanding of subject content; to develop the weaker of the two languages; to develop home-school communication; and to help integrate students who have different proficiency in the second language. As well as benefitting students in their present life, translanguaging also helps to prepare them for their future lives. It is highly likely they will be living in multilingual communities in the future, and, as proposed by García (2009) - drawing on New York as an example it is not possible to live in such communities without translanguaging.

The practicalities of embedding translanguaging pedagogy in schools is, however, a challenging one. Cenoz's (2017) distinction between 'spontaneous translanguaging' which are the naturally occurring "fluid discursive practices" (p.194), and 'pedagogical translanguaging', which refers to structured activities in both languages, are a useful way of considering the practical implementation of translanguaging in education. 'Spontaneous translanguaging' requires hiring bilingual staff, who are also qualified teachers, and therefore can respond in the moment to the student's use of both languages. Equally, 'pedagogical translanguaging' is also likely to require the skill-set of a bilingual teacher, who can plan structured translanguaging activities. However, Shi and Rolstad's (2022) research found examples of monolingual teachers of English in China, who incorporated translanguaging pedagogy into their practice despite not speaking

Mandarin. Strategies they drew upon included: translated word walls, peer discussions in both languages, and foreign staff modelling an appreciation for bilingualism. This suggests some degree of translanguaging practice is possible with monolingual teachers, although greater support can be offered if the teacher is bilingual.

Interestingly, within HSH, the school's language policy states that all lessons apart from math, well-being, Chinese and CSS must be taught solely in English. As a result, translanguaging is not part of standard practice in HSH, although the students will inevitably draw on both of their languages, thepedagogical practices do not encourage them to do so. As research at Chinese universities has found, teachers can be fearful of allowing more translanguaging opportunities as this defies the official language policy (Fang and Ren, 2018; Liu and Fang, 2020). Sáncheza et al. (2018) believes this is common in bilingual education, describing how teachers "often having to close their classroom doors so that school officials do not view the translanguaging that is present" (p.42). Asthis research project does not include exploring teachers' perspectives, it is not possible to identify if the language policy is the reason why translanguaging is notencouraged in all classrooms, however, it may be an influential factor.

Translanguaging highlights how bilingualism is comprised of more than just linguistic competencies, as there is a range of additional knowledge bilingual people draw upon to successfully communicate with others, particularly in their second language. Some examples, as proposed by Baker and Wright (2017), include: cultural references, figures of speech, how to greet people or take leave, politeness, register, use of silence and body language. All of these are important to successfully communicate in a second language, and prevent the misjudging of others based on only using their own "cultural lens" (Meyer, 2014, p.18). In the next section I shall discuss how the use of languages is analysed in the field of linguistic landscapes and schoolscapes.

### 2.2.5 - Linguistic landscapes and schoolscapes

To explore bilingualism within a bilingual education setting, requires consideration to be given to all aspects of the school including the physical environment. In this section I shall discuss the connection and potential impact of the use of languages in the physical school environment, drawing on work from the field of linguistic landscapes and schoolscapes.

Traditionally, the study of linguistic landscapes has been concerned with exploring the use of printed languages, as described by Gorter (2008), "language is all around us in textual form as it is displayed on shop windows, commercial signs, posters, official notices, traffic signs etc." (p.1). More recently, however, analysis of linguistic landscapes has also included "semiotic and sensorial repertoires" (Melo-Pfeifer, 2023, p. 4) as counting languages on signs was insufficient in capturing the "complexity, dynamics, tensions and dissonances present" in linguistic landscapes (ibid., p.4). The study of linguistic landscapes can provide an insight into both monolingual and multilingual societies, by both capturing images of signs and by using qualitative research methods to gather opinions on the use and impact of languages in public spaces.

In addition, the continued development of technology is influential on the study of linguistic landscapes. As Gorter (2013) describes, the affordability and presence of digital technology has meant photography of signs has become common practice in studies of linguistic landscapes. Equally, the development of different types of signs such as flat screen video displays used on the high street, and the use of QR codes, have changed how languages are used and how information is transmitted (Gorter, 2013). This is important for my research, as the participants have grown up in a time where technology is prevalent in the environments they live in.

The study of linguistic landscapes developed to include research into educational settings with a particular focus on language education (Melo-Pfeifer, 2023). Brown (2005) uses the term "schoolscapes" (p.79) to describe school environments, explaining that they are significant in the teaching and learning process. In later research, Brown (2012) explored the re-emergence of the Võro language in Estonian schools, then describing schoolscapes as the "environment where place and text, both written (graphic) and oral, constitute, reproduce, and transform language ideologies" (p.282). The use of verbs in this quote illustrates the power the school environment has in creating, reinforcing or changing beliefs and values through the use of language. In bilingual education the way in which each language is used will also impact what is associated with it. In relation to the aforementioned quote by Brown (2012), Jakonon (2018) reflects that studies into schoolscapes have tended to focus on written signs more than oral interactions.

The choices made about what is displayed or represented in schoolscapes may provide an insight into the "shared attitudes and beliefs of the given community"
(Biro, 2016, p.110) and may be impactful on the community members, whether they agree with the dominant messages or not. Equally, when seen by outsiders or people who are not part of the community the language used provides information about what the school values. However, consideration needs to be given as to who creates the environment, which languages are included, what order they appear in, what messages are incorporated and what the purposes of it is, as these decisions include significant power and influence. For example, in bilingual education, if one language is consistently used for formal processes in school (e.g. reporting, rules and policies), or if it is always placed above the other language on signs this implies it is of greater prestige and importance. This in turn may have implications for students or other members of the community who do not have sufficient proficiency to engage with the dominant language, or they may feel their home language is less valued.

Schoolscapes have been found to have different characteristics to signs in public spaces, as school signs are produced by students, people in authority or external sign makers (Gorter, 2018). In independent schools such as HSH, great attention is placed on the aesthetic appearance of the school environment, with students and teachers focusing on teaching and learning, and the marketing team focusing on attracting new admissions. The study of schoolscapes also includes a range of different areas around school buildings, including corridors and classrooms - all of which serve a different purpose and therefore the use of languages and choice of signs in each area are likely to differ. As an example, the classroom may have more student created signs, whereas the school reception may have more formal or official displays from the governing board.

Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) distinguishes between top-down and bottom-up elements within linguistic landscapes, with top-down aspects being made by those in power as a way of demonstrating the dominant culture. Whereas bottom-up elements are designed and represent individuals. Amara (2018) develops this idea with schoolscapes, suggesting students are representative of the bottom-up and individual perspectives whilst other sources, such as the Ministry of Education represent the top-down perspective. Amara (2018) conducted research in six Palestinian high-schools and found a significant difference in languages chosen by the top-down (mainly Hebrew language) and bottom-up (mainly Arabic language) groups, demonstrating how each group had different aims which influenced the
languages they chose to use. Each of these groups used the school environment as a "social space for the public display of local identity" (ibid., p. 15).

The importance of analysing schoolscapes is evident in the number of areas it is influential on. For example, in research conducted by Gorter and Cenoz (2015) in the Basque Country, they found schoolscapes developed intercultural awareness, subject content and language learning, behavioural expectations, taught values and provided practical or commercial information. This highlights the impact and power schoolscapes can have on students, including their learning, identity and expectations.

Although I have been unable to find any research into linguistic schoolscapes in the Chinese bilingual JH context, similar to that of HSH, research has been conducted by Wu et al. (2021) into linguistic schoolscapes at three universities in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in China. Wu et al. (2021) found that within the universities the representation of the Zhuang minority language was "symbolic rather than informational" (p.845), and consequently was described as "an attempt to show cultural affiliation but an actual lower status as compared with Chinese and English" (ibid.). It was found that after Mandarin, the English language was more dominant on bilingual signs, and trilingual signs which included Zhuang language were significantly fewer in number. This demonstrates how linguistic schoolscapes are influential on perceptions about a language and culture, in terms of power, importance and prestige.

In this section I have discussed how linguistic landscapes, and schoolscapes are fields of study which provide insights into ideologies associated with language use in the environment. School environments include a wide range of signs which can provide information about what is shown to be important within that school community, although consideration needs to be given to the context and who created it. In the next section I shall discuss the connection between languages and culture.

### 2.2.6 - Culture and identity

As Jiang (2000) explains, culture and language are inseparably connected. Emergent bilinguals are developing two languages alongside learning about cultures, which are ever-changing and evolving (Kramsch and Hua, 2016). Culture is abstract, and although there may be tangible items associated with cultures,
there is no standard culture linked to each language. There are, however, differing perspectives on the significance of culture in the language learning process. For example, Schumann's (1986) acculturation model proposes that to be proficient in a second language, the bilingual person must identify with the culture associated with the second language - both socially and psychologically. This means interacting with members of the second language community, having the motivation to learn the language and having the ability to overcome culture shock. Schumann (1986) defines culture shock as the "anxiety resulting from the disorientation encountered upon entering a new culture" (p.383) which needs to be overcome to be able to acculturate. Conversely, Ramírez-Esparza and GarcíaSierra (2014) believe it is possible to develop proficiency in a second language without identifying with the culture associated with the second language, and instead propose that having knowledge about this culture is sufficient. I believe these differing perspectives demonstrate how identity is an important aspect here, as the bilingual person may or may not view the culture associated to the second language as part of their identity.

For the purpose of this research, I draw on Norton's (2013) definition of identity as:
how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future (p.45)

This definition emphasises how identity is fluid, as it is influenced by social interactions and relationships with others in different contexts. As an educator I appreciate that this definition focuses on both the present and future, as teachers need to consider both of these aspects. Buckingham (2008) describes how identity incorporates both similarities and differences. It can include relationships with others who share a commonality, however, it is also something unique to each individual, which is distinct from others. Identity is not only how a person views themselves, as it is also influenced by other's opinions (Tatum, 2000; Norton and Toohey, 2011). Within the bilingual education context, emergent bilinguals' identity will be influenced by their interactions in different languages with people from different cultures.

Considering the bilingual context further, the term 'bicultural' has been used to describe "those who have been exposed to and have internalized two cultures" (Huynh et al., 2011, p. 828). Being bicultural means possessing a skill set which supports adapting and functioning in both cultures, drawing upon the "values,
beliefs and behavioural norms of two social or cultural groups" (Feng, 2009, p. 284). In bilingual education, biculturalism can often be a stated or implied aim (Feng, 2009). However, as Paulston (1992) proposes, biculturalism is confusing if the values of the cultures associated with the second language are significantly different to those of the cultures associated with the home language. Similarly, Byram (2003) suggests that to be bicultural the two cultures have to be similar and socialisation in both cultures must happen from a young age. Biculturalism places full responsibility for adapting to the cultures associated with the second language on the individual (Feng, 2009), and does not consider the opportunity for negotiation between cultures.

Bhabha's (2004) concept of third-space, suggests that there is a metaphorical place where people can mediate between the cultures associated with their home language and cultures associated with a second language - to create new meanings and identities. This does not require people to change their behaviour to conform with the new cultures, instead it promotes interactions between people, to negotiate between cultures to form new understandings. Holliday's (2022) concept of 'threads' appear to be relevant here, as they represent the commonalities people draw upon to connect with each other. These threads "pull us away from divisive large-culture essentialist blocks" (ibid., p.371). In interactions where these 'threads’ and 'blocks’ combine, "third-space methodology" (Holliday, 2022, p.373) is required, as an "uncomfortable and seriously decentering process of questioning the thinking-as-usual" (ibid., p. 373). Although, as noted by Holliday (2022) the third-space is difficult to identify, especially in research as there is hidden meaning.

The third-space does emphasise the view of identity being formed through relationships and interactions with others (Norton, 2013). Considering interactions within language teaching specifically, Byram (1997) created the concept of 'intercultural communicative competence’ (ICC), which was designed to address the tendency to "ignore the significance of the social identities and cultural competence of the learner" (p.8) in foreign language education. This was because language teaching had the aim of achieving native speaker proficiency and understanding (Byram, 1997). The idea of ICC differs from being bicultural, as the speaker does not identify with the culture associated with the second language, but rather,
has the skills to understand and present the values, beliefs, and behaviours of his/ her own and the other groups and their cultures, and the similarities and differences between them (Wagner and Byram, 2017, p. 2).

As noted by Bohinski and Leventhal (2015), the rapid growth of technology has increased and enhanced second language learners' opportunities to speak with people from around the world, and learn more about different cultures which they propose has helped to increase ICC. Although ICC has had a significant impact on language teaching (Hoff, 2020; Baker, 2022) there have been critiques of Byram's (1997) original model. An example would be, Byram's (1997) association of the words 'culture' and 'country', both in singular form which implied that culture was fixed and homogeneous within one country (Dervin, 2016). Byram (2021) himself later offered a critique of his original view, and provided clarification on this issue, emphasising that countries are multicultural and multilingual.

Also connected to language teaching, Kramsch's (1993) concept of "third place" (p.206) proposes the need for an intercultural approach to language teaching. This is the idea that teachers help learners to understand that their own languages and cultures influence the way in which they see others. "Third place" (ibid, p.206) has been used synonymously with "third culture" (Kramsch, 2009, p.6) and suggests that instead of teaching about the dualities of home and second language, or oneself and others, the focus of language education should instead be on the relationship between each. For example, Kramsch (2009) encourages "reading against the grain" (p.238) by questioning the knowledge shared in textbooks - thus teaching learners how to identify multiple meanings and different perspectives.

Kramsch (2009) later offered a refined version of the third place / culture, through the concept of 'symbolic competence'. This moves away from the idea that there is a 'space' or 'place' where interactions happen and focuses on the "symbolic process of meaning-making that sees beyond the dualities of national languages (L1-L2) and national cultures (C1-C2)" (Kramsch, 2011, p.355). Instead, symbolic competence relates to "a mindset or mentality for engaging in multilingual and multicultural communication" (Baker, 2022, p.40). Therefore, the connection between language and culture is seen as more fluid. This requires educators to understand discourse as symbolic representation, symbolic action and symbolic power (Kramsch and Whiteside, 2015). The focus is on understanding how words
are used in different contexts and questioning how this reflects relationships between different groups, which is important for how students then use languages and understand cultures in the world outside of the classroom.

Even with considerations given to the third-space (Bhabha, 2004), ICC (Byram, 1997), third culture (Kramsch, 2009) and symbolic competence (Kramsch, 2009) there remain factors related to language and culture which will continue to influence identity, such as social status, pressure and the context of sites of interaction. For example, as noted by Baker and Wright (2017) teenagers may reject learning their home language and cultures, and instead focus on the majority language because "of its higher status and fashionable image" (p.6). Also, students may experience pressure to learn a second language and consequently resent having to learn about the language and culture - all of which will impact how they view bilingualism and their identity.

As a study by Qi (2016) found, Chinese primary school children who came from poorer families saw less purpose in learning English as they would never be able to live abroad. However, as it was part of the compulsory curriculum, they had to learn it. I believe this example links to Norton's (2001) descriptions of 'imagined communities’ (building on the work of Anderson, 1983), where a student's investment in learning a second language is impacted by the community they believe they will become a part of in the future. These imagined communities, therefore, can either motivate a student to want to learn a second language or, prevent them from doing so. This links to Norton's (2013) description of identity as influenced by "possibilities for the future" (p.45).

It has also been suggested that the motivation for learning a second language is not as influential on identity as the relationships between first and second language speakers (Norton, 2000). As noted in Xiao and Zhao's (2022) research into identity with Mandarin-English bilinguals, resistance shown by the second language community prevented participants from identifying with the second language. Whereas in a different context, where they were accepted into the second language community, they viewed the second language as part of their identity. Xu (2011) also identifies context as important, as she found that Mandarin-English bilinguals reported having less self-confidence when speaking English in Australia compared to speaking English in China. Each of these examples demonstrate that identity "changes across time and space and is reproduced in
social interaction" (Darvin and Norton, 2015).
In this section I have discussed the connection between culture and identity. In the next section I shall briefly discuss the idea of language purism. This is relevant when considering the context of Mandarin-English bilingualism in China.

### 2.2.7 Language purism

The concept of dynamic bilingualism (see section 2.2.3) and drawing on translanguaging practices (see section 2.2.4) differs from traditional views of language purism. Language purism is the belief that a language is superior based on how pure it is kept, without influence of foreign or vernacular elements, thus retaining cultural and historical significance (Langer and Nesse, 2012). Such ideologies are supported by the desire to keep a language in an uninfluenced form, as this is seen as more prestigious. Secondly, languagepurism is seen to protect minority languages from assimilation and colonialism. There is not scope within this research to cover the breadth of language purism in detail. Instead, I discuss the promotion of language purismin response to concerns about bilingualism being seen as a threat to nationalist ideologies (Baker and Wright, 2017) within the Chinese context.

As described in section 2.2.6, language and culture are interconnected (Jiang, 2000) and as identified by Fang (2018) China has been fearful of cultural transfer from the West, particularly from the spread of English as a global language. Xiulan (2005) describes how throughout China's history, Mandarin has been protected from outside influence, with the aim of retaining the pure form of the language. This is contentious even within China, as debates about dialect, spelling systems and character systems have been ongoing as a standard Mandarin has been developed (Li, 2004).

The protection of Mandarin from outside influence, particularly English, in areas such as science and technology divide Chinese scholars. Some see English as damaging to the nation, whereas others viewed it as necessary for global communication (Xiulan, 2005). The regulation of foreign words in China is an example of what Cameron (2012) terms 'verbal hygiene', as decisions were made about which English language words could be used. For example, English abbreviations such as GDP (gross domestic products) and IT (information technology) were included in the Contemporary Chinese Dictionary as they were
seen as advantageous to China's economic development on the globalstage (Xiulan, 2005). The role of English language in China will be considered further in section

### 2.3.1

In the next section I will discuss assessment of bilingualism, and describe the importance of standardised English language proficiency tests for the students who attend bilingual schools such as HSH.

### 2.2.8 Assessment of bilingualism

As noted at the start of this chapter, the range of definitions for bilingualism and the inclusion of aspects such as cultural knowledge, make accurately assessing bilingualism challenging. Yet assessing bilingualism is important within the independent bilingual education context. The aim of this education pathway isfor students to leave with proficiency in two (or more) languages, assessment is required to monitor progress, inform teaching and learning and to offer accreditation which allows students to go on to further study or employment. Academic standardised testing has tended to favour the receptive skills of reading and listening, alongside the productive skills of writing and speaking. However, as Baker and Wright (2017) propose, using these skills alone is not adequate as they do not demonstrate the reality of how language is used in different settings. Equally, as described by García (2009) it is likelythat many emergent bilinguals may have oracy ability, allowing them to speak andlisten in a second language, without having the ability to read or write.

The construction of bilingual educational models is due to perspectives of countries positioning globally (see section 2.2.3). Baker and Wright (2017) propose that assessments of bilingualism follow this, and are also based on the "cultural, social, political, educational and ideological agendas that shape the lives of all students and teachers" (p.31). For example, the assessment of a bilingual student who lives in a country which has a subtractive form of bilingual education, would differ greatly from those in an additive form, where emphasis would be placed on assessing language proficiency in both languages. The consequences of inaccurately assessing students' language abilities, especially when comparisons are made to monolingual students, has led to the overidentification of linguistic problems in bilingual students (Lugo-Nerris et al., 2015). When trying to identify the correct assessment process for bilingual students, consideration must be given to the purpose, context, process and impact of assessment.

Within a bilingual school context, the purposeof assessment is linked to proving language proficiency on a standardised scale, to achieve qualifications and aid applications to university. Students need to demonstrate their content knowledge in the second language, aswell as their academic language ability in order to understand the exam questionsand produce comprehensive answers (Yang, 2019). Traditionally, standardised testing has suffered from a monolingual bias, with testdevelopers making key decisions about language complexity in questions, and expectations on acceptablelanguage use in answers (Gandara and Randall, 2019). For bilingual students, adaptations have then come in the form of linguistic accommodations, which include the use of a bilingual dictionary, interpreter support or additional time (Schissel, 2014). Such assessments do not provide scope for translanguaging practices, and a contradiction can therefore be seen between methods of instruction which may support and encourage the use of both languages and an assessment process which does not (Gandara and Randall, 2019).

Within the context of HSH, there are two assessments for English as a second language which students and parents regularly mention. These are used by universities globally as part of the application process for non-native English speakers. They are the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) and International English Language Testing System (IELTS) (Bakri, 2022). Baker and Wright (2017) describe how these assessments "replicate the ways students may need to use and understand English in the classroom" (p.23), providing evidence for bilingual people's ability to participate in English medium university courses in Anglosphere countries. The TOEFL assessment serves the same purpose as IELTS and has seen significant developments since it was first used in 1962 (Smart, 2019). The most significant change occurred in 2005, when the test was altered to include a speaking section (Alderson, 2009), which meant that both these assessments included productive and receptive skills. IELTS was first launched in 1989, and in 20193.7 million candidates underwent the assessment (Read, 2022). IELTS and TOEFL are incredibly important within the Chinese context, as they are used for both visa requirements and university applications in Anglosphere countries ${ }^{4}$.

Whereas IELTS and TOEFL are important for gaining a visa for Anglosphere

[^2]countries, the use of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) is used internally within HSH to help understand proficiency levels. This frame of reference "pinpoints the knowledge and know-how" (Council of Europe, 2023, p.1) of languages at different levels, ranging from basic user (A1-A2) to proficient user (C1-C2). CEFR provides a detailed description on the level of competence, or sub-competence, required for each level whilst learning a language. The Council of Europe (2020) describe CEFR as "a tool to assist the planning of curricula, courses and examinations by working backwards from what the users/learners need to be able to do in the language" (p.28). The 'can-do' statements are focused on providing a positive approach to language learning.

Although initially designed for the European context, reference to CEFR is now widely used in language education globally (Savski, 2021). There are, however, challenges to using the Eurocentric CEFR in other countries, which have different values and cultures. As an example, in the companion volume for CEFR published in 2020, it is stated that the Council of Europe's approach to language education includes "developing and maintaining a culture of democracy" (p.11). This is understandable within the European context, however, thought needs to be given to the appropriate use of CEFR in a non-democratic country such as China.

Weicheng (2012) interviewed four university professors in China, to discuss the impact of CEFR. Weicheng (2012) describes how the influence of CEFR can only be seen at university level, and CEFR could not be seen in any printed policy or curriculum document. Weicheng's (2012) research describes how the can-do statements were seen as useful in China as it helped to move away from the typical quantitative approach to counting the number of words students knew, and these statements also encouraged students to self-assess. There was also consensus amongst the participants that CEFR should be referenced, but not directly modelled in China (ibid.).

Whilst the IELTS and TOEFL exams are important for foreign students to be able to study in Anglosphere countries, these tests are only assessing second language proficiency. They do not allow students to demonstrate their full bilingual linguistic skill set. In the next sectionl shall describe bilingualism in the Chinese context.

## 2．3－Bilingualism in China

Bilingualism in China includes both minority languages and foreign languages，most notably English．There is not scope within this dissertation to detail the full history of bilingualism in China，therefore，this section will focus specifically on English and Mandarin bilingualism．I begin by describing the history of how English has been used in China，as this is the context which English－language bilingual education（see section 2．3．2）has developed from．

## 2．3．1－English language bilingualism

The history of English language in China is believed to go back to 1637 when four British ships arrived in Guangzhou．These ships were expelled shortly after arriving and the next English language contact did not occur until 1664 when the British set up a trading port in Guangzhou，which resulted in the development of pidgin English（Gil and Adamson，2011）．Almost 200 years later，the first opium war（1839 －1842）between the British and Chinese saw a growth in English language，as the British were able to trade through more ports around China，although language was hampered by the Chinese use of translators called＇tonshi＇，who were not always competent（Wong，2007）．

Following the end of the second opium war in 1860，the presence of the British led to a need to strengthen the nation and protect Chinese culture．Scholars suggested forming foreign language colleges to learn more about Western knowledge in order to overcome any threat posed by the West（Gil and Adamson， 2011）．Consequently，the first bilingual college（Tongwen Guan 同文馆）was opened in Beijing in 1862，with similar colleges across China opening shortly afterwards（Bolton，2003）．During this period there was also a growth in Western missionary schools which taught English and Christianity（ibid．）

Under the leadership of the Nationalist Party（1911－1949）learning English continued to be seen by some as important，as a way of understanding more about science and technology，although English teaching did not undergo any changes due to the ongoing wars with Japan during this period（Zhang，2007）．Concerns were expressed by some Chinese politicians and scholars who were fearful of cultural transfer from the West（Fang，2018）．The establishment of the People＇s Republic of China in 1949 saw substantial changes to the use of English，as all missionary schools were closed and the missionaries were expelled from the
country (ibid.), due to the perceived threat of Western colonisation (Hu, 2008). During the 1950s English became the language of the enemy and Russian became the main foreign language in China, due to the government's close relationship with the Soviet Union (Gil, 2016). The breakdown in the relationship between Russia and China in 1960 led to English being re-instated as the main foreign language, and the Ministry of Education focused on re-training Russian language teachers as well as recruiting English teachers from overseas (Zhang, 2007).

Led by Mao Zedong, the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), aimed to overturn traditional Chinese society and saw the teaching of all foreign languages condemned, oftentimes violently a teachers were seen as spies for other countries (Adamson and Morris, 1997). A surprising change was seen in 1968, after Mao Zedong had addressed a group of Red Guards, informing them "It's good to know English" (Unger, 1982, p.282) and therefore English began to be taught in schools. Ensuring English remained in line with other subjects, lessons were "vehicles of Maoist political discourse and tools of linguistic engineering" (Fengyuan, 2004, p.85). No Western cultural ideologies were included. Instead, translations of political slogans and quotes from Mao Zedong, from his deputy, and revolutionary songs were taught (ibid.).

Following the end of the Cultural Revolution on Mao Zedong's death in 1976, after a period of re-adjustment and under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, the 'Four Modernizations' plan covering agriculture, industry, national defence and science and technology saw reform of language policies (Gil, 2016). A conference held by the Ministry of Education in 1978 restored English as the main foreign language to be used in China, and education quickly began to recover from the impact of the Cultural Revolution (ibid.).

The 'open door policy' also launched in 1978 saw China become a participant in the global marketplace, sending students abroad to universities and expanding the tourism industry all of which were advantageous to China's development (Huan, 1986). English became a way for China to promote itself economically and politically (Zhang, 2007) as the "de facto international language, to have their voices heard and respected" (Gao and Wang, 2017, p.227).Feng (2012) suggests the desire to learn English is basedon China's "rapid development of its economy, tourism, foreign trade andinternationalisation of education" (p.366), describing how the Beijing Olympics (2008) and Shanghai World Expo (2010) necessitated a
growth in English use．There has，however，been dissatisfaction in the effectiveness of English language teaching to meet the Governments＇aims，and consequently bilingual education initiatives were developed to try and address this（Gao and Wang，2017），see section 2．3．2．

Throughout history there have been concerns about how＂English may undermine China＇s cultural identity，national security，and political stability＂（Gaoand Wang， 2017，p．227）．There have been ongoing，with recent changes including reducing the number of English marks on the Gaokao（高考）college entrance exam from 150 to 100，and university courses reducing English credits and the number of English teaching hours they deliver（Hu，2021）．These decisions demonstrate China＇s constantly changing approach to English in response to sociocultural，political and economic interests（ibid．）．Gao and Wang（2017）propose that changes to English as a subject do not mean it is not viewed as an important language，instead China wants to＂confirm the unchallengeable status of the national standard Chinese for its rise to be a new international language＂（ibid．，p．227）．The country has also tried to promote Chinese culture and language globally through establishing Confucius Institutes，and by attracting international students to study in China （ibid．）．Although，these institutes have been seen as controversial in the US due to the Chinese government＇s involvement in them（Wang and Adamson，2015）．

In this section I have provided a brief overview of the development of the English language in China．In the next section I shall describe how Mandarin－English bilingual education models have been developed in response to this．

## 2．3．2－Bilingual education in China

To understand Mandarin－English bilingual education in China，requires acknowledging the difference between the Mandarin terms 双语教学＇Shuangyu Jiaoxue＇and 双语教育＇Shuangyu Jiaoyu＇（Feng，2009）．The first term，双语教学 ＇Shuangyu Jiaoxue＇，describes bilingual teaching practices within a classroom， equivalent of additional language classes in Anglosphere countries，and would commonly be seen as an approach to teaching English in Chinese publicschools（see section 1．2）．Whereas，双语教育＇Shuangyu Jiaoyu＇is the term usedto encompass all aspects of a bilingual education school including teaching，curriculum and community．This second term，双语教育＇Shuangyu Jiaoyu’describes the HSH
bilingual education model.
Since the early 2000s there has been a growth in Mandarin-English bilingual education across China, covering kindergartens, primary, secondary and tertiary education (He, 2011). Despite this growth, English schooling in China is a contentious one, as the law states that the medium of instruction in all educational settings has to be Mandarin (Gao and Ren,2019). Legally it is not possible for Chinese nationals to attend schools which have English as a medium of instruction (He, 2011). Consequently, any programmes which use English as a medium of instruction are titled bilingual schools, to keep emphasis on the importance of standard Mandarin (Gao and Ren, 2019).

Despite having no legal protection, the importance placed on Mandarin-English bilingual education is also noticeable at a university level. In 2001, the Ministry of Education announced that 5-10\% of courses in subject areassuch as information and biometric technology, had to be taught bilingually (Tongand Shi, 2012). The impact of this was seen in secondary and primary settings, where a growth of bilingual education occurred in response tothe need to prepare students for the increase of English language courses availableat university level (Gao and Ren, 2019).

The lack of legal status for bilingual education programmes in China means that they can be closed, which may imply they are a temporary measure to help China's current linguistic capacity to engage internationally (Gao and Ren, 2019). As described by Hu (2005) the belief in China's continued development depends on their ability to use English to communicate globally. An example of the importance of high levels of English proficiency in China is provided by Lü (2001) who compares China's 50 million USD of computer software exports in 1999,to India's 4.6 billion USD. The reason provided for this was that India had higher English language proficiency and was therefore able to engage more with the global market.

As noted by Gao and Ren (2019), the increased number of bilingual education settings may also be in response to the fact that traditional English language teaching in China does not meet the countries' needs to communicate globally. However, Hu (2008) proposes that this is not the case and argues investments in bilingual education have been prioritised over other areas of education. Concerns have been raised about bilingual education models resulting in English being used as a medium of instruction in subjects such as science, math, chemistry and
history. He (2011) suggests this has impacted the subjects' identity which traditionally would have been taught in Mandarin.

As mentioned in section 1.7, finding literature available in English regarding bilingual education in China with a JH age group has been challenging. Therefore, a recent qualitative research synthesis, exploring bilingual education in China, by Liu and Chong (2023) has been useful in providing an overview of current research. They undertook a literature review using the terms "("bilingual education" OR "bilingual*" OR "translanguaging" OR "immersion" OR "plurilingual*") AND ("China" OR "Chinese")" (ibid., p6). From this, sixteen studies were included, which focused on the implementation of bilingual education as well as teacher and student perceptions of it. Out of these studies, only three were based in school settings equivalent to the HSH JH age group, however, the contexts differed as they included public schools and minority language bilingual education, which further highlights the lack of research into independent bilingual education (see section 1.5).

Liu and Chong (2023) found that ten studies demonstrated positive attitudes from learners' towards bilingual education, with the participants' identifying benefits of bilingual education such as mastery of language and subject content. In three studies, participants reported greater levels of self-confidence (ibid.). However, alongside these positive aspects, Liu and Chong (2023) also identified challenges, including how some bilingual education settings were felt to have ignored the learners' needs, and that the provision was often too expensive for students from rural areas. This led them to conclude that student perceptions of bilingual education were mixed.

Liu and Chong (2023) propose that bilingual education in China "is a rather loose pedagogical concept" (p. 14) which requires clearer categorization, as the term was found to be used with differing definitions or was not defined at all. This is important because there are different types of bilingualism and bilingual education (see section 2.2) which serve different purposes, and clarity on such detail should be provided both within the setting for the local community and in any research undertaken. In addition to this, Liu and Chong (2023) suggest documenting "its duration, materials used and lesson activities" (p.15), as some studies were based on short-term bilingual education settings which had lasted only 50 hours.

Having described the growth of Mandarin-English bilingual education, I will now briefly describe the development of the concept of childhood in China - as this is an important dimension of the participants' background and that of their families. I shall also describe the implications the concepts of childhood have on student voice in China, as this will have been influential on the participants in my research project.

## 2.4 - Concepts of childhood in China and student voice

Exploring the topics of bilingualism and identity with young people requires consideration to be given to the context where they are growing up. This includes their position as young people in the present day, but also an understanding of how notions of 'childhood' have developed over time within the Chinese context. These will influence the experiences the young people have, and the ideasthey share in my research project. I will briefly describe how the concept of childhood has developed in China, before discussing how this is likely to have been influential on student voice. It is important to acknowledge that there is not one view of childhood in China and, as highlighted by McCarthy et al. (2017), discussing obedience vs individualism in a dichotomising way can prevent the nuances of Chinese family life from being understood. In addition, as studentvoice in China is a relatively understudied area (Wei, 2016), at points I will also draw on literature from outside of China.

### 2.4.1 - Concepts of childhood

Although my understanding of Confucianism in China is limited due to my positionality as a foreigner (see section 3.5.3), it is influential on how childhood has been viewed in the past, and how it continues to be viewed. AsLee (2014) suggests, "Confucianism is one rich and nuanced resource for the development of theories on children and childhood that do take one's cultural inheritance and ethical life seriously" (p.532). Through translating Mengzi 4B12, a book containing conversations and interviews written by a Chinese Confucian philosopher around the $4^{\text {th }}$ century, Lee (2014) identifies different views of children have been proposed. Looking at the translation of a key phrase within thetext, Lee notes how, Mengzi is reported to have said that "The great person doesnot lose his infant's heart" (p.528). To make sense of this sentence, Lee draws onthe work of $16^{\text {th }}$ century philosopher, Li Zhi, who interpreted this statement as meaning that a
child's heart has "a perfect and complete moral capacity in its original state" (p.530). In this view, a child's heart is fully developed at birth andrequires preservation. Conversely, the philologist Jiao Xun, writing in the $18^{\text {th }}$ century, viewed the child's heart as having potential which needs to be cultivated, thus the "child must undergo training that will lead to a transformation and growthof his nascent capacity" (ibid., p.530). Both of these views identify a shared understanding of a traditional Chinese view of childhood, in that "children possess and primarily represent a potential - whether nascent or realized" (ibid., p.527). Confucianism, has always exerted an influence in Chinese society, but it is becoming even more pervasive with the revival of Chinese traditional culture the country is experiencing.

The importance of Confucianism and traditional Chinese culture is described by Tang (2016), who questions whether China will enter a third-phase of Confucianism, with the growth of "'Guoxue tide’ - the ardent pursuit of revitalizing traditional Chinese culture" (p.16). This, combined with scholars being "mostly alarmed when faced with invoking a ‘universal childhood'"(Hsiung, 2008, p.81) developed on Western ideas, has seen a focus in education on teaching children Chinese history and culture. Influence from the West was most notable during the 1980s and 1990s which saw Piaget's developmental theory and the Reggio Emilia approach ${ }^{5}$ become influential on theearly childhood curriculum in China (Qi and Melhuish, 2016).

