A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF BRITISH AND CHINESE STEREOTYPES IN CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BG	British group
CG	Chinese group
MG	Mixed group
Self_Pers	Self-stereotype at the personal level
Self_Soc	Self-stereotype at the social level
Other_Pers	Other-stereotype at the personal level
Other_Soc	Other-stereotype at the social level
Soc_Total	Total ratings at the social level
Pers_Total	Total ratings at the personal level
Self_Total	Total ratings on self-stereotypes
Other_Total	Total ratings on other-stereotypes

ABSTRACT

Stereotype, as a ubiquitous and persistent social phenomenon, has been a key issue in social psychology for some ninety or so years since Lippmann introduced it into social science in 1922. However, “Stereotypes wear the black hats in social science” (Schneider, 2004:1) and, to some extent, stereotypes themselves have been stereotyped, as the traditionally held view has focused on the negative values of stereotyping and viewed it as a static factor in social perception. In this view, stereotypes were considered to be overgeneralisations, inaccurate assumptions, and the cognitive roots of prejudice even discrimination, which are best avoided.

Stereotypes have recently claimed an important place in the field of intergroup relations and intercultural communication, but reciprocal interaction between self- and other- perceptions across different ethnic groups in the cross-cultural context has gone largely un-discussed in cross-cultural pragmatic studies. This thesis is an attempt to fill the void by theoretically situating in cross-cultural pragmatics, and empirically investigating one cross-cultural pairing, i.e., British and Chinese overseas students. Moreover, this work will focus on the conventional but perennial issues in stereotype research, i.e., the accuracy, role and pragmatic functions of stereotyping as realised in an interactive context. A mixed methods research methodology has been employed as a procedure for collecting, analysing, and integrating both qualitative and quantitative data in two consecutive phases: (1) focus group interview; (2) questionnaire survey. The aim is to build a holistic perspective to illuminate the research questions.

The objectives are to probe the cross-cultural practitioners’ first-hand stereotypical perceptions of self and others through their interactive practice, generate insights into the impact and pragmatic functions of stereotyping, and thereby shed light on stereotype research. This thesis serves to assess the evidence of ‘kernel of truth’ hypothesis and bridge the divergences between British stereotypes of Chinese people and Chinese stereotypes of themselves and vice-versa. Ultimately, therefore, the stereotyping is demonstrated as pragmatic device to assist interactants in achieving more harmonious and mutually beneficial interactions as what is perceived can help interactants predict, expect, and explain what is meant in specific cultural context.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 SETTING THE SCENE – A DIALOGUE

Stereotypes, which are most often considered a set of attributes assigned to a social or ethnic group as typical of its members, are a ubiquitous and persistent social phenomenon. Dominant social cognition theory views stereotypes as cognitive models, which affect the ways we form impressions of others (Brewer, 1988; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990) and as an aid to interpretation and evaluation of others' behavioural tendencies (Schneider, 2004). Stereotypes tend to be activated in a way that when certain social or ethnic categories are primed, personality traits and behavioural tendencies are most often interpreted in terms of stereotypical group membership associated with that category. Activated stereotypes can thus have profound effects on perceivers' perceptions, judgments and behaviours during social interactions (Devine, 1989; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Despite the ubiquity of its use, the stereotype is generally associated with negative motivations and consequences, and is commonly considered to be constructed from overgeneralisations, fixed beliefs or inaccurate assumptions that are best avoided. The rationale for dismissing stereotypes based on the negative associations of and biased attitudes towards such social categories as gender, race and ethnicity is usually justified. For example, gender stereotypes are believed to lead to discrimination against women regarding some certain attributes they possess and roles they perform (Burgess & Borgida, 1999) and many people harbour negative feelings towards blacks or members of other minority groups on an unconscious level (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Some of the cognitive and pragmatic functions of stereotyping in our everyday interactions can prove socially complex. Still, is stereotyping an inherently erroneous and distorted process? Or can a stereotype exist for good, pragmatic and justifiable reasons? These are the questions that this thesis will seek to decipher.

Take racial stereotypes as example: they are not necessarily false or negative. They, sometimes, arise out of the need to see people as "types and generalities" to simplify the complexity and obscurity of reality and functionally guide our behaviour (Lippmann, 1992). One readily available example can be found in the scene from the Oscar nominated film *Up in the Air* (2009), in which Ryan Bingham (George Clooney), a frequent-flier working for a corporate downsizing consultancy, argues with his young, new

co-worker Natalie Keener (Anna Kendrick), about his habit of “stereotyping” to pragmatically avoid the “bad” check-in lines at airport security:

[On getting through airport security**]**

Ryan: **[**Spotting various “bad lines”**]** Bingo, Asians!

Natalie: You can't be serious!

Ryan: **[**Walking past the 1st line – a couple with three young kids**]** Never get behind people travelling with infants. I've never seen a stroller collapse in less than 20 minutes. **[**The 2nd line – an elderly couple**]** Old people are worse. Their bodies are littered with hidden metal and they never seem to appreciate how little time they have left on earth. **[**The 3rd line – three Middle Eastern passengers**]** Here you go. Five words: Randomly selected for additional screening. **[**Entering the 4th line**]** Asians! They’re light packers, treasure efficiency, and have a thing for slip-on shoes. God love’ em.

Natalie: That's racist!

Ryan: I'm like my mother, I stereotype. It's faster.

Here, George Clooney’s character, as an experienced flier, had his own travel tips to make his trips go more smoothly. When it comes to making a wise choice regarding a quick line among four ‘categories’ of people (a family with kids, old people, Arabs, and Asians), they managed to go through the check-in process faster by queuing behind Asians due to his stereotypical impression of Asians as ‘light packers’. Although stereotyping itself is stereotyped by most people like Natalie as negative, when facing Natalie’s seemingly harsh accusation of racism, Ryan took it lightly and asserted himself confidently that his habit of stereotyping was based on his first-hand experience and these practical considerations were enough to be useful in daily life. Given the fact that the film intended to parody corporate administrative correctness, it is reasonably assumed that the director was mocking over-sensitive people who become jittery and automatically associate ‘stereotyping’ with ‘racism’. Apparently, the attributions of stereotyped groups were not necessarily negative as Ryan perceived Asians as “efficient”, and the consequences of stereotyping need not be inaccurate or unhelpful as Ryan obviously chose a ‘faster’ line to go through security. The Clooney character raised truth-claim with respect to what he believed to be true, as he made both perceptual and experiential judgment accompanied by his appreciation of objective validity, rather than merely subjective feelings.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM STATEMENT

Stereotypes have claimed an important place in social science and fascinated researchers for over ninety years, but aspects still remain to be explored. For example, the role of stereotyping in this new era of intensified global communication and 'element of truth' in stereotypes by drawing on perspectives and real-life experience of the interactants have gone largely un-discussed in cross-cultural studies. This thesis is concerned with both the perennial issues in stereotype research - 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis, and the interactive issue - the role and pragmatic functions of stereotype situated within cross-cultural pragmatics research. With few stereotype researchers referencing communication, this PhD thesis, entitled "A Comparative Study of British and Chinese Stereotypes in Cross-cultural Interaction", represents an attempt to fill the knowledge gap. It empirically investigates one cross-cultural pairing (British and Chinese overseas students) to probe the interactants' awareness of stereotypical phenomenon, how they make use of stereotypes in their cross-cultural practice and how their communication of stereotypical perceptions manifest subtle differences in language use, context-in-meanings and evaluation of culturally different activities.

On the basis of this perspective, the following research questions have been established:

1. Is there a 'Kernel of Truth' in stereotypes, given the evidence revealed in this current research?
2. Do the British & Chinese participants believe stereotypes improve or impede their actual cross-cultural interactions?
3. What are the pragmatic functions & features of stereotypes, from the perspective of the British & Chinese participants as cross-cultural interactants with first-hand experience?
4. What are the mutually stereotypical perceptions that the British & Chinese participants hold of each other and themselves?

As indicated above, the central aim of the current research is to assess the evidence of the 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis. Whether there is 'an element of truth' in stereotypes pervade the stereotypes literature. LeVine and Campbell (1972) developed this interesting 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis while it has been tested by examining the predominant viewpoints researchers hold, either for or against. For example, some researchers (Abate & Berrien, 1967; Ashton & Esses, 1999; Campbell, 1967; Prothro

& Melikian, 1955; Schoenfeld, 1942; Swim, 1994) have argued that stereotypes are at least partly accurate in that they contain a 'kernel' or 'grain' of truth while others (Brigham, 1971; Judd & Park, 1993; Katz & Braly, 1933; LaPierre, 1936) have argued that stereotypes are basically inaccurate and have explicitly defined stereotypes as unjustified generalisations about groups. This research question was addressed from two perspectives: on the one hand, that of cross-cultural interactants, as their perceptions through interactive practice are believed to make stereotypes accuracy measurement most likely. The assumptions that accurate stereotypes developed through cross-cultural contacts can have a positive impact on reducing misunderstandings and promoting smooth interactions, Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) confirmed that "there is a 'kernel of truth' in most stereotypes when they are elicited from people who have first-hand knowledge of the group being stereotyped" (p. 324). On the other hand, that of the correspondence between self- and other-stereotypes consisting "at least in part, of actual characteristics of the group described" (Abate & Berrien, 1967; Campbell, 1967; Swim, 1994; Vinacke, 1949). In the designed methodological framework, analyses of the focus group and survey data would allow assessment of the evidence of 'element of truth' in stereotypes elicited from one cross-cultural pairing, i.e. British and Chinese overseas students' mutual stereotypes.

Another main question in this current research is the positive/negative role of stereotypes. The affirmations of stereotypes' negative connotation and consequence have persisted throughout the literature, resulting in 'a societal prescription to avoid them'. Still as a cognitive schema, stereotypes are unlikely to be eliminated in social interaction. When meeting an individual from a different cultural background, the interaction is often dictated by preconceived ideas and notions of the other parties' personality traits and behavioural tendencies. These perceptions are often activated associated with stereotypical group membership. Activated stereotypes can thus have profound effects on interactants' perceptions, judgments and behaviours in their social interaction (Devine, 1989; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). As a result of increasing globalisation, numerous scholars have moved to approach stereotypes by placing it in the context of cross-cultural interaction. For example, Chinese scholar, Gao (1995) advocates a 'Paradox of Intercultural Communications'. She argues that stereotyping serves both as the "bridge" to promote interaction and as the "gap" impeding it. However, Jandt (2001) proposes stereotypes can hinder and be counter-productive to intercultural communication. In the current research, the qualitative enquiry of focus group interview and quantitative evaluation of questionnaire

survey are designed to explore the British and Chinese participants' beliefs in how stereotypes affect their actual cross-cultural practice.

A significant purpose of this thesis is to empirically demonstrate the pragmatic functions and features of stereotypes by viewing stereotypes as the "point of entry" into cross-cultural pragmatics study. Thus, it contributes to cross-cultural pragmatics in line with the theoretical perspective that research on interpreting interactions in terms of linguistic forms and their underlying social perception and cultural norms has become a major area of cross-cultural pragmatics (Goddard 1997, 2004; Wierzbicka 1994, 1996). Thomas (1983) explicitly states that socio-pragmatic failure, as a form of cross-cultural communication breakdown, can stem from cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour. Still, the empirical studies on how cognitive processes play the role in social interactions has gone largely un-discussed in cross-cultural pragmatic studies. This current research will seek to fill the void by proposing that stereotypes can be utilised as a practical strategy to assist interactants in achieving more effective and smooth interactions as what is perceived can help interactants anticipate, foresee, and explain what is meant in specific cultural context. In addition, pragmatic features will be identified, i.e. how real-life interactants' stereotypical perceptions manifested culturally different linguistic forms, divergent meanings of culturally different activities, and cultural context determines evaluation of perceived traits. This will be achieved by conducting focus group interviews and bringing British and Chinese interactants together to communicate their stereotypical perceptions and share their cross-cultural experience, and thus empirically examine stereotypes' pragmatic functions from the real-life interactants. A significant element of this thesis will be to identify how what was perceived helped interactants predict, expect, and explain what is meant in specific cultural context and illuminate pragmatic features of stereotypes in relation to their linguistic forms, meaning-in-context and culturally defined valance.

Furthermore, the efforts of this thesis contribute to empirical stereotypes research into the mutual stereotypical perceptions in cross-cultural reality gained by interactants of the British and Chinese cultural backgrounds for the purpose of the first-hand stereotypes and mutually beneficial communication through bridging the gap between self- and other-stereotypes. Stereotypes research has lacked comparative perceptions and productive findings to make it highly engaging and interactive for non-specialist interactants who are living in the target cultures. Most stereotypes researchers have

actively conducted their studies to investigate university participants about their perceptions of different ethnic groups on the basis of second-hand information sources. It thus appears an urgent need for cross-cultural representation in empirical stereotypes research. Elucidating the dynamics of that specific attribute of stereotyping as a whole will be a key aspect of this paper.

1.3 MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH

One can see that a stereotype can manifest itself in the words, phrases or images that reflect a set of positive or negative beliefs about a social group, based on generalisations of some real or perceived attributes of the group's members. The motivation for the current research has been conceived within the context of more intensified global communication: more frequent contacts among people from different cultures also bring increased opportunities for the forming of and expression of stereotypes, which are believed to have an impact on cross-cultural interactions. However, regarding the role of stereotypes, different scholars hold different views. Many scholars' claim that stereotypes are detrimental to intercultural communication and intergroup relationships leads to the elimination of stereotypes as a prerequisite for smoother and more successful intercultural exchange (Bar-Tal, Graumann, Kruglanski, & Stroebe, 1989). Still, some argue that it is impossible to eliminate stereotype, given its nature as cognitive schemata. In their views, stereotyping can either facilitate or impede cross-cultural interaction depending on whether they are 'well-grounded', 'justifiable', 'valid' or 'unjust', 'invalid' (Gao, 1995; Lehtonen, 2016).

Sociolinguists, anthropologists, cross-cultural experts draw on stereotypical knowledge when analysing linguistic practices across cultures and discussing how the generalised statements of cultural differences, values, norms are developed in the first place, and the impact when they are circulated and maintained during cross-cultural interactions. For example, Kádár and Mills (2011) and their contributors in *Politeness in East Asia* explore the pervasive stereotypes of the complex 'politeness' phenomena in Asian cultures and analyse the discursive mechanisms by which these prevailing stereotypical manifestation and judgments of what could be defined 'im/polite'. Kádár asserts that politeness is a stereotypically salient characteristic of the languages and cultures of East Asian (2011:1). He suggested that East Asians encode their social and cultural values in their linguistic process far more complex than stereotypical knowledge would suggest. Hence, interactants' preconceptions on the

stereotyped groups' personal motives and social purposes of the 'polite behaviour' can be challenged in their encounters (2011:x). With respect to the "'Orientalist' stereotype of 'the polite Asian'", East Asians are traditionally perceived as indirect, deferential and extremely polite. Still, Mills and Kádár claim that the functions and meanings of some idological concepts across cultures remain controversial, e.g. the Chinese appear to be 'indirect' compared to Westerners since "… An honest response (in Anglo-Australian cultures) … simply leaves a chinese with little mianzi (face)"(Ye, 2008:57) while they turn out 'direct' when it comes to the Japanese 'indirect' speech style since "the Janpanese never directly say 'no'[1]". Therefore, as can be seen, this is a relative perception based on the value system of the interactant and the target group. This inevitably raises questions on to what degree a stereotype can ever be deemed accurate based on anything more than a particular cultural perspective.

A good case in point of divergent values given to the politeness norms across cultures is the notion of 'privacy', which tend to form (in) valid stereotypes leading to (un) successful cross-cultural interaction. 'Privacy' is understood as "the state or condition of being free from being observed or disturbed by other people" (Oxford Online Dictionary) and "unwilling to reveal, and sometimes, hide from others" (Chinese Xinhua Online Dictionary). In this sense, the specific context of what is considered 'private' differ greatly across cultures. 'Privacy' has its Chinese equivalent, 'yinsi', containing the two connotations: 'yin' meaning 'concealed, hidden', 'si' meaning 'private', which used to imply, in a narrower sense, illicit secrets (i.e. what is closed or unfair) compared to Western countries' 'privacy'. The English word, 'privacy', as indicated in Oxford dictionary, broadly indicates the condition of things or affairs belonging to a single person or entity, (and not to the 'public'), and into which other people have no right to pry because they belong to someone else. In her first book *The Customs and language of Social Interaction in English*, Spencer-Oatey (1987) contrasts and concludes three different ways in which politeness is used in the Chinese and English languages and cultures: sense of privacy, indirectness and concept of modesty. Bi (2009) positively responded these politeness principle from a Sino-western comparative perspective and highlighted the cultural salience of Chinese politeness phenomena regarding these three aspects. He states that the concept of 'privacy' in different cultural-contexts has created one of the most common barriers to effective cross-cultural interaction since the way the Chinese people tend

[1] Accessible through www.chinabaike.com/z/dili/2011/0115/151055.html

to show their concerns to others by asking questions about personal affairs, such as, age, occupation, salary, and marital status. For Westerners, this can be perceived as an invasion of privacy (2009:118)". In Britain, it is undeniable that people are acutely concerned with the maintenance of privacy as George Orwell (1970) stated , "the most hateful of all names in an English ear is Nosy Parker[2]." The cross-cultural interaction involving such sensitive topics is more likely to end up with misunderstanding or conflict, with one party being offended and the other party being in bewilderment.

In this way, invalid stereotypes have been developed as a result of the failure to identify divergent values to the notion of 'privacy', with the Chinese stereotyping Westerners as 'touchy' and Westerners stereotyping the Chinese as 'intrusive', which leads to socio-pragmatic failure in cross-cultural interaction. However, this does not mean that stereotypes can only be perpetuated and harmful to intercultural communication. This thesis would posit that the exploration of differences in politeness principle and practice between the East and the West led scholars to devote efforts to understand the inaccurate stereotypes leading to cross-cultural interaction breakdowns and the necessity of reconstructing invalid stereotypes to remove a misunderstanding. With an increasing awareness of the concept of "privacy" in different cultural contexts, an appreciation of such divergent values to the notion of privacy as the cause of socio-pragmatic failure has been developed by Chinese and Western scholars. For example, Hu's (1999) *Introduction to Intercultural Communication*, in which the Chinese daily greetings tend to be perceived as intrusive communication of privacy information (p. 55). More and more case studies involving 'privacy' issues have been included in Chinese English learners' course books, e.g. Xu's (2008) illustration in his *Intercultural Communication*, that an American visiting professor in China clearly labelled her assessment of a student as 'confidential' while the university ignored this and got them published (p. 17). Cross-cultural comparison of concept of 'privacy' has also received great attention from Western scholars. In 2001, a group of researchers from the UK, the US, Australia, Russia, Germany, the Netherlands, China and Taiwan were gathered at Leiden University and at Wassenaar for the purpose of exploring Chinese concepts of privacy. They shared similar insights into 'the Chinese' lack of a sense of privacy. By analysing the terminology of 'privacy' in English

[2] Nosy Parker (Oxford Dictionary): An overly inquisitive person. Origin: Early 20th century: from the postcard caption 'The Adventures of Nosey Parker', referring to a peeping Tom in Hyde Park.

language and comparing to its western notion, Professor Bonnie S. McDougall, in her workshop paper raised the question as its title clearly indicated, '*Is there a Chinese sense of Privacy*' and maintained that privacy research was expected to be placed within a general framework to avoid the imposition of western values. Again, this raises the importance of recognising the cultural lens through which a particular stereotype is being constructed and judged.

Therefore, mutually perceived views of culturally different concepts can be crucial to reconstruct valid stereotypes and achieve smoother cross-cultural interactions. Cultural stereotyping might provide an effective and available approach to pragmatically define cultural differences and facilitate mutual perceptions. Though they are not recognized as a pragmatic device, stereotypes, once re-loaded with accurate information, may have the potential to illuminate meaningful aspects for cross-cultural interactants and "serve as a reference when assigning significance to observations and experiences in social interactions" (Lehtonen, 2016). As Jenny Thomas has observed: "Every instance of national or ethnic stereotyping should be seen as a reason for calling in the pragmaticist and discourse analyst!" (Thomas, 1983:107)

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

Stereotyping, as a cultural and ideological phenomenon, has been a key issue in social psychology and sociolinguistics since Walter Lippmann first introduced it to social science in 1922. However, "stereotypes have been stereotyped" (Jussim, McCauley, & Lee, 1995:15) and "Stereotypes wear the black hats in social science" (Schneider, 2004:1). Although the negative connotation of 'stereotype' itself seems self-evident and no one has had anything good to say about stereotypes, some scholars have rested the argument upon an inaccurate assumption of inherently negative stereotypes (Leyens, Yzerbyt, & Schadron, 1994). The nature and use of stereotypes has been ignored, as people are too ready to 'condemn' rather than 'understand' them (Schneider, 2004).

A succinct overview of research traditions on stereotypes can help explain the nature of the research problem addressed in this work. The history of stereotypes research in social science is a checkered one. Its theoretical development can be divided into four stages, each with its particular emphasis: 1) 1922-1950s: in the thirty years following Lippmann's work, researchers held negative views on the

motivational functions of group stereotypes and defined it as inaccurate, irrational and having rigid judgments (Rothbart, Fulero, Jensen, Howard, & Birrell, 1978:254). 2) 1950s–1970s, Allport (1954) in his work, *The Nature of Prejudice*, draws our attention to the cognitive functions of stereotyping when he discusses the 'process of categorization'. It is Allport who operates at a crossroad and offers some groundbreaking insights while nevertheless viewing stereotyping as a 'prejudiced-personality approach'. 3) 1970s–1990s, with the growing awareness of the social significance of stereotype, Oliver Stallybrass, co-editor of the *Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, defined stereotype as "an over-simplified mental image of some category of person, institution or event which is *shared*, in essential features, by large numbers of people (Stallybrass, 1977:601)." The term '*share*', as a core of his statement, implies that the stereotype is not a static phenomenon but serves important social functions in the process of its creation and diffusion. This is an acknowledgement that stereotype occupies a central position in social life. 4) 1990s – now: with the rapid development of globalisation, a number of scholars have moved to approach stereotyping from a dialectical perspective by placing it into the dynamics of cross-cultural interactions and have provided new insights from the perspective of reciprocal interactions. One example of this more recent approach is that of Gao (1995), who proposed "a paradox of intercultural communication". In her view, establishing/constructing valid stereotypes can improve interactants' sensitivity to cultural differences and facilitate cross-cultural interactions. However, she does acknowledge the necessity for deconstructing/renewing invalid stereotypes since inaccurately perceived stereotypes can create obstacles that hinder interaction and mutual understanding. Simply put, cultural stereotyping serves both as a "bridge" to promote interaction and as a "gap" impeding it.

A critical review of the empirical studies regarding stereotypes reveals three major research trends. Firstly, since Lippmann's contribution nearly a century ago, the conventional research has assumed the inherent negative valence of stereotypes (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981:16) resulting in "a societal prescription to avoid them" (Kurylo, 2012:337). This conventional perspective has primarily focused on identifying and quantifying personality attributes in psychology (42,936 books/articles) while significantly less attention has been paid to the effects in international relations (7,356 books/articles), based on a keyword search in Summon, the University library database. Secondly, extensive research on personality and judgment has been conducted in the field of social psychology, where researchers make use of their easy access to college students to research for their indirect perceptions and ask them to

assign representative traits to given ethnic groups. Thirdly, despite Stallybrass's (1977) clear emphasis on "sharing" and the social significance of stereotype in its cognitive process as one of its defining features, relatively few researchers referenced communication when discussing the defining features.

Recently, empirical studies have been carried out in the context of cross-cultural interaction to assess and measure insiders and outsiders' mutual perceptions based on their cross-cultural practice, focussing less on studies in an experimental setting (See section 3.1.2.6). A real-life practice exploration of stereotypes provides the framework for this thesis that ventures into the meaning-in-context analysis of stereotypes. A key goal of this thesis is to define the role of stereotypes within cross-cultural stereotypes research by drawing on British and Chinese interactants' real-life experiences. A number of key research questions will be subsequently addressed. First, the contested nature of stereotypes was examined, that is, whether stereotypes have a kernel of truth, given interactants' stereotypical knowledge (dis)confirmed in their cross-cultural practice. Second, whether stereotyping impedes or improves cross-cultural interactions given interactants' expatriate life in their target cultures.

This PhD thesis is an original piece of research. It takes a new perspective on stereotypical phenomena and view it as the "point of entry" into cross-cultural pragmatics. The findings presented shed light on conventional stereotypes research, and highlight what makes this work an original contribution. The theoretical implication and key intent of this thesis is to assess the evidence of 'kernel of truth' hypothesis and identify different levels of accurate stereotypical perceptions. The practical implications of the research are to demonstrate that stereotypes can be used as a pragmatic strategy to assist interactants in achieving effective and smooth interaction across cultures, as what is perceived can help interactants predict, expect, and explain what is meant in specific cultural context. Also, this thesis provides the first empirical evidence of the British and Chinese overseas students' first-hand stereotypical perceptions of mutual stereotypical perceptions through their interactive practice in their target culture. Consequently, the critical examination of these divergent perceptions will ideally be a valuable element in the removal of cultural misunderstanding as a means to secure a more harmonious relationship.

1.5 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This study has also found opportunities for improving the methodological limitations of stereotype research, which has been dominated by quantitative paradigms within the trend of stereotypes measurements. Aiming to discover how the real-life interactants understand the stereotypical phenomena, elicit interactants' self- and other-perceptions, generate insights into the impact and function of stereotyping in their cross-cultural practice, and assess the 'Kernel of Truth', this research has employed mixed methods paradigm for collecting, analysing, and integrating both qualitative and quantitative data in consecutive phases. This comprises: first, a focus group interview has been designed as the primary gathering method to access the participants' context-laden perceptions on "self" and "other", based on their first-hand experiences and subsequent interactive data on this research topic; second, the yielded findings are statistically described and tested through a secondary method of questionnaire survey. These two sources of data have evolved as a complement to understanding the accuracy of stereotypes and their role in the cross-cultural interaction. The thesis thereby builds a holistic perspective to address the research questions.

Theoretically, this design, which prominently involves qualitative methods, can offer a more profound form of mixed methods thriving on the quantification of qualitative findings.. Empirically, this framework has the advantage of first eliciting a range of experiences and perspectives, and then evaluating the previous findings and determining the prevalence of any given viewpoints or attitudes.

There is an important distinguishing feature of the data gathering method in this research context. Instead of the common experimental procedures requiring college students to come into the lab and provide their second-hand perceptions of the target groups, the British and Chinese interactants were approached and interviewed in their target cultures, because, as subjects actively engaged in cross-cultural practice, they are better-motivated to reflect on their immediate cultural practices and generate more valuable opinions. It is evidently the aim of this thesis to ensure the highest level of fidelity regarding the perspectives provided by its interactants. A substantial level of effort was made to locate British students studying in China, compared with the overwhelmingly outnumbered Chinese population in Britain, and ensure the cooperation of multiple-set purposive groups with relatively equal sample sizes. There were five separate focus group sessions with overseas students both in Britain and in

China, and another four mixed sessions, where the same subjects were brought together to talk and interact with local students learning English or Chinese language for the purpose of observing their communication of self- and other- stereotypes. A number of international students were also included in the mixed sessions for the sake of the third-party opinion and a more-balanced ethnic context. The content of the discussions was the primary data arising from these sessions, but another significant aspect was the nature of the social environment and the interactive dynamics. Arguments, challenges, and laughter highlighted the discussions, and this enabled observation of the modes in which individual participants communicated their stereotypical traits, produced collective outcomes, and how they gave valuable insights into any topics arising in relation to their personal cross-cultural experiences.

The revelation of first-hand perceptions is imperfect. The interactants' awareness and handling of the stereotyping phenomenon in the face of a totally new situation was surprisingly insightful and self-aware. They demonstrated a high capacity for communicating their stereotyping behaviours and perceptions, reflecting on stereotype-related activities, and constructing culturally different definitions and context-dependent meanings. Hence, while the real-life interactants are not academic, they are knowledgeable in a practical sense. Ultimately, the aim of this thesis is to glean insights that will lead to a more accurate understanding of their target cultures. More importantly, the yielded results also point to the development and a richer pattern of interactants' perceived role and pragmatic function of stereotyping in their practice across cultures. In summary, a key implication of the current research is that basing stereotyping on the interactants' real-life experience and situations could lead to outcomes that better enable harmonious and mutually beneficial communication between British people and Chinese people through bridging the gap between self- and other-stereotypes. Also, this approach brings the novel perspectives presented on the role and pragmatic functions of stereotype into cross-cultural research. It is vital for cross-cultural pragmaticians to examine the interactions in which stereotyping is a paradigm of the inseparability of social cognition and pragmatic strategies for successful interaction as what is perceived can help interactants predict, expect, and explain what is meant in specific cultural context.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Chapter 2 is a literature review that will elaborate on the theoretical basis for the research. This chapter first addresses the relevance of stereotype research in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics, and provides a historical overview of the approaches to stereotypes within social psychology. This lays a conceptual and empirical foundation for this thesis. The chapter proceeds with the definitions of 'stereotype', followed by a presentation of the recurring debates over the defining features of this phenomenon. This is useful for ensuring that the research questions of this thesis are adequately framed. By then critically analysing the relevant academic work and identifying the gaps in the literature, the researchable questions were formulated and transformed into achievable focus aims. The thesis is theoretically situated within cross-cultural pragmatics, and empirically investigates self- and other-stereotypes of one cross-cultural pairing (British and Chinese), with a central focus on the accuracy, role and pragmatic functions of stereotyping as realised in an interactive context.

Chapter 3 describes and explains the methodology deployed in the current research. It begins with a summary of the research questions, the common methods used to measure and assess stereotypes and some empirical stereotypes studies conducted in the context of cross-cultural interaction. This is followed by a description of the methodological decisions, which were made in designing and executing of the mixed methods paradigm for this study. The subsequent sections lay a framework for illustrating the selection of sites and participants, some ethical issues, and finally describe the processes and procedures for data collection employed in the current research.

Chapter 4 discusses the focus group interview findings obtained from the 70,000-word transcriptions of the open-ended interviews, which were compiled from the nine focus group sessions conducted in both the British and Chinese sites. These results were initially synthesised into "inventory of points" and further organised by 'framework analyses' with seven criteria, to complete the findings. The discussion is divided into four sections. The first section presents the general understandings of British and Chinese participants on the 'stereotype' phenomenon. The second section details British and Chinese self- and other-perceptions in the context of single and mixed ethnic groups. The third section formulates three types of pragmatic functions of stereotype that participants see as directly relevant to their socially situated view of stereotypical perceptions. Stereotypes, as a multi-functional pragmatic

device, aids interaction by facilitating interactants' reciprocal prediction, judgment and expectations, from the perspectives of participants with cross-cultural life experience. The fourth section reveals some pragmatic features of stereotype.

Chapter 5 contains the survey data analysis, which is the secondary phase in the mixed methods paradigm. This supports and evaluates qualitative findings yielded from focus group interviews by presenting a quantitative description of self- and other-stereotype traits and valences as well as the participants' general tendency regarding opinions about the accuracy and role of stereotypic phenomena. Survey data analyses were facilitated by the use of descriptive and inferential statistics as a means to describe and test the "Kernel of Truth" Hypothesis, "positive or negative role" in interaction, and 'In-group favouritism and out-group derogation' theory, which explain how stereotyping plays out in intergroup interactions, to generalise and make claims about the research questions.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter begins by mapping out the scope of the current research within pragmatics, which framed within the four perspectives that are relevant to cross-cultural pragmatics. Firstly, interface between language, interaction, and social cognition. This strand of research posits that 'the ways in which we perceive and, therefore, interact with others shape, and are shaped, by the language available to use, and its underlying social perception (Semin & Fiedler, 1992). Secondly, developing a contrastive perspective. Pragmaticists have been interested in investigating contrastive patterns of two languages varieties and pragmatic features, but few studies utilise a contrastive perspective to address intricate cognitive structures as internalised cultural value system in interactions. Thirdly, context contributes to meanings. Context is one of the key notions in pragmatics. Social stereotyping has got a lot play in the context, as linguistic representation of stereotype-related events only become intelligible through their relation to specific-cultural context. Fourthly, interaction as analytical procedure: Pragmaticists have been convinced that the importance and role of interactions can not only be explained as being subservient to linguistic function, discourse, stylistic strategies, but also must be explained as social perception and cultural norms as realised in interactive context.

It will then go on to outline 'Research traditions in stereotypes'. Some typical scholarly definitions and some recurring debates over the defining features are presented. Theoretical discussions, together with empirical findings that have emerged from the literature, are organised into four related perspectives: 1) Cognitive roots of information processing; 2) Psychological base of affective judgment; 3) Social-functional approach to stereotyping; 4) Significant role in cross-cultural interaction.

Finally, this chapter critically examines the three types of pragmatic functions of stereotypes as realised in an interactive context. 1) Producing judgments. Stereotypical judgments are 'made' and 'communicated' in an attempt to justify inter-group attitudes and behaviours. 2) Predictive expectancy. Stereotypical knowledge offers a predictive value to reduce uncertainty and ameliorate the situations. 3) Evidence-to-inference explanation. Stereotypes could help explain group members' behavioural tendency in specific cultural context.

2.1 CROSS-CULTURAL PRAGMATICS

Pragmatic studies, by their usage-based orientation, are mainly located in the field of linguistic research of principles governing language use in everyday interaction and how users of language make sense of each other in real-life situations (Pütz & Neff-van Aertselaer, 2008). In recent decades, the diverse nature and empirical condition of globalisation has given rise to a more vibrant context for realising communication across languages and cultures. Cross-cultural pragmatics, therefore, as a dynamic emerging field, offers the possibility of approaching language-in-use as engaged and rooted in socio-cultural reality. This approach centres on real-life interactants and considers "the language user as 'active repository' of an indefinite number of features that permeate from cultural and linguistic experiences that solidify in discourse" (Kecskes & Romero-Trillo, 2013:1). The realm of cross-cultural pragmatics, as it flourishes now, has developed thriving applications in integrated dimensional contexts, such as, linguistic and cognitive, social and cultural, and discourse and stylistics domains. For example, research on interpreting interactions in terms of linguistic forms and their underlying social perception and cultural norms has become a major area of cross-cultural pragmatics (Goddard, 1997, 2004; Wierzbicka, 1994; 1996). The following sections provide a theoretical basis for reframing the research in this thesis within the perspectives that are relevant to cross-cultural pragmatics.

2.1.1 Language, Interaction and Social Cognition

A growing number of researchers have drawn explicit attention to the interface between language, interaction, and social cognition (Brown & Fish, 1983; Semin & Fiedler, 1989; Semin & Greenslade, 1985). This strand of research posits that "the ways in which we perceive and, therefore, interact with others are structured by the language available to use, as a socially constructed system above and beyond individual minds" (Semin & Fiedler, 1992). The researchers provide some insights into the significance of how social cognition processing shape, and is shaped, by language, and how cognitive processes play the role in social interactions. For example, Baider's (2013) recent study serves as a good illustration of how the mental state and structural patterns of a simple and general word, "hate", shape its cultural lexical associations to sketch an interesting bridge of a social-cognitive perspective.

Stereotypes can be easily created when people are not interested in claiming absolute truths but the generalised description based on some clearly visible and recognisable attributes. It is fairly easy to demarcate the linguistic characteristics of stereotypes associated with certain ethnic groups or cultures. Americans, for example, are usually considered “open-minded” British are “reserved” and Chinese are “hardworking”, etc. In this way, intergroup differentiations tend to be easily perceived and compared through the observer’s own cultural frame of reference (Adler, 1991; Hersen, Thomas, & Andrasik, 2006; Olsen, 2004), and the language used to describe the perceptions and behaviours of in-group and out-group members contributes to the transmission and maintenance of social perceptions. It has been amply demonstrated that both the form and content of information may undergo considerable change in the process of being transmitted. This in turn provides an impetus for the development of a linguistic representation of stereotype-related information and for evaluating the consequence and impact of such inferences on the process of communicating stereotypical views and beliefs. The practical implications of a subtle linguistic intergroup bias (LIB) and linguistic expectancy bias (LEB) were clearly delineated in the research conducted by Maass and her colleagues (Franco & Maass, 1996; Maass, Milesi, Zabbini, & Stahlberg, 1995; Maass, Salvi, Arcuri, & Semin, 1989). The LIB indicates the general tendency that in-group members typically exhibit desirable behaviour whereas out-group members typically exhibit undesirable behaviour. The LIB also exquisitely captures how these subtle differences in linguistic representation of stereotype-related events convey different implicit meanings in either concrete or abstract ways. The LEB, based on strong evidence, describes expectancy-consistent behaviour at a higher level of abstraction than expectancy-inconsistent behaviour, which is quantified by the *linguistic category model* (LCM) (Semin & Fiedler, 1992), through the use of four word categories: descriptive-action verbs, interpretive-action verbs, state verbs, and adjectives to distinguish between different levels of abstraction. It is in this way that linguistic processes have been shown to contribute to implicit but effective ways of representing favourable in-group and unfavourable out-group perceptions, and for transmitting stereotypical views and expectancies.

2.1.2 Developing a Contrastive Perspective

The early but notable 'universalist' approaches to cross-cultural pragmatics, involving such theoretical approaches as Austin's (1962) systematic theory of speech acts and Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) 'politeness theory''. Grice's (1967) notion of conversation implicature have given way to countless attempts to explore pragmatic issues by shifting focus from overwhelmingly mono-lingual/cultural research paradigms to new insights into the interpretation of linguistic expressions in multi-lingual/cultural contexts. As a thriving discipline in this new century, cross-cultural pragmatics can be made fruitful to a contrastive analysis in a multi-lingual/cultural setting. In this vein, numerous contributions address "contrastive pragmatics" in their titles, for example, Pütz and Neff-van Aertselaer's (2008) edited work, *Developing Contrastive Pragmatics: Inter-language and Cross-Cultural Perspectives*, take account of second language acquisition in a culture-specific situation and empirically investigate contrastive patterns of two languages varieties and pragmatic features from a linguistic-cultural perspective. Knop (2008), one of the contributors, narrows the focus to foreign language teaching contexts (in German and French) and maintains, from a cognitive-linguistic point of view, that language learners' real-life cultural experience should be incorporated in the EFL classroom to categorise and conceptualise their socio-cultural reality. In her opinion, it is only from a cognitively and experientially rooted approach to language understanding and description that language learners can "learn to think in a foreign language." Although this does not directly focus on pragmatic features, the attempt nevertheless can yield contrastively valuable results, which can be applied to cross-cultural interactions.

Research on pragmatic features continues to be a major area of cross-cultural pragmatics, but some researchers have diverted their attentions to the foreign language learners' development of pragmatic competence. For example, Schauer (2008) examines how university students studying at overseas universities develop productive pragmatic competence by performing request strategies. She uses data from German learners of English in Britain over a period of one academic year, as compared to German learners of English in Germany and English native speakers in Britain. Schauer is particularly interested in developments in using request strategies as well as in the learners' growing repertoire of practices

and knowledge. She also discusses the impact of a sustained sojourn on foreign language learners' productive pragmatic competence by comparing the results from three sets of learners.

Despite the increasing focus on language learners' sojourns in the target culture for promoting their cross-cultural competence, relatively few studies utilise a contrastive perspective focussing on such intricate structures as internalised cultural value systems, socially transmitted perceived systems, and impact of systems of beliefs as inferential evidences on cross-cultural interactants. Interactants' 'language in use' and knowledge of the world will be filtered through their own system of values and beliefs. Interactants can thus utilise it as inferential evidences to generate norms, which is likely to cause sociopragmatic failure.

2.1.3 Context Contributes to Meanings

In addition to the endeavours and explorations outlined above, a recognised concern in cross-cultural pragmatics is the way in which contextual factors contribute to meaning. Unlike the primary focus of semantics on the literal and conventional meaning in a given language, cross-cultural pragmaticians pay heed to the implied meaning of what is constructed and transmitted not only through linguistic units (e.g. lexicon, syntax, grammar, etc.), but also through the context of the utterance (e.g. cultural setting, shared background assumptions, etc.). Perry (2005) concludes from his study on "hate" that the word's two facets of meaning (dictionary and sociological) should be reconciled with its cultural and political context. Consequently, *context* has become one of the key notions in pragmatics, in the way that it is "used, invoked, inferred, presupposed, or construed by and in the production and understanding of linguistic utterances (Auer, 1995:2)." Goffman (1963,1970) is a good starting place as he puts context at the very core of his investigations with a central focus on language behaviour in situated contexts. Goffman argues that situations are "the natural home of speech" (1964:135) and moves us beyond understanding interdependence between situation and speech, as interaction may take place without any speech at all while speech is almost always produced within situations of interaction.

In this regard, linguistic utterances become intelligible through their relation to context, and the interactive context and participants' common background allow them to construct and comprehend the meaning of what is not explicitly stated. This can be best illustrated in the following example:

> "…white skin notwithstanding, this is our first black President, Blacker than any actual black person who could ever be elected in our children's lifetime. After all, Clinton displays almost every trope of blackness: single-parent household, born poor, working-class, saxophone-playing, McDonald's-and-junk-food-loving boy from Arkansas".[3]
>
> -- Toni Morrison

Nobel Prize-winning African American author Toni Morrison is noted for her insightful depictions and perspectives of Black American life experience regarding her commitment to capture "the something that defines what makes a book 'black.' And that has nothing to do with whether the people in the books are black or not" (1983). Here, in Morrison's well-known quote, the way contextual factors contributing to meaning is worthy of attention. American President Bill Clinton was, of course, not 'black' but Morrison makes no attempt to conceal her endorsement of Clinton and considers him as "the first Black president", given his efforts to improve race relations and gain strong support and huge popularity among the black community. Therefore, Clinton's 'blackness' in this context was evidenced by his popularity among blacks, rather than any ironic implication of any negative traits typically associated with black people. As will be further and repeatedly demonstrated, it was a question of relative perception a opposed to fact. Interestingly, when Barack Obama, who was later elected and aptly named 'the first African-American president' of the country, he was once asked to comment on Morrison's acknowledgement of Clinton as 'black' when running for his presidency in 2008. He responded by quipping that he would have to more carefully investigate "Bill's dancing abilities and some of other stuff before I accurately judge whether he was actually a brother." Here, social stereotyping got a lot of play in this context. When 'evaluating' Clinton's 'blackness', Morrison and Obama, despite their Black origin and their notable intellectual and political status, both made comments about 'blackness', which would have been taken as overtly offensive to a black audience, but they certainly were not due to significant contextual features of the situation. Morrison reputedly

[3] McKay, Nellie Y. (1983). "An Interview with Toni Morrison", Contemporary Literature, 24: 413-429

identified ‘blackness’ with “single-parent household, born poor, working-class …”, whereas Obama positively added ‘dancing ability’ to the prevalent beliefs about ‘blackness’. Hence, stereotypical beliefs associated with ‘blacks’ can display both positive and negative valences, in response to the context, despite countless arguments of Blacks being judged for their racial characters, more negatively.

While many researchers have attempted to illuminate various dimensions of *context* (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Hymes, 1972), Auer (1995) identifies five fundamental contextual factors contributing to the understanding of linguistic utterances. They are: linguistic contexts (or co-texts); the situation in a physical sense; social situation; common background knowledge; the medium (p.6). I shall make no attempt to provide an exhaustive discussion of these distinguished treatments, as this research intends only to outline some of the meaning-in-context issues that have arisen in the discussion of cross-cultural interaction. The interplay between context/situation and cultural norms and values, and their relative importance in affecting interactive behaviour, is a matter that deserves much further exploration among scholars of cross-cultural pragmatics. As interactants appreciate a new culture though their own culture framework of reference (Adler, 1991), their inappropriate interpretations of social norms applied to culturally specific context will influence their attitudes and behaviours in a given situation, which can create misunderstandings and even conflicts. Adler’s theory describes that the interactants’ internal process of deconstructing and reconstructing the perceived cultural values will determine their attitudes and judgement about the behaviour considered appropriate in culture-specific situation. Conversely, such judgments provide some direct evidence for their perception by generating interactive norms to be applied to a culture-specific context. Thereby, interactants are assumed to find their socio-cultural experiences most conducive to their understanding of highly entrenched patterns of perceptions, behaviours, as well as norms and values in response to typically occurring situations, by which expats can be effectively primed with valid sets of predication and expectation.