However, a focus on traditional Chinese culture and values can be seen inthe growth of official government books including the Socialist Core Values series. This has occurred in response to the change to the one child policy, since being established in 1980, had meant that all couples could only have one child (Feng et al., 2016). Since the two-child policy came into effect in 2016, an increased number of children were born and consequently early childhood reading books gained greater attention (Tesar et al., 2019). With the aim of teaching children about Chinese cultural heritage, the Socialist Core Value series became compulsory reading in kindergarten (ibid., 2019). In 2021, the three-child policy came into effect, which has been described as challenging children's development, especially in terms of social and emotional regulation as the structure of family life changes (Hong and Wang, 2023). Due to this policy coming

[^3]into effect recently, there are no long-term studies on its impact.
Whilst there has been a focus on incorporating traditional Chinese values into Chinese education, it has been proposed that recently there has been an observable change in how children are viewed in Chinese society. Naftali (2009) proposes that the way in which children's rights have been discussed in China has meant children have increasingly been seen as individual people, as opposed to being a part of a collectivist society. As noted by Moore (2005) the move towards individualism hasoccurred progressively since the 1980s, but has been most notable with the millennial generation. However, the way in which children's individualism has been promoted by the Chinese Government does not always align with the realityof practices in Chinese families (Binah-Pollak, 2014).

In a study which researched concepts of childhood across three generations in China, Liu (2022) proposes the traditional value of "filial piety" ${ }^{6}$ (p.600) remains influential. Filial piety continues to be significant in China as family lineage is connected to the fate of individuals, therefore obedience and respect for elders are valued (McCarthy et al., 2017). As describedby Liu (2022) "the authoritarian nature of parental guidance and teaching has remained persistent across the three generations" (p. 614). For example, the roleof children has shifted from being labourers in the past, with four of five siblings, to being an only-child where high academic achievements are expected in the present. Liu (2022) describes how throughout each generation the communication between parents and children has always been in "a top-down manner" (p. 608), with most participants in his study experiencing this authoritarian upbringing. Liu (2022) describes how children in modern China are "under greatercontrol and expected to follow a path designed by parents" (p. 615). However, Moore (2005) describes how individualism is not always seen by parents as negative, because many would not want to bring back the "coercive collectivism" (p.375) which they had to experience growing up.

The concept of childhood in China, and the notion of individualism are both important to consider, since student voice is a central element of my research. The participants are growing up in a culture which values filial piety, observable in modern China from the pressure children face to succeed academically, as this

[^4]brings "good economic returns and a good life" (Liu, 2022) for children and their families. However, as described by Davey et al. (2007) pressure to succeed in school has beenlinked to children having psychological problems. This wider context of Chinese society is likely to influence how the participants view their engagement in my research, and how open they are to expressing their opinions, especially about education in China. I will now discuss the concept of student voice and describe how the Chinese context may influence how students share their opinions.

### 2.4.2- Student voice

Although student voice is increasingly at the forefront of education globally (Fielding, 2006), the concept has different interpretations and is referred to using a variety of terms. I use the term student voice in reference to "students being able to speak about what matters to them" (Fielding, 2001) and most importantly, being listened to, so that they can influence change. The inclusion of the need to respect children's views in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which China is a signatory of (Wei, 2006), helped to raise awareness of the importance of student voice. However, as de Leeuw et al. (2020) describes, there remains a divide between policy and practice in student voice initiatives globally, especially with groups such as victims of bullying, students with special educational needs and Indigenous students. This occurs when students do not speak the conventional standard language of the school (Warming, 2011), as teachers are more likely to listen to opinions expressed in the language they use themselves (Fielding and Rudduck, 2002).

This is particularly pertinent to bilingual education where, depending on the model, two interlinked challenges are faced. If a minority language student is in a subtractive bilingual environment, the student may not participate due to feeling in a marginalised position, as Kanno (2003) describes was the experience of Japanese students in North America. Connected to this is students' language proficiency, especially if student voice opportunities are only provided in the second language. In research conducted by Wilson and Pascual y Cabo (2019) with Spanish heritage language students in America, providing student voice opportunities in their home language was found to support teaching and learning through incorporating more diverse perspectives on language development, as well as helping to motivating students to keep learning their home language.

Considering ways to analyse student voice initiatives, Fielding (2001) developed a framework for evaluating the conditions needed for student voice to be successful. This comprised nine groups of questions which cover the areas of: speaking; listening; skills; attitudes and dispositions; systems; organisational culture; spaces and the making of meaning and action for the future. Fielding (2001) provides questions such as who is allowed to speak, and who is listening, whilst proposing that formal student voice initiatives, such as student councils, can be unrepresentative as they incorporate a select group of pupils. The ideas of formal and informal participation methods are further explored by Cross, Hulme and McKinney (2014) within Scotland, who similarly suggest formal student councils are not sufficient for meaningful citizenship participation, despite being the one legally mandated participation activity. Instead, they propose a wider range of participation activities are needed to help to increase young people's interest in participation.

Fielding (2001) acknowledges that there is a focus in education towards performativity, which provides "both the motivation and the means of a carefully constrained consultation" (p.103). Constraint conflicts with ideas of freedom of students to share their opinions. One tool which can be used to identify the purpose of student voice activities is Hart's (1992) Ladder ofParticipation, which illustrates the different ways in which students can be involved. The ladder ranges from manipulation, decoration and tokenism at the bottom, which are nonparticipative approaches, gradually leading up to child-initiated, shared decisions with adults which is the top rung of the ladder. Although the top rung is not always appropriate - safeguarding for example - it is important that when students share opinions, they are heard by those in positions of power who can make a difference based on student input. Fielding (2001) suggests "a proper professional response to the report or recommendations is both an obligation and requirement" (p.107) even if changes suggested by students cannot occur. An important part is the idea of two-way dialogue between students and teachers, which Fielding (2001) believes is an essential part of student voice.

Initiating dialogue is an important aspect, however, student voice also requires decisions to be made on what topics students are able to discuss. For example, Fielding and Rudduck (2002) found students tend to be consulted on simplistic issues rather than the process of teaching and learning. This is due to comments
from students which"may be feared as personally challenging or as threatening to the institution" (ibid., p.3). But this concern is also shared by students, who worry about retaliation from their teachers. Durkin (2011) describes how Chinese students maybe less forthcoming in expressing personal opinions when they differ from those who are in a position of authority, as teachers traditionally are in China.

Concerns about relationships with teachers is particularly relevant to the Chinese context, where students have a greater desire to want to please their teachers and maintain social harmony, when compared to students in America (Bear et al., 2014) or in Britain (Durkin, 2011). As noted by Che (2023) Chinese students are "typically socialized into passive classroom cultures" (p.2), meaning teachers have authority and students are expected to listen. This links to my previous point about the concepts of childhood in modern China, where children are generally expected to follow instructions from their parents, with a focus on academic success. McCarthy et al. (2017) describes how conflict between parents and children in China is "attributed to a lack of filial piety" (p.291). Although student voice is not about conflict, it is likely to involve students having opinions which are different to the teacher's and therefore by wanting to prevent any possibility of conflict, Chinese students may be reserved.

The relationships children have with their teachers may be another example of following an adult's instruction without question. However, this obedience is likely to act as barrier to student voice, as students may not want to be seen as challenging or disagreeing with an adult's opinion. As noted by MacCarthy et al. (2017) "autonomy and independence are not to be tolerated" (p.12) in education in China, due to the expectations and pressure on educational success, particularly for children with no siblings. This highlights the need for teachers to "build open and trusting relationships as a basis for constructive dialogue" (Fielding and Rudduck, 2002, p.4) to provide support and reassurance that there will be no retribution for having an opinion.

The concept of power is important here, as the dichotomy between what a 'teacher' is and what a 'student' is, in China has prevented student voice from being embedded (Wei, 2016). Li (2001) proposes it is not possible for everyone's voice in the Chinese classroom to be equal, due to the traditional notions of power. To increase student voice in China would require changes outside of the classroom too, as Wei (2016) reflects on Fielding's (2001) writing about the
importance of who is listening and what happens to the comments students make. Wei (2016) suggests that in China student voice is "ignored by administrators, educational researchers and policy- makers alike" (p. 334), therefore work would need to be undertaken for an appreciation of student voice to be implemented at different levels.

Globally, despite the challenges surrounding student voice initiatives, it has been seen as beneficial to schools, teachers and students. Fielding and Rudduck (2002) proposed four areas where student voice activities can impact students -

1) Stronger sense of membership (the organisational dimension)
2) Strong sense of respect and self-worth (the personal dimension)
3) Strong sense of self as a learner (the pedagogic dimension)
4) Stronger sense of agency (the political dimension)

This is relevant to the Chinese context as it incorporates both the traditional Chinese value of collectivism, through the idea of being a member of community (e.g. being part of the school), whilst also appreciating the idea of individualism, which there has been a move towards in China (e.g. through developing oneself).

In this section I have discussed how the concept of childhood has developed, with traditional Chinese values related to Confucianism and filial piety remaining present and influential in modern China. These values are influential on student voice. All of this is likely to influence how the participants engage and what they choose to share in my research project.

### 2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed bilingualism (see section 2.2 ), bilingualism in China (see section 2.3) and concepts of childhood connected to student voice (see section 2.4). It is apparent that the concept of bilingualism has a multiplicity of different meanings. My exploration of bilingualism in China has demonstrated that throughout history, the role of the English language within China has been contentious. However, the growth of bilingual education has illustrated how China acknowledges the importance of learning English, as a lingua franca, to communicate on the international stage - whilst retaining a strong emphasis and pride in the Mandarin language and associated cultures. The concept of childhood in China has shown how the traditional Chinese value of filial piety is influential in
modern China. This was connected to the notion of student voice due to the influence this context is likely to have had on the participants in my research.

In the next chapter I shall discuss the methodology used.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

## 3.1 - Introduction

The aim of this research project is to explore student perspectives of bilingualism and identity in the HSH bilingual education model. Using an interpretivist paradigm, data for this research came from student participants through a workshop (see section 3.8.1), a one-week participant-led photography activity (see section 3.8.2), subsequent individual semi-structured interviews (see section3.8.3) and a focus group (see section 3.8.4). The workshop, individual interviews and focus group were audio recorded, then transcribed (see section 3.8.5). The photos from the participant-led photography formed part of the data analysis (see section 3.8.6) before the transcriptions wereanalysed using thematic analysis (see section 3.9). The topics of bilingualism andidentity are subjective because they are influenced by personal opinions, and experiences, therefore require a methodological approach which can enable an understanding of the participants' multiple realities. Creswell (2009) believes the use of a qualitative methodology aids understanding of unique individual experiences, which was a core aim for this research project, and I therefore set out to collect qualitative data.

The inclusion of creative methods was deemed appropriate as "creative practice in intercultural settings can contribute to more complex understandings of the nature and role of language" (Harvey et al., 2022). As I shall go onto to discuss throughout this chapter, creative tasks such as drawing activities and identity body maps (see appendix H3 and L2) were included, alongside the creative method of participant-led photography. These were important to include to ensure the research was engaging for the young people, and to provide a range of ways for participants to participate.

The artefacts created from the creative activities were not included as distinct items in the data analysis, but rather the oral narrative attached to them by the participants remained the focus. As described by Back (2009) a photograph "both shows and hides the context of its creation" (p. 479). My interpretation without the participants' descriptions of them may have led to significantly different interpretations (see section 3.8.6). For a photograph "to be read it needs to be both contextualised and historicised" (Back, 2009, p.480), which the oral narrative allowed for. The artefacts were referred back to during the transcription (see
section 3.8 .5 ) and thematic analysis (see section 3.8 .9 ) to remind myself of what they were referring to, however, the artefacts were not coded.

In line with the aim of understanding individual student experiences, methods were required which would enable participants to describe and expand upon their opinions, which a quantitative methodology, using statistical analysis, would not have allowed for. The methods selected also provided a degree of flexibility, in that if there was a particular aspect of bilingualism or identity which participants wanted to discuss further, for example, then space to do this was allowed for. This aspect reflected Hudson and Ozanne's (2014) assertion that "people should be studied according to their own perspectives or frames of reference rather than from that of the research" (p.510). It also aligns with the interpretivist belief of incorporating approaches to research which allow opportunity to investigate unexpected avenues as the research progresses (Willis, 2007).

I shall now go on to discuss why the interpretivist paradigm was the most suitable for this research project (see section 3.2), before describing research with children (see section 3.3). Following this, ethical considerations (see section 3.4), my positionality (see section 3.5), the inclusion of an interpreter (see section 3.6) and participant selection (see section 3.7) are discussed. Before justifying why each method was selected from a reflexive standpoint (see section 3.8).

## 3.2 - Research Paradigm: Interpretivist paradigm

Being fortunate enough to have experience of working in four countries and different cultures has led me to favour social constructivism as a theory of knowledge. Developed by Vygotsky in 1968, social constructivism proposes that knowledge is created through interactions between people and understanding comes through experiencing and interpreting cultures and environments (Akpan et al., 2020). My social constructivist view links with the choice to use the interpretivism paradigm, as one that offers insight into multiple realities (Guba and Lincoln, 1994), since it regards reality as subjective and socially constructed as people interpret situations differently.

The interpretivist paradigm attempts to understand a specific social phenomenon in a natural setting (Al Riyami, 2015) from the perspectives of those who are already engaged with it (Schwandt, 2007), thus bringing individual realities together to understand a multiplicity of perspectives on the same topic (Hurt and

Callahan, 2013). This resonates with my understanding that participants in my research were likely to have different perspectives on the topics of bilingualism and identity at HSH, as each will have experienced - and continued to experience - reality through their subjective backgrounds, views and emotional responses. The interpretivist paradigm acknowledges these varied experiences as "situated knowledge" (Willis, 2007, p.99), which, moreover, are not static, but are ever changing and multi-dimensional (Brundrett and Rhodes, 2013). I believe these subjective experiences to be reflective of the fluidity of both bilingualism (see section 2.2 ) and identity (see section 2.2.7), as it allows for different perspectives and experiences to be shared.

From an ontological perspective, and what constitutes reality, the interpretivist paradigm is based upon relativist ontological assumptions. These reject the positivist view that the world contains "hard, tangible and relatively immutable facts that can be observed, measured and known for what they are" (Sparkes, 1992, p.20). Instead, it supports the idea that reality is subjective, and cannot exist without perception. Interpretivism proposes reality is value-based, as opposed to factual (Greenfield, 1986), and suggests that people interpret the world to create their own realities. Therefore, a multitude of different construction of reality co-exist, in contrast to the positivist belief in one true reality (Greener, 2008). The decision to include participants from grades 7 to 9 (see section 3.7) in my research allowed for greater diversity in the capturing individual's and group's understandings, as students at different stages in their educational journeys participated.

Research grounded in the interpretivist paradigm relies on a subjectivist epistemology, as individual realities are shared between the participant and researcher. The researcher then interprets the shared reality to co-construct knowledge and understanding within that context (Saunders et. al, 2019). Interpretations made by the researcher can never be value free, as the researcher's positionality (see sections 1.3 and 3.5) directs the enquiry, and interactions with participants impact the realities of both researcher and participants (Walsham, 1995). As Williams and Morrow (2009) describe, there is always an "inherent tension between researcher interpretation and participant meaning" (p.579). As I shall go on to describe in section 3.5, some of the "tension" (ibid., p. 579) can be identified through reflexive practice.

As noted by Temple and Young (2004) the interpreter's positionality also impacts the construction of knowledge. This was notable in my research, as she had to interpret the participants' shared reality to be able to translate it into English. As noted by Temple and Edwards (2002), a "triple subjectivity" (p.6) is established between the participants, the interpreter and the researcher. Reflexivity is therefore essential to acknowledge the influence of the positionality of the researcher (see section 3.5 ) and interpreter (see section 3.6 ).

The co-constructed knowledge and resulting interpretations, need to be acknowledged as only part of a perceived version of reality, as hidden meaning will always remain. Hidden meaning refers to the unspoken or unshared perspectives, which can occur for several different reasons, including intentional deception, conscious non-disclosure, unconscious knowledge and limitations of language (lvey, 2022). The context of where the research is situated may also influence what is shared and, as Michael (1999) suggests, conducting research in a school setting impacts what participants are willing to disclose. In an attempt to address this, chosen methods allowed students to participate both publicly in a focus group (see section 3.8.1) and privately in an individual interview (see section 3.8 .3 ). This was not done with the intention to prevent meaning from being hidden but did provide options for participants to share opinions both publicly and/or privately, as they may have found either preferable. It is impossible for me to know what participants in my research chose not to share, instead I acknowledge that the data collected represents a subjective version of reality, constructed between the participants, the interpreter and myself.

The multiple realities and subjective nature of interpretivist research has led to its validity being called into question, as positivist researchers, who largely rely on quantifiable data, have raised concerns about the lack of scientific accuracy or deficiencies in rigour (Mishler, 1990). Wolcott (1990) questions whether validityis purposeful in qualitative research, especially when consideration is given to who determines validity and for whom it is for. I believe the purpose of the research is a key consideration here, as generalisability is not a possibility within interpretivism due to the contextually specific nature of data and the subjective interpretations it entails (Scotland, 2012).

As has been stated by Wolcott (1990), rather than generalisability, understanding should be the main aim of interpretivism. My research aimed to gain an
understanding of student perceptions of bilingualism and identity, with the ultimate goal of improving practice at HSH. As research conducted within the interpretivist paradigm is both "time- and context-bound" (Lincoln and Guba, 2007, p.17) - meaning that comparability and generalisability are not used to show validity - I believe that the credibility criteria (Guba, 1981) is a way of demonstrating validity in interpretivist research. Credibility occurs when the interpretations and findings of the research are congruent with the participants' or readers'. Validity, in this sense, is how accurately the researcher represents participants' realities on the topic in question (Cresswell, 2013).

The credibility criteria can be met through the use of triangulation by using different research methods. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that a single source of data should not be viewed as credible unless it can be triangulated, and reference Denzin's (1978) four methods of triangulation. These are data, investigator, theory and methodological triangulation (Denzin, 1978). My research aimed to understand one phenomenon, i.e. student opinions of bilingualism and identity at HSH, therefore Denzin's (1978) methodological triangulation was the most relevant. It allowed a comparison of data collected from different contexts (publicly and privately), using different methods. The use of triangulation showedsimilar ideas shared in the workshop, focus group, participant-led photography and individual interviews. I believe this added validity to the research project as there was consistency in participant responses across the data set.

In this section I have discussed how the interpretivist paradigm was appropriate for my research project, as it reflects the inclusion of multiple realities. Due to the subjective nature of the research and the involvement of a range of people (i.e. researcher, interpreter and participants), ongoing reflexivity was required (see section 3.5). I have also discussed how I believe validity has been aided through the use of methodological triangulation. In the next section I shall introduce considerations relative to the involvement of children in research.

## 3.3 - Research with children

My research project involved eight participants between the ages of 12 and 16 years old. Research which includes children requires both ethical considerations (see section 3.4) and the use of appropriate research methods (see section 3.8). In light of this, my research methods needed to be considerate of age, language
proficiency and different participation styles as not all participants may have felt comfortable with words (Horrowitz et al., 2003). The use of a workshop (see section 3.8.1), participant-led photography (see section 3.8.2), individual interviews (see section 3.8.3) and a focus group (see section 3.8.4) were selected as appropriate methods to gather data, as they were designed to engage and empower the teenage participants to share their opinions.

In the next section I shall discuss ethical considerations, and the permissions gained to undertake this research at HSH.

## 3.4 - Ethical Considerations

This research project was conducted with ethical approval granted by the College of Social Science Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow. During the design, facilitation and analysis of the research project, the Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2018) were referred to. This document provides guidelines of ethical best practices, and covers areas of responsibility researchers have. Informed consent was sought from parents (see appendices E - F3) and informed assent was sought from the students (see appendices B-D) prior to the start of the data collection. Context specific consent was also sought from my school (see appendix A), alongside checking any requirements for consent within China, which was not required. In the next section, I will discuss informed consent and protection from harm.

### 3.4.1 Informed Consent and Assent

A key issue with informed consent and children has been linked to competency, and how much children can understand about the information provided regarding the research (Heath et al., 2007). This is particularly significant for teenagers who are trying to establish their identity in the stage between childhood and adulthood and may be fearful of saying they do not understand. Equally, the bilingual context of HSH necessitated bilingual documents were produced to makethem accessible for parents and participants. For my research project the term 'informed assent' is used in relation to the participants, as legally in China children are viewed as minors until 18 years of age (NPC, 2020). This also aligns with the UKRI (2020) who propose that assent is agreement provided by a young person, whereas consent is a legal decision provided by parents.

Based on the United Nations Conventions on the Rights of the Child (1989), BERA (2004) guidance describes how all children who are capable of providing fully informed consent [assent] should be provided opportunity to do so. This guidance, combined with my belief in empowering students meant it was important to gain informed assent directly from them (see appendices B to D), and informed consent from their parents (see appendices E to F3). Bourke and Loveridge's (2014) differentiation between informed consent [assent] and informed dissent emphasised the importance of reassuring participants that they had the right to withdraw at any point without needing a reason.

### 3.4.2 Protection from harm

As described by BERA (2018), researchers have the responsibility to "recognise potential risks, and to prepare for and be in a position to minimise and manage any distress or discomfort that may arise" (p. 19). Conducting research with children can make them more vulnerable in the researchsetting, due to the imbalance of power with adults (Punch, 2002). In an attempt to address concerns regarding my positionality as a researcher (see section 3.5) or the interpreter's positionality as a Chinese national (see section 3.6) our roles were clarified and participants were reminded at the start of the workshop that the research environment was a safe, confidential space where they were free to share any opinions without any fear of reprimand or consequences. In support of this, participants were asked to create a pseudonym to provided anonymity, however, as Docker et al. (2013) found in their research, only a few participants decided to use a pseudonym - which is their right. Two participants selected the pseudonyms of 'Kinder Egg' and 'Stark', with the other six being referred to using a number'.

Conducting my research within the Chinese cultural context, as a foreigner (see section 3.5.3), required careful consideration of cultural sensitivities to ensure participants did not feel uncomfortable. Brewer (2012) discusses how sensitive topics in research can be influenced by issues wider than the scope of the research, such as "physical location, political and economic context and broad media agenda" (p.73). Equally, the interpreter's positionality as a Chinese national (see section 3.6) may have impacted the participant's willingness to discuss certain topics, or their own willingness to ask probing questions or offer

[^5]full translations (Williamson et al., 2011). To reduce the possibility of discomfort amongst participants, sensitive topics such as Taiwan and historicalmoments such as $4^{\text {th }}$ June incident ${ }^{8}$ were not discussed. To also avoid putting the interpreter in a challenging position, I emphasised my trust in her to provide translations that she felt comfortable with, and I ensured we had time after eachresearch sessions to debrief.

In this section I have discussed the importance of gaining informed assent from participants, and informed consent from parents. I also discussed my responsibility to protect both the participants and the interpreter from harm, with a focus on both cultural and political sensitivities. I shall now go on to describe my positionality as the researcher.

## 3.5 - Researcher positionality

In section 1.3 I described practitioner research and positionality, drawing on Merton's (1972) insider and outsider roles, and the importance of reflexivity (Holmes, 2020). In this section I shall continue this discussion by describing a number of considerations in undertaking research within the Chinese context where I work. In particular, the notion of power associated with my role as the Assistant Head of JH, and my positionality as a British national who does not speak Mandarin. Each of these aspects are likely to have been influential on the research project, potentially in unknown ways and the impact could not always be overcome or reduced. I begin with a discussion on why I felt it was appropriate to conduct this research at HSH.

### 3.5.1 Conducting research in HSH

The decision to conduct this research within HSH was due to my familiarity with the school and the participants, and my interest in gaining an understanding of the impact the HSH bilingual model had from a student perspective. My position as the Assistant Head of JH involves a number of decision-making responsibilities, thus I hold a position of power and consequently influence over both academic and pastoral areas. This comes with the responsibility to ensure that decisions I make are helpful for students, staff and the development of the HSH bilingual

[^6]model. At the same time my role provides the privilege of being able to influence change. Therefore, my positionality allows findings from this research to be used as evidence to support the development of the HSH bilingual model. My familiarity and knowledge of HSH positioned me as an insider (Merton, 1972). As described by Dywer and Buckle (2009), an insider researcher shares experiences with participants. Although our roles within the school are very different, there is commonality to be found in the school environment, daily routines and inbelonging to the HSH community.

There was potential to approach other independent bilingual schools within China to conduct the research in a different setting, however, I believe my understanding of the HSH context was advantageous to the project. Had I conducted the research in another school my position would have been as an outsider (Merton, 1972), making the process more challenging and less purposeful. For example, I would have lacked contextual understanding such as daily-routines, non-negotiable requirements, aims and objectives of the school and the make-up of the student body. Arguably, I could have been presented with factual information about the school, but I would not have had the immersive, deeperlevel, intimate understanding of the context, which is key in practitioner research (Drake and Heath, 2011). In addition, this research project grew from my curiosity specifically about the HSH context and the bilingual model I have been part of for four years, therefore, the topic may not have been as relevant for other schools.

### 3.5.2 Assistant Head of JH position

In section 1.3 I described the importance of reflexivity in practitioner researcher, to identify and articulate positionality (Holmes, 2020) and to question oneself, including feelings and actions (Corlett and Mavin, 2018). In this section I aim to offer a reflexive stance on my positionality as the Assistant Head of JH, and the impact this is likely to have had on the research project. I draw on the work of Fox et al. (2011) who propose it is important for practitioner researchers to identify their power, with the aim of minimising the impact on others.

Firstly, my role within HSH means I am invested in the context in a number of different ways. As HSH is my employer, I am keen to see their bilingual education model grow, develop and be successful as this offers security and opportunity to continue to work within the field of bilingual education - an area I am passionate about. After four years at HSH and as a member of the SMT, I have forged strong
relationships with staff, students and their families and consequently want to ensure that provision is continually developed as I care about these people. In terms of my positionality, therefore, I would view myselfas an insider (Merton, 1972) and part of the same school community as the participants.

My regular academic and pastoral duties within the school are likely to have influenced how the participants viewed my role and, consequently, how they viewed me during the research. My role includes a degree of power within HSH that impacts on students, staff and parents. My exposure to the majority of students on a daily basis is limited, and the interactions I do have tend to be the extremes of either celebrating success or sanctioning behaviour. I believe this position me as an outsider (Merton, 1972), as there is no commonality between aspects of my role and the participants' experiences at school. The power associated with my role is not something the participants experience as children in the school. This is not to saythey do not have any power in school, but rather their position is, understandably, different to mine.

As my role transitioned from the Assistant Head of JH into a researcher during the project, inevitably both mine and the participants' awareness of power remained present. This included the power associated with my Assistant Head of JH role, and from my role as the researcher, because I was the adult who was responsible for the organisation and facilitation of the research. Attempting to disassociate myself from the Assistant Head of JH position during the research was an impossibility, due to the format of the research project. As the research was undertaken over four weeks, interactions with participants continually switched between speaking to me as the researcher one day or one hour, and then as the Assistant Head of JH the next. Holding these two roles simultaneously was challenging at times and frustrating because I was unable to completely remove my positionality, and associatedpower, as the Assistant Head of JH from the interactions. I had wanted to separate my two roles because I did not want my Assistant Head of JH position to prevent participants from sharing their opinions. As described by Appleby (2013) practitioner researchers already have relationships with their participants, which can either prevent disclosure or support it if trust is already present. On reflection, the data demonstrates that most of the time, the power associated with my role as Assistant Head of JH did not prevent participants fromraising their concerns or suggestions for improvements. However,
as I shall go on to discuss in section 6.4.1, there were times when this was noticeable.

I propose the dynamic nature of insider and outsider roles (Merton, 1972) was observable throughout the research. As described above, my role as the Assistant Head of JH included aspects of being both an insider and outsider (ibid.), but equally my position as a researcher did too. There was commonality betweenmyself, the interpreter and the participants in that we were all involved in the research and consequently I was an insider (ibid.) in this respect. However, my positionality as the researcher with power to conduct the research, combined withfactors such as being foreign (see section 3.5.3) and not speaking Mandarin (see section 3.5.4) positioned me as an outsider (ibid.).

My reflections on both my insider and outsider (Merton, 1972) positions throughout the research, challenged the idea of these two positions as a dichotomy. By this I mean that I could not claim to be exclusively either one of them, and rather I moved between the two. Similarly, my roles as the Assistant Head of JH and researcher were not experienced as discrete identities, as each position influenced the other. What I mean by this, is that my positionality as a researcher incorporated the knowledge and understanding gained from my Assistant Head of JH role. Equally, in my role as the Assistant Head of JH, it became apparent my thinking was being influenced by my researcher role. For example, I took more time to acknowledge the translanguaging strategies around the school, after they had been discussed by participants during the workshop.

The next section describes a different aspect of my positionality, namely that of being a British national in China, the impact of which I felt I was not able to overcome but is important to acknowledge.

### 3.5.3 British national in China

An aspect of my identity which would have been influential on the research process is my position as a British national working in China. This is significant, as my background, everyday life, and cultural experiences are different from the research context. Conducting research within the interpretivist paradigm (see section 3.2 ) meant my findings were inevitably influenced by my prior knowledge and experiences. My lack of familiarity and understanding of Chinese culture and Mandarin language (see section 3.5.4) is alsolikely to have produced potentially
biased findings, as my interpretations will havebeen influenced by my upbringing in the UK. Alongside my own awareness and feelings about being a foreigner conducting research in China, consideration needsto be given to how other people viewed my positionality too (Chereni, 2014).

The research was conducted in China where my nationality understandably positions me as an outsider (Merton, 1972). As described in section 2.3, factors such as China being closed to foreigners before 1978, and the concerns about the threat of the English language to China are all highly influential on my role as a British national conducting research in China. Interestingly, research conducted by Sposato and Jeffrey (2020) found that in the Chinese context, the difference between the data collected by foreign outsiders and local insiders was so significant, they proposed local facilitators should always be used in cross-cultural research in China. Although I incorporated an interpreter who is a Chinese national (see section 3.6) into the research, my position as a British national will have remained influential on the participants.

Considering the specific context of HSH, I believe my positionality as an outsider (Merton, 1972) was enhanced due to the school's separation of English and Mandarin, not only in curriculum and language use (see section 1.2), but also in the referencing of staff as either 'foreign' or 'Chinese'. The school views my British nationality as characteristic of my professional identity. Therefore, it is understandable that the students also use the distinction of 'foreigner' and 'Chinese' to describe their teachers. Although I am not able to identify the specific impact that my position as a British national had on the research project, I do believe there will have been topics which the participants would not have felt comfortable talking to a foreigner, or the Assistant Head of JH, about.

### 3.5.4 Not speaking Mandarin

Alongside being a British national working in China, I am unable to speak any Mandarin, therefore an interpreter was included in the research project (see section 3.6). My lack of proficiency in Mandarin prevented me from being able to draw on the literature written in this language. Also, my lack of understanding of Mandarin was a barrier which prevented my full engagement with Chinese culture, and I am likely to have missed some of the cultural nuances of participants' responses.Moreover, my position as an outsider (Merton, 1972) was reinforced by being unable to connect with participants in their home language. As has been
stated by Jiang (2000), culture and language are inseparably connected and, my ability to fully understand the context and the implications of conducting research in China was impacted by not speaking Mandarin. My reliance on Englishliterature and on translations during the research process and transcription phase, has likely meant there are ideas related to the topics I have researched - bilingualeducation and identity in China - which I remain unaware of.

In addition to this, I am mindful that participants may have drawn implicit meaning from my inability to speak Mandarin. As I do not embody the Mandarin-English bilingualism that HSH promotes, nor have I attempted to become proficient since moving here, I do not demonstrate the skill set participants are aiming for and which I asked them to reflect on. As the data showed, participants expressed that foreign teachers should learn Mandarin, and referenced the translated word walls and bilingual signs around the school as a way of supporting them to do this. The participants' focus on teachers using the school environment to support their learning of Mandarin may imply they believe such signs are there to support teaching and learning, as discussed in section 2.2.5. I understand the participants' perspectives, as they are in a bilingual school which is teaching them English because they want to live in Anglosphere countries. Therefore, they also feel that people who come to live in China should learn Mandarin.

Although my inability to speak Mandarin limited the research project, I did take steps to try and reduce the impact of this. Firstly, the use of an interpreter in the workshop, individual interviews and focus group ensured participants could express themselves in Mandarin. Secondly, by having the audio-recordings transcribed andtranslated into English I was able to understand more of the Mandarin, although as discussed in section 3.8.5, these are subjective translations which offered a version of the participants' discussions.

In this section I have described three aspects of my positionality which were influential on the research project. These were the power associated with my position as the Assistant Head of JH, my identity as a British national conducting research in China and my inability to speak Mandarin. Whilst I provided participants with reassurance about my role as a researcher, I was also aware that aspects of my positionality remained present and influential on the research setting. In the next section I shall discuss the influence of the positionality of the interpreter on the research process.

The involvement of an interpreter, by which I mean someone who translates spoken language (House, 2018), was to ensure that participants could express their perspectives without being confined by English language proficiency levels. As Amato and Mack (2021) point out, using interpreters in research with children is an understudied area, but something that must happen to ensure children's rights are met and their voices heard. As all participants are emergent bilinguals (see section 2.2.2) it was unlikely that they would have the range of vocabulary or confidence in their second language proficiency to fully express their thoughts and opinions. Therefore, I offered all participants the option of asking for an interpreter who could carry out simultaneous interlingual translation(Jakobson, 1959) during our conversations. This empowered participants to decide for themselves what language support they required.

The process of selecting a suitable interpreter within the school context required trust and careful consideration. I needed someone with proficiency in both the participants' home language (Mandarin) and their second language (English) as well as an understanding of the associated cultures. The prerequisite for successful interpreting is comprehension of meaning (Qiang, 2013), followed by an ability to re-phrase utterances in a "culturally recontextualised" way (Sun, 2003, p.28) showing sensitivity to the second language audience's expectations and to prevent misunderstanding. This subjective process requires interpreters to continually make judgements about connotations in the home language and how to appropriately share this in the second language (Qiang, 2013). This is further complicated when discussing personal experiences, such as identity in my research project. Linguistic features, which are challenging to interpret, such as euphemisms, metaphors (Sun, 2003) and idioms (Brazill, 2016) may be used. As noted by Munday (2009), a sense-for-sense translation should be used rather than a word-for-word translation. This is particularly relevant when translating Mandarin to English as direct translations can produce the opposite meaning to that which was intended (Brazill, 2016).

Within the Chinese cultural context, relationships are an important factor, and as stated by Murray and Wynne (2001), selecting an interpreter with similar characteristics can help participants feel more comfortable in the research context. Aware of my positionality as a foreigner (see section 3.5.3) I asked the
pastoral teaching assistant for JH (henceforth referred to as the interpreter) to translate. As a Chinese national and experienced interpreter within school, she did not impact the research context in the same way another teacher would, as her supportive role in school does not have the same connotations of power. I do acknowledge, however, that she was not a formally trained interpreter and this resulted in some difficulties, as I shall go on to describe in section 6.4.2.

The interpreter was present during both the workshop and focus group (see section 3.8.1 and 3.8.4) and individual interviews (see section 3.8.3) and met with me to discuss the aims and research process prior to starting, as is suggested by Temple and Edwards (2002) and Quaintanilha et al. (2015). This helped to provide clarity about her role. Drawing on the work of Quaintanilha et al. (2015) who researched different ways of translating in cross-language focus groups, I opted to use simultaneous translation with audio recording, in hope of remaining active in the workshop and focus group myself and being able to provide prompting, ongoing, responsive questions (Esposito, 2001). Although this was difficult for the interpreter due to thediscussion-based nature of the workshop and focus groups, meaning the interpreter foundsimultaneous translation challenging. As noted by Bramberg and Dahlberg (2012) the pace of speech can be difficult when interpreting. Also, the participants' meaning was not always clear to the interpreter because she did not have the fullpicture of what the participants were sharing, due to how spoken language is constructed into constituent parts, which are uncovered gradually throughout a conversation (House, 2018). This prevented the interpreter from having an overview of the full context on which to base her translations and it made it harder for me to follow the flow of the conversation and so to respond appropriately. Asl shall go on to discuss in section 6.3.2, the transcription stage highlighted whereopportunities were missed to ask clarifying questions due to these challenges.

The inclusion of an interpreter in individual interviews provided different and, arguably fewer challenges, as the social dynamic of multiple voices was removed. As agreed with the interpreter, she aimed to follow Bramberg and Dahlberg's (2012) suggestion of using the first-person voice whilst interpreting in the individual interviews, to keep the speech as simultaneous as possible. On reflection the interpreter found this difficult and switched between first and third person pronouns during their English translation, resulting in us deciding it would
be better for the interpreter to use only the third-person as they were more familiar with this. I also found that the participants directed the majority of their answers spoken in Mandarin directly to the interpreter, which was understandable as they may have felt uncomfortable talking at me, knowing I could not understand what was being said. I did ensure that I kept my focus on the participants, however, and all of my speech was directed towards them.

The difficulties brought about by including an untrained interpreter were less likely to have occurred if I had chosen to use an external qualified interpreter, as they would have had more experience in providing accurate and timely simultaneous translations. As Tzou et al. (2012) describes, when comparing Mandarin to English interpreting performances of formally trained interpreters to untrained bilinguals, significant differences were found. This included untrained bilinguals having longer pauses, and individual words being translated instead of full units of meaning. Despite the difficulties the interpreter had whilst translating for my research, I believe the advantages she brought to the research environment outweighed the benefits of having an external qualified interpreter. Most notably her existing relationships with the participants helped to put them at ease, and her understanding of the school context helped with her translations. For example, she already had an understanding of contextual references, such as "conversation-corner" and therefore knew how to translate them.

In this section I have described the importance of the interpreter in my research project as well as some of the challenges faced by trying to use real-time translation in the workshop, individual interviews and focus group. I shall now go on to provide details about the participants.

## 3.7 - Participants

In qualitative research participants are chosen on the basis of a "predetermined characteristic" (Vaughn, 1996, p.58) which in my research was the fact all participants were students at HSH. A stratified random sampling process was used, as this method meant every student had an equal chance of being included in the selected sample (Taherdoost, 2016) and prevented only one grade level or gender from being represented. The different stratum established through stratified random sampling offered a level of heterogeneity for some characteristics (Pathak, 2008) in my case, age and gender. I wanted to have both a boy and girl participant from grades 7 to 10 to gather data from students at different points in
their educational journeys at HSH.

The first round of stratified random sampling resulted in four students declining to participate, explaining either parents had disagreed, or they did not have time. Subsequent rounds led to six participants from grade 7 to 9 providingassent and parental consent. Grade 10 proved to be significantly harder to recruit, due to the proximity of their final IGCSE exams. Therefore, in consultation with my supervisors the decision was made to include two additional students from grade 9 instead, as these students were theclosest in age to grade 10. Having received signed assent and consent forms backfrom eight students, the final participant group comprised of one boy and one girlfrom grades 7 and 8 , and two boys and two girls from grade 9 .

Although I was pleased to have a boy and girl included from each grade, it was disappointing that grade 10 were unable to participate. Due to the timings of birthdays across the school year, the participant group was formed of one 12-yearold, one 13 -year-old, three 14 -year-olds and three 15 -year-olds. The participants had spent between two and four years at the school, which meant new students who had joined in the previous twelve months had not been included. Equally, none of the participants were boarding students, which was probably the most disappointing part of having used stratified random sampling, as the perspectives from a boarder may have provided different insights on account of the school also being their weekday home. Despite this, the participant group were a wonderful group who, from my previous interactions with them, I felt represented a range of different characters. Please see appendix $G$ for further information about these students.

Student 1 is quite a quiet young person, who is incredibly studious and cares about the presentation of her work. She enjoys sports and wants to go to university in America but does not yet know what she wants to study.

Student 2 is a polite but shy young person. She cares passionately about helping to improve the school and is always the first person to offer to help. She enjoys music and wants to study economics in the UK.

Student 3 has been in trouble a few times with the SMT for being silly during lessons and not always following teachers' instructions. He appears to find it hard to concentrate in class but is always open to talking on a one-to-one level. He is
great at sports and is on the school football team. He is not sure what he wants to study, but his parents want him to study business abroad.

Student 4 is a very mature young man for his age. He is focused on academics, particularly math, and has already applied to a private school in the UK to study A-levels after his IGCSE's. He wants to go to university in England to study architecture.

Student 5 is a musically talented young person who plays the flute. She has found learning English quite challenging and has received extra support in some withdrawal groups. She would like to study law in the US, but also wants to keep playing music.

Student 6 is a confident young person who enjoys socialising and talking to her friends. She has been in trouble a few times for being disrespectful towards teachers. She has made huge progress in her academic work over the last year. She says her parents want her to study business in the UK, but she does not know if she wants to leave China.

Stark is a keen musician who also enjoys badminton. He is keen to play an active part in the school and has been on the school council. He is proactive in planning his next steps, and although undecided as to which university he will apply to, he has already made contact with the in-school university counsellors.

Kinder Egg is a very artistic young person, who produces excellent paintings which are exhibited in the school art gallery. He can be shy in new groups but is confident when he is around his friends. He moved to Canada in the summer of 2022. He hopes to continue on to a Canadian university to study art or economics.

This section has included an explanation of how participants were selected using a stratified random sampling method. I have also included some descriptive information about each of the participants, to show their different characters and interests. The next section goes on to detail the research methods used.

## 3.8 - Methods

As discussed in section 3.1, qualitative methods were selected for my research project as they help to understand unique individual experiences, using the interpretivist paradigm (see section 3.2). This section describes the four methods used, which were a workshop (see section 3.8.1), participant-led photography (see
section 3.8.2), individual interviews (3.8.3) and a focus group (see section 3.8.4). These methods were used over a four-week period, between Monday $28^{\text {th }}$ February 2022 and Friday $25^{\text {th }}$ March 2022, as shown in the diagram below. Following this, each audio recording was transcribed (see section 3.8 .5 ) and the photographs were reflected on (see section 3.8.6) before a thematic analysis was conducted, using Braun and Clarke's (2006) process (see section 3.9).


### 3.8.1- Workshop

As described in section 3.2, I believe knowledge is co-constructed in social interactions, therefore, the purpose of including a workshop and a focus group was two-fold. Firstly, to gain an insight on participants’ opinions on bilingualism and theiridentity, and secondly on how these answers were constructed, supported, challenged or adapted in light of the interactions between participants. I refer to the first group session with the participants as a workshop, due to the inclusion of creative visual methods, as a way of making the session engaging for young people, and to encourage participation in different ways. I drew on Barker and Weller's (2003) suggestion of using child-centred research methods designed around children's preferred ways of communicating, using both verbal and visual activities.

The topics of identity, HSH and bilingualism are personal and potentially emotive topics for the participants, and therefore they may have found them challenging to discuss. In a systematic literature review conducted by McKay and Sappa (2020) into arts-based research exploring teacher wellbeing, creative methods were found to enhance personal reflection. Describing how the arts have "a capacity to tap into thinking beyond cognitive levels to allow for deeper understanding of emotions and emotional responses" (ibid., p.38). As suggested by Kara (2015) creative activities within the workshops were planned in response to the research questions, with each one being designed to encourage participants to visually represent an aspect of bilingualism and identity and support them in expressing their opinions.

An ongoing reflexive stance was needed to remain conscious of my role (see section 3.5) and to prevent the group sessions from becoming prescriptive, which involved using open-ended questions - encouraging all group members to participate (Parker and Tritter, 2006; Cresswell, 2009). I wanted to remove traditional notions of the teacher asking the students questions (see section 2.4), and encouraged participants to talk amongst themselves, ask questions and share anecdotes (Kitzinger, 1995). Drawing on Horner's (2000) belief in starting with familiar, specific experiences from the participants and then building out to more general themes helped with this. The participants were able to draw on their concrete experiences within JH before considering wider topics, I felt this was an inclusive approach as everyone was able to participate from the beginning.

To encourage the development of a secure a supportive environment within the workshop, the session commenced with forming a set of agreements to abide by, to ensure everyone was clear on expectations both during and after the session (see appendix H2). Horrowitz et. al. (2003) suggests asking participants to sign this agreement, as it enhances the validity of them. Participants were all open to this, and they all actively participated in sharing ideas. Some of the agreements were quite similar to those used in the classroom contracts set up at the start of each year, and included listening whilst other people are talking, challenge the comment not the person and always being kind.

Starting with specific themes, the next part of the workshop drew on Colucci's (2007) ideas on free listings, by introducing a fictional spaceman who knew nothing about HSH (see appendix H3). I asked the participants to list any terms or phrases they could think of which related to bilingualism and HSH on post-it notes, and then stick them on the whiteboard around the spaceman's picture (see appendix I and 11). This activity was chosen to start with as it provided participants with a chance to individually consider the topics, allowing them the time and space to form their ideas before any group tasks. This was important as I was conscious that the topics of bilingualism and HSH were not necessarily topics commonly discussed by the participants and thinking time was important. At the end of this activity I asked if anyone wanted to share their ideas, and five out of the eight participants did. Descriptions such as 'different people', 'foreign cultures' and 'mainly English teacher' reinforced the division participants went on to describe between Mandarin and English at HSH (see section 4.1).

Following on from this, the next activity was a drawing task on the topic of bilingualism (see apppendix H 3 - H4). I incorporated this as a visual activity as such tasks have been found to help participants focus (Graham et al., 2018), provide time for personal reflection (Colucci, 2007) and create a more relaxed environment (Yuen, 2004). The task required participants to draw a picture representing bilingualism without using any words. I was keen to see how participants would visually represent what bilingualism means to them, and which aspects of it (e.g. using two languages, classroom setting, communicating with friends) they would focus on. As described by Mckay and Sappa (2020) artistic methods are a way of encouraging reflection, and they provide space for different perspectives to emerge. This was particularly
important for me to understand the participants' opinions on bilingualism, a term which has a multiplicity of meanings (see section 2.2). Ascertaining their understanding early in the research process was essential, as their perspectives on this key term was influential on the rest of the research. For example, how they represented bilingualism during the participant-photography, or how they would reflect on what HSH does to encourage or discourage bilingualism.

As can be seen in appendix J and J 1 the participants each represented two languages or two different people in a range of ways. For example, different shapes were used to illustrate different languages, flags or traditional clothes were drawn, the HSH was depicted in a couple of images. The drawings appeared to illustrate how participants wanted to be able to use both of their languages together (see section 5.4.2). One participant drew a Venn diagram and shaded the intersection, describing this as representing what HSH should be - a joining of English and Mandarin. The participants all shared their drawings with a partner, and then with the rest of the group. This allowed for the participants to start discussing what bilingualism means to them, which led into the next task of defining the term.

Asking participants to define the term bilingualism (see figure 1 and appendix H 4 ) at this point, allowed them to draw on the opinions and thoughts they had constructed during the first two tasks which was designed to prevent anyone from feeling intimidated. A discussion followed (see section 5.2) and the group formulated a definition which they wrote on the whiteboard. I had prepared a slide (see appendix H5) to prompt participants to considering whether bilingualism was only about languages, but this was not needed as participants already thought it included more than this.


Figure 1 - definition of bilingualism written by participants

Conscious that participants had been sat down for a while, I wanted to encourage them to feel openness and freedom to move around the room. I drew on Colucci's (2007) rating scales but chose to do these physically as opposed to on paper by asking participants to stand in certain places around the room depending on whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements on the board (see appendix H5-H7). The statements were -

- How bilingual do you think you are?
- How important is being bilingual to you in the present?
- Do you enjoy learning Mandarin?
- How important is being bilingual to you in the future?
- Do you enjoy learning English?
- Do you enjoy learning at Huili?
- Does Huili treat Mandarin and English equally?

These questions were designed for participants to consider the personal importance of bilingualism both in the present and future and encouraged them to start thinking about what it is like to be a student in HSH, as this would help them with the upcoming participant-led photography activity. This was one of the most interesting activities to observe as it allowed the young people to see how their peers viewed them and initiated peer questioning as to why they had decided to stand in certain places. This demonstrated how others' perceptions of their identity differed from the individual (see section 2.2.6). Kitzinger (2006) describes how rating scale tasks encourage participants to focus on each other, which was evident as they described how they felt other participants were probably better at English than they had recognised and encouraged them to change where they were standing.

The final visual activity during this workshop, involved participants working together to see if they could match images related to a country with the correct country name (see appendix H8-H11). Each image was printed in colour on an A4 sheet, and participants had to pile them next to the country they felt they represented. Images from Kachru's (1992) inner circle were chosen, with a greater focus on the USA, UK and Canada as these were the countries the participants were aspiring to study in. In addition, one image from South Africa, as an Englishspeaking country, was included, and images from China.

The images selected drew on aspects each country is known for, for example traditional foods, currency, famous people, sports and important buildings. My experience of working in HSH would suggest that it is these aspects of the countries that the participants would be familiar with. I acknowledge that these images offer a limited view of the diversity of each country, however, it was made clear to the participants at the start of the task that these were only a few images and not representative of the whole country. I deemed this to be an important task to ascertain what participants knew about the countries they were aspiring to study and work in.

The discussions which occurred during this activity were fascinating, as participants discussed and debated which image linked with each country (see section 4.2.5). This showed they had a very good understanding of the UK but found the other countries more challenging. They spoke at length about the items, and included extra information they knew, for example there was a conversation about cricket and how they also knew it was popular in India. It was understandable that they had the greatest familiarity with the UK as the curriculum they study, exams they sit and resources they use are based on the English National curriculum (see section 1.2) which will represent aspects of culture from the UK.

The final workshop task was a group discussion (see appendix H 13 ) including three questions -

- Is bilingualism important to our student body? Why / why not?
- Why do you attend a bilingual school?
- Outside of school, does bilingualism play an important part in your life?

These were designed to bring together everything which had been covered in the previous activities and acted as a link into the instructions for the upcoming participant-led photography. The session finished with discussing how the photography part of the research would work (see appendix H14), and time was given to answering any questions the participants had, which were mainly about when and where they could take photos.

In this section I have provided a descriptive account of the workshop process and provided reasons as to why each activity was included. I shall now go on to discuss
participant-led photography section of the research project.

### 3.8.2 - Participant-led photography

Following on from the workshop, participants took part in a one-week participantled photography activity. Participants were encouraged to take as many photos as they wanted, depicting what they felt HSH did to encourage theirbilingualism or anything they felt could be improved. They could then share up to 10 images with me to discuss in their individual interviews ${ }^{9}$. Participants used their surface-pro (laptop) cameras as they always have it with them and have familiarity with using it. I shall now go on to explain why this method was appropriate for my research project. The literature I draw from throughout this section has come from different countries because as Hanna (2020)identifies there has been a minimal amount of research published in either Mandarin or English regarding the use of participantled photography as a researchmethod in education settings in China.

Strack, Magill and McDonagh (2004) found the use of photography helps to develop participants sense of identity as it provides space to reflect on who they are and also who they want to be. I wanted to provide the participants space away from the more formal research setting, and my physical presence (Mannay, 2013; Fassetta, 2016), to take time to consider the topics of bilingualism and identity as they went about their normal school routine. I wanted to understand HSH through their eyes, seeing the context from a different perspective (Harper, 2002; Gabhainn and Sixsmith, 2006) and view aspects I may not have been conscious of (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004). I believed this method offered a number of advantages including: the simplicity it offers in comparison to writing (Cook and Hess, 2007), the help it offers to participants who are less able or willing to engage with wordsonly methods (Power et al., 2014) and the support tangible photographed items provides to help express thoughts and feelings (Oh, 2012). As discussed in section 2.2.2 the participants are emergent bilinguals, therefore it was important language never prevented participation.

I agree with Hanna (2020) who suggests, it should not be assumed that photography is in itself automatically a more child-centred method, rather, as a research tool its purpose and use need to be tailored in a contextually specific

[^7]way．Considering the Chinese context，a mobile phone is needed to function in daily life ${ }^{10}$ and consequently people always have a camera with them．This， combined with the growth of social media apps such as＇WeChat＇（微信）${ }^{11}$ and ＇TikTok＇（抖音）${ }^{12}$ in China made participant－led photography an appropriate method to use．Research by Ni et al．（2018）found social media helped Chinese teenagers develop a sense of identity through the use of social interactions， photos and videos．My understanding of how frequently the HSH student body uses social media sites suggests they have a familiarity with expressing themselves through images，and therefore participant－led photographyseemed an appropriate method．

In general terms，participant－led photography is a two－stage process in which participants document their perspective on a topic by taking photos，and then they discuss these images with the researcher，＂with a view to bringing about criticality，empowerment and change＂（Hanna，2020，p．28）．The data does not come from the actual images，but rather from the details and descriptions in the subsequent interviews which provide data to be interpreted and analysed（Oh， 2012）．The subsequent individual semi－structured interviews focused on Hanna＇s （2020）aspects of criticality and empowerment，as my aim was for participants to share their opinions，which includedidentifying problems at HSH and suggesting how it could be improved．The final aspect of change（ibid．）would be a consideration for next steps after presenting findings to SLT．

A consideration for conducting participant－led photography within the HSH context was the impact of others．My concern for the participants was the potential unwanted attention they may receive whilst taking photos，as participant－led photography is likely to attract attention（Sharples et al．，2003）． HSH has a highly competitive environment and as only eight students could participate，my communication to the full student body about the purpose and method aimed to help alleviate any peer－pressure or questioning of participants．

[^8]Some interactions between participants and the student body were actually advantageous to the project as two participants explained during the individual interviews how their friends had helped them ${ }^{13}$ by either taking the photo or by being in it．

Alongside the influence of peers within HSH，I was also conscious of what Lutterell and Chalfen（2010）term the＂imagined audience＂（p．199），meaning the participants thoughts about who will see the images and what they may think of them．Participants all use social media sites such as ‘WeChat’（微信）and ‘TikTok’ （抖音），and consequently may have felt aneed to present edited，or the＇best＇ versions of themselves．Croghan et al．（2008）found this to be the case，when conducting participant－led photography exploring identity with teenagers．In addition to the＂imagined audience＂（Lutterell and Chalfen，2010，p．199），the concept of the＂absent researcher＂（Gibson，2005，p．1）was also applicable．The interpreter and myself may not have been physically present when the photos were taken but we remained an influence as participantsknew we would see any images they shared．As Böök and Mykkänen（2014）explain，during the photography process， the hierarchical relationship between adult research and child participant remains present．I attempted to address concerns by offering the reassurance that their images would only be seen by the interpreter and myself－unless they chose to share them with anyone else．One of the greatest strengths of participant－led photography is how it allows participants the autonomy to express themselves，and I saw no purpose in restricting any editing or attempting to remove the perceived audience，as the participants knew the process involved taking images to discuss．

Moreover，I provided reassurance that they had complete ownership over what photos to take，if they wanted to edit them and if they wanted to share them． Vince and Warren（2012）explain that in using visual methods the researcherhas no idea whether what the participants will produce will be beneficial，describing this as an unnerving but vital part of the process．I struggle to see howany response can be viewed as not beneficial，and propose allresponses from a participant

[^9]4）如果我决定让别人用我的相机帮我拍照，我会确保他们小心使用，并理解我要拍怎样的照
If I decide to let someone else use my camera to help me take a photo，I will make sure theyuse if carefully，and understand the picture I am trying to take．
should be viewed as completely valid. As Gallacher and Gallagher (2008) describe, rigid beliefs on what participation looks like prevents the method from being empowering and encouraging. This is relevant as there were two participants, S3 and Stark, who chose not to submit any photos (see section 6.4.3). As described by Gallacher and Gallagher (2008), choosing not to submit photos may be seen by some as "non-participation" (p.505). However, as described by Fassetta (2016) it is actually a strength of participant-led photography, as other methods do now allow for such resistance to the researcher's demands. I found it pleasing that the participants in my research felt empowered to make this decision and did not feel that they had to submit photos.

In this section I have described why participant-led photography was chosen as a contextually appropriate method, and how the images were used in the analysis section. I shall now go on to discuss how individual interviews were subsequently used to discuss the participants’ images.

### 3.8.3 - Individual Interviews

The use of individual interviews provided time and space for participants to individually reflect on the topics of bilingualism and identity, whilst drawing on their photos and discussions from the workshop. MacPherson et al. (2016)describe how they found discussing the participant's photographs helped to buildrapport with the researcher and put the participants at ease. Having the photographs as a focus point helped remove some of the formality of the intimate interview setting. This was aided by following Amato and Mack (2021)'s suggestion of allowing participants to decide where everybodysat to discuss the photos.

My decision to use semi-structured interviews arose from the flexibility it offered in allowing the conversation to be guided by the participant, enabling me as a researcher to adapt and alter questions in light of their responses (O’Reilly and Dogra, 2018). With eight participants involved, some interview questions needed to say the same in each of the interviews (Carruthers, 1990), whilst also providing scope for the participants to lead the conversations onto aspects of bilingualism and identity which were relevant to them. I found the use of both verbal prompts and non-verbal prompts, such as leaving moments of silence or nodding, encouraged participants to expand on their answers (Adams, 2015).

I had prepared eight questions and one prompt question (see appendix K ) to use
during the interviews, which apart from the first one, were used in a different order depending on what the participant had said. Equally, I used question two and three multiple times during the interview, as participants changed the photos they were showing.

1. Which photo would you like to start with? Can you talk to me about this image?
2. What does this photo represent?
3. What were you thinking or feeling when you took this photo?
4. What was your favourite photo you took? Why?
5. Were any of your friends involved with taking the photos? Why / why not?
6. Was there an area of the school you took the most photos of?
7. Were there any areas of the school you would like to have taken a photo of but were unable to?
8. Did you find yourself taking more photos of what HSH does to encourage or discourage bilingualism?
9. (use if finding the photo hard to explain) Can you describe this photo for me?

In hope of keeping participants relaxed in what could be described as an unnatural setting, Eder and Fingerson (2001) suggest naturalness can be enhanced if it includes an activity which the participant is already familiar with. Considering the pedagogical practices at HSH , pictures are used to elicit vocabulary prior to constructing full written or spoken answers. Therefore, I asked participants, particularly if finding it hard to explain their photos, to describe the image (see question 9 above) and extend their answers from there. O’Reilly and Dogra's (2018) suggestion about mirroring the participants' words was also important, both to show active listeningand to encourage continued dialogue. As discovered during the transcription phrase, repeating and rephrasing was a strategy I used throughout, arguably unconsciously at times due my familiarity with doing it in my daily practice to support second language acquisition.

As described in section 6.4.3, participant S 3 did not have any photos to show during the individual interviews, which was their right and their own way of participating (see section 3.8.2). S3 shared that they had thought about the photos they would have taken but they did not have the opportunity to do it. In light of
this I asked S3 if they would be happy to talk about the photos they would have taken and they agreed. I tried where possible to keep the questions as close to my planned questions as possible, in hope of being able to talk about similar topics with S3 as I had with the other participants. The questions I subsequently asked S3 were as follows (also see appendix K) -

1. Which parts of the school were you thinking about photographing? Why?
2. What does $x$ area represent to you? ( $x$ refers to the area mentioned by S3)
3. What does $x$ area make you think or feel about bilingualism at HSH?
4. Which are of the school most represents bilingualism at HSH? Why?
5. Did you talk to any of your friends about bilingualism and identity, or this research?
6. Was there an area of the school you were most drawn to?
7. Were there any areas of the school you did not have chance to look at?
8. Did you find yourself thinking more about what HSH does to encourage or discourage bilingualism?

An issue previously discussed in section 3.5.1, which became more apparent during these interviews was the power imbalance, and normal roles between myself and the participants. For example, being mindful of students' experiences of providing correct answers, they may have felt the needto respond to interview questions in a similar way, focusing on what they thoughtl would want to hear (Tammivaara and Enright, 1986). This was notable, for example, when one participant expressed an opinion about language used by a teacher in their math class, which was quickly followed by a comment sharing it did not matter (see section 6.4.1). This suggests they realised they were telling me something, which, in my professional role, they should not have shared with me as it went against our language policy. The influence of the interpreter may also have impacted the individual interviews, as discussed in section 3.6. Establishing my role as a researcher, and my colleague'srole as an interpreter in the workshop whilst also reminding participants ofthis at the start of their individual interview was designed to overcome this issue, however, it was not possible to completely remove our roles from their perceptions (see sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2.).

### 3.8.4 - Focus group

Following on from the individual interviews, the final group session took place in the form of a focus group. Kitzinger(2006) proposes the frequent use of focus groups in cross-cultural research is dueto it being a "particularly culturally sensitive data collection technique" (p.23). It provides an insight into how knowledge and ideas "develop andoperate" (Kitzinger, 1995) within a specific cultural context. Using an interpretivist paradigm (see section 3.2), the focus group provides an opportunity to witness the "dynamic development process" (Wilson, 1997, p.221) of knowledge being constructed collaboratively. It also provides opportunity for participants to gain knowledge and insights from each other (Horner, 2000). The discussions in the focus group and the workshop led to participants developing or potentially changing their ideas, in response to other participants' perspectives (see section 4.1.2).

The familiarity the participants had with each other enhanced and encouraged their participation in the focus group, however, this challenges Parker and Tritter's (2006) beliefs that the creation of new ideas and fuller discussions happen when participants are unfamiliar with each other. I believe this depends on the context, for example in my research the participants seemed to appreciate the commonality between them, appearing comfortable in the group by speaking and joking with each other before we began. There appeared to be alevel of trust between participants, as they elaborated on others' responses and at times challenged each other, which Horrowitz et al. (2003) describes as a strength of the focus group method. This was somewhat surprising as within the Chinese cultural context, saving-face, by which I mean avoiding confrontation or challenging others (Li and Su, 2007), is incredibly important. I felt this demonstrated that participants felt at ease with each other in the research context.

The focus group provided an opportunity for participants to bring together their knowledge and understanding from the workshop, photography process and individual interviews and discuss their thoughts on bilingualism, identity and HSH. It was important they had the chance to come together again as a group to explore these topics "in their own vocabulary, generatingtheir own questions and pursuing their own priorities" (Kitzinger, 1995, p.299). This also helped to avoid the focus group "resemb[[ing] individual interviews donein a group setting" (Colucci, 2007, p. 1423).

The focus group started by reviewing the group agreement from the workshop (see appendix K). The first activity required participants to review the definition of bilingualism from the workshop (see appendix K1), to ascertain if there was anything they would like to change following the photography and individual interviews. During the discussion it became clear that the group believed the word culture needed to be incorporated, as they had not included it in their first definition (see figure 1). The participants opted to change their definition to -

> Bilingualism is people who speak two languages through understanding culture and freely communicate and integrate with each other, enjoying this process as one big family.

Once there was consensus on this definition, the next task was a body map task (see appendix K2), which required the participants to write 10 words they would use to describe themselves. As appendix $N$ shows, the words chosen ranged from physical descriptions such as 'boy' and 'girl' to interests such as 'math' or 'lego'. Only one participant identified 'English' as being part of their identity, whereas 'Chinese' was included on three of the body maps (see section 4.1.3). This activity provided an insight on how the participants viewed themselves and whether they saw bilingualism as part of their personal identity. This was included in the focus group and not in the workshop because it is quite a daunting task to go straight into. This way, the participants had been considering bilingualism and their identity over the course of the research project, therefore, they hopefully felt more confident in being able to complete the task.

Following this, I asked the participants to list on the whiteboard what they felt HSH did to encourage or discourage bilingualism, which they appeared confident discussing as they had had time to consider the questions whilst taking photographs. The participants' responses (see figure 2 and appendix $L$ ) reinforced the opinions from the individual interviews. For example, the school environment, including classrooms, corridors and the translated word walls were seen as encouraging bilingualism (see sections 4.1.4 and 5.3.2). Equally, the concerns raised about CSS finishing in grade 8 were also spoken about by the participants as discouraging bilingualism (see section 4.3)


Figure 2 - List of ideas about how HSH encourages or discourages bilingualism
The last discussion in the focus group used the three questions used at the end of the workshop. These were -

- Is bilingualism important to our student body? Why / why not?
- Why do you attend a bilingual school?
- Outside of school, does bilingualism play an important part in your life?

Returning to these questions was designed to see if any thoughts or ideas had changed or developed. This task demonstrated that the participants were now more able to explain the reasons behind their opinions, as they referenced the photos they had taken.

The use of a focus group was a useful way of gathering final opinions, however, there are limitations to this method. Two of which that were relevant to my research included dominating voices and socially acceptable opinions (Smithson, 2000). Some participants were more vocal than others, although, the participants also noticed this and took it upon themselves to encourage the quieter participants with questions such as "what do you think?", which resulted in them becoming more active in the discussions. I had been prepared to use "non-directive and neutral probes...such as 'was your experience similar or different than X's?'" (Horner, 2000, p.514) but due to the encouragement offered by the other participants, my input was not required here. Kitzinger (1995) describes how "people’s knowledge and attitudes are not entirely encapsulated in reasoned responses to direct questions" (p.299) and witnessing how participants
communicated and behaved towards each other demonstrated how much of a collaborative process the focus group was.

The second limitation which may have occurred in my research project was that of socially accepted opinions (Smithson, 2000). By this I mean participants feeling there were expectations from myself as the researcher, or their peer group (Horner, 2000) on what they should say. The role of groupthink links to this, as if one participant felt the need to conform, the rest of the group may have then felt the need to do the same (MacDougall and Baum, 1997). It is challenging to identify if this did happen, as I shall go on to discuss further in section 5.2, but there were times when participants' opinions changed in response to comments from others.

In the next section I shall describe the process for transcribing the audio recordings, collected from the focus groups and individual interviews.

### 3.8.5 - Transcription

Having audio-recorded the workshop, focus group and all eight individual interviews, dataanalysis commenced with the transcription of all the recordings. The transcribeddata has been argued to become the main source for analysis and interpretations(Brinkmann, 2012) but is a process which needs to be seen as "theoretical, selective, interpretive and representational" (Davidson, 2009). It is possible to transcribe only sections of the audio-recording, however, as noted by Bokhove andDowney (2018) full transcription is respectful for the participants involved, who have given up time to be part of the research. Also, to be able to answer all theresearch questions I wanted to be able to draw upon the full data set.

Before commencing this research project, I had already established the process for transcribing the audio data would be something I would complete manually. Computer software such a NVivo can be used for transcription, and there are advantages to this in terms of time (Bokhove and Downey, 2018), and ensuring standardisation of transcripts (McLellan et al., 2003). However, having experienced the process of manual transcription in the Open Studies 2 assignment ${ }^{14}$ the manual process had significantly benefitted my understanding of the data set as it required processing every word. As described by Trippas et al.

[^10](2017) it is essential a clear transcription protocol is followed. For my research project, the transcription protocol was concerned only with spoken words and did not include details such as pauses or intonation, as described by Moore and Llompart (2017) these would not aid answers to the research questions. This choice may have removed some of the context with which expressions were made, however, being present in the research setting meant I already had an understanding of the way in which opinions were expressed.

Transcribing the audio-recordings was a process I thoroughly enjoyed and to aid accuracy and validity, on completion I listened to the recording whilst reading the transcription, correcting errors as I went. The process of re-listening is important to help researchers assess their interpretations and judgements on what isincluded (Hammersley, 2010). I also found allowing time to pass between the initial transcription and re-listening was beneficial, as it allowed my listening to be more active having had space away from the data for a few days.

The transcription protocol was the same for the workshop, focus group and individual interviews ${ }^{15}$. There were challenges with transcribing the audiorecording, such as uncertainty due to the speed at which participants spoke, at times speaking over each other, and the impact of accent. Oliver et al. (2005) describes how transcribers have to make a judgement on whether words should be written how they are pronounced, or in a standard form of English which is more common in cross-cultural research as the researcher hears with their own cultural-linguistic features. As the focus was on the content of what participants were saying, I did not feel there would be any advantage to transcribing phonetically, and thereforethe spoken words were written in standard English. This means that quotes will read as grammatically incorrect in relation to standard English, however, do authentically represent the voice of the participants.

The participants' vocabulary understandably differs from some of the key terminology discussed in section 1.4.The transcription process demonstrated this was mainly in relation to how they described languages and culture. For example,

[^11]participants always use the word "Chinese" to refer to the Mandarin language, as within HSH this is how they reference their home language. Equally, all references to cultures in Anglospherecountries were described as "Western culture". This is likely to be due to the inclusion of the phrase, "best from the East and the West", in the HSH marketing campaigns. This was juxtaposed to "Chinese culture", which was used to describethe cultures related to the Mandarin language. Therefore, throughout this dissertation, where participants are quoted, I will use the same vocabulary the participants used - as this helps to keep their voice authentic.

As discussed in section 3.6, an interpreter was present for the workshop, focus group and all individual interviews to provide real-time translation. Having listened to the audio-recordings there was a significant amount of spoken Mandarin which was not fully captured by the interpreter in the moment, as she appeared to provide a summary of the comments. This was not a reflection of the interpreter'sskills but rather occurred due to the speed with which conversations happened between participants. As a result, I decided to have all of the spoken Mandarin transcribed into English to provide me with a greater understanding of the content of discussions between the participants. Unfortunately, due to the interpreter's availability they were unable to transcribe the Mandarin, therefore an online service was used instead ${ }^{16}$. The transcriber was directed to provided translation which captured the meaning of the sentiment being expressed, and not translateword-for-word, as this may have led to my misinterpretation of the points participants were making, as discussed in section 3.6.

This inevitably included a level of subjectivity as the translation was influenced by the translator's positionality, experience and the fact they were not present within the research context. The completed translated transcriptions allowed me to understand in greater detail the conversations between participants in the workshop and focus group, and the points raised in the individual interviews, instead of only the summary the interpreter had been able to provide during realtime translations. Interestingly there were notable differences, including where a question posed by a participant had been translated as a statement, a point I shall explain further in section 6.4.2.