Recent considerations of *China English*, indicating the nature and socio-cultural context of the linguistic utterances produced by Chinese learners of English in their cross-cultural interaction, have fascinated linguists and language experts from the perspectives of insider and outsider. Chinese scholar, Ge (1980) first coined the term *China English* in his article *On Translation from Chinese to English*, to

denote what distinct lexical items are peculiar to Chinese culture, like Four Books[4], Five Classics[5], the Great Cultural Revolution, Four Modernalisations[6]. Huang (1988) later views *China English* as a linguistic form with Chinese characteristics and spots some recognised expressions used by foreign media, like guanxi (personal connections) and danwei (work unit). Jiang Yajun (1995), a Chinese ESL professional, invokes a distinction between China English and Chinglish. In his view, China English is a 'nativisation' of the normative English with Chinese characteristics, as 'expanding circle' defined by Kachru (1991), while Chinglish is a pidgin, or an 'interlanguage', due to the Chinese English speakers' linguistically intermediate status (Selinker, 1972) or transitional nature (Nemser, 1971) between their native and target languages. As Chinglish is a particularly poor product of English linguistic form, special consideration is given to China English, as a clearly defined English variant. Li (1993) claims that China English is developed as a new English variety specific to Chinese culture. Li's definition has been widely quoted, as Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) cite "China English is based on a standard English, expresses Chinese culture, has Chinese characteristics in lexis, sentence structure and discourse but does not show any LI interference" (p.269). Eaves (2011) asserts that, given the size of country and the compulsory nature of ESL in China's education system, it stands to reason that the English learning boom since 1980s has provided impetus for the development of a localised variety of English peculiar to China (p.64). She approvingly confirms that *China English* falls into "valid local developing forms of English" according to Kachru's expanding circle category and Kirkpatrick & Xu's assessment. Obviously, Ge Chuangui 'coined' the term but Li furthers Huang's argument by stating that English native speakers have coined such expressions 'little red book', 'communist China' to label certain Chinese phenomena. For example, the term *Little Red Book*, for the booklets citing the Quotations from Chairman Mao and circulating in Cultural Revolution, was created in the west, no doubt based on its pocket-size, red-plastic cover and the association of 'Redness' with communism. Most Chinese people are not necessarily aware of this expression, as the book was not a single volume, and the Chinese titles made very explicit

[4] Four Books (Chinese: 四书; pinyin: *sìshū*) are Chinese classic texts illustrating the core of Confucianism, including: Great Learning, Doctrine of the Mean, Analects, Mencius.

[5] Five Classics (Chinese: 五经; pinyin: *wǔjīng*) are the Confucian canon – the Odes, the Documents, the Rites, the Changes, and the Spring and Autumn Annals

[6] The Four Modernisations are a set of economic priorities in the fields of industry, agriculture, national defence, and science.

references to *Chairman Mao's Quotations*. The way the westerners coined some items contributing to 'China English' and described characteristics that are peculiar to the Chinese cultural context is interesting. Although these items denote what are peculiar to Chinese culture and are only meaningful in the Chinese cultural context, nevertheless, attention should be drawn to items used in China (China English) and items which just index China in some way.

Despite a clear set of diagnostic delineations of what the features of China English are, such as, phonological variations, lexical innovations, syntactic and grammaticalpatterns, and discourse varieties, the most striking feature from the point of view of this study is that such linguistic production by Chinese natives is placed within a broader socio-cultural context. This may be best presented in the following examples:

Example A: China English lexical item

hóngbāo (red envelope): a monetary gift wrapped in the red envelope given on special occasions, e.g. Chinese New Year's Day, weddings, birthday celebration, etc.

tiěfànwǎn (iron rice bowl): a permanent job position with stable income for anyone who would never lose it whether he/she work hard or not.

cùtánzǐ (a vinegar jar): someone who is very jealous in a romantic relationship.
The word 'vinegar' has very different connotative meanings in the context of English-speaking countries ('sourness or peevishness of behaviour, character, or speech') and Chinese culture ('being jealous in the romantic relationship').

Example B: China English grammar

The shareholding system and joint stock partnership which have been introduced in China over the past few years have also raised doubts among some people. They can get an answer from Jiang Zemin's report to the recently completed 15th National Congress of the Communist party of China held last week --- **it** is because China is in the primary stage of socialism.

The quoted passage in Example B above, first appearing in a Chinese source, is used as an example in Joan Pinkham's *The Translator's Guide to Chinglish* [7] (2000). The author, an American professional translator, systematically examines the common errors in English writing by Chinese natives. She concluded that there are at least three possible interpretations of 'it' due to the unattached antecedent: 1) the 'necessity' of shareholding system and joint stock partnership in China's primary stage of socialism; 2) the 'legitimacy' of these institutions in China's particular stage; 3) they are only 'temporary' or 'experimental' for that reason. Although her admonition to use a pronoun with an explicitly stated antecedent can be a standard of writing advice, not exclusively for Chinese English learners, the third possibility is obviously intelligible in the Chinese socio-cultural context. Therefore, the context of China's state-owned economy allows the reader to construct and interpret implicit meaning beyond what is literally suggested and what an ambiguous utterance means. That is, China's socialist market economy reform aims to maintain public ownership as a mainstay and further explore diverse ownership and economic entities, which determines the potential 'doubts' about the 'temporary' and 'experimental' nature of those two institutions.

It is true that the legitimacy of China English as a localised variety of English remains controversial, but undeniably, it is distinguished by the presence of some particular linguistic features in the Chinese socio-cultural context. These features are demonstrated by Eaves who states "they generally express ideas or things specific to Chinese culture and are therefore useless or even meaningless" in the context of non-Chinese culture, instead of "in the standard, native, or international Englishes" (Eaves, 2011:69). Cross-cultural pragmatics is, thus, a 'frame' (Goffman, 1974) whereby context determines situational meaning, which is in turn subject to context-dependent interpretation, "narrowing down the communicative possibilities of the message as it exists in abstraction from context (Leech, 1975:77)." This concept of contextual importance is one that is critical to this thesis' understanding of the dynamic of stereotypes.

[7] Chinglish is defined, in her work, as "misshapen, hybrid language that is neither English nor Chinese but that might be described as "English with Chinese characteristics." (2007:1)

2.1.4 Interaction as Analytical Procedure

Cross-cultural pragmatics applies the interplay between perspectives of pragmatics to interactions across cultures. Interaction, therefore, is a subject worthy of detailed examination in itself. Interaction can be understood as the effective transmission of messages between interactants using language as an instrument. The importance and role of interactions can not only be explained as being subservient to linguistic function, role, discourse, stylistic strategies, cultural norms and values as realised in interactive contexts, but also must be explained at the level of its function for the interactants. In analysing interaction at these two scales, we inevitably gain an understanding of how interaction takes the forms that it does and of how social relationships are regulated between social groups.

The central claim that Goffman maintains in his works is that interaction is worthy of greater attention. His emphasis on context and participants as the starting point for analysing interaction is essentially involved in analytical procedure. In his view, spoken communication is just one dimension of face-to-face interaction. His ritual model assumes that anything done in interactions always and inevitably carries implications about the components involved. The elements of analysis (linguistic function, cultural norms, participants, situation, etc.) of interaction should, therefore, be understood within the system as a whole. For example, a lecturer is conventionally dominant in the formal lecture setting and has a considerable one-way influence on his/her audience, who have little capacity to respond, and any collaboration, is thereby limited. However, lecturer and audience involved are designated ratified participants focusing on interaction results. Their participation status is at least visible in each other's presence and mutually aware of their readiness for some kind of interaction.

A typical stereotype-based interaction needs three components: active interactants, their target partner in the context of cross-cultural interaction, and the trigger. The trigger is the situational factor by which a stereotype will be activated, and the stereotype, under such circumstance, can be used to make inferences about the ongoing interaction partner. This will lead to a better understanding of how initial stereotypes are activated, how interaction patterns change or persist, and how consequences follow. In the example of people waiting to take a lift, where a woman is expected and allowed by the men to enter first, it may be such a frequent occurrence in western countries, not triggering activation of a stereotype. However, in China the event is liable to activate the image of a 'gentleman', which is the

priming stereotype of western men's courtesy and deference for ladies when they open doors for a lady, or pull the chair out for a lady and help her to be seated, etc. However, there is a negative flipside to intensify the effect of the subtle priming of stereotype threat on stereotyped individual's performance. There is considerable evidence of impaired performance as a result of the priming effect of race, gender, etc. For example, Steele and Aronson (1995) reported that the negative exposure of Black students to their race could act as priming to impair their test performance.

By examining the interactive aspect of stereotypical images, the possibility of the interactants' attempts at accommodation can also be detected while interacting across cultures. For example, in China, the responsibilities of a teacher lie not only in inculcation of knowledge, but also in cultivation of virtues, notably a virtuous tradition to 'respect teachers and value education'. Hence, academics are more affected than most people by the behavioural constraints imposed by society. Teachers are authoritative and dominant in role relationships while students pay considerable respect to their tutors by addressing them by their honorific titles, obeying them and not challenging their authority. All staff members follow the rule of the overt recognition of hierarchical differences in face-to-face interactions. However, in Britain, students usually address their lecturers by their bare first names only, and all members of staff, from the lowliest secretary to the Dean of the School, normally address each other in the same way. To some extent, the reason for this rather extremely informal tenor of interaction in British universities may simply be intrinsic to the nature of academic life and fairly high status in Britain.

The interactive aspects of stereotyping are complex because they take place at varying levels of self-awareness on the part of the interactant and his/her interactive partner. In addition, it also involves aspects of context. The following three scenarios can possibly best illustrate this point. First, in the particular university setting, for example, Chinese interactive norms and the role relationship (student / member of academic staff) are very 'formal', in comparison to British norms. When Chinese scholars first arrive in British academic institutions, they easily give the impressions of their interactive 'formality' by shaking hands with British colleagues and addressing them with their honorific titles, but later they may successfully accommodate to British norms and behave informally with them. In this case, interactants adapt their behaviour to be more suitable to the contextual norms of their interactive partner's culture, especially if the interaction is taking place in a setting where they perceive their partner's culture to be dominant. Second, as Chinese scholars become more and more familiar with the

surroundings and the people, they are able to be 'themselves' and to behave in the manner that they normally behave when they feel socially comfortable, they may start small conversation with their colleagues involving private life, like family members, marital status, etc. British interactants tend to 'make allowances' and do not get offended when their Chinese interactive partner behaves in the 'inappropriate' manner, that is, one that is done or said by somebody from their own culture, they would find offensive. Third, as a person's behaviour is easily assumed to be a product of their culture-specific interactive norms, they might be behaving in a manner which they imagine fits in with the other's norms. For example, when seeing his Chinese former postgraduate student, whom he has not seen for some time, enter the seminar room, the British tutor says, in an enthusiastic tone, something like "Hi Li, how's it going"? When Li reaches the group, the tutor sticks out his arm and shakes Li's hand. Interestingly, on the one hand, the tutor does not normally shake hands with British former postgraduate students whom he has not seen for some time. He was reasonably assumed to be accommodating to what he imagined would be desirable behaviour from Li's Chinese viewpoint. On the other hand, Li seemed slightly surprised by his tutor's gesture, presumably because he knew it was not the local norms. Then, he might have appealed to both culture-specific norms and to interpersonal relationships for explanation, in which case he might have felt pleased. That is, "So that's nice of him to make the effort to accommodate to what he imagines are my cultural norms", and "The tutor is showing me particular respect and/or friendship".

2.2 STEREOTYPE RESEARCH

The word stereotype, derived from Greek word στερεός (meaning solid) and τύπος (meaning type), was coined as a jargon in the printing industry in 1798 by the French printer Didot, to celebrate the new discovery of the printing process in which a solid type-metal plate is cast in a mould for reproduction and replication of printed words. Inherent in this process are characteristics of fixity and inflexibility. In the late nineteenth century, the word was used in a figurative sense for any set of ideas constantly repeated without change. The idea of 'stereotype', as a way to correspond to objective reality, is not new. Many ancient and modern philosophers and thinkers, such as Plato, Hume, Bentham, and Sorel spoke of 'experience', 'impressions', 'fictions', and 'myths', attempting to make a distinction between 'true' knowledge of reality and real entities.

2.2.1 First-order Stereotype

Some authoritative and widely-used dictionaries serve to record, as accurately as possible, the definitions of English words, and are believed to generally reflect the social understandings of the vibrant development of the English language over time in all the major disciplines throughout the world. Their treatment of the defining of concepts, either descriptive or prescriptive, does alert readers to changing usage and attitudes to some degree.

The Oxford English Dictionary utilises a unique collection of quotations up to millions of items to gain an in-depth understanding of the English language. According to *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (1956, 1st Edition), 'stereotype' was extended in a figurative way to depict "*something continued or constantly repeated without change*", or it could "*fix or perpetuate in an unchanging form*". In *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2004, 2nd Ed), some valuable supporting quotations with further exploration of the retrieved documents were added to elucidate this technical term. For example, J. Morier conveyed a positive impression when he was overwhelmed by the hospitality of the Eastern people and their life and manners. He was known to say "*it is an ingenious expression which I owe to you, sir, that the manners of the East are as it were stereotype*", which appeared in his most popular novel, *The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan* (1824). This quotation is noteworthy for its reference to the coinage and usage of the word 'stereotype', which was nearly 100 years earlier than Lippmann introduced it into social science. Such preceding usage had widened the references of the term to "*an attitude based on such a preconception, also, a person who appears to conform closely to the idea of a type*" (Oxford, 2004:651). Most importantly, the word 'stereotype' has recorded its development in the area of psychology as it prescribes "*designating behaviour which is repeated without variation irrespective of the particular circumstances*" (Oxford, 2004:651). The *Collins Dictionary of the English Language* (1979) defines stereotype as a terminology in sociology, indicating "*a standardised image or conception shared by all members of a social group*" (p.1426). It is noteworthy that this term, characteristic of "firm and simple" idea (p.1466), is marked in red in *the Macmillan English Dictionary* (2007) as one of the core words being used more frequently.

Some striking aspects of the world's leading authorities, in their standard definitions of the word 'stereotype' are worthy of attention. Firstly, there is no general consensus on its definition, but they

make a tight circle in accounting for expanded definitions, which are slightly varying with each one harbouring particular aspects. Secondly, these expanded meanings conform to its original emphasis on a method of replicating the fixed printing plates for reproduction, and thus this term is likely to give rise to at least two connotations: rigidity and duplication (Miller, 1982). Not surprisingly, it leads to the extended meanings taking on negative valence, e.g. a rigid idea, perpetuated image, or one that even induces an unfairly affective attitude. In a sense, the word 'stereotype' has itself been stereotyped from the outset and these authoritative dictionaries, to a certain degree, increase the awareness of the negativity of this term. However, as we shall see in this research, stereotypes are more complicated than what we believed, given the almost infinite number of relative cultural contexts, they are inevitably required to bridge.

2.2.2 Scholarly Definitions

Since the phenomenon attracted tremendous attention from the academic community for some ninety or so years, the concept of stereotype has been advanced in a wide variety of ways, but there is no unanimity among scholars in defining 'stereotype', and "the concept of stereotype is even more plagued with excess meanings" (Gardner, 1994:2). Diverse perspectives have been promulgated in which the term is described with respect to its cognitive nature, psychological basis, or socio-cultural postulates. Supplementing these theoretical orientations are the definitions, as showed in the Table below, which are intentionally selected for their varying emphases.

TABLE 2.1

Representative Definitions of Stereotypes

Katz & Braly (1935)	"A fixed impression which conforms very little to the facts it pretends to represent and results from our defining first and observing second" (p.181)
Allport (1954)	"An exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify (rationalise) our conduct in relation to that category" (p. 187)
Brigham (1971)	"A generalisation made about an ethnic group concerning a trait attribution, which is considered to be unjustified by an observer" (p. 29)
Ashmore & Del Boca (1981)	A set of beliefs that is incorrectly learned, over-generalised, factually incorrect, or rigid (p. 16)
Taylor (1981)	"Consensus among members of one group regarding the attributes of another" (p. 155)
McCauley & Thangavelu (1991)	"Probabilistic perceptions of group characteristics" (p. 267)
Fiske & Taylor (1991)	"A particular kind of role schema that organises people's expectations about other people who fall into certain social categories" (p. 119)
Jones (1997)	"A positive or negative set of beliefs held by an individual about the characteristics of a group of people. It varies in its accuracy, the extent to which it captures the degree to which the stereotyped group members possess these traits, and the extent to which the set of beliefs is shared by others" (p. 170)
Turner (1999)	"Social categorical judgment(s)…of people in terms of their group memberships" (p. 26)

2.2.3 Some Recurring Debates over Identifying Features of Stereotype

The literature is replete with a countless amount of identifying features of stereotype. With respect to critical thinking, there are some major and noteworthy paradoxical issues. A critical consideration of the way the term 'stereotype' is defined appears to fall short on several counts. Let us take each claim in turn:

2.2.3.1 Are stereotypes 'Pictures in Our Heads'?

The metaphor, 'Pictures in Our Heads' which Lippmann early created to imply that the reality was actually projected by pictures painted in our minds, is well-documented and oft-repeated by in the existing literature with regards to the understanding of 'stereotypes'. Undoubtedly, stereotype researchers are greatly indebted to Walter Lippmann for his pioneering and fundamental contribution, *Public Opinion* (1992), in which the concept 'stereotype' was first introduced into social sciences.

However, not everyone could grasp the core of his original ideas and arguments elucidated on this concept. One readily available example is the insightfully titled first chapter in his book, 'The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads', which captures Lippmann's penetrating critique of the perilous discrepancy between individuals' pseudo-environment and the real entities.

Whilst this seems like a truism, it has recently been retaking ground from some researchers. Two things stand out immediately in their arguments. McCauley, Stitt, and Segal (1980) contended that this picture metaphor failed to address the complexity of stereotypes and stereotyping behaviour. For them, it is reflective of stereotypes in a way but the focus and scope of stereotyping process have nevertheless been narrowed down to represent the fixed images in the individual minds. Also, by tracing the roots back to 'pictures in the heads', stereotypes have been linked to the distorted original mental image. As this metaphor has implications for the linkage between the perceiver and the world around him, in general, the linkage was detached from the reality of the situation, with a small residue of 'mental image' persisting, and thus did not allow for clarifying contexts and dynamics while the phenomenon occurred. The blame for this perceptual parallax, for Semin (2008), falls upon this mentalist metaphor, which is "detached from the context and content of what is manifested" and in this sense stereotypes are underdetermined conceptually in origin (p.12).

Subsequently, questions have surfaced about the 'validity' of this debate: is this metaphor itself invalid or is stereotypes research being held back by the misinterpretations of this metaphor? It is possible to independently counter the claims above.

Indeed, Lippmann (1992) began his arguments from a cognitive perspective. Still, the manner in which he presented the concept throughout the rest of his work was multifaceted in cognitive and psychological bases, as well as the social-political and cultural elements. In Chapter VI, for example, he debated that for the sake of economizing effort to approach the world outside, we necessarily build up and maintained a 'repertory of stereotypes' (p.88), which, he added in Chapter VII, lies at the core of personal lives and serves as a mechanism for the 'defences of our position in society' (p.94). Also, he delved deeper into the matter, asserting in Chapter VIII, that the human's 'mechanical inventions' (p.108) fundamentally contributed to our 'repertory' and yielded 'blind spots' (p.104) with potential values. Clearly, Lippmann's work provided a very good starting point for understanding the trends of

stereotypes research and for proposing a conceptual model regarding various parameters. Yet, this metaphor has been most often partially quoted and uncritically taken to amplify the 'fixed images' as the default property of stereotypes. Following this misinterpretation is a mainstream perspective, which considers stereotypes primarily to be characterised by a flawed cognitive structure.

In addition, when reflecting on stereotypes in this metaphor, Lippmann was referring to human's cognitive limitations to functionally perceive and accurately comprehend the true reality, but he contended that individuals inevitably deployed preconceived images in our heads to deal with the complexities of the outside world. In this process of filing these preconceived notions into our minds and storing as pictures in our heads of this pseudo reality, we have 'a spot of blind automatism' (p.114), which covered up some facts but kept stereotypes' economic strategies intact and freed us from attentions to the distractions and attempts to see the world as a whole. Hence, the underlying view of Lippmann's metaphor is a way of integrating information in a simplified way, which makes it a lot easier for people to deal with the complexities of the world and to feel assured of finding our place that suits our private needs in society. The chapters throughout his work highlighted some general implications of the interactions among human's cognitive nature, psychological judgement, social-political and cultural environment, and the role of mass media, rather than stereotypes being merely a response irrelevant to truths per se but pseudo reality. Therefore, the multi-levelled representations of stereotypes were framed throughout the chapters regarding various issues of political, power, historical, social, ethnical and cultural aspects, which actually shed light on complex dimensions of the concept of 'stereotypes'.

2.2.3.2 Are Stereotypes Oversimplified Generalisations?

One of the key defining features of stereotypes has always been that stereotypes take the form of generalisations but they are mostly considered to be either invalid or irrational. Klineberg (1951) viewed them as "faulty and unfounded generalisations" (p.507). It seemed for Allport (1954) that stereotypes were considered all-or-none generalisations. For him, 'all lawyers are crooked' is a stereotypical belief; 'lawyers are more crooked than most people' is not (p.192). What is presented by the latter holding truth where the former does not, is the necessity of nuance, an issue that raises intractable problems for the validity of the stereotype. Likewise, for Aronson et al. (1999), stereotype is "a generalization about a

group of people in which identical characteristics are assigned to virtually all members of the group regardless of actual variation among the members" (p.502). Therefore, stereotypes are commonly defined as oversimplified generalisations, and as such have little credence.

In order to refute this argument, one must first understand the precise nature of generalisation and the way in which generalisations move into stereotypes. Although it is a general understanding that stereotypes are a concept in psychology and the application of generalisations is an indispensable element in research methodology, these two concepts, most often used nearly synonymously, are not clearly distinguished as both are considered an inferential process based on conceivable observation from specific cases. In nature, generalisation is an approach to building and organizing knowledge in the form of explicable statements and testable hypotheses about the universe while most contemporary researchers would probably agree that stereotypes are collectively shared beliefs (McGarty, Yzerbyt, & Spears, 2002) in the form of generalising statements. It has been well established that the role of self-categorisation and social identity theories in the formation of stereotypes come into play in accentuating in-group similarities and intergroup differences. When we observe, through our direct or indirect experience, that a person from a different social group exhibits some characteristics or behaves in a particular way, we tend to associate the perceived salience with his/her group membership, instead of individual personality, and ascribe this characteristic to a group as a whole. In this way, we make generalisations documenting cultural, ethnical, occupational salience, etc. about particular social categories and stereotype people based on their identities and characteristics associated with those categories. And this is how generalisation starts to apply in stereotyping process. And the insignificance of generalisation in cross-cultural research has been highlighted as Burton and White (1987) noted that "cross-cultural research provides an essential component of valid generalisations about human society" (p.143).

This claim regarding the generalisability of stereotypes, obviously, directs our attention to the veracity of generalised statements and possibility of generalisable knowledge in our daily social life and research practice. Therefore, arguments for the validity of stereotypic statements tangle up in another contentious issue about the significance and role of generalisations in the warrant of scientific process. Traditionally, researchers are insistent on the advocacy of this claim, viewing it as the core of addressing sociological knowledge, leading to theory formulation and further application. As Becker (1998) sides

with his tutor Hughes, E., who viewed 'theorising' as 'a collection of generalising tricks he used to think about society'. (p.3). However, generalising claims are repudiated by some interpretivists who deny the role of generalisation and claim it "never aims to draw randomly selected samples of human experience" (Denzin, 1983:133). This debate exemplifies a paradox for generalisation in the process of scientific reasoning. Hence, if such debate remains unsolved or there is still active support in favour of MacIntyre (1985) assertion that '… the salient fact about those [social] sciences is the absence of the discovery of any law-like generalisations whatsoever' (p.88), the 'absence', then, implies a failure, not unique to stereotypes, which are believed by some researchers to inevitably involve generalisations.

Obviously, there must be some realistic base in these generalising statements. "If this were not the case, could there be any point in cross cultural inquiry?" (Michael Curtis, 1998: xxxi) Since it appears a fact beyond controversy that social scientific inquiries should invite general conclusions, there seems to be an alternative approach to this debate. Althusser (1979) attempts to seek the middle ground for the application of generalisation by delineating distinctiveness into three phases of generalities: I, II and III, and argued that generalisation is an indispensable strategy in scientific reasoning, but operates at different levels in the distillation of ideas. In addition, a massive research effort to exploring how generalisation can be deployed in the social sciences and what generalisation is fitting in different research contexts. Adelman, Kemmis, and Jenkins (1985) identify 'generalisation' as an equivocal terminology and suggested that defining derivatives of 'generalisation' could be a strategic alternative. Bassey (2001) provides a comprehensive review to present the ways generalisation has been treated in the literature. He asserts that Yin's (1994) explications for 'statistical' and 'analytic' generalisations are very akin to Stenhouse (1980) 'predictive' and 'retrospective' generalisations respectively, Erickson's 'assertion' to Stake's (1995) 'propositional' generalisation, Hamilton's 'an inside-the-head' to Stake's (1982) 'naturalistic' generalisation, and Tripp's (1985) 'qualitative' generalisation is akin to Stake's 'naturalistic' generalisation. These attempts to explore the nature of generalisations in different research contexts throw some light on the controversial nature of stereotypes. It may be that differentiating different formulations of stereotypes can help improve the use of stereotypes in cultural practice, since we can hardly cast aside what stereotypes have done in everyday life to make sense of the world.

As referenced in previous sections, the stereotypical statements do not necessarily involve simplification or falsification of generalising claims. However, commentators have posed such question to social scientists, that is, if there is any more appropriate and reliable type of generalisation, which can be employed in everyday interactions for the layperson. Thus, an argument can be drawn that layperson' stereotypes are necessarily confined to oversimplified generalisations, and if this argument is considered valid, the critical commentary regarding validity and function in generalisability may be misplaced. However, the question is inevitably raised, and must be considered by this thesis, as to whether, if there is nothing 'in' stereotypes, why do they remain in use?

2.2.3.3 The 'Kernel of Truth' Hypothesis

Perhaps even more central to stereotypes researchers' agendas is the perennial issue concerning the measurement and accuracy of stereotypical beliefs. Thus, it is perhaps not surprising that 'the Kernel of Truth' debate is echoed in the stereotypes literature.

The 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis generally considers that stereotypical perception may hold an element of truth. Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) were the first to investigate intergroup perceptions between sojourners in Greece and in the United States and suggested that stereotypes contain a 'Kernel of Truth'. In line with this, LeVine and Campbell (1972) developed this interesting 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis leading researchers to re-consider the validity of stereotypes. The 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis has been tested by examining the predominant viewpoints researchers hold, either for or against, as illustrated below.

Glancing over the volumes of research, it is not difficult to collect the documented assumptions and empirical support to suggest that stereotypes are inaccurate (See McCauley, 1995 for review). As evidenced by Katz and Braly's (1933) original study for biased consensual perceptions bolstered by stereotypical knowledge, the oft-disavowing assertions that stereotypes were factually incorrect and unjustified prevailed in social science compelling researchers to devote a massive research effort with goal of helping people combat their tendency to stereotype and make judgments of social group members. In line with these conclusions, Judd and Park (1993) identified three forms of stereotype inaccuracy: stereotypic inaccuracy, valence inaccuracy, and dispersion inaccuracy.

However, the assertion that stereotypes are inherently inaccurate has been rejected by some scholars, who have made efforts to maintain the 'kernel of truth' hypothesis. For example, Schoenfeld (1942) contended that "to the extent that a stereotype corresponds to objective facts, it is not a stereotype at all" (p.12). This then raises interesting questions as to what, if not a purveyor of fact, a stereotype is. Prothro and Melikian's (1955) findings led them to bear out the claim that stereotype content "constitutes a kind of socio-psychological truth" (p.9) to rationalise relations between nations. Also, empirical findings have revealed gender differences assessed previously are largely consistent with gender stereotypes (Martin, 1987; Swim, 1994) and the correspondence of measured traits between stereotyped groups and other groups (Abate & Berrien, 1967; Campbell, 1967; Swim, 1994). Ashton & Esses' (1999) comparative study offers evidence to support that participants provide fairly accurate perceptions of both the relative standings of groups and the magnitude of between-group variability.

Admittedly, both theoretical and methodological attempts suggest it is substantially difficult to measure the content and assess the accuracy of stereotypes. Moreover, it is becoming increasingly apparent that scholars have not precisely clarified what they think accurate stereotypes are or identified the most valid methods to examine the accuracy of stereotypes, and participants in experimental settings are not able to describe the salient features of different cultures. In an attempt to illuminate some of the conditions under which stereotypes are amenable to be accurate, this 'kernel of truth' hypothesis has been dealt with from different perspectives.

First, by accurately defining stereotypes as the extent to which beliefs about a group's characteristics match up with the 'true' characteristics of the group through correspondence of self- and other-perceptions or objective source (e.g. standardised tests, census data, or expert judgments) (Judd & Park, 1993; McCauley, Jussim, & Lee, 1995; McCauley & Stitt, 1978). Vinacke (1949) argued that the correspondence between self- and other-stereotypes "consist, at least in part, of actual characterises of the group described" (p.285). Further support for this view was provided by Abate and Berrien (1967), who set out their study through comparison of the self- and other-stereotypes of American and Japanese students, and compared with the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), which was supposed to "provide an approximation of the target's real characteristics" (p.435).

Their findings revealed a high correspondence between students' self-stereotype and cultural stereotypes of a group in both cultures.

Second, by addressing the utility of objective and appropriate methods to establish the validity of stereotypical beliefs, Schuman (1966) combined survey interview data to investigate stereotypical traits with four groups of subjects and concluded that stereotypes have some validity in statistical terms. For example, certain favourable traits (e.g. pious) tend to be more valid than unfavourable ones (e.g. money loving) and can be validated by the relevant and appropriate data gathered. Consistent with this view, further support was provided by studies conducted by Abate and Berrien (1967) and Nettler (1961) confirming that interviews and self-report methods are more accurate than generalised stereotypical image. Based on a ratio measure of cultural sex stereotypes and the use of group norms as criteria for accuracy, Martin (1987) believed ratio measures were useful in measuring stereotypes content and assessing individuality in stereotyping.

Third, the assumptions that accurate stereotypes developed through cross-cultural contacts can have a positive impact on reducing misunderstandings and promoting smooth interactions. Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) confirmed that "there is a 'kernel of truth' in most stereotypes when they are elicited from people who have first-hand knowledge of the group being stereotyped" (p.324), which underlined Katz and Braly's (1935) early points that their subjects' biased perceptions for stereotyped groups were not based on their first-hand experience but just 'public attitudes' about racial groups. Recently, Jussim et al. (1995) reopened the discussion of 'why study stereotype accuracy (and inaccuracy)' by tracing theoretical origins and empirical evidence to demonstrate "this assumption (of stereotype inaccuracy) is conceptually problematic and empirically unjustified" (p.4). They comment that laboratory studies cannot offer persuasive evidence regarding the injustices of stereotypes, which can be only established through the impact of everyday stereotypes in the real world. They further maintain, "Stereotype accuracy may be a crucial component of enhancing sensitivity to diversity and cultural awareness" (p.19).

Researchers who disagree with the 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis focus on the three forms of stereotype inaccuracy: stereotypic inaccuracy, valence inaccuracy, and dispersion inaccuracy. However, researchers who hold the hypothesis to be true argue that it can be evidenced by the three

perspectives. First, the accuracy of stereotypes can be demonstrated through the correspondence of self- and other-stereotypical perceptions; Second, improved methods can maximise the validity of assessed perceptions; Third, research objects with first-hand knowledge of the target groups can produce valid stereotypical perceptions. These three respective perspectives formed the basis of my research lines of enquiry regarding the assessment of the 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis. Therefore, this thesis attempted to integrate these three perspectives into a sinigeristic line of enquiry with a focus on the two mixed mehods of investigating both self- & other streotypes from the interactants with first-hand knowledge.

As discussed above, in order to determine whether there is actual truth in stereotypes, it is productive to the ongoing validity of this thesis to establish a 'grain of truth' in stereotypes by integrating the three perspectives in the current research.

2.2.3.4 Negative vs. Positive Valences

Despite Lippmann's early ideas affirming the belief in a rational need for stereotypes, debate over 'negative vs. positive' stereotypes in terms of its use and content fits well into the conventional dichotomy.

A long tradition of stereotypes research within social psychology arises from the position that the ubiquitous nature of stereotypes rests on its biased perceptions and thus can contaminate impressions (Allport, 1954), produce self-fulfilling prophecies (Jussim & Fleming, 1996), and lead to discrimination and harassment (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Jussim, Eccles, & Madon, 1996). The potent linkage between prejudice and stereotypes has made them objectionable to traditional-view holders (Devine, 1989). Thus, it is not at all surprising an impressive series of experimental studies have been conducted on the negative stance of cognitive effects and psychological outcomes of ethnic, gender, age stereotype, etc. Nonetheless, there is growing recognition that the underlying process responsible for stereotyping is inevitable cognitive categorisation, which plays a crucial role in promoting relations within and across groups (Devine, 1989; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986, pp.:127-163; Tajfel, 1969).

The existence of inner significance of both positive and negative stereotypical implications has long been recognised. Some stereotypical beliefs, which adopt certain admiring attributes assigned to

members of social groups, such as, Asians are thought to excel in math ability, African Americans are perceived as athletically superior are considered positive in a sense that they evaluate and endorse advantageous memberships in a favourable way (Czopp, 2008). Negative stereotypes can be very damaging when used to address individuals or groups that are assumed to be vulnerable, inferior, and unfavourable (Ridley, 1995) and relate to hostile beliefs and biased attitudes towards social groups (Fiske, 1998). Examples are the emphasis on poor academic performance in African Americans or memory loss in older people. Both positive and negative types of stereotypical knowledge have different implications for attitudinal evaluation of and consequential behaviour toward members of in-group and out-group relations (Keller & Bless, 2005).

Obviously, this debate over 'negative vs. positive' stereotypes contains many levels of paradox and has been characterised by Costa and McCrae (1980) as a "paradox that has never been fully explained" (p.669).

Firstly, positive and negative valences coexist. Bipolarity exists in our everyday thinking but psychologists have challenged the bipolar views and provided the evidence that positive affective feelings are not, in fact, the bipolar opposite of negative affective feelings (Russell & Carroll, 1999). Actually, both positively and negatively valenced attributes can be assigned to members of a social group. For example, Fiske & Glick's (1995) study revealed the coexistence of hostile and benevolent sexism in men. Also, the general impressions of Americans, in Breslin's (1991) study, are described as friendly and tolerant, but also arrogant and impatient, as human value systems are an integrated whole based on conflicts and compatibilities (Schwartz, 1994).

Secondly, any perceived attribute can be conceptually and operationally defined as its whole underlying bipolar continuum between these two extreme possibilities, esp. in differing social context. For example, it is much more likely for members of an in-group to see 'ambitious' in a positive light as it contains desirable qualities and conveys admiration for a person showing a strong desire and determination to succeed. However, one's own ambitious stance could possibly be detected as being 'aggressive' by members of the out-group. Also, despite the fact that people in different cultures may share the denotation of words, including stereotypical attributes, it is likely that a shift along the

evaluative dimension regarding the connotation can vary as people also share the tendency to evaluate in-groups more positively than out-groups (Brewer, 1979).

Thirdly, positive and negative thoughts would not necessarily yield the consequential outcomes accordingly. A massive research effort has focused on the way positive and negative stereotypical knowledge impact stereotyped group members, who are exposed to and aware of them. For example, women, children and elderly people are generally characterised as vulnerable social groups and negatively related to their weakness, dependence and incompetence, but 'women and children first', as the historical code of conduct, was fully exemplified in the sinking of Titanic in 1912, in which women and children received greater consideration and were saved first in a life-threatening situation. In most contemporary cultures, vulnerable groups continue receiving preferential treatment. Otherwise, the evidence shows that positive stereotypes do not necessarily yield positive outcome as they may cause unfairly high expectations for positively stereotyped group (Ho, Driscoll, & Loosbrock, 1998). Asian Americans, who are thought to be hard working, may feel pressured when they are fully aware of the way they are perceived and expected to behave by their peers, interviewers and employers.

2.2.3.5 Individual's vs. Group's Shared Beliefs

The earlier literature had explicit assumptions concerning an individual's cognitive psychological process involved in constructing and maintaining stereotypes. Thus, the danger of stereotyping was believed to lie in the fact that it left little or no room for individuality or group diversity. This argument was challenged by some scholars, who put forward the view that stereotypes, as the phenomenon of sharing beliefs, could not be studied merely as an individual's private and unique repertoire of beliefs. They emphasized the need to extend the study of stereotypical beliefs to the nature of their sharing. Among them are Haslam (1997) and Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty, and Reynolds (1998), who contended that stereotypes are of little scientific interest if they are not shared and have little impact on the stereotyped group in the absence of tangible social effects. Their studies underlined the earlier research of the 'Princeton Trilogy', which includes the Katz and Braly's (1933) original study and two replications (Gilbert, 1951; Karlins, Coffman, & Walters, 1969). This classic research first scientifically observed the existence of shared beliefs and measured the degree of consensus in stereotypically held beliefs about ethnic groups to explore the potential linkage of stereotypes and prejudice. However,

Brigham (1971) debated that social sharedness as the defining feature of stereotypes took researchers in the wrong direction. An immediately relevant example to this claim is that unreliable information sources, say, hearsay, or rumour, could come into play in the context of consensus. Stereotypes, in Gardner's (1973) earlier study, *Ethnic Stereotypes: The traditional approach, a new look*, were delineated as being primarily consensual beliefs shared within a particular group. Still, Gardner (1994) advocated that shared stereotypes could possibly blind us to the real facts and could undermine the researcher's efforts to explore some of the processes involved in stereotyping.

Bar-Tal (2000) in his recent work, *Shared Beliefs in a Society*, defines 'shared beliefs' as 'an integral part of group membership', which is rooted in an individual's 'cognitive repertoire' (p.xi). For him, the '*sharedness*' of common beliefs has two implications relating to its function and individual consequences. Firstly, it reflects the social nature of cohesive membership involved in group formation and thus shared beliefs as a socially constructed system serve to direct or justify many group actions. Secondly, shared-ness can be transmitted via communication on both interpersonal interaction and societal mechanism levels. He pointed out that an individual's belief is not wholly unrelated to common beliefs, as individuals may share their personal beliefs with collective others through, for instance, the various channels of interpersonal communication or societal platforms, or individual belief may be endorsed and shared by close others, becoming common beliefs. In this sense, the personal and shared beliefs are not completely independent of each other but coexist and overlap through interactions within a social-cultural constructed system.

Based on the assumption outlined above, stereotypes are more accurately seen as characteristic of relatedness of cohesive beliefs in a manner that goes beyond a basic individual cognitive mechanism. Seen in this light, we can best understand the group cohesiveness and thus, better observe and contextualise the impact of shared beliefs on inter-group relations.

2.2.4 An Overview of Research Traditions in Stereotype Studies

Theoretical discussions, together with empirical findings that have emerged from stereotypes research, are organised into three closely related perspectives. Although analytically separable, these can illuminate part of the larger picture of stereotypes research and often go together in practice.

2.2.4.1 The Cognitive Roots of Information Processing

The cognition perspective is considered largely responsible for igniting researchers' interest in the study of stereotyping and has dominated stereotypes research. Conventional cognitive approaches to stereotyping focus on its 'faulty content' by viewing it as an erroneous and distorted cognitive construct. Consequently, massive research efforts have focused on the 'faulty process' and the flawed cognitive capacity involved in the stereotyping process with the goal of preventing or undermining its influence, and discouraging the use of stereotypes. This, however, is a challenging task since there is evidence suggesting that stereotype activation is automatic and that stereotypes are cognitive structures or categories similar to other social schemas (Devine, 1989; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986).

As a consequence of Katz & Braly's (1933) classic work, there was blooming interest in measuring and assessing stereotypes content, consensus and validity from the 1930s to the 1950s. Stereotypes were demonstrated to function as cognitive elements bearing on varying perceptions but their cognitive capacity had no distinguishing mark for truth and error or any sense of individuality. A number of studies (Gilbert, 1951; LaPierre, 1936) exemplified this early cognitive emphasis. However, in Tajfel (1969), he based much of his work on experimental evidence to reformulate the conceptual complexity and dynamics of the stereotyping process as rational cognitive functioning. As will be shown, this was particularly relevant to understanding how accurate stereotyping processes as a means of forming judgment could be.

2.2.4.2 The Psychological Base of Affective Judgment

Early psychological approaches to stereotypes are more consistent with its affiliation with prejudice (Ehrlich, 1962). Stereotype was thus delineated as the evolution and manifestations of commonly held prejudiced attitudes, and biased perceptions were personality types assigned to certain social categories (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). Allport's (1954) classic volume, *The Nature of Prejudice,* developed an insightful analysis of the extent to which this 'process of categorisation' was involved in prejudice. He defined stereotypes as being "an exaggerated belief associated with a category", and believes that it is "normal prejudgment" (p.20) and its function is to

justify (rationalise) our conduct in relation to that category. Allport offers some very modern-sounding ideas but he also views stereotypes as the “prejudiced-personality approach”.

Consequently, a number of researchers became convinced that prejudice had its roots in common stereotypical images and they were virtually interchangeable (Adorno et al., 1950; Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981) and Ashford, LeCroy, and Lortie (2001) take this further by maintaining that a negative stereotype especially represents an important foundation on which prejudices are built (p.171). The direct measurement of negative attitudes and irrational beliefs of particular social groups, such as Jews, African Americans, women, homosexuals, has been the major impetus for the study of typically incorporating a negative conceptualisation of stereotypes into prejudice. Researchers’ reluctance to recognise it as a normal and rational process has plunged stereotypes into a theoretical and empirical impasse from whence there has not been much development. Stereotypes research had been out of favour ever since it was labelled as the equivalent of pathological prejudice, and thus “wear the black hats in social science” (Schneider, 2004:1)

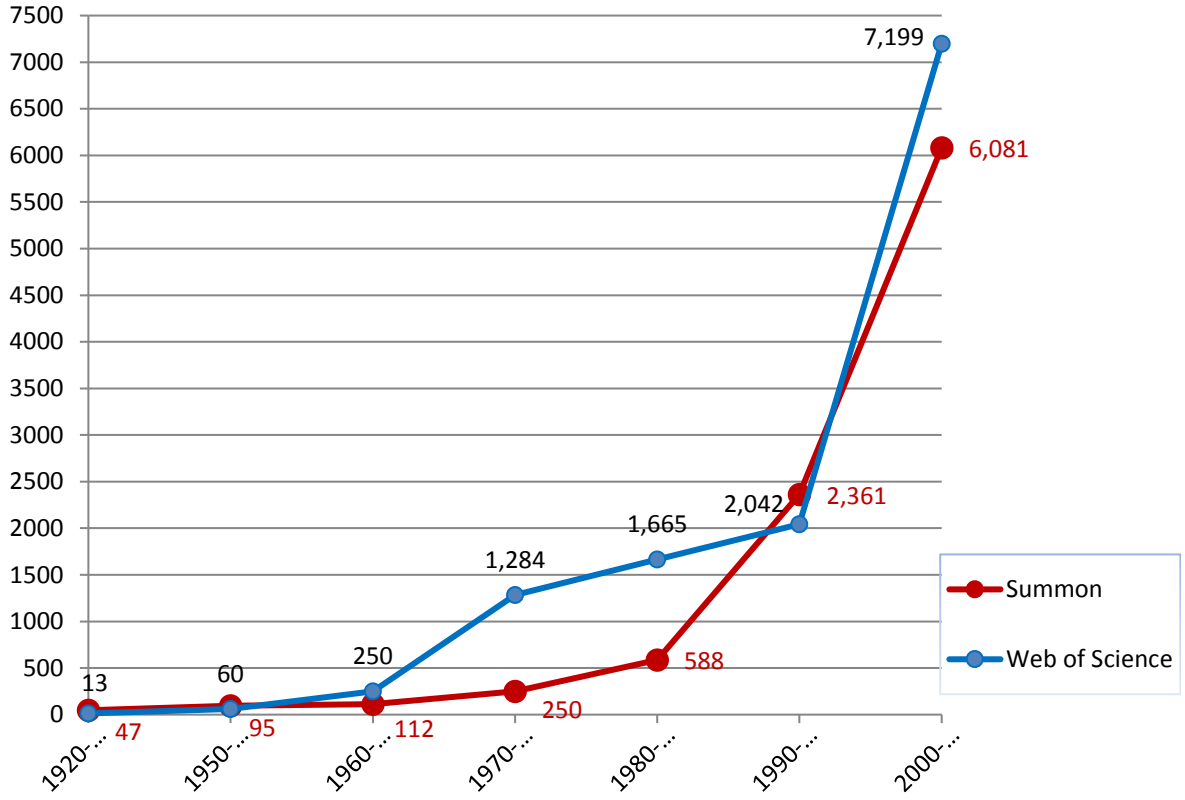
However, this emphasis on the faulty processes of stereotyping has been challenged by some researchers (Brown, 1965; Stroebe & Insko, 1989). For example, Vinacke (1949) argued for the need to consider stereotyping as separate from the analysis of prejudice. Asch (1952) debunked the ‘deficient process’ view as pointed out the oversight of individuals’ psychological ‘group-properties’ and suggested that the individual’s group relations deserved full consideration. This stance diverted attention from this prejudiced feature of stereotypes by examining how the psychology of individuals was affected by group relations. Tajfel (1969) has rekindled researchers’ interests in exploring the social psychological basis in categorisation process. He powerfully argued against Allport’s (1954) prevailing views of the time and believed that the rational cognitive process of categorisation contributed strongly to the social psychological basis of prejudice. His re-conceptualisation of stereotypes represented a clear theoretical break with the whole frame of reference of prejudicial-process theories.