[^12]At the end of the transcription process I had eight bilingual interviews, a workshop and a focus group transcribed. In addition to these transcriptions, I also had the photographs taken by the participants from the participant-led photography (see section 3.8.2). In the next section I shall describe how the photographs formed part of the data analysis.

### 3.8.6 - Analysis of photographs

In terms of how the images formed part of the data analysis, I remained focused on the participants' descriptions of their images in theirindividual interviews, as analysing the images solely from an adult perspective wasnot appropriate (Barker and Smith, 2012). As described by Fassetta (2016), providing participants the chance to discuss the images in individual interviews helps to prevent the researcher from misinterpreting the images. This is particularly important in practitioner research, as I was familiar with the spaces and people in the images. I wanted to understand the participants' reasons for taking the images and reduce the influence of my familiarity with the context.

One way I attempted to reduce this, was by not looking at the images the participants had uploaded until the individual interviews. The first timel saw them was at the same time the participants were describing them, so I instantly heard their interpretations alongside seeing the image. The images had all been numbered by the participants, and I made a point of saying the number before each image was discussed so the transcription could be linked to the imageseasily. The narrative provided by participants in the individual interviews acted as an 'anchorage' for each image, as they described the specific relevant aspects, in addition to being a 'relay', which provided "meanings that are not to be foundin the image itself" (Barthes, 1999, p.38). For example, S4 showed a photograph of a student completing their math homework. Their verbal explanation of the picture described how the image was taken during a Mandarin lesson, this contextual information I would have remained unaware of had I simply viewed the photo and not had the narrative description. This process helped my understanding of the meanings the participants associated with each image, and how I formed my subsequent questions, as I was led by how they explained the images.

After the individual interviews, my focus for data analysis became the transcriptions, which included the participants' descriptions of their images. It has been suggested that when the transcriptions become the focus instead of the
photos, this "privileges participants who are more skilled verbally" (Cleland and MacLeod, 2021). However, the transcriptions accurately reflected the participants meanings as they had the chance to discuss their interpretations, using either their home or second language. Therefore, the transcriptions were a valuable and accurate representation of the participants' meaning behind the images. During both the transcription and thematic analysis stages I regularly looked at the images to ensure the connection between the photos and the descriptions remained.

In the next section I shall discuss how the transcriptions were used to conduct a thematic analysis, and the challenges I faced whilst doing this.

## 3.9- Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is most commonly associated with Braun and Clarke (2006) who developed reflexive thematic analysis after feeling an approach was needed in qualitative research which allowed for subjective, context-bound meaning making. Reflexive thematic analysis is an interpretive approach to analysing qualitative data, which leads to key themes being identified (Braun and Clarke, 2012). Initially written about in 2006, Braun and Clarke have subsequently developed and provided clarity on the approach as they felt the initial model contained assumptions that required further articulation. For example, in areas such as clarifying what constituted a theme, which have been seen as commendable (Byrne, 2021). This has included changing some of the language used, for example "searching for themes" (Braun and Clarke, 2022, p.427) is no longer used as it implies themes are waiting to be found as opposed to being constructed or developed by the researcher.

Braun and Clarke (2021) make clear that the procedures for conducting thematic analysis should be seen as "tools for a process, rather than the purpose of analysis" (p.329), with the researcher's involvement with the data and subsequent themes providing new insights and knowledge. The use of reflexive thematic analysis within the interpretivist paradigm can be used to understand the social and cultural contexts within which knowledge is created, through interactions between the participants and the researcher (Kiger and Varpio, 2020). As opposed to seeing researcher subjectivity as a "threat to credibility" (Braun and Clarke, 2021, p. 335) the researchers' subjectivity is seen as a resource to support
knowledge production, which makes it a suitable form of analysis within the interpretivist paradigm.

There are six stages to Braun and Clarke's (2021) model, including: data familiarisation and writing familiarisation notes; systematic data coding; generating initial themes from coded and collated data; developing and reviewing themes; refining, defining and naming themes; and writing the report. I found myself going back and forth between the different stages throughout the process, which as Braun and Clarke (2012) explain, is a normal part of the recursive process, as data helps the researcher's knowledge and understanding to continually evolve. In this section I aim to provide reflexivity on how the reflexivethematic analysis process was both frustrating and enlightening at the same time. This follows Braun and Clarke's (2022) suggestion that writing about reflexive thematic analysis should provide knowledge "about the person who's done the analysis and their thinking, and process" (p.433). I shall focus on stages 2 and 3 because this is where the greatest challenges occurred, as these required generating codes and then subsequent themes. These difficulties were overcomeby continuing to work with the data, explore and refine vocabulary used for codesand themes, and continually questioning myself about what story the datashowed.

### 3.9.1- Stage 2: Systematic data coding

The second stage of the thematic analysis process required coding the data, which involved labelling the data set in relation to the research questions, and as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2022) should include reviewing the data two or more times. The purpose of coding is to identify meaning, both explicitly, through spoken words and implicitly through what is implied (Braun and Clarke, 2021). This required drawing on my knowledge of being in the research environment. Having been actively involved in the workshop, focus group and individual interviews, as well as transcribing the English audio-recording, I felt in a strong position with which to start coding from.

Clarke et al. (2015) proposes a number of different approaches to coding data, however, inductive coding was most appropriate as it allows codes to be constructed from the data and not pre-existing theories or concepts. My research project aimed to explore the topics of bilingualism and identity in the HSH bilingual education model from a student perspective, therefore, codes were developed based on the opinions they shared. Due to the subjective nature of
inductive coding, the codes formed are inevitably influenced by myself as the researcher, including my "theoretical assumptions, disciplinary knowledge, research training, prior experiences, and personal and political standpoints" (ibid., p. 225). This reinforced the reflexive stance I needed to take, to remain aware of how my positionality (see section 3.5) influenced the codes created.

On starting the process of line-by-line coding I realised it was not a straightforward process and soon found myself feeling frustrated by trying to name the codes. I had started with codes such as 'language’ or 'location', but found these lacked the specificity to capture the full meaning being shared. Finding a balance between being specific enough to accurately represent authentic meaning, but equally keeping the names of codes short was challenging. It took time to become more accepting that there was not a correct way of coding, and that the process was interpretative based on my judgement, therefore I began to settle with using codes such as 'English language acquisition', even if there may have been a better name for the code, as the process of reflexive thematic analysis would help this to evolve.


Figure 3 - example of coded transcription sheets
Having completed the coding process, and taken time to go back and review the codes, I was left with printed transcriptions which had handwritten codes and colours on them (see figure 3). The amount of data was overwhelming, and aware that the next stage would involve starting to construct codes I needed to make the codes more accessible, especially as a person with a preference for visual
learning. Consequently, although a time-consuming process, I found value in usingpost-it notes (see figure 4) to write individual codes on, and made a point of adding a brief note as to which transcription it had come from ${ }^{17}$. This meant that when codes were mixed together in the next stage, they were still able to be traced back to the original transcript. Any powerful quotes which supported the code were also added to the post-it notes, to support the analysis. This was important as it allowed the authenticity of the participants' voices to remain connected to the codes.


Figure 4 - collecting codes on post-it notes
Once the post-it notes had all been created, they were laid out on a large table in groups related to the transcription they had come from. The visual representation showed that some interviews had more codes than others, but interestingly this did not link with the length of the recording. Instead, it emphasised that some participants had passionate opinions on certain topics and therefore had spent longer discussing them, which resulted in fewer codes generated but greater depth and detail in their descriptions.

Completing the second stage of reflexive thematic analysis had taken significantly longer than initially thought, but on reflection this time was incredibly valuable to enhance my understanding of the intricacies within the data set, and put me in the best position to move onto creating themes in stage 3. As I shall go on to describe, the creation of themes was found to be challenging as I needed to ensure subtleties of meaning were accurately represented.

[^13]Once the complete data set had been coded, these codes were then used to begin developing themes, or "significant broader patterns of meaning" (Braun and Clarke, 2022, para 2.). Themes demonstrate "stories about particular patterns" (Braun and Clarke, 2019, p.592) from the data set, ideally in response to the research questions, but trying to ensure the themes accurately represented the range of meaning shared by participants was challenging.

Drawing on Kiger and Varpio's (2002) suggestion to graphically create links between the codes to illustrate how they connect with each other, I attempted to categorise the codes on the post-it notes into general themes (see figure 5). The overwhelming feeling shortly returned as I would select a code and realise it could fall into a number of potential themes, it felt like a jigsaw puzzle that was endless. Taking a similar approach to that of coding, starting generally and becoming more specific, the codes were arranged under different categories starting with descriptors such as 'language'. As more codes were needed to be added, this necessitated sub-dividing the category into 'Chinese language' and 'English language', and eventually 'bilingual language' was added as a group in-between the two. This demonstrated how the themes needed to evolve and grow in response to reviewing the similarities and differences between the codes.


Figure 5 - organising codes on post-it notes into categories to identify links
Once all codes had been categorised, I took a step back and returned to them numerous times over a period of a week. This allowed time to adjust and solidify my reasons for why codes had been connected to different themes. Verifying my judgements required referencing the original transcriptions and photos to ensure the participants' meanings had been accurately represented. An example of this
was the translated word walls, which are boards within classrooms which have key subject specific vocabulary in both Mandarin and English. This code came up in five out of the eight individual interviews, the workshop and focus group. However, the meaning associated varied, from acknowledging the walls as a supportive resourcefor second language acquisition to seeing them as just another part of the classroom. It was important to make this distinction clear, therefore the categorywas sub-divided in 'bilingual language' and 'school environment'.

On reflection, I should not have been surprised by the interconnectedness of codes as the participants were all discussing the same topics. I returned to Braun and Clarke's (2006) writing about thematic analysis, who emphasise the purpose of data needing to tell a story. This led me to question what story these categories of codes were telling, and it became apparent three broad themes were identifiable, based on language, culture and relationships.

The remaining stages of the reflexive thematic analysis required building on the work in stages 2 and 3, refining each theme to ensure it had a clear focus and enough detail and analysis to make it significant in relation to the research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006). At times I found my themes were too literal, for example the 'Chinese language' theme did not capture the story or nuances of the codes from the data. Further distinction was needed, into 'Chinesenationalism and language’ and 'immersive Chinese classrooms’ for example. Otherwise, my analysis risked becoming a list of what was said about Chinese language, as opposed to analysing the meaning behind the comment. I needed totake the step from descriptive, to analytical.

As described by Braun and Clarke (2021) "you don't finish the analysis, you stop" (p.430), and it is at this point the researcher has to be content that the themes they have created provide an accurate representation of how the data set answers the research questions. The process of continually reflecting on the codes and themes provided me with confidence that my representation of the data accurately answered my research questions.

### 3.10 - Summary

This chapter has provided a discussion on the decision made to use the interpretivist paradigm (see section 3.2), due to the inclusion of multiple realities. The three chosen methods (see section 3.8) were discussed by describing how they
supported the research aim and were appropriate for the teenage age group. This chapter has also included considerations on research with children (see section 3.3), ethical considerations (see section 3.4), the inclusion of an interpreter (see section 3.6) and participant selection (see section 3.7). I concluded the chapter by presenting parts of the thematic analysis (see section 3.9) process which were challenging. I have aimed to offer reflexivity throughout this chapter, because this is important when conducting research using the interpretivist paradigm.

In the next chapter the three constructed themes from the thematic analysis are presented by providing a narrative analysis and drawing on key quotations from the data set.

## Chapter 4: The project findings

Having undertaken a thematic analysis (see section 3.9) with my data set, this chapter describes my interpretations of three themes which were notable from the data collected. These themes each relate to the topics of bilingualism and identity at HSH and will be used to describe the answers to my research questions in chapter 5.
4.1- Theme 1 - English language acquisition requires incorporating Mandarin language into the school environment and teaching practices, to be truly bilingual

### 4.1.1 - Introduction

Across each of the data collection methods, participants emphasised the interconnectedness of their two languages, and shared that as a bilingual school there is a necessity for Mandarin and English to be combined in anumber of different areas. This perception was evident in the drawing task during the workshop (see appendix J-J1), as each picture depicted bilingualism including two languages. Their ideas on the interconnected of languages appears to be underpinned by their perceptions of, and apparent lack of confidence in their English language ability, for exampleduring the rating scale task during the workshop, Stark commented "I think my English is terrible", and S6 said "I think I'm someone who is not confident at all". These beliefs demonstrate the reason why the participants need to draw on theirhome language linguistic skills to develop their English language.

The purpose of bilingual education forms part of this theme, as language acquisition, particularly English, was referenced in relation to the aim of studying and / or working abroad, while the purpose of Mandarin language acquisition was related more often with national and personal identity, and consequently will form part of a separate theme (see theme 3). Therefore, under the overarching theme of bilingual education, the sub-themes of a bilingual school, English language, school environment, study attitude and teaching practices were the keyareas identified by participants and will be discussed below.

### 4.1.2 - Bilingual school

It became clear during the workshop that perceptions of what HSH and bilingual
education are, differed between participants. S6 shared their belief that"we're an international school", whereas Stark commented "we are in a bilingualschool". There was consensus on the fact that HSH incorporates both languages, but interestingly S5 shared "English is a little bit more than Chinese because...it isa bilingual school" which suggests they see higher amounts of English, rather than equality between languages, as a bilingual model. S1 also shared "we came here to learn English", as being the main reason for studying at HSH. Therefore, the group demonstrated various perceptions as to what type of school they are in, and also how the languages are weighted.

The discussions on what 'bilingualism' actually means also demonstrated differing opinions, with S 4 explaining it had to include "understanding different cultures", whereas Stark, S6 and S5 all shared they thought it only meant knowing two languages. The influence of the group dynamic of a workshop then became apparent, as S 4 took it upon themselves to explain why they felt it had to include culture, as they explained in Mandarin how "even in Chinese, bilingualism doesn't only mean two language it's usually not explained in that way", before providing an explanation as to how Confucian culture evolved because the language evolved. At this point the group were not focused on answering my question, but instead focused on discussing between themselves. By the end, Stark, S5 and S6 all came to agree that knowledge of cultures was important when learning a second language, even if they did not see that cultureas part of their own identity. Despite this, the word 'culture' was not included in the initial definition (see figure 1 and appendix L1) during the workshop but was included in the group's revised definition during the focus group.

Returning back to the bilingual education model, it was clear from participantsthat they viewed HSH as considerably different to Chinese public schools. During the workshop, S4 shared, "the school in the public education system may be a bit constraint however in a bilingual school they tend to more respect your ideas encourage you development". The contrast was reinforced by Kinder Egg who explained "in public school they need learn a lot" whereas in HSH you are an "individual you need to show yourself and express yourself different parts of different things even not only stay in the major", reinforcing this idea with their explanation of the difference in art curricula, witha wider range of mediums offered in the bilingual school. The bilingual educationfocus of being an individual
was also referenced by S3 who said "there we can dolike everything everything we want" as they detailed the range of activities they could choose to do themselves.

The purpose of attending a bilingual school, and particularly learning English as a second language, was always connected to future prospects, namely further studies and employment. In the workshop Kinder Egg shared, "I think bilingual language is a tool so you can use like a second language in in business in your job or something so I think bilingual is tool important than us", with S3 in agreement who said "the reason we chose Huili [HSH] is because bilingualism will be involved in our future career". The data collected, including the positionings and discussions during the rating scale task, demonstrated that participants viewed attending a bilingual school as beneficial, both when comparing it to the Chinese public school system and in their own personal future aspirations.

### 4.1.3 - English language

The data shows the importance placed on English language acquisition was frequently referenced, again with an emphasis on what the language can offer in terms of prospects rather than related to identity, as the Mandarin language was (see section 4.3). S3 shared how they felt "the current situation requires that we can't only use Chinese". This demonstrated their awareness of how communication between China and rest of the world was developing, and the importance of English as lingua franca (see section 2.3.1). The way in which learning English was spoken about made it appear like a process or tool to reach a set goal, as opposed to expressing an enjoyment for learning the language or connecting it with their personal identity. This was also reinforced by the identity body maps during the focus group, as only Stark identified English as being part of his identity. Also, as shared by S3, "we need go other country have study so we need learn English". The choice of the word "need" twice here is interesting, suggesting learning English was a necessity to achieve their aim of studying abroad. Equally, when discussing the Englishlanguage on some of the bilingual signs around the school, S1 shared "I think the words all the words are very useful for our life...to help us to live abroad". Participants appear to place an importance on the practical advantages of learningEnglish to support future prospects. This was also evident when all of the participants stood near the 'strongly agree' end of the rating scale task when asked about whether English would help them in the
future.
However, the recurrent way in which the English language was discussed tended to be in relation to bilingualism and the connection English has, for them, with Mandarin. It was a rare occurrence for participants to discuss their English language as completely separate to their Mandarin, thus reinforcing their view of the interconnectedness between the two languages. There is a combination, therefore, of participants suggesting English is beneficial for their future lives, as well as acknowledging they need opportunities to use Mandarin to successfully learn English. The photos taken would support this as all images, apart from one photo of English reading books, included and aspect of bilingualism to some degree, whether it was bilingual notes in a student workbook or a bilingual sign around the school.

All the participants understood that HSH offers international examinations and therefore there is a need to learn English, as described by 54 "except from the Chinese exam and the rest exam we are doing so for IGCSE and A-Level are English". Participants understood the purpose of sitting the international examinations, as described by Stark "because IGCSE is for like the Chinese people the Chinese student for want to go to Eng- British like to do to go to study". There was also a clear acceptance and understanding that the exams themselves are not bilingual, and to be successful participants would need to be able to complete full exam papers only in English. S6 commented, "as all our exams are in English so English seems to be more important". Here the choice of word "seems" places importance on English based on the final examinations and highlights the participants' perception of their significance. It may also imply that they feel the school prioritises English because it is the language of the exams, as opposed to teaching the language for other reasons, again reinforcing the idea of English language learning as a process to reach a goal.

In relation to English language exams, all students referenced the importance of Mandarin in supporting their English development. As depicted in many of the photos, the use of combined Mandarin and English resources were important since as S 4 noted, "it is hard to understand the things when it is all in my second language". Within the context of the school there are some staff who feel strongly that preference has to be given to teaching solely through English, and this was commented on by S2 who shared "some people will think so only have English will
help students to learn English but I think the Chinese and the English is better to me". This implies that there may be mixed approaches to teaching across the school, where some subjects utilise Mandarin to support English language acquisition, whereas some do not. Reflecting on the subjects that do not support this bilingual approach, Kinder Egg commented how "we cannot control our mouth...they have no really high technology that is if you sit in the Huili [HSH] and you say only the Chinese that the machine will punish you". The firmness with which Kinder Egg made this statement showed their belief in the importance of using both languages, further noting that even when the teacher does not encourage this approach, students will do it anyway as there are no severe consequences.

With regard to the balance between languages, and reinforcing the comments made about the examinations, participants felt there was more English language used in school generally. For example, Stark commented "it is more using English than Chinese...in class you need to use in English all the time". Further references were made to the IGCSE exams, with Kinder Egg explaining "in maths the English is not really really important but when you do the prove prove question the key words like if you are need to say isosceles triangle even you cannot spell wrong isosceles or the markers won't give to you". This comment reinforces the purpose of English as a means to achieve a goal, in this case requiring academic knowledge and accuracy with language use, namely spelling, to achieve a high IGCSE results. Kinder Egg had also photographed a large math display wall in the classroom with a significant amount of technical vocabulary in both Mandarin and English (see figure 11).

Rather dishearteningly, in Stark's individual interview they shared that despite the subject of history, in ESS ${ }^{18}$, being their favourite subject, they have not opted to study these at IGCSE level because it is a "bit difficult to do in English I think". This reinforced the idea of English being a tool to achieve a goal, as Stark's perception of the difficulty of IGCSE vocabulary prevented them from choosing subjects they enjoyed, instead they opted forone which was linguistically more accessible, even if the content would not be as enjoyable.

[^14]
### 4.1.4 - The school environment

Continuing the theme of supporting English language acquisition through the Mandarin language, most participants referenced the school environment as an example of this approach to learning English. There were a number of references made in both their discussions and through the photos of areas of the school which demonstrate and support bilingualism. For example, through signs displays and key words available in both languages. S1 reasoned that the school environment was key because they repeatedly had exposure to the bilingual vocabulary, suggesting "if we read more time we will more time useful and remember it". The most commonly referenced and most photographed areas werethe translated word walls which are in every classroom, apart from Chinese and CSS. It must be acknowledged that these translated items are tangible and were able to be photographed for this project whereas other bilingualpractices such as a teacher translanguaging during class would not be.

Most participants quickly acknowledged they knew the translated word walls were in most classrooms (see figure 6 for an example). Having translated word walls forms part of the non-negotiable ${ }^{19}$ expectations for teachers in JH, however, the data suggested that not all teachers may be utilising this resource in their classroom. For example, S2 shared it was something they learned about through the photography process, "I found out that every classroom has that part and there have English words and Chinese translation Chinese translation about it".

[^15]

Figure 6 - example word wall taken by S1
There were a number of benefits discussed regarding the translated word walls. For example:

Helen: yes and what do you think about the word walls
S2: when teacher is teaching when student hear any words that they cannot understand they can just look at the board and see the Chinese translations its very convenient

Helen: ok so you find them useful during the lesson
Stark: yes using the Chinese definitions to let us know easier
Most participants placed emphasis on these walls being a helpful learning resource for students, however, interestingly, when Kinder Egg discussed them in their individual interview, the first positive they detailed was "if you foreigner people that you want to know what is the Chinese meaning of this you can check". This order of priority, focusing first on foreign people before students was fascinating, as these walls are designed specifically for the students to develop their English vocabulary whilst being supported by the Mandarin translation. As the majority of foreign staff do not speak or read any Mandarin, it was an unexpected view point that these walls would teach our foreign staff Mandarin vocabulary. This is arguably a reasonable point of view, that foreign staff working in China would take time to learn Mandarin. It demonstrates that students feel it is important to be able to use the language of the country people live in. It also highlighted that students are conscious of their foreign teachers being monolingual and not embodying the bilingual skill set the school is aiming to instil in the students.

Kinder Egg then went on to explain "if you are Chinese English as a second language learner you also need to check this too", implying they saw it as a shared resource for learning both languages.

Despite consensus on the usefulness of these walls, there was also a shared opinion that they could generally be further developed. S2 suggested adding pictures to the words, to "help them to understand better", a point which was also raised by Kinder Egg who suggested "put some pictures that what this show because even that tell me the Chinese meaning but somethings I don't even know what it is". This raised a pertinent point regarding Mandarin language, which I will go on to detail more later, but it suggests there is an assumption that teachers believe students will always know and understand the key vocabulary in Chinese, whereas this is, of course, not always the case. One image taken by S 5 also showed how a teacher had added the pinyin and Chinese character to the translation (see figure 7), which this participant thought was a useful addition and should be done more often.


Figure 7 - example word wall with pinyin taken by S5
Alongside the translated word walls in the classroom, the photographs and individual interviews also included discussions regarding bilingual signs around the school and how these support their English language acquisition. The signs ranged from floor maps to fire exits to water machines and our school value displays (see figure 8). Interestingly, in the individual interviews, similarly to what Kinder Egg had said about with the translated word walls, S2 also gave an initial reason for translated signs as being "friendly to both the foreigners and to the Chinese", acknowledging the two languages helped everyone in school. In addition, the first reason given by S 5 for these signs was "some teachers maybe they don't know the Chinese and they can look at the English...everyone know where is the room and what is the room about". For some of the participants, the purpose of these
bilingual signs was to help everybody in school as opposed to developing their own personal language skills. The importance of community was a trend notable across the data collected, including in the workshop when the group wrote their first definition of bilingualism (see figure 1). This focus on people and the school community is an area I will explore further in section 4.2.


Figure 8 - example of school value display taken by Kinder Egg
The school value displays were discussed by Kinder Egg in their individual interview, describing how "I just thought it just want to see this school more beautiful but since I take this picture I see every word that was related to every picture" (see figure 8). Kinder Egg had initially considered the purpose of the value signs was to help market the school, but through taking the photographs andhaving time to look closely at where they were placed and what they were near, could now acknowledge the surrounding images related to the school value on show. They did however suggest that they felt "I would only ever have English" ondisplay, because "when I come to school the first five or six word I know it schoolvalues". When considering the importance placed on the school values, in the bilingual school context, it is interesting that Kinder Egg feels the Mandarin translation of the values is not needed. It may suggest they relate the values only to the English language, and see less importance in having them displayed in Mandarin. It would also imply they feel there is less of a necessity for certain members of the school community who only speak Mandarin to be able to read these signs. It was only Kinder Egg who felt this way however, and all other participants agreed the signs should be bilingual because, as S5 expressed "everyperson in Huili [HSH] need to know what is about"

Further comments were made by some of the participants regarding the display boards for academic work around the school, particularly S2 who had taken photos of the ESS and CSS displays, which are oppositeeach other in the main third floor
corridor. S2 explained the boards "looks reallylike a bilingual school" as both had English language on and "everyone can understand that". The choice of the word "look" is interesting and suggests students have an understanding on the importance of aesthetics on marketing ourschool, something they will be familiar with as we have a marketing team on campus. Again, the emphasis was placed on the wider school community being able to understand, but as the ESS board lacked Mandarin writing, again the school community members who only speak Mandarin would notbe able to access them.

Another area of the school environment which was photographed and discussed in relation to bilingual language use were the different libraries around the school. Participants S1, S2 and Stark all shared that library areas and allocated library time ${ }^{20}$ were a useful resource to develop their English language skills. Whilst discussing their photo of the library book shelves, with levelled readers ${ }^{21}$, S1 shared how the levelling stickers "really help bilingual student know which level we are in". In a school which has incredibly well-resourced libraries with tens of thousands of books, from both Anglosphere countries and China, the levelling system offers guidance on accessibility of books to provide students with appropriate titles for their current level and development.

Both S1 and S2 had noted that in the Primary corridor library that there were only English books available in that section with S2 sharing, "we can have Chinese book also because we need to have bilingual books not only...or some English book with Chinese translation inside". Participants were aware of where the Mandarin books were, but felt they needed to be combined more to support the development of bilingualism. Alongside viewing reading as an important resource, Stark also acknowledged the challenges of reading in a second language, sharing that for them it was not a pleasurable experience.

Helen: thank you and how do you feel then about reading in English
Stark: well you get bored and you don't know a paragraph its harder than your level and and you need to research every word and English

[^16]also have like one word have lot of different definition
Helen: yes absolutely that must be challenging do you think reading more helps with that

Stark: maybe
S1: in our relax time we is limited to lots of students will not chose to read

At this point, S 3 had referenced the TED talk videos which play in the second-floor communal area, which is a relaxing space, as an area supporting their language development and cross-curricula knowledge without requiring significant effort, especially as they have Mandarin subtitles. They shared, "I also meant is about many math science so we watch them and also we can also increase our study for English better than reading".

On a note related to reading, the fourth-floor common area, which is a space dedicated to both English and Mandarin reading, was photographed by S1 and Kinder Egg as a place which represented bilingualism. They had both photographed the newspaper section, with their images showing a range of Chinese and English newspapers. S1 shared how the China Daily newspaper, written in English, was a great resource as it offered "like a Chinese perspective but in English" and therefore was more relatable to them in terms of topic and because "I think their words is very simple words we can understand" (see figure 9). Kinder Egg shared how they thought it would "attract our reader because we know these things in China so we want to read". There was an eagerness which came across to keep up to date with current affairs, a point I will detail further in section 4.2, and a belief that newspapers in this reading area were a resource that students would be interested in and use, to read both English and Mandarin. Their comments suggested consideration needed to be given to the topic matter, however, to ensure it was something relatable to them and the Chinese context, even if the piece was written in the English language.


Figure 9 - example of Chinese and English newspapers in JH taken by Kinder Egg

### 4.1.5 - Teaching practices

Alongside identifying areas of the school environment which participants felt supported their English language development, there were also a number of teaching strategies they referred to as being advantageous to developing English by drawing on their Mandarin language. The role of the teacher was significant across the data collected, with the first task in the workshop having five references to the teaching staff in HSH (see appendix I and I1).

Each one of the teaching strategies participants identified during the research required some degree of being able to translate the English to Mandarin, albeit in different formats. This ranged from simple word-matching tasks in university preparation classes, with S 4 sharing"we need to match up the English and the Chinese word together", to drawing ontechnology for translation support. For example, in discussing their photo of the stock market school activity class (see figure 10), one task involved watching a video on YouTube from the USA. S2 shared how "like news it's really hard to understand in English", acknowledging challenges were not just related to vocabulary but also accent and speed. Therefore, the teacher had switched on the Mandarin subtitles as a reference point for students, although the video remained with English audio. S2 shared they found this useful, combining the languages helped them to understand the video content.


Figure 10 - example of video translation during stock market class taken by S2
Technology was also referenced in relation to ESS teaching, where S6 shared that students were encouraged to "write down Chinese name andmy classmates just use the computer to find the Chinese meaning and write downit I think this one is very good to help the bilingual study". This example demonstrates both the importance of using Mandarin for understanding English, but also the emphasises individualism and independence to be trusted to use theirhome language.

There was some slight contradiction in the points this participant made. At times during their individual interview, when discussing the translation of key words for homework, they felt the teacher should provide these translations and not the student, suggesting "we can just have some word in bilingual so we can understand". In particular this participant shared how they felt "English word we can't we don't know we can use the Chinese to add in a sentence and to do to finish my homework", suggesting that foreign teachers needed to be more open to translanguaging responses to their work. Understanding the context of this participant's home life, I am conscious that they regularly have their technology taken off of them, so they may not always have a computer to support their translations for homework, therefore having the teacher pre-prepare the translations is easier for their current situation. A discussion was subsequently had about other non-technological methods of translation such as bilingual dictionaries, with S6 sharing "if you want you can do it but if you don't want maybe you can't do it that you may not do it", suggesting study attitude may also be a factor as if students do not want to use bilingual dictionaries then they will not.

In maths, participants shared that it was occasional key words they needed translations for, and for a different purpose (see figure 11). As shared by S4, discussing the IGCSE maths paper which they were about to sit a year early, they
＂convert the English word when we are reading the question to the Chinese therefore we can do a better job＂．It was clear the participants felt more comfortable completing the math questions in Mandarin，and then translating their answers to English to meet the needs of the examination．This demonstrated that，for some subjects，students are working through two translations，firstly from the English question to Mandarin，then completing the working－out in Mandarin，before translating the answer back into English．Kinder Egg had also raised the importance of Chinese in their maths lessons，but when asked which language the teacher mainly taught in，they replied＂In chi－I don＇t remember＂． This lack of clarity may have been in part due to not wanting to cause their math teacher any issues，as the school language policy is that lessons are taught mainly in spoken English，with reference to Mandarin for key vocabulary，therefore potentially seeing me as the Assistant Head of JH may have caused this response （see section 6．3．1）．

| $\bigcirc$ | $\checkmark$ |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| quadrileteral <br> 四边形 |  | formula <br> 公式 |  |  | irrational equation <br> 死理方和 | deduction |
| trigh．crated tropezium <br> 直角梯形 | formular illustration公式描述 | root，solution （方程的）解 | hypotenuse <br> 斜边 | parallelogram 平行四边形 | fractional equation <br> 分式方程 | Pythagonas theorem勾股定理 |
| simplify化简 | opposite <br> sides <br> 对诸 | verbal illustration <br> 语言描述 | variable <br> 変量 | convex polygon凸多边形 | coefficient系数 | perpendicular bisector垂直平分线 |
| rationalise the denominator余植有理化 | grophic <br> illustration <br> 图像描述 | rectangles长方形 | standard form标准式 | diagonal 对角线 |  | theorem |
| mid－segment <br> 中信我 <br> square | simultaneous equations方程组 <br> substitution |  | completing the square配方 | $y$－intercept <br> 坚轴戈距 | rhombus菱形 |  |
|  | method换元法 | proposition命题 | discriminant判别式 | adjacent sides邻边 | trapezium梯形 | definition定义 |

Figure 11 －example of a word wall in a math classroom taken by S4．
In discussing teaching strategies，the topic of textbooks was raised by some of the older participants on the IGCSE courses．During both the individual interviews and the focus group，the regulation of textbooks was a key concern and will be discussed further in section 4．3，however，the use of English language textbooks were identified as a teaching strategy which was not always viewed as useful．For example，S4 had taken several photos showing other studentsusing textbooks and study guides for subjects including biology and maths ${ }^{22}$ ．Whenquestioned about the usefulness of these monolingual English resources they shared＂for knowledge I would say yes however for to understand things I rather say just in between＂．It was interesting this participant felt textbooks contained the requisite knowledge

[^17]content, but did not always aid their understanding as they could not always comprehend the English language.

Participants said that they could annotate these textbooks with Mandarin, but implied that having English only resources were not useful. S4 went on to suggest "I think we can make more things in Chinese because I know there are some students that haven't got the basic knowledge about the English so it is not good to speak out confidently". They were referencing some of the students who appeared in their photographs who had lower English levels and found the textbooks more challenging. The point about confidence in speaking out will be covered further in section 4.2, as relationships between students and staff are discussed.

Having more Mandarin language support for students with lower English levels was supported by Kinder Egg, who also suggested "if our English level is higher that they can have more English classes". S4 shared in their individual interview that they felt linguistically they had "two minds one is Chinese mind and one is English one" explaining how they did not have to translate between the two languages as much anymore because their levels in each subject were higher. Although interestingly, on the rating scale task during the workshop S4 chose not to stand at the 'strongly agree' end of the line when asked how bilingual they thought they were. The idea that differentiationin the amount of Mandarin language should depend on students' English ability levels was shared by several group members. This quote is also interesting in termsof personal identity, suggesting participants have an idea of two minds and two selves, as opposed to one mind speaking two languages.

### 4.1.6 - Trust in students

Creating and developing a bilingual learning environment which includes both languages whilst preparing the students for international exams appeared to be understood by all of the participants. However, for each area where Mandarin was identified as supporting English language acquisition, there was also a consensus that there would only be impact if students have a proactive study attitude towards being bilingual and take responsibility to participate in the opportunities available to them. Equally, participants also suggested that the school had to have an atmosphere which trusts that students would have this attitude. For example, as previously mentioned, some staff believe that learning English should occur
without any reference to Mandarin, as some students would always read the Mandarin because it is easier, and that this would limit their English language acquisition.

Participants seemed conscious that some staff held this view, and shared that this is not the case, as students have the determination to want to succeed. The identity body map task (see appendix N ) showed participants using words such as 'responsibility', 'curious' and 'critical thinking' to describe themselves, which reinforces the belief that they feel they have the skills to take ownership of their learning. S2 notedhow they "will look at the English part also because they know as a bilingual student and they will travel abroad for learning" and that "every student or mostof the students in our school should be responsible and they should know that theyhave to or they must read in English also which is useful and helpful to them". S5pointed out that students read "both...they read the English too...we can we can know what is the English meaning and the Chinese meaning". Participants stressedthat having knowledge in both languages was important to them, English mainly for future prospects, and Mandarin as it is related to their identity, which I will goon to discuss further in section 4.3.

During their individual interview a pertinent point was raised by S4 who shared that they felt "language is not a limit when you try to express yourself", so whilst discussions around Mandarin and English were important, the wider skill set of each student was equally important. Referring to the photo they had taken of the university prep lesson, S 4 shared that skills such as confidence, public speaking and making eye contact were all applicable, no matter which language or culture you were studying or working in.
> 4.2 - Theme 2 - Importance of relationships in developing language skills, cultural awareness, and personal identity

### 4.2.1 - Introduction

Alongside the importance participants placed on drawing on both languages in bilingual education, another recurrent theme across the workshop, individual interviews and focus group was the importance of relationships between stakeholders inschool. For example, as I shall go on to discuss, the relationships between foreignstaff and students, Chinese staff and students, foreign staff and Chinese staff, previous teachers and students, and students with other students
were allreferenced as important to bilingual education. These relationships were often spoken about in reference to cultural understanding, with all but one participant sharing they thought that opportunities to learn about cultures associated with Anglosphere countries were lacking in HSH. This was significant for the participants, as they are aiming to study and work abroad when they are older, and as explained by S4 "we need to like understand immerse ourselves into the language so we need to understand the culture" viewing language and culture asinseparable.

The significance of relationships first became apparent during the workshop when participants were asked to write a collaborative definition for what 'bilingualism' meant to them. Together, the group negotiated the meaning until finalising their definition (see figure 1). The decision to use the word "family" provides a sense of strength and has emotional connotations which show a personal connection, demonstrating participants see bilingualism as a way of forging meaningful connections with people from different countries. The focus on connection was also evident in the drawings the participants produced to illustrate what bilingualism means (see appendix J-J1). The use of characters holding hands or speaking to each other using different languages shows a pictorial version of the importance they felt in connecting with other people.

### 4.2.2 - Teacher and student relationships

Since HSH has a vast majority of Chinese national students, the only relationships most students have with foreign people is with their teachers. Whilst participants thought there was value in learning the English language from native speakers, there were two differing perceptions which arose from participants when discussing the relationships they felt foreign teachers had with students. Firstly, there was the acknowledgement that foreign teachers could help Chinese students to understand more about international cultures, as described by Stark "like the English teacher coming from America or British and sometimes asking about what's going on and they just tell me". This was a particular advantage for Stark, who described how "in China like Baidu ${ }^{23}$ that research you can't really know about what is going on in internet they have like locked some of the news yeah so we

[^18]don't know very much". Explaining how the internet blocks prevented them from learning more about Anglosphere countries, which was also raised in the listing task (see figure 2 and appendix L2) under the heading of what HSH does to discourage bilingualism.

Although Stark acknowledged relationships with foreign teachers helped them to develop cultural understanding, S4 raised concerns that because foreign teachers come from different cultures some students may not feel confident to ask them questions, or express when they do not understand something.

Helen: and what about foreign teachers
S4: the communication is hard between them because we are the second language learner and you guys are the first language speaker and there is a barrier it bring the boundary I think yes the boundary between them therefore is hard to communicate with others so yeah

This vivid description, with the choice of words such as "barrier" or "boundary" emphasises the challenges some students may face in bilingual education when taught by a foreign teacher who is believed to have come from significantly different cultures. The barrier was exemplified by Stark who commented "like the English teacher to teach us so you have no chance to use Chinese", suggesting, again, that foreign staff are not always open to students drawing on their Mandarin language, despite this being a strategy students find advantageous to developing their English. Whereas, Stark identified their bilingual math teachers were more supportive of this.

Different interpersonal dynamics, depending on the teacher's nationality, were identified by Stark, who commented on the relationship between Chinese teachers and Chinese students, explaining "because our teacher is Chinese people is common for Chinese in China". This shows the connectedness they felt towards their Chinese teachers, as they have a shared language and shared cultural understanding. Interestingly, this comment was made in reference to the school policy requiring Chinese maths teachers to teach using English language for the majority of the time. Stark appeared quite perplexed by this, as they felt if two people are Chinese then the most logical approach is for them to communicate using the Mandarin language. S 6 also raised concerns related to this, regarding the teacher allocations in science. Only the lowest ability groups have access to a weekly lesson taught by a Chinese national teacher, whereas, the other groups all have their lessons with a foreign teacher, which S6 felt was unfair. They shared
how "two group one group will just like the Chinese teacher to show how to do and one group was bad to show so this not show many very good because any need the Chinese teacher too", meaning they felt all students should have access to a Chinese teacher in science.

Several participants also described previous teachers they had been taught by in the primary school in HSH, again with differing perceptions. S6 spoke about having positive relationships with the grade 6 Chinese teachers, as they would offer support through translations, by adding the "Chinese meaning or Chinese traditional with English word". This differed from JH, as students are expected to complete translations more independently. S6 also shared how they felt history classes in grade 6 drew more on their bilingual skills as they were encouraged to "make Chinese sentence of history and English sentence of history", an activity which they preferred over the more English focused approach in JH.

Stark also reflected on their grade 6 maths teacher who was foreign. They explained how the teacher "just talk in English and I don't know what's going on", joking about going home to their family and not being able to explain what they had learned in class that day. Stark compared this to their understanding of math now, having been taught by a Chinese national math teacher for two years. They have now been fast-tracked to sit IGCSE maths one year early and feel significantly more confident in the subject.

Despite some of the challenges students face when taught by foreign teachers, and the comparisons they make to being taught by Chinese national teachers, there was an overall consensus that the relationships between teachers and students were generally positive and supported their bilingual development linguistically and culturally. S3 explained how JH "let student and teachers more friendly" and described how initiatives such as conversation corner ${ }^{24}$ "make the relationship between students and teachers to be better".

### 4.2.3 - Teacher and teacher relationships

An interesting point raised by two of the participants, was the acknowledgement of the importance and awareness students had of the relationships between

[^19]foreign and Chinese teachers, specifically as something positive as it models relationships Chinese students will have with foreign people in the future. S2 had taken a photo of the wellbeing wall ${ }^{25}$, describing how the "sentences are mostly some old famous saying in Chinese culture or foreign culture so its bilingual" and how the display which was made by all the teachers shows that "working together is better". S2 also described how they felt the Chinese flag raising ceremony on a Monday (see section 1.2) represented bilingualism and positive relationships as it was always translated into English.

An area briefly touched upon by S4 was that of the co-tutor bilingual model where each tutor group had a foreign and a Chinese national teacher working together as tutors for that class. S4 explained how these relationships showed "fair nearly fair bilingualism because maybe a little bit more English". As both tutors are asked to communicate with students in English, unless it is a safeguarding concern or an emergency, the focus on English acknowledged by S4 is understandable. Although the use of the words "nearly fair" would suggest they do not feel there is equity in the use of both languages.

### 4.2.4 - Student to student relationships

Understandably, there were a number of references made to the student body in HSH, and the relationships students have with their peers. S6 acknowledged that having a student body of Chinese nationals provided a challenge to their bilingualism.

S6: a lot of people around here are speaking Chinese so language environment is not so good

S1: yes yes there is not too many foreigner students so when we discuss we just use Chinese

Helen: so only having Chinese students impacts you
Stark: our English yes only in the breaktime or lunchtime you can use in Chinese to contact with friend and see friend

Helen: so you don't speak English outside
S4: is no need to speak English out of class because the language is designed to be used like communicate between students

[^20]In line with Stark's previous view on Chinese teachers and Chinese students naturally using Mandarin language to communicate with each other, S4 reinforced this viewpoint as being applicable to student-to-student communication too. Stark did later acknowledge that they had heard "higher grade students" who were sitting their IGCSE exams, occasionally speaking in English during break times. The group they mentioned, however, is a close friendship group with the only foreign student in HSH.

An interesting consideration regarding relationships between students became apparent during the rating scale task during the workshop (see section 3.8.1). Whenexplaining why they had chosen to stand at the lower end of the rating scale, S5 expressed "as our grade 7 is the lowest grade and English level should also be the lowest...I can't be better than them, I therefore stand here". This demonstrated an assumption amongst students that language ability levels were associated withage. But as a school which has entry points for students throughout the academicyear from the start of grade 7 to the first term of grade 9, this assessment of age-related English language ability may not always be true.

Having acknowledged that the majority of student-to-student interactions are in Mandarin, there was a repeated request from participants both in the focus group and in the individual interviews to have more opportunities to work with international students. For example, Stark asked "why the Huili [HSH] don't get more different country student not only like the Chinese people...because if only like have Chinese students coming together I think it's no different to other normal school in China". Despite having previously detailed the difference they felt HSH had to Chinese public schools, they felt a point of comparison was the make-up of the student body. Also, the fact that the issue of relationships with international students was raised by the participants demonstrates they feel it is a key part of their bilingual education.

When asked why they would like more opportunities to work with international students, S1 explained that from a language and cultural understanding perspective "they will help us when we go outside China", focusing on the practical advantage this provides for their future aspirations to study or work abroad. Whereas Stark commented "to study together to be friends" placing a greater emphasis on building relationships in the present. During their individual interview, Stark went on to explain more about his reasoning for wanting greater
diversity in the study body, having had the experience of being in a school with international students previously. This may also have been influential on them being the only participant to write 'English' on their identity body map. They explained how they had attended a summer school in the UK when they were in grade 5, fondly recalling how "I get alot of different friend from different countries".

### 4.2.5 - Western / international culture

It became apparent that cultural understanding was one of the advantages participants felt interaction with more international students could offer. S3 explained how they felt cultural knowledge helped them to understand "different habit like definitely different with local people", contrasting Chinese culture to other countries. All participants apart from one suggested that HSH does not do enough to prepare students with the cultural understanding to transition into life in an Anglosphere country. When participants were asked how confident they felt about their future moves, S2 expressed "umm not very well", S5 said "I'm not know knowledge enough" and Kinder Egg, who was moving abroad within the next month, explained "I have no clue".

During the workshop participants were set a brief task where they had to group images together which they felt related to different countries (see section 3.8.1). Having worked collaboratively to sort the images, the results showed that the group successfully matched 13/14 images for the UK, 5/13 images for the USA and 5/12 images for Canada. The images for New Zealand and Australia were incorrect. This supports the participants' belief that they felt the main way Anglosphere culture was taught was through ESS classes in grade 7 and grade 8, as these classes follow the UK Key Stage 3 National history and geography curricula.

S5 explained how ESS lessons helped "to know their foreigner culture" and S3 added "we can understand more about what is valued". The acknowledgement that participants felt the ESS classes taught about countries' values, was important to hear, as they identified it was importantto know what had happened in history, but also, as described by Stark "the historyof why it happened" linking this to different countries’ identities. This openness and desire to learn about other cultures, was described by S4 as "what that calledopen my mind...get know what is going to happen in the world and I know what is the relationship between countries so I think that is important so why I study in bilingual school". Stark
also acknowledged that although they might not understand everything, they do have a greater understanding of Anglosphere culture now, than before they came to the bilingual school, acknowledging, when"I was young I live in China I didn't know anything about what the America or British so culture".

During the focus group, participants were then asked to consider other ways HSH could teach more aboutother countries' cultures, as it was clear they wanted more outside of their English social studies lessons. Stark explained "like do more activity about this to do to learn people to know more about different country like object to know about likethe different countries’ cultures", noting how items such as the kilt he bought ona trip to Scotland could be a reference point to teach about Scottish culture for example. S1 felt "I think we need more like Western culture holidays not just activity day like the international school [WCIH]". Here S1 was making a comparison to the celebration events held in the international school for holidayssuch as Christmas and Easter, or events such as Halloween, all of which are not allowed to be referenced or celebrated in HSH due to rules from the Zhejiang Education Bureau. The fact that S1 raises this point shows clearly the potentiallyunavoidable exposure students have to the types of activities WCIH runs during these events, such as fancy-dress days, off-timetable activities and fetes all of which impact the students in HSH, who want to participate and learn more about these cultural events, which they describe as representing "Western culture".

In keeping with the idea of learning more about different cultures, during their individual interview, S2 made the suggestion of running additional activities similar to the Model United Nations club (MUN), which they attend as a school activity (see section 1.2). S2 suggested, "every pupil should choose different nation...country to represent and we have a consult a meeting to debate", suggesting that "they can choose the country that they want to travel abroad before in the future especially so they can help understand that country better". This further stresses this participant's conviction that the wider student body would be interested in learning about different cultures, and how, by giving them a choice to learn more about a country in which they have an interest, they are taking responsibility for their learning. However, this also appears to illustrate that participants view culture as geographically bound by countries.

Participant S3 did, however, share that in HSH the "teaching content is enough
especially of other culture", and instead shared their belief that despite not feeling confident in their understanding of "Western culture", this was not something the school could help them with. With the use of the interpreter, S3 shared "linguistic difference this part they can learn from our school" but "school cannot offer more they depends on themself to get used to it adapt to it" when they do move abroad, adding that "I will not be very comfortable because I stay in China fourteen years". S3 also shared they "have travel in America and England" and therefore has had first-hand experiences in these countries which many of the other participants have not. S3 demonstrated reflexivity here, as they were drawing on their experience of travel to Anglosphere countries to evidence why they felt school could not prepare students more for moving abroad. There is a distinction being made here by the participant between the practical advantage of learning English, and the reality of physically being in another country with different daily routines and emotional experiences, which cannot be taught.

## 4.3 - Theme 3 - Chinese identity and cultural appreciation with awareness on certain restrictions

Alongside participants' interest in learning the English language and understanding more about Anglosphere cultures to help them study and work abroad, it was apparent throughout the workshop, individual interviews and focus group that all - apart from one - participant did not link English with their own sense of identity. The importance all participants placed on their Chinese nationality, including languageand culture was the central narrative which their other ideas developed from. Participants shared a sense of pride in their identity, with S3 expressing how in "China we have special atmosphere for example the connection and relationship to people is different". Reflecting on how it is easier for Chinese people to talk to Chinese people as they use the same language, and sharing how speaking to people from a different culture is one of their greatest concerns they have about moving abroad. Participants did also acknowledge their nationality provided some challenges in terms of the restrictions they face using the internet and how the structure of the school curriculum in a bilingual school does not always support their cultural development.

The one participant who did link English with their identity, Stark, explained "it is important English help let us to be an international people", explaining how they felt being a bilingual student would help them to become more international
as they could live and work in different countries and cultures, seeing this as part of their identity. As demonstrated in their body map activity during the workshop, Stark included the word 'English' as part of the 10 words they would use to describe themself (see figure 13). Importantly, Stark also emphasised that "Chinese is our culture we need to remember we cannot be forget the culture because our family are Chinese we are living in China and we are coming from China" which shows even though Stark was hoping to become more internationalised, they were still firmly grounded in their Chinese sense of identity.


Figure 13 - Stark’s identity body map task.
The discussions regarding Chinese identity, were focused around how and why the school helps to develop their Mandarin language and understanding of associated cultures. The necessity for learning the language was succinctly described by S3, who explained "Chinese of course we must learn because we are Chinese people", therefore linking the Mandarin language with their own identity, differing from the reasons given for learning English, as a process to achieve a set goal. S4 described how the teaching strategies used to develop their Mandarin language differed from English lessons as they have tasks such as "recite and write from memory", which they enjoyed.

Whilst discussing the importance of Mandarin language, S1 referred to the picture they had taken of a science display board (see figure 14), describing how only having knowledge of such topics in English meant they could never discuss the topic, in this case, cells, with their fellow Chinese people. Therefore, having the English and Mandarin vocabulary was important to them. As mentioned in section 4.1, a similar point was raised by Kinder Egg who had explained they do not always know the Chinese word for a particular concept. Both these points illustrate that teachers may assume that because students have Mandarin as their home
language, they will always be able to translate or will understand in this language, but this of course is not always the case. Therefore, ensuring students understand content in both languages is important, so they can use that knowledge in both Chinese and international contexts.


Figure 14 - example of a science display taken by S1
Kinder Egg also made the point that complete translation of meaning is not always possible between the two languages, for example when discussing their picture of the orchid seating area which normally has piles of the school magazines (see figure 15):

Helen: that's great I have seen the English version of that magazine and its called Wellington 22 does it translate the same to that title

Kinder Egg: because actually the Chinese word is used in here is need to in today what we need to talk about but right here that they change one of the word maybe the second value is the same but the meaning is different the Hui- is changed to the school but other characters mean more

Helen: ok the school's name and the other characters what do they mean

Kinder Egg: yes the news today in the Huili and what we need to talk about

Helen: so the difference is the need to talk about character
Kinder Egg: yes it is big part of title the Chinese word here is really used really fantastically I think

The English version of the magazine had the title 'Wellington 22' but Kinder Egg explained the translation did not have the same meaning because of the choice of character on the Chinese version had added additional meaning emphasising the importance of needing to talk about the school year. The English title implies the magazine will cover news from the year but does not expressly state it has information that 'needs' to be spoken about, therefore demonstrating that direct
translation is not always possible or needed.


Figure 15 - Chinese themed seating area taken by Kinder Egg.
Regarding cultures associated with Mandarin, consensus on the importance of it was clear, as Kinder Egg explained "the Chinese culture is important because now we are staying in China", placing an emphasis on the need to understand the culture as they are living in China now whilst also referring to the travel restrictions which have delayed some students from moving abroad to study. S5 also acknowledged that "Chinese takes a major part maybe it will be different in the future", reinforcing the perspective that Chinese culture is important in their current context, but that their future aspirations are looking further afield.

As discussed in chapters one and two, HSH markets itself on helping students gain places at prestigious universities in Anglosphere countries. The participants each shared that they would be moving abroad for university study, although some appeared more positive about this than others. S3 and S6 were the most uncertain, which was probably due to them still being in grade 7 and having the most amount of time to consider their options. Stark was also unsure, however, they were proactively speaking with university counsellors to ascertain the best course for them. The data collected showed that participants knew attending a prestigious university abroad was an expectation from their family, and therefore, it needs to be acknowledged that an aspect of Chinese culture, discussed as filial piety in section 2.4.1, was evident in how the participants spoke about their future. This is likely to be influential on the participants' personal identity, as they are conscious of their families' expectations. As shown on appendix $G$, not all the participants knew what or where they wanted to study, however, they were all aware of what their parents wanted them to do.

As discussed in section 4.1, the participants view English as a tool which will help them secure the prestigious university places and top jobs that they and their parents aspire for them to have. Conscious of not wanting to challenge participants on their families' beliefs, I did not ask further questions about family expectations. However, the data showed that they understandably did have anxieties about moving abroad, such as talking to people from a different culture, but their concerns did not stop them from accepting they would be moving abroad. As an example, Kinder Egg was moving to Canada shortly but was worried about the move. They believed, however, it would provide them with better educational opportunities and therefore they felt they had to do it. From data collected from this research project it is not possible to explain the impact of the families' hopes on these participants' future pathways. However, all were proud in discussing their identity as Chinese nationals, who would be studying abroad in the future.

The way in which Chinese culture was spoken about demonstrated the participant's confidence and understanding in their Chinese identity, for example when Kinder Egg discussed the photoof the orchid in the seating area (see figure 15) they explained how it "representthe value that is shows the courage and to and to the integrity that the flower wasthat the flower was grows in the winter and from snow even they have snow and wind around...a lot of Chinese poem was about this flower". There was an enthusiasm and excitement to share the symbolism and importance of the orchidin Chinese culture:

Kinder Egg: what the flower was growing is to go the outside is
Helen: no yeah that's good you're right what does that mean to you do you think

Kinder Egg: its like maybe even that we are not Huili [HSH] forever and one day we need to go

Helen: yeah go out
Kinder Egg: yeah to to to have adventure and foster courage and and maybe its shows that every every flower is one of the children and they they are growing and leaving Huili $[\mathrm{HSH}]$ like like out window

Kinder Egg thought the orchid was a metaphor to represent students in the school who grow in HSH and the orchid leaning towards the window was representative of them leaving and going out into the world. The passion and enthusiasm with which cultures associated with Mandarin were discussed was never emulated when
discussing Anglosphere cultures, which as Chinese nationals, was understandable.

The process of how HSH teaches Chinese culture however, was more controversial from the participants' perspectives. There was some acknowledgement that in certain areas of school, such as assemblies, Chinese culture is taught and celebrated well. For example,

> S2: we do such a good job in Junior High because we have specific assemblies for every Chinese festivals...so even sometimes the students think that they would realise they would know better about the Chinese festival but they also get more better in the assembly get more understanding of the festival

As previously mentioned, CSS classes were also discussed as a key way of learning about Chinese history and traditions. However, a significant issue participants had with the teaching of CSS is that the courseonly lasts for two years in JH, in grades 7 and 8. After this, the students move intothe IGCSE curriculum in grade 9 and as CSS are not offered by the UK exam boards' IGCSE examination the course is not taught. Prior to the research project I was unaware of the rules surrounding the teaching of CSS, therefore I sought clarification from our Zhejiang Education Bureauadvisor. They clarified that the Chinese Zhejiang Education Bureau requires CSS to be taught for three years in grades 7, 8 and 9 in Chinesepublic schools. As HSH offers IGCSE courses which have to start in grade 9, we have special permission to start the CSS courses in grade $6^{26}$, and therefore the course finishes at the end of grade 8 . Students at HSH receive the same compulsory subject content but they start it one year earlier.

It became apparent during the research that participants were also unaware of the special arrangement HSH had to start the course early and this was evidently an emotive subject. S6 explained "they don't have CSS course in grade 9 Chinese culture is not important". This observation by $\mathrm{S6}$ suggests that as the school does not offer CSS in the higher grades, this conveys to students that their Chinese culture is less important than English culture, which is taught in grade 9 to students selecting an ESS IGCSE. S6 then went on to suggest "why don't they cancel ESS together with CSS?". This demonstrates the participant wants both courses to be treated equally, and that both or neither should be offered.

The impact of not offering a CSS course in grade 9 can also be seen in Stark's

[^21]individual interview, as they described how "there has no IGCSE inCSS so I don't think I like CSS very much" implying that as they knew it would not be a course with a final examination andqualification they saw less enjoyment and purpose to it. Stark explained they didenjoy some of the content though, for example "I like to know about the history about the China", explaining how it reminded them of the times "my grandpa havelearned something about old Chinese stories" as he would teach them as a youngchild. As acknowledged earlier, Stark enjoyed both English and Chinese history, however, a point of concern is raised here, as Stark would not select history IGCSEdue to their concerns about the amount of English language they would need to be successful, and equally they could not select Chinese history as it is not an IGCSE option. Therefore, Stark is an example of a student who has a subject theyreally enjoy but is unable to move forward with it in either language.

The appreciation students have for their Chinese nationality and identity is clear, however, two of the older participants also acknowledged some of the challenges they face due to some restrictions placed on them. As raised by S4 who explained "it is China's Government which banded the students to bring to bring the English book home". By which they are referring to the ban on students taking home any textbooks or coursebooks which are in English. Therefore, students are not allowed to take home copies of the textbooks which link to their IGCSE courses, which they explained makes home-learning and self-studying more challenging for them. The frustration around this decision was clear as the students can look at the textbooks in school, they are just banned from taking them out of school.

This chapter has provided a detailed description of the three themes which developed from conducting a thematic analysis. In the next chapter, these three themes are discussed in relation to the research questions.

## Chapter 5: Discussion

## 5.1 - Introduction

This research project focused on the topics of bilingualism and identity at HSH through student voice activities, using a workshop (see section 3.8.1), participantled photography (see section 3.8.2) individual interviews (see section 3.8.3) and a focus group (see section 3.84). The aim of the research project is to explore the topics of bilingualism and identity in the HSH bilingual education model from a student perspective. In this chapter I draw together literature reviewed in chapter 2, themethodology discussed in chapter 3 and themes illustrated in chapter 4 in order to discuss the findings and provide answers to the research questions.
5.2 - How do students perceive bilingualism in relation to their identity?

The way in which the group negotiated the definition of bilingualism, gave an insight into the multiple realities (Guba and Lincoln, 1994) of the interpretivist paradigm (see section 3.2), as participants worked collaboratively as a group to develop their final definition. Initially, bilingualism was defined by most participants as being able to use two languages, but after S4 commented on Confucius and how the Mandarin translation for bilingualism '双语 Shuāngyǔ' included both language and culture, both aspects were incorporated into the group definition (see figure 1). In terms of group dynamics, this may have been an example of groupthink to conform (MacDougall and Baum, 1997) as some participants changed their initial perspectives in response to S4's comments. However, it may also have been that participants were persuaded by the points S4 made and genuinely agreed with bilingualism also including cultural understanding. This was the most likely scenario, as I witnessed the length of time and pauses taken whilst trying to define bilingualism, as if they were all carefully considering the points raised in the discussion. The length of time taken demonstrated how complex the term bilingualism is to define, even for those who practise it daily.

Collaboratively, the participants defined bilingualism as having proficiency in both languages, however, they then made a distinction between the cultures associated with their home language and second language. The cultures associated with Mandarin were spoken about with pride, being described as part of their personal
identity, whereas cultures they related to the English language were not. Understanding this required exploring the participants' definition of culture, which appeared to align with what Kramsch and Hua (2016) describe as "the way of life, attitudes and opinions, foods, fairs and folklores of a nation's citizens" (p. 53). The participants' view was evident from their descriptions of culture as stereotypical items, facts or beliefs bound by a country or geographical location. The link between tangible items and culture was emphasised by Stark who expressed, "different country like object to know about like the different countries cultures". Only one participant referenced the school values (seesection 1.2) as being representative of culture. As described in section 2.2.6, culture is a difficult concept to describe, therefore the participants’ descriptionsof culture as tangible items or experiences is understandable. However, it is important to reflect on how the HSH bilingual model is possibly aiding that limitedview of culture. I shall discuss this further in chapter 6.

What this view does illustrate is why the participants thought learning about cultures associated with their second language was important. Participants shared that such information would help them adjust to living in a different country, although it was not something they saw as relating to their own personal identity. This challenges the concept of acculturation (Schumann, 1986), which posits the need to be part of the culture associated with the second language to be able to accurately use the language. I agree with the participants that they do not need to identify with the different cultures, but they do need to have an awareness of it. This would align with Ramírez-Esparza and García-Sierra's (2014) claim that it is possible to develop proficiency in a second language without identifying with the associated culture. I believe the distinction between having knowledge about cultures and identifying with them is important.

I question to what extent it is possible to know about a culture without identifying with aspects of it. For example, as noted by Kramsch (2009) words such as emotions have cultural meaning which are shared by that language community, and therefore it may not be possible or preferable to remain completely detached from the cultures associated with the second language. It also depends on the individual's purpose and motivation for learning a second language. For example, the participants in my research wanted to learn about cultures associated with their second language purely for the functional use of how it would help their
transition into a new country and seemingly not because of a genuine interest about it. This was juxtaposed with their descriptions of cultures associated with Mandarin, which were seen as part of their personal identity and something they found pleasure in learning about.

In this section I have aimed to provide an overview of how the definition of bilingualism was negotiated between participants, and included both language and cultural understanding. I shall now go on to discuss the terms bilingualism, language and culture in further detail, in light of the participants' perspectives of the significance each of these aspects have in relation to identity.

### 5.2.1 - Bilingualism

When participants were asked to define what bilingualism is, in the workshop and focus group it was described not only as incorporating home and second language andassociated cultures, but also as a way in which people from different countries come together as a family (see figure 1). This appears to draw on the traditional Chinese Confucian belief of '仁 ren', as described by Tang (2016) this translates to "love of family" (p.25), and according to Confucius, this is a notion which should be extended beyond the family. This extension could be seen in the participants' definition which defied land borders and distance, incorporating all people in the world who can speak two languages - both inside and outside of their country - as a family.

One of the most surprising findings which arose during the individual interviews, was the participants' descriptions of how they wanted their foreign teachers to learn Mandarin. This was surprising as I had not previously considered students being conscious of, or even concerned about, the foreign staff not speaking Mandarin. Participants referred to their photos of translated word walls (see figures 4, 5 and 9) and school value displays (see figure 8) as examples of how teachers could learn the language. The references to these aspects of the schoolscape (see section 2.2.5) would suggest the participants see the school environment as an important tool for language acquisition, not only for themselves but for their teachers. The descriptions would imply that the displays in HSH are not simply words on a wall, but that they do possess what Biro (2016) describes as the "shared attitudes and beliefs of the given community" (p.110). The participants’ opinions imply that they want their teachers to be part of the
bilingual family, which was reinforced by their suggestion to have more bilingual staff in HSH (see section 5.4.2). The concept of family has been strongly emphasised in Chinese culture for the last 5000 years (Shek, 2006) and therefore to hear a term which holds such significance being used to describe how participants feel about bilingualism demonstrates the importance it holds for them personally.

At times, however, the definition of bilingualism incorporating the notion of 'family' was juxtaposed to the ways in which their second language was discussed. For example, across the data set the purpose of learning English was always instrumental, as a necessary step to study or work abroad, and therefore it was appreciated as a process to reach a goal. The idea of studying or working in Anglosphere countries was held in high-regard by the participants, who saw it as adding prestige to their reputation and economically advantageous as they would earn more money. In my experience, the areas of work and study are not normally associated with ideas of family in Anglosphere countries, therefore the definition which included family felt disconnected to the very practical way in which English language was discussed.

As noted by Kramsch (2019), there has been a change in foreign language teaching, from one that provided people with access to high-brow culture, to one which has been influenced by globalisation. The English language, as a lingua-franca, has consequently become a transactional tool to increase economic competitiveness. The participants seemed aware of this, demonstrating Bolton and Graddol's (2012) belief that the common discourse in China connects English language to prosperity and modernity. As written about by Mignolo (2011), I acknowledge that the connection made between being 'modern’ by using the English language, is understandably a contentious one, as this suggests the language is superior. However, English in China has been promoted as a way for Chinese voices to be heard internationally (Gao and Wang, 2017). The participants in my research could be viewed as representative of a growing number of young people who, with opportunities such as attending bilingual schools, will have the English language proficiency to support China's continued development. As described by Hu (2005) and Feng (2012), modernisation relies on the ability of citizens to use English to communicate globally, a belief which is demonstrated by the fast-growing number of Chinese nationals already studying internationally (Cebolla-Boado et al., 2018).

The participants descriptions of their experiences in HSH would suggest they feel the additive model of bilingualism (García, 2009) is followed (see section 2.2.3) as English is being learned alongside developing their home language of Mandarin and not at any detriment to it. The only concern raised by participants, in relation to how much of each language is used, was in reference to the CSS curriculum, which for them ends in grade 8, a point I shall return to in section 5.4.1. As described by Baker and Wright (2017), the additive model of bilingualism is common in China. Participants discussed how a larger amount of curriculum time is allocated to English-medium lessons which they felt was due to the requirement that all but one of their IGCSE exams must be taken in English. The increased time allocated to English-medium lessons was not viewed as detrimental to their Mandarin, as they always used their home language outside of the classroom and school. I believe this is likely to have been the participants'true opinion, however, my positionality as a native-English speaker (see section 3.5.3) may have prevented participants from being critical of having significantlymore Englishmedium lessons than Mandarin.

It was reassuring to hear how participants thought that the majority of students in JH believed being bilingual was important, as this demonstrated that students are interested in the pathway offered by HSH. However, considering all participants had been in HSH for two years and that English-medium lessons takeup the majority of their timetables, their lack of confidence with the language was quite surprising and only one participant identified bilingualism as part of their identity. I thought more of the participants would have acknowledged their bilingualism as part of who they are, especially considering they are attending a bilingual school and developing this skill set daily. Instead, it appeared participants felt that bilingualism was a skill they could use, but it was not part of their personal identity. I believe this connects with their opinion that English is a tool which will help them to achieve their dream of working and studying abroad, and therefore their bilingualism is something usable, as opposed to reflecting who they are.

The participants' lower levels of confidence with their second language may also have been a reason why they did not identify bilingualism as part of their identity. As Xiao and Zhou (2022) found, the more achievements emergent bilinguals had in their second language, the greater confidence they had in their identity. Acrossthe
data set participants did not reference any successes in relation to their English language acquisition, which may suggest a lack of opportunities for celebrating English achievements at HSH, a point I shall return to in chapter 6. When looking at other aspects the participants related to their personal identity (see appendices K - K1), a wide variety of vocabulary was used, which included words such as "contradictory". This implies there may be a disconnect between how they view their use of Mandarin and English. This was also implied by one participant explaining that they had "two minds", so each of the languages was separated. Other vocabulary connected to identity included interests such as "Avengers", "money" and "badminton", as well as gender descriptions such as "girl" or "boy". Rather concerningly, lack of confidence was also shown in one participant's use of the words "disconfidence" and "dishardworking".

Norton and Toohey (2011) describe how identities are influenced by social structures, other people and how individuals view themselves in different contexts. It may be that participants genuinely did not feel confident with their English ability, as in comparison to their Mandarin it is not as developed. However, my presence in the research as a native English speaker, may have influenced the levels of confidence shared by participants. This was notable through phrases directed at me, with the use of the personal pronoun 'you', such as "you guys are the first language speaker" and "you foreigner people". As Xu (2011) found with Chinese nationals, external factors such as power relations and the contexts of sites of interactions were influential on perceptions on language proficiency. For example, participants identified having lower self-confidence when speaking English in Australia when comparison to speaking English in China. It may also have been that in the workshop and focus group participants may not have wanted to boast about their English proficiency in front of their peers, as Xia and Jiang (2022) describe, modesty is a highly valued Chinese virtue.

Despite the potential influences on the participants' lack of confidence, their descriptions of their bilingual ability were interesting. The way participants discussed their own bilingualism aligned with Peal and Lambert's (1962) view of dominant bilinguals (see section 2.2.1), but with a sense of disappointment, as their Mandarin was significantly more developed than their English. I believe this is why they lack confidence in their second language, as their point of comparison was their proficiency in their home language. As Savage et al. (2010) found,
students had lower self-confidence in their second language when they experienced more error corrections than they did in comparison to their home language. It would appear participants believe balanced bilingualism (Peal and Lambert, 1962), with equal proficiency in both languages is what they should be aiming for. As discussed in section 2.2.1, the concept of balanced bilinguals is not realistic (Baker and Wright, 2017) and consideration needs to be given to how the HSH context is setting the expectation that this is something to aim for, a point I shall discuss further in chapter 6.

In this section I have described how participants defined bilingualism as incorporating both languages and cultural understanding, drawing on the concept of family, which I believe challenges the practical way in which their second language of English was discussed. The potential reasons for participants’ sharing they have lower confidence levels in their second language has been suggested to be linked to their unrealistic expectations of having equal proficiency in both languages, and potentially due to my influence on the research (see section 3.5). I shall now go on to describe in further detail the participants' ideas on language.