2.2.4.3 A Social-Functional Approach to Stereotyping

The 1970s was a decade of emphasising the theoretical significance of cognitive psychology in stereotypes research. Particular attention was given to the motivational factors and social function in

the categorization processes that contribute to stereotypes formation, maintenance, application, and change. Stereotypes research showed a sharp rise during the 1970s and researchers were motivated by a desire to go beyond the paradox and move existing theories forward by incorporating socio-cultural factor into the study of stereotypes. The stereotypes literature has grown considerably over the past two decades (see the Table 2.2 below) and this growth is due, in large part, to the globalising processes, which give rise to increased cross-cultural contacts as well as an analytic gaze into intergroup relations.

Table 2.2 The Increasing Level of Stereotypes Research between 1920 – 2000



In 1977, with the awareness of social significance engaging with stereotyping process, Stallybrass (1977), co-editor of *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, wrote that a stereotype is "an over-simplified mental image of some category of person, institution or event which is *shared*, in essential features, by large numbers of people." The term '*shared*', as at the core of his statement, implies that stereotypes are not static phenomena but serve important social functions in the process of their formation and diffusion. It is Stallybrass that operates at a crossroad that stereotypes are finally back where they belong – at centre stage in social life.

One of the most prominent critiques to the frame of exclusively and primarily cognitive point of view was, actually, from Tajfel himself. In his earlier work, Tajfel (1969) proposed that three attributions: categorisation, assimilation, and the search for coherence, outlined the dynamics of the cognitive process. He explicated that categorisation served as the "mould", which shapes and determines individual perceptions and attitudes, the assimilation of cultural norms and social values supplied the content, and the search for coherence indicated the need in the context of social influence to integrate individual self-image with group behaviour.

He later elaborated a theory with John Turner, *Social Identity Theory* (1986), and believed that people had an innate tendency to categorise themselves into certain social groups and build their identity on the basis of group membership. It follows that this would lead members to be in favour of the *in-group* to which they belonged and against another *out-group*. He subsequently distanced himself from his previous cognitive approach as addressed in his paper *Social Stereotypes and Social Groups* (1981) where he asserts that two important issues relating to stereotypes' 'social function' could be overlooked if we only focused on cognitive factors alone. His first concern was expressed in terms of the way stereotypes are widely diffused in a socio-cultural setting and the second dealt with the linkage between social influence of stereotypes and their 'common' adoption within group members. In this approach, previous theories were advanced without due regard to 'social context' (p.146), and consequently they were plagued with serious questions which differentiate the study of stereotype '*tout court*' and the study of '*social*' stereotypes.

In the context of Stallybrass's (1977) definition, Tajfel (1981) formulated stereotypes as the perceptions of one group *shared* by the members of another group with the exploration of variables of social psychological nature. Group allegiances assist in defining, to ourselves and to others, who we are in terms of social connections (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Therefore, when one is interacting with another person, they will not only act as a single individual on a personal level but also as a member of a particular group. Tajfel developed a profound vision of creating a genuinely "social" psychology with various dimensions interacting with historical, ideological and cultural factors, which become salient in inter-group interactions. Within this perspective, stereotyping is viewed as a basic adaptive process of social interaction.

While this social identity perspective gave researchers different lenses through which to describe certain intergroup behaviours on the basis of perceived membership, it overestimated the influence of shared group identity and thereby put its overall validity in question. Later, the *Social Identity* approach was further improved by integrating with Turner's (1987) *Self-categorisation* theory, which described mechanistic underpinnings of group phenomena, that is to say, how individuals developed a sense of identification with relevant social category and acted accordingly in terms of group membership. In this way, Self-categorisation placed more emphasis on the dynamic functioning of cognitive occurrence in the socio-cultural context and interaction in terms of both interpersonal perception and intergroup behaviour. Oakes, Haslam, and Reynolds (1999) move further by viewing the core of self-categorisation theory as 'a dynamic, context-dependent process, determined by comparative relations within a given context' (p.58).

Since the 1990s, being inspired by self-categorisation theory, *Stereotyping and Social Reality* (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994) and *Stereotypes as Explanation* (McGarty et al., 2002), provide a relatively exhaustive review of the field with the convincing alternative to the prevailing theoretical analysis. A number of scholars have built upon Devine's (1998) insight that stereotypes research should move beyond the intrapersonal cognitive processes, to a consideration of social context in which stereotypes are playing out. This provides a new dimension for exploring the relationship between stereotyping and social reality in which the phenomenon of social stereotypes are placed squarely in socio-cultural context where it rightly belongs (Kashima, Fiedler, & Freytag, 2008). Such a social-cultural approach foregrounds the internally dialectical mechanics of stereotypes. It is fair to say stereotyping is actively involved in dynamic cultural practices and on-going intergroup relations. This evidently presents food for thought regarding the increased proximity of stereotype usage, given the growing prevalence of cross-cultural interaction.

2.3 STEREOTYPING IN CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION

Stereotypes, in Lippmann's view, were culturally ingrained in the practices and traditions of various peoples and over time their effects tended to be accumulated and reinforced through group interactions. Globalization in the 21st century is giving rise to more diverse interconnections across cultures, leading a number of scholars to examine the significant impact of cultural practices permeating our professional

and everyday life and take on a new perspective for exploring the functions that stereotypes serve for both individuals and groups (Alexander, Brewer, & Herrmann, 1999; Glick & Fiske, 2001; Jost, Kivetz, Rubini, Guermandi, & Mosso, 2005).

During the last two decades, some major trends have evolved for exploring the dynamic cognitive and psychological process of stereotyping embedded in social context and intergroup relations. Some researchers who emphasize a theoretical perspective have attempted to reconceptualise stereotype in the context of globalisation. For example, Gao (1995) elucidates the paradoxical effect of the conceptual mechanism behind stereotypes. In her view, constructing valid stereotypes can improve the interactants' sensitivity to cultural differences and facilitate cross-cultural interaction. Nevertheless, she stresses the necessity of renewing invalid stereotypes once they create obstacles that hinder interaction and mutual understanding. In other words, cultural stereotyping can serve both as a "bridge" to promote interaction and as a "gap" impeding it. That is 'a paradox of intercultural communication'. Some who stress a behavioural perspective would speculate about how cultural and social influences contribute to stereotypical behaviour. For example, Jandt (2001) identified the ways in which stereotypes are harmful and impede communication. In Yoon & Hollingshead's (2010) laboratory experiment, their findings reveal that under certain conditions, convergent expectations based on cultural stereotypes may have coordination and performance benefits in cross-cultural collaborations. Some have used a cross-cultural approach to construct a shared system of cultural meaning in which people from different cultures engage in interactions. For example, the World Values Survey (WVS), which works on stereotypes content, examines ethnic interrelations from a functional perspective. The Stereotypes Content Model (SCM), proposed by Cuddy and his colleagues (2009), illustrates potentially universal principles of social stereotypes, particularly revealing *warmth* and *competence* as the two central dimensions to differentiate stereotypes across cultures, which correlates with social structure (i.e. power status, intergroup competition, etc). Alexander, Brewer, and Livingston (2005) put the emphasis on the role of perceived intergroup relations in shaping the content of social stereotypes.

The current research shares some of the same concerns as cross-cultural pragmatics, as Thomas claimed that "Every instance of national or ethnic stereotyping should be seen as a reason for calling in the pragmaticist and discourse analyst!" (Thomas, 1983:107)

2.3.1 Stereotyping as a Multi-functional Socio-pragmatic Device

Stereotyping can be observed in the context of cross-cultural interaction as it constitutes a multi-functional pragmatic device. Its direct relevance to the socio-pragmatic aspect derives from the interplay between stereotypes' social function and their origin. On the one hand, the origin of stereotype is socially conditioned as the 'reality' projected in our head is mediated by the sphere of transmitted meanings, which is greatly influenced by socio-cultural conditionings, and thus determines stereotypes' function in our social interaction. On the other hand, their social function affects their origin as stereotypes are transmitted to group members through the social environment and exert a strong influence on the contents and processes of individual minds within the social groups. This dialectical unity enables us to outline the effect of cognitive process in social praxis.

As the current research focus shifts from intra-individual perspective to inter-individual approach, a number of studies in recent years have illuminated the point that stereotypes involving inter-personal processes serve a social interactive purpose. Goffman confirms that the impact of the social attributes that interactants bring along with them lies in the value placed on them in the situation, rather than the significance of the attributes themselves (1964:134). The less interactants realise such intricate structures, the more they are disguised as a superficial layer of a cultural value system, and the stronger their impact upon interactants in the context of cross-cultural interaction. That is exactly the source of pragmatic function of stereotypes and their particular strength in social-cultural interaction. Therefore, smoother interaction can only be achieved with a cognitively and experientially rooted approach to social pragmatic schema understanding.

Schaff (1984) has given us a valuable start in understanding the pragmatic functions of stereotype by revealing their socially-integrating, defensive, ideology-creating and political functions, which make the individual minds compatible with the social structure of reality. He asserts that the social categorising process exerts a formative influence on the connection between ideology and language, that is, 'thinking-speaking by stereotypes[8]'. However, he offers less than we might have first thought to solve

[8] See J. L. Mey (ed.) (2009). *The Social Cognition and Linguistic Praxis,* In Concise Encyclopaedia of Pragmatics*,* Oxford: Elsevier: 566-567.

the issues arising in social interaction. The evidence that stereotypes can pragmatically function in the cross-cultural interaction, despite all the obvious obstacles, comes in three forms as follows:

2.3.1.1 Producing Judgments

Leyens et al. (1994) claim that stereotype' pragmatic function derives from producing judgments. Stereotypes are believed to be associated with evaluative judgments of group members (Fiske & Pavelchak, 1986; Stephan & Stephan, 1993) and serve to justify the inter-group attitudes and behaviour held by individual group members (Alexander et al., 1999; Alexander et al., 2005). Despite the fact that personality judgments are accurate and adequate at different levels, each level accords a useful reflection of reality, instead of exact match with reality. This would indicate interactants' propensity to abide by the social norms of a particular culture, which play an important role in guiding social behaviours. Outsiders should take as much considerations for behaviours as insiders for smooth social interaction.

The example that is immediately relevant to this discussion is that Asian international students in the western literature are observed as 'quiet' in the educational setting. However, the implication of this trait 'quiet' is more complicated than indicating good behaviour in the Chinese context, 'showing respect to the tutors in class by keeping quiet' (Bond, 1993:30) in a positive way. Rather, it can be argued that overseas Asian students give the impression of 'quietness' in a way that they are reluctantly participate in discussions, give opinions or, raise questions, and are therefore perceived as passive learners by a large volume of observations have been conducted on the possibility of occurring (Braddock, Roberts, Zheng, & Guzman, 1995; Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Jones, 1999; Kubota, 1999; Tsui, 1996). Littlewood (1999) concludes that East Asian students tend to prioritise maintaining harmony and they may, therefore, reluctantly engage in argumentative discussions. Cheng (2000) claims that Asian students' alleged behaviour of 'reticence and passivity' result from difficulties adjusting to western teaching methodologies and improving their language proficiency. Based on studies examining changes in stereotypes favourableness (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Karlins et al., 1969; Sigall, 1971), Kunda, Sinclair, and Griffin (1997) conclude that attributes can have different meanings and therefore, different favourableness, depending on group membership.

In line with stereotypes' personality judgmental tendency, Schaff highlighted earlier that "stereotypes are not identical with attitudes, but they play an important role in the structure of the latter as the basis of convictions that is a prerequisite of readiness to act" (1984:91). Funder (1989) illustrates that the complex processes of informal observation and intuitive judgment allow people to detect each other's qualities with a certain degree of accuracy, and the accuracy of personality judgment is intertwined with the issue of how personality is manifested in behaviour from a theoretical perspective. He also addresses his motive for conducting research on human judgments of personality based on haphazard observations of behaviours in real life settings, that is, '… in the face of enormous difficulties it seems remarkable they manage to have any accuracy at all ...' (p.212). Later, Funder (1995) argues that sometimes personality judgments are made and communicated in an attempt to predict the future behaviour of the person whose attributes are described.

2.3.1.2 Predicting Expectancy

Stereotype renders predictive expectancy. In a sense, the use of stereotypical knowledge gives rise to ostensive-inferential communication, consisting of the stereotypical sequences of behaviours in specific contexts that interactants are able to see whether or not the behaviour is more or less favourable than the expectation.

For example, let us take the stereotypical knowledge of paying-the-bill etiquette in different cultures. It is customary for friends to split the bill when they eat out in Western culture. Candice Walsh[9] does not think there is a universal 'splitting the bill' etiquette though. In her article, she started with the two most common options when a bill was plonked on the table: going Dutch (e.g. in Canada), or share the total bill equally (e.g. in the USA), and then included the different etiquette for some other countries as a travel guide. Whereas quite often Chinese people are seen to fight over paying the restaurant bill. For one reason, Chinese people value 'face' very much and take great pride in saying 'I'll get this' and thus treating in turn is preferable, rather than split the tab evenly at the dinner table or pay separately for their own meal, which is believed to cause embarrassment and emotional distance. For another reason, eating out together is fairly important for social and business connections. Still, the situation becomes

[9] Candice Walsh, *Etiquette for 'splitting the bill' around the world*, Matador Network, 12 January, 2012

very strategic or tricky for those who do want to pay or who do not want to pay. Therefore, Chinese people's fight for the bill can be "the biggest shocker of all" for foreign visitors as Steve[10] observed. In the meantime, many Chinese students studying in Britain find themselves left in the embarrassing situation when they first go out and treat their British friend but it turns out to go Dutch when they eat out with him/her again, as splitting the bill is not their interactive norm and they might expect their friend to treat them back. In both cases, foreigners in China and Chinese overseas students could reasonably predict the situation if they are aware of such broadly held stereotype about paying-the-bill etiquette in their target cultures, which can serve as the actual role of predicting others' behaviour and avoid social blunder. As can be seen, paying-the-bill etiquette is an established cultural practice, but it can also be perceived as a situational stereotype in this context, not merely an assumption as they are believed to be.

It, thus, has two important implications: First, stereotypical knowledge can afford predictive value by detecting the salience of cultural differences. Practically linking the perceived groups' attributions and expectancies may help interactants predict how members of other cultures will properly respond and behave. The term "stigma" Goffman used as his book (1963) title suggested, to refer to an attribute, which "we lean on these anticipations that we have, transforming them into normative expectation, into righteously presented demands (p.2)." Second, stereotype-based expectancy can be either consistent or inconsistent. Stereotypical knowledge offers an initial impression and consists of high-level situational meaning, which enables people to form certain expectancy about the perceived group and then engage in the process of maintaining or adjusting this expectancy against contradictory behaviour. Corneille and Yzerbyt (2003) go to some lengths to point out that real or anticipated actions by groups have important consequences for the content of stereotypes, and even for determining which group is stereotyped. Yoon & Hollingshead's (2010) laboratory experiment reveals that under certain conditions, convergent expectations based on cultural stereotypes many have coordination and performance benefits in cross-cultural collaborations.

[10] Steve, *Fighting Over the Restaurant Bill? Get Ready for China*, Discovering Life Now, 29 June, 2011

One prediction of the standard approach to pragmatics would be that intercultural misunderstandings are caused by barriers that arise when interactants are not engaged in a cultural decoding task or by contextual mismatches between speakers (Kecskes & Horn, 2007:75). Such mismatches in the interpretation of perceived traits or behaviours, based on erroneous expectations of relevance in the context of cross-cultural interaction, trigger a negotiation of meaning-in-context reconstruction. In this way, interactants can use the responses of their own culture as guides for making sense of behavioural differences and for the emergence and evolution of new stereotypic knowledge.

2.3.1.3 Evidence-to-inference

The retroactively explanatory function of stereotypes, which are manifested in the interplay between cognitive categorising processes and contexts, is justified by the fact that stereotypes developed as shared understandings of social groups serve to differentiate the in-group from the out-group and in particular elucidate group members' behavioural tendency (Hewstone, 1990). Rothbart and Park (1986) claim that such evidence-to-inference link is much tighter in real-life interaction when a behaviour episode confirms preconceived ideas about the actor.

A perspective is now emerging concerning the usefulness of stereotypes as an explanatory feature as detailed in the book *Stereotypes as Explanation*: *the formation of meaningful beliefs about social groups* (McGarty et al., 2002). This book explores the process of stereotype formation by extending Bruner's (1957) classic work based on self-categorisation theory and social judgeability theory. It also elucidates the equation between stereotyping and the process of search-for-meaning on the part of the perceiver, in the belief that stereotypes form as a result of "explanation, understanding and deriving differentiated meaning (p.ix)" grounded in the experiences of the perceiver on both intrapersonal and interpersonal level. They conclude that stereotype renders "highly selective, variable and frequently contested explanations" regarding the shared common beliefs about social groups and group relationships. The chapter by McGarty is a strong reminder that the potential driving force for self-evolving dynamics of stereotype are the two correlated processes involved in stereotype formation: explanation and justification. That is, stereotype formation can be understood as taking place in the dynamic process of interrelations between category knowledge, perceptions of similarity and differences, and category labels use, and thus it involves explicit processes of justification and implicit

processes of explanation. Viewed in this way, implicit explanation that group members of the unemployed tend to be described as *incompetent*, as well as explicit justification to intergroup relations that the unemployed don't have jobs because the society is *competitive*, are all properly considered to be part of the stereotyping process. Fischer and Trier (1962) conducted a comparison of auto- and hereto- stereotypes with the French-speaking Swiss and the German-speaking Swiss and found that both groups share the same views of the way in which the French-speaking group see themselves and expect to be seen in a favourable way while German-speaking group have a different self-image. The findings were further demonstrated by the replicated studies by Kolde 1981 and Muller 1987. This could help to understand why French rather than German is the most used language across the language border in Switzerland.

The key themes guiding this volume are wholly consistent with Oakes et al. (1994)' earlier observations, that "the stereotype content is selectively constructed to describe, make sense of and rationalise the context-specific differences observed, to differentiate groups meaningfully in terms of the interplay between background knowledge and immediate data" (p.122). That is to say, the perceived stereotypes can be elicited in the observed interactions are then tested against evidence. The already formed stereotypes may be adjusted so that they closely match the real world experience. In this way, stereotyping in interactions is referred to as a 'dynamic hypothesis-testing process' and involves the concept of 'adjustment'. For example, many Chinese students have found that their predominant stereotypical knowledge about the British people's 'talking about the weather' is quite what it seemed, based on their personal experience and observations that the changeability makes British weather so distinct, being both fascinating and frustrating. Thus, 'weather-talk' is a reassuring icebreaker for the reserved Britons to greet someone or striking up a conversation with strangers on the bus stations, trains, etc. Such stereotypical perception may have a 'kernel of truth' as Dr. Samuel Johnson, an English poet, said in 1758: "When two Englishmen meet, their first talk is of the weather". His comment still holds true 250 years later as the survey result showed that 'talking about the weather' tops the British trait list as 58 per cent of people enjoy this national pastime[11]. Similar ideas recur in Martin Boyle's

[11] The survey was conducted by a British research firm, www.onepoll.com, with 5,000 people by asking them to identify the attributes of what they believe to make the nation unique, in *Talking about weather is 'top British trait'*, The Telegraph, 9 Nov, 2008

(2009) *50 Topics on British Society and Culture*, and Kate Fox's (2008), *Watching the English: the Hidden Rules of English Behaviour*. Both authors illuminate the implicit motive underlying British weather conversations. Boyle's work aims to give Chinese students an overview of British culture and social settings likely to occur during their interaction with local people based on scenarios in which a Chinese student interacts with a British host family. He starts this discussion by illustrating the British people's obsession with a popular BBC radio program, *The Shipping Forecast*. The broadcast, which first started in 1924 and is delivered by a calm and soothing voice, with fifteen-minute bulletin's timing and four times a day, is deeply embedded in islanders' life as the need for certainties and continuity of life. In addition, he believes their desire to talk about the weather is due to its annoyance and unpredictability. Fox, in her first chapter, takes the discussion further and presents several rules (e.g. the reciprocity rule, the context rule, the agreement rule, the weather hierarchy rule, the shipping forecast ritual, etc.) of English weather talk revealing a lot about Englishness, like the clear signs of English social inhibition, politeness, stoicism, etc.

From a classic Gricean or neo-Gricean approach to pragmatics, this would lead to a strong assumption that pragmatic misunderstanding would be caused by erroneous application of conversational maxims or pragmatic principles. If this kind of misunderstanding minimization is the goal of cross-cultural interaction, it is necessary to find out how a supposed requirement of "direct" or "actual" evidence-to-inference serves the stereotypical interaction. Let us consider the following two examples: "small talk" between a Chinese student and his British landlady (Example 1) was consistent with Helen Spencer-Oatey's[12] personal encounter with a young Hungarian student (Example 2).

Example 1:

After the landlady offered the Chinese student a ride to the town centre, the following conversation took place:

Chinese student: "Oh, thank you so much! It's very kind of you. You are such a nice *old* lady!"

The landlady: "No problem. I need to do some shopping anyway. "

[12] Helen Spencer-Oatey (2007). Theories of identity and the analysis of face, Journal of Pragmatics 39: 639-656.

Example 2:

Helen Spencer-Oatey helped a Hungarian student to find the right train to Luton Airport, the following conversation took place:

Hungarian student: "Thank you very much. You are a very kind *old* lady."
Helen Spencer-Oatey: "No problem. I was catching this train anyway."

These two authentic examples share some similarities in the way that the two international students expressed their gratitude to the two British ladies, and somehow they went out their way to address them as "*old"* ladies, despite the fact that the landlady was in her 60s and Helen was in her 50s. Still, these two British ladies' responses were very similar but, in a deeper sense, differed markedly. It appeared that the two ladies responded to the students' 'appreciation' with routine replies, but Spencer-Oatey admitted that the Hungarian student's 'compliment' threatened her face since she regarded herself as 'middle-aged' rather than '*old*'. For the landlady, she did not get offended at all. It is not because she was 10 years older than Spender-Oatey and had came to terms with her 'old age', but because she understood old people were well-respected in Chinese culture and "*old"* did not carry a negative implication as it does in western societies. In such contexts, the landlady turned out to be a quasi-Chinese 'expert' with accumulated stereotypical knowledge obtained from her Chinese daughter-in-law and frequent interactions with her Chinese student tenants. Therefore, it is important to integrate stereotyping process and interactive norms by attending to the bilateral explanations and analysis.

In addition, our other assumption of a general tendency to view the interactive norms of 'other' cultures as either similar to or different from our own could cause misunderstanding. There is a popular discourse in the West, that foreigners, especially 'Orientals', from East Asia, are 'touchy', and thus have to be treated very carefully in interaction because they can be very quick to 'take offence'. This discourse was particularly strong in British imperialist discourse. Indeed, the popular notion of 'face' is not Goffman's but was first imported into the English language from China. Yet, there are plenty of attested examples where it is the Westerner who takes offence. In Example 2, the linguist Spencer-Oatey attempted to explain the fact that she felt somehow offended after she helped a Hungarian student. She was fully aware that the potential misunderstanding lay in the mismatch of perceived 'age', with either positive or negative implication, between the Hungarian student and herself. She further analysed that "old" lady may have neutral or even positive connotations for the Hungarian student and he seemed not

to realise any face-threat in his gratitude, by appealing to what happened as a mere mismatch between the cultural definitions of 'old age'. Perhaps it is just that we are so familiar with our own cultural interactive practices, we fail to see how structured they are and, to fail to see any inherent discrepancies. The practices of other cultures, on the other hand, are new to us, so that as we learn about them we are able to see their structured nature. This is another reason why interacting across cultures is such fun - we learn about others as well as ourselves. As will then be demonstrated, this process of cultural comparison can be often useful in unpicking the nuances of 'self' from stereotype, both in those we meet and ourselves.

2.3.2 Self-categorisation Theory

In the early 1980s, the Self-Categorisation Theory (SCT) was advanced to explore the role of categorisation of *self* and *others* regarding their group membership. Despite its roots in underlying psychological basis for group formation, SCT (Oakes et al., 1994) is more understood as a way to applying categorising and comparing functions to the process of perception formation and social interactions. SCT theory emphasizes the fact that categorisation is a dynamic and content-dependent process determined by comparative relations within a given context. Categories are established via the principle of meta-contrast, which predicts that differences within a given group are less than the differences between self- and non-self-category within the comparative context (Campbell, 1958; Rosch, 1978; Tajfel, 1969). The comparative relations, which serve as the basic premise of categorisation to compare intragroup and intergroup, lead them to be represented by different categories and bring the social meaning of salient similarity and difference between them to the front in terms of the normative and behavioural content of their actions and the relative accessibility of particular categorisations (Oakes, 1987; Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991). The 'essence' of categorisation, for Oakes, is that the cognitive grouping process transforms differences into similarities, and vice versa, of a set of stimuli in different context, but their own positions remain unchanged. For example, literary writers and film directors can be perceived as different 'professional associations' but 'creative' could function as a cue to categorise them into the same social category.

2.3.3 'Self' & 'Other': Cross-cultural Interactants

Although substantial efforts have been devoted to exploring the impact of stereotyping and the role of stereotypical social consensus in the maintenance of stereotypic beliefs, the 'bi-lineal' nature of stereotypical interaction has not received enough attention in stereotypes literature. It is seemingly obvious, but too often neglected, that the cross-cultural interactions always occur between both sides of 'self' and 'others'. In operational form, stereotypes are often used to describe one-sided beliefs of either *self* or *others*, in a self-referential way.

However, as an integral process, stereotyping is a bilinear mode of shared representations between *self* (the way in which we see ourselves) and *other* (the way in which we are perceived by others), in a sense that cohere 'us' of in-group more closely to be the 'same together' with similar dispositions and shared values. Conversely, distinguish from 'them' of out-group as 'essentialised otherness' where 'they' differ from 'us' in some way. In this way, *self* and *other* would not completely overlap but define their own group memberships and create boundaries to regulate the intergroup relationships. For example, most Chinese people have a stereotypical image of people of different cultures at the same time have developed a sense of what is typical of Chinese. Social psychologists distinguish between these two perceptions as 'self-stereotypes' or 'auto-stereotypes' (perceptions of in-group members) and 'other-stereotypes' or 'hetero-stereotypes' (perceptions of out-group members). Two-dimensional stereotypes should be placed in the context of cross-cultural interaction.

2.3.3.1 The 'Self' & the 'Other'

THE 'SELF'

The concept of *self* has long been studied in psychology (Allport, 1943; Gordon & Gergen, 1968) and sociology (Cooley, 1902; Mead, 1934; Rosenberg, 1979). There is a growing recognition in the literature that *self* is defined according to specific cultural dimensions, such as beliefs, attitudes, values, norms, etc., and consequently, individuals' behaviours are assumed to be consistent with the *self* which is constructed in differing cultural contexts. Drawing on the rationale for *self*-concepts, the varying perspectives on the self-stereotyping are presented with the two parallel lines.

The first line of research is founded on an analysis of the extent to which an individual identifies the *self* with *close others* and endorses culturally shared membership as applicable to the *self*. Simon and Hamilton (1994) maintain that self-stereotyping functions as the cognitive accessibility of one's social group membership and in the process of self-stereotyping individuals perceive the culturally shared characteristics of the *self* as being the 'same together' within in-group. Greenwald and his colleagues (2001; 1995) move further, examining the strength of the linkage between in-group typical perceptions and group identity. Iwao and Trlandis (1993) establish that self-stereotyping is thought to be greater within collectivistic cultures given the stronger identity with the in-group. Turner, Oakes, Haslam, and McGarty (1994) explore the relationship between *self* and the *collective* from the perspective of self-categorisation theory. Triandis (1989) distinguishes three levels of the *self:* private, public, and collective with different probabilities, which have different implications for their social behaviour in different cultures.

The second line concerns the interrelations between self-stereotyping and the other-ness, members of both in-groups and out-groups. The focus on the development of the *self* within the social realm could be identified in Mead's (1934) earlier work as he put that self-concepts are formed and regulated by others' perspectives on the self. And this viewpoints was underlined in his later work (1982) emphasizing that the individual mind can exist only in relation to other minds with shared meanings" (p.5). The recent research (Sinclair, Huntsinger, Skorinko, & Hardin, 2005) underlined Triandis's earlier point that the self-concept is developed, in part, through interaction with others and reveal that individuals are found to be more prone to perceive themselves, and behave, in a stereotypic manner to conform to the stereotyped expectancies that they believe others hold in particular social interaction.

It is generally understood that people know themselves better and self-stereotypes are assumed to be based on culturally shared, specific and well-defined attributes. Nevertheless, the question remains about the 'accuracy' of the self-perceptions would have, as Berndt and Burgy (1996) have pointed out that self-ratings play a corrective role in reflecting perceptions of actual social functioning for the purpose of self-enhancing or self-denigrating tendencies. Thus, self-stereotyping has been found to be more positive in nature than hetero-stereotypes (Marin & Salazar, 1985). However, McNabb (1986) confirms that self-stereotyping also applies the general characteristics of the in-group to the *self* without consideration of individual variability. Iwao and Trlandis (1993) conducted an empirical study with

Japanese and American students and suggested that self-stereotyping is as flawed as hetero-stereotyping with respect to the issue of validity. The Levy and Banaji's (2002) study examined the issue of 'validity' from the perspective of philosophy with respect to subjectivity and objectivity, that is, how the meaning of our subjective experience conflicts with the meaning of the same experience from an objective, detached stance. Their study found that old people may objectively report the accuracy of their age with the evidence of using appropriate terms for their age group as well as acknowledge the salient characteristics of this group. However, they may subjectively exclude themselves from this group as they don't think they are, subjectively, old since the usual stereotypical views about older people don't apply to them.

THE 'OTHER'

We may believe that no one understands as well as we know ourselves since we have greater access to our minds and reactions. It is reasonable to suggest that we develop a 'self-concept' through our major part of self-knowledge (thoughts and feelings) and private response to the outside environment that these responses tell us more about ourselves than our behaviours do. However, scholarly theory has demonstrated that other people' views of us also contribute to the development of self, that is to say, self-concept can only exist with reference to others. Why, then, would we take other people's reactions into consideration?

In considering the concept of the '*other*', Bronfen (1992) notes that "the stereotype of the *other* is used to control the ambivalent and to create boundaries. Stereotypes are a way of dealing with instabilities arising from the division between self and non-self by preserving an illusion of control and order (p.182)". Given the nature of cognitive accessibility and social-identity salience, people are more apt to designate considerably shared attributes to *others* and make judgements too quickly - a phenomenon we refer it as other-stereotyping (or hetero-stereotyping).

Empirical evidence is too abundant to review the process of '*other*-ing' (Fiske, 1998; Hamilton & Sherman, 1994; Hilton & Hippel, 1996), since Katz & Braly's (1933) classic work with respect to the measurement of the most representative traits assigned to ten ethnic and national groups. The findings revealed that the impact of the way people perceive and evaluate others based on racial/cultural identity

and historically specific process of the application of stereotyping for Jews, blacks, women, immigrants have unfortunately fallen victims to stereotypical knowledge as Allport (1954) argued that common prejudice is one inevitable consequence of negative stereotypes.

However, the existing literature has rarely provided correlational evidence so far regarding the interaction between self-stereotyping and other-stereotyping. Although there is a growing body of studies examining the influence of stereotypical views on the stereotyped groups (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Swim & Stangor, 1998), only a small proportion of this work investigate the extent to which self-stereotyping does not correspond to other-stereotyping, that is, to what extent the members of in-group are perceived as consensual compared to how they are perceived by members of out-group. Moreover, the gaps and inconsistence remain untouched by cross-cultural researchers leading to ambivalence and misunderstandings between self and non-self. Neither a self-report nor an others-report should be considered the 'gold standard' (De Los Reyes & Prinstein, 2004) from a comparative perspective. However, there are relatively few investigations focused on contrasting the impressions and views of social groups from both the insider and the outsiders' perspectives and discrepancies exist in the bi-linear perceptions.

2.3.3.2 The Rationale in the 'Self-concept' VS. the 'Otherness'

The American sociologist, Charles H. Cooley (1902), advanced the concept of the "looking-glass self" which represents a major step toward understanding the self through his/her own views and others' perceptions in society. This concept posits that the self grows out of social interpersonal interactions and one cannot understand oneself without reference to others' perceptions of us.

The *Social Comparison Theory*, initially proposed by Festinger (1954), explains how one defines the self and achieves accurate self-evaluation by comparing oneself to others. Following this trend, Bem (1972) advanced the self-perception theory. This theory indicates how people create self-knowledge in the first place and adjust their attitudes and behaviours to each other. It suggests that people infer their attitudes from their own behaviour, much as an outside observe might. Similarly, Mead (1982) believed that self-conception is one's interpretation of how others see us and thus "the individual mind can exist only in relation to other minds with shared meanings" (p.5). These endeavours received additional

impetus during the 2000s. Recent scholarship has emphasized the dynamic construct of self-concept. Smith and Mackie (2007) argue that self-knowledge is not easily attained since it is "actively constructed rather than simply or directly 'known'".

Irimias (2011) agrees that raising the awareness of cultural stereotypes as well as cultural differences and similarities could help business people to communicate more effectively since our communication styles and behavioural stereotypes are related to a distinct set of values, particular perceptions and "inherent culturally-shaped expectations and assumptions" (p.169). In addition, it is suggested in the article that business people are expected to learn and manage cultural stereotypes on three levels: "self, interpersonal, and organisational" (p.173).

As the poet Burns suggested, it is hard to see ourselves as others see us. This is true of nations as of people. Admittedly, we know more about ourselves than about others, but obviously one's knowledge of self is not always sufficient in helping us make accurate evaluations of ourselves since our self-concept arises from interrelations with others. Therefore, people compare themselves to others for the sake of accurate self-evaluation, empathy and connectedness (Lockwood & Kunda, 1997), and positive distinctiveness (Helgeson & Mickelson, 1995). With respect to the importance of both self and others in public relations, an ancient Chinese philosophical writing attributed to Sun Tzu, *The Art of War* (512 BC) is noteworthy for demonstrating the tactics and strategies in the conflicts and wars. It states, "If you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles. If you know yourself but not the enemy, for every victory gained you will also suffer a defeat. If you know neither the enemy nor yourself, you will succumb in every battle[13]" Although it is all about battle strategies, these words are packed with advice for people seeking self-improvement, leveraging advantages to maintain the successful relations with opponents, and a great deal of similar situations.

[13] Part III. Attack by Stratagem, translated by Lionel Giles in 1910

2.4 CONCLUSION

An impressive volume of literature over the last ninety or so years suggests that researchers have devoted productive efforts to exploring the very nature of stereotypical phenomenon and established sufficient experimental evidence in social psychology and intergroup relations. This previous research has clearly demonstrated how stereotypes affect our perceptions, behaviour, and intergroup relations. It has not, however, paid much attention as to how stereotypes function as indispensable pragmatic devices in our mental life or how the dual justifying-system for both the *self* and the *other* functions in dynamical social contexts.

There still exist noticeable inconsistencies and complexities in some major aspects of stereotypes research. The first concerns the definition of 'stereotype'. Though various claims have been advanced, it is fair to say that a brief examination of the different theoretical orientations of stereotype research reveals incompleteness of its definition. Given its dynamic nature, the bi-linear categorising process in social contexts should be integrated into a cohesive conceptualization. The second issue addresses the role of stereotype's pragmatic application in cross-cultural interaction. Since the assumptions of its negative and positive effects have existed throughout the stereotypes literature and the phenomenon is a crucial part of our everyday interaction and adaptation to our social environment, then this raise a question. That is, how do the real interactants, who are not either well-trained scholars or laboratory experimental participants responding to possible scenarios but have first-hand experience with the target groups, understand this phenomenon? Would their propositions regarding the nature of stereotypes and its role in their cultural practice be consistent with or contradict the scholarly majority opinions? The third concerns an inherent problem regarding the "kernel of truth" hypothesis and the measurement and assessment of stereotype accuracy. Despite substantial research efforts aimed at assessing the content of accuracy of stereotypes, there is a notable lack of consistency of comparison regarding the discrepancy between the perceptions held by stereotyped groups and other groups.

There has been a perennial shortage of empirical studies examining the direct experience of cross-cultural interactants. Drawing on critical thinking of the role and impact of stereotypes in particular social relationships, the documented link between self-stereotyping and other-stereotyping of actual

interactants from two different cultural groups, which has not been systematically examined in cross-cultural comparative studies, poses a gap in the literature.

This research, putting in a larger framework of mutual perceptions as realised in interactive contexts, seeks to provide the first empirical evidence of British and Chinese interactants' respectively constructing the culturally different activities, at their personal and collective levels and the analysis of the implications of their propositions and viewpoints. In this way, this thesis can add to our overall understanding of the dual practice of stereotyping. This research aims to help define the basis for rethinking the concept of stereotypes and critical application to bring the concept of the self and the other into analytical conjunction with cross-cultural interaction.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

This chapter attempts to lay a conceptual foundation for measurement of stereotypes. Special emphasis is on the description of the decisions which were made in the designing and execution of the mixed methods paradigm which was employed in this research to collect data. Then, it will discuss the concerns of the ethical issues in the cross-cultural empirical studies. Finally, it will illustrate the procedures of conducting the three components of this methodological framework.

3.1 RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES AND CONSIDERATIONS

3.1.1 The Research Questions

As outlined in the previous chapter, the term 'stereotype' has conventionally taken on a negative value as evidenced by the first-order description given by authoritative dictionaries. Still, alternative definitions and diverse measurements in scholarly works have provided illuminating insights into this phenomenon from different perspectives and opened up new possibilities for exploring and examining familiar problems. A re-contextualisation of sorts that, as has been outlined, can feasibly develop the stereotype from being merely a blunt instrument. As Schneider (2004) claims that "there is inevitably an intimate relationship between definition and measurement, and between both and theory" (p.34).

The working definition of stereotype in this research context is grounded in Jones' (1997) definition: "a positive or negative set of beliefs held by an individual about the characteristics of a group of people. It varies in its accuracy, the extent to which it captures the degree to which the stereotyped group members possess these traits, and the extent to which the set of beliefs is shared by others". This definition tightens its focus on the valence of stereotypes, which could be either positive or negative with the accuracy relying on the perceptions shared by self and other, which bring the reciprocity of the self- and other- stereotype into analytical conjunction. Still, we must stipulate the considerations defining accuracy with respect to first- and second- hand stereotypical knowledge as well as the roles of stereotype in improving/impeding interaction. By combining this perspective, this thesis will present an improved working definition based on Jones' (1997) perspective, which places a special emphasis on

enumerating the specific parameters for evaluating accuracy and the pragmatic functions in the interactants-centred cross-cultural practice.

This empirical research, situated in the context of cross-cultural interaction, focuses on the role of stereotype as well as the perennial issues in stereotype research – definition and accuracy, from the perspective of interactants. The overall aim of this current research is thus to design improved methods and allow the inception of improved parameters for effectively investigating stereotypical perceptions held by British and Chinese interactants about themselves and each other. It also seeks to provide a conceptual structure for defining accuracy of stereotypical beliefs and to explore the role and pragmatic function of stereotyping in interactants-centred practice across cultures.

It is thus hoped that the findings will reveal how British and Chinese interactants communicate and construe the stereotypical perceptions in the social-cultural context, pragmatically justify their possible expectations and consequent judgmental behaviours, and thus promote mutual understanding and adaptability. The findings will also provide evidence of how Sino-British perceptions correspond with each other, how much they are mismatched, and how much they are recognised as the culturally specific manifestation of historical heritage or current cultural ideology of a society under domination. Thus, this research will determine the degree of stereotype accuracy and will help provide a basis for smooth interaction across the cultures, i.e. stereotyping may serve as pragmatic devices to help interactants with harmonious interactions across cultures. On the basis of this perspective, I set forth the following research questions.:

Research question 1: Is there a 'Kernel of Truth' in stereotypes, given the British & Chinese participants' use of stereotypes during interactions in the target cultures and the relevant documented/cultural evidence?

Research question 2: What are the pragmatic functions & features of stereotypes, from the perspectives of the British & Chinese participants as cross-cultural interactants with first-hand experience?

Research question 3: Do the British & Chinese participants believe stereotypes improve or impede interactions, given their overseas life experiences in each other's cultures?

Research question 4: What are the mutually stereotypical perceptions that the British & Chinese participants hold of each other and themselves?

3.1.2 Common Methods Used in Stereotypes Measurement

Stereotypes, as psychological and ideological constructs, must be observable and measureable by instruments that can examine their contents, assess their accuracy, uncover their occurrences in a positive or negative way, and thus allow researchers to look at the phenomenon in a deeper way. However, measuring stereotypes, producing devices for eliciting people's perceptions and gauging their attitudes, is never an easy thing. Still, there is a wide range of possibilities to put into effect in an effort to draw inferences about these cognitive representations, affective domains, and impacts on inter-group relations. Studies indicate that different measurement techniques may yield distinct stereotype profiles (Marín, 1984; Stangor, Sullivan, & Ford, 1991). For example, researchers who are interested in the content and consensus of stereotypes would use a checklist approach and open-ended questions; researchers may choose a scale rating to identify the strength of stereotypes. Each measurement has both advantages and disadvantages. The most common methods are as follows:

3.1.2.1 Checklist Approach

The traits checklist was originally developed in Katz and Braly's (1933) first classic empirical study, which established a paradigm for stereotypes assessment. In their studies, Katz and Braly (1933) recruited one hundred students at Princeton University and instructed them to "read through the list of words and select those which seem to you typical of (target group)" (p.283). Students were encouraged to choose, from a list of 84 descriptive adjectives (e.g. intelligent, artistic, industrious, passionate, and conventional), five personality traits most representative of ten ethnic and national groups (Germans, Italians, African Americans, Irish, English, Jews, Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and Turks). Also, they could add their own adjectives as needed. The results showed that Princeton students hold distinct perceptions about each of the groups and, to large extent, they were in great agreement on their beliefs. By using the Katz and Braly's (1933) traits list and the same procedures, two complete replications were performed (Gilbert, 1951; Karlins et al., 1969), which together with Katz & Braly's (1933) original study are known as the Princeton Trilogy. These studies assessed the extent to which the stereotypes

changed in content and consensus over time with different conclusions. Gilbert (1951) found that the stereotypes had changed in the degree of consensus but remained stable in content, whereas Karlins et al. (1969) found that the stereotypes content had changed but the consensus remained stable.

The obvious advantage of this method is that it provides quick and easy access to the representative traits that research participants would assign them to a given ethnic group, and researchers can easily sort out the checked items effectively, accurately and with minimal mistakes. More importantly, the checklist approach can be replicated and used for large samples. Once the checklist is completed, it is easy to compare the results with charts outlined by researchers, and thus it is the preferred method for researchers to assess the extent to which stereotypes change over time as well as the degree of consensus in their beliefs.

However, the traits checklist introduced by Katz and Braly (1933) has received considerable critical attention. Obviously, the primary disadvantage of this approach lies in its simplicity, which may hide problems. First, when participants tick a trait on the list, they are, in effect, making a claim. However, there is usually no space to record supporting evidence for their claims. For example, two respondents would assign “hardworking”, as the typical trait, to members of a social group. We may not find any clues about the less/greater representativeness and favourableness of ‘hardworking’ in relation to this group. In this sense, the approach does not provide in-depth information compared with other methods. Second, the list will become out dated over time by omitting current beliefs. Even, with identifying and modifying, the traits list can become very long over the time, and place an undue burden on respondents. For example, in the two recent follow-ups to the Princeton trilogy, Devine and Elliot (1995) update Katz and Braly’s (1933) original trait list with 9 new attributes and Madon et al. (2001) supplement with more than 300 new attributes. In the Madon et al. (2001) study, a questionnaire was created for a target group with 406 attributes including the 84 attributes used in the Princeton trilogy, 68 free responses from the preliminary study, and 254 personality traits from Gough and Heilbrun’s (1983) adjective checklist. In practical terms, a list of several hundred traits is overly burdensome and can be expected to result in participant fatigue and raise the issue of validity. Third, the checklists can be tailored to better accommodate the objective of the planned use, but researchers would risk being questioned for bias if they produce the list through their own priori selection and judgment as participants’ responses, to a certain extent, are confined and shaped by these given traits. Therefore, it is essential to describes how

the checklists are constructed and modified, that is, how researchers determine the stereotypic traits in relation to the groups to appear on the list. Fourth, the set of 84 traits assigned to 10 ethnic groups in Katz & Braly's (1933) study was considered a more extensive universe as the salient knowledge of the assessed groups is therefore limited. Also, regarding the traits per se, we really need to make it clear if the stereotypic perceptions are from members of stereotyped group or certain out-group(s). Finally, and most importantly, the applicability of adjectives ascribed to the traits is not taken into consideration. As the traits checklist is used to assess stereotypes on various adjectives, our whole language of adjectives, to a certain extent, is prescribed and based on our understandings and descriptions of the things. However, many of these are not technically defined and are used with greater or lesser degrees of consistency (Mueller, 1986). This can be problematic because attributes can have different meanings and situational favourableness, depending on group membership (Kunda et al., 1997).