### 5.2.2 - Language

When defining bilingualism, the first aspect participants shared was that of language. Their responses showed that participants felt language was the most important aspect of bilingualism, and of the bilingual education they receive at HSH. This would align with Qu's (2005) perspective that across China, English teaching has been concerned with linguistic outcomes, as language proficiency is seen as significantly more important in the modern globalised world than nonlinguistic outcomes. Participants used descriptions which would suggest they are experiencing an immersive environment, which as defined by Baker and Wright (2017), occurs when increasing amounts of curriculum time are allocated to the second language. The participants' perspectives challenge Qu's (2005) view, who believes there is no second language immersive environment or "genuine crosscultural communication situation" (p.113) with English language in China. I believe the definition of an immersive environment is key here, as within Chinese society generally, English language is not used. This is significant as this is the context, outside of school, within which the participants are growing up, where English is not a language used in daily life.

The participants demonstrated their awareness of this, by identifying that their
exposure to English language is academic, present only within school as a medium of instruction. In this sense, within the HSH classrooms participants have an immersive English language experience, however, once students leave the classrooms they use Mandarin as the language for social interactions. Interestingly, as S4 expressed, there "is no need to speak English out of the class" (see section 4.2.4), reinforcing the academic purpose of learning the language. The photographs taken support this, as all images including English language were described with academic purpose, whereas photographs depicting Mandarin, such as the orchid seating area (see figure 15) or pupils working on their math homework included descriptions of the social dynamic in addition to academic learning. My positionality as the Assistant Head of JH (see section 3.5.2) may have been influential on the pure academic focus shared by participants in relation to English language use, as they are aware this is part of my role. However, I feel the wider school context and parental expectations were probably more influential, as across HSH the narrative linked to the importance of the English language is always connected to IGCSE / A-Level achievements, and moving to Anglosphere countries.

The participants' academic focus for English was also understandable in the Chinese context, however, the lack of opportunities for informal and social use of English could cause participants' some difficulties when they move abroad. As Rubenfeld et al. (2006) suggests, confidence in a second language requires "frequent and pleasant contacts with members of the L2 community" (p. 610), which was identified by participants as lacking in HSH. This is not to say the students do not enjoy their English lessons, rather their exposure to the second language has a formality to it. Therefore, their lack of use outside of the classroom environment may be another factor impacting confidence in their second language. As described in section 4.3, the participants' greatest concern about moving abroad was having to speak to people from different cultures. Participants requests for more opportunities to work with native English speakers is described in section 5.4.

I have been unable to find research conducted in China exploring how a second language can be developed through informal opportunities, as greater emphasis has been placed on formal language acquisition, such as students participating in private tutoring outside of school (Bray and Lykins, 2012). As Azzolini et al. (2022)
suggests, some of the key differences in English proficiency both between and within countries globally is due to the difference in informal language learning opportunities. In Europe, for example, there has been a greater emphasis on encouraging more informal second language learning opportunities outside of the classroom through using different media (European Commission, 2012), such as watching films or playing video games. Context is a key consideration here, especially as in Chinese society generally there is no exposure to the English language. For example, although some English language films are available these are limited and censored to protect Chinese culture from conflicting values from the West (Song, 2018). As mentioned in section 3.8.2, students are commonly using platforms such as TikTok (抖音) to communicate with peers. This can providesome informal exposure to English, but not a significant amount.

The participants' descriptions of English language contrasted with those of Mandarin, which was spoken about with passion and enthusiasm. However, despite how important Mandarin was to participants' identities, it was surprisingly never discussed asa language they would consider using outside of China when they go to study or work abroad. There are two different considerations here; the use of Mandarin tospeak to foreigners and to speak to Chinese nationals. The participants did not describe ever using Mandarin with foreigners, which is likely to have been influenced by their experience of foreign teachers in their school, such as myself, who do not speak Mandarin.

Equally, they shared that they believed Anglosphere countries such as the UK and US are mainly monolingual. Their descriptions of language being bound by geographical borders was also noticeable in one of the drawings produced by a participant during the workshop (see appendix H1), which uses the flag ofthe UK to represent English, and the flag of China to represent Mandarin. As described by Lam et al. (2023) Mandarin is now taught in sixty-nine countries globally, and in America alone there are 2.4 million students learning it. As I shalldiscuss in chapter 6, this highlights an opportunity for HSH to teach students aboutthe spread of Mandarin globally, to develop their understanding that there is potential to use their home language whilst abroad. This is important in the globalised world where language is not bound by geographical borders.

With regard to speaking to other Chinese nationals, participants appeared to feel strongly that they should always communicate in Mandarin, disagreeing with their

Chinese teachers being required to talk to them in English outside of lessons (see section 4.2.2). It was interesting therefore, that participants did not discuss the potential to use their Mandarin when speaking to other Chinese nationals when they go abroad. As described by Cebolla-Boado et al. (2018), and based on my personal experience, one of the key factors normally considered by Chinese students applying to study abroad is the number of Chinese students already enrolled at the university, with a larger Chinese community being seen as preferable. However, in all discussions about moving abroad only the use of English was mentioned, which may suggest participants either take it for granted that they will use Mandarin with Chinese peers, or that they do not yet have knowledge about the context at universities to consider the possibility of using Mandarin.

### 5.2.3 - Culture

As discussed in section 5.2, all but one of the participants spoke about cultures as tangible items or experiences, which impacted how they viewed it in relation to their personal identity. For example, participation in Chinese festivals with their family was described as a cultural activity which they felt represented their identity as a Chinese national. This was juxtaposed to "Western cultural festivals", such as Christmas, which they were curious to learn about but did not hold personal significance to them, and therefore were not part of their identity. As described by Feng (2009), due to China's focus on national identity, the aim of bilingual education creating bicultural individuals is not appropriate, and instead "intercultural communicative competence (ICC)" (p.292) should be the aim (see section 2.2.6). The participants expressed their desire to have the ability to successfully live and function in Anglosphere countries, which meant they wanted to learn more about cultures, but the majority did not see this as then becoming part of their identity. Stark, however, spoke differently to the others about cultures, as they wanted to be an "international person" but with a Chinese nationality (see section 4.3).

As discussed in section 2.3, throughout history since the first opium war in 1860, through the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 (Fang, 2018), the cultural revolution from 1966-1976 (Adamson and Morris, 1997) and into the modern day with the formation of Confucius Institutes globally (Gao and Wang, 2017) China has been cautious of foreign influences, specifically from cultures associated with the Anglosphere. Although the participants did not share any
concerns regarding learning about Anglosphere cultures, although my role as a foreigner in the research setting may have influenced how culture was discussed (see section 3.5.3). Participants did share how learning about cultures was beneficial to their language development (see section 5.3) and they wanted more opportunities to learn about different cultures in school (see section 5.4).

As noted by Kramsch and Hua (2016), cultures have become "denationalized, deterritorialized, decontextualized and associated with language use in real and virtual environments across social, ethnic, gender and generational boundaries" (p. 49). Culture in this sense is seen as fluid and evolving, characteristics which participants did not represent in their discussions, as cultures appeared to them as more fixed, described in terms of belonging or othering. By this I mean the distinction made between "Chinese cultures" and "Western cultures" appeared quite clear to them. Equally, the suggestion about running MUN activities (see section 4.2 .5 ) by encouraging students to pick a country and learn about that culture reinforced how participants' viewed cultures as geographically bound by countries. I acknowledge that the role of the interpreter may have been influential here, as participants would have been conscious of having a Chinese national adult in the room and, this may have influenced how they spoke about both Mandarin and the associated Chinese cultures.

This distinction between cultures may be understandable when the contexts of China, and the countries such as the US, where participants want to study and work are compared. As proposed by Wang (2011) cultural differences, "from the shallow to the deeper, from the easier to the more advanced" (p.221) should be incorporated into English language teaching in China. As described in section 2.2.6, participants seemed aware of the concept of "culture shock" (Schumann, 1986), and they suggested that knowing more about cultures associated with Anglosphere countries would help them to overcome this. It is important HSH considers how the concepts of cultures are taught, both explicitly and implicitly through their bilingual education model, especially as participants identified speaking with people from different cultures is their greatest concern about moving abroad.

Drawing on generalisations such as the US being an individualistic culture, in comparison to China which is more collectivist, Wang (2011) describes the importance of details such as these being included in English language teaching to
help prepare students for the differences between cultures. This description, although illustrative of a simplistic and generalised view of culture, may represent how culture is taught in HSH. The bilingual model may be a reason for this, as the divide between Mandarin and English is quite distinct within HSH, as students appear to connect $a$ culture to a language. Whilst it is important for participants to understand there are differences in cultures, to be able to prepare them as much as possible to live and work in different countries, their understanding needs to have a greater breadth to it than this.

Consideration needs to be given here to the concept of third-space (see section 2.2.6), created by Bhabha (2004) who suggests that there is a place where people "negotiate identity and mediate between a system of values, beliefs and norms internalised through earlier socialisation and a new system" (Feng, 2009, p.72). This is important as the participants' perspectives on cultures did not represent the idea of a third-space, and instead appeared to describe cultures as binary. Participants' descriptions of cultures illustrated the idea of 'us' or 'them', which links to Holliday's (2022) concept of culture as 'blocks', i.e., as essentialist divisions that reinforce "grand narratives of prejudice" (p.377) and thus create othering. Bhabha (2004) wrote about the third-space from a post-colonial perspective, drawing on the binary of coloniser and colonised cultures, however, Liu (2022) believes the concept is relevant to culture in the modern Chinese context. Liu (2022) discusses the work of Chinese philosopher Zhang Dongsun, who suggested there was a space in which the antagonistic view of "West versus the East" (p.137) needed to be overcome by creating an intercultural third-space where negotiation allowed for new meaning and identity to be formed.

As a suggested way of working in the third-space, Holliday (2022) proposes the idea of culture as 'threads' to challenge the aforementioned blocks, allowing people to question their "thinking-as-usual" (p.373). Threads are concerned with how people resonate with others. These are encouraged by the beliefs that we are all many things, and that individual "personal cultural trajectories" (ibid., p.372) provide experiences with which to connect with others. A consideration here is the context which the participants are growing up in, as factors such as their age, being in China and attending a bilingual school - which separates Mandarin and English language and associated cultures - are all influential in shaping their understanding, reinforcing a view of culture as blocks. Therefore, it is
understandable that participants' divide cultures so clearly, as that is how they have experienced them so far. I believe the HSH bilingual model aligns with Holliday's (2022) description of "academic large-culture narratives that conceptually divide us into neat, bounded and separated entities of practices and values" (p.377), and this is something I propose needs to be changed (see section 6.3).

The participants distinct separation of cultures did not appear to align with their preference for translanguaging opportunities in school. As discussed, languages and cultures are interlinked (Jiang, 2000) and therefore the practice of translanguaging includes drawing on not only both languages, but understanding of both cultures too (García, 2009). The way in which cultures were discussed as two discrete and separate entities would suggest participants did not see them as coming together, in the third-space (Bhabha, 2004). This may be because participants did not recognise aspects within school, such as pedagogical practices, as part of culture - potentially because it is more abstract and not tangible. The only exception to this was Kinder Egg who shared how the school values represented "English culture", and therefore were not needed to be displayed in Mandarin. The participants' distinction of cultures does not reflect what Kramsch and Hua (2016) describe cultures as, which are always evolving in response to the ever-changing globalised technologically advanced world we live in. It is impossible to teach students about all of the cultures they will experience in their life time, therefore, it seems of greater importance to focus on developing students' awareness of culture as fluid, shared understanding across boundaries so they are able to adapt to living in different contexts. As discussed in section 2.5.2, Kramsch's (2009) concept of "symbolic competence" may be a useful way of addressing this, as it develops a mindset of being open to understanding how languages reflect identities of different groups.

Teaching young people strategies to adapt to a range of different contexts needs to include offering more opportunities to raise awareness of English as a global language, as participants' only references to associated cultures were from Anglosphere countries. Their perspectives implied that HSH only teaches what Kachru (1992) termed the 'inner circle', where English is a native language, and lacks the 'outer' and 'expanding circle' countries where English is used as a second language, or language for specific purpose. I believe the participants’ opinions are
likely to have been influenced by their foreign teachers, the majority of whom come from Anglosphere countries, and from the use of the English national curriculum at HSH. This meant that when participants spoke about cultures associated with English, they drew on generalised examples from these five countries which did not represent the global use of English. Whereas the English language had been discussed by participants as a way of communicating with people from all around the world, the discussions around cultures did not demonstrate the same internationalised perspective.

As noted by Alptekin (2002), English as a lingua-franca has no standard associated cultures yet stereotypes from the US and UK are prevalent in English language teaching, especially in Asia (Baker and Fang, 2023). Whilst it is important for students at HSH to have an awareness of these specific countries, as they are hoping to live there in the future, it is important the bilingual model teaches them about the global use of English because the number of non-native speakers of English outnumber native speakers globally (Baker and Fang, 2023). This means it is highly likely the students at HSH will interact with people from a diverse range of countries and cultures. They will use English as a lingua franca, and consequently they need to be responsive and understanding to these differences, moving away from their fixed ideas of geographically bound cultures, and demonstrating what Kramsch (2009) termed "symbolic competence" (see section 2.2.6).

The discussions on perceived "Western culture" were juxtaposed with the way in which "Chinese culture" was spoken about - with passion and enthusiasm. It was clear participants viewed "Chinese culture" as part of their personal identities, which was perhaps unsurprising as they are all Chinese nationals. Their collective pride was a unifying factor for the group, as when one participant had spoken at length about their Chinese heritage, another participant shared in Mandarin, "let's applause because he's speaking so well". The participants' beliefs in the interconnectedness of language and culture were represented through examples such as: Chinese poetry and literature, history classes and conversations with elderly family members who passed on stories orally about what China was like when they were children. Again, the influence of having an interpreter who was a Chinese national may have been influential here, as the participants' may have felt an obligation to emphasise their passion for China in front of her. As described
by Hsiung (2008) there is an ongoing drive in Chinese education to ensure Chinese history and culture is taught to students across all age groups. As a bilingual school, HSH has a requirement to follow the Chinese National curriculum until the end of grade 9. Participants agreed that as a bilingual school situated in China, HSH should always teach and celebrate Chinese cultures and history because it is a part of each individual student.

In this section I have answered my first research question, describing how participants' perceived bilingualism as incorporating both language proficiency and cultural understanding. I have detailed how participants linked their home and second languages to associated cultures, which demonstrated a view of culture being geographically defined by countries. The participants' descriptions of the Mandarin language and associated cultures were linked to their personal identity, whereas, English language and "Western cultures" were viewed as a tool which will help them to achieve their goal of studying or working abroad. I have explained potentially contradictory opinions identified from the data set, for example how the notion of 'family' in the group's bilingual definition juxtaposed to the practical way in which English language and "Western culture" was described. In light of all of this, I have identified areas which require further consideration within the HSH model, including; ensuring dominant bilingualism, not balanced bilingualism (Baker and Wright, 2017) is an understood shared aim (see chapter 6), and the need for HSH students to have opportunities to interact with native-speakers of English (see section 5.4).

I shall now go on to answer my second research question, which explores the topics from this section - bilingualism, language and culture - in relation to the specific experience participants had at HSH.

> 5.3 - How do students perceive their home language, second language and associated cultures are developed through the HSH bilingual educational model?

Participants felt their home language and associated cultures were appropriately taught and celebrated in JH, however, they raised concerns about not being able to learn CSS after grade 8 as there is no IGCSE course offered inthis subject. They felt there was a lack of equality between CSSand ESS, which caused them to feel Chinese culture was viewedas less important by HSH. In terms of how languages
were used as mediums of instruction, there was an understanding shared by participants that they needed to learn English to be successful in their IGCSE exams and to achieve their goal of studying or working abroad. The importance of translanguaging (see section 2.2.4)was notable across the data set, being raised by participants as a key way of developing their second language, although this approach was identified as not
being supported in every classroom. In the next section I will describe how participants discussed their home language and associated culture.

### 5.3.1 - Home language and associated cultures

Participants shared how they felt JH does a significant amount to teach about and celebrate Mandarin and associated Chinese cultures. Participants spoke about how Mandarin is used both formally in lessons and informally as the language of socialising with friends. They shared their appreciation for the lessons' content and activities in their Mandarin-medium classes which developed their language use, both orally and written, and taught them about Chinese cultures and traditions. As described by Choi (2017), the specific pedagogical practices highlighted by children in research are the ones which impact self-identity, therefore it is apparent the Mandarin teaching practices are influential onhow participants see themselves. During our conversations it became apparent that participants felt more at ease in Mandarin-medium lessons, as they were ableto focus on the subject content without the added difficulties of new vocabularyor grammar. The fact that Mandarin is the participants' home language means they have been exposed to it since birth, and have learned it without being explicitly taught (Demir and Erdogan, 2017). This is not to say HSH's Mandarin lessons do not teach vocabulary and grammar, but rather participants existing proficiency provides a foundation with which they can make connections and express themselves - a foundation which they do not currently have in their secondlanguage.

The participants talked about Chinese cultural assemblies and events like Chinese New Year celebrations or lantern festival as examples of how the school appreciated and taught Chinese cultures. Although these are only specific aspects of Chinese cultures, they held significance for the participants due to their longevity and associated national celebrations. For example, Chinese New Year celebrations are believed to date back to the Shang Dynasty from 1600-1050 BCE (Yuan, 2016) and the lantern festival is believed to have started during the Han

Dynasty in 206 BCE (Xu et al., 2018). When the topics of Chinese cultures or lessons at HSH were raised in the workshop and focus group there was very little discussion between the participants, instead there was consensus and agreement on each example provided, which may have been influenced by the interpreter's positionality.

Relationships were described as significant when discussing Mandarin language and Chinese cultures at HSH (see section 4.2). Participants spoke about having a shared language and cultural understanding with their Chinese national teachers which helped build relationships with them, juxtaposing this with the "barriers" students felt between themselves and foreign staff who do not have the same shared language and understanding. Interestingly, despite identifying a barrier between students and foreign teachers, participants thought the relationships between Chinese national teachers and foreign teachers were good. The participants explained how they would like to have relationships like this with foreigners in the future.

The only area which participants raised concerns about, in relation to their home language was the CSS curriculum as it is only taught in grade 7 and 8 in JH . The participants' frustration over this was the most surprising finding from the research project, as it was a clear example of how decisions made by the SMT and SLT are impacting students, yet we are unaware of the implied meaning students have taken from this. As discussed in section 4.3, HSH has special permission from the Zhejiang Education Bureau to start the CSS course in grade 6, however, the participants feel this implies that Chinese cultures are not as important as Anglosphere cultures. This issue also highlights how by offering the IGCSE exams, all but one of which are monolingual, as the final assessment in JH prevents moreMandarin-medium classes being offered in grades 9 and 10. This was also highlighted through Stark's discussion of their IGCSE options choices. They were not able to select CSS as it is not offered, and they felt unableto select the English-equivalent IGCSE history course due to their perceptions of having lower English proficiency (see section 4.3).

The decision for English and Mandarin to be kept separate is believed by HSH to serve the purpose of meeting the requirements of the standardised assessment system, which in turn provides a pathway onto A-Levels and then university courses in Anglosphere countries. However, this demonstrates how the monolingual IGCSE qualifications students leave HSH with are driving the teaching
and learning practices．This may be an illustration of Gandara and Randall＇s（2019） view that bilingual instruction does not align with assessment processes（see section 2．2．8）．I propose，however，this should be viewed the other way around， in that the assessment processes do not align with the bilingual instruction，which is an important consideration as there are no opportunities for students leaving HSH to demonstrate their bilingual skill set．Instead，the assessment system appears to view languages in isolation，taking a monolingual viewpoint which does not take into account research on the potential of translanguaging（see section 2．2．4）．

There are no qualifications students take to demonstrate the breadth of their bilingualism when leaving JH in Grade 10．Equally，the IGCSE assessments do not all separate language from content，which as García and Kleifgen（2018）propose， is needed for a valid assessment of emergent bilinguals．Some students may have opted to take the Zhongkao（中考）exam at the end of Grade 9 （see section 1．2）， and therefore may have this additional Chinese qualification，but this is a monolingual assessment in Mandarin and again does not reflect students＇bilingual proficiency．Interestingly，the Zhongkao（中考）exam was not referenced by any participants during the research project．I found this surprising because of the importance participants placed on Mandarin language and associated cultures，yet the only assessment they take in this was not mentioned．

Having discussed how participants discussed their home language of Mandarin，and associated＂Chinese cultures＂，I shall now go on to describe how participants felt their second language and associated cultures are developed through the HSH model．

## 5．3．2－Second language and associated cultures

As discussed in section 5.2 ，the way in which the English language and cultures associated with it were spoken about was always in reference to the prospects it offered in being able to study and work abroad．In this section I will focus on the ways in which HSH was described as developing students＇second language proficiency and understanding of associated cultures．As described in section 4．1， it was rare for the participants to discuss their second language in isolation，as they emphasised how important translanguaging was，in line with findings from studies on translanguaging（e．g．，Williams，1994；García，2009）．Although
participants never used the word translanguaging, discussions were based on the importance of being able to draw on their home language to support their second language development. In thirty out of the forty-two photos submitted there was an aspect of translanguaging depicted or discussed in the subsequent individual interview.

The main example referred to, in relation to translanguaging, was the schoolscape (see sections 2.2.5 and 4.1.4). Participants' descriptions and photos highlighted how the translated word walls within their classrooms helped them learn new vocabulary. This would appear to agree with Sclafani (2017) who describes how it is important bilingual students see word walls regularly, to help build their contextual understanding and increase confidence in using the words. The second aspect of the school environment referenced by participants were the bilingual signs around the school which depict the school values (see section 1.2). Interestingly, in line with Gorter and Cenoz's (2015) belief that schoolscapes serve many purposes, including intercultural awareness and language leaming, the participants also identified multiple functions of bilingual displays around the school. For example, the word walls and signs were discussed not only in relation to how they helped students to learn content and language, but also how they helped the wider community to learn the school values and helped foreign teachers to learn Mandarin. I see this as important because it suggests participants see bilingualism as not only relevant for them, but also for the wider school community. These examples showhow some classrooms at HSH incorporate translations, but I believe these are examples of encouraging translanguaging because the knowledge gained from translations includes contextual understanding which students can then draw uponas part of their translanguaging skill set. I believe the students are using the skills, in line with what Cenoz (2017) termed "spontaneous translanguaging" - as they describe being able to move between their two languages.

As described in section 2.2.5, the participants’ photographs and discussions about the importance of the school environment for their learning, and for teachers to learn Mandarin can be considered from a linguistic landscape, or schoolscape perspective. The participants spoke about all signs around the school being bilingual in Mandarin-Chinese, although interestingly they did not discuss the order of the languages. This may suggest they have a familiarity with both being present, and that the order in which they appear holds no conscious significance to them.

The focus participants placed on translanguaging, as described above, was represented in their photographs from both top-down and bottom-up (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006) signs within the school environment. For example, the school value signs in the corridor (see figure 8 and section 4.1.4) which were created by the marketing team were reflected on, but equally the translated word walls (see figure 6 and section 4.1.4) which are edited by students were also important to the participants. Interestingly, the discussions regarding the school environment, including the displays, newspaper area and Chinese themed seating area appeared to be appreciated by participants, as they felt there was a purpose to having them there.

The importance of relationships and the consideration participants gave to other people was noticeable across the data set (see section 4.2). During the discussion on relationships participants spoke of an appreciation for being taught by foreign staff at HSH, as they thought speaking to native English speakers was beneficial to their second language acquisition and cultural understanding. As described by Feng and Zhang (2022) it has been found that Chinese students believe native English-speaking teachers provide "more standard, intelligible and authentic English" (p1300) when compared to non-native speakers. This perception that native English speakers are more advantageous to the students' learning is connected to Davies (2004) writing about the myth of the native speaker. Davies (2004) describes how the term 'native speaker' is more complex than simply representing where someone is born, and proposes it is possible for non-native speakers to attain the knowledge and skills of a native speaker.

As described by Jenkins (2000) the term 'native speaker' ignores the diversity of how English is used as an official language in countries outside of the Anglosphere. In addition, as Canagarajah (1999) describes, being a native speaker does not always mean someone is a better teacher. In research conducted in a Chinese university, Rao (2010) found that students identified several challenges whilst being taught English by a native speaker. For example, the teachers did not understand the linguistic problems faced by Chinese students, as they had never had to learn English as a second language themselves and their cultural references were not situated within the Chinese context (ibid.).

The participants shared a preference for teachers who are native English speakers, however, they also suggested that having more bilingual teachers would be
beneficial to their learning. Although participants favoured having bilingual teachers, consideration has to be given to the expectations from various members of the community, as HSH is an independent bilingual school. Therefore, one of the marketable aspects HSH offers is the opportunity for students to be taught by foreign teachers who are native English speakers. As described in section 5.2.2, the majority of foreign teachers do not speak Mandarin and therefore the bilingual teachers the students reference are Chinese national teachers. As Sung (2011) explains, native English speakers are believed to be better English teachers, therefore Chinese parents prefer for their children to be taught by them. Consequently, all of the job descriptions for English-medium subjects at HSH state that candidates must come from English native-speaking countries, listing the five Anglosphere countries, and therefore bilingual Chinese national teachers are excluded from these roles. Having been involved in recruitment at HSH I am acutely aware of how challenging it is to find foreign teachers who are proficient in both Mandarin and English.

Despite participants discussing the benefits of being taught by native English speaking teachers, they also identified that they feel there is a barrier between foreign staff and students due to language and cultural differences (see section 5.3.1). Participants described how this has caused some students to feel unable to talk to their foreign teachers with the same openness that they could with their Chinese teachers. As described by Bear et al. (2014) Chinese national students want to be seen to please their teachers but culturally behaviours which are deemed to be pleasing will differ (see section 2.4.1), therefore students' may feel quiet obedience is respecting this belief and feel less comfortable in engaging with foreign staff, whereas foreign staff may be more familiar with active participation. I was pleased the participants felt able to raise their concerns about relationships with foreign staff with me. As this was an example of how despite my positionality as a foreigner (see section 3.5.3), participants felt comfortable in sharing this with me as a researcher.

Participants also shared that they knew some foreign staff wanted their classrooms to be English only areas, which challenged the participants’ preference for translanguaging opportunities. As described by Debreli and Oyman (2016), there has been dominant belief in some language classrooms that maximum immersion in the second language is necessary, therefore, the home language should not be
used as it is seen as detrimental. Although there has been a greatermove towards translanguaging practices (Garcia, 2009), there are some teachers who are more accustomed to the monolingual approach. There are two significantpoints related to this, firstly, how the participants knew teachers held this belief, and secondly the impact it has on their learning.

When participants discussed the world walls, they described how these were present in most but not all of the classrooms. This was surprising as having a translated word-wall is part of the classroom non-negotiables. Participants also described that they knew which classes they were not allowed to use Mandarin in, therefore preventing them from using translanguaging practices. Participants all felt they should be able to use their Mandarin to support learning English, and by some subjects removing this opportunity from classes they felt the learning process took longer as they could not relate topics or new vocabulary to what they already knew. My concern here is the implied meaning associated with these decisions, especially coming from teachers who hold a position a power. If teachers and teaching practices within HSH divide Mandarin and English into two separate, distinct languages then the students are less likely to see translanguaging as a useful, or essential part of being bilingual. As discussed in the previous section, the separation of languages is already encouraged through the monolingual IGCSE assessment system used, and through the 'foreign' and ‘Chinese’ labels used for teachers (see section 3.5.3).

Reassuringly, however, despite these factors the participants did draw on a number of examples to illustrate how they do use translanguaging in HSH. For example, watching English language videos with Mandarin subtitles (see figure 10), completing bilingual word matching tasks and processing mathematical equations in Mandarin, to then produce answers in English. I shall discuss the participants' recommendations for consistency in translanguaging in section 5.4.2.

In this section I have attempted to answer my third research question, by describing the key differences in how the participants' described the Mandarin language and "Chinese cultures", in comparison to the English language and "Western cultures". In the next section I explain the suggestions made by participants on how they feel the HSH model can be improved.

## 5.4 - How do students feel the HSH bilingual educational model can be altered or improved?

There were a number of recommendations made by the participants on how they felt the HSH model could be enhanced. Firstly, young people wanted opportunities to continue learning CSS after grade 8. Secondly, young peoplewanted greater consistency in the school's approach to translanguaging practices,sharing how it should be encouraged in all English-medium classes in JH. The participants thought the use of strategies such as word walls and having more access to teachers who are bilingual themselves, such as our current math department, would enhance teaching and learning. Thirdly, participants requested opportunities to work with foreign students in the WCIH school and have more chances to learn about Anglosphere cultures. In the following sections I will discuss each of these recommendations, made by the participants, in more detail.

### 5.4.1 - Continuing CSS in grade 9 and 10

As discussed in section 4.3 and 5.3, participants thoroughly enjoyed their CSS lessons in grade 7 and 8, and spoke about these classes with affection. Participants believed offering a form of CSS in grades9 and 10 should be considered, providing students with more opportunities to learnabout their cultures through studying Chinese history and traditional stories. Participants understood there was no IGCSE available for this subject, but believedthe school should consider other ways the content can continue to be taught. Forexample, it could be included as an optional school-activity (see section 1.2). Asl shall go on to discuss in chapter 6, one of the challenges HSH would face by tryingto incorporate a non-assessed CSS course in grades 9 and 10 is finding time to fit the lessons in within the timetable.

### 5.4.2 - Consistency in the HSH approach to translanguaging

The participants felt the use of translanguaging (Garcia, 2009) was important to help their second language acquisition, as it provided them with the opportunity to draw on their Mandarin to support their second language acquisition. Having shared examples of where participants found it useful, they recommended HSH should offer greater consistency across all English-medium subjects, as some teachers did not allow Mandarin to be used. Participants appeared to be requesting what García et al. (2017) termed a translanguaging stance, meaning all teachers demonstrate a belief in students' languages working together as an important resource for learning. The participants were honest and clear that they still used translanguaging, even when they were in a classroom where they felt it
was not allowed. They suggested that they should be able to openly use both languages in all of their English classes, so that they would not ever feel that they had to hide this.

Another factor impacting the use of translanguaging, identified by participants, was teachers' concerns about students overly relying on their home language. As Wang and Kirkpatrick (2012) describe, this fear causes teachers to reduce opportunities for home language use. One participant in the research project felt this was the case, and spoke passionately about how students should be trusted to use translanguaging responsibly (see section 4.1.6). The participant described how most students at HSH wanted to learn English, and that they knew using too much Mandarin would not be helpful to them. The participant's opinion appears to align with Wang (2019) who suggests teachers should not be concerned about home language use and instead should focus on students' motivations for wanting to learn a language.

In addition to the impact of the HSH language policy, consideration needs to be given to the context and skill-set of staff should a standardised translanguaging approach be implemented at HSH. As discussed in section 2.2.4, Cenoz's (2017) two approaches to translanguaging, namely 'spontaneous translanguaging' and 'pedagogical translanguaging', would require support to be embedded as the majority of foreign teachers at HSH do not speak Mandarin. This is identified by Cai and Hall (2016) as common in international schools in China. However, as research conducted by Shi and Rolstad (2022) in China has found, it is possible for monolingual teachers of English to incorporate translanguaging pedagogy into their practice, despite not speaking Mandarin. Although the research was conducted within a nursery school, some of the strategies they highlight were the same as those identified by the participants in the research project. For example; translated word walls, peer discussions in either language and foreign staff modelling an appreciation for bilingualism.

Although monolingual teachers are able to incorporate some translanguaging practices into their teaching, participants appeared to feel quite strongly that having more bilingual teachers would be advantageous to their learning. Participants spoke highly of the Chinese national teachers who were bilingual themselves in Mandarin and English. They explained how it was helpful when key subject-specific vocabulary was provided quickly and accurately in Mandarin, as
this meant that lengthy descriptions using English definitions were not needed and that the lesson could keep moving at pace.

I shall now describe the final suggestion from participants on how the HSH model of bilingual education can be improved, by having opportunities to work with foreign students.
> 5.4.3 - Working with foreign students and learning about Anglosphere culture

The impact of the proximity between the HSH and WCIH schools on campus became apparent as participants spoke about not understanding why there were not more opportunities for students from both schools to come together. Participants shared how they felt having greater diversity in the HSH student body, including having time to socialise with students from WCIH, would encourage them to use their second language more. Currently their peer groups are only Chinese nationals and inevitably, they only use Mandarin to speak with their friends. There have been a number of benefits identified when opportunities for emergent bilinguals to integrate with native speakers are provided, such as increased confidence in the second language (Rubenfeld et al., 2006), and increased language proficiency and cultural understanding (Jung, 2010). All of which are arguably skills the students need for their futures studying and working abroad. Yet apart from some IGCSE option classes in grade 9 and 10 which have students from both WCIH and HSH, the rules from the Zhejiang Education Bureau (see section 1.2) do not allow further opportunities for the student body from the two schools to integrate.

Moreover, participants were aware that WCIH students are able to celebrate Anglosphere country cultural events such as Halloween, Christmas and Easter, all of which cannot be mentioned at HSH. Participants understand there are rules which the school has to follow in relation to these events, but they cannot understand why HSH is not allowed to share or learn about these celebrations. The history and context of English in China is likely a strong influential factor hereon what the school is or is not allowed to teach (see section 2.3.2). As Fengyuan (2004) describes, throughout history the teaching of English has traditional been through translations of Chinese political discourse and western ideologies or influence have not been allowed. The belief that "English may undermine China's cultural identity, national security, and political stability" (Gao and Wang, 2017,
p. 227) remains influential on the rules governing what can be covered in HSH. I asked the school's Zhejiang Education Bureau advisor for the policy regarding what can or cannot be covered at HSH, but was informed there was no written policy as instead all requirements are discussed orally at local meetings with no written record. This may well be the case, but equally my position as a foreigner in China may also be a factor in not being able to gain access to specific guidance.

Being unable to work and socialise with WCIH students appeared particularly aggrieving for participants as they know WCIH students are allowed to celebrate the Chinese cultural events, such as new year and lantern festival - showing a lack of consistency across schools. It appeared to participants that WCIH students had a lot more opportunities than HSH students. The participants implied that this again shows greater value being placed on cultures associated with the Anglosphere, and that this isolated them as they were not allowed to participate in WCIH celebrations, despite most of HSH students aspiring to live in countries where such events are celebrated. I believe Norton's (2001) concept of imagined communities (see section 2.2.6) is important here, as participants discussed how they would be living in diverse communities in the future with people from countries who do celebrate Anglosphere events. Therefore, they wanted to learn and participate in the celebrations at school to help them integrate when they are older. This demonstrated that participants' have a motivation now to learn about cultures associated with the English language, because of the benefits theyfeel it will have on their future.

In this section I have discussed how participants made three key suggestions on how the HSH bilingual education model could be developed. These related to the participants' home language and "Chinese cultures", through wanting to study CSS in grades 9 and 10. But equally, to the English language andAnglophone cultures, by wanting more opportunities to work with WCIH students. Interestingly, they also combined both home and second languages, through suggesting there should be greater consistency in being able to use translanguaging in HSH.

In the final section of this chapter, I shall answer my fourth research question, which explores if the participants' feel the HSH bilingual education modelprepares them for their future.