3.1.2.2 Open-ended Questions Method

The open-ended questions method, also called the Free-response method, is extensively used to investigate the content of stereotypes by simply asking people what traits or features they think are associated with a given group. Ease of use and a measure of "creativity" are the principal advantages of this method. Participants are simply instructed to fire away or write down words they would associate with a given group as many features as necessary. This method allows for discovery of new ideas and participants are encouraged to generate their opinions freely. For example, Bar-Tal and Teichman (2005) report findings obtained from this method to explore Stereotypes and Prejudice in Conflict, and conclude that this innovative method allowed an implicit assessment of the social repertoire of children and adolescents and enabled them to examine both the structure and content of images of Jewish and Arab men and women held by Jewish Israeli children (p.18). Another major benefit of using this method is to identify the full domain of traits associated with stereotypes (Butler, Ryckman, Thornton, & Bouchard, 1991). In their study, they use a free-response format to assess the full content of physique stereotypes and numerous potential subtypes are suggested by the free-response data. In addition, participants tend to gain a stronger sense of their own abilities. They do not feel like lab rats but appear more willing to be engaged in and give their full attention to the research. It does not present them with impossible alternatives, which they have neither experienced nor comprehended.

However, as participants are expected to respond “freely”, in a random manner, this method has some drawbacks. First, a ‘free-response’ can be, sometimes, be an ‘incomplete-response’. Given the certain situation and limited time, parts of information could be missed when participants speak out those that are first called to their minds when they think of members of a given social group. For example, it appears to us that democracy, freedom, and equality are particular symbols of the ideal western civilisation. When asked about the other aspects of the life, people would think of more features, such as, economic development, industrial advances, social welfare systems, etc., would these thought-demanding traits not also contribute to the essential content of stereotypes? At least some of the content of our stereotypes is largely implicit and not readily available to our consciousness (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Second, a potential difficulty is the way of dealing with low-frequency traits. Can researchers just assume that low-frequency traits are less associated with a given group? Perhaps yes, perhaps no. As long as one endorses this trait, it may reveal the real feature perceived. Low-frequency responses do not necessarily imply that they are not widely shared traits, quite possibly, they slip participants’ minds. Third, the relevant limitation of this method is its insensitivity to intensity of traits associated with a given group. If one participant describes members of two social groups as ‘friendly’, would he imply this trait has equally strong association with these two groups?

As discussed below, the free-response method has some unavoidable practical difficulties in terms of data coding. The use of free-response method can be limited by the size of sample when quantifying data for statistical analysis. Let’s suppose, for example, that 100 subjects participate in the research and each subject is asked to think of 5 traits for 10 ethnic groups, it is likely that the researchers will have to cope with 50-5000 traits according to probability interval. Moreover, the free-response method requires researchers to make difficult decisions if they need to qualify the data for statistical analysis by breaking the gathered data into variables and factors. Suppose the participants propose ‘hard-working’, ‘work-oriented’, ‘diligent’, and ‘industrious’ to describe the personality of members of a social group, is it better to group similar words into ‘feature category’ or keep them separate, for the sake of ‘real message’? If ‘words group’ is better, which feature is representative enough to be the label of this category? After all, the issue is not merely one of word choice, but of whether the actual features cover the same range of events and behaviours (Schneider, 2001:35). However, this is not to suggest that free-response method is not applicable to stereotypes studies.

3.1.2.3 Scaling Methods

Researchers aiming at the strength and the impact of stereotypes would evaluate these levels viascaling measures. There is, actually, a whole family of scaling techniques focused on measuring a particular topic and aspect of a stereotypical statement. For example, Charles Osgood's semantic differential instrument, designed to ask respondents to pick a position falling between a pair of opposite adjectives, e.g. good-bad, strong-weak, fair-unfair, etc. Also, Brigham's individual-differences measure is based on the assumption that stereotypes are defined as an individual endorsement rather than consensual beliefs. Funk, Horowitz, Lipshitz, and Young (1976) persuasively argued that Katz & Braly's (1933) checklist method was not adequate enough to elucidate the specifiable affective and behavioural consequences of stereotypical structure, and thereby they proposed a paradigm involving rating-scale adjectives, and multidimensional scaling techniques.

When asked about 'stereotypes' about a social group, people often respond with their attitudes and feelings as well as their perceptions and beliefs. If we perceive someone possess some good qualities, we tend to build more favourable attitudes towards and relationships with them. In this way, stereotypes are linked with affect and behavioural preference. Therefore, some researchers contend that scaling techniques provide two major indications: 1) the extent to which the particular trait is believed to describe a social group; 2) the degree to which we positively or negatively feel the ascribed trait. Generally, participants are instructed to indicate the strength of the associations between traits ascriptions and groups, or express the extent to which they agree or disagree with a particular topic or statement. The traits are assessed at different aspects of the same attitude and respondents cannot simply respond with 'yes' or 'no'. In this way, researchers can further their understandings of the effect of stereotypes in perceptions and behaviours. A further advantage of scaling instruments developed by Thurstone and Chave (1929), Likert (1932), Guttman (1950), and Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) is they are really techniques of abstracting the affective component of stereotypic statements to an evaluation score, that is, participants are asked to make value judgements of the attributes that they assign to particular groups in order to get some general evaluation of those groups. Nevertheless, there is a major weakness in this method since the researcher can never know the implicit criterion participants use in making such judgments. A common problem lies in the fact that nature and scope

of the stereotypical traits selected for a particular group is limited by the research designer. As can be seen from the above, the obvious advantage of scaling methods is that the response, itself, is a number. Undoubtedly, the gathered data can be easily statistically analysed and compared.

3.1.2.4 Percentage/Ratio/Proportion Method

Perhaps, the easiest way to measure stereotypes is simply to ask participants to indicate what percentage of people in a group fit the particular traits, or the extent to which the traits in stereotypes are thought to characterise the group. Such percentage method emphasises the frequency of occurrence of the traits among members of the target group and the traits ascription are believed to reflect what is embedded in the stereotypes. For example, 'What percentage of Chinese people do you think are hard-working?' If the images of several hardworking Chinese people, either in their real life or in the films, can easily spring to mind, the respondents would make a probability judgment: 'I think 80% of Chinese people are hard-working'. The advantage of this method is to assess the strength of the association between the given group and assigned features. However, by providing an estimate of the probability, the method is frequently at risk of being accused of testing the researchers' stereotypical knowledge rather than actually shared stereotypes as they choose those they believe 'go with' a particular group. It is most likely that participants do not hold that belief at all but still offer a low percentage, instead of giving up or refusing to respond.

3.1.2.5 Semantic-Priming Method

The semantic-priming method is a fairly indirect technique for assessing the degree to which some stereotypical traits or affective tendency are closely associated with a given category more particularly. The rationale behind this method is that stereotypes are defined as a set of beliefs about features associated with certain categories. It is therefore reasonable to assume that when a category is primed, participants can indicate more quickly that some stereotypical features go with a given category. A number of studies exemplified this emphasis. In Gaertner and McLaughlin (1983) lexical-decision experiment, subjects were presented with pairs of words and nonsense letter strings and asked to make a lexical judgment and asked to pick up the pairs where they believe close association exists. The logic behind this technique was that activation of the prime facilitates accessibility of the target. That is to

say, when an association is believed to exist between Blacks and the stereotypical trait 'superstitious', subjects could make a faster judgment that Black-superstitious are prime and target than black-intelligent or white-superstitious. Wittenbrink, Judd, and Park (1997) use a slightly different technique to assess the positive and negative stereotypes by using 'white' and 'black' as primes, and the findings reveal that category primes enhance more consistent stimuli than inconsistent stimuli. The obvious advantage of such measures is that the priming activation can assess, effectively and quickly, category-related implicit stereotypes. However, the potential problem is that stereotype-facilitated responses are not necessarily mediated by conscious priming procedures.

3.1.2.6 Measuring Self- & Other-Stereotypes in Cross-cultural Comparative Research

Michael Bond's (1986) study investigated auto-stereotype, hetero-stereotype, and reflected stereotype held by 130 local undergraduates and 27 American exchange students from the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Reflected-stereotype is the estimated the rating likely to be given to their typical group member by a typical member of out-group. Bond pointed out that there was a lack of the Chinese-centred indigenous personality research and he created a traits list of 30 bi-polar pairs including items drawn from Norman's (1963) five dimensions, and the earlier Yeh and Chu (1974) survey on the perceptions of Americans held by Taiwanese, and asked participants to respond to each pair using a 7-point 'agree - disagree' rating. By observing the variance in the 30 dependent variables in a 2 (sexes: male and female) × 3 (types of stereotypes: auto, hetero- or reflected) ANOVA setting and grouping traits items into four factors (beneficence, extroversion, emotional control and openness to others), Bond detected evidence for the following aspects. Firstly, the 'kernel of truth', which was essentially features in the findings that Chinese were perceived as more emotionally controlled, less open to others, and less extroverted than the Americans by in-group and out-group members. Secondly, mutual misperceptions, which were also found to exist in both cultures. Thirdly, a reversal of 'symmetry' pattern emerged, e.g. each group saw the other as more pro-social and beneficent than themselves. Also, he articulated further implications for the pragmatic functions of mutual stereotypes in cross-cultural interactions, which can be facilitated by motivating the initial encounter, by guiding interactants' behaviours effectively, and by promoting mutual accommodation.

Bond's (1986) study highlighted the corresponding and differing perceptions between Chinese and the other ethnic groups from the point of view of university students and formulated three types of mutual stereotype functions across cultures. Given the fact that the majority of evidence came from specific sojourner-host group populations, the external validity of his findings was somewhat restricted. In terms of cross-cultural comparative research, a major threat to the external validity is the possibility of a sample-site selection bias. First, in cross-cultural studies, functional equivalence of samples was essential and therefore, 'similar' samples were needed. However, the two groups that the researcher recruited to produce the generalisable results were American exchange students in a 'year abroad programme' and local juniors and seniors. Obviously, the American sample was the real cross-cultural interactants while studying in Hong Kong while the local undergraduates lacked first-hand experience of studying in America although they "had at least three years of contact with American exchange students" (p.263). Second, groups on campus were surely an ideal setting to investigate the mutual perceptions and make judgemental behaviours as interactions would occur with sufficient conditions for involvement (e.g. sports activities, English tutoring, sharing dormitories, et.) to make observation worthwhile. However, in this sojourner-host setting, it was important to note that there was a process of adjustment required for the American students as the extensive literature suggested that this interactive process involving seeking ways to negotiate their identities when their 'normal' behaviours and value orientation in the new setting are challenged. Although the Chinese participants were instructed to rate a 'typical American exchange student on campus', generalising conclusions of such results to the general culture, however, becomes hazardous. At a more basic level, Bond's (1986) study does not allow for detecting how mutual perceptions function when being spontaneously used in interactions across cultural lines.

Iwao and Trlandis (1993) sought to evaluate the validity of auto- and hetero-stereotypes among 110 Japanese and 169 American undergraduates. Participants were presented with three scenarios involving interactions with conflicting views regarding one particularistic and two universalistic topics, and five to eight behavioural tendencies for each episode. Participants were, then, asked to rank their responses from which 'typical' Americans and Japanese would make their own judgemental behaviour in such situations. By comparing percentages and calculating Spearman's rank-order correlation across the various responses, as well as using Hayashi's (1956) Quantification Analysis to see, in the same

graph, plots of particular behaviours and participants' responses selected, the findings revealed that a link may exist between the validity of stereotypes and the similarity between the ways two cultures understand social situations. That is to say, mutual stereotypes can serve as the functional frame of reference for people across cultures to respond to a particular situation. The results also suggested a further distinct pattern, which is recognisable in American and Japanese participants' respectively using individualistic and collectivistic perspectives to handle social situations. However, it is somewhat surprising that Japanese collectivism is exaggerated as a larger inconsistency between their auto-stereotypes (how they think typical Japanese would make) and the centre of gravity of their responses (own response, favoured response, respected responses, friends' response).

The scenario-behaviour technique used in Iwao & Triandis' (1993) study is typically reactive, in the sense that it allows for the possibility that stereotypes association between specific context and reactive alternatives differed at various points regarding five types of responses, as follows, 1) they respected most; 2) they wished to see in their friend apart; 3) they themselves would make. 4) the average American would make; 5) the average Japanese would make. Since the focus of the research was concerned with the validity of auto- and hetero-stereotypes among Japanese and American students and categorising responses is a highly subjective endeavour, these five types of responses undoubtedly, increased participants' burden to make judgments thereby decreased motivation to respond thoughtfully and precisely. In this way, distinctions between them can be blurred.

Lee (1995) conducted a comparative study of politics and personality among 182 Chinese and 182 American university students. By using factor analysis, the research data were dimensionalised to four measures: American/Chinese political restrictedness-openness, and American/Chinese psychological obedience-independence, which consisted of six to eight statements respectively. Participants were asked to rate each item on a five-point scale from 'strongly disagree' to 'strong agree'. Lee's (1995) study provided plausible evidence to support the 'kernel of truth' hypothesis: 1) mainland Chinese participants' views were consistent with those of American university student that PRC was more politically restricted than the USA, and Chinese were seen as more obedient and less independent than Americans; 2) political dimensions were linked to perceived obedient and dependent personality. Two possible explanations for the results were briefly mentioned. One explanation was that group-oriented tendencies were embedded in traditional Confucian culture and the concepts of rights and democratic

norms are salient in the Chinese context. The Lee's (1995) study concluded with some suggestions for further research, which can be justified to investigate the cultural evaluation and valence of certain traits (e.g. 'individualism is negative for Chinese but desirable for Americans) and the relative effects of cultural and political on perceived traits, like obedience. Lee (1995) attempted to illuminate the conditions under which perceived features were correlated with each other and it was likely that such connections existed. However, his brief elaboration shed relatively little light on how such associations were ever made.

Most studies conducted by stereotypes researchers have been concerned with stereotypes generated by a single measurement. Exceptions can be found in Stephan et al. (1993) who attempted to measure stereotypes by using multiple techniques to find out whether these methods would yield consistent results of stereotypes of Americans and Russians held by students from both groups. These included three considerably accepted techniques (checklist, percentage and diagnostic ratio) and two measurements of cognitive information processing (prototype and pathfinder) used with American samples for exploratory purposes. In bringing together the results from the various techniques, this study revealed that multiple techniques of stereotypes measurements generated remarkably similar findings, with the exception of the diagnostic ratio technique. The prototype technique indicates that all these study techniques produced the same type of cognitive processing. Only the pathfinder technique charted the networks of interrelated traits in the American/Russian stereotypes and assessed the strength of the links among the traits in the stereotype than to the group label. However, all the subjects recruited in their studies were undergraduates for course credits and their opinions are likely to reflect "the views of the more highly educated segments of the populations of both countries" (p.61). In a sense, their empirical research is not cross-cultural. It is simply the survey studies conducted with participants from a certain culture about their perceptions of the other cultures or from different countries concerning their viewpoints of each other.

3.1.3 Justification of a Mixed-Method Strategy

To justify the methodological framework chosen to carry out this current study, the foregoing reviews may be concluded in a few points that warrant further discussion with regards to a mixed methods strategy to achieve a workable research design.

The quantitative paradigm has held in a dominant position within the trend of stereotypes measurements. The principles of stereotypes measurements have typically been founded on quantitative research. Here, social interaction is reduced to measures of independent numerical scores providing objective and value-neutral research outcomes. Usually, the survey researchers have their subjects all comparable in the rows of a well-defined and tidy data table, and their variables all consistently measured in the columns. Far too much time and efforts are spent on statistics, and finding *p-values* from t-tests, f-tests, in nearly every empirical study (e.g. Boduroglu et al., 2006; Lönnqvist et al., 2012b). Undoubtedly, significance testing enables researchers to quantify the statistical significance of evidence and effectively observe the correlations between sets of data. However, these statistics appear inadequate to comprehensively explain human behaviour. Nonetheless, the implication of the survey data is worthy of some attention while few studies have systematically incorporated qualitative techniques as a supplement for further interpretations. Most significantly, the general levels of cultural differences are widely illuminated, but few advances have been made in the exploration of those salient features in which social and cultural context they reside. Thus, it would be reasonable for researchers to develop alternative techniques and triangulated re-interpretations of the data they have.

The conventional survey-assessed stereotypes undoubtedly have considerable values for developing an understanding of stereotypical perceptions and behavioural tendency. However, LaPiere (1934) persuasively argued that “any study of attitudes through direct questioning is open to serious object”, as questionnaire responses could not be considered the well-defined reflection of ‘attitude’. In his influential study of exploring the attitude-behaviour relationship, LaPiere (1934) made observations of his experience of patronising hotels and restaurants across the United States with a foreign-born Chinese couple. He was intending to support his major claim that questionnaire-assessed ‘attitudinal tendency’ does not necessarily lead to similar behaviour in actual situations by using two types of follow-up attitudinal questionnaires regarding the overt responses of the American establishments to his

Chinese friends. The questionnaire data revealed that over 90% replied 'No' in response to the core question 'will you accept members of the Chinese race as guests in your establishment', while their actual experience showed that in one out of 251 instances in which they secured food and accommodations services, the obvious presence of his Chinese friends adversely affect them. Therefore, he concluded that questionnaire-assessed data could not elicit the actual attitudes but reflect a symbolic social orientation. That is to say, questionnaire responses only indicated how respondents imagine what actions they would take, rather than how they would react in actual situations. More importantly, the subtle distinctiveness of actual responses, like hesitation, embarrassment, etc. obtained from his direct observation could not be detected from questionnaire data. This discrepancy between questionnaire results and real behaviour uncovered in the LaPiere (1934) study show that studying human attitudes and behaviour can never be an easy thing. However, Stephan et al. (1993) findings reveal that "the various techniques of measuring stereotypes produced remarkably similar findings. Illustrative of this line of perspective are the few attempts to systematically combine methods for examining the same phenomenon.

Conventional stereotyping approaches rely on personality traits-orientation, which is fully inadequate to depict cognitive representation of the cultural salient features that characterise a social group. Most researchers opt for the use of a pre-determined list of traits or statement as they offer a common reference point for the research questions presented to the participants. However, would these common sets of stereotypical traits/statements be sufficiently meaningful for the participants? Would participants' responses be reliable enough to imply their true attitudes? As the pre-determined list is highly selective, it is more likely for participants to select and make judgments without much effort when the focus of the research is not of much interest or relevance to them. There is no much space for them to comment on the participants' judgments. Fortunately, there exist a few exceptions. For example, Stephan et al. (1993) created traits lists by combining several sources, including traits elicited from focus interviews with both groups of participants and relevant adjectives identified in previous work. Still, it seems plausible to include an alternative approach to re-create a traits list involving the viewpoints from real interactants, as they are well motivated to reflect on their cultural practice and generate valuable opinions.

What appears to be pertinent in stereotypes research is the lack of perspectives of real life practitioners across cultures, which are notably absent from research about the impact of stereotypes

on the interaction. Most stereotypes researchers have actively conducted their studies to investigate university participants in psychology courses about their perceptions on the apparently universal propensity of different ethnic groups. Undergraduate research participants are no doubt a convenient sampling resource. However, limitations persist regarding their inexperience with target cultures as they make their judgments on the basis of second-hand information sources, as well as their motivations to participate in the research as it is less likely for students to be actively engaged in research questions. Threats to research reliability can be introduced if research questions are of no interest or relevance to them, or simply selecting and making judgments concerning the traits or statements presented. Thereby, these research results only reflect participants' images of one another, which are extensively shaped by the mass media in a specific cultural context, rather than individual experience. Contributions in the *International Journal and Intercultural Relations* have access to international samples and provide a network of multicultural research with a fresh perspective on cultural context. Still, the participants recruited are inexperienced in encountering their target groups. In this respect, the representativeness of subjects in both experimental and empirical studies is another admitted limitation to the validity and generalisability of stereotypes research. It thus appears that an urgent need for cross-cultural representation and a more inclusive vision exists in empirical stereotypes research.

In response to the different perspective-taking, the recent study conducted by Church and Katigbak (2002) employed Americans and Filipinos who had lived in both cultures. The findings provide ample evidence that there was considerable agreement between two groups of expert judges on the traits characteristic of Americans and Filipinos, but their judgments did not correspond with mean personality differences observed from self-report between two groups of samples. In their cross-cultural comparative study, Lönnqvist, Yijälä, Jasinskaja-Lahti, and Verkasalo (2012) use bi-cultural experts (Ingrian-Finns) and Russian migrant samples with their frequent contact with Finns and Finland regarding their perceptions of Russians and Finns to assess the accuracy of national stereotypes. They conclude that bi-cultural individuals and expert judges can provide accurate national stereotypes. Their efforts have contributed to the promising avenues for future research into the experience of cross-cultural reality gained by interactants of different cultural backgrounds for the purpose of smooth and effective cross-cultural interaction. As the dynamic nature of stereotypes and their pragmatic functions in the inter-group interactions, it is plausible to assume that they may exist and function whilst

empirically examining their actual effects from the real interactants with first-hand experience and comparing with those evidenced in recorded data. In this regard, stereotypes research has until recently lacked comparative perceptions and productive findings to make it highly engaging and interactive for non-specialist interactants who are living in the target cultures.

In light of methodological limitations that researchers go about gathering data and encompassing the levels of analyses in which the stereotypes measurement is located, no single research design is sufficient for measuring and comparing self- and other-stereotypes as well as the pragmatic function of stereotype from the perspectives of cross-cultural practitioners. Thus, this PhD project is an attempt to fill that void by employing a truly integrative methodology to investigate one cross-cultural pairing (British & Chinese) for their perceptions about themselves and each other through the consecutive use of mixed methods in a manner that reflect qualitatively described and quantitatively represented data.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

In an attempt to flesh out the current research design related to the need and viable framework of mixed methods to collect both quantitative and qualitative data, this thesis will explain its philosophical and methodological rationale before an assessment of the feasibility of using different methods in a process of current study can be conducted.

3.2.1 The Cross-cultural Theoretical Orientation

Throughout the cross-cultural research, it is important to engage in ethical practices and to anticipate what ethical issues will likely arise. Ethnography, to a certain extent, is involved in this research because efforts exerted are to elicit perceptions from British and Chinese overseas students in their target cultures. This thesis, thus, provides a detailed description of the viewpoints generated and rational interpretation of salient and subtle cultural distinctions, based on interviews and surveys. In the sense, ethnographic research should be as impartial a perspective and objective a description on cultural data as possible. To achieve this goal, three potential biases in research ethics and objectivity should be taken into careful consideration in the early design phases: research sites, participant selection, and

the researcher's background. Bearing this in mind, the sources of bias in this research are briefly reviewed as follows.

3.2.2 The Research Participants

Recruiting the most representative samples is the foundation of effective and valid research. The formulated research questions define the populations of interest in this cross-cultural comparative research. The study groups were composed of two main sets of participants, i.e., British students living in China and Chinese students studying in the UK. Two supplementary sets were composed of Chinese English majors in China, and British students on Chinese degrees in the UK. An additional set consisted of international students in both UK and China.

Two groups of British and Chinese interactants, who were living in their target cultures, were believed to have developed their first-hand stereotypical perceptions through real-life cultural practice and direct contacts with local people. The carefully selected samples (the detailed selection process is explained in the following section 3.2.3) can thus best represent the population of interest based on their direct experience with their target cultures. Another two groups of local British Chinese learners and Chinese English majors were reasonably assumed to have genuine interest in improving their target languages proficiency and cultural awareness and to be well-motivated to interact with members of their target cultures. Therefore, it is feasible and appropriate to bring together the main samples and supplementary samples to communicate in order to collect effective information and interactive data.

The methods employed (focus group interview and questionnaire survey) determine the sampling plan, including sample type selection and the sample size requirements. Still, the sample size depends on the availability of the participants. For example, by employing focus group interview, the 'separate' sessions conducted with two main groups followed by the 'mixed' sessions bringing together two supplementary groups and international groups to talk and respond each other's perceptions. In this way, the way the British and Chinese overseas students articulate their stereotypical perceptions on their self and target cultures in the presence/absence of their counterparts (local language learners) can be contrasted and their interactions and responses (agreement, argument) can be observed.

In this sense, the perceived risks around informants' self-reporting and self-conscious vs sub-conscious stereotyping can be mitigated by employing the respective British and Chinese participants in robust 'separate' and 'mixed' sessions and discussing the main research questions in two sequential sessions to validate the consistency of their viewpoints regarding their own and target cultures. In addition, supervision and oversight of the groups interactions was ensured by employing both British and Chinese moderators in the respective separate groups, and either independent moderators or British and Chinese co-moderators for the mixed groups.

3.2.3 The Research Sites

Appropriate site-selection is a critical issue for the approach taken in the current research. In this cross-cultural comparative study, a site selection bias could occur if the participants selected from investigational sites do not adequately represent the target populations. Since there is as yet no empirical research investigating British and Chinese interactants' first-hand stereotypical perceptions and observing them communicating mutual stereotypes with local Chinese and English language learners, multiple sites should be considered for recruiting the needed populations for the purpose of comparative analysis. Hence, this research has two major multi-site selection criteria. The first is academic institutions in both cultures, which were used to facilitate recruitment of target groups. The second is the sites (language centres) in the target cultures for British and Chinese overseas participants to enrol at as the main sites, and the Chinese and English language centres of the universities for selecting local language learners in both UK and China, as the supplementary sites.

THE RESEARCH SITES FOR BRITISH PARTICIPANTS

Focus group participants: The main settings for recruiting British overseas students for 'separate' focus group sessions were the local institutions in Kunming, China, where a sparse population of British overseas students were studying and working. For example, the Yunnan Shane English School, and some Chinese language learning centres at local universities, such as the Kunming College of Eastern Language and Culture, the School of International Chinese Studies of Yunnan Normal University. The Kunming Shane English School is operated by The Saxoncourt Group, which was established in 1994 as one of the world's leading centres for offering high-quality English language instruction. This School

has made it reputation by recruiting highly qualified and experienced English instructors mainly in the UK. The contracted British instructors of the School are believed to have a keen interest in China and experiencing Chinese culture over a considerable length of time. The School of Chinese studies at local universities have attracted more and more international students (including a comparably small group of British students), due to the provincial high level of ethnic diversity with 25 minority groups and unique natural and cultural landscapes as well as high quality Chinese language programs. Most participants are teaching English in the Kunming Shane English School while studying Chinese in local universities, which increase their chances of profoundly understanding Chinese culture, customs and traditions, as well as having a social life beyond a purely academic experience in China through their interactions with local people. The supplementary setting was the School of Modern Languages and Cultures (Chinese Studies), University of Leeds, UK, which involved local British Chinese learners in the 'mixed' focus group sessions for the purpose of studying their interaction with Chinese overseas students in the UK.

Survey participants: The 3rd year students of the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London (SOAS), UK, who had been to China were invited as survey informants. These institutions offer a wide range of Chinese language learning programs. Students enrolled on Chinese language begin learning the language from scratch and follow an intensive language courses in their first year. The second year is spent at a Chinese university with invaluable life experiences in China. By the end of the programme, British students should acquire basic linguistic skills, communicative competence with Chinese speakers and a sound knowledge of the cultures, societies, histories, economies of present-day China. In addition to this sample group, additional respondents were gathered via process of snowball sampling. These included friends, acquaintances, and their wider social network who had direct exposure to the Chinese culture.

THE RESEARCH SITES FOR CHINESE PARTICIPANTS

The main setting used for the recruitment of Chinese cross-cultural interactants was the University of Huddersfield, which attracts a diverse pool of international students from over 130 counties, among them over 500 students from China who are pursuing BA, MA or PhD degrees. The main Chinese participants, who find the University an exciting and stimulating place to learn, are believed to have the

willingness and desire to interact with British native students and enhance their study experience abroad in an inspiring learning environment.

One advantage for having another setting involving local Chinese English learners in the 'mixed' focus group sessions is ethnic diversity as 'cross-cultural interaction' can be observed when they are encouraged to communicate with British overseas students in China. The Chinese participants are recruited from the two local universities in Yunnan Province, which is in southwestern China. This Province is renowned for its high level of ethnic diversity with twenty-five ethnic groups among the country's fifty-five recognised groups. Referring to Zhang (2010), ethnic students consisted of 20.3% of the total population of Yunnan Higher education institutions. It is therefore an excellent setting for eliciting a comprehensive perspective of Chinese native culture. Moreover, Yunnan Province is more cross-culturally representative. Chinese local students studying in the Department of English Language and Literature of Yunnan Normal University enjoy a prestigious reputation for English language teaching and research, and have high scores in the National Test for English Majors - Band 4 and 8. Undergraduates who have completed four-year studies are sufficiently trained in linguistic skills, together with their command of the fundamental knowledge of English speaking countries, mainly American and British cultures. It is plausible to speculate that Chinese participants, as English majors, are attracted to the target language and culture, and strive to improve their English language proficiency and better understand the target culture.

3.2.4 The Brief Background of the Researcher

As qualitative research is interpretative research, the researcher himself/herself is typically involved in the research process. Therefore, a range of strategic, ethical, and personal issues could be identified that reflect on his/her biases, values, and these could shape his/her interpretations.

A major methodological orientation to cross-cultural comparative research, developed over the last 30 years, is the emic-etic distinction (Brislin, 1976:215). "Emic" (the inside) and "Etic" (the outside) perspectives have been theorised in anthropological and psychological studies, since they were coined by the linguist Pike (1967) as two approaches to language. The "emic" approach takes "the native's point of view" (Malinowski, 1922) as its starting point. As Lett (1990) delineates from an anthropological

perspective that “emic constructs are accounts, descriptions, and analyses regarded as meaningful and appropriated by the native members of the culture whose beliefs and behaviours are being studied (p.130)”. The “etic” approach takes perspectives from “the community of scientific observers” (Lett, 1990:130) and links cultural practices to external, antecedent factors, such as economic or ecological conditions, that may not be salient to cultural insiders (Harris, 1979). A few efforts have been involved in employing this comparative and complementary research strategy to culture and cognition. For example, Morris, Leung, Ames, and Lickel (1999) in their article, *Views from inside and outside: Integrating Emic and Etic Insights about Culture and Justice Judgment*, explore the forms of synergy between these two approaches and identify the advantages of integrative frameworks in guiding responses to the diverse justice sensitivities in international organizations. In this vein, it is worth identifying the specific distinctions, from the ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ perspectives, between two social groups’ stereotypical of themselves and of others.

In order to obviate the risk of obersers’ paradox, in relation to the foucs group moderators, transcriptions analysts’ and data interpreters, it was necessary to obtain multiple perspectives on the data source. In this way, both Chinese and British researchers’ perspectives could identify and interpret the specific cultural nuances in the current research, contributing to the researchers’ understanding of this cross-cultural compartative research involving British and Chinese participants. The essential roles of moderator, transscriptions analyst and data interpreter were undertaken by myself together with my British supervisor and two other researchers. Their respective backgrounds are documented in the Section 3.3.1.3, whilst my academic and ethical background is detailed below.

Given my own ethnic background, I am Bai, the fourteenth largest ethnic minority group in China. Due to the extensive ties with Han Chinese in history, Bai has been considered one of China’s most acculturated ethnic groups as evidenced by the fact that the Bai language has incorporated Chinese Han characters into its pronunciation system. The Bai people are mostly bilingual and can speak their indigenous spoken language as well as the local Mandarin dialect as well. In light of the national policy for social integration, education, in general, throughout ethnic minority regions, has meant education in Mandarin Chinese and in Han Chinese culture.

In view of my academic background, I did my BA in English Language Education and my MA in Chinese Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, with Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language as my research field. My training in both the Chinese and English language and my years of complementary teaching experience of EFL and CFL have stimulated my interest in studying the cultural factors, which may have facilitated or hindered cross-cultural interaction. My professional development has given me the opportunity to work with high-profile academicians at a number of prestigious universities in China and to attend yearly nationwide workshops on language teaching and academic research. These activities have enabled me to increase my sights and academic qualifications by sharing opinions, discussing concerns, and keeping up to date with language teaching and cross-cultural communication issues in the field.

Driven by the desire to look further into cross-cultural research and to contribute a piece of original knowledge, I pursued my PhD at a university in the UK, where I was exposed to cultural elements in British daily-life situations. This setting allowed for on-going reflection between insider perspective and outsider reflexivity. With maximum immersion in the culture under study, I have had the opportunity of observing local people's behaviours and daily occurrences, understanding their attitudes and beliefs and, exploring social interaction and cultural norms. Moreover, there were insightful instances of seeing 'self' reflected in the eyes of another culture. As an added bonus, working and encountering people from diverse origins and backgrounds also enabled me to adapt to unpredictable cultural contexts, promote my cultural awareness, and thus improve my communication competency. This was exactly what I was looking for and hoping for in my vision of 'cross-cultural interaction' and its practical application. While conducting this research, my bilingual (bicultural) background and overseas life experiences were useful in helping to accurate information from my participants in the two ethnic groups.

3.2.5 Mixed Methods Methodological Framework

As discussed previously, the option to utilise mixed methods in this current research rests on the notion that multiple techniques for measuring stereotypes can be much more informative than a single method design. Still, the type of mixed methodology needs to be taken into careful consideration.

In the social science, mixed methods research design has gained increased visibility given strengths and weaknesses in each single method. The rationale for 'mixed methods' is based on the notion that the strengths of qualitative and quantitative research methods can be integrated to bear on the same phenomenon. Mixed methodologists go to some lengths to point out that the effective integration of both qualitative and quantitative methods rests on the research questions (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Krathwohl, 2004; Newman & Benz, 1998). Accordingly, an important theme that merits serious considerations is to identify interconnected qualitative and quantitative forms and justify the weight of each component involved in mixed strategy, that is, which method serves as a base and which method is supplemented as follow-up study.

In accordance with the overall research aim, mixed methods research designis justified for the current research. It would be beneficial to conduct two consecutive embedded phases in this mixed framework for collecting, analysing, and integrating qualitatively described and quantitatively represented datafor the sake of checking the integrity of my research questions and hypothesis.

More specifically, the focus group interview, as the primary data-gathering method, will elicit the participants' first-hand experience and context-laden perceptions. The resultant findings can then be tested through the secondary method questionnaire survey by employing statistical tools. This approach will enable the construction of a holistic perspective for illuminating the research questions. The detailed justification for each selected method along with the relevant methodological decisions are given below.

The focus group interview, as a most common qualitative method, serves in a preliminary capacity to elicit in-depth data. This decision of including the focus group method in the current framework relies on its distinct ability to generate interactive data and observe co-construction of meaning in action among participants, which makes focus groups an ideal method for gaining access to participants' own meanings and understandings (Wilkinson, 1998b). In the current research context, this method was employed to elicit diverse viewpoints and stimulating ideas generated by individual participants and group interaction. It also helped to make sense of individuals' various experiences with stereotypic phenomenon, their interpretations of their first-hand experiences and certain attitudinal tendency in a group setting regarding research questions. What interested me the most is how some individuals shared their life experiences by revealing specific contexts and responding to the impact of stereotyping

either in a positive or negative manner. It thus provides more in-depth insights into how the participants attempted to co-construct the meaning of individual experiences, and invaluable access to participants' understandings, which were of central relevance to the research.

After the focus group interviews, the questionnaire surveys were administered, acting as a follow-up quantitative method, which are inherently based upon in-depth qualitative enquiry by incorporating the perceptions drawn from the participants' first-hand knowledge. Regarding the popularity and viability of mixing qualitative with quantitative methods advocated by researchers, combining large sample surveys with focus group techniques is believed to be complementary with each being appropriate and advantageous in certain situations (Bertrand, Brown, & Ward, 1992). Since the current research aim is to extract and contrast the authentic perceptions of cross-cultural practitioners, surveys can be effective for determining the prevalence of any given attitude or experience (Ward, T., & Brown, 1991). Thus, the questionnaire in this research was designed to develop quantifiable schemes in order to evaluate findings on a broader scale and examine the prevalence of variables specified. In this way, the questionnaire was based on feedback from the focus group and refined the research questions, in which the first phase in this research was cross-validated. There are three primary objectives of the questionnaire survey here: firstly, surveys of the population of interest were used for identifying the stereotypical perceptions and beliefs most representative of British and Chinese participants' own cultures and target cultures, and the degree of correspondent perceived consensus between two comparative datasets. Secondly, the survey helps to better understand whether British and Chinese overseas students believe stereotypical phenomenon improves or impedes their cross-cultural practice. Thirdly, the survey serves to test and validate the hypotheses regarding the accuracy and role of stereotype.

3.3 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

3.3.1 Focus Group

3.3.1.1 A Brief Review of Focus Group Research

Since Bogardus (1926) first developed the concept of 'focus groups' in his social psychological study, researchers have produced a steady interest in the forms of focus groups research, which are widely used in such fields as business and marketing, health research, political science, social psychology, education, and communication/media studies (Albrecht, Johnson, & Walther, 1993; Lunt & Livingstone, 1996; Staley, 1990). Focus group interview is broadly defined as a research strategy for qualitative data collection through 'an informal discussion among selected individuals about specific topics' (Beck, L., & Share, 1986:73). Two essential elements are reflected in its term itself. Firstly, the element 'focus' undoubtedly emphasises the active role of moderators to facilitate the topic-specified or interest-directed discussion, rather than a naturally occurring event. Secondly, the element 'group' does not simply indicate a number of participants involved in this research activity, but 'allow respondents to react to and build upon the responses of other group members', and generate a 'synergistic effect' (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990:16) or produce 'the group effect' (Carey & Smith, 1994:123). According to the way knowledge is acquired, Calder (1977) identifies three types of focus group research: exploratory, clinical, and phenomenological. An exploratory focus group seeks to generate hypothesis about a phenomenon. The clinical approach helps researchers gain insights into the participants' underlying motivations. Phenomenological groups enable researchers to gain access to participants' descriptions and meanings of their experiences.

The recent literature associated with focus groups research design is replete with practical examples and strategies for collecting high-qualitative data (Krueger & Casey, 2000; Morgan, 1997; Wilkinson, 2003). These extensive discussions provide 'rules of thumbs' regarding the technical procedures for conducting focus groups with practical rules for selecting participants, determining the group size, the level of moderator's involvement and, the number of groups, etc. A well-designed focus group typically involves one or more homogeneous (or heterogeneous) group discussions with 6-12 participants or 3-

4 participants for ‘mini-focus groups’ (Bernard, 1995; Krueger, 1994; Morgan, 1997) lasting 1-2 hours (Morgan, 1997). The moderator is expected to be skilful and experienced in running structured group discussions. Group discussions are usually audio-taped (or videotaped) and “most often entails some form of content or thematic analysis” (Wilkinson, 1998a:182).

Although much has been elaborated on how to organise and conduct focus groups, a major concern is inadequate methodological discussions and practices with regard to analytic issues of focus group data (Carey, 1995; Kitzinger, 1994; Wilkinson, 1998a). Regarding the nature of focus group research and the complexity of yielded data, two issues have to be considered before implementing analysis. First, identifying the main data source(s) to serve as the basis for developing an analytic framework. Focus group discussions generate large amounts of data, including the text transcripts of audio recordings (i.e. what individual participant states during the discussions), video-recordings data (i.e. participants’ nonverbal behaviour, group dynamics, etc), observational notes taken by the moderators, and field notes created by the researchers, etc. The choice of how researchers will integrate these multi-source data together or use them selectively depends on their specific research purposes. Second, defining units or levels of analysis to convert the gathered data into categories for the purpose of analysis and interpretation. Given the distinct feature of focus group for producing interaction in a group discussion, the benefits of focus group can be maximised through the appropriate levels of units of analysis. Duggleby (2005) suggests three units of data can arise from discussions: individual, group, and/or group interaction data.

Some scholars have attempted to explore the analytic strategies for focus group data. For example, Morgan (1988) suggested analysing focus group data by using two main approaches: ‘systematic coding via content analysis’ and ‘strictly qualitative or ethnographic analysis’ (p.64), which derived from two different research questions in his previous empirical research with Morgan and Spanish (1985) on heart attack risk factors. In this project, the former approach involves extensive quantification to address *how often* certain risk factors for heart disease are talked about while the latter approach rests on direct quotation to indicate *how* and *why* these factors are addressed. He further developed ‘qualitative content analysis’ in his later studies (Duncan & Morgan, 1994; Morgan & March, 1992). Based on his empirical research, Morgan (1996) urged a further methodological focus on focus group data analysis as there were analytic issues discussed in a broader sense. Bertrand et al. (1992) contributed detailed

instructions on recording participants' responses and synthesizing the diverse data into meaningful conclusions (i.e. inventory of points discussed, moderator recall of points covered with subsequent confirmation from notes, and margin coding). Krueger (1994) proposed 'framework analysis' to interpret coded data with seven established criteria: words; context; internal consistency; frequency and extensiveness of comments; specificity of comments; intensity of comments; big ideas. In the same vein, Ritchie and Spencer (1994) outlined an analytical process, involving "distinct though highly interconnected stages", including: familiarisation; identifying a thematic framework; indexing; charting; mapping and interpretation. Among the authors in Kitzinger and Barbour (1999)'s *Developing Focus Group Research: Politics, Theory & Practice,* Myers and Macnaghten (1999) proposed to analyse focus group data by utilising the traditions of conversation analysis and discourse analysis with more attention given to the context of interaction. However, Frankland and Bloor (1999) drew explicit attention to the issues arising in systematic analysis of focus group data and advocate the use of analytic induction (also known as deviant case analysis), with the purpose of deriving and formulating propositions by modifying or dismissing all the deviant cases to extend the analysis. In recent years, research efforts to further the development of the analytic framework have been advanced. Onwuegbuzie, Johnson, and Collins (2009) systematically outline an analytic framework including multiple best-suited techniques for focus group data from an array of qualitative analysis methods according to their own methodological criteria. Specifically, the most favourably viewed employment of analytical techniques is in constant comparison analysis, classical content analysis, keywords-in-context, and discourse analysis. Still, there is less consensus either about what the most effective and appropriate analytic technique of focus group data or the focus of the analysis is. Most researchers believe that the utilisation of a best-suited analytic technique should rest on the research questions and the way in which the focus group interview is carried out to maximise the effectiveness of this qualitative data alternative.

Methodologists have identified significant benefits to be derived from focus group research. One is that its generation of interactive data and production of elaborated accounts enable researchers to gain access to the participants' own meanings and understandings of the research question. By virtue of simultaneously getting a number of participants involved in a socially oriented setting (Krueger, 2000) and a moderate level of moderator's role and involvement, focus group research design purposively reduces researcher's influence on generating data and unexpected insights, making focus groups a

relatively ‘semi-autonomous’ method. It is thus favoured by those who are interested in participantdirected interaction and those concerned with the meanings co-constructed by participants. Another particular advantage is the rich source of yielded data. The informal group discussion is less threatening to participants in the context of face-to-face interaction, and thereby the value of focus groups goes beyond to aggregate individual views for a collective amount of opinions. Such informal group discussions serve as a strategy to generate group consensus or debate, agreements or disagreements, and sometimes, challenges may incur in focus group discussion. Participants have to defend and justify their viewpoints, based on their first-hand experiences, self-reflections, beliefs and attitudes. This often leads to some unexpected but significant insights, which may attract researchers’ attention to those neglected or unnoticed phenomenon.

The limitations of focus groups, like their strengths, are related to its two essential elements: the moderator’s involvement and group effect on the data produced. Given the role of the moderator in the process of discussions, critics argue that the moderator may have an undue influence on the data that could have been drawn out by interrupting the discussions. Besides, in-group discussions, there is a tendency for the participant to adjust their responses and opinions to conform to the collective opinions by weakening or strengthening their initial inclination. In this sense, the research design in a proper and effective fashion deserves full consideration, and the potential limitations or flaws in the chosen methodology must of course be sufficiently recognised and mitigated where possible.

3.3.1.2 Focus Group Interview Objectives

Being an initial stage of the current research data gathering, the focus group interviews served to elicit the essential components of data (i.e. being both the British & Chinese participants’ understandings, points of view and beliefs) enabling practical insights into the research questions and assisting in subsequent further analysis in the mixed-method framework:

- Is there a ‘Kernel of Truth’ in stereotypes according to the British & Chinese participants’ illustrations from their first-hand experiences in each other’s cultures?
- Do the British & Chinese participants believe stereotypes improve or impede interactions, given their life experiences?

- What are the pragmatic functions & features of stereotypes, from the perspectives of interactants with real-world experiences?
- What are the mutually stereotypical perceptions that the British & Chinese overseas students hold of each other and themselves?

3.3.1.3 Focus Group Data Collection in the Current Research

The initial planning for focus group research involved making a number of decisions about gathering the data best suited to the purpose of this research. Bearing this in mind, the first decision is who would be the potential research participants and how to bring them together as a group. The second decision was determining the group structure, including the selection of moderators and the level of their involvement. In addition, there were further decisions about the group size and the number of groups within the current context. Special consideration was given to the extent to which each decision-making process impact on the nature of the data.

PARTICIPANTS

The group composition was constructed to suit the research by purposively selecting participants. Two main sets of overseas participants (British students in China and Chinese students in the UK) were recruited and organised as 'separate' focus groups sessions (further explained in the following section, THE NUMBERS OF GROUPS). These main participants would be elicited to providetheir first-hand perceptions on their target cultures (other-stereotypes) as well as on their own cultures (self-stereotype) and the role and pragmatic functions of stereotypes from the perspectives of cross-cultural practitioners. Two supplemented sets of local participants, British Chinese learners in the UK and Chinese English majors in China, were invited to join the 'mixed' group sessions to facilitate discussions and interactions with their target culture partners by exchanging mutual stereotypical perceptions. As divergence of 'other-stereotype' is assumed to exist between British and Chinese participants, supplementing the source of third-party participants was believed to reduce such biases. In this manner, another two additional sets of participants, the international students studying in the local city, both in the UK and China, could contribute to their stereotypical beliefs and viewpoints on British and Chinese cultures as

well as the way stereotypes function in cross-cultural interaction based on a wider spectrum of experience.

A substantial effort was made to recruit specific populations of interest in both China and the UK, and ensure the cooperation of multiple-set purposive groups. A total of 52 potential participants were identified by contacting instructors of Chinese/English studies Schools and asking for their permission to recruit students in their classes, putting posters on websites, and posting notices in the pubs for foreign patronage. To gain access, each participant was given an information sheet with a brief description of the study, a consent form ensuring his/her confidentiality and a well-delineated schedule for each session.

THE NUMBER OF GROUPS

With regard to the number of groups, which is considered the determinant of sufficient data collected, focus group researchers have endorsed the use of three to five groups (Morgan, 1997) as more groups do not necessarily generate more valuable insights. It is thus assumed that 'certain' numbers of groups would be adequate enough to reach the 'saturation' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) point at which further data collection is less likely to produce new insights. Some factors can affect the decision for the number of groups, e.g. the group composition, the availability of participants, the level of group structure, etc.

Two practical considerations in this current research are as follows. First, given the considerably small proportion of British overseas students in China and the limited availability of potential participants, it was reasonable to divide the limited number of recruited students into smaller sized groups for a wider range of responses and more meaningful insights. The rationale for the adopted 'mini-focus group' size is to maximise effectiveness. Second, the use of multiple-category participants and 'separate and mixed' sessions would obviously increase the total number of groups. These reasons are: 1) In line with the nature of focus group interview where participants are segmented as homogeneous by their cultural background. Krueger (1994) advocates that individuals in a homogeneous group are more willing to fully engage in discussing their thoughts and share their experiences. 2) Due to reciprocal perceptions and value judgment involved in the discussions, it was assumed that British and Chinese participants would probably be inhibited by the presence of their target group participants, which could affect the

participants' comfort in discussing their perceptions, esp. negative, in each other's presence. Peters (1993) maintained that the sense of belonging to a group can enhance the participants' overall sense of group cohesiveness and thus make them feel comfortable in discussing their thought, opinions and experiences. 3) In the current research context, heterogeneous groups are arranged to create an opportunity for British and Chinese overseas students to interact with local language learners and international students in the 'cross-cultural' setting for more stimulating exchange of viewpoints on British and Chinese cultures, and thus produce more interactive data across cultural groups.

As summarised in Figure 3.2, altogether nine focus groups with a total of 63 participants were conducted both in China and the UK, plus a pilot focus group which helped try out possible questions and get useful feedback on the level of sufficiency and effectiveness. The set-up of such sessions was designed to maximise the effectiveness of the discussions and information content of the data. To get the most out of this strategic procedure, attention was given to the following steps: 1) Two main sets of British and Chinese overseas participants were first organised on two 'separate' occasions to capture their viewpoints in a 'single-culture' setting. 2) Then, the main participants were asked to return for a second round of 'mixed' sessions to meet local English/Chinese language learners and a few international students for the purpose of observing the way British and Chinese participants responded to each other's perceptions and comments. 3) By examining the effect of the separate/mixed groups on the discussions, it was expected to see the consistencies/inconsistencies in British/Chinese participants' viewpoints with/without the presence of their counterparts. 4) Within these interactions, it was hoped to gain first-hand evidence of the level of agreement, disagreement, and persuasions that participants perceived their own and target cultures, and observe how participants articulated and defended positions when challenged. 5) Apart from the international students' third-party perception on both British and Chinese cultures, their cross-cultural practice can contribute the insight into the role of cultural stereotypes.

Figure 3.2

Focus Group Data Collection Sessions

Venue	Sequence		Session	Participant	No.
CHINA	1	**Separate** groups	B-G 1	British Overseas Students	6
			B-G 2		4
	2	**Mixed** groups	M-G 1	B-G 1 + Chinese English majors	4 + 5
				International students (Germany, American, Thai)	3
			M-G 2	B-G 2 + Chinese English majors	5 + 5
				International students (American, French, Estonia, Thai)	5
UK	1	**Separate** Groups	B-G 3	British Overseas Students	3
			C-G 1	Chinese Overseas Students	8
			C-G 2		4
	2	**Mixed** groups	M-G 1	C-G 2 + British Chinese learners	4 + 5
				International students (Italian, Polish, Swiss)	3
			* M-G 2	C-G 1 + British Overseas students	3 + 3
				International students (Canadian, Swedish, Estonian)	3

NOTE: Group 2 in the UK is the only session consisting of all cross-cultural practitioners, as 3 British students and 3 internationals had ever been to China.

MODERATORS

The linguistic and ethnic background of 'moderators' in this cross-cultural research deserves some attention. According to Schuman and Converse (1971) and Madriz (2003), the moderators' ethnic identity or sharing of common experiences with the participants can pay a mediating role in eliciting high-quality information and active responses. In this regard, moderators nominated for the 'separate' and 'mixed' sessions should be able to establish rapport with the participants (British, Chinese, and international students) and make them feel comfortable enough to share their thoughts, opinions and experiences when running the sessions and directing ethnic groups to discuss culturally-related questions.

Regarding focus groups research in cross-cultural settings, the main practical consideration is the language required in the discussion. Basically, in this research context, it is advantageous that British/Chinese 'separate' groups were conducted in participants' native language by moderators sharing the similar linguistic and ethnic background, and 'mixed' groups were encouraged to use English language and led by bilingual moderators or co-moderators. That is, I, myself as a Chinese native, served as the moderator for two Chinese 'separate' groups of overseas students in the UK. Although the bias can result with investigator's involvement as a moderator, it is surely minimised in this design when the investigator shared the similar cross-cultural experience as the participants. Three other moderators (their names have been anonymised) were invited to run 'British separate' and 'mixed' group sessions. Nelson, a New Zealander, was invited to moderate British 'separate' and 'mixed' groups sessions in China. He was interested in cross-cultural issues and made efforts to start a local Magazine with his friends from different cultural backgrounds focusing on cultural relations, differences, clashes, and thus bridge the gap between foreigners and local people. His 'neutral' cultural background, fluency in Chinese, keen interest in cross-cultural practice and his intellectual rapport made all participants feel comfortable engaging in the discussions. James, a British researcher, and Lee, a Chinese PhD student studying in the UK, were to co-moderate 'mixed' groups sessions in the UK for the purpose of a more balanced ethnic setting. The two moderators' ethnic background can get both British and Chinese participants talking naturally. Besides, James is a prolific and highly regarded scholar with expertise in sociolinguistics and his first-hand experiences of exploring the ways various groups use languages in different cultures empower him with a critical perspective and a full awareness of cross-cultural factors in interaction. Lee's PhD project was looking at the difficulties of communication across cultural and language barriers, which helped Chinese overseas participants feel at ease and willing to get involved in the discussions since they were 'playing away match' in the UK.

In a sense, the three moderators, specifically selected for this research, represented a wide range of professional and experiential characteristics and their involvement was very beneficial to the current research. Such arrangement maximises the possibility for participants to feel able to share their true opinions in the 'separate' and 'mixed' group setting given their ethnical identity, and moderators' academic and professional background would help them understand the nature of this research and ensure that focus group discussions are exploratory without losing focus.

CONSTRUCTING FOCUS GROUP SCHEDULE

Semi-structured focus groups were adopted in this research context for the sake of eliciting enlightening responses corresponding to well-defined research objectives and probing interesting ideas, which could unexpectedly arise. Besides, given the multi-sessions with different sets of participants in comparative research context, group discussions were supposed to be conducted in a consistent and effective way. To this end, a well-outlined schedule (see Figure 3.3) with a set of questions was produced in advance, which enables both moderators and participants to be aware of what the discussion might cover and how it proceeded. In this way, the moderators were asked to neither maximise nor minimise their involvement in the groups to allow participants for a greater flexibility of free-flowing discussions. That is, moderators did not need to adhere to a strict procedure and deliberately limit the topics under discussion. Indeed, the moderators could prompt participants into discussions where might reveal some interesting and significant results. Such moderately structured discussion is seen as "a co-determined interaction in its own right" (Smith & Osborn, 2003: 59).

Figure 3.3

Focus Group Schedule in UK & China

Sequence 1 – Separate Groups

Section 1 Awareness of Stereotypes

1. Have you ever heard of any stereotypes? If so, what are they?
2. How do you think you learn about these?
3. Please give your definition of 'stereotypes'.
4. What is your general attitude towards stereotypes?
5. Identify some advantages and disadvantages of stereotypes.
6. If you are planning to study in UK/China, do you think some kinds of stereotype will be helpful to your life in that country? If so, what information would you like to know before you go there? If not, why not?

Section 2 Self-stereotypes

1. How do you perceive your OWN culture?
2. What stereotypes do you hold about yourselves as British?

Section 3 Others-stereotypes

1. In your country, what is your GENERAL perception of Chinese?
2. What are your PERSONAL BELIEFS that you hold about the Chinese?

Sequence 2 – Mixed Groups

Section 1 Self-stereotypes

Step 1 Ask participants to give as many descriptions as they can manage as for their OWN cultures.
Step 2 Ask participants to rate how positively/negatively they view each item using the 7-point scale.
Step 3 Ask participants to choose the top 5 significant descriptions.
Step 4 Ask participants to provide examples or illustrations to support their agreement.

Section 2 Other-stereotypes

Step 1 Ask participants to give as many descriptions as they can manage for their TARGET cultures
Step 2
Step 3 } The same as above
Step 4

Section 3 Role of Cultural Stereotypes

1. Do you think cultural stereotypes can improve or impede social interaction? Why?
2. Do you think there might be mismatches in self and other perceptions, that is, a gap between self-stereotyping and others-stereotyping? If YES, how can we bridge the gap between them?
3. What information sources do you think are most reliable? And which are the most popular?

As shown in the Table 3.3, the common thread running through these three main themes were visible: 1) Awareness of stereotypical phenomenon; participants were asked to give their own definitions of and attitudes toward 'stereotype'. 2) Self- and other-stereotypes; participants identified their stereotypical perceptions and beliefs on their own and target cultures. 3) The role of stereotypes; whether British and Chinese overseas students believe stereotype would improve or impede interactions given their cross-cultural practice. Each of these themes consists of several relevant questions. In general, the logical order of this arrangement was to, in Sequence 1, get participants started with the first theme for eliciting their general understandings and establishing the rapport. Leave the more sensitive theme of "self- and other-stereotypes" until later when they felt relaxed and comfortable enough to talk and share. In Sequence 2, the thread back to what British and Chinese overseas participants actually discussed about 'self- and other-stereotypes' in the presence of their counterparts (local language learners), and the purpose at this stage was to observe any consistent and inconsistent responses, compared to their initial ones in Sequence 1. The theme then moved to questions on the 'role of stereotypes', where the international students' experience and viewpoints could also be a valuable source of data.

Finally, some more details are worthy of attention here: 1) the moderators needed be aware that the theme of Self- and Other-stereotypes were framed both in the sequence 1 and 2. They needed to be very sensitive about similarities, differences, and even contradictions revealed in what British and Chinese main participants were holding about themselves and each other in the (no) presence of their counterparts. 2) It should not be ignored that a technical barrier in the context of 'mixed' group. That is, Chinese participants' English proficiency might be an obstacle when they explained themselves, the bi-lingual moderator or co-moderator needed to make sure their correct understanding of Chinese participants' viewpoints. 3) The choice of venues was important as it could help establish rapport and trust between participants and the moderators and thus enable the researcher to identify a wide range of experiences and viewpoints within the groups. The seminar rooms and library's 'group study' rooms where the participants found very familiar and comfortable were chosen to be the research venues, in which participants were comfortably seated around a table. On the table was drinks and snack foods. A number of digital recorders were placed around the venue to ensure adequate recording coverage of the individual participants' discussions. 4) At the beginning of the session, each prospective participant was given a consent form ensuring their confidentiality and voluntariness to participate in the research, an information sheet with briefly written description of the study, and a well-delineated schedule on each session.

3.3.1.4 Analytic Considerations for Collected Data

As discussed earlier, the nature of focus group analytic issues should take into consideration the purpose of research, research design, and the extent to which conclusions can be reached. The current research is interested in encouraging participants to freely discuss their thoughts and opinions about 'stereotypes' and learning about their first-hand experiences in target cultures, as very little real-life interaction was discussed in academic work about the understandings of stereotypic phenomenon from the perspective of cross-cultural practitioners. In this regard, the research objectives are consistent with Calder's (1977) 'phenomenological type' of focus group research. In this section, some analytic issues relevant in the current focus group research will be considered. The first issue relates to the data sources to establish the basis for developing a coding system, and the units/levels of analysis to

structure the gathered data in a careful and organised pattern. Then the specific analytic technique employed will be described to extract the meaning as well as its particular implications.

DATA SOURCE

Regarding the main analysis data source, complete verbatim transcripts (which have been retained and are available for inspection) of the total of nine focus group sessions were produced and served as the original record for what participants exactly said in the discussions as well as basis for further confirmation and analysis. To avoid the criticism of being over-dependent on transcripts and lose the interactive features of group effects, the nonverbal signs, like laughter, silence, etc., and explicit comments were marked to build up the values of the 'text' transcripts. Besides, moderators' written products and observers' on-the-spot notes during the discussions were also a useful data source, which help to produce more accurate transcripts and record what the researcher might miss and ignore.

LEVELS/UNITS OF DATA

In terms of the levels/units of analysis in this current research, both the individual and group level of phenomenon in the research were observed with separate but specific emphasis on the 'individual', 'group', 'group interaction' data analysis. In this way, the unique strength of focus groups was maximised to generate diverse individuals' statement as well as dynamic group interactions to co-construct the 'reality' and 'meaning' that frame their cross-cultural life experiences.

Within the British and Chinese 'separate' groups, the focus of analysis is 'individual' and 'group' data. Every participant's opinions and comments in response to each schedule questions were listed. Their inconsistent responses especially need to note and incorporate in the sequential analysis in relation to the group phenomenon. In addition, the within-group dynamics reflecting how the participants collaborate on the issues discussed and how they achieve (or fail to) consensus was observed. Within the 'mixed' groups, the emphasis on the analysis is to be given to the 'group interaction' data, that is, the evolving interaction of between-groups and its impact on individual viewpoints as well as collective outcome. That is to say, apart from obvious agreement or dissent, censoring and conformity need to be attended when participants adjust their views or make different comments in response to the 'mixed'

group setting. It is reasonably assumed that in 'mixed-group' setting, either British or Chinese participants may withhold negative viewpoints or potential comments in the presence of their counterparts. Still, the design of 'separate and mixed' sequential sessions with overlapping questions can possibly detect the changes and the extent of participants' agreement and disagreement. The involvement of the internationals as the 'third party' can help to ease the potential tension.

ANALYTIC TECHNIQUES

In the first phase of analysis procedure, the analytic technique 'inventory of points discussed' was deployed as it is particularly helpful to alert the analyst to "the differences in the patterns of responses between the two sets of participants" and "synthesize the many and diverse points of view into meaningful conclusions" (Bertrand et al., 1992:203), given the nature of this cross-cultural contrastive research. To this end, the inventory was established according to the questions listed in focus group schedules.

In practical terms, this involved: 1) Drawing up an inventory of 25 focus group questions for both the British and Chinese participants, the examples can be seen in Figure 4.1, Figure 4.2, Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4. 2) Responses to the inventory of 25 questions were then analysed into 7 key categories by clustering the individual questions into related groups as follows: awareness, sources, definitions, attitudes, self-stereotypes, other-stereotypes, mismatches in mutual perception. For example, the category of 'attitude' was synthesised by 6 specific questions, related to participants' viewpoints of 'negative vs. positive', 'helpful vs unhelpful', 'improve vs. impede', this can be exemplified in Figure 4.10. 3) Finally, the 7 categories were then distilled into 4 main research themes/questions, this is fully illustrated in detail in Section 4.2, Section 4.3, Section 4.4, Section 4.5.

Whenever the discussions turn to emergent themes, the relevant points made by the participants were added to corresponding categories. In the same vein, such constant comparison analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) suggests three detailed stages: 1. the data are chunked into sections in terms of main research questions; 2. the data in each section are grouped into categories with attached descriptors or codes. 3. By selecting coding, one or more themes that appeared in each section can be developed.

In this way, the differences of synthesized responses between the two main British and Chinese participants can thus be detected.

In this stage, the diverse points of views elicited from two sets of participants both in 'separate' and 'mixed' focus group sessions were systematically organised and compared in order to answer the research questions. The obvious advantage of this type of analysis is that it condenses and synthesizes large volumes of data into manageable subsets of data and analysable representations, while the weakness is that the richness of data lost by simply reducing participants' viewpoints and comments to few words. However, one remedy to this drawback is to use quotes in support of a discussed point.

In the second stage, a fine-grained coding strategy was used. As the use of focus groups presents an opportunity to observe group interactions within this social context (Morgan, 1996), Krueger's Krueger (1994) 'framework analysis' was used to take a closer look at 'group interaction', with seven established criteria: words; context; internal consistency; frequency and extensiveness of comments; specificity of comments; intensity of comments; big ideas. For example, in one particular 'mixed' focus group session, an international participant suggested that one observed stereotypical trait of the Chinese is a tendency towards 'rudeness'. This was later redefined as 'competitiveness' in light of the established criteria relating to 'context'. After a heated debate, this was agreed by all participants, both British, international and Chinese. Thus, the 'group interaction' data can also be taken seriously as the features of focus group data is not only what individuals express, discuss and argue at the group level, but also the analytical consequences of the social form of the focus group data (Barbour, 2007). The way in which these criteria are applied within all the sessions would enable the researcher to provide a rich and detailed account of individual participants' opinions and experiences, and pay considerably more attention to their arguments, arising themes, challenges, debates on different viewpoints.

The distinct advantage of integrating these two analytic methods is to allow the analysis process to develop both in line with the well-outlined research questions and with the participants' naturally flowing discussions. The richness of the data can be limited by only presenting and interpreting the framed themes. While the combined methods may to some degree overlap, it aims for more systematic and nuanced analyses of yielded data to complete my findings.

3.3.2 Questionnaire Survey

As the secondary method in the mixed-method paradigm, questionnaire surveys help support and evaluate the qualitative findings yielded from focus group interviews by presenting quantitative description of British and Chinese stereotype content, positive or negative traits valence and participants' general opinions about the role and pragmatic functions of stereotypic phenomenon. Survey data analyses were facilitated by the use of descriptive and simple inferential statistics as a means to describe the variability of certain features, identify significant trends in a research population, and test whether the outcome is consistent with prior hypotheses. The findings can help to generalise and make claims about the research questions. The following section details the key components used in the current survey design.

3.3.2.1 Survey objectives

Being an essential step in planning and conducting the research design, the survey aim, in consistent with the current research questions and hypothesise, is to quantify the yielded data for statistical analysis based on the specific objectives as below:

- Test the 'kernel of truth' hypothesis by evaluating the informants' responses on this proposition and locating the convergence of given stereotypical traits elicited from the focus group interview.
- Probe the British & Chinese informants' beliefs in whether stereotypes improve or impede interactions in their target cultures.
- What are the mutual stereotypical perceptions that the British & Chinese overseas students hold of each other and themselves?

3.3.2.2 Survey informants

Cross-cultural interactants possess the best of motives and the desire to be actively engaged in cross-cultural interaction, and acquire knowledge and understandings at a variety of levels of the target cultures. This comparative research, thus, involves British and Chinese participants, who have had experience of contacting people in the target cultures. The Chinese informants were mainly from the University of Huddersfield at BA, MA and PhD level, while the British informants were mainly 3rdyear students on Chinese degrees from the School of Oriental and African Studies in University of London (SOAS), who spend their 2nd year at a Chinese university with cross-cultural life experience in China. In total, 27 British and 39 Chinese informants completed the questionnaire survey.

3.3.2.3 Create a questionnaire

In the current research context, the questionnaire was created in the English language and a Chinese version, which was ensured through careful checking by two bilingual researchers, was available for Chinese participants to ensure that they precisely understood the questions. There were totally 20 items with structured response categories in line with the research objectives (see appendix i). For example, items 1, 2 4, and 5 were designated to investigate the definition of cultural stereotype and its role in cross-cultural interaction from the standpoints of informants. Items19 and 20 provide trait lists generated from focus group strategy, were to locate and evaluate British and Chinese informants' perceptions on themselves and each other. The types of survey question include multiple choice (only one answer or multiple answers), ranking items, yes/no items, checkout items and rating items.

The survey was administered by paper, email attachment and a web version (Bristol Online Surveys, BOS), as response rates can be increased by giving potential informants a choice over how to complete a questionnaire (Dillman, 2000). It became apparent that a substantial body of supporting data from Chinese informants had been gathered by emailing with attached questionnaire document and a few lines purporting to be a special and personal plea for response. For the main British informants, a couple of trips were arranged to SOAS in London to approach students of Chinese degrees in class and advertise the survey. In order to obtain more informants, the snowball sampling strategy was also utilised, relying on members of the target population being known to each other.

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS - FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW

Following the implementation of the methodology in the previous Chapter, the nine focus group sessions conducted both in the UK and in China were audio-recorded digitally and did an excellent job of capturing the group conversations for each session while the observers took notes. The two-sequence procedure was implemented through five 'separate' focus groups (three with British overseas participants and two with Chinese counterparts) based on participants' first-hand experiences and the four 'mixed' sessions involved local language learners and international students. It became apparent that both the British and Chinese participants appeared highly engaged in the discussions and gave their full attention to the research topic. Intense argument, jokes, laughter highlighted the focus group interviews. In this way, focus group research produced knowledge about cross-cultural practitioners' awareness of stereotypical phenomenon, developed a pragmatic understanding of stereotype's functions in their real life practice. It also generated a rather rich and comprehensive picture of how British and Chinese interactants construe and consequently communicate their stereotypical perceptions about themselves and each other in the context of cross-cultural interaction.

As a result of the focus group data collection, information from the focus group interviews was captured in a multiple way as listed: complete transcripts, field notes, flip charts and video recordings. Complete transcripts were made, as permanent written records of the discussions since these permit further analysis and review by interested researchers. (Stewart, Shamdasani, & Rook, 2009:602). The nine sessions were transcribed verbatim by myself in the language of the discussion (English and Chinese). This approach is consistent with Kvale (2007) who suggested that transcription be done by the researchers or the moderators due to their familiarities with individual participants' voices and the discussion situation (i.e. turn-taking, interruptions, etc.). This approach is essential for any further analysis of the data as researchers need take into consideration not only *what* is exactly said, but also *who* is saying it in the discussions. To ensure that the produced English-version transcripts are accurate, James, the British native moderator, helped check out any missing words or gaps by listening to the recordings in parallel to reading the originally produced transcripts, making comments where necessary and interpreting the underlying cultural meanings of British participants' statements. The quoted data from Chinese transcripts for two Chinese 'separate' groups were translated into English. The

transcribed data were interpreted at the semantic level as the 'meaning' – the content of what participants said – is central to understand participants' personal experience in the context of cross-cultural interaction, rather than extract prosodic features of participants' responses required in conversational analysis.

Field notes were a second method for information capture and consisted of observers' on-the-spot observations and insights of the discussions. These notes proved to be enlightening and helpful in producing accurate transcripts. Flip charts (with traits lists) were also produced as tangible products in which the participants listed their viewpoints and completed ratings of traits. Video recordings were made for all sessions (except two Chinese 'separate' groups) on the condition that participants felt relaxed and the video camera not intrusive. All of these materials were gathered, labelled, and saved for later analysis.

The approach to data analysis is briefly described below. The first stage of analysis, deploying the analytic technique, 'inventory of points discussed' which served to be the 'results' presentation displaying the differences in the patterns of responses between the British and Chinese participants. The analysis was done by closely reading through each transcript in order to become as familiar as possible with what is actually being said by both individuals and each-category group, annotating individual participants and the single group's significant viewpoints and clustering the relevant propositions of each scheduled question. This was followed by examining viewpoints across the sessions to "find repeated patterns of meaning" (Braun & Clarke, 2006:86) and "make connections between a major category and its sub-category" (Minichiello, Aroni, & Hays, 2008:280) related to the research schedule. Such analysis moved on to transform the initial notes into the framed themes through all the 9 transcripts, allowing comparison within and across sessions for more general categorization and claims. By working through the nine transcripts, it was possible to notice responses/topics that come up before and that could be identified similar/opposite responses involving participants' particular narratives within and across transcripts. In this way, individual participants' propositions and groups' concerns were compiled to make an inventory of related themes, which helped orient the next stage of analysis.

The second stage uses Krueger's (1994) 'framework analysis' to closely examine individual and group phenomenon, with seven established criteria: words; context; internal consistency; frequency and extensiveness of comments; specificity of comments; intensity of comments; big ideas. Here the analysis became focused on the individuals' particular experience and the evolving interaction within and across groups, team collaboration on the issues discussed. The individuals' narratives and group arguments were singled out, illustrated and nuanced, which took the form of the analyst's interpretation/account interspersed with verbatim excerpts (clearly marked specific participant and timing) from the transcripts to support the argument. The analysis thus moved on to discern significant ideas and framed/new themes emerging from group interaction involving agreement, dissent, debate, challenge, etc. for special attention. The intensity of participants' responses and group discussion determines the level of detail. From the analysis of the raw data, four main themes were articulated as follows.

4.1 CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTANTS' AWARENESS OF 'STEREOTYPE'

4.1.1 Interactants' Awareness of Stereotypical Phenomenon

In a one-hour planning session, participants were expected to respond to a dozen questions. The first question the researcher was chiefly interested in was whether British and Chinese interactants were fully aware of stereotypical phenomenon in their cross-cultural practice. As the opening question would clearly set a noticeable tone in the minds of the participants, the dichotomous question, 'Have you ever heard of any stereotypes?' served to open the discussion in the most straightforward, non-instructive way possible and clarified the research topic. As indicated in Table 4.1, all British participants' quick and consensual responses established a shared and un-ambivalent point of departure for the following activities, while one Chinese participant responded with 'no'.

Figure 4.1

Question 1-1: Have you ever heard of any stereotypes?		
British Groups	**YES** (all)	NO
Chinese Groups	* **YES** (with one exception)	NO

British participants in 'Separate Group 1' (BG-1) seemed readily engaged in the topic as they cut in the moderator's opening statement followed by laughter, indicating a certain degree of sensitivity to the research topic (See Excerpt 1). Such positive responses to the general understanding of 'stereotype' as well as friendly environment boosted both moderators and participants' confidence for a further discussion.

Excerpt 1

Moderator: Sarah (The researcher) asked me to help her out to kind of moderating this, and of steering us in the right direction for the next hour, so hope you can, you're from England, right? So, you should be able to answer my …

Neil: Britain! Thank you!
(Laughter)

Kim: Don't stereotype!
(Laughter)

Moderator: Sorry, sorry, we've already started with it, nice!
(Laughter)

It should be pointed out, however, that in Chinese 'Separate Group 2' (CG-2), one participant, Lu, responded 'no' to imply that she had never heard about this term 'stereotype' either in English or in Chinese. However, her later involvement in the discussion revealed that she was simply not familiar with this technical term but still aware of this phenomenon, as she described French people as being "arrogant" (CG-2, 2:43) unconsciously when participants were asked to talk about any impressions they had for other ethnic groups. Note also that, most Chinese participants in two 'separate' groups were somewhat confused with the different translations of 'stereotype' in Chinese when the moderator (myself) first proposed this technical term in English. Soon enough, the participants worked out the most commonly used Chinese version that sounded best to them. In particularly, Yan (CG-1, 3:42) was far

more precise in recalling how she understood this term and her explanation was obviously clear enough to be responded to by other participants in a positive way (See Excerpt 2).

Excerpt 2

> **Yan**: I first learned the term 'stereotypes' from the course Media Study while at university. The course book was edited by a British and its Chinese version was published in Taiwan. In that book, stereotypes was translated into "刻板印象" (Chinese equivalence), indicating that we tend to geographically divide people into 'the southerner' and 'the northerner' (Yu: yes, yes). We, then, were aware of the use of 'stereotypes' in the media regarding the 'labels' of different ethnical groups of people. Just before coming to the UK, I had an impression about the British that they are all 'gentlemen', and 'polite', with 'bowler hat', 'stick' and 'moustache'. (Yu: yes, look like Charles Chaplin) (Laughter)
>
> (CG -1, 3:42)

Conclusion of 4.1.1:

Therefore, as evidenced above, all British and Chinese interactants appeared to be aware of stereotypical phenomenon. Compared to British participants' immediate and affirmative response, Chinese participants' bluntness and hesitation derived from their confusion with the Chinese correspondence of this term 'stereotype' (particularly Lu, are not familiar with its Chinese version) does not necessarily mean that they were not aware of stereotypical phenomenon in their daily life, given that they were fully engaged in the later discussions.

4.1.2 Interactants' Elaboration of the Presence of Stereotypical Perceptions

As a follow-up question to the introductory question (see Appendix 2), participants were asked to list as many stereotypical perceptions as they could think of without thinking too much about it. It was, thus, indicative of the fact that participants were fully aware that stereotypes abound in their daily lives. The participants' illustrations with their direct/indirect experience showed much relationship with their understanding of stereotypical phenomenon. As shown in Figure 4.2, participants feel more at ease, after a relaxed atmosphere was soon created with a rather interesting topic for them, elaborating on their views or simply recalling a wide range of general perceptions they have heard about various culture

groups. Clearly, talking about stereotypes in this way allows participants to freely express views without going on record about them, for example, a female British student described first Germans, then the Japanese as sexually perverted.

Figure 4.2

Question 1-2: What are the general stereotypes they have heard of?		
British Groups (China)	Kim:	British people are gentlemen in Asia (China, Korea), but football hooligans (in Europe). French people are 'Cheese eating surrender monkeys'
	Vic:	French are more sophisticated than British, good at cooking/languages. Stereotypes exist within Britain.
	Neil:	French are protective of their own culture and think quite highly of themselves.
	Carl:	French are proud of the fact that they were the first country to hold a communist revolution.
	Willy:	Aussies wearing hats with corks around. English: bowler hats, umbrellas, drinking cups of tea, gentleman. French people eat frogs. Germans are very straightforward.
	Mary:	Asians being very hard-working. French men are great lovers. Germans are very efficient. Japanese are sexually perverted. The young people are obsessed with manga.
	Max:	Japanese live in paper houses. When they go to airports, they have suitcases which are bigger than themselves and they're all on wheels. They photograph everything. Germans are efficient.
Chinese Groups (China)	Yan:	British: gentlemen, polite, bowler hat, cane, moustache
	Yu:	British image of Charles Chapin. Americans are arrogant, straight-forward Germans are sensible
	Jing:	Sex stereotypes in China vs. the UK Americans have national confidence.
	Ping:	Japanese are hard-working and have strong work ethic
	Lu:	Germans are rigorous
	Jie:	French people are arrogant.
	Huan:	French people are romantic.
	Liang:	Americans are open-minded and friendly. Japanese are inhibited.
	Lu:	Chinese are even more inhibited than Japanese. Chinese people tend to have negative stereotypes about people from Middle East, Indians, and black people.

The list of participants' descriptions on other ethnic groups revealed that:

1. 'Stereotype' involved a lot of amusement as participants spuriously remarked on people from different ethnic groups to general amusement. Undoubtedly, some hilarious images perpetuate various national stereotypes. For example, Willy (BG-2, 00:38) said "*Aussies wearing hats with corks round*". Mike (BG-2, 1:05) was impressed by the fact that French people eat frogs and Willy (BG-2, 1:14) added that "*they wear blue and white stripped top, have bicycles and it always has garlic hanging on it. They sell onions*." Max (BG-2, 1:53) jokily depicted that Japanese went to airports with their suitcases, which were bigger than themselves and they were all on wheels, both the Japanese and suitcases. When talking about stereotypical image of British, it just occurred to Yu (CG-1, 5:02), a post-80 generation girl, that the British most classical icon of Charles Chaplin (*the Tramp*, 1915) with bowler hat, bamboo cane, and moustache appeared to be a household name in China for generations. Obviously, both the British and Chinese participants viewed stereotypes in a lighthearted way and their amusing comments on different ethnic groups seemed to make their cross-cultural experience more interesting.

2. It is not surprising that people held different perceptions of the certain ethnic groups, for example, Liang (CG-2, 2:55) said that Japanese are inhibited but Lu (CG-2, 2:58) argued that Chinese are even more inhibited than Japanese. Immediate and frequent cross-cultural contacts make different ethnic groups easily develop stereotypical impressions about each other while less or no contacts resulted in stereotyping Asians "as an entire group" as Vic (BG-1, 29:04) stated. Thus, the perceived difference in stereotypical images sometimes reflected the implication of East-West dichotomy in the cultural sense, as Kim (BG-1, 1:21) suggested the images of the British as 'gentlemen vs. hooligans' by Asians and Europeans in exactly the opposite way. This further underlines the assertion that the participants could view the same stereotyped groups in the different manner.

Excerpt 3

> Kim: Stereotypes of British people as mainly gentlemen, an English gentleman, on the one hand, generally, for I'd say from Asian countries, like Korea and China, but then if you go to a European country they might see you as hooligans.
>
> (BG -1, 1:21)

3. Some stereotypes stem all the way back to influential historical events. The historical background of such feature of stereotypes, thus, is helpful to understand how stereotypes develop in the first place. For example, Kim (BG-1, 1:41) mentioned this particular perception on the French, 'cheese eating surrender monkeys', which was coined in the USA expressing disdain for the refusal of the French government to take an active part in the Iraq war.

4. Interestingly, British participants noticed that predominant stereotypes prevalent in different countries could vary from one another according to their first-hand experiences. Kim (BG-1, 29:57) was aware that Korean people had more positive stereotypes of well off whites but discriminate on skin colour. Sally (BG-1, 31:46) believed that age became an even more important stereotype than ethnicity in America. Besides, even the same type of stereotype could have different implications in different countries as Jing (CG -1, 5:08) shared her confusion with 'sex stereotype'.

Excerpt 4

> Jing: I have heard about a lot stereotypes, the typical one in China is sex stereotype, which clearly confines what men and women can do respectively. Take smoking as example, in China, it is generally thought that only the girls who have kind of bad habits or are not 'good' girls, would smoke. However, it is not the case in other countries as most girls smoke. While I was studying in Ireland, I had a discussion with my tutor. When I told my tutor girls in China were not supposed to smoke, she (he) asked me why boys could but girls could not in your country? So, I thought it only happened in China.
>
> (CG -1, 5:08)

5. Consciousness of self- and other-stereotypes sprang as participants travelled further away from their home country. The further people travelled, the more stereotypes of other cultures became similar and the more their own culture becomes distinct. According to the participants, people tended to grasp onto their own stereotypes and cling to typical cultural stereotypes of others, which could be reinforced or adjusted in the cross-cultural context. Vic (BG-1, 29:04) also reflected "*I'm British so it's how the British people act, this is how maybe Asians as an entire group act, you know, until you find your feet*." In addition, participants were aware that some attributes can be picked up by outsiders and proliferated particularly in travel guide. Matt (BG-3, 20:07) and Colin's (BG-3, 19:39) claimed that nearly all outsiders depicted Britain is "a very tea-driven nation." Matt (BG-3,

24:58) assumed that most people would presumably expect either a cockney accent or a very posh accent and an afternoon tea thing when going to London. Interactants can potentially benefit from mutual perceptions by promoting mutual understanding as Sally (BG-1, 11:40) reflected, "*Looking at how people stereotype you and working out what's true and what's not about that helps you to accept other people as well*."

6. Both positively and negatively valenced attributes can be assigned to members of a social group. Lai (CG-1, 40:08) found typical Chinese people "selfishness and dedication". Vic (BG-1, 21:18) suggested, "Individuality is very highly prized" in the UK, followed by Kim (BG-1, 21:19) and Carl's (BG-1, 21:21) agreement on British 'individualism'. Still, Carl (BG-1, 21:21) also suggested, "*solidarity becomes extremely important. It happens very, very rapidly, I've noticed*…". These groups of corresponding attributes (selfishness & dedication; individualism & solidarity) can be easily found in the respective participants' comments and responses.

Conclusion of 4.1.2:

As a result of the follow-up question to the first general question, it was demonstrated via the focus group discussions that the British and Chinese participants effortlessly acquired stereotypical knowledge from their interactions in their daily lives. They were clearly cognizant of the attributes associated with the various stereotyped groups, as they were able to elaborate on the presence of these during the focus group discussions.

4.1.3 The Sources from which Stereotypes Derive

Participants discussed the possible sources on which they based their general stereotypical knowledge (See Figure 4.3). Both British and Chinese interactants listed and shared a lot common sources for diffusing stereotypes. There are two basic obvious influences. One is personal background, that is, something to do with how people are brought up in their families and cultures. The other is their exposure to the world including such components as TV, film, media, advert, which appeared to be strong 'group-based' sources to develop individual stereotypes. In British 'Separate Group 3', Alice and her two-team members particularly referred to the initial stages of growing-up as a 'learned' process for

stereotypes that are passed-on knowledge depending on the environment around him/her. Later, a person can 'develop' his/her own stereotypes from the society and be critical of recognising different sources. Apart from some shared sources, it is suggested that there are sources that particularly occurred to British and Chinese participants respectively (See the mark *).

Figure 4.3

Question 1-3: How do you think you learn about these stereotypes?		
British Groups (China)	Vic:	TV & film;
	Neil:	* Culture you're brought up in
	Laura:	* British comedy, like 'Allo, Allo' & Fawlty Towers
	Sally:	* National identity
	Max:	TV shows, films, media, Adverts, * earlier British education system
	Mary:	* Comedy, e.g. 'Allo, Allo' & 'Inglorious Bastards', community, school
	Willy:	Family
Chinese Groups (China)	Lai:	* First-hand experience
	Lv:	Films
	Ning:	Family, Hollywood movies, books, TV
	Yu:	Media, internet
	Mao:	Products Adverts
	Yan:	* Friends' blogs
	Mei:	* Jokes
	Jie:	* Internet

Still, the two sources seemed exclusive to British participants: British comedy and the earlier British education system. Both Laura and Mary from British 'separate' groups mentioned such classical British comedies as *'Allo, 'Allo* (1982) and *Fawlty Tower* (1975), being created to entertain people in an influential way. As a BBC article suggests that comedy has been featured heavily in British culture through the centuries and 'stands up to this day as a jewel in the BBC's comedy crown'[14]. The British comic national stereotypes are often buried in plot devices in a way that pick up a lot of representative and tongue-in-cheek images about other nations to touch on their social, cultural and political life. The effects that stereotypes play in such comedies in a humorous or harmful sense depend largely on the way they depict different nations positively or negatively. Also, Max (BG-2, 4:15) was aware of the

[14] *Fawlty Towers*, Comedy, BBC, 28 Oct 2014

influence of the way British identities as well as multiculturalism have been addressed through the national curriculum as he put like this:

Excerpt 5

> Max: Again, like the others earlier British education system, erm, was very much, I suppose, geared to providing schools for particular culture, and that hasn't really changed, comprehensive system tried to address that, erm, but whether it succeeds or not, is somebody else's research.
>
> (BG-2, 4:15)

It is worth noting that group dynamics within Chinese participants reflected the way they collaborated on this issue and achieved consensus. Yu (CG-1, 8:49) illustrated the incompleteness of stereotype knowledge with the parable of 'Blind men and an elephant'. That is, blind men's perception on an elephant depends on where he touches, and if he happens to touch the trunk and he would think, it is what the elephant looks like. Yu suggested each 'source' acted as 'a blind man' and it could possibly be confined by its failure to describe a 'total picture' of stereotyped groups. Ning (CG-1, 11:38) further commented that stereotypical images should be integrated with "various sources", which was responded positively by some other participants.

It was good to see that the participants expressed concern over the reliability of their sources. Neil (BG-1, 3:23) talked about his "nurtured" hatred of the Germans through his real-life experiences and the taunting chant "two world wars and one world cup" ingrained in young English football supporters in the stadium as an allusion to why Germany failed. He realised that "*it's not rational, it's not logical*", and "every German I've met I really like". This apparent paradox indicated the significant impact of historical events on the evolution of stereotypes. Also, Collin (BG-3, 5:05) emphasised that "the media plays a massive role" by presenting stereotypes as being involved in a negative process. He referred the Daily Mail as a "s*hocking*" source to bring in stereotypes and "*if you are not able to critically think about propaganda, you can just begin to follow these*." The Daily Mail, as the 2nd best-selling newspaper after *The Sun* in Britain, is so arguably influential and has reputation among many better educated people for unthinking prejudice.

Conclusion of 4.1.3:

It is evident that the sources of stereotypical knowledge, common to both groups, derive from mainstream media, including TV, film, books, adverts, family, friends and peer groups. These sources appear to be more influential to both groups respectively. The sources of stereotypes that appear to be specific to the British group were the educational system, British comedy, cultural background and upbringing within a multi-cultural society. The sources that appear to be more influential to the Chinese group were Hollywood movies, which act like a window to the western world for many Chinese people, and the internet, which has a significant impact on modern Chinese life, with the infamous Chinese phenomenon of 'human-flesh search engine', often used to promote online vigilante justice.

It was promising to see that participants were highly conscious of the origin of stereotypical knowledge, and were able to distinguish between reliable sources of stereotypes and discern those, which could be construed as propaganda or negative stereotypes.

4.1.4 Interactants' Definition of 'Stereotype'

In a sense, definitions provide not only the meaning of a word but a perspective on the currency of that word as well. When the British and Chinese interactants talked about their stereotypical views, it became evident that their actual experience showed a relationship with their understanding of this phenomenon before the discussions, so defining this key term involves revealing what they had experienced.