> 5.5 - How well do students feel the HSH bilingual educational model prepares them for their futures?

To answer this question, I draw on the participants' definition of bilingualism including both home and second languages, and associated cultures. Through all the research methods participants shared an appreciation for how HSH develops their Mandarin language and Chinese cultural understanding, both of which they described as key parts of their personal identity. The photographs, such as the orchid seating area (see figure 15), new vocabulary in the Chinese classroom and Chinese newspapers (see figure 9), were spoken about passionately by the participants and were used to describe a belief in their identity as Chinese nationals. As the participants all wanted to study and work abroad when they were older, the majority of the discussions regarding their future were based on their second language and "Western cultures", only referencing their identity asChinese nationals in inalterable terms.

Participants shared that they understood why the HSH bilingual education model was arranged with greater emphasis on English, as they were all aware of how they needed IGCSEs to be able to access A-Levels and then go onto university abroad, which is a dream they all shared. Photos of translated word walls (see figures 4, 5 and 9), English textbooks and English newspapers (see figure 9) were used to evidence that the students want to learn English and use resources such as these to take ownership of their language learning. Despite the participants' clear motivation to learn English, they all shared how they lacked confidence (see section 5.2.1) in their language proficiency and cultural understanding, which prevented them from being able to say confidently that they felt prepared for their futures. This was somewhat concerning, especially for Kinder Egg, who was moving abroad within the next month.

The aim of the HSH model is to provide an education which develops students with the bilingual skills needed to attend prestigious universities in Anglosphere countries, therefore, if students do not have confidence in their second language proficiency or recognise themselves as bilinguals then consideration needs to be given to why. Attempting to decide on the expected rate of second language development for students at HSH is an ongoing challenge, as language development is not linear and depends on many factors. Whilst we draw on standardised assessments such as IELTS (see section 2.2.8) to assess second language proficiency, consideration has not previously been given to student perceptions or confidence with their language use.

Participants drew on the differences between their experiences in Chinese public schools (see section 1.2) and HSH to describe how the HSH model was better designed to help them study and work abroad. Of particular note was how the young people felt that HSH allowed them greater autonomy and independence, in their thinking and decision making, skills which they identified as needing in order to be successful when they move to Anglosphere countries. Although this is a generalisation of what these countries are like, participants descriptions would align with Meyer's (2014) eight dimensions of culture, which proposes that both the UK and US tend to have more consensual decision-making practices than China, which has a more top-down approach. It was interesting that despite identifying differences, participants did not link this to cultures. It was clear the participants had gained this understanding from comparing their experiences of teaching practices in public schools to HSH, but at no point were the differences in teaching style referenced explicitly as representing different cultures. As described in section 5.2, participants’ descriptions of cultures tended to be tangible items.

The HSH model was seen to prepare participants personally, but also support their country's development as they shared how the skills they were learning would benefit their future jobs and roles in the world as Chinese nationals. As described by Kachru (2005), English has become a dominant second language in "academic, business and commerce, higher education, media, and science and technology" (pg. 23) in China, and participants shared how they felt there would be opportunities to utilise their English skills within China, should they return to their home country after going abroad. However, as participants emphasised, Mandarin was also incredibly important to their potential futures within China. Participants did not speak about using Mandarin outside China, but this may have been due to their lack of experience in travelling outside of the country. As Gao and Wang (2017) identified, English is important but Mandarin is developing with the aim of also becoming an international language. The participants recognised that their ability to use both Mandarin and English would provide a range of study and work opportunities for them.

## 5.6-Summary

In this chapter I have aimed to answer the research questions by drawing on the literature reviewed in chapter 2, the methodology discussed in chapter 3 and themes illustrated in chapter 4. The participants' definitions of bilingualism,
language and culture have been discussed, in relation to their personal identity. I have explained how Mandarin language and associated Chinese cultures were described as part of the participants’ personal identity, whereas, English and "Western cultures" were tools which would help them achieve their dreams of studying and working abroad.

Following this, key aspects of the HSH model were discussed including; an appreciation for Chinese cultural celebrations, the importance of relationships, the impact of a monolingual assessment system and preference participants have for translanguaging. The suggestions participants made for improving the HSH model were described, which covered the teaching of CSS in grades 9 and 10, consistency in translanguaging and opportunities to interact withforeign students. The chapter concluded by describing how the participants felt the HSH model did prepare them for their futures, both within China and abroad,although they all vocalised a lack of confidence in their English language proficiency and cultural understanding related to the Anglosphere.

In the final chapter I will go on to discuss the findings and recommendations from the research project, as well as the limitations and suggestions for further research.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

## 6.1 - Introduction

This research project has focused on the topics of bilingualism and identity at HSH, through student voice, using a workshop (see section 3.8.1), participant- led photography (see section 3.8.2), individual interviews (see section 3.8.3) and a focus group (see section 3.8.4). The aim of the research project is to explore the topics of bilingualism and identityin the HSH bilingual education model from a student perspective. In this chapter, I provide a discussion on the findings from this research project with a focus on the suggestions the participants' made regarding how the HSH bilingual model can be improved. In light of this, I propose recommendations for HSH to consider, to continue developing their bilingual education model. Following on from this, I discuss the limitations of the research project, before concluding with suggestions for future research.

## 6.2 - Key findings and considerations

Across the data set, participants shared their belief that bilingualism incorporates both proficiency in their home and second languages, as well as knowledge about the cultures which they associated with each language. The "Chinese cultures" were understandably seen as a significant part of the participants' personal identities, as Chinese nationals, whereas, "Western cultures", which they associated with the English language, were not. Instead, knowledge of "Western cultures" were important for them to understand, to helptheir transition into studying and working in Anglosphere countries. This practicalview of cultures aligned with their thoughts about the English language being a tool, to help them achieve their dream of studying and working abroad in the future - all whilst retaining their Chinese identity and appreciation for the Mandarin language and "Chinese cultures".

Their distinction between "Western cultures" and "Chinese cultures" is likely to have been influenced by HSH's approach to bilingualism. Within HSH Mandarin and English are divided in different ways, including by subjects, labelling staff as 'Chinese' or 'foreign', and through the language policy. Within the wider campus of WCH, further divisions are notable, such as students from HSH and WCIH being unable to socialise together and Anglosphere celebrations only happening in

WCIH. This context is influential on the participants' perspectives that culture is commonly linked to tangible items, and that it is bound by geographical borders linking $a$ county to $a$ culture. This identifies a need within HSH to consider Kramsch's (2009) "symbolic competence" (see section 2.2.6) to try and develop an understanding that there are a multiplicity of different cultures within every country. Reflecting on my rationale for this research (see section 1.5), I undertook this study because I know the pathways these students are on means they are aspiring to study and work abroad in the Anglosphere. Therefore, they need to understand cultures as diverse, and not fixed, as this will help reduce, albeit not prevent, culture shock (see section 2.2 .6 ) when they move abroad.

The participants' definition of bilingualism (see figure 12) was the basis from which they identified how HSH supported their bilingual development. Just as "Chinese cultures" and Mandarin language held personal significance to their identities, they shared how HSH supported these areasthrough celebrations of Chinese history and festivals, and from the relationships they were able to build with Chinese national staff. Interestingly, participants didnot reference the use of Mandarin outside of China, despite wanting to move abroad. This may demonstrate a lack of awareness, and an opportunity for HSH to teach about the growth of Mandarin globally (see section 5.2.2). This is important because the participants' identities and passion for "Chinese cultures" and the Mandarin language should be something they feel ableto express wherever they are in the world.

The way in which Mandarin language and "Chinese cultures" were discussed, was juxtaposed to the practical way in which English and "Western cultures" were discussed. However, participants appeared to value the opportunity to learn English as they felt it would be advantageous to their futures. Consequently, they understood why English-medium instruction lessons took up a larger amount of their timetables, as they reflected upon the importance of the IGCSE / A-Level examinations for their future pathway to university in Anglosphere countries.

As discussed in section 5.2.1, it appeared the participants believed balanced bilingualism (Peal and Lambert, 1962) was something they should be aiming for. The way in which participants judged their English language proficiency was
in comparison to their Mandarin proficiency. This implied that they felt native speaker proficiency is what they were aiming for at HSH. This is understandable when considering they are taking monolingual IGCSEs, but was also concerning as this goal seemed to prevent them from being able to recognise and celebrate, their existing English language proficiency. The participants' lack of confidence in English highlights that HSH need to provide more opportunities to celebrate achievements in English at all proficiency levels.

Interestingly, suggestions were made by participants in relation to both the Mandarin and English provision at HSH. Firstly, participants wanted opportunities to continue learning CSS in grades 9 and 10 (see section 5.4.1), suggesting ending it in grade 8 implied Chinese history and culturewas not as important as English history and culture which they could study in grades 9 and 10. The participants' passion for CSS was notable across the data set, and despite their understanding of HSH starting this curriculum a year earlier, they felt there should be opportunities to continue studying it. Participants understood there was no IGCSE or equivalent course available for CSS, however, this was not important to them as they wanted to study it because they enjoyed learning about Chinese history andculture and not because they wanted an accredited certificate for it. Their suggestions to offer it during a school activity session (see section 1.2) may be a possibility, as it would not be possible to include in the academic timetable, due to the requirements from all of the IGCSE subjects in grades 9 and 10. Their passion for this suggestion reinforces how important Chinese history and culture was for their sense of identity, and highlighted how the HSH bilingual model mustdevelop to ensure such opportunities are not side-lined in grade 9 and 10 becauseof the focus on the monolingual IGCSEs.

The most frequent suggestion, was the need for HSH to be consistent in allowing and encouraging translanguaging opportunities across all English-medium subjects (see section 5.4.2). The participants' discussions around translated word-walls, sub-titles on videos, preference for bilingual staff and availability of bilingual reading books all demonstrated how such resources were important scaffolds for their second language acquisition. The participants drew on the HSH school value of responsibility (see section 1.2) to challenge the concern they knew some
teachers had regarding over reliance on Mandarin - by describing how students genuinely want to learn English and need to be trusted to do so.

The final suggestion made by participants, was to have opportunities to work with WCIH students, and learn about cultures associated with Anglosphere countries (see section 5.4.3). The school's value of responsibility (see section 1.2) was referenced once again here, as participants described wanting to have opportunities to socialise and work with WCIH students as they felt that it would help their second language acquisition, but also help them to make new friends. As discussed in section 5.2.1, HSH lacks opportunities to celebrate achievements in English, therefore a connection with WCIH may also help create opportunities for this, as students have greater confidence in their second language if their achievements can be celebrated (Xiao and Zhao, 2022). Alongside working with WCIH students, the participants spoke about how they will live in countries in the future which celebrate a diverse range of festivals, and they feel they should be able to learn about them now as this will help them in the future.

These three suggestions identified in the research project will now be presented to the SLT, in hope of initiating discussions as to how the HSH bilingual education model can continue to be improved by drawing upon student voice feedback and ideas. I believe this research project has demonstrated the importance of providing opportunities for students to share their ideas on the HSH bilingual education model, as they provided different insights and perspectives, which the SLT have not previously considered. As discussed in section 2.4, student voice has been found to provide a number of benefits for the students and the school community (Fielding and Rudduck, 2002) including developing a stronger sense of membership. This aligns with the students' belief in building a bilingual 'family' at HSH, as this sense of belonging can be enhanced through creating more opportunities for student voice.

In the next section, I suggest that for the students' suggestions to occur, a change is needed from the SLT level, in how bilingualism is viewed at HSH.

## 6.3 - Recommendations

In the section above I have reflected on the suggestions made by the participants during the research process. Each of these suggestions are practical ideas on how the HSH bilingual education model can be improved. Based on the participants'
emphasis on relationships, in this section I propose a change is needed in how bilingualism is viewed at HSH, which I suggest should start with the SLT.

Across the data set, the participants shared how the concept of family and relationships were important to them. From drawing on the Confucian belief in 仁 ren (see section 5.2.1) to define bilingualism, to describing the relationships between teachers and students (see section 4.2.1) as both positive and an area to develop, the significance of relationships at HSH needs to be considered moving forwards. The importance of family is understandable in this context, as filial piety and obedience remain important in Chinese society (see section 2.3). Therefore, HSH should consider how it can embrace this appreciation for relationships as a way of addressing some of the issues raised by participants. Thismay include encouraging greater dialogue between students and foreign teachers, to overcome the 'barriers' described by the participants. The participants spoke about having a preference for bilingual teachers, however, they also suggested that all foreign teachers should try to learn some Mandarin. There was a sense that the participants want to be part of a bilingual community within HSH, or a bilingual "family" to use their definition. The comments about foreign staff learning Mandarin are significant, as I believe this demonstrates that the studentswant their foreign teachers to be part of this bilingual community.

Moving forwards, I suggest a cautious approach is required, as there is a risk that the current dichotomy between Chinese and English at HSH could be enhanced by focusing on relationships with foreign teachers. Instead, I recommend that the SLT, which includes both Chinese and foreign staff, consider the concept of thirdspace (Bhaba, 2004) and Kramsch's (2009) symbolic competence (see section 2.2.6) as a way of developing a "mentality for engaging in multilingual and multicultural communication" (Baker, 2022, p.40). I propose this should start with the SLT, as an appreciation for both languages and the fluidity of different cultures should be the foundation from which everything at HSH develops from. I believe the practical suggestions made by the participants are more likely to be successfully embedded if the way in which bilingualism, languages and cultures are spoken about are less fixed, and appreciated for their interconnectedness.

If HSH were to move away from the current binary of Chinese and English, this would help to address the issues raised by the participants in this research. For example, a consistent approach to translanguaging and increased opportunities to
learn about cultures associated with Anglosphere countries could be initiated. Most importantly, I feel it would prepare our students for the reality of studying and living abroad, in diverse countries and cultures. At this point I would be hesitant to describe what this looks like practically at HSH, as I feel it requires a discussion amongst all the SLT to share how it would work from their cultural perspectives. I also appreciate that requirements from the Zhejiang Education Bureau may be influential on what can or cannot be done at HSH (see section 1.2).

Having described how this research has identified a need to reconsider what bilingualism means at HSH, in the next section I shall discuss the limitations of the research.

## 6.4-Limitations

Although efforts were taken to appropriately design and facilitate this research project, I encountered several challenges and limitations whilst conducting the research. My reflexive stance has helped to identify these, and whilst these are based on my experience, I acknowledge that due to the nature of cross-cultural research, there may be other limitations I have not identified.

### 6.4.1 - My positionality

I experienced changing positions between being an 'insider' and 'outsider' (Merton, 1972, p.15) during this research (see section 3.5). For most of the research process, my positionality and power as the Assistant Head of JH was not detrimental. However, during transcription, it became apparent I missed the opportunity to question the participants further about these barriers and I did not encourage them enough to expand upon their answers (see section 3.6). As mentioned in section 3.5 , there were times where my positionality was influential on the participants. During the workshop, S6 turned to me and said they had something they wanted to report. The wayin which they said it suggested they wanted to make me aware as the Assistant Head of JH, that something had happened in school. This caught me by surprise, as I thought I was in my researcher position - however, S6 had clearly seen my Assistant Head of JH role present in that moment. My response was to ask them to talk to me after the workshop, although by S 6 asking methis it brought attention back to my positionality as the Assistant Head of JH.

A second example occurred during Kinder Egg's individual interview, when I asked them to repeat an answer as I had not heard it clearly, but they replied that it did not matter. On listening back to the audio-recording, Kinder Egg had explained how a math teacher had not followed the language policy. Kinder Egg decided not to repeat this, probably aware that, as the Assistant Head of JH, I could have followed up with this teacher. These were both observable examplesof the impact of my positionality on the participants' perceptions. Moreover, as discussed in section 3.5 .4 , my inability to speak Mandarin meant there may have been cultural references the participants chose not to discuss as I would not understand them. This may have occurred during the discussions on bilingualism including the idea of family (see section 4.2.1).

The final aspect of my positionality which was influential on the research, was my identity as a British nation (see section 3.5.3). This aspect of my identity was influential on the participants, as phrases such as "you guys are the first language speaker" and "you foreigner people". Again, the transcription process was useful in highlighting how this aspect of my identity was influential. For example, I had drawn on colloquialisms, such as "bearing in mind" and "one and the same", which the participants may not have understood, or have been able to understand due to the non-literal meaning. My use of these words surprisedme, as I am normally very conscious of not using such expressions with the studentsin school.

### 6.4.2 - Inclusion of an interpreter

As discussed in section 3.6, the inclusion of an interpreter greatly benefitted the research project, as I would not have been able to complete the research without her. However, there werea couple of occasions where the translations were slightly problematic. Firstly, asthe transcription demonstrated, the translation was not always accurate. For example, in the workshop, S 6 had asked me the question "is theremore Chinese?" but it had been translated as a statement, "she wants more Chinese" which meant I took this as an opinion as opposed to somethingthey were enquiring about.

The second challenge occurred due to the time constraints of interpreting by providing real-time translations. At points the participants' comments were significantly shortened which meant in the moment I could not respond in the same way I would have done if I had understood the full sentiment. For example, a participant shared in Mandarin, "the schools in the public education system may
be a bit constraint however in a bilingual school they tend to more respect your ideas encourage your develop". This was translated as "people and character to grow up freely". Consequently, I missed the point here, in that they were making a comparison between HSH and Chinese public schools, which is an area I could have questioned further. The translated transcriptions were beneficial to identify these few moments, however, not understanding the meaning in the moment meant I could not adequately respond as a researcher. The transcription also illustrated how, at times, the interpreter challenged the distinction I was trying to make between us as employees of HSH and us as a researcher and interpreter.

In the next section I describe some of the practical logistical challenges faced during the research.

### 6.4.3 - Logistical and technical challenges

Conducting research within the HSH school context led to challenges in terms of having a homogenous participant group, co-ordinating logistics, attendance and the use of technology.

Firstly, the use of stratified random sampling (see section 3.7) resulted in no boarding students or new students being selected. This was disappointing as boarding students who live on campus would have had insights into different aspects of HSH as they experience the school in a different way to day students who leave at 4pm. Equally, having no students who had joined the school within the last twelve months was also a shame as they would probably also have had alteernative insights than those who had been in the school for two years or longer.

Secondly, the focus group session had to occur afterschool, outside of the regular school day. This involved working with departments across the school, as well parents and the HSH security and facilities team as students wereon campus outside of regular hours. My communication was clear, however, despite arrangements being made in timely manner and sending out reminders, there were three participants who did not attend the focus group.

Alongside the logistical challenges, there were two technical challenges faced during the research project. Firstly, the dictaphone stopped towards the end of the individual interview with S6. Therefore, there was approximately seven minutes of dialogue not audio-recordedand consequently not transcribed.

There were also issues with the participants' laptops and use ofTeams. There were internet connectivity issues whichcaused difficulties with uploading photos. There were two participants who did not upload any photos to Teams in the end. One of these participants had shown their images on their laptop during the individual interviewbut they were unable to upload to Teams. The second participant chose not to show any images during the individual interview or upload any to Teams.

### 6.4.4 Data analysis

The final limitation for this research project occurred due to the decision not to include any artefacts from the workshop or focus group in the data analysis. As described in section 3.1 this was because my interpretations of such artefacts had the possibility of altering the meaning the participants had attached to them. Therefore, it was more appropriate for my focus to be on the oral descriptions or discussions about the artefacts rather than the tangible items.

In this section I have described the limitations the research project in relation to my positionality, the inclusion of an interpreter, logistical and technological challenges and data analysis. In the next suggestion I review the actions taken and opportunities for the future.

### 6.5 Actions and future opportunities

Since completing the research, there are a number of actions I have taken in my role as the Assistant Head of JH in response to the findings and participants' perspectives. The most significant achievement has been in forming a programme called 'Summer Connections’ between HSH and our sister school, Wellington College UK based in Crowthorne. As discussed in section 4.2.4 and 5.4, participants wanted more opportunities to work and socialise with foreign students, as they thought it would be beneficial for their understanding of English language and associated cultures. Due to the rules from the Education Bureau this was not possible, however, communication between HSH and foreign students in schools in other countries is permitted.

Having spoken to my counterpart in the UK, it was agreed a programme would be mutually beneficial for each school. Our students at HSH would greatly benefit from practising their English, and equally the Wellington College UK students would also benefit from practising their Mandarin with HSH students. We formed the 'Summer Connections' programme and each marketed it to our respective
student body. After registering for the programme, we partnered the students from each school together and introduced them via Teams. After this initial contact the students took ownership of continuing the communication, with some deciding to change to method (for example using Instagram or email) and they have been communicating over the summer. Later in the year the programme will be reviewed, as students' opinions are gathered on how they found the process. Hopefully this will lead to an increased amount of opportunities for the students from both schools to work with each other. I am particularly proud of this achievement, as it has occurred as a direct response to the participants' concerns and has further demonstrated the importance of meaningful student voice activities (see section 2.4).

A second area I have been working on, which continues to be an ongoing piece of work, is initiating staff training courses on translanguaging, the concept of ICC (Byram, 1997) and our school's approach to it. As of now, this has included running workshops with our Heads of Department and Grade Leader team to ascertain if they feel their teams encourage translanguaging and if there are any barriers preventing them from doing so. What has become apparent from these initial sessions are that there is mixed understanding about what translanguaging is, and as the data from the participants showed, there are some teachers who believe strongly in monolingual teaching. The process of developing an appreciation for translanguaging and ICC (Byram, 1997) by formulating a consistent approach across the school is one which will take time to embed, hopefully with the support of the SLT.

In this section I have described two key actions I have taken in response to the research findings. In the next section I describe opportunities for future research to continue exploring the important topics of bilingualism and identity.

## 6.6-Future research

This research project has explored the topics of bilingualism and identity in HSH bilingual education model from a student perspective. A progression from this research would be to explore and analyse:

1. Teacher perceptions of bilingualism and identity in the HSH bilingual educational model. It would be interesting to include both foreign and Chinese teachers, to gain a greater understanding of how the teachers'
perspectives are shaping the pedagogical practices.
2. Student perceptions of bilingualism and identity in our sister schools, with the same age group and methodology. As my research project was specific to Hangzhou, conducting similar research in our sister schools, whose contexts are somewhat different, would help to develop a research-based group approach to bilingualism and identity.
3. Alumni's perceptions on how the HSH bilingual educational model prepared them for their university pathway.
4. A larger scale research project could explore different approaches to bilingual education with the JH age group across China, and the impact different models have on student perceptions of bilingualism and identity.

## 6.7 - Summary

This research project, despite the aforementioned limitations, has produced valuable and previously unknown insights into student perspectives on bilingualism and identity at HSH. The use of a workshop and focus group provided opportunities for students to discuss these topics and collaboratively construct knowledge together, such as the development of their unique definition of bilingualism. The participant-led photography saw participants identifying aspects of HSH which held significance to their bilingual development, and individual interviews allowed participants to discuss and reflect on their own opinions. The use of an interpreter meant participants could express themselves in their home language, and the translation service enabled me to have a greater insight into theparticipants' discussions. My experience of transcribing the spoken English, and conducting a thematic analysis led to the creation and developmentof three themes. These themes were used to answer my research questions and identify three key suggestions from the participants' about how the HSH bilingual model can be developed. These will now be presented to the SLT, in hope ofimproving practice in response to student voice.

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## Appendix A－Consent letter from HSH

To whom it may concern，

This letter is to confirm that Helen McCann has permission to conduct and reference data and information relating to our school and pupils in her research project．Helen has discussed with me the four methods she will be using with the pupil participants and parent and pupil consent will be sought．


## Appendix B－Child friendly information sheet

## 双语能力和身份认同

## Bilingualism and Identity

给杭州惠灵顿国际学校学生的资料页
An information sheet for students at Wellington College Hangzhou
你努力地学习汉语和英语，希望有一天能进入你梦想中的英美大学！我对这一点很感兴趣。我将做一些研究了解学校在你的学习过程中做了些什么帮助你的事情！

You work hard studying both Chinese and English，in hope one day of going to your dream colleges in the UK and US！ I am fascinated by this，and am going to be doing some research into what the school does to help you on your journey！


你已经认识我了，我是 McCann 小姐，是初中部的助理校长。在学校工作的同时，我也正在英国格拉斯哥大学攻读教育学博士学位。

You already know me，I am Miss．McCann，the Assistant Head of Junior High and alongside working at school，I am also currently studying for my Doctorate in Education with the University of Glasgow in the UK．

我想了解更多你在我们双语学校的经历。
I want to find out more about your experiences in our bilingual school．
我想了解你认为我们学校在双语环境中做得好或可以做得更好的地方。
I want to learn about what you believe our school does well，or could do better，in our bilingual environment．
如果你想参与，以下就是我需要你做的事：
If you would like to be involved，this is what I would need you to do：


4．最后，我们作为一个小组再次讨论双语能力问题，并反思调查的经历。 Finally，we come back together as a group to talk about bilingualism again，and reflect on the research experience．


2．然后，你将有一周的时间，使用 Surface Pro相机在学校四处拍照，拍摄你认为支持或阻碍双语发展的一切。You will then have a week to take photos around the school，using a Surface Pro camera，to take pictures of everything you think supports or prevents your bilingual development．

3．接下来，你会给我展示你拍的照片，并告
诉我你为什么拍这些照片。Next，you will show
me the pictures you have taken，and talk to me
about why you have taken them．

此后，我将给我的大学写一篇关于你告诉我的事情的文章。我不会使用你的名字，并且只会使用你允许我使用的照片。你不需要告诉我任何你不想告诉我的事情，而且你可以随时停止参加。

I will then write an essay for my university about what you have told me．I won＇t use your name and will only use pictures that you have given me permission to use．You don＇t have to tell me anything you don＇t want to，and you can stop at any time．
你有兴趣参加吗?

Are you interested in taking part？

College of Social
Sciences


## 参与者资料单（学生）

## Participant Information Sheet

## Students

## 项目标题和研究者羘细信息

Title of project and researcher details
双语能力与身份认同：中国学生对双语学校的看法
Bilingualism and Identity：Chinese students ${ }^{t}$ perspectives on a bilingual school
研究者：Helen Pamela McCann 小姐
Researcher：Miss．McCann
导师：Stephen McKinney 教授和 Giovanna Fassetta 博士
Supervisor：Professor．Stephen McKinney and Dr．Giovanna Fassetta
课程：教育学博十课程
Course：Doctorate of Education
你受到邀请参加一个双语能力和身份认同研究项目。研究项目是深入了解某事的一种方式。你受邀参加是因为我想了解初中学生对学校如何鼓励双语能力的看法，并帮助我识别学校需要做些什么来不断改进。

You are being invited to take part in a research project into bilingualism and identity．A research project is a way to learn more about something．You are being asked to take part because I want to learn what students in Junior High think about how the school encourages bilingualism， and help me to identify what the school needs to do to keep improving．

在你决定参加之前，需要了解为什么要进行这项研究，以及它将涉及到什么。
Before you decide if you want to take part，it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve．
请花些时间仔细阅读本页上的信息，并且如果愿意，请与你的家长进行讨论。如果有什么不清楚的地方，或者你希望获得更多的信息，请向我提出。请花些时间决定你是否希望参加。

Please take time to read the information on this page carefully and discuss it with your parents if you wish．Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information． Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part．
如果你参加，接下来会发生什么？

## Appendix C1－Child friendly participant information sheet－continued

## What will happen if you take part

本研究的目的是找出你作为初中生对双语能力和身份认同的看法，拔出在学校生活中你认为有哪些地方支持双语能力，以及有哪些地方需要改进。

The purpose of this study is to find out what you，as Junior High students think about bilingualism and identity，identify parts of school life you think support bilingualism and areas which need to be improved．
如果你决定参加，则你将参与本项目的四个部分。
If you decide to take part，there are 4 parts of the research you will be involved in．
1）焦点小组 1 －焦点小组是不同的人聚在一起讨论一个话题的场合。在本项目中，所有参与研究的学生都将与我会面，讨论双语能力和身份认同问题。你不必回答任何你不想回答的问题。会议大约需要 1 小时。如果你觉得更愿意用中文回答问题，房间里会配备一名学校翻译。我将使用录音机记录回答，以便随后仔细听听所讲的内容。

Focus group 1 －a focus group is where different people meet together to discuss a topic．In this case，all of the students involved in the research will meet with me to discuss bilingualism and identity．You will not have to answer any questions that you don＇t want to．This session will take about 1 hour．There will be a school translator in the room if you feel more comfortable answering in Chinese．I will record the answers on a voice recorder so that afterwards I can listen carefully to what was said．

2）拍照－在此之后，你将能够在学校使用相机拍摄你所在初中与双鱼能力和身份认同相关的照片。你需要同意一些关于在学校使用相机的规定，以确保每个人的安全。

Photography－after this，you will then be able to use a camera in school to take photos of things in Junior High related to bilingualism and identity．You will need to agree to some rules about using a camera in school to make sure everyone is kept safe．

## 具体规定如下：

These rules are：
 i will only take pictures including other people（my peers，friends，staff，parents）if I have asked their permission to take a photo of them．

i will only take pictures in public areas of the school，and not in private areas such as the bathrooms or bedrooms in boarding．

I will use my camero responsibly，and look after it carefully．
 If I decide to let someone else use my camera to help me take a photo，I will make sure they use if carefully，and understand the picture I am trying to take．

I will contact Miss．McCann immediately if I have any concerns，problems or questions about using the camera．
你将能够在你的笔记本电脑上编辑这些照片。这需要一周的时间
You will then be able to edit these photos on your laptops．This will take 1 week．

## Appendix C2－Child friendly participant information sheet－continued

3）访谈－我将单独会见每一位学生，询问有关你拍摄的照片的问题以及你对双语能力的看法。如果你更愿意用中文回答，可以选择让一名翻译在场。这大约需要 30 分钟。

Interview－I will meet with each student individually，and ask you questions about the photos you have taken and your ideas about bilingualism and identity．You will have the option of having a translator in the room if you would rather answer in Chinese．You don＇t have to answer any questions you don＇t want to．This session will take approximately 30 minutes．
4）焦点小组 2 －参与的所有学生将再次见面。我将问你们一些关于你们现在对初中双语能力的看法的问题。你们可以互相分享他们的照片，但并非必须这样做。你不必回答任何你不想回答的问题。这大约需要 1 个小时。如果你觉得更愿意用中文回答，房间里会配备一名学校翻译。我将使用录音机记录回答，以便随后仔细听听所讲的内容。

Focus group 2 －all of the students involved will meet together again and I will ask you some questions about what you now think about bilingualism in Junior High．You can share your photos with each other but you do not have to．You do not have to answer any questions that you don＇t want to．This will take about 1 hour．There will be a school translator in the room if you feel more comfortable answering in Chinese．I will record the answers on a voice recorder so that afterwards I can listen carefully to what was said．

我将在2022年3月31日前完成数据的收集。
I will be finished gathering information by $31^{\text {st }}$ March 2022.
你并非必须参加这项研究，这是你的选择。无论你决定参加还是不参加，你的成绩都不会受到影响。如果在开始参加之后，你改变了主意，请告诉我，我不会使用你已经给我的任何信息。

You do not have to take part in this research，it is your choice．Your grades will not be impacted if you decide to take part or not．If，after you have started to take part，you change your mind， just let me know and I will not use any information you have given me．

## 信息保密

## Keeping information confidential

我会将搜集来的数据保存在一个上锁的文件柜中，或者保存在我电脑上的一个加有密码的文件中。

I will keep the information from the research in a locked cabinet or in a locked file on my computer．

当我撰写我的研究发现时，你的名字不会被提及。如果你愿意，你可以选择一个化名 ，以便我在引用你说的话时使用。没有任何其他人会知道你选择的化名。

When I write about what I have found out，your name will not be mentioned．If you like，you can choose another name for me to use when I am writing about what you said．No－one else will know which name you have chosen
然而，如果在我们的谈话中，我听到任何让㧴担心你可能会受到伤害的事情，我可能不得不告诉其他需要知道这件事的人。

However，if during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that you might be in danger of harm，I might have to tell other people who need to know about this．

由于只有八名参与者参与了这项研究，而且均为初中生，所以不可能对你所有的回答都完全保密。

## Appendix C3－Child friendly participant information sheet－continued

As there are only eight participants involved in this research，and they are all from Junior High， it may not be possible to keep all of your responses completely confidential．

## 本顶研究的结果

## The results of this study

当我收集了所有参加的人的信息后，我会在一篇论文中写下我了解到的东西。这是一篇很长的论文，是为完成我正在学习的课程而必须做的。我的大学老师将阅读并对这些内容进行评分。

When I have gathered all of the information from everyone who is taking part，I will write about what I have learned in a dissertation，which is a long essay，which I have to complete for the course I am studying．This will be read and marked by my teachers at university．

我会将我发现的你和其他参加的孩子们对双语能力的看法告诉你们。我也会和 Perry 夫人分享我的发现，但所有的内容都是匿名的。项目完成后，我将销毁所有笔记和录音 $\circ$

I will tell you and the other children who have taken part what I have found out about what you all think about bilingualism．I will also share my findings with Mrs．Perry，but all of the findings will be anonymous．I will destroy all of my notes and recordings when the project is finished．

## 本顶研究的床查

## Review of the study

本研究经格拉斯哥大学教育学院伦理委员会审查并同意。这意味着我在大学里的老师已同意我进行这项研究。

This study has been reviewed and agreed by the School of Education Ethics Forum，University of Glasgow．This means my teachers at my university have agreed for me to do this research．

## 获得进一步信息的联系人

## Contact for further Information

如果你对本研究有任何问题，可以联系：
If you have any questions about this study，you can ask：
我本人，McCann 小姐（Helen．McCann＠huilieducation．cn）。
Myself，Miss．McCann（Helen．McCann＠huilieducation．cn）
我的导师 Stephen McKinney 教授（Stephen．McKinney＠glasgow．ac．uk）和 Giovanna Fassetta博士（Giovanna．Fassetta＠glasgow．ac．uk）。
My supervisors Professor．Stephen McKinney（Stephen．McKinney＠glasgow．ac．uk）and Dr． Giovanna Fassetta（Giovanna．Fassetta＠glasgow．ac．uk）．
或社会科学伦理中心官员：Susan Batchelor 博士（susan．batchelor＠glasgow．ac．uk）。
Or the Centre of Social Sciences Ethics Officer：Dr Susan Batchelor （susan．batchelor＠glasgow．ac．uk）．

感谢你阅读本文。
Thank you for reading this．

## Appendix D－Photography agreement

## 相机使用同意书

AGREEMENT FOR USE OF CAMERAS
参与者姓名 $\qquad$
Participant name $\qquad$
我同意在研究项目中使用相机时遵守以下规定。我理解，如果我违反以下任何规定，我将无法继续参与该研究项目。
I agree to adhere to the following rules when using a camera as part of the research project． I understand that should I break any of the following rules，I will be unable to continue with the research project．

1）我只有在请求并获得允许后才会拍摄包括其他人（我的同学，朋友，工作人员，父母）的照片。
I will only take pictures including other people（my peers，friends，staff，parents）if I have asked their permission to take a photo of them．