As discussed previously, a diverse set of theoretical perspectives and empirical methodologies help define what scholars consider as its definition. Conversely, the first-order definition from the participants references their opinions and understandings derived from their cross-cultural experiences. Exploring the stereotypical phenomenon from the perspectives of cross-cultural practitioners is useful since it can provide a definition of 'stereotypes' in layman's terms. All the participants were requested to provide a definition of "stereotype" in their own words without referencing a dictionary or textbook definition. (See Figure 4.4)

Figure 4. 4

Question 1-4: Please give your definition of 'stereotypes'.		
British Groups (China)	Carl:	The way of separating 'them' from 'us' and labelling ' 'them' as a group to remove complication of thinking about individuals
	Sally:	Exaggerated assumed attributes of a particular group
	Neil:	Caricature of a group with weird features
	Kim:	Highlights differences between groups, whether they are good or not.
	Mike:	Grouping people under a characteristic or idea as distinction.
	Max:	A form of generalisation for convenience, but sometimes support prejudice.
	Mary:	A way we find grouping together to distinguish you from others
	Willy:	It is a sweeping statement about any given spectrum of people.
Chinese Groups (UK)	Ning:	Integrated impressions
	Yu:	Generally accepted perceptions; labelling groups of people
	Lai:	Simplifications of perceptions into several attributes
	Jing:	For insiders, it's a reflection of national cultures and traditions; for outsiders, it represents the way of how different ethnic people behave through the media, personal experiences, etc.
	Liang:	One-sided or incomplete preconception leading to certain attitude and judgement, but it can be changed with further information.
	Lu:	Sweeping statements, usually apply perceptions from films or the influential representatives of the country to all members of the group.
	Jie:	Over-generalised information, e.g. people tend to perceive the blacks with rose-coloured glasses as described in black violence films; Fixed impression but can be changed with the added information.
	Huan:	Subconscious impression and judgment associated with a group

Clearly, participants had not acquired specific knowledge or expertise in the field of stereotypes research, nor did they have a chance to consult authoritative dictionaries for references. Their definitions were simply phrased without jargon, but in a way overlapped with that of the scholars. In view of their definitions, participants were aware of such recognisable features of stereotypes as cognitive process, pragmatic function, and its positive/negative connotations. These varying definitions of 'stereotype' exhibit their debatable usage, and, to some extent, reflect some influential viewpoints addressed by scholars as follows:

4.1.4.1 "Pictures in Our Heads"

The participants' definitions of stereotypes revealed that their cognitive perspective significantly contributed to their understanding of stereotypic phenomenon. This is consistent with the notion that some scholars' emphasis on stereotypes' cognitive structure and capacity (Devine, 1989; Hamilton & Trolier, 1986) and on stereotype formation taking place in the dynamic process of interrelations between

category knowledge, perceptions of similarity and differences (McGarty, 2004). The participants made a simple but profound point, i.e., stereotypes could help to functionally perceive the world around us since there are commonalities within a group and therefore some sense of differences from out-groups. In this sense, stereotypes did reveal something useful about membership categorisation, as Carl (BG-1, 5:14) suggested stereotypes are "the way of separating 'them' from 'us' and labelling 'them' as a group to remove complication of thinking about individuals". This was in consistent with Mary's (BG -2, 5:47) definition as "*a distinction because of some things are alien and some are yours*". As has been previously demonstrated, the use of stereotypes may be as important in clarifying the 'us' as the 'them'.

Such definitions implied that some people have a fundamental need for the sense of belonging to a certain group and thus are naturally prone to make sense of the world by 'us' and 'them' categorisation. 'Them' are easily assumed to be more alike each other, and more different from 'us'. Both Kim (BG-1, 7:01) and Yan (CG-1, 17:22) emphasised that stereotypes highlighted differences between groups. Max (BG-2, 5:11) took this point further by suggesting that stereotypes functioned as economic strategies as he put it 'a form of generalisation for convenience'.

Still, Willy (BG-2, 5:53) pointed out the cognitive limitations of stereotypes as they failed to accurately comprehend the true reality without considering individuality by describing it as "*a sweeping statement about any given spectrum of people*". This was echoed by Liang (CG-2, 8:20), who defined stereotypes as "one-sided or incomplete preconception", but still he believed that the validity of stereotypes could be tested with the duration of stay in a new culture and modified with increasing real-life information. Also, Willy (BG-2, 7:51) believed that stereotypes could be more "valid" and "useful" in a way that they indicated probabilistic perceptions of group traits instead of "*this is perhaps absolutely 100% what's going to happen … you can get yourself into hot water*."

4.1.4.2 Negative vs. Positive Valences of Stereotypes

As discussed in the previous chapter, the debate over 'negative vs. positive' stereotypes in terms of its content and use fits well into the conventional dichotomy. There was an interesting section in the British 'separate' group 3 in which three participants admitted that "*the word stereotype carries a*

negative connotation" (Alice, BG-3, 9:25) but they believed that stereotypes need not be negative as a negative attribute just was the prototype of a stereotype. Both positive and negative stereotypical implications could be detected in interactants' perceptions of other ethnic groups. Some of their stereotypical beliefs adopted certain admiring attributes assigned to members of social groups, such as, both Max and Mary's (BG-1, 1:24) view of German's 'efficiency', while some perceptions, like French people's 'protectiveness' and 'thinking highly of themselves' were negatively evaluated and endorsed disadvantageous memberships in an unfavourable way, according to Neil and Carl (BG-1, 2:12). Still, Neil (BG-1, 27:35) did not necessarily see them as being negative as stereotypes were accurate in some ways.

Despite the fact that stereotype now takes on a negative valence in people's thoughts, participants spelled out the positive and advantageous aspects of having stereotype when interacting with people from different cultural background. For example, Carl (BG-1, 9:35) favoured stereotype's "convenience" and Neil (BG-1, 10:23) appreciated 'preparedness' of stereotypical knowledge, as they would find it easier to consider the proper attitude, behaviour and response to deal with their interactive partners. Vic (BG-1, 9:40) believed that stereotype helped people to 'navigate in the social world'. Mike (BG-2, 11:01) suggested that bearing stereotypes in mind, people "*can ameliorate the situation by making it not a problem*". Interestingly, Sally (BG-1, 8:01) illustrated that inaccurate stereotypes would not necessarily result in negative consequence by sharing her and her husband's life experience of being in their favour living in China but negatively stereotyped (open attitude about sex, binge drink, take drugs) in Puket, which "*at first really grated on us*". When they proved to their local friends that they "*did not fit the stereotype*", which "*made them more accepting of us in the long run*" so that "*sometimes it can almost help*."

Still, some participants pointed out the disadvantageous aspect of having stereotypes, as Mary (BG-2, 9:11) claimed, "*it allows you not to treat people as individuals just as agreed particular characteristics*". Willy (BG-2, 9:35) added that stereotype-threaten effect could contribute to self-fulfilment as "*if you see people in a certain way, they end up assuming characteristics that you're basing on. So if you tell someone they're something for long enough, then they become that thing which is not well if it's a very negative connotation, obviously*."

Conclusion of 4.1.4:

In line with the present thinking, relating to the recurring debates over the identifying features of stereotypes discussed in Section 2.2.3, both the British and Chinese participants' understandings were consistent with scholarly opinion, in terms of the academic concept of stereotypes as "Pictures in Our Heads". That is to say, these real-life participants believed that stereotyping, as a cognitive structure, helped them to perceive the world around themselves, in an expedient and efficient manner, and to simplify their understanding of group identity and to highlight the differences between groups ('us' and 'them' or 'insiders' and 'outsiders'). Whilst the participants were also aware of the cognitive disadvantages of using stereotyping such as sweeping generalisation of given group and potential negative bias.

Also, in relation to 'negative vs. positive valences of stereotypes', the participants were aware of the academic opinion that stereotypes are often seen in a negative light. However, they were of the belief that the negativity may just be a "prototype of a stereotype" in terms of its content and use, which from their experiences has proven to be the case. On the one hand, stereotypical traits are not necessarily negative as the participants assigned both positive and negative attributes to different ethnic groups. On the other hand, they critically viewed the use of stereotypes in both an advantageous and disadvantageous manner, often proving that stereotypes can be more advantageous and useful in some real-life situations. This, inevitably, must presume that they contain at least a usable shred of validity within them.

4.2 THE 'KERNEL OF TRUTH' HYPOTHESIS

Unlike most scholars who define stereotypes as inherently erroneous assumptions leading to prejudice and discrimination, both British and Chinese interactants drew very confirmatory conclusions about the accuracy of stereotype. For example, Mary (BG-2, 11:42) suggested there was some element of truth in stereotypes and thus they had some useful information and Collin (BG-3, 8:22) claimed, "*there's certainly to an extent there's some truth in the matter*". Lu (CG-2, 27:44) found the most pervasive stereotypic image of "English gentleman" had turned out to actually fit her stereotype given her life experience in the UK. Jie (CG-2, 23:44) confirmed her preconception of 'boring' UK's nightlife

despite that British people fancied clubs and parties a lot, compared with KTVs, bars, tearooms, and night markets fuelling China's nightlife scene with entertainment and activities both for locals and tourists. Particularly, the clear element of crowded and noisy but fun-atmosphere night markets feature a mixture of snacks, drinks, clothes, make-up, accessories, etc. Kim (BG-1, 7:57) believed that stereotypes were not always negative but actually rang true, for him it seemed amazing that his preconceived images about people turned out to fulfil his stereotypes in most cases. Responding to Vic's (BG-1, 27:12) complaint that people held a high expectation for the Westerners but not every individual in the western countries necessarily conformed to such stereotypes, Neil (BG-1, 27:35) indicated that either negative or positive stereotypical perceptions were assigned to a social group. He cited that "*the thing is that stereotypes, they are unfortunately, some of them are based on an element of truth*". Still, Carl (BG-1, 9:38) advised that people just need be more careful to deal with stereotype, as they are "*making a whole load of assumptions, which may or may not be true, maybe there's greater likelihood of them being true than untrue, but they're still a pretty high likelihood of them being wrong*".

In contrast to some scholars' definitions, stereotyping, as presented by some participants, is a dynamically learned process. Jie and Liang argued that stereotypes could be changed with newly added information. For Liang (CG-2, 8:32), the stereotypes held by a person were just assumed perceptions or sweeping statements before he entered a new culture without any real-life interaction with the local people. With the increasing real-life information, people were able to tell which preconception was a kernel of truth and which was gross generalisation. In his opinion, British people were perceived as 'binge-drink' but 'reserved and polite', which could not be viewed as 'stereotypes' as they were based in reality in a way and less on stereotypes. Jie (CG-2, 7:05) also believed negative perceptions could be altered with the real life contact with negatively-stereotyped groups and newly founded positive traits. Matt (BG-3, 5:49) took this further by emphasising the utility of critical thinking on the evolution of stereotyping as he said "*I think like it's not until you can actually get to a point where you're able to kind of separate or like think about it, um, you know, these stereotypes then kind of stay in your brain until you kind of take them in a sense but actually that's not true or you gotta think about yourself*". In their views, stereotypes are in flux as through real-life experience, they believe, people can break out the stereotypical links that are not valid to the perceived group and strengthen the ones that are accurate.

Conclusion of 4.2:

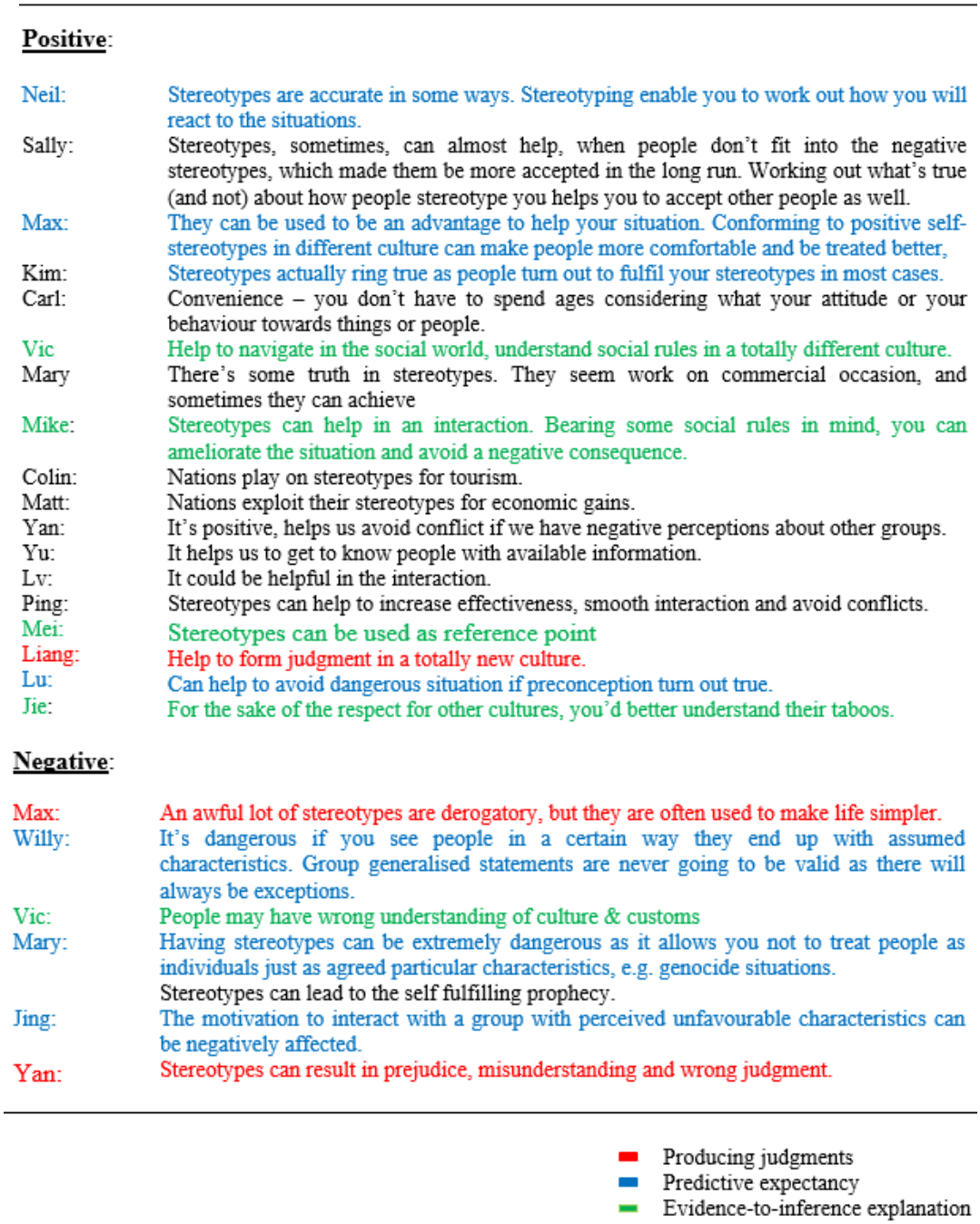
Regarding the debate as to whether there is a 'Kernel of Truth' in stereotypes, both the British and Chinese participants seemed to agree that there was indeed, to a degree, 'an element of truth' in stereotypes, which in many cases has been confirmed by their own real-life experiences and proved useful in many situations. However, the participants showed an awareness that stereotypes might not represent the whole picture and they must be used with caution.

Furthermore, the participants showed an appreciation of the fact that stereotypes can be modified with the addition of new information when interacting with the stereotyped groups. Whereby exposure to the target groups can lead to a new understanding of the target cultures, which effectively refines the preconceived stereotypes. This dynamically learned process reinforces their belief in the 'Kernel of Truth' within stereotypes.

4.3 PRAGMATIC FUNCTION OF STEREOTYPES

As the idea of this research ultimately was to feed into what could actually help British-Chinese interactions, having shared their interactive experiences, the participants proposed interactive strategies underlying the deployment of stereotypes. In this section, the participants were actively engaged in discussing how stereotypical impressions and knowledge affected their cross-cultural interactions and provided uniquely interactive arguments for stereotype's pragmatic functions. They displayed remarkable capacity for interpreting their understanding of the role of stereotyping, offering more than we might have first thought to deploy and communicate stereotypes, bringing us closer to a good understanding of pragmatic functions in stereotyping process. Their practical standpoints of both positive and negative 'stereotype's functions' (See Figure 4.5) partially responded to the traditional judgmental perspective on stereotyping as a much maligned way of deteriorating interaction, instead of creating potential opportunities for deploying it as a strategy in cross-cultural interaction. The resulting data allowed the interactants' acquired practical expertise to make useful contributions to stereotype research as each illustration of stereotypes' pragmatic functions harboured unique aspects of their life experiences. The implications of these findings are discussed and the participants' accounts clustered around three themes as below:

Figure 4.5 Stereotype's Functions



4.3.1 Producing Judgments

In line with Turner's (1999) definition that stereotypes are "social categorical judgment(s) … of people in terms of their group membership", a lot 'evaluative judgments' could be picked up from the participants' illustrations when they were talking about what stereotypical impression they had held or

simply recalled what they had previously heard about other ethnic groups. For example, Neil (BG-1, 2:11) uttered, “French people are very *protective*, and *think quite highly* of themselves because of their culture and their feeling for their language”. Carl (BG-1, 2:21) obviously supported his view by adding comments that “(French are) *proud* of the fact that they were the first country to hold a communist revolution”. It is worth noting that, in British Group 2, there were several seconds of silence after the moderator’s prompt about stereotypical perceptions on Germans, followed by laughter, and then that both Mary and Max (BG-2, 1:22) almost simultaneously suggested that “(Germans) are very *efficient*”. This may be because what was immediately conjured up in their minds were such historical events as Nazis, genocide, etc, which were just too negatively stereotyped and could scarcely be neglected, and thus no one wanted to utter it. Rather, the relatively positive Germans’ propensity “being efficient” was proposed in such context.

Some British and Chinese participants maintained that stereotype functioned as a value-tendency mechanism underlying individual and group level ratings of perceived attributions, which enabled them to produce judgments and deal with situations facing them in a cross-cultural context. On the positive side, Liang (CG-2,) believed that certain attitudes and judgements that arise from stereotyping could be helpful in handling uncertainty and anxiety in a totally new culture, since they had ingested certain images into their consciousness of the culture around them. On the negative side, some participants adopted this term with more negative judgement and psychological basis, which alerted people to bias and even prejudice. Max (BG-1,) suggested that “an awful lot of stereotypes were derogatory” and stereotypes could “sometimes support prejudice”. Yan (CG-1,) implied stereotypes could result in prejudice, misunderstanding and wrong judgment.

Stereotypical judgment on personality and traits seemed more easily detectable in a cross-cultural context. The participants were acutely conscious of how personality judgments are ‘made’ and ‘communicated’ in an attempt to justify inter-group attitudes and behaviours in their cross-cultural practice. Carl’s (BG-1, 5:49) travel story in Spain (see Excerpt 6 below) revealed his awareness of the consistent and negative stereotype of the ‘drunken British’ and his strategic response to this disadvantageous situation. Despite his “real aversion to stereotypes for a variety of reasons”, Carl was equally concerned with the tendency of self-judgement as well as other-judgments, which made him justify his responsive behaviours to avoid being negatively judged cross-cultural situations. Such

stereotypical consequence indicated how personality judgment was manifested in responsive behaviour in real-life situations and that stereotypes were not identical with attitudes as they interfere with the interactants' readiness to act in a certain way.

Excerpt 6

> Carl: You know I might go to Spain and I might drink lager but that doesn't mean to say that I rampage in the streets erm damaging everything but it will be assumed that I do. you know, yes, or even er, that I'm British, I can remember once coming back from Spain on holiday and there were a whole load of er, English people behaving very badly and I was with a friend. We were in the waiting room and we started speaking German to each other (laughter), you know, didn't want to be associated with them!
>
> (BG -1, 5:49)

Despite the fact that negative attributes are most often considered the prototype of stereotypes, personality judgments are evaluative at different levels and do not always give rise to an unfavourable interactive situation. Responsive to the generally held unfavourable views of black people, Huang (CG-2, 11:10) admitted that she found her Chinese friends and classmates had made some negative judgment about black people, like "their carelessness about personal hygiene", "making noise (sometimes, loud laughter)". She continued that her black flatmates did conform to such stereotypical impressions but rather had a positive propensity for enthusiasm and friendliness, which helped set a pleasant atmosphere and it turned out that they got along well with each other, without the interference or misconceptions of previous unfavourable judgment. Thus, some perceptibly negative attributes when seen from a broad base did not necessarily interfere with cross-cultural interaction. Furthermore, it seemed more understandable for Huang to justify their 'personal hygiene' issue while she shared flat with some black girls, as they preferred plait-hair and it was not easy at all to wash their hair on a daily life basis, as most people would do.

When it came to evaluation standards, what we were was somehow 'normal', with other cultures being seen as deviation from that normality, as Willy (BG-2, 13:16) suggested that whether stereotypical judgment was positive or negative was "*in the eye of beholder*". He furthered his illustration by noting that people in the Congo were negatively evaluated as 'aggressive' in their body language, but still "*it might just be the way they normally relate to you*". Huan (CG-2,) was implying her 3-level model of

typically evaluated openness and reserve, that is, Americans were extremely open, Chinese were extremely conservative and British were somewhere in between. Matt (BG-3, 11:00) argued that "*it definitely works both ways so it depends on the situation*", and recalled a discussion in which his Polish friend broke down the hilarious stereotype that Britons drank a lot, and claimed that "*you Brits can't drink anything. Polish drink a lot*". Collin (BG-3,) believed such evaluation seemed "*definitely false*" as "*statistically it is the Czech that drinks the most in the world per capita*". Huang (CG-2,) pointed out that, people were, sometimes, quick to make unfavourable judgment about out-group members but blind to the same negative attribute their in-group members were bearing. She continued, "*We might get annoyed if out-group members just talk loudly, but we tend to be more acceptable even if our in-group members play their speakers to full max volumes*". Alice (BG-3, 10:58) agreed with Collin on his claim that what the stereotype could be like depended on the person's perception. It is somehow interesting that the British image of continental Europeans in general is that they are very *good* at languages and paradoxically, the British prototype of Europeans is the French. Vic (BG-1, 1:52) talked about her stereotypical evaluation on the French that "*they have this thing the French being very good at cooking, and very good at languages and much more sophisticated than the British*." However, the French are generally stereotyped to be 'arrogant' and 'reluctant to speak other languages', and it thus worries tourists to hardly find any French people who can speak English. Sally (BG-1,) pointed out that stereotypes' evaluative function could help in a way with the development of the capacity to adjust stereotypical judgments of self and others. She suggested "*working out what's true (and not) about how people stereotypes you helps you to accept other people as well*." That is, a reflective function was the positive and active acquisition that enabled 'us' to be fully aware of how we judged people and how we are judged by others.

Excerpt 7

> **Sally**: We read, er, an anthro, I can't say it, anthropology book on Englishness and that was really great because it looked at the stereotypes of queuing and how we apologise for everything and that was really interesting because we suddenly realised that in those stereotypes of Englishness that we would not have said we associate with, there was a lot of that in us so we shouldn't expect everyone else to queue properly and we shouldn't expect everyone else to like tea and those kind of things …
>
> (BG-1, 11:40)

Therefore, it would be sensible to conclude from the participants' discussions that the process of stereotyping was interconnected with evaluative judgments and consequently behavioural responses.

Conclusion of 4.3.1:

With respect to the pragmatic function of stereotypes in 'producing judgments', the participants were able to demonstrate the following points of understanding based on their cross-cultural practice: 1) the participants believed that stereotypes could be used to form 'social categorical judgments' (Turner, 1999) with positive and negative evaluations of any given social group. 2) They also had an awareness of the way stereotypes function to enable value-tendency judgments, which may function as double-edged sword, in that stereotypical judgments may help interactants deal with uncertainties in the different cultures around them, but equally can be dangerous as they may lead to harmful bias, or even prejudice. 3) In most cases, stereotypes are understood to be based on generalisations of any given group. However, as part of the discussions, it was illustrated by the participants' life experiences as to how personality traits were activated in a specific cultural situation allowing responsive behaviour based on the situational context. 4) Negative preconceptions of stereotypes associated with certain groups are not necessarily representative of individual members in such a group and as such do not always obviate the motivation of participants to interact with the stereotyped group. Also, such negative evaluations may be justified for valid reasons. 5) As the saying goes, 'beauty is in the eyes of beholder'. When the participants related this to stereotypical judgments, either positivity or negativity lied in the eyes of individual perceivers. In addition, the participants suggested people would have an inner tendency to favourably evaluate their own group and more critically evaluate out-group members in the same context.

4.3.2 Predicative Expectancy

The British and Chinese participants, in this section, reflected on both the advantages and disadvantages of predictive expectancy in their cross-cultural practice. Some interactants' first-hand experiences demonstrated how stereotypical knowledge offered an initial impression and favourably enabled them to form certain expectations about the perceived groups to avoid potential awkwardness and ameliorate such situations. For example, Liang (CG-2: 8:20) indicated his need to predict

behaviours and situations for the sake of reducing uncertainty when first interacting with people from different cultures. For him, stereotypical knowledge would favourably help him to proactively presume potential situations when first going to a new culture. He talked about how he had dealt with the preconceived impression about British people's binge drinking. He predicted it might be risky to run into a drunker and it was advisable for him to avoid going out alone at night before he felt assured of what was actually going on out there. He found out later that his preconception about the binge-drinking culture rang true but it was not as risky as he imagined. In his view, it would not hurt to predict situations with one's stereotypical knowledge. This nicely illustrated the Chinese behavioural tendency of 'looking ahead at what might happen and getting ready to handle it (in Chinese, 未雨绸缪 wèi yǔ chóu móu)' and thus confidently taking control of unfamiliar situations.

Some British participants also confirmed that being aware of other ethnic groups' expectations and bearing some of their social rules in mind, interactants can ameliorate some situations and avoid negative consequence. Neil (BG-1, 8:51) claimed that he would favour linking the perceived groups' attributions and expectancies. He related his experience with a Chinese lady in China when he opened the door for her, the prevalent stereotypical image of 'English gentlemen' proved to be a positive affirmation of the lady's expectation for such a recognised reputation of an English person, so much self-stereotyping as predicting other-stereotyping. Neil (BG-1, 10:23) further suggested that stereotypes could serve for 'preparedness', that is, bearing stereotypical knowledge could help to predict how members of other cultures would properly behave and easily worked out their responses to situations. For example, given the fact that courteous driving in China was rarely rewarded, Neil suggested that you could wait endlessly for the vehicles and pedestrians when riding a bike, and thus you could simply not give way to anyone in China. It is true that the traffic conditions and regulations in China make drivers vulnerable to criticism, and thus, in this case, such stereotypical perceptions are accurate in some ways and they thus enable people to predict future behaviour and responses to the situation. Neil (BG-1, 46:39) concluded, "*it (stereotype)'s almost like a coping mechanism for us, but also as a tool to help us cope with situations around us and cope with our life*." Also, Vic (BG-1, 9:40) convinced herself from her real-life experience that stereotypical knowledge was especially helpful in increasing familiarity with social rules and navigating in the social world to avoid getting lost in a totally different culture. In Mike's (BG-2, 10:00) further illustration, stereotypical knowledge about social norms and cultural values

in a new culture could help reasonably anticipate how people normally dealt with each other in their daily life and tried not to get involved in awkward and unfavourable situations.

Excerpt 8

> **Mike**: I think stereotypes can help when you interact with people you bear in mind, for instance, like say Chinese people, they don't like losing face, so you are in a situation where you're possibly making a Chinese person lose face and you can avoid it, you can, you can ameliorate the situation by making it not a problem, you can make sure a problem doesn't occur …
>
> (BG -2, 10:00)

However, there was a heated discussion among participants in Chinese 'separate' Group-1, about the negative value of predictive expectancy regarding potential interactions with unfavourably stereotyped groups. Yan (CG-1, 20:54) believed that it was helpful to avoid conflict by keeping a certain distance from people, who were believed to be associated with some negative attributes, while Mao (CG-1, 22:47) and Jing (CG-1, 22:58) argued that predictive expectancy might thus have a deterrent effect on the interactions with unfavourably perceived groups. Mao (CG-1, 24:13) further commented that it was not sensible if one was trying to avoid contacting with any members of a negatively stereotyped group, and Ping (CG-1, 28:08) interrupted to indicate it was inevitable, anyway. Mao (CG-1, 28:12) continued to assert that it was unreasonable if a student were given a choice for his/her potential team member, he/she would not go for any students just because of their unfavourable group membership. Thus, he did not think predictive expectancy, under these circumstances, would work in a positive way. This was supported by Jing (CG-1, 29:09), who admitted that she might not be willing to interact with any members of this ethnic group, if 8 out of 10 students she had encountered in the library were badly behaved and likely to get her involved in an unfavourable situation. However, she assumed that she would still have a willingness to interact with this certain ethnic group if she had pleasant encounter with 6 or 8 people out of 10 and could possibly ignore the 4 or 2 badly-behaved group members. It is obviously unfair for Mei (CG-1, 23:28) that all the members would be excluded from potential interactions due to their bearing on negative membership, despite the high probability. This could impede cross-cultural interaction, and thus she concluded that stereotypical knowledge could be used as "reference point" but still, an interactant should be open-minded enough to allow himself to see individualism despite negative collective attributes.

Vic (BG-1, 27:11) also expressed her concerns that the group label, 'westerners' was generally perceived as implying "*economically and educationally successful*" and thus were treated as privileged in developing countries. She had personally been affected by such gross perception about her 'westerner' membership and was embarrassed at times since she felt she did not deserve it. Sally (BG-1, 28:27) shared a similar experience, in which she had been highly expected to have a certain living standard and the property agency in China kept pushing her to take better apartment with higher rent. It was very common that the price usually went up when they went to the open market just because they were 'westerners'. Bonny (BG-3, 15:06) believed that stereotype served as "*a starting point*" for an interactant to 'walk into' and understand the new culture. Max (BG-2, 61:57) believed his first-hand perception of "lack of privacy" in China could help people who were planning to visit China to get over the 'cultural shock', based on his experience in Chinese hospitals, that is, talking to a doctor about his symptoms and medical history with a number of patients around crowding in to see the process. He found it funny now, but still the 'lack of privacy' just highlighted his own insecurity. Unsurprisingly, such widely recognisable perception of the Chinese 'lack of privacy' was always sharply contrasted and highlighted when compared to the strong sense of privacy prevailing in western countries. It is, however, deeply rooted in Chinese culture for undocumented reasons.

The British and Chinese participants were engaged in the process of maintaining consistent expectations or adjusting their expectancy against contradictory behaviour. In view of their authentic experiences, either consistency or inconsistency of predictive expectancy would result in favourable consequences. In the discussion of British 'Separate' Group -2, the interplay between stereotypes and self-fulfilling prophecy came to the participants' attention. Some participants were aware that others' expectations would affect how the unfavourably stereotyped group members behaved and could inadvertently ended up fulfilling the assumed negative characteristics. Willy (BG-2, 9:35) was concerned that such predictive expectancy would probably evoke the potential behaviour and perpetuate a negative expectation bias. This was supported by Mary (BG-2, 9:50), as she illustrated that if all the teachers treated young black men in a way that they were perceived as being naughty at school, and it was most likely that they would be as such.

Conversely, the consistency or the predictive expectancy of positive stereotypes could result in favourable consequences. Max (BG-2, 10:10) claimed that the benefits gained from communicating

stereotypes in his interactions and illustrated that confirming to positive stereotypes of 'Brits' could be used as an advantage to make himself be treated better, and make people more comfortable for being consistently with their original expectations for 'an Englishman'.

Excerpt 9

> **Max**: If I behaved … as a British person is supposed to on television then I, people were more relaxed then … it was easier, erm, and I have to admit that that I emphasised my British accent while I was in New York, because it got me, yeah, it got me better service in restaurants than I didn't, (Laughter) (Mary: good example!) yeah, good examples.
>
> (BG-2, 10:10)

Max (BG-2, 16:20) also demonstrated that his life experience in China had conformed to his preconceived knowledge about Chinese people's 'face value' prevalently practised in their communication styles and its expected importance in daily life. He illustrated how Chinese people' 'face value' constructed frame of references for effective negotiation as the practical negotiation behaviour occurred in many daily-life situations were largely the observable evidence of Chinese people's obsession with face-management.

Excerpt 10

> **Max**: Prior to coming to China, I realised how important that was here but it really does seem to make a very big difference in all negotiations, be it with the banks or teachers, with any officialdom, er, at every level, finding the positions where people aren't losing face, or finding the ways around so they don't lose face is extremely important. And it is more important than I was expecting it to be.
>
> (BG -2, 16:20)

Interestingly, regarding the inconsistency of predictive expectancy, Sally (BG-1, 8:01) shared her personal experience to demonstrate that negative stereotypes could even help in a way that made stereotyped group be more accepted in the long run, when they don't fit into the expected negative stereotypes.

Excerpt 11

Sally: The stereotypes Asians seem to have of westerns, we live in Puket, yes, it's quite a tourist area and were, were, actually, very, very, negative but you're someone who sleeps around and you drink a lot, take drugs very much those kind of stereotypes and at first that really grated on us, you don't because we were hang on, not everyone's like that just because you're from the West and but actually it worked in our favour when as soon as started to get to know people, it kind of proved they were wrong and I think it made them more accepting of us in the long run because we didn't fit the stereotype so that sometimes it can almost help.

(BG-1, 8:01)

Interestingly, when talking about what may be positively and negatively expected behaviours in target cultures, Willy (BG-2, 22:45) was implicitly challenged by Mary on what he believed to be negative behaviour in China.

Excerpt 12

Willy: I mean if the Chinese people went to the UK, and acted the way we act in China, Jesus, they would get lynched.

Mary: How do you think we act in China? What do you want to?

Willy: Well, just, just, I mean, just for example, the way we dress the way the Chinese people dress. I mean, the women, yeah, they wear their tiny little skirts and everything else, but in terms of their top halves, they never wear the skimpy little tops.

Mary: Yeah.

Willy: so, but the western women do wear the skimpy little tops here without blinking an eye. So you're taking something that's completely different to the way that lookpeople are acting.

Mary: but actually, I've talked to a lot of Chinese people about this and they say they don't find it offensive at all, they just think it's funny.

(BG-2, 22:45)

Although some participants revealed that they were getting alarmed about potential negative connotation of stereotypes and they would try not to stereotype people, stereotypical expectancy seemed to be automatically activated in certain situations by perceivers themselves or by their cross-cultural counterparts.

Conclusion of 4.3.2:

The pragmatic function of predicative expectancy has proven to be useful to the British and Chinese overseas students when they used their initial preconceived expectations in an unforeseen cultural situation. According to the participants, 'expectations' can be predicated and utilised by either party in a cross-cultural interaction for their counterparts. They suggested that in the case of interactions between British and Chinese participants, the British people would find their interactions smoother with locals if they had expectations of significant social norms, i.e. those of 'face value', the phenomenon of fighting to pay the restaurant bill and a complete lack of privacy when consulting with a doctor, etc. In the same vein, by using their expectations, Chinese people could have trouble-free interactions in the UK, e.g. avoiding areas of binge-drinking, which frequently end in violence, consciously queueing in public places and splitting the restaurant bill, etc. Equally, an awareness of your counterparts' positive 'expectations' may motivate you to live up to their expectations and help build up a friendly atmosphere, whilst modifying behaviour to diminish their negative expectations could ameliorate the specific social context. However, the Chinese participants raised their concern about the detrimental effect of 'predictive expectancy' may preclude interactions with adversely perceived groups.

4.3.3 Evidence-to-inference Explanation

When participants were prompted to think about the extent to which stereotypes could be practically useful or disadvantageous to hold in interactions, Matt (BG-3, 11:22) articulated that stereotypes could help explain group members' behavioural tendency in certain situations. He talked about his experience of being greeted by his students in China after the Christmas break. He appeared surprised and frustrated when his students said, "*How are you, oh, you've put on some pounds*", as it surely was not the way he was expecting to meet and approach someone by talking about his/her weight in his culture and 'weight' was quite a sensitive topic. But he further pointed out that his pre-acquired stereotypical knowledge of the 'Chinese way of greeting' helped him to come to understand that it was just how they greeted people and his students did not mean to offend him in any way. In his view, stereotypes foregrounded distinct features in different cultures regarding social norms, values and behaviours, etc., which would help an interactant to better understand cross-cultural situations and remove possible doubts and barriers arisen from cultural differences.

Excerpt 13

> **Matt**: I would never dream of meeting somebody and say "How are you, oh, you've put on some pounds, erm, that's just not what I do but when it happened to me in China, I didn't take offence to it. I'm trying to say, you kind of, if you're in a situation with a person from a place that you've never had contact before, but like you've got stereotypes in your head of what they might have. Then, I suppose if you'd encounter any parts of the personality that you find different to your own, you might be able to kind of use the stereotypes to say "I'm surprised by what you've said, but I'm not going to take in an offensive manner", perhaps.
>
> (BG-3, 11:22)

Actually, Matt illustrated a most common situation involving sensitive topics for foreigners to be confronted with when they first came to China. Under such circumstances, they typically felt that their cross-cultural counterparts were rude in a way and their confusions and discomforts arose due to being not able to understand and respond to such greetings and small talks involving 'sensitive topics', like your weight, your money, etc. Indeed, the standards and understandings for politeness vary in different cultures. Conflicting ways to greet and expectations of greetings can easily cause people to think the person they are interacting with is being rude and intrusive. Still, a shared and stereotypical understanding about the differences of greeting in the UK and China has been developed. Unlike people in Britain who favour greetings by talking about weather, in China, there are some very common ways to greet, like, nǐ *chī le ma* (Have you eaten yet?), *shàng nǎ ér qù?* (Where are you heading to?), nǐ zuì jìn shòu le, zǎ de le? (You have lost some weight recently, what is going on?), etc., but these are not meant to be real questions requesting detailed responses. Chinese people get used to making friendly small talk with their acquaintances and friends to show their concerns and cares. Also, such small talk strategically connects people and reduces personal distance.

Mike (BG-2, 11:01) argued that stereotypical information was useful in explaining social rules. In particular, he noted that in some interactive situations it was important to bear such social rules in mind as to help understand how people interact with people from different cultures. He illustrated how 'face value' regulated Chinese people's daily life and how it was upheld in Chinese culture, and thus out-group members had to avoid making Chinese people lose face. Willy (BG-2, 11:54) took over Mike's argument by pointing out that unfavourable behaviour detected by out-group members were not

necessarily negative but the way in-group members normally related to each other. He agreed that such practical reasoning helped to smooth cross-cultural interactions.

Excerpt 14

Willy: If you went to like the Congo, say, I don't know anything about the Congo, but say, people would say, well, actually, they've got the cultural norm is very aggressive, by just in their body language, and you, well when you go to the Congo, maybe it's good to think about that, because you think about that if someone is coming up to you, what you may think is very aggressive actually it might not be that, it might just be the way they normally relate to you …

(BG-2, 11:54)

Interestingly, Willy (BG-2, 12:25) brought up his confusion regarding how to draw the line between a stereotype and a cultural norm. Max (BG-2, 13:40) helped illuminate the difference by sharing his experience of visiting a Palestinian refugee camp in Jordan. When he first got there, there was "a fair amount of hostility" for he was assumed to be an American, who supported Israel in the campaigns, despite the fact that not every single American was supporting Israel. Being aware of the potential stereotype held by the local people, Max's explicit explanation of his British identity "completely changed the atmosphere" and he was later treated in a friendly way by being invited to a lot of places. Max's example led to a subsequent debate as the following excerpt indicated.

Excerpt 15

Max: If it's stereotype or cultural issue, I am not sure.

Mary: I'm not sure of that, either… it's not a stereotype or it's not them thinking a particular thing about British people… It's just like … we don't like American people, because they have these characteristics or so.

Max: That's an interesting one.

Willy: Their stereotype of Americans is the way that American is supporting Israel.

Max: Yeah.

Mary: Well, it's not stereotype, is it? It's just (Mike: action, concrete action) American is supporting Israel (Mike: Yeah), so we don't like them.

Willy: but not every single American is supporting Israel, about 50% of their faith they become impressed how they can use all of these for reference … (Mary: no, no, it) so it's a stereotype.

Mary: Yeah, I suppose you're right, yeah.

(BG-2, 13:40)

As we can see above, Willy first explicitly uttered his confusion about the difference between a stereotype and a cultural norm, and Max got actively involved in the argument with his life-experience. While Mary did not think Max's example was a case in point for stereotypical perception, she conceded eventually followed by Willy's standpoint that stereotypes were characteristic of probabilistic perceptions. Eventually, the British participants nicely differentiated stereotypes from cultural norms by defining stereotype as a generalisation about a group attributed to a set of characteristics. As the local people in Jordan linked the stimuli, 'supporting Israel' with the category label 'American'. This stereotypical perception served as a retroactively explanation of the relationship between cognitive categorising processes and context, that is, how the local people behaved in a hostile way to someone who was assumed to be an American.

Also, the dynamic group interaction here generated unexpected but valuable information from diverse individual participant's experiences, which were pieced together to address a question which was not included in the schedule. The moderator did not interrupt when the discussion 'got off track' as participants turned their attention to these two intricate structures of socially transmitted perceived systems, i.e. stereotypes and cultural norms. In their understandings, social norms are generally defined as the widely accepted rules of behaviour for a social group, in which people are expected to adhere to and follow and which are notably available to moderation, improvement and evolution, dependent on developing settings. However, stereotypes are a set of generalized belief about a particular group that may remain rigid for decades if not centruies.

Conclusion of 4.3.3:

In respect of the third pragmatic function of stereotypes, the 'evidence-to-inference explanation' was proposed in two aspects: 1) Stereotypes served to explain group members' behavioural tendency. For example, the perceived differences of greeting in the UK and China by the British and Chinese participants. They illustrated that people in Britain tend to open conversations by chatting about the weather, whilst people in China favour greeting each other by asking questions that are framed as personal concerns to build friendship and emotional closeness. 2) Stereotypes can aid understanding of social rules. For example, the principle of 'face value' in Chinese society underlines many social interactions and an appreciation of 'face value' is invaluable when dealing with Chinese people. As part

of their discussion, the participants drew their attention to the difference between stereotypes and cultural norms. They concluded that stereotypes were probabilistic perceptions of a group with certain characteristics while social norms were often seen as overarching principles, which exists to guide people's conducts and behaviour.

4.4 STEREOTYPE'S PRAGMATIC FEATURES

In this section, many interesting observations on stereotype's pragmatic features were made in the context of 'mixed' group sessions. The British and Chinese participants' within and across groups' interactions with the local English/Chinese language learners and international students advanced insightful examples of traits stereotypically representative of British and Chinese cultures. The dynamic interactions revealed how the British and Chinese participants make sense of suggested striking attributes about themselves and each other's cultures, how they responded to their counterparts' propositions, and how they evaluated their suggested traits. Their viewpoints provided both researchers and cross-cultural practitioners significant insights into a more practical understanding of the interactive features of stereotypical attributes in a cross-cultural context.

4.4.1 Culturally Different Linguistic Forms

Socio-pragmatic failure, described as a form of cross-cultural communication breakdown, can stem from cross-culturally different perceptions of what constitutes appropriate linguistic behaviour (Thomas, 1983). Therefore, it is worth considering how linguistic forms conceptualise stereotypical perceptions in a specific cultural context.

4.4.1.1 Offensive Linguistic Form?

As Yule (1996) emphasises that pragmatics is "the study of the relationship between linguistic forms and the users of those forms", the participants raised an awareness that the language stereotyped group members produced would affect how out-group members react to the language they got. For example, Matt (BG-3, 11:22) indicated that those who have not been to China would find it was a bit offensive for Chinese people to meet and greet people by jumping in and talking about some sensitive

topics. That is, how he was greeted by his Chinese students, "*How are you, oh, you've put on some pounds*" was simply not the way people did in Britain. However, Matt was aware that the way his students greeted him was really acceptable in Chinese society. Greetings involving customs and rituals often differ radically across cultures. Situations can be even more confusing and offensive when greeting someone from different cultural background and using different linguistic forms, as it involves both sides' system of cultural norms and rules. In China, there are many linguistic forms of greeting questions that are not intended to require details, but are simply meant as a 'hello' or just expressing concern. However, when such linguistic forms of Chinese greetings are transferred to another social-cultural context, they appear irrelevant and intrusive in a sense. Therefore, those who have no previous life experience in China would find it weird that Chinese people go around and greet people by asking, "Have you eaten yet?" (你吃了吗 *nǐ chī le ma*) and "Where are you heading to?" (你上哪儿去 *nǐ shàng nǎ ér qù*). Not surprisingly, the former one is often wrongly interpreted by foreigners that Chinese people are interested in inviting them for a meal together and thereby cause embarrassing moments for both sides. The latter one is believed to be intrusive into a private life with a certain subtext that 'why should I tell you where I am going?' Therefore, bearing cultural greetings practice in mind, it would be advised to keep an open mind as Matt suggested, "*I'm surprised by what you've said, but I'm not going to take in an offensive manner*".

Another example of unacceptable linguistic form in the context of cross-cultural interaction is the way foreigners (or white westerners) are addressed in a particular way in China and some Asian countries. Mary (BG-2, 35:28) viewed it as rude to call 'a foreigner' 'laowai'. Max (BG-2, 35:35) observed that the same was true in Indonesia as white westerners were referred to as "bule". Max further commented that "*some different cultures have a particular word for foreigner meaning foreigner, so their culture accepts, or believes people outside their culture is separate*" while in Britain people would refer to foreigners, in a courteous way, by their country, instead of lumping all different ethnic groups together. However, such British perception really boggles the Chinese mind, as this slang word is not meant to be unfriendly or offensive. Most Chinese people would argue that 'wàiguórén', the standard Chinese translation for 'foreigner', is too formal and stuffy, but the colloquial usage and informality of 'Laowai' is not pejorative at all, as evidenced by its literal meaning. Precisely, this slang word derives from the combination of the honorific title '*Lao'* used before a surname (e.g. *Lao* Wang) denoting seniority and

informality, and the abbreviation of the Chinese translation ‘wàiguórén’ of ‘foreigner’ into *wai* with semantic pun intended, “outside”.

4.4.1.2 Non-translated Linguistic Form?

Some particular linguistic forms in the Chinese socio-cultural context imply ideas and norms specific to Chinese culture, and their English translation is therefore unintelligible in the context of a non-Chinese culture. In this sense, these linguistic forms conveying wide cultural implications are expected to be kept intact with a unique bundle of cultural features. For example, Mei (MG-3, 8:56), a Chinese student, proposed a self-perception of ‘relationship’ in English in the context of ‘mixed’ group (See the excerpt below), which exactly was the literal meaning of ‘*guanxi*’ (关系), the crucial part of Chinese social life. The British moderator had an uncertain image and asked how this rough translation was accompanied by any definition or meaning. Interestingly, while Mei (MG-3, 8:59) was trying to explain this feature in English, Jerry (MG-3, 9:00), a Canada student, obviously picked up on what she said in low murmur “*guanxi*” (关系) in Chinese and further suggested (MG-3, 9:08) “*Can we say “guanxi” in English*?” He presumably implied that people could not take for granted equivalence between the English and Chinese languages as the English translation cannot sufficiently describe what the term reflects, hence the hope that it might simply be carried across into English. Although the Chinese student Ning (MG-3, 9:10) positively responded to Jerry’s suggestion, as, apparently, this cultural feature was so salient that the expats would not fail to notice and take it lightly, but still the moderator answered in the negative. The British student, Matt (MG-3, 9:15, 9:20), joined in to help interpret its proper meaning in English. Given the possible translations, ‘personal ties’, ‘social connections’, ‘personal connections’, ‘family bonding’, the Chinese assistant moderator pointed out ‘guanxi’ was more personal than social. Matt (MG-3, 9:51) concluded by getting straight to the core of the concept “*it’s not what you know but who you know*”, which indicated ‘guanxi’ took on such an eminent role in Chinese society.

Excerpt 16

Mei (Chinese):	'Relationship'!
Moderator:	How do you mean "relationships"?
Mei (Chinese):	Means really, really putting emphasis (**Jerry** (Canadian) murmured: Guanxi) on people's relationship, 'Guanxi' he said.
Moderator:	Right, ok, could we say 'personal ties', or would that be 'personal ties'?
Mei (Chinese):	Yeah, I think it maybe it's that.
Ning (Chinese):	'Guanxi' (Jerry (Canadian): Can we say 'Guanxi' in English?) Yeah.
Moderator:	Not that, I know of (Laughter)
Matt (British):	It's, yeah, it's relationship
Moderator:	Yes, not necessarily family (Matt (British): No, it's just connection) including family but in fact social connections.
Mei (Chinese):	Yeah, I think so. (Ning (Chinese): Yeah
Moderator:	Yeah, ok,
Mei (Chinese):	Family bonding
Jerry (Canadian):	Social connections
Moderator:	Yeah, ok, so I don't, I mean, I thought I could write down here, er, I don't know personal ties, social connections, personal connections, and family bonding (Chinese Assistant Moderator: It's less social, I think, than personal connection) More social than personal? (**C**hinese Assistant Moderator: No, more personal than social). More personal, yeah, if I write down personal connections (Mei (Chinese): Yeah) Ok.
Matt (British):	I think it's a bit like it's not what you know but who you know.
Moderator:	Aha, I see, yeah, so personal connections, right

(MG-3, 8:56)

The rough English translations of '*guanxi*', 'relationships' or 'connections', apparently can't sufficiently tell the whole picture of how it is working in practice in China. Thus, this particular linguistic form, '*guanxi*', has become more widely used in Western media, but such rough translations as 'personal connections' does not do justice to the fundamental, and complex, concept of *guanxi*, as discussed later.

Conclusion of 4.4.1:

A linguistic form is a way of conveying stereotypical perceptions within a cultural context. The participants discovered that, from the perspective of an outsider to a given culture, certain linguistic forms used in a specific cultural context could be perceived as being intangible, confusing, or even

offensive. They suggested two aspects of different linguistic forms in the British and Chinese cultural contexts. One is that of the offensive linguistic form. Take stereotypical perceptions of how British and Chinese people greet each other as an example. The way Chinese people greet each other usually causes embarrassment or offense to outsiders as it is common to say 'you've gained some weight' or enquire 'have you eaten', which is phrased as a question but in actuality is not a question, rather it has significant historical connotations, related to a time when food was scarce in China. In the present, it is meant as a gesture of concern and friendship to another person. Conversely, the way British people typically greet each other by asking 'How are you' can be very frustrating to their Chinese counterparts as it is intended as a simply greeting but to the Chinese, is seen as a more in-depth enquiry meriting a detailed response. As can be seen, a simple greeting is the most basic form of linguistic interaction. However, in cross-cultural contexts, the linguistic form used can be misinterpreted leading to frustration. Another is that of non-translated linguistic form. For example, the notion of 'guanxi' cannot be sufficiently conveyed in plain English as it encapsulates cultural practice and social norms at a much deeper level. Hence, the literal translation does not sufficiently convey the full meaning. Therefore, when stereotypical perceptions are made and communicated, cross-cultural interactants should bear in mind the cultural subtleties in different linguist forms.

4.4.2 Meanings of Stereotypical Traits in the Cross-Cultural Context

It should have become clear that stereotypical traits can be ambiguous when taken out of context, the British and Chinese participants' perceptions of themselves and each other could only be better understood when considering the socio-cultural context in which the traits were constructed. The way the British and Chinese participants' exchanged their stereotypical viewpoints within and across groups enabled observations of how stereotypical ideas were conceptualised in different linguistic and cultural context, and handled in a cross-cultural setting.

When the moderator asked the British participants to provide illustrations to support their propositions on "*polite*" British and "*friendly*" Chinese, the differences between these two traits stood out given their connotations from the individual perspectives, rather than the universal definition offered by the authoritative dictionaries. Max (MG-1, 11:49) suggested that '*polite*' should be the top one of the British self-stereotypes, without any disagreement from the group. He personally believed that generally

people in Britain treated others *politely*, in an insufferably way, though, which he seemed to disapprove it. Gab (MG-1, 14:12) later reminded other participants of the 'north-south divide' in England with the clear intention of conveying that British politeness was about being 'reserved'. Carl (MG-1, 11:49) provided a clear statement of what 'politeness' meant to him, "*Politeness is being nice to people, but you don't really mean it, isn't it*?" followed by laughter, indicating this subtle behavioural tendency was agreeable to them. Regarding Chinese' being *friendly*, Sally (MG-1, 14:25) illuminated that "*Chinese come across as more genuine than polite*". In this way, the British participants clearly defined British 'politeness' as good manners and respect out of social rules while Chinese 'friendliness' as sincerity with less socially correctness.

In the 'mixed' group-1 conducted in China, the lively discussion of the trait, '*patriotic*', across groups, raised cultural connotations (See Excerpt blow). The Chinese local student, Zhi (MG-1, 26:39), suggested rating "*patriotic*" as one of the top Chinese self-perceptions, with her group members being in agreement. She (MG-1, 27:52) asserted the positivity and essentiality of this trait upheld in Chinese culture when the moderator asked her if she believed it should be encouraged. Zhi's assertion aroused Carl's (MG-1, 28:02) query about Chinese 'nationalism' and asked for her opinion about the well-known extremist attitude of 'my country, right or wrong', that is, patriotism for the Chinese meant the unthinking support of the country, even if it might be acting badly. Zhi (MG-1, 28:09) responded that patriotism should not go beyond rationality and take an extreme form but be applied at the appropriate level as below:

Excerpt 17

Moderator:	So, cool phrase, 'Chinese are patriotic'. Do you guys (local Chinese students) have anything to say about that? Do you think 'patriotic' is a good thing, yes?
Zhi (Chinese):	Yes!
Moderator:	Why?
Zhi (Chinese):	I think it is a fundamental requirement for Chinese.
Moderator:	Being Chinese, ok?
Carl (British):	Can I ask a question? If you criticise that 'my country, whether right or wrong'?
Zhi (Chinese):	Yes, there should be a level. Yes, so, everything can be two parts to the degree, should be controlled in the degree. So, if someone is too patriotic, that's not good, it's passive.

(MG-1, 26:39)

Carl's (BG-1, 49:18) query derived from his observation revealed in the 'separate' group discussion, as he said: "*They (The Chinese) are also much more nationalistic than we are, much more, you know, if you give, if you want to get a Chinese person to do something, er, or you want to stop them from doing something that you don't want them do, you just tell them that they'll be, bring the China into disrepute (laughter), and it's amazing how quickly they respond to that idea*." However, he apparently withheld his argument with Zhi in the context of 'mix' group. Still, Carl's observation and Zhi's acknowledgment can be taken to explain the continuing impact of the state-led patriotic education campaign launched in 1991, which aims at re-establishing the Chinese people's political beliefs in loyalty to the communist state and morality among the populace.

In the 'mixed' group-2 organised in China, Kim (MG-2, 12:48) described the British as being "in some way, patriotic", which caused very mixed reactions from the other British participants. It seemed clear that Kim (MG-2, 12:51) was delineating the nuanced notion of British patriotism in some way, which was challenged by Sally (MG-2, 13:02) who questioned whether his "*patriotism is a so a good thing*?" in an ironic fashion, because laughter followed. Then Mary's (MG-2, 13:09) comment "confused" came, which presumably was on the account of patriotism Kim had given. When it came to rating 'patriotism' in a positive or negative scale, Mary (MG-2, 16:46) found it very difficult. She sighed "*I just don't think we are patriotic*", which was jokingly encouraged by Neil (MG-2, 16:50) to develop a sense of 'patriotism' on the ground of the Queen and the British majority in favour of monarchy. Still, Mary (MG-2, 17:03) went on to defend the lack of patriotism in British society, compared with the Chinese notion of 'patriotism', based on her observation of Chinese people's loyalty and dedication to their country in their beliefs that "*I will work harder. I will try to help society. I am trying to make my country move forward"*. She obviously acknowledged Chinese notion of patriotism as what "it should be" and did not think, "*we have that at all in Britain*." Again, Sally (MG-2, 17:17) claimed, "*it's a different brand of patriotism*", which clearly marked the British type of patriotism and the meaning of patriotism could be different across cultures. Sally raised an awareness of patriotism as consisting of substantive content of the themes related to individuals' emotional attachment to their Nation, Society, and Community in different cultural context.

In 'mixed' group 2, Chinese local students were trying to confirm from the British participants about the positivity or negativity of their perceived trait of Chinese being '*ambitious*' (See Excerpt below). Mary

(MG-2, 63:27) assigned '*ambitious*' to Chinese and Phil (MG-2, 17:17) tentatively gave the positive rating of '*+2*', which met with no objection within the British group. When the moderator moved on to the next section and asked if there existed any discrepancy between the British/Chinese participants' views of themselves and those viewed by their counterparts, a Chinese local student, Liang (MG-2, 73:38) was not sure if the British students' term '*ambition*' was meant to apply at an individual level or at the national level. For the Chinese English majors, this word could be very ambiguous and open to both positive (a) and negative (b) interpretations, as its Chinese translation reflected in most authoritative dictionaries: 1 (a) strong desire to achieve something: 志向；抱负；志气 (b) particular desire of this kind: 某项特别的雄心；野心. Thus, in Chinese, the trait 'ambition' may run the gauntlet from a positively inspiring desire to succeed to a negatively wild desire to achieve something. Responding to Liang's confusion, Mary (MG-2, 73:58) illustrated by giving an example of the 'ambitious' British students who set their life goal as going to prestigious universities, which was well-received by Chinese students as this was what most Chinese parents and their children strived for. Liang (MG-2, 74:11) explained that he misunderstood and thought Mary had indicated China's booming economy drove its '*wild ambition*' to become a great power in a negative way as in the biased western media, which could also be the evidence that Liang's conscious 'patriotism' put his nation first. His (MG-2, 74:42) later response to the moderator's question on if Chinese people subordinated their personal ambition to the fulfilment of the nation's success shed light on Mary's understanding of Chinese 'patriotism' as Liang believed that China's success and prosperity rely on every individual Chinese people's ambition to strive for shared goals.

Excerpt 18

Liang (Chinese): What does the word "Ambitious" mean?
Moderator: 'Ambitious' means have
Maude (British): that means to succeed
Philip (British): You have to succeed
Mei (Chinese): 有抱负的，有理想的, very strong desire to succeed
Maude (British): Yeah, like, you know, all the British students want to go to oxford or Cambridge or Harvard. We are ambitious. (Moderator: Like the goal) Yeah, life goal.
Moderator: For themselves
Maude (British): Yeah

Liang (Chinese): Yes, I have ambition, I think your ambition mean something, for example, in our country, the economy is growing stronger and stronger so I think your ambition means something about

Maude (British): Oh, you know, that's personal ambition.

Liang (Chinese): Ok, I see (Maude (British): Yeah

Moderator: Right, cause that would be in China that would be higher than you want yourself to succeed but you want your country to succeed?

Liang (Chinese): Of course, we can help solve all kind of things because the country is made up of or composed of people. If everyone has such ambition, of course the country one day it will have the tendency or vacancy.

(MG-2, 73:38)

These cross-cultural interactants, to some extent, proved to be more open-minded and capable than others to define the cross-culturally different activity types, e.g. how and why local people greet each other. They took into the account the social context and determined the characteristics that an activity should satisfy to be constructed as an appropriate stereotypical description. For example, in 'mixed' group-2, a Korean student, Mei (MG-2, 33:38), who was studying Chinese but obviously not confident in her English, and a Chinese student acted as an interpreter for her, described China as "在公共地方很乱，很挤" (Chinese interpreter: In public place, very messy and crowded). the Chinese interpreter went on to illustrate that "*for example, at bus station, when the bus comes and all the people push each other, fight for*", which trigger a lively discussion on what was going on at the bus station as below.

Excerpt 19

Mei (Korean): 在公共地方很乱，很挤

Moderator: Competitive, maybe?

Nancy (American): Rude?

(Laughter)

Chinese students: No!

(Laughter)

Nancy (American): It is weird because they are super polite.

Xiu (Chinese): 'Selfish', caring about their face but in the situation, in another place

Beth (American): It's result of that competition. They can't be polite or that can't get on it. They have to be aggressive, there is no other way.

Nancy (American): Even we are polite we get on the bus.

Will (French): The word 'rude', it can be different 'rude'. The British people always say

thank you, 12 times a day. The Chinese people, like you give them a bowl of noodles, they never say thank you, because they know it's normal, you don't need to say thanks. It won't change friends. Ok, she was right. So, 'rude', Yes!

Moderator: (Asking Chinese students) There seems have to be, might be true or at least some percentage?

Will (French): Yeah, yeah, percentage!

Xiu (Chinese): Maybe it's just they are just 'selfish'.

Moderator: Chinese?

Xiu (Chinese): Yes, selfish, because they want to have a seat for himself.

Moderator: Interesting!

Liang (Chinese): Maybe it's just say the pace of life. (Laughter) They have to face many many things. They have many things to do so they crowded without.

Xiu (Chinese): They should do?

Moderator: Do you mean something changes over the last few years?

Liang (Chinese): Because the pace of life, 我们说的生活节奏加快，还有竞争加快，我是这样理解的。(Translation: In my understanding, it is because of the fast pace of life and the competitive society.)

Moderator: What about doing like this? We try to stay with the international students' viewpoint.

Nancy (American): They do the same, they do the brilliance, and they just see you, do you want to be my friend? Let's go out. Let's make friends. I will pay the dinner for everybody.

Moderator: Yeah, I agree. I think there are a lot of contrasts.

Beth (American): I think it's cultural. It's not conscious of being rude. They still have no another way (36:00)

Moderator: We just put it down, 'orders'. Now we are talking about 'chaos'. (Laughter) I think it's fine. I think we can add to these. So do you want me to put 'chaos' down or 'messy'

Will (French): 'Competitive' may be the best word

(MG-2, 33:38)

We can see that the moderator (MG-2, 33:56) suggested "*competitive*", while the American student, Nancy (MG-2, 33:57), tentatively suggested "*rude*", which was negatively responded to by all Chinese students immediately. It was nice, though, that, members of different groups (British, Chinese, and international) felt able to openly criticise each other's values and habits like this. Still, it was worth noting that the Chinese students' negative response implied that they did not think rudeness was relevant in this situation. It was good to see that the three international students from America and France did not jump to this conclusion, given the visibility of what was going on in the situation, but argued the meaning-

in-context of the controversial trait, just like rugby players have to bind together and push against each other for the sake of the game. Beth (MG-2, 36:57), another American student, disapprovingly noted that being rude was a result of the competitive life in China. Presumably, she had a very close observation or experience, being polite in such situation meant being left behind and waiting for the next bus, given that most public bus services in China's cities did not run on a specific timetable. This was evidenced by Mary's (BG-2, 49:49) elaboration as she described her tube experience, "They don't care either. That is true, I mean trying to get on the tube in Beijing, I mean, you have to get your elbow out and nobody cares, and it's just like a fight, and they let some of you on it, some of you are left behind". Still, Will (MG-2, 34:23), a French student, was in favour of Nancy's proposition of 'rude'. He illustrated this by comparing the Chinese people's lack of use of 'thank you' when being served to the British "say thank you 12 times a day". While the international students were arguing, the stereotyped group, Chinese students, also spoke up for themselves, for example, Xiu (MG-2, 34:53) self-criticised Chinese people as "*selfish*" because they just wanted themselves to get on it, without caring others. Liang (MG-2, 35:06) implied that it was "*the fast pace of life"* and "*competitive* society" that kept the Chinese constantly on the run. Nancy (MG-2, 34:53) later found her proposition a bit controversial as Chinese people she had met before behaved in a friendly and generous way. Beth (MG-2, 35:55) insisted that Chinese people were not meaning to be '*rude*' and would behave differently if their living conditions were easier. Eventually, Will (MG-2, 36:26) accepted '*competitive*' was the most appropriate term used to describe this situation.

It is very interesting to look at the way the different groups exchanged viewpoints and reached a compromised perception of British and Chinese cultures. Participants respected each other's individual first-hand experiences and perceptions in relation to their own backgrounds. Cross-cultural interactants appeared open-minded to different cultures and they were aware of cultural differences and understood some of the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the stereotyped-groups, by not only their own culture and values, but also their counterparts' values. In 'mixed' group-1, when it was the international group turn to talk about China, Xin (MG-1, 36:47), a Thai student, gave her view of "China has a *good weather*", with the help of a Chinese student's English translation. Ben (MG-1, 36:57), an American student, found it understandable due to the relatively hot weather in Xin's country, Thailand. Gab (MG-1, 36:58), a British student, cut it and meant to say it is not necessarily as good as Xin indicated. Ben (MG-1, 37:03)

was jokingly British could be reputed to have good weather in a sense that it would reduce the Thailand's heat. It can be seen that Ben (MG-1, 37:08) understood and supported why Xin made this proposition.

Excerpt 20

Xin (Thailand):	Chinese interpreter: A stereotype from Xin, "good weather, China has a good weather."
	(Laughter)
Ben (American):	That's right. Thailand is really hot, right?
Gab (British):	Sounds all the way.
Ben (American):	British also has good weather
	(Laughter)
Ben (American):	But she can say it.

(MG-1, 36:47)

Conclusion of 4.4.2:

Stereotypical traits can be open to interpretation when taken out of the specific cultural context. It is very inspiring to see that the participants as real-life interactants appeared to have a deep appreciation of the subtleties of linguistic meaning. On the one hand, they were able to pick up on the nuisances of specific stereotypical traits. For example, British 'politeness' which is used to ease social interaction but may not be sincere whereas Chinese 'friendliness' was seen to be genuine warmth. On the other hand, they came to understand that certain stereotypical traits could embody different cultural connotations. For example, the participants believed the notion of 'patriotism' is associated with the emphasis of Chinese individuals' belief in allegiance and devotion to their country while for the British it is closely linked to a sense of national pride and the monarchy (i.e. 'God save the Queen'). In addition, the participants displayed their ability to define stereotypical traits in a specific cultural context. Following intense debate on how Chinese people behave when boarding a bus, their behaviour was at first perceived as 'rudeness', but later the participants agreed that 'competiveness' was a fairer evaluation as it was observed to be a common feature of daily Chinese life and reflected the 'competitive' nature of Chinese society. In this sense, the meaning-in-context can be very crucial to the communication of stereotypical traits.

4.4.3 Cultural Context Determines Valence of Stereotypical Traits

Traits evaluation was found to be largely dependent of specific context. The type of response involved clear value judgments on behalf of the participants. According to Wierzbicka's (1992) *Semantic Natural Meta-Language Framework*, some stereotypical traits are not culturally neutral but characteristic of culturally specific ways of thinking. Let's take cultural attitudes towards money for example, British participants gave rating of '-2' to their perception of Chinese people's 'making money a high priority', and Chris (MG-1, 6:29) commented that "We may see it as negatively while they (Chinese) think it positively", followed by suppressed laughter. Chris's assumption seemed to make sense, given the obvious evidence that the rapid increase in the Forbe's China Rich List made China one of the countries with the largest collections of rich individuals， one of the most Chinese New Year Greetings is 恭喜发财 (Gōngxǐ fācái, 'Happiness and prosperity!') and the number of 'Eight' ('Ba' in Chinese) is the most welcome in Chinese culture, as its pronunciation is similar to 发 ('Fa', meaning 'wealth' or 'fortune'), *etc*. Leo (MG-3, 56:53) reckoned that it was most likely that what outsiders believed to be positive stereotypes might be negative for the stereotyped groups, and that was when cross-cultural interactants really got down to different values of stereotypical perceptions in different cultural contexts.

In (China) Mixed Group 2, despite the fact that there was a general agreement amongst Chinese local students that 'patriotism' was given the most positive rating of '+3', as the Top 4 feature of Chinese culture, the British participants negatively rated Chinese 'patriotism' as '-1'. Also, the British group seemed to disagree with each other on whether the British type of patriotism is good or bad. Mary found it so difficult to rate British patriotism as she did not think 'patriotism' could be defined in the way that Chinese patriotism captured the core components of the term in the ordinary sense. Sally suggested that 'It's a different brand of patriotism' in Britain, implying the notion of patriotism did not entail adopting the similar institutions. Finally, Phil suggested a neutral rating of '0', which was elicited no objections.

China's 'large population' was presented by Chinese overseas students in both mixed group sessions and both groups gave negative rating of '-1' with the full consciousness that this sensitive topic involved the "one-child policy", which spotlighted the human right issues made by the western media. It

is less admirable that China ranks No. 1 in the world by total population. For the sake of developing China's political, economic, and social development, the one-child policy was implemented to alleviate overpopulation issues, which proved successful regarding population control but aroused controversy as a policy and attracted international criticism. Interestingly, the three international students from Estonia, Sweden and Canada, in the (UK) Mixed Group 2, provided different perspectives on 'large population' (and 'one-child policy') and reached an agreement on a positive rating of '1' (See Excerpt 21). As we can see, Nina represented the mainstream viewpoint and suggested a negative rating of China's 'large population'. Then, Jason pointed out a fact that "*It's large but not growing*" implying Chinese government' effective control of this issue. Jam further commented that China's 'one-child policy' was strategic for the country in response to the drastic population growth rate. Contrary to Chinese participants' negative rating, either from being unsupportive of this harsh implementation or the pressure from outside China, labelling human right abuse, these three international students, who had expatriate life in China, gave positive rating on this sensitive issue with a more realistic approach.

Excerpt 21

Nina (Estonia): So what about "*Population*"? I think it's definitely a bad thing, is it like overwhelming world and in 50 years (Jason: Yeah), 100 years it will all the Chinese.

Jam (Sweden): Well, a lot of Chinese (Nina: Yeah, laughter)

Jason (Canada): Well, I mean it's large but not growing, so that's

Nina (Estonia): Em, I don't know, but it's difficult to judge, isn't it? You can't judge, but it's surprising, in some parts of China, you haven't got the "*one-child policy*", presumably in the cities

Jason (Canada): Some people say it's different in countryside

Nina (Estonia): But the policy is usually like it.

Jason (Canada): But the rich people in cities are like, if you have money then you can have more child. But people in the country they can't afford it, but sometimes, they

Jam (Sweden): That's a politics, rather than the actual stigma

Jason (Canada): It's still the administration, the administrative issue. I would say '-2'

Nina (Estonia): Shall we say it negative, -2?

Jam (Sweden): The policy itself has a purpose.

Jason (Canada): The policy itself is good the way they, it's very sporadic sometimes they abort the child. Some people have 3 children if they're rich. So that's

Nina (Estonia): Shall we say the policy itself was bad or good or average?

Jam (Sweden): Well, if you can take it and put it in any country, it's definitely bad (Nina: Yeah, definitely) for the state of china it has to be there. I guess it had to be there, it's a neutral issue depending on where you are, (Nina: yeah) I mean (Nina: It is a

good thing though) I mean it's a means of carrying out the one-child policy, it is not necessarily, do you know what I mean?

Jason (Canada): Yeah!

Nina (Estonia): It's the idea itself.

Jam (Sweden): Yeah, you have to have the right to choose

Jason (Canada): We say '1'?

Jam (Sweden): Yeah!

Nina (Estonia): Yeah!

(MG-2, 25:20)

Conclusion of 4.4.3:

With an increasing awareness of culturally different evaluations of stereotypical traits, the participants came to understand that the valence of any given traits is often determined by culturally specific reasoning. This was revealed in the participants' viewpoints on British and Chinese cultural attitudes towards "money", 'patriotism' and 'China's large population'. As presented above, the British participants critically viewed and negatively evaluated the Chinese cultural perspective of the importance of wealth and its core role in society, as 'money' is commonly used to convey good wishes on Chinese New Year and through the practice of giving 'red-envelopes' on such other important occasions as weddings, birthdays and new business openings. In this sense, 'money' is effectively used as a yardstick to measure intangibles, like love, relationships, friendships and family loyalty. However, from the British perspective, 'money' is still indicative of social status but in most cases its subject is 'muted' in social interactions.

Hence, it would be enlightening for cross-cultural interactants to evaluate the stereotypical traits in a bilinear manner by considering the given traits in the context of their own culture, as well as the need to bear in mind that valence of the given traits could have a different perspective in the stereotyped groups. Such an approach would effectively obviate potential embarrassment, misunderstandings, or even offense in the context of cross-cultural interaction.

4.5 BRITISH & CHINESE SELF- & OTHER- STEREOTYPES

Stereotypes research is often lacking in empirical studies focused on mutual perceptions. Moreover, stereotypical presentations are taken to be widely accepted without further exploration of how the uniqueness of each stereotypic trait encodes the cultural norms and values into the perceiver's patterns of interaction and formulation. Hence, incorporating an explanatory element from the perspective of perceivers is essential for the accuracy of stereotypes and smoother interaction. The purpose of the section of the thesis was to get participants to think about what traits or features they associate with their own cultures as well as the target cultures. Participants were encouraged to generate their opinions freely and expected to fire away as many stereotypical perceptions as possible, based on how they collectively and personally perceive the two cultures, which enables us to have a more precise understanding of their constructs of themselves and their counterparts.

As we shall see, the discussions vigorously revealed British and Chinese participants' points of view on their own cultures and enlightening experiences in their target cultures. Participants used the multiple components to describe their self- and other-stereotypes, which were not only conceived as involving traits ascribed to a group but also "composed of more than a simple bundle of adjectives" (Yzerbyt, Rocher, & Schadron, 1997). The stereotypical knowledge or perceptions on the salient cultural features include all the phenomena perceived immediately when encountering a new culture, e.g. the observable reality of personality traits, behaviour patterns, lifestyle, language use, unconscious routines, habits, and the underlying assumptions, e.g. social norms and values, ideologies, economic and political institutions, etc. Hans Gullestrup (2006) suggest that they all could be of equal importance for cultural understanding, and they represent cultural categories that in principle can be sensed and recognised by others.

It is worth investigating self- and other- stereotypes for what are supposed to evoke, and illuminating the way participants shared individual perspectives and personal cross-cultural experiences in 'separate' groups and communicated self- and other-stereotypes in 'mixed' groups. Also, as research on the distinction of stereotypical perceptions between personal beliefs and social knowledge is ambiguous, stereotypes differentiation of personal beliefs and social perceptions was explored in considerable detail in this section. According to Devine (1989), personal beliefs are a set of propositions

endorsed and accepted as true at the level of individual perceiver, and social perceptions are stereotypical knowledge of what is consensually shared about a group label. Personal beliefs may or may not be congruent with social knowledge of stereotypes.

4.5.1 The British on Self

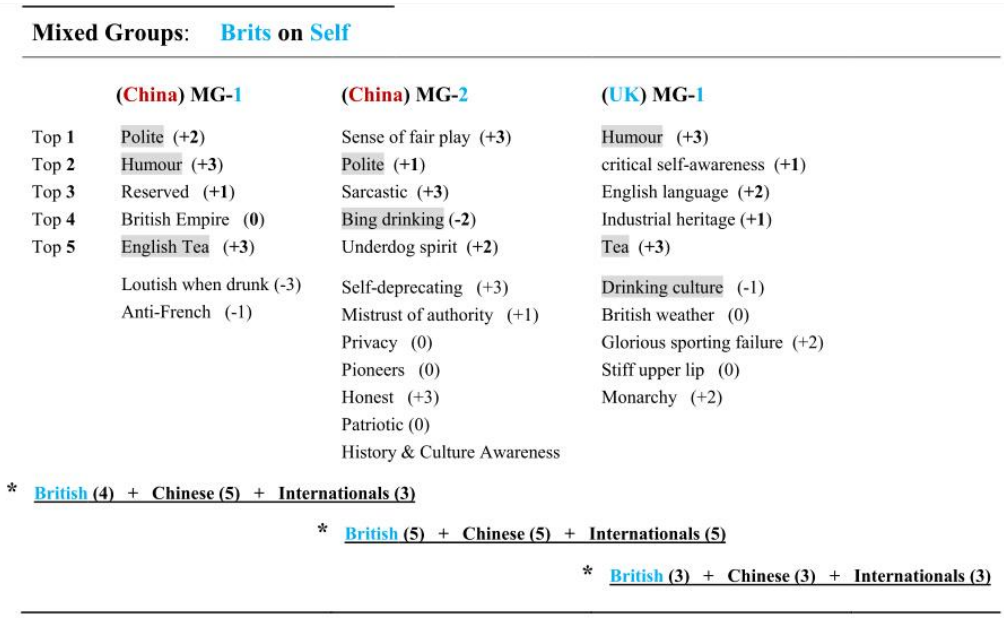
British participants provided valuable and interesting insights into their 'self-stereotype' in 'separate' groups (See Figure 4.11) and 'mixed' groups (See Figure 4.12). They revealed the way they look at their culture as originating from both their personal beliefs and social perceptions.

Figure 4.11

Separate Groups: British on Self

BG - 1 (6)	BG - 2 (4)	BG - 3 (3)
Gentleman	Love to stereotype	Identity
Arrogant	Humour	Glorious sporting failure
Big drinkers	Polite	Public obsession with sports
Sophisticated	Football hooligans	Talk about weather
Well-educated	Drunks	Tea (& afternoon tea)
Effectiveness-valued	Social status determined by language	Binge-drinking
Individuality-prized	Small country with 4 distinct cultures	Industrial history
Solidarity when necessary	Identity	English language
Identity crisis	Colonial British	Class consciousness
Stiff upper lip	Outward looking	Individual rights
Protective about privacy	Seafaring	Acceptance of difference
Etiquette		Self-critical awareness
Reserve		Renowned (freest) BBC
Talk about weather		Violent
English tea		Chavs
No respect for age		British comedy & Humour

Figure 4.12



British participants personally tried to encapsulate their own culture. For example, Kim (BG -1, 17:00) viewed Britons in a way more consistent with widely perceived stereotypical image of "*English gentleman*", which was readily available to his consciousness as he said, "I mean once again". Neil (BG-1, 17:07) "honestly" suggested that the British are maybe "*arrogant*", given the name 'Great Britain' itself as well as the 'rich', 'historic' and 'singular' British culture in comparison to other cultures. Kim (BG -1, 17:36) supported Neil's proposition of 'arrogant' by referring to some hearsay idea that British people hide their pride in their country and they particularly proud of hiding it, which he admitted *"… I kind of agree with that actually*". Mary (BG-1, 27:52) personally held that the fact that "*British people actually really enjoy stereotypes*" boosted British people's sense of *humour*. Interestingly, Matt (BG-3, 25:33) felt the need to almost apologise for expressing such a positive British stereotype as he put "… *I'm nervous to say this but I think it's a very fair country in respects of rights to the individual's human rights, as in there's a lot of laws protecting the individual against discrimination, etc., so think it's quite a liberal country in that respect*."

When considering particular stereotypical traits or characteristics more or less prevalent in British culture, participants recognised the relativity of stereotype and confirmed their personal views from their observation and comparison in their cross-cultural life experiences. Matt (BG-3, 10:12) put it

"*I sometimes say, say about being British, well, yes, I suppose we are quite resilient and being stiff upper lip and all that kind of things, you know, you do pride yourself on that, compared to, say, other nations. So, yeah, I think it definitely works both ways, so it depends on the situation*". Sally (BG-1, 19:53) endorsed the attribute of British being '*well-educated'* as she emphasized British education as having a massive subsidy, ample opportunities and overall a system better than most other nations such as Thailand where she was sure that "*the level of education isn't as good universally*". Also, Sally (BG-1, 25:42) viewed British people as being very 'protective about privacy and etiquette' after she read a text in a Chinese book regarding the thematic and behavioural tendency in Chinese people's daily interaction, and said to their teacher "*Would a Chinese person actually say this because it's just seems really, really rude*?" Willy (BG-2, 27:04) commented, "*Britain is an incredibly small country, compared to other countries*." Carl (BG-1, 32:23) confirmed Sally's (BG-1, 31:50) predominant stereotype of '*age*' in America, which was opposite to that of Asian culture, and further commented on English people's 'disrespectfulness of age', given his observation in China. This was supported by Kim's (BG-1, 32:31) illustration with his friend's experience in Korea and it seemed to him that this attribute in Asian countries were more distinctive. Colin (BG-3, 26:16) claimed that Britain is a very accepting country in comparison with other nations given the phenomenon of racism across Europe. In his opinion, "*there's slight problem with racism (in Britain) but they're very much, er, very much, you know, very much marginalised*." Matt (BG-3, 29:17) supported Colin's proposition, as evidenced by the fact that "*Britain was one of the first countries to accept civil partnerships throughout the world*."

After detecting the salient characteristics of group difference, participants furthered their observations by considering the underlying cultural factors that might minimise confusions or misperceptions, and foster more understanding and accepting of particular stereotypical traits. For example, Mary (BG-2, 33:29) had reinforced her belief about British people's 'outward looking' stance since she came to China and found out that most Chinese people seldom travelled abroad while for British people it was extremely normal to travel abroad quite regularly. She (BG-2, 34:10) positively responded to the moderator's "*good stereotypes on Britain as an Island and seafaring nation*", which inspired people's desire to travel from a historical and geographical point of view. Willy (BG-2, 34:28) agreed and was explicit about people's financial status as a determinant regarding the hobby of travelling. He believed many British people regarded travelling as a rite of passage to expand their

visions, but he personally did not see the advantage of travelling for being open-minded. Mary insisted that travelling at least captured people with a sense of identity for 'foreigners', instead of the stereotypical 'rudeness' of the Chinese way to address all westerners as 'foreigners', in a general way but not the country he/she was from. Max (BG-2, 35:35) confirmed this by pointing out the particular term for foreigners, as 'laowai' in China, 'bulei' in Indonesia, and the same was true in Thai. Mike (BG-2, 36:15) was not sure if it showed certain characteristics of Britons by specifying the country people came from and he doubted it might be a European thing as they were "*so close together, but there are so many different countries*". It has long been said that travelling broadens people's minds. It is indeed true that most Chinese people are not fond of the idea of foreign travel due to the high cost and lifestyle. According to the World Tourism Organisation, the number of overseas trips made by Chinese people was just 5m 15 years ago, but surged from 70m in 2011 to 100m by the end of the decade as a result of China's economic growth and changed priorities[15]. Also, the use of the English language on an international trip would be a daunting prospect for most Chinese people, but it seems too natural for the native English speakers to be aware of the language barrier. Hence, the common Chinese slang 'laowai' is applicable for all 'foreigners' as they are not able to tell the exact country westerners come from.

As discussed previously, the strength of focus group is particularly to create opportunities for participants to lay out his or her thinking in detail, obtain reactions, and generate debates or collective ideas. An individual experience often acts as a trigger to start a discussion. For example, Carl (BG-1, 20:31) found out that '*effectiveness'* is highly valued in England while diligence is prized in China, and he invited comments and feedback from his group members.

[15] *Chinese to become biggest spenders as record numbers head overseas*, the Guardian, by Tania Branigan, 17 August 2012.

Excerpt 22

Carl: My view of it, I mean, compared with China as an example, here diligence is valued very highly whereas in England, I think, effectiveness is valued more highly so you know, here they will waste hours and hours and hours studying ineffectively whereas in England we try and do as little study as possible but make it count. (Laughter) Do people agree with that?

Sally: Yeah.

Laura: School diligence is obviously a kind of ??? hardly any ???

Carl: I mean it never used to be like that but it certainly is now, isn't it?

Neil: Yeah, it's almost the person who's the most creative, and doing the work fastest that gets the most Kudos, compared to the person who spends hours doing it, (Carl: yeah), doing it over and over.

(BG -1, 20:31)

When participants were asked to talk about their social opinions of what people held about themselves as British, participants managed to split up their personal beliefs and social knowledge and revealed how their personal beliefs were or weren't congruent with what was generally known about British stereotypes. For example, in BG-3, nobody defied the images of British '*industrial heritage'* and 'English language', as the implications for the country and the world were self-evident. Colin (BG-3, 22:21) believed that the contribution of English literature to the world, e.g. such big British figures as Shakespeare, the DH Lawrence, Dickens, all played a tremendous role in promoting British presence in the modern world, and had a profound influence on the global impact of the English language. Matt's (BG-3, 23:26) language-learning experience convinced him that "*it's quite unique to separate the British from the other English speaking nations*". Max (BG-2, 29:36) claimed, "*The (English) language shows our social status is determined by the way you speak and what accent they use*". Sally (BG-1, 25:42) suggested some internal stereotypes about Brits are of their own making, like '*stiff upper lip*', (British people bore their plight with stoicism and fortitude), '*etiquette*', and '*reserve*'. Mary (BG-2, 28:15) believed Brits might measure up to their image of 'polite' despite the fact that it was difficult to generalise. However, Neil (BG-1, 26:19) pointed out that such good attributes depended on whether Britons travel locally or further away from Britain, as such attributes might "go out of the window" if they travelled to Spain or France while the further they travelled the more their own culture became more distinct. Kim (BG-2, 28:25) responded with the apparent contradictory 'football hooligans' indicating the manners of English fans were *impolite*, leading to an unsettled argument about their compatibility.

Excerpt 23

Mary: I think British people would, maybe polite? I guess.
Kim: Except the football hooligans who are impolite.
Mary: Well, apart from if they bumped into you on the tube, they would probably say sorry.
Max: Well, but then the football hooligans dress differently and therefore you'd know that they were different. (Willy: but they're both British) ah, well, actually, if you, if you.

(BG-2, 28:20)

Though counting is not the strength of focus group research, it is noteworthy to point out that certain traits seemed to be Brits' fair share of cultural stereotypes. For example, English 'weather talk', 'etiquette' and 'English tea culture' proposed by participants from two separate groups, 'binge-drinking' and 'identity' suggested across the three separate groups, and 'politeness', 'humour', 'English tea' and 'drinking culture' presented in two out of three mixed group sessions. (See Figure 4.11 & 4.12). Let's take a look at the debatable '*binge-drinking*' and '*identity*'.

In BG-1, the perception of British 'drinking culture' intrigued a debate among participants. Laura (BG-1, 18:00) was aware that the images of British "big drinkers" was constantly captured in "fly-on-the-wall documentaries", esp., in holiday resorts, like Magaluf in Spain, and the contemporarily dominant perception of Britain and Ireland on the Continental Europe was "definitively" seen as the "instigators" of a Booze drink culture. Carl (BG-1, 18:27) personally confirmed such European perception with reference to the high "per capita drinking" but this contention was immediately challenged by Kim (BG-1, 18:38), who was suspicious of it. In BG-2, when the session got down to discuss the participants' set of prevailing views within the country about Brits, Mike (BG-2, 28:44) suggested British 'drunks', followed by Mary's (BG-2, 28:45) positive confirmation. This idea was helped by Max's (BG-2, 7:08) elaboration of his experience in Spain. He felt very embarrassed, depressed and shameful of British drinking revellers abroad and spoke German all the way to exclude himself from some hostile or unfavourable situations to avoid outsiders' association between him and a drunken British. In BG-3, Matt (BG-3, 20:46) felt compelled to suggest a negative side of British culture, 'binge-drinking' and he started off in a cushioned way by emphasising his proposition was mentioned by some other British

participants in the earlier session[16]. He continued by asserting that this prevalent perception was acknowledged by the outsiders as "*a lot of my Chinese friends did always ask me about it, it's one of the first things they talked about so*." Colin's (BG-3, 21:01) assumed that non-Brits stereotypical knowledge extended because the Lonely Planet's introduced Britain as a 'binge drinking island', which indicated his awareness of possible source for such influential depiction.

'Identity' appeared to be a practical issue for the participants themselves as well. It was probably harder for the Welsh, Scottish and Irish, as participants agreed. In BG-1, interestingly, when the moderator (BG-1, 00:13), who is New Zealander, was trying to initiate the discussion, he used 'England' to indicate where the participants who attended were from. Vic (BG-1, 00:15) immediately 'corrected' him by responding "*Britain! Thank you*!" in a friendly and light way. Vic (BG-1, 22:10), with a heavy Scottish accent, suggested the 'identity' issue of 'English' and 'British', which intrigued participants' reflections on their actual experiences. She first observed that, when going abroad, a lot of English people were prone to say they were from 'England' while those who were Irish, Scottish, Welsh tended to say 'British' followed by their own country. Sally (BG-1, 22:29) confirmed Vic's self-stereotypical view by admitting that she would primarily say she was English not British outside Britain. Also, she was trying to explain this by referring to her contact with Chinese English learners, as it was 'English' language that made people think of 'England' as a country more easily. Vic (BG-1, 22:08) further remarked that it could be even more confusing in China as "'*England' and 'Britain' is the same word*" and 'the English' is most often used wrongly in reference to all the people from four disparate countries, due to Chinese people's lack of understanding on the history of the making of the UK. It is true that the Chinese translation, 'yīng guó rén', could be applied to both 'the English' and 'the British', shown in such dictionaries as Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English with Chinese Translation (4th ed., 1989). This dictionaries also clearly states, "the English: the people of England (sometimes wrongly used to mean the British, i.e. to include the Scots, the Welsh and the Irish*)* (p.501)". Neil (BG-1, 23:12) and Carl (BG-1, 23:22) implied Brits were confused about the suggested 'nationality' when filling out visa forms or checking out the internet drop-down menus, regarding 'U' for United

[16] Since Matt attended to the scheduled session ahead of time, he was present while the earlier group was discussing 'binge drinking'.

Kingdom, ‘G’ for Great Britain, or ‘E’ for England. Carl (BG-1, 24:02) concluded in a light way that “*it’s no wonder we have an identity crisis*”, followed by laughter. Given the nature of British ‘identity’ involving the political, cultural, social identities and values, it was thought that Carl’ (BG-1, 24:44) suggestion of specifying individual national identity, like the Welsh, the Scottish, etc. rather than ‘general’ identity (the British), to some extent, had averted confusion when travelling abroad. However, Vic (BG-1, 25:02) believed it created arguably a more well known stereotype that these three countries, the Welsh, the Irish, and the Scottish, “being all nationalistic”, wanted to be independent from Britain. Still, she nicely distanced herself from this stereotype.

In BG-2, the participants were obviously aware of outsiders’ perceptions and confusion about the British ‘identity’ issue. When Mary (BG-2, 30:43) pointed out that “*prevalent stereotypes from outside Britain are about English people, not about the Scots, the Welsh or the Irish*”, Willy (BG-2, 30:52) cut in, confirming that “*It’s very true. They kind of forget about the Scots*.” Thereby, the confusion of British ‘identity’ for people both home and abroad seems very common. Max (BG -2, 31:38) indicated that the ‘Colonial British’ stereotype, to some extent, was a result of the established ‘British’ identity, without respect to its disparate mixture.