2）我将只在学校的公共区域拍照，而不在卫生间或寄宿学校的卧室等私人区域拍照。 I will only take pictures in public areas of the school，and not in private areas such as the bathrooms or bedrooms in boarding．

3）我将负责任地使用相机，并对其小心保管。
I will use my camera responsibly，and look after it carefully．
4）如果我决定让别人用我的相机帮我拍照，我会确保他们小心使用，并理解我要拍怎样的照片。
If I decide to let someone else use my camera to help me take a photo，I will make sure they use if carefully，and understand the picture I am trying to take．

5）如果我对使用相机有任何顾虑，问题或疑问，我会立即联系 McCann 小姐。
I will contact Miss．McCann immediately if I have any concerns，problems or questions about using the camera．

## 参与者签名：

$\qquad$
$\qquad$
Signed by the participant： $\qquad$

完
End

## Appendix E－Parent participant information sheet

## College of Social

 Sciences
## 参与者资料单（家长）

## Participant Information Sheet

## Parents

## 项目标题和研究者详细信息

Title of project and researcher details
双语能力与身份认同：中国学生对双语学校的着法
Bilingualism and Identity：Chinese students＇perspectives on a bilingual school
研究者：Helen Pamela McCann 小姐
Researcher：Miss．Helen Pamela McCann
导师：Stephen McKinney 教授和 Giovanna Fassetta 博士
Supervisor：Professor．Stephen McKinney and Dr．Giovanna Fassetta
课程：致育学博十课程
Course：Doctorate of Education
您的孩子将被邀请参加一个探索双语能力和身份认同的研究项目。
You child is being invited to take part in a research project exploring bilingualism and identity．
在您决定是否让您的孩子参加之前，需要了解为什么要进行这项研究，以及它将涉及到什么。请花些时间仔细阅读本页上的信息，并且如果愿意，请与他人讨论。如果有什么不清楚的地方，或者㤰希望获得更多的信息，请向我提出。请花些时间决定您是否希望您的孩子参加。

Before you decide if you want your child to take part，it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve．Please take time to read the information on this page carefully and discuss it with others if you wish．Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information．Take time to decide whether or not you wish your child to take part．

我希望本资料页能回管您关于这项研究的任何问题。
I hope that this sheet will answer any questions you have about the study．

## 1．本项研究的目的是什么？ <br> What is the purpose of the study？

本研究的目的是了解学生对双语能力的看法，包括双语能力对他们自身身份和未来梦想的意义。在全球范围内，越来越多的学生决定出国留学，这通常意味着生活在语言和文化与其祖国不同的国家。考虑到这一点，学生必须做好充分的准备并具备足够的

知识，以便能够轻松地进入新环境，而双语教育模式的发展正是为了支持这一点。我们将要求您的孩子将描述他们觉得初中鼓励双语能力的方式，并找出学校是否可以做更多的事情来促进和鼓励他们的双语身份发展。
The purpose of this study is to find out students＇opinions on bilingualism，including what it means as part of their own identity and their future dreams．Globally，more students are deciding to study abroad which often means living in countries which have different languages and cultures to that of their home country．With this in mind，it is important students are properly prepared and knowledgeable to be able to move easily into new environments and the development of bilingual educational models are used to support this．Your child will be asked to describe ways in which they feel Junior High encourages bilingualism，and identify if there is anything more the school can do to promote and encourage their bilingual identity development．

## 2．为什么选上了㧴的小孩？

## Why has my child been chosen？

我们之所以请您的小孩参加是因为他们是初中生，而其姓名是从其所在年级的所有学生中随机抽取的。在这一抽取过程中，每个学生分到一个数字，然后随机挑选出一个数字。从每个年级（7，8，9和10年级）中随机抽取2名学生，也就是说总共涉及到 8 名学生。

Your child is being asked to take part because they are a student in Junior High and their name was randomly selected from all of the students in their grade．This involved a process of every student being allocated a number，and then a number picked at random．There have been 2 students randomly selected from each grade（Grades 7，8， 9 and 10），meaning 8 students are involved in total．

## 3．找的小孩必须要参加吗？

## Does my child have to take part？

您的孩子并非必须参加本研究。如果您决定他们不参加，或者如果您的小孩不想参加 ，则他们不必参加。如果在您的孩子开始参加之后，您或他们改变了主意，请告诉我
，我不会在我的写作中使用他们提供给我的任何信息。
Your child does not have to take part in this study．If you decide that they should not take part， or if your child does not want to take part they do not have to．If，after your child has started to take part，you or they change your mind，just let me know and I will not use any information they have given me in my writing．

## 4．如果找的小孩参加，接下来会发生什么？

## What will happen to my child if they take part？

如果您的孩子参加，他们将参与本项研究的四个不同部分。
If your child takes part，there are 4 different parts of the research they will be involved with．
1）焦点小组 1 －这 8 名学生将聚在一起，我将问他们一些问题，了解他们如何看待双语能力，身份认同以及他们的未来。他们不必回答任何他们不想回答的问题。这大约需要 1 个小时。如果学生觉得更愿意用中文回答问题，房间里会配备一名学校翻译。我将使用录音机记录学生们的回答，以便随后仔细听听他们讲的内容。
Focus group 1 －The 8 students will meet together and I will ask them some questions about what they think about bilingualism，identity and their future．They do not have to answer any questions that they do not want to．This will take about 1 hour．There will be a school translator

## Appendix E2－Parent participant information sheet－continued

in the room if students feel more comfortable answering in Chinese．I will record the answers on a voice recorder 50 that afterwards I can listen carefully to what was said．

2）拍照－这 8 名学生将能够在学校使用相机拍摄在支持他们双语身份的发展方面，他们认为这所初中做得好或需要改进的事情。学生们需要同意一些关于在学校使用相机的规定，以确保每个人的安全。

Photography－The 8 students will be able to use a camera in school to take photos of things they feel Junior High does well，or needs to improve，to support the development of their bilingual identity．Students will need to agree to some rules about using a camera in school to make sure everyone is kept safe．

## 具体规定如下：

These rules are：
 I will only take pictures including other people（my peers，friends，staff，parents）if I have asked their permission to take a photo of them．

I will only take pictures in public areas of the school，and not in private areas such os the bothrooms or bedrooms in boarding．

I will use my camera responsibly，and look after it carefully．

If I decide to let someone else use my camera to help me take a photo，I will make sure they use if carefully，and understand the picture I am trying to take．

I will contact Miss．McConn immediately if／have any concems，problems or questions about using the camera．
学生们将能够在笔记本电脑上编辑这些照片。这需要一周的时间。
Students will be able to edit these photos on their laptops．This will take 1 week．
3）单独访谈－我将单独会见每一位学生，询问有关他们拍摄的照片的问题以及他们对双语能力的着法。如果他们更愿意用中文回答，他们可以选择让一名翻译在场。这大约需要 30 分钟。

Individual interviews－I will meet with each student individually and ask them questions about the photos they have taken and their ideas about bilingualism．They will have the option of having a translator present in the room，if they would rather answer in Chinese．This will take approximately 30 minutes．
4）焦点小组 2 －这 8 名学生将再次见面，我将问他们一些关于他们现在对初中双语能力的看法的问题。他们可以互相分享他们的照片，但他们并非必须这样做。他们不必回答任何他们不想回管的问题。这大约需要 1 个小时。如果学生觉得更愿意用中文回答，房间里会配备一名学校翻译。我将使用录音机记录学生们的回答，以便随后仔细听听他们讲的内容。
Focus group 2 －The 8 students will meet together again and I will ask them some questions about what they now think about bilingualism in Junior High．They can share their photos with each other but they do not have to．They do not have to answer any questions that they do not want to．This will take about 1 hour．There will be a school translator in the room if students
feel more comfortable answering in Chinese．I will record the answers on a voice recorder so that afterwards I can listen carefully to what was said．

我将在2022年3月31日前完成数据的收集。
I will be finished gathering data by $31^{ \pm t}$ March 2022.
参与或不参与本研究不会对孩子的成绩产生任何影响。
There will be no effect on my child＇s grades arising from their participation or non－participation in this research．

## 5．饿的小孩在本项研究中提进的信息是否保密？

Will the information that my child gives you in this study be kept confidential？
我会将收集到的有关双语能力和身份认同的所有数据保存在一个上锁的文件柜中，或者保存在我电脑上的一个加有密码的文件中。当我撰写我的研究发现时，你孩子的名字不会被提及。他们可以选择一个化名，以便我在撰写最终作品时使用。

I will keep all the data I collect about bilingualism and identity in a locked cabinet or in a locked file on my computer．When I write about what I have found，your child＇s name will not be mentioned．They may choose a pseudonym which I will use when writing up the final assignment．
不过，如果在我们的谈话中，我听到任何让我担心您的孩子可能会受到伤害的内容，我将不得不遵守学校的保护政策，并通知保卫负责人。

However，if during our conversation I hear anything which makes me worried that your child might be in danger of harm，I will have to follow the school＇s safeguarding policy and inform the safeguarding lead．
由于所涉及的孩子人数较少，并且在学校环境中进行，因此可能无法确保您的孩子对研究的反愦完全保密。我们将尽一切努力减少这种可能性。

It may be impossible to secure total confidentiality of your child＇s responses to the research， due to the small number of children involved，and setting it within the school context．Every effort will be taken to reduce this possibility．

## 6．本项研究的结果将如何处理？

What will happen to the results of this study
我将分析我从孩子们那里收集的数据，并在我为获得教育博士学位而撰写的论文中进行介绍。已参与的儿童及其家长将收到一份总结调查结果的演示邀请，我还将向高级领导团队演示这些信息。我将在项目结束时销毁这些数据。

I will analyse the data I collect from the children and present this in the dissertation which I am writing for my qualification，Doctorate of Education．Children who have participated，and their parents，will receive an invitation to a presentation summarising the findings and I will also present the information to the Senior Leadership Team．I will destroy the data at the end of the project．

## 7．本项研究经过了谁的审查？ <br> Who has reviewed the study？

本研究经格拉斯哥大学教育学院伦理委员会审查并同意。
This study has been reviewed and agreed by the School of Education Ethics Forum，University of Glasgow．

## 8．我可以联络谁以荧得进一步的信息？

## Who can I contact for further Information？

如果您有关于本研究的任何问题，可以联系：
If you have any questions about this study，you can ask：
我本人，Helen Pamela McCann 小姐（Helen．McCann＠huilieducation．cn）。
Myself，Miss．Helen Pamela McCann（Helen．McCann＠huilieducation．cn）．
我的导师 Stephen McKinney 教授（Stephen．McKinney＠glasgow．ac．uk）和 Giovanna Fassetta博士（Giovanna．Fassetta＠glasgow．ac．uk）。
My supervisors Professor．Stephen McKinney（Stephen．McKinney＠glasgow．ac．uk）and Dr． Giovanna Fassetta（Giovanna．Fassetta＠glasgow．ac．uk）．
或社会科学伦理中心＇官员：Susan Batchelor 博士（susan．batchelor＠glasgow．ac．uk）。 Or the Centre of Social Sciences Ethics Officer：Dr Susan Batchelor （susan．batchelor＠glasgow．ac．uk）．

感谢㤵阅读本文。
Thank you for reading this．

完
End

## Appendix F－Privacy notice

College of Social Sciences

## 隐私通告 <br> PRIVACY NOTICE

## 针对以下研究项目参与者的的急私政策：双语能力和身份议同：中国学生对双语学校的青法 <br> Privacy Notice for Participation in Research Project：Bilingualism and Identity：Chinese students＇ perspectives on a bilingual school

## 隹的个人数据

Your Personal Data
格拉斯哥大学将作为您孩子的个人数据的所谓＂数据控制者＂，该等数据在您的孩子参与的以下研究项目中进行处理——双语能力和身份认同：中国学生对双语学校的看法。本隐私通告将解释格拉斯哥大学将如何处理您孩子的个人数据。
The University of Glasgow will be what＇s known as the＇Data Controller＇of your child＇s personal data processed in relation to your child＇s participation in the research project－Bilingualism and Identity： Chinese students＇perspectives on a bilingual school．This privacy notice will explain how The University of Glasgow will process your child＇s personal data．

## 我们为什么需要这些数据

## Why we need it

我们正在收集基本的个人数据，如您子亥子的姓名和联系方式，以便进行我们的研究。我们需要您的姓名和联系方式，以便有可能跟进从您孩子那里收集的任何数据。

We are collecting basic personal data such as your child＇s name and contact details in order to conduct our research．We need your name and contact details to potentially follow up on any data collected from your child．

我们仅收集该研究项目所需的数据，通过焦点小组，个人访谈和摄影项目收集的所有数据将使用化名进行匿名处理。

We only collect data that we need for the research project and all data collected through the focus groups，individual interviews and photography project will be anonymised using a pseudonym．

## Appendix F1－Privacy notice－continued

请注意，保密性可能无法保证，例如，由于在学校环境中进行研究，而参与者将在学校四处拍照。然而，焦点小组和个人访谈的讨论内容将保持匿名。有关更多详细信息，请参阅随附的家长资料单。

Please note that confidentiality may be impossible to guarantee，for example due to research being undertaken in the school setting as participants will be seen taking photos around the school． However，the content of discussions in the focus groups and individual interviews will be kept anonymous．Please see the accompanying parent information sheet for further details．

## 处里但数据的法律依据

Legal basis for processing your data
我们必须有处理所有个人数据的法律依据。由于此等处理用于学术研究，我们将根据符合公共利益的活动来处理您提供的基本个人数据。

We must have a legal basis for processing all personal data．As this processing is for Academic Research we will be relying upon Task in the Public Interest in order to process the basic personal data that you provide．

除此之外，为了履行我们的道德义务，我们将征得您和悠的孩子对参与本项研究的同意。请参阅随附的同意书。

Alongside this，in order to fulfil our ethical obligations，we will ask for your Consent，and your child＇s consent to take part in the study．Please see the accompanying Consent Form．

## 我们用数据来做什么以及和谁共亨

What we do with it and who we share it with
您提交的所有个人数据均由 Helen Pamela McCann 小姐处理。此外，我们已建立了安全措施，以确保您的个人数据保持安全，包括使用化名对数据进行匿名化处理，并将任何数据存储在上锁的文件柜中。请查阅本通告随附的同意书和家长资料单。

All the personal data you submit is processed by：Miss．Helen Pamela McCann．In addition，security measures are in place to ensure that your personal data remains safe．This includes，anonymising data using pseudonyms and storing any data in a locked cabinet．Please consult the consent form and parent information sheet which accompanies this notice．

我们将邀请您参加详细介绍本研究项目结果的演示，并根据要求向您提供研究结果的打印副本以及任何后续出版物或作品。

We will invite you to a presentation detailing the findings of this research project，and will provide you with a printed copy of the study findings and details of any subsequent publications or outputs on request．

## Appendix F2－Privacy notice－continued

## 您的双利有哪些 <br> What are your rights？

《通用数据保护条例》规定，个人享有某些权利，包括：请求访问，夏制，更正或删除个人数据，以及反对处理。此外，数据主体也有权限制个人数据的处理和数据的可追移性。您可以随时请求访问我们处理的有关您孩子的信息。
GDPR provides that individuals have certain rights including：to request access to，copies of and rectification or erasure of personal data and to object to processing．In addition，data subjects may also have the right to restrict the processing of the personal data and to data portability．You can request access to the information we process about your child at any time．

如果您在任何时候认为我们处理的与您子孩子相关的信息不正确，您可以要求查看这些信息，并且在某些情况下可能会要求对其进行限制，更正或删除。悠还可能有权反对数据处理和数据的可追移性。
If at any point you believe that the information we process relating to your child is incorrect，you can request to see this information and may in some instances request to have it restricted，corrected，or erased．You may also have the right to object to the processing of data and the right to data portability．

请注意，由于我们出于研究目的处理您孩子的个人数据，行使这些权利的能力可能会有所不同，因为根据《通用数据保护条例》和2018年的《数据保护法》，可能存在适用的针对研究的害免。有关此等害免的更多信息，请参阅吕格拉斯哥太学使囲个人和特殊类别数据进行的研究》。
Please note that as we are processing your child＇s personal data for research purposes，the ability to exercise these rights may vary as there are potentially applicable research exemptions under the GDPR and the Data Protection Act 2018．For more information on these exemptions，please see UofG Research with personal and special categories of data．

如果您希望行使上述任何权利，请通过 网络表格提交申请或发送邮件至 dp＠gla．ac．uk。

If you wish to exercise any of these rights，please submit your request via the webform or contact dp＠gla．ac．uk

## 投诉

## Complaints

如果您希望就我们如何处理您的个人数据提出投诉，您可以联系将调查此事的大学数据保护官员。
If you wish to raise a complaint on how we have handled your personal data，you can contact the University Data Protection Officer who will investigate the matter．
我们的数据保护官员的联络方式为 dataprotectionofficer＠glasgow．ac．uk
Our Data Protection Officer can be contacted at dataprotectionofficer＠glasgow．ac．uk
如果您对我们的答复不满意或认为我们没有依法处理您的个人数据，您可以向信息长官办公室（ICO）投诉 https：／／ico．org．uk／

## Appendix F3－Privacy notice－continued

If you are not satisfied with our response or believe we are not processing your personal data in accordance with the law，you can complain to the Information Commissioner＇s Office（ICO） https：／／ico．org．uk／

## 本项目由谁进行过伦堵查？

## Who has ethically reviewed the project？

本项目已获得社会科学学院研究伦理委员会的伦理批准。

This project has been ethically approved via the College of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee．

## 我门将教据保留多久？

How long do we keep it for？
您的个人资料将仅在处理数据所需的时间内由大学保留，且不超过伦理批准的期限，即 2023年 4 月 1 日。此后，个人数据将进行安全刚除。

Your personal data will be retained by the University only for as long as is necessary for processing and no longer than the period of ethical approval： $1^{\text {st }}$ April 2023．After this time，personal data will be securely deleted．

根据格拉斯哥大学的指引，您的研究数据将保留十年。与研究数据存储相关的具体细节见本通告随附的参与者资料单和同意书。

Your research data will be retained for a period of ten years in line with the University of Glasgow Guidelines．Specific details in relation to research data storage are provided on the Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form which accompany this notice．

## Appendix G - Participant information table

| Name | Age | Grade | Gender | Boarding | Years in <br> school | University goals |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Student 1 | 14 | 8 | F | No | 2 | America - unsure what to <br> study |
| Student 2 | 14 | 9 | F | No | 3 | UK - Economics |
| Student 3 | 12 | 7 | M | No | 3 | Unsure - parents want him <br> to study business abroad |
| Student 4 | 15 | 9 | M | No | 4 | England - architecture |
| Student 5 | 15 | 9 | F | No | 4 | America - law |
| Student 6 | 13 | 7 | F | No | 2 | Unsure - parents want her <br> to study business in the UK |
| Stark | 14 | 8 | M | No | 3 | Unsure - but is speaking to <br> the university counsellors in <br> HSH |
| Kinder Egg | 15 | 9 | M | No | 4 | Canada - art or economics |



## Workshop 1 Bilingualism and Identity

## Monday 28 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ February 2022



## Appendix H1 - Slides used for workshop - continued



## WHAT WILL WE DO TODAY?

- Quick recap of the project and key dates
- Group agreements
- Stanley the Spaceman - How would you describe Junior High?
- What is bilingualism?
- Self-assessment - what does bilingualism mean to you?
- Junior High - how bilingualism is encouraged / discouraged
- Should Chinese / English be treated equally?
- Why do you attend a bilingual school?
- Photography project


## Appendix H2 - Slides used for workshop - continued

## THE PROCESS

What are we doing and when?


Remember
I am here as a researcher, not as your teacher.
Everything you share with me will be kept anonymous.

You can be completely honest in this room, there will be no punishment or telling off for anything you say!
I really care about knowing what you genuinely think!

## GROUP AGREEMENTS

How can we make sure everyone here feels supported and listened to?WHAT IS SAID IN THIS ROOM, STAYS IN THIS ROOM
EVERYONE IS ALLOWED TO HAVE AN OPINION

IT IS OK TO ASK 'WHY'

IT IS OK IF YOU DON’T WANT TO ANSWER

## LISTEN TO EVERYONE

CHALLENGE THE COMMENT NOT THE PERSON

## ALWAYS BE KIND

## Appendix H3 - Slides used for workshop - continued

STANLEY THE SPACEMAN


Stanley has been in space for a very long time. He doesn' t know anything about Junior High.

## What words / phrases would you use to describe our Junior High

 School?
## Write your ideas on the whiteboard around his picture

|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |

## WHAT DOES THIS MEAN?



## Super Quick Sketch Challenge!

You have a few minutes, to draw a very quick sketch of what this word means to you You can work on your own or with someone else

> You cannot use any words - only drawing!

## Appendix H4 - Slides used for workshop - continued



## Appendix H5 - Slides used for workshop - continued



## THINK ABOUT ME - LINE UP!

Think about yourself, where would you stand...

How bilingual do you think you are?
Fluent and confident


How important is being bilingual to you in the present?
Not important at all!

Incredibly important

## Appendix H6 - Slides used for workshop - continued

```
    THINK ABOUT ME - LINE UP!
Think about yourself, where would you stand..
```

=

Do you enjoy learning Mandarin?
Not at all!


How important is being bilingual to you in the future?
Not important at all!

Incredibly important

## THINK ABOUT ME - LINE UP!

三
Think about yourself, where would you stand...
Do you enjoy learning English?


Do you enjoy learning at Huili?
Not at all!
Yes I love it!

## Appendix H7-Slides used for workshop - continued

## THINK ABOUT ME - LINE UP!

I Think about yourself, where would you stand...

## Does Huili treat Mandarin and English equally?

No!

Do you enjoy learning at Huili?

Not at all!
Yes I love it!

## Appendix H8 - Slides used for workshop - continued

## = UNITED <br> STATES OF AMERICA


$\triangle X \quad \Delta \mathrm{~T}, \mathrm{~K} \Sigma$ ПКА ПКФ $\Phi \mathrm{M} \mathrm{AKA} \Delta \Sigma \Theta \quad \Sigma \Gamma \mathrm{Z} \quad \mathrm{Z} \Phi \mathrm{B}$
$\Theta Х ~ А О П ~ Г Ф В ~ \triangle Ф Е ~ К А \Psi ~$ $\Phi В \Sigma \Omega \Psi \Phi$ АФА


## CANADA



## UNITED KINGDOM



三

## OTHER ENGLISH <br> SPEAKING COUNTRIES



## Appendix H12-Slides used for workshop - continued

$\equiv$

## C—AA



## Appendix H13-Slides used for workshop - continued

## WHITEBOARD TASK - JUNIOR HIGH

| Elassrooms | Teachers |
| :---: | :---: |
| Curriculum | Corridors |
| Canteen <br> food | Assembly |
| Pupil council | Programme |
| In what ways does Junior |  |
| High encourage your |  |
| bilingualism? |  |



In what ways does Junior High discourage your bilingualism?


Is bilingualism important to our student body? Why / why not?

Why do you attend a bilingual school?

Outside of school, does bilingualism play an important part in your life?


## Appendix H14-Slides used for workshop - continued

## PHOTOGRAPHY PROJECT

三In what ways does Junior
High encourage your bilingualism?


In what ways does Junior High discourage your bilingualism?


TASK

TAKE PHOTOS AROUND THE SCHOOL OF EVERYTHING WHICH REPRESENTS BILINGUALISM / YOUR IDENTITY

## TAKE AS MANY PHOTOS AS YOU LIKE

YOUR FRIENDS CAN HELP YOU TAKE THEM

YOU CAN USE PHOTO EDITING SOFTWARE IF YOU LIKE

YOU MUST FOLLOW THE AGREED RULES IN YOU SIGNED...

三


## Appendix I－Workshop－Activity 1

Blared（compose with other Junior high）比较轻松的。 relaxing，not to muthpresure相对外棁式化后。1外国）
more like Foreign culture

Teachers－ 7 experience．
Activity -7 丰富．rich Students case $\rightarrow$ tut．foir pied fair． protect students．

Bilinginat Dotation
Read Writing
It is a bearitiful school
Different people come from differed
different jollity．con $+1 y$ ．
很董看重服装和礼节
Treasure uniforms and manners．

Junior High？What is it？
a study place．
It＇s use It＇s use to learn School
Peoples in different area of
Earth 外国人来哩
双语学校。


## Appendix 11-Workshop - Activity 1-continued



## Appendix J - Workshop - Activity 2



Appendix J1 - Workshop - Activity 2 - continued


## Appendix K - Questions for semi-structured interviews

## Questions for semi-structed interviews - Helen McCann - EdD Research

1. Which photo would you like to start with? Can you talk to me about this image?
2. What does this photo represent?
3. What were you thinking or feeling when you took this photo?
4. What was your favourite photo you took? Why?
5. Were any of your friends involved with taking the photos? Why / why not?
6. Was there an area of the school you took the most photos of?
7. Were there any areas of the school you would like to have taken a photo of but were unable to?
8. Did you find yourself taking more photos of what HSH does to encourage or discourage bilingualism?
9. (use if finding the photo hard to explain) Can you describe this photo for me?

## Questions for participant S3 who did not have any photos to discuss

2. Which parts of the school were you thinking about photographing? Why?
3. What does $x$ area represent to you? (x refers to the area mentioned by S3)
4. What does $x$ area make you think or feel about bilingualism at HSH?
5. Which are of the school most represents bilingualism at HSH? Why?
6. Did you talk to any of your friends about bilingualism and identity, or this research?
7. Was there an area of the school you were most drawn to?
8. Were there any areas of the school you did not have chance to look at?
9. Did you find yourself thinking more about what HSH does to encourage or discourage bilingualism?

## Appendix L－Focus group slides

WELLINGTON COLLEGE
CHINA

杭州市茟山区惠立学校惠灵顿（中国）

# Focus Group <br> Bilingualism and Identity 

Thursday 24 ${ }^{\text {th }}$ March 2022

## GROUP AGREEMENTS

How can we make sure everyone here feels supported and listened to？
WHAT IS SAID IN THIS ROOM，STAYS IN THIS ROOM

EVERYONE IS ALLOWED TO HAVE AN OPINION

IT IS OK TO ASK＇WHY＇

IT IS OK IF YOU DON’T WANT TO ANSWER

LISTEN TO EVERYONE

CHALLENGE THE COMMENT NOT THE PERSON

ALWAYS BE KIND

## Appendix L1 - Focus group slides - continued

## THE PROCESS

Remember
= What are we doing and when?

Remember
I am here as a researcher, not as your teacher.
Everything you share with me will be kept
anonymous.


## LAST TIME YOU SAID...

三Bilingualism is. The people speak two languages of the people come from the differnet parts of the world are under she roof (in ore big family)

Any changes to this definition?
Bilingualism is people who speak two languages through understanding culture and freely communicate and integrate with each other, enjoying this process as one big family

## Appendix L2 - Focus group slides - continued

## YOUR IDENTITY

三

Add 10 words to describe who you are


## JUNIOR HIGH



## Appendix L3 - Focus group slides - continued

三 Is bilingualism important to our student body? Why / why not?

Why do you attend a bilingual school?

Outside of school, does bilingualism play an important part in your life?


## LET'S DISCUSS...

What has been the best / worst part about being involved in this research?

What could we do differently next time?


## Appendix L4 - Focus group slides - continued

## 三

## Any questions / comments?



## Appendix M - Focus group discussion



## Appendix N - Photos Submitted Table



## Appendix 0 - Focus group - Identity body map



Appendix 01 - Focus group - continued


## Appendix P - Workshop and Focus Group - Initial Codes

|  | Workshop | Focus group |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Initial <br> Codes | Behaviour - detentions / AB tutor | Greatest cultural understanding - China <br> then UK |
|  | English language - link to age | Chinese restrictions - textbooks |
|  | English IGCSE exams | Need access to international students |
|  | Purpose of Huili education | Foreign teachers |
|  | Bilingualism | Teaching assistant support |
|  | Cultural understanding helps learn <br> a language |  |
|  | CSS + ESS culture | International culture needed more |
|  | Subject choices - Grade 9-Chinese <br> culture not as important |  |
|  | Job prospects |  |
|  | Open-mindedness |  |
|  | Monolingual and specialisms |  |
|  | Chinese between peers |  |
|  | Comparison to public school - less <br> constraint more respect for <br> individual development |  |
|  | Current affairs |  |

## Appendix Q-Individual Interviews - Initial code

| Name | Student 1 | Student 2 | Student 3 | Student 4 | Student 5 | Student 6 | Stark | Kinder Egg |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Initial <br> Codes | Translated word walls | Chinese subtitles on English videos | Relationships with teachers | IGCSE exams | Bilingual signs | Homework - not bilingual | Chinese maths / <br> English homework | Art - East vs. West |
|  | Bilingual newspapers | Translated word walls | English priority studying abroad | Textbook restrictions | Behaviour - following rules | Translations to be provided by teachers | Early IGCSE exams | Comparison to Chinese public school |
|  | Bilingual vocabulary | Staff collaboration | Chinese identity | English language | Translated word walls | Study attitude | Grade 6 teaching strategies | English spelling for maths |
|  | Chinese communication | Cultural displays | Western culture sufficient | Two identities - Chinese / English | Translation in notebooks | Translation in notebooks / learning objective | English language put off IGCSE History | Translated word wall |
|  | Levelled readers | Chinese culture strong | Self-confidence | VPN - exposure to cultures | English language prevalence | Key words always in Chinese | CSS + ESS culture | Bilingual newspapers - <br> topic China / big international |
|  | Study attitude | Western culture not strong | Chinese between peers | Chinese maths / English vocabulary | Western culture lacking | Chinese between peers | Grandpa's traditional Chinese stories | Canadian culture not confident |
|  | Student workload | Bilingual books library | Personal development | Translated word walls | Bilingual competitions | Complete English homework in Chinese | Foreign teachers = cultural understanding | Christian beliefs |
|  | Chinese culture sufficient | Bilingual signs |  | Study attitude / homework | Study attitude | Behaviour - detention | Chinese internet blocks | Higher English = more <br> English |
|  | International culture required | Chinese required to learn English |  | Chinese language |  |  | International culture required | Chinese symbolism orchid - roots in Huili |
|  | Bilingual signs |  |  | University preparation skills |  |  | Huili Chinese only student model = public school | Wellington 22 |
|  | International students |  |  | Teacher support |  |  | Current global affairs | Signs - only in English |
|  |  |  |  | Resources |  |  | English language | Bilingual education express yourself |
|  |  |  |  | Barriers between foreign teachers and students |  |  | Boarding |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Chinese language |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  | British summer school / international friends |  |


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ This is the province within which HSH is located．

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ One language is used in isolation.
    ${ }^{3}$ Multiple languages used together.

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ TOEFL is used in the USA (Study in the U.S.: The TOEFL Test (ets.org) whereas IELTS is used in the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand (IELTS for migration).

[^3]:    ${ }^{5}$ A student-centred approach which encourages communication and team-work through play

[^4]:    ${ }^{6}$ This is a Confucian concept which advocates for valuing, respecting and caring for one's parents.

[^5]:    7 The pseudonyms for the other six participants follow a simple numbering system: student $1=\mathrm{S} 1$, student $2=$ S2, student $3=$ S3, student $4=$ S4, student $5=$ S5 and student $6=$ S6.

[^6]:    ${ }^{8}$ The $4^{\text {th }}$ June incident refers to the student protests held in Tiananmen Square which resulted in the death of an estimated 2600 people (Lui, 2000)

[^7]:    ${ }^{9}$ Participants all had access to a Microsoft Teams page, with individual private channels where they could upload their photos to be seen only by myself and the interpreter. This application is used for all homework tasks in JH, therefore all participants were confident with how to use it.

[^8]:    ${ }^{10}$ China has the biggest mobile phone market in the world，with more than 850 million people using them（Phongtraychack and Dolgaya，2018）．Mobile phones are needed for accessing public transport，paying for items and showing health codes to enter public spaces due to Covid－19． ${ }^{11}$＇WeChat＇（微信）works in a similar way to＇WhatsApp＇messenger，in that you have friends you can message privately or in a group，as well as posting moments to show your contacts photos． ${ }^{12}$＇TikTok＇（抖音）is a video－clip posting app，which is incredibly popular with Chinese teenagers as it offers escapism，entertainment and social interactions as well as offering opportunities to earn significant amounts of money if videos go viral（Meng and Leung，2021）．

[^9]:    ${ }^{13}$ Participants friends were able to help take photos，providing they followed the participant photography agreement（See appendix D）which stated：

[^10]:    ${ }^{14}$ Open Studies 2 is a module taken in the third year of the Educational Doctorate course at the University of Glasgow.

[^11]:    ${ }^{15}$ The transcription protocol used the speaker's name, followed by their spoken words and not including any punctuation. For any unclear speech, *inaudible* was noted and this was used both when individual words and full phrases were unclear. Throughout the transcription the timing of the recording was also noted, approximately every two minutes so it would be easy to listen back and review specific sections.

[^12]:    ${ }^{16}$ The website used was www.thewordpoint.com. This transcription and translation service was selected based on positive reviews, and because it involved a human transcribing and not computer software. An amendment to my original ethics form was submitted, to include this.

[^13]:    ${ }^{17}$ For initial codes from the focus group transcription see appendix $P$ and for initial codes from theindividual interview transcriptions see appendix $Q$.

[^14]:    ${ }^{18}$ English Social Studies includes the subjects of history, geography and global perspectives. These subjects all follow the Cambridge Assessment International Education (CAIE) IGCSE syllabus.

[^15]:    ${ }^{19}$ Non-negotiables at HSH are the requirements the school have for staff, to ensure consistency across all subjects. These include; having a starter activity; taking the register within the first five minutes; including a speaking task in every lesson; and having a word-wall for key vocabulary (which much be translated if in an English-medium subject).

[^16]:    ${ }^{20}$ In grades 7 and 8, pupils have one hour a week in the library as part of their English classes. In grades 9 and 10, pupils tend to have one hour every two weeks in the library, although those who have additional English support classes will go weekly.
    ${ }^{21}$ Different levelled reader schemes are used, depending on where the books are sourced from. The majority of the levelled readers are from the UK and are allocated to coloured book bands based on their age-related reading level. This means pupils are aware of their reading colour, and are less focused on the age. This is important as $71 \%$ of JH pupils have a reading age of between 6 and 8 years old.

[^17]:    ${ }^{22}$ These images had pupils in who would be identifiable，therefore，they have not been includedas a figure in this dissertation．

[^18]:    ${ }^{23}$ Baidu is a popular online search engine in China.

[^19]:    ${ }^{24}$ Conversation corner is a place where all JH students can go at lunchtime to speak to teachers from a range of different subjects. It is designed to help students improve their English-speaking skills.

[^20]:    ${ }^{25}$ The wellbeing wall has quotes from teachers, in both Mandarin and English, about mental health and wellbeing. This photo included a student and therefore has not been included in the dissertation.

[^21]:    ${ }^{26}$ Grade 6 is the final year of primary school at HSH, equivalent to Year 7 or first year of secondary school in the UK.