In BG-3, when the moderator started participants talking about their knowledge of their own culture, Colin (BG-3, 18:22) implied it was not easy to define ‘Britishness’ as he said “*First about Britain, right*? (Moderator: Britain, yeah, first of all, Britain, British culture) *Britain has four countries, hasn’t it*?” It was obvious, for Colin, that despite the basis of their unity, he found it difficult to identify the quality of embodying British characteristics. Matt (BG-2, 21:19) expressed the same idea that recalled his study experience in the course of international relations, in which a professor required them to identify themselves as British man. He did not associate himself with football hooliganism, BMP, Daily Mail, Conservative Party as his course-mates did.

Conclusion of 4.5.1:

Following the British participants focus group discussions on self-stereotypes, a number of themes became apparent:

Firstly, when British students were discussing self-stereotypes, they tried to encapsulate their understanding from a personal perspective, e.g. that of the 'English gentleman' and 'reserved' demeanour in polite society. They also referred to British stereotypes in a wider societal perspective, e.g. the English 'football hooligan' and 'binge drinker'. In relating these two perspectives, the British students acknowledged that their personal beliefs were not always congruent with the wider social stereotypes.

Secondly, as a result of their exposure to other cultures, the British participants were more reflective and self-critical on their stereotypes of themselves. For example, compared to their observations of Asian cultures, they believed British people held a more contemptuous view of "the aged" while in Asian cultures, the ageing population are often held in high regard. In the similar vein, they had a positive perspective on the 'well-educated' British, as they believed the British educational system was better than that of Thailand where they understood the level of education was of a lower standard. They also have a more precise appreciation of group differences, as can be seen in the example of highly valued 'effectiveness' in Britain whilst notably prized 'diligence' in China, regarding study techniques.

Thirdly, the British participants discovered deeper differences of cultural perspectives behind the specific stereotypical traits. For example, that of well-travelled British people were seen to have an "outward looking" stance while the Chinese were seen as being more "insular and inward looking". This is due to the fact as follows. 1) As a result of being "an Island and seafaring nation", British people were driven by the need to expand on the quest for new territories. However, a high percentage of Chinese citizens have never held a passport due to the high cost of travelling abroad, those Chinese citizens who do travel overseas represent a very small percentage of the total population. 2) This is also compounded by the fact that China itself is such a vast territory, with much geographical variety providing so many essential resources for the Chinese people, making travel largely unnecessary. 3) Traditionally, language has also been a barrier for the Chinese people to travel overseas. Given that

English is used as the international language, travelling appears easier for the British people while unrealistic for Chinese people without an English-speaking guide. These points would account for the observed British “outward looking” and Chinese “inward looking” stance, as the British participants believed that in the absence of people’s experience of travelling, people are assumed to have had no opportunity to broaden their minds.

4.5.2 The Chinese on Self

The recruited 13 Chinese participants were organised into 2 groups with 8 and 5 participants, due to their availability, instead of 3 ideal groups with 4 or 5 participants. Obviously, the eight participants in CG-1 were actively involved in heated discussion, which lasted one hour and thirty-eight minutes. Five attributes, ‘tolerant’, ‘family value’, ‘strong sense of human touch’, ‘tendency to be westernised’, and ‘patriotic’ were suggested by both separate groups (see Figure 4.13). Six attributes, ‘delicious food’, ‘Guanxi’, ‘cultural diversity’, ‘large population’, ‘long history’, and ‘hard-working’ were presented in both mixed group sessions (see Figure 4.14). The researcher’s cultural ‘insider’ status allows him/her to carry out interpreting the data “in a more sensitive and responsive manner” (Bishop, 2008:148)

Figure 4.13

Separate Groups: Chinese on Self

CG - 1 (9)	CG - 2 (4)
Authority & Hierarchy	Patriotic
Spirit of devotion	Friendly
Selfish	Growing global influence
Tolerant	Large population
Pursuit of harmony	Dependent (students & children)
Doctrine of golden mean	Tolerant
Money-driven society	Extensive & profound traditional culture
Strong sense of human touch / irrational	Delicious food
Family value	Strong sense of human touch
Focus on education	Family value
Contradictory nature of dispositions	Tendency to be westernised
Inscrutable	Fast pace of life
Face value	
Sense of insecurity	
Keeping up with the Joneses	
Racial vigour	
Collectivism	
Lack of spirit of solidarity / absence of social mind	
Mental & moral habits of a peaceful character	
Tendency to be westernised	
Highly sophisticated and enriching language	
Hospitality	
Generous	
Hard-working	
Honest	
Patriotic	

Figure 4.14

Mixed Group: Chinese on Self

	(UK) MG-1	(UK) MG-2
Top 1	Friendly (+3)	Large population (-1)
Top 2	Delicious food (+3)	Guanxi (-1)
Top 3	Family values (+3)	Long history (+2)
Top 4	Guanxi (-1)	Cuisine culture (+3)
Top 5	Cultural diversity (+2)	Hard-working (+2)
	Large population (-1)	Tolerant (+1)
	Long history (+3)	Culturally/ethnically diversity (+3)
	Industrious (+1)	Resilient (0)
	Chinese Tea (+3)	Wisdom (+1)

* British (4) + Chinese (5) + Internationals (3)

* British (3) + Chinese (3) + Internationals (3)

When talking about their personal views on Chinese culture, Yan (CG-1, 38:22) first claimed that 'authority' and 'hierarchy' were the most prominent characteristics she would like to stress based on her recent research on Chinese culture. In old China, the essence of the Confucian ethic was to bring about social order and harmony. The social hierarchy of the 'five cardinal relationships (in Chinese, 五伦, *wǔlún*, i.e. ruler-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder brother-younger brother, friend-friend), was devised for the superior to exercise their power and the inferior were supposed to show a deep reverence for authority. This rigid social hierarchy thus served as civilising influence on Chinese social behaviour and was the moral force for the proper functioning of society. Unlike the European landed aristocracy, there has been no permanent hereditary peerage in China. After the founding of new China in 1949, the political ideal for new Chinese government was to create equality of opportunity. *China General Social Survey* (CGSS), conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in 2008, suggested that China's new social hierarchy is determined by education, occupation, and income. Still, people are used to defining themselves in terms of social-economic status, and their subjective stratum identification revealed that stratification depends largely on political power as well as wealth and prestige.

Lai (CG-1, 40:08) suggested Chinese people were '*dedicated'* as well as '*selfish'*, which was responded negatively by Yu (CG-1, 40:18) as she doubted modern Chinese people's level of political consciousness and wholehearted dedication (esp. to the nation, a career, etc.), which aroused a discussion regarding the objectives, the way, the motivation of the act of dedicating. Mao (CG-1, 40:39) agreed with Lai's proposition and felt like he needed to add one more personal belief that Chinese people were somewhat '*tolerant'* as they preferred a '*harmonious'* society, instead of conflicting interpersonal relationships. Chinese '*tolerance'*, the capacity for putting up with sufferings as the famous saying goes "Lack of tolerance in small matters upsets great plans", is nurtured by both Taoists' mellow philosophy of life and Confucian ethics. Taoism concerns itself with the individual and spiritual life while Confucianism focuses on people's sociability and morality of life. People were inculcated to patient to accept life as it is and even passively resist in difficult times, devoid of the adventurous and heroic spirit of the West. Also, in his view, the idea of 'the doctrine of the golden mean' was one of the most striking characteristics of Chinese culture. Chinese people's worship of common sense breeds and encourages

the ‘moderation’, which is believed to be the central doctrine of Confucian humanism. The result of such belief in common sense, in contrast to logic in the west, therefore explains that it is, for a Chinese, not ‘logically correct’ but ‘in accord with human nature’ to justify a proposition and a typical Chinese judgment is ‘A is right, and B is not wrong either.’ ‘Moderation’ symbolises a way of life and a conduct in morals by holding on to ‘not extreme’ or ‘control to proper degree’, which is identical with ‘nothing too much’ ideal of the Greeks. However, Lv (CG-1, 40:52) challenged Mao and disapprovingly noted that “*superficial interpersonal harmony*” existed in Chinese society and people had just lined up against each other all too often.

Excerpt 24

Lv: I don’t agree!
Mao: It’s just my personal opinion, I mean.
Lv: I did not say you are wrong, but I just hold different viewpoint. For Chinese people, actually, it’s superficial. I mean, what you said, ‘the doctrine of the golden mean’ is superficial, and ‘harmony’ is superficial too (Mao: yeah, yeah!). People have got used to lining up against each other in this culture. They appear kind to one another but take others as opponents scheming against them. Also, I feel horrified that people are currently motivated only by money, which is what they care about.

(CG-1, 40:52)

Lv did touch the complicacy of ‘harmony’ in China as the scholar Huang (1999), in her book *Interpersonal Conflict and Harmony*, identifies two types of interpersonal harmony: superficial and realistic harmony. The former is a strategic interaction of dealing with people in insincere, cautious and defensive ways while the latter indicates more genuine cooperation and coordination, based on active, supportive, trustful interaction. Also, Lv (CG-1, 41:16) was acutely concerned with the “*money obsession*” in China. It is true that China’s economic reforms since 1978 have undoubtedly contributed to the state’s unprecedented economic growth, but the state’s economic focus has had adverse effects for its society with the growing gap between rich and poor and people’s unfettered pursuit of money. She worried that what people used to believe about their moral values and the meaning of their lives were gradually brushed away in such a money-driven society.

Mei (CG-1, 41:56) favoured Chinese people's particular 'strong sense of human touch' as it reflected in the ties of kinship and neighbours' warm association, which was positively responded by Yu while Lv was trying to cut in and make a negative comment. Still, Mei continued to suggest another characteristic, China's 'national emphasis on education'. Before she had chance to illustrate, we heard some controversy over her proposition and Lv's laughter implied that such focus on 'education' is not necessarily a positive attribute in the context of Chinese culture and society, which echoed other participants, as shown below.

Excerpt 25

Mei: I think, I think, we, Chinese people have very strong sense of human touch, like, our value in the family
Yu: Yeah, very much!
Mei: Our family bond, and our neighbours' warm association, these are particular
Lv: Sorry again, I don't think
Mei: And one more characteristics is the 'emphasis on education'.
Ping: Yes, we do!
Yu: 'Officialdom is the natural outlet for good scholars', the long-tradition in China.
Lv: Laughter
Ping: With respect to education, it has purpose!
Yu: The development of 'education' is just naturally out of Confucius ethics.

(CG-1, 41:56)

Lv (CG-1, 45:15) got her chance to make some comments on what had been previously discussed. She first positively implied that Lai (CG-1, 40:08) made a good start by talking about Chinese people's 'selfishness and dedication', which was indicative of how '*contradictory'* Chinese people's characters were. In her opinion, it was true that the values of 'family' had been retained in Chinese culture as Mei suggested, but it was different from what existed in the West. She pointed out the distance among Chinese family members who hardly felt warm intimacy due to the lack of open and direct display of their love and affection. Her statement was reasonably assumed from her life experience as she indicated, "*I am not sure of the contemporary Chinese families, but in the traditional family, members would not show their affections to each other."* To put it plainly, Lv suggested that the value of Chinese family was based on hierarchy and formal rules, rather than true intimacy. She went on to point out that, China's ideological educational philosophy was utilitarianism due to its relentless focus on exams and

career, which dated back to Graded-official Examination System in ancient China. Nowadays, a wholly utilitarian mind-set continues to define our basic approach to education. Chinese children, along with their parents, sacrifice entire childhoods to prepare for the gruelling exams all the way to almighty college entrance exam, which will largely determine their futures. Yu and Mao (CG-1, 46:41) responded to her view positively and shared the same concern.

While the discussion progressed revolving around the Chinese people's 'contradictory' characters, Yan (CG-1, 47:50) was told that Chinese smile was perceived as a most complicated thing by Western entrepreneurs when it comes to business negotiations. Lv (CG-1, 48:07) proceeded to conclude that Chinese people's '*inscrutability*' was revealed in that what they apparently said was not necessarily what they really meant. It was revealed from her work experience that her British workmates were too readily to take it seriously about what their Chinese business partners exactly said when conducting the Sino-British cooperation projects. She did not think her workmates were able to detect the subtlety in Chinese people's 'yes' and 'no'. This helps explain why Westerns have long complained about 'inscrutable' Chinese.

Yan (CG-1, 49:00) personally viewed 'patriotism' and 'collectivism' as the dominant value systems in China. Also, she made a special emphasis on the 'family value' as it was the pillar of Chinese society, from which the stability and harmony of statehood derives. In her understanding, 'family' is the nucleus of social organization, and moreover, the concept of 'family' was raised to a higher exponent to uphold social integrity. That is, Chinese people's group orientation was based on a family metaphor, for example, 'family' consciousness, for a school kid, was extended to the class he/she was in, to a company an employee was hired, to a working unit a civil servant worked, etc. A person is defined more by his/her group membership than by individual identity.

Ping (CG-1, 53:33) believed that Chinese people value their "*face*" and Yan (CG-1, 53:35) disapprovingly commented about the irrational use and value of 'face' in social life as revealed in the Chinese adage "puff oneself up at one's own cost" (死要面子活受罪 sǐ yào miàn zǐ huó shòu zuì). The popular notion of 'face', which was first imported into the English language from China reflecting people's public image, dignity, confidence and social status, is essential in Chinese culture to deal with everyday life. The difficulty is that the concept of 'face' has taken on two rather inconsistent

psychological facets: one is 面子 (miàn zǐ, outside face) and the other is 里子 (lǐ zǐ, inside face), which can be used in varied situations. An individual will be proud of having 'face' for his/her superior public image (e.g. social status, wealth, etc.), and gaining 'face' for achieving something honourable/difficult, while they will be ashamed of losing 'face' for being violated his/her dignity by someone else. That is why people will make efforts to save 'face' even if they are left in an embarrassing situation. Most often, Chinese people would offer 'face' to a person by going out of their way to do him/her a favour given their shared connection with someone. For example, a patient will receive more care and attention if he/she can drop the name of his/her friend, who the doctor happened to know. In this case, Westerners can easily get into trouble if they ignore the significance of Oriental-style honour and dignity. Interestingly, Yu (CG-1, 53:44) claimed that British people value their 'face' as well given her real-life observation.

Jing (CG-1, 59:10) emphasised that Chinese people possessed "*racial vigour*" throughout a few thousands of years of continuous history. From her understanding, the Chinese race was so "*strong*" that it remained as a nation despite the periodic conquests and dynastic cycles. Whenever foreign invasion occurred, the nation survived these disasters and in fact, it was strengthened by the infusion of new blood without losing its racial individuality or cultural continuity. Lv (CG-1, 60:37) apparently disagreed with Jing's illustration of Chinese 'racial vigour' and suggested the obvious aspects of Western influence in China. For example, celebrations of Western festivals (e.g. Chinese Christmas is more of a fashionable consumption rather than a religious occasion); the traditional wedding ceremony being replaced by the Western tradition of a white wedding dress with the father walking the bride down the aisle, going on honeymoon, etc. Therefore, she believed that Chinese culture was in a sense being 'westernised'. Western influence began dribbling into China since Deng Xiaoping's Reform and Opening up Policy in 1978. It was his political support and theoretical justification that allowed the significant changes to occur in China a few decades ago and perhaps best symbolises the initial start towards an increasingly intense relation with the outside world. Since then, foreign investment pouring into China serves as a driving force for China's rapid economic development and the growing high-income group to seek fashionable lifestyles. Young people found themselves irresistibly drawn to KFC, Starbucks, Hollywood films, highly anticipated British and American TV series, celebrating Western festivals, etc. It is unquestionable that the Western influence to some extent caused Chinese youth's

gradual ignorance of old traditions and customs. However, the phenomenon of 'westernisation', as far as Jing (CG-1, 60:40) could judge, existed in a very superficial way. She believed that the young people's fancy for Christmas, Valentines' day, etc., would fade away as they grew more mature, and most Chinese cultural values, despite westernisation, are still remarkably persistent.

Contrary to Yan's (CG-1, 52:42) research on traditional collectivism with family-mind extending to the social and national level, as the famous saying goes, "修身，齐家，治国，平天下 (xiū shēn, qí jiā, zhì guó, píng tiān xià, translation: cultivate oneself, bring order to the family, govern the country, bring peace to all)", Ping (CG-1, 60:37) insisted that modern Chinese people were 'lack of spirit of solidarity' or 'absent of social mind'. Other participants were actively involved in the discussion and agreed with Ping, as we can see from the following excerpt.

Excerpt 26

Ping: I think we are not solitary personality type, or lack the spirit of solidarity. Then, due to this, people are absent of social mind and would rather keep themselves out of the situation (Lv: Yes!) Yes, he is not willing to be part of it. Generally speaking, it is so true. (Lv: Never make waves! laughter) Nearly 99% people neither participate nor fight for chance. (Lv: Yeah)
Lai: It has something to do with our Doctrine of the Golden Mean.
Yan: This also reflected our cultural psychology (Lai: Yeah!) because we all learned that 'The garden that attracts too much attention gets destroyed soon'.
Jing: Yeah!
Ping: 'The nail that sticks up mostly gets hammered down' (laughter)

(CG-1, 60:37)

When Chinese participants were asked to generate as many social attributes as they could think of for their own culture as a whole, they fired away almost effortlessly and the tradition-linked traits being nationally and internationally promulgated came out in quick succession (CG-1, 63:29) (See Excerpt 27). They appeared quite familiar with how Chinese official sources painted the country. The image of the country that emerged from their descriptions was, perhaps unsurprising, too schematized presentations or slogans to most Chinese people, aiming to boost national confidence and prosperity that China has historically enjoyed. In this sense, self-stereotypes can be presented as being involved in a process to be positively constructed and propagandized to represent one's own ethnic group.

Excerpt 27

Yu: Hospitable!
Yan: Generous.
Lv: Hard-working
Mao: Friendly
Lai: Honest, rigorous
Lv: Considerate, wise
Jing: Polite
Mao: Patriotic
Yu: Tolerant
Yan: Hard-working, brave, kind

(CG-1, 63:29)

Conclusion of 4.5.2:

As a result of the Chinese participants' focus group discussions, the following areas of debate were key in their arguments:

Firstly, the Chinese participants actively engaged in the discussions and were very articulate in their viewpoints of Chinese culture, in both a personal and social perspective. Obviously, it took no time at all for the Chinese participants to extol the many virtues of nationalism and socialism, presumably due to their ingrained ideology as a result of the Chinese educational system and nationalist propaganda. A sample of the traits most frequently mentioned were 'hard-working', 'kind-hearted', 'brave', 'hospitable', etc. From their personal perspectives, the Chinese participants discussed at length the values and ethics they believed Chinese society holds dear. Some of these traits would be familiar to westerners, e.g. 'authority', 'hierarchy', 'honour', etc. Other traits discussed were uniquely Chinese. For example, the cultural phenomenon of 'face' (a form of honorific system associated with politeness and social standing), 'strong sense of human touch' (a particular Chinese way to show great concern and kindness to others in need) and 'the doctrine of the golden mean' (another trait exclusive to Chinese culture, in which two extremes reconciled into a middle-ground position).

Secondly, the Chinese participants enthusiastically described the essence of traditional Chinese culture and made observations about the rapid change of modern Chinese society. 1) In respect of their

views on tradition-linked traits, they made numerous references to Confucianism and Taoism as the basis of traditional Chinese values and morality. For example, 'harmony' is a concept which traces its roots back to ancient China and was a core component of Confucianism. It originally came from music, whereby various instruments and sounds were combined into a harmonious piece of music. Under Confucianism, music was believed to have transformative powers, which had the ability to shape the listeners' minds and encourage a more civilised society, thus creating balance within individuals, nature and society. China's rapid economic growth widened the gap between social classes, causing social injustice and inequality. As a response, the Chinese government promoted the social ideology of the 'harmonious society' to resolve the societal conflict. This philosophy has recently been extended by the new Chinese government to have an international dimension, with a focus on peace and cooperation, with the intention of achieving a 'harmonious world'. 2) In respect of their views on modern Chinese society, the participants were very concerned about the phenomena of emerging values and outlooks, e.g. the 'money-driven culture', money-driven culture being of particular concern (refer to Conclusion of 4.4.3) and 'the increasing influence of western society'. As a consequence of the 1970s reforms, China has been subjected to increasing westernisation and commercialism. However, the participants believed that this would not displace traditional Chinese values.

Thirdly, the Chinese participants observed the contradictions in the nature of particular Chinese traits and described an apparent symbiosis of contradictory traits. For example, the Chinese were said to be, on the one hand, 'dedicated', 'patriotic' and with a sense of 'collectivism', whilst on the other hand, they were 'selfish', 'lacking in spirit of solidarity' and 'absent of social mind'. For example, as generally agreed, Chinese culture is known to be characteristic of collectivism, which is very different from the individualism often seen in western cultures. However, as Yutang Lin (1934) wrote in *My Country and My People*, that the Chinese are a society of families consisting of individualists, who are family-minded, as opposed to social-minded. One example of this observed by the British participants was the tendency of Chinese people who push each other when boarding a bus/train totally unaware of what is going on around them. Hence, the family-mindedness appears to be a form of amplified selfishness.

4.5.3 The British on the Chinese

Now that British participants had all been in China for a while, their pre-arrival stereotypes about China and Chinese culture became part of their empirical situation. When entering a totally new culture, people are actively engaged in cross-cultural reality, which has a direct impact on their prior knowledge about the target culture. The way the British students shared their stereotypical perceptions on Chinese culture can be seen in the following three aspects:

Firstly, some British participants claimed that their preconceived images of China had been reinforced. For example, Laura (BG-1, 33:21) addressed the attribute, '*bad driver*', which sprang to her mind immediately when she came to China. It was the only stereotypical knowledge in consistent with her initial perceptions and had only been consolidated. Kim (BG-1, 42:20) claimed that he had considered it quite a negative reputation that China had long been acknowledged as a world-manufacturing factory as labelled '*made in China*', instead of 'designed in China', due to China's duplicating products with a national creativity and innovation deficit. Such prior knowledge proved 'more correct' with his 'more communication' with local people in China.

Figure 4.15

Separate Groups: British on Chinese

BG - 1 (6)	BG - 2 (4)	BG - 3 (3)
Nationalistic	Communism	Communism
Bad driver	Commercialism	Distinctive food
Complicated language	Naïve	Hardworking
Communism (restrictive, no free press)	Collectivist	strong work ethics
'Made in China' with a lack of creativity	Indirect	Achievement-oriented
Historically ancient culture	Individually driven	lack of individualism
Arrogant well-off Chinese	No personal space	Friendly
Maintain community-based life	Extremely patriotic	Welcoming hosts
Highest provincially inequality	Puzzling use of 'Thank you'	Shy
More health conscious	Level/meaning of privacy	Reserved
Less environmentally conscious	Sexual subjects are taboo	
Generally lack of respect for the rules	Western media bias	
Money-driven society		
Claimed environmental consciousness		
Image of Patriarchal family		

Figure 4.16

Mixed Groups: British on Chinese

	(China) MG-1	(China) MG-2	(UK) MG-2
Top 1	Chinese Tea (+3)	Patriotic (-1)	Sense of history (+3)
Top 2	Friendly (+2) & Hospitable (+2)	Friendly (+3)	Human right issues (-3)
Top 3	***	Serious (+1)	Adaptability (+2)
Top 4	Poor driving etiquette (-2)	Ambitious (+2) & Opportunist (+1)	Cheap labour & low quality goods (0)
Top 5	Make money a high priority (-2)	***	Lack of social welfare (-2)
	Spit on the floor (-2)	Hospitable (+3)	Food (0)
		Materialistic (-2)	Cultural homogeneity (-2)
			Communism (-2)
			Pollution (-1)
			National-institutional pride (0)

* British (4) + Chinese (5) + Internationals (3)

* British (5) + Chinese (5) + Internationals (5)

* British (3) + Chinese (3) + Internationals (3)

Secondly, some participants also elaborated that their stereotypical perceptions were modified in some way. For example, Vic (BG-1, 33:36) had a preconceived belief that it was hopeless for adults to learn the Chinese language well since it was one of the '*most complicated*' languages. When she immersed herself in the target culture seeing the characters learned from books and hearing Chinese snippets on films, she found there was a real prospect of having a good command of the Chinese language. Sarah (BG-1, 40:57) preconceived notion was that Chinese fathers as relatively not connected with children's activities but such stereotypical image of the 'patriarchal family' was replaced with the functional father-children relationship. Mary (BG-2, 44:54) felt 'disappointed' as she had not had what other participants described their prior image of the traditional China as paddy fields, cobbled streets, Beijing Hutong, red lanterns, etc. She anchored the discrepancy between what she described as the very "*communist* China in 1980s" with "…*masses and masses of young people waving a little red book, or um, faceless politic bureau members ordering*…" and the reality of "*this socialism with a Chinese character*" she saw herself in China. Max (BG-2, 45:27) felt the same way about the inconsistency between communist communities and "*commercialism*" in China. Sally (BG-1, 48:26) and Kim (BG-1, 48:52) explicitly expressed her favour concerning the Chinese style of on-going practice of "*maintaining its community bases*", despite its' being a generally expected worldwide socially living and working practice. British participants were obviously interested in such unique phenomenon in China.

After dinner, couples or families just went out for a walk, both young and old people engaged in chatting or playing games (e.g. Majiang, chess), and women in their 60s enjoyed line-dancing in public for 'evening' excise, which was different from England where people would just sit at home watching TV.

Thirdly, the participants started talking about their post-arrival perceptions, which they did not have before. Here, the participants focused on different aspects of Chinese culture and life. These practitioners were open-minded enough to speak out the different opinions and share their experiences, and eventually they reached a number of logical conclusion regarding their observations. Laura (BG-1, 43:41) pointed out that she had not noticed the '*arrogant well-off Chinese people*' untill she was in China. She obviously disapproved of them by the way they behave as if they were superior to the waiters, waitresses and shop assistants because they made a lot of money. China is reputed to be a state with a long tradition of etiquette and ceremonies, the country has redefined its role in global economy since the 1978 reform, leading to an increase of affluent middle class. For the Westerners, would the people grow arrogant as the country rises?

Vic (BG-1, 44:21) also shared what she had just discovered during her stay in China about people's '*consciousness of keeping healthy*', which echoed other participants. She could not understand people's excessive worries about their health as having a cold could be a big deal enough to be nagged by twenty people suggesting going to the hospital and seeing a doctor. In the meantime, she realised British NHS health care to some extent assured them of health problems and spending, as Laura (BG-1, 44:50) added that things were incredibly logical if British people fell sick. This may explain why some Chinese students complained about their consultations with a doctor in Britain when having a cold, sore throat or headache, as they were only suggested drinking more water, instead being given a prescription for antibiotics or drips as Chinese doctors would. It is true, though, Chinese people's rising health awareness follows an increasing disease burden and income growth, together with the concept of 'regimen' rooted in Chinese traditional medical theory.

While living in China, Carl (BG-1, 46:55) observed that China was a '*money-driven society*' as the Chinese always put the acquisition of money before everything else, which undermined protection of the culture and protecting the environment. Laura (BG-1, 47:04) added that the Chinese viewed

themselves as "*incredibly environmentally conscious*" was contradictory to how foreigners perceived them. Neil (BG-1, 47:55) further commented upon this view:

Excerpt 28

> **Neil**: Cause we went to the diary, we went to, like mountain, for example, I got to take some pictures and on the way down, and we need to go to the toilet, we walked down to this track, and this track was just covered in litter. You've never seen so much litter on on track. We walked back to the top, spotless! It was almost like, I wanted to take or I just want to take a picture of the track to show the contrast to.
>
> (BG-1, 47:55)

Carl (BG-1, 49:18) found the Chinese people were much more "nationalistic", as he said "*if you want to get a Chinese person to do something, er, or you want to stop them from doing something that you don't want them to do, you just tell them that they'll bring the China into disrepute, and it's amazing how quickly they respond to that idea, compared to, say if you did that to an English person, they say – I won't swear – but you know they seem to be the same case*." It is true with Chinese people as they were cultivated to comply with School discipline, school regulations, and develop collective concern, strong collective sense of honour. Willy (BG-2, 47:06) observed that China looked very "collectivist" as people tended to live their lives alike and act in a similar manner. However, Mike (BG-2, 48:49) spotted that the Chinese people were not purely collectivist but could be driven to the point of 'individualistic'. He observed the Chinese people all pushed to get in to the bus without considering what was around them, while "*in England, you might have people moving out of the way so you can walk by, if you're walking slightly faster, that never happens in China and you have people who just kind of walk zigzag down the road*". Mary (BG-2, 49:49) agreed and shared her tube experience in Beijing that "*That is true, I mean trying to get on the tube in Beijing. I mean, you have to get your elbows out and nobody cares and it's just like a fight and they let some of you on it, some of you are left behind*."

Willy (BG-2, 51:52) also prompted other participants to reflect on the contradictions regarding the sense of '*personal space*' in China, which was immediately obvious to most foreigners. He claimed that British people had a strong sense of personal space and did not like people standing too close to them. Still, it was accepted for a British man to get close to his female friends by hugging and kissing them on

the cheeks, which always seemed to make for an uncomfortable and awkward situation in China. For him, even Chinese family members did not hug or kiss each other but Chinese people did not mind "*being absolutely wedged up against each other*". Mary (BG-2, 52:13) confirmed Willy's view. Max (BG-2, 60:48) suggested that there was a big difference in the "*level and meaning of privacy*" between European and Chinese culture. He elaborated that when he first went and saw a doctor, he expected the consultation to be in a private room but it turned out that half a dozen people were just standing around him and looking at him, and he had to choose an expensive hospital as they had private consultation rooms. The moderator from New Zealand (BG-2, 61:34) shared a similar experience with three people closely lining up behind him, but they were already talking to the doctor about their problems while the doctor did his case.

Hall's concept of a 'personal reaction bubble' in *The Hidden Dimension* (1966) delineates public space, social space, personal space and intimate space, does not take into consideration the elements determining a culture's concept of 'space'. In Britain, it is customary to hug or kiss when meeting acquaintances, friends, or among family members, while such human contact, for Chinese, is culturally connected to intimacy between young couples. Given their reserved and implicit nature, Chinese people tend to shy away from expressing intimate emotions in public, which are regarded as perverse and obscene. Also, China's incredibly large population definitely contribute to the lack of public/social/personal space. With urbanisation, the densely populous cities minimise the invisible zones surrounding each other and people naturally adapt by surrendering their personal space and disregarding others' presence. It is impossible not to neglect others' personal territory, for example, 4-6 students crammed into a dormitory, bathing together in a large shower room at most Chinese universities, the open bathroom in a communal stall, etc. It is not surprising at all that foreigners living in China always find their personal space or privacy minimised.

Max (BG-2, 53:37) noted that what he observed, '*sexual subjects are taboo*' in China could be a post-arrival stereotype, Mary (BG-2, 53:52) implicitly did not agree with him and her view was supported by the Australian assistant moderator. The participants were well aware of the phenomenon and touched on a few aspects of this particularly sensitive topic in China. First, the sexual subject was ruled off-limits to discuss in a classroom setting. As an intensely private matter, sexual topics are avoided in the general public and in communications between parents and children. Moreover, people also find it

awkward to share their experience with their friends. For the Australian assistant moderator and some foreigners, they were allowed to have one-on-one conversation with their Chinese friends or students, mostly because some Chinese would feel less constrained under such circumstances as westerners are perceived to be open about sex. Second, since China's reform and opening-up in 1978, Chinese people's perception of sex has been altered as a result of rapid economic development and western cultures' influence. It is now common that many younger Chinese engage in premarital sex, while a few decades ago, the few who dared to try were frowned upon. However, they do not have adequate knowledge of sex and sexual health.

Excerpt 28

Max: Again sexual subjects, something I teach at school, sexual subjects are taboo. That is one!

Mary: Do you think so?

Max: Well, I would say so.

Mary: Maybe between teachers and students, but

Max: No, I think it's sometimes between, you know, teenagers, talking about sexual issues.

Assistant moderator: Maybe, official communication about sex is taboo, but I have a lot of conversations on a one-on-one level. So many more formal situations, it's a taboo.

Mary: What I think is, it's certainly, you know, vast numbers of Chinese teenager girls have abortions and I've been told that, erm, they often just completely mess up their contraception because they get all of their information from their friends and you know their girl-cousins or whatever, but they can never ask their parents or their teachers, so I think you are right. Official or intergenerational communication is perhaps not very good, but with your mates, no problem.

(BG-2, 53:37)

Apparently, some participants discovered some unspoken rules of Chinese behaviour in relation to '*the use of thank-you*'. According to Willy's (BG-2, 55:26) observation, it depended on the situation in which Chinese people would or would not say '*thank you'.* That is, people did not say it to anybody if it's his/her job to provide the service, like, in a restaurant or café, but people would say it if someone was going out his/her way to help them, like, asking for directions, etc. In Mary's (BG-2, 56:13) understanding, Chinese people did not want to say thank-you too much, as they would think it was subservient and make them lose face. Also, the way Chinese people dealt with frequent use of thank you aroused the participants' interest. Through his 6-month home-stay experience, Mike (BG-2, 56:01) found his host family reacted in a "shuddered" way whenever he was saying thank you, they acted like

he should not be saying it. Willy (BG-2, 56:17) also talked about his awkward situation when meeting with his Chinese girlfriend's families. He expected both parties to learn to say *please*, and *thank you* in each other's languages, instead of being asked "What's your honourable name?", which he understood it was "*formal*" in Chinese context but "*rude*" in British context. The moderator joined the discussion to support their opinions by sharing his experience with his Chinese girlfriend, whom complained about his frequent use of thank you to her even if she just got him a drink, as it indicated the distance between them. For the moderator, one of the Chinese social rules might be that "*you shouldn't say to someone who is so close to you*." In Chinese, the words '见外' (pinyin: *jiànwài*) is used to describe his girlfriend's exact reaction to such situation, which means she felt she was being treated as a stranger or an outsider.

The work mentality of "work to live" or "live to work" in two cultures could be detected in the British students' group discussion. Matt (BG-3, 32:10) personally developed the impression that Chinese were definitely '*hardworking'* in all respects. Bonny (BG-3, 32:36) also noticed the Chinese cultural tendency to be "*work-oriented*" with only a couple of days off a year, but she doubted if people had the passion to work hard on their own, rather than a sense of obligation to work. Matt (BG-3, 32:52) and Colin (BG-3, 33:02) agreed that people's habit of simply getting on with work somehow fit with the image of the worker nation, with their coined metaphors "the world's production elf", "batteries", and "drone". Matt (BG-3, 34:12) moved on to extend the trait of Chinese people's 'determination' embedded in work ethos to school kids' '*achievement oriented*' through his teaching experience with Chinese students. He observed that school kids developed a very 'determined' attitude toward their studies as they had a strong faith that "*they must do well, they must pass with high marks*."

British people do not follow this fashion, and they are more individualistic. They are not afraid of standing out as they are confident of going against the grain, without a care for what other people think. Chinese people '*act like sheep*', one goes and the others follow. They follow each other far too often in their lives, in need of acceptance from others. It is a tribal mentality. Another impressive aspect to life in China was that there was a lot of '*respect for the elderly*'. At the supermarket, at the cinema, at government offices, they have special lines that give these individuals priority. It is common to see the young children or adults offering their seats to the elderly with a smile.

As we can see in Figure 4.7, the outstanding image of what all three groups of British participants associated with China was '*communism*', which was believed to be the social opinion held by most British people. Most British participants (Matt: BG-3, 31:16; Colin: BG-2, 31:29) admitted that their biggest stereotype of China and Chinese culture was that all Chinese were communists and their culture was all about communism, the communist party", and "the communist party revolution, etc. Obviously, not all Chinese are communists, as they understood, and the number of CPC members only account for 60% of China's total population of 1.4 billion.

Given the fact that the two countries are immensely disparate in political form, the 'restraint', 'nationalism', 'no free press' and 'seriousness' of communism had the same resonance for all British participants and uncovered significant cross-cultural differences. Sally (BG-1, 37:46) talked about her mother and friends' worries that she and her husband were going to be locked up if they went to China, and advanced a typical and imaginative perception of China as a communist country. She took a practical turn by explaining that their fear of 'red' China was due to a lack of transparency of the media and communism ideology being 'unknown' to them. She clarified their worries that China was restrictive or had a political-system different in some ways but not to the extent to what they assumed, which was what they developed an impression after being in China for a while. Kim (BG-1, 39:05) confirmed the two rival camps of political systems – capitalist and socialist countries and the media got used to playing on "good democracy" and "bad communism". He assumed that this fear could be traced back to the historical western countries' conflict during the cold war with communist Russia. Kim came to understand that China had a different kind of communism as it said, echoed Carl (BG-1, 39:25), and he added later "… *I think the difference actually for me is that, erm, I expected people's lives to be more tightly controlled than actually they seem to be. It has got it Chinese characteristics*". Interestingly, when Matt (BG-3, 36:38) suggested that China is a "friendly" nation, instead of "threatening" nation, Colin (BG-3, 36:44) interrupted and put it in an interesting way that "*Collectively, I think people think of it as being threatening. There is outward aggression. But actually, but individually, people think of them as being quite shy and being sort of, I'd say welcoming. But in the sense, you know, the media has this whole paranoia of Chinese aggression*."

Conclusion of 4.5.3:

Given their cross-cultural experience in China, the British participants found it interesting to compare their preconceived ideas about the Chinese culture with their actual real-life experiences in China.

Firstly, the British students' pre-arrival stereotypes were born out by their experiences whilst immersed in the Chinese culture. For example, in the stereotypical bad attitude of Chinese motorists, which for the British participants proved to be true. In order to deal with this, they had to 'give up' their road courtesy and adapt to their driving/cycling manner in China.

Secondly, the British students found, in some cases, their preconceived ideas were incorrect and they were forced to reformulate their perceptions with the addition of new information based on their real-life experiences. This can be illustrated in the British participants' views on the role of fatherhood in the Chinese family, whereby the father figure is believed to have minimal involvement in the upbringing of children. Given the benefit of their overseas experience, the British students found this was not the case.

Thirdly, the British participants reported that they came to appreciate many aspects of Chinese life that were not part of their original pre-arrival perceptions. For example, compared to the British preference for a sense of 'privacy', the Chinese have very different ideas on the notion of 'personal space'. When visiting the doctor, it is not uncommon to have several other patients in the same room whilst you are having your consultation. Still, the participants understood that this was part of the reality of living in such a highly populated country as China.

4.5.4 The Chinese on the British

The Chinese participants gave a detailed account of what they had experienced and observed in British culture. Their perspectives on the country and its people in separate and mixed groups are summarised in Figure 4.17 and Figure 4.18. The overlapped traits generated in two-sequence sessions were "*gentleman*" and "*emotionally distant*", with the additional one "*reserved*" in two separate groups and "*humour*" in two mixed groups.

Figure 4.17

Separate Groups: Chinese on British

CG - 1 (9)	CG - 2 (4)
Fish & Chips	Friendly
Gentleman	Racism
Concern for the vulnerable	Traditional
Obsession with privacy	Violent
Independence-prized	Reserved
Face value	Antisocial teenager
Emotionally distant	Boring nightlife
Sense of space	Pubs
Positive work-life balance	Emotionally distant
Stick to the issues without taking it personally	Gentleman
Rigorous	
Queuing	
Reserved	
Social inhibition	

Figure 4.18

Mixed Group: Chinese on British

	(UK) MG-1	(UK) MG-2
Top 1	Gentlemen (+2)	Imperial history (+1)
Top 2	Pubs (+1)	Gentlemen (+2)
Top 3	Football (+3)	Respect for heritage (+2)
Top 4	Relaxing lifestyle (+0)	Emotionally distant (-1)
Top 5	Unafraid of bad weather (+2)	Good at time management (+2)
	Humorous (+1)	Emphasis on critical thinking
	Crazily creative (+1)	Humour
	Fascinating rock music (+2)	Privacy
	Violence (-2)	Well-organised intuitions
	Emotionally distant (-1)	Arrogant
	Boring (-1)	Focus on education of children

* British (4) + Chinese (5) + Internationals (3)

* British (3) + Chinese (3) + Internationals (3)

When the moderator got the Chinese students to think of their real-life perceptions in Britain, Jing's (CG-1, 1:10:14) immediate response, without hesitation, was "fish and chips". Not surprisingly, fish and chips soon became a part of Chinese students' daily life for a generous portion of tasty break from their home cuisine. Despite the fact that its root is not as British as people might assume, it seems that people's presence in the queue at the chippie makes them a true Brit.

Then, Yan (CG-1, 1:10:18) claimed that her life experience in the UK was consistent with her preconceived notion of the "*English gentleman*" with a characteristic an inextricable element of chivalry towards women. Yan further explained that men always offered to help with her luggage whenever she travelled alone back to the UK and she joked that it was because of their utmost courtesy towards ladies that she married a British man later. Lu (CG-2, 27:44) expressed exactly the same opinion in another group session. While Lv's (CG-1, 1:10:49) remark that she got a big laugh as she indicated her British husband's *gentlemanliness* could only be observed on social occasions, "Yes, wasn't it?" echoed Ping. In their opinion, men in Britain place considerable value on their social manners. Ping and Lai (CG-1, 1:11:32) held similar views that *gentlemanliness* also existed in Chinese culture and its masculine equivalence in Chinese was *jūnzǐ* 君子, based on Confucian doctrine as an exhortation for men to strive.

It seemed that manners in both cultures indicated people were cultivated and manners often went recognised with social status and moral character.

Ping (CG-1, 1:11:49) found that the stereotype of British people's "*obsession with privacy*" was not quite what it seemed, despite the frequent but reasonable response of 'It's none of your business.' to any potential invasion of privacy in British culture. Ping held such view as she watched popular soaps, which she admitted she had been keen on for years. For example, the long-running *Coronation Street* mirrored the reality of ordinary people's daily lives and revealed the way people pry into our neighbours' private lives. It seemed apparent, for Ping and Lv, that the pervasive enjoyment of gossip by the British contradicted their privacy rules. However, foreigners may have only a hazy idea of the subtle connection between British "privacy rules" and "gossip". Still, after customary greetings and ice breaking weather talk, well-mannered British people do make efforts to take the awkward silence out of social networking, and one must speak a little to avoid entire silence. Thus, gossip, for people in Britain as everywhere else, appears to be a most common form of casual talk among friends and acquaintances. As Ping

observed, English people's innocuous gossip was indicative of their addictive appeal of these soaps and their vicarious satisfaction of this prurient curiosity. In a sense, English people's privacy rules significantly enhance the value of gossip.

Ping (CG-1, 1:11:49) then moved on with her confusion about the British "*independence-prized*" trait. She understood her British husband left home and started working to support himself at the age of 17, and returned to school after saving enough money to finish his study. In her view, the way her husband's mother encouraged her son to be independent is just how the Chinese perceived the value of independence in this culture. However, her husband's mother now changed her attitude and accepted her granddaughter's being dependent of the family as a young adult. Ping wondered whether this trend for less independence was part of an overall cultural change, or an isolated domestic situation. It is generally believed that individualistic-culturally driven parenting in Britain values independence and encourages children to act independently and self-regulate themselves at a younger age.

Still, to be fair, British children are developed to be more independent than their Chinese counterparts are. Financially speaking, inter-dependence is encouraged within a Chinese family. Normally, parents would undoubtedly assume financial responsibility for children's education until higher education. However, *Kěnlǎozú,* in Chinese "啃老族"; equivalence in English: "NEET" Group, is a most popular identity tag in recent China to describe those young adults who are employed while also engaged with educational advancement yet still enjoy financial support from their parents for larger expenses. The acronym of NEET originally used in the UK referring to youth aged 16-24 who is "Not in Education, Employment or Training." According to a report released by House of Commons Library, 922,000 people aged 16-24 were NEET in the second quarter of 2015, 12.7% of people in this age group. In China, parents support their adult children in buying a property, cars, and spend money on their grandchildren, etc. This classification in China comprises adult children in their 20s or 30s, and beyond, which is different from what it meant in British society. Some experts believe that one-child policy intensifies a close relationship between parents and children. Furthermore, academically speaking, Chinese students are mostly described as being dependent on "their teachers' decisions and instructions" due to the Confucian emphasis on great respect for teachers, their authority and control. Hofstede (2001) attributed this to the difference in high and low power distance across cultures. For

example, in the UK (low-power distance), students are encouraged to be independent learners, actively getting involved in class activities, thinking critically, being allowed to challenge the teacher, whereas in China (high-power distance), teachers instruct the learning process and demand a high level of authority and respect, and students are expected to be passive in class, only speaking by invitation.

Lv (CG-1, 1:15:07) was trying to summarise some similarities and differences between two cultures through her international marriage and three years' work experience in a local public school. She believed there existed some universal human traits and agreed with Ping on her viewpoint that the British did take care of their '*face'*, but to a lesser extent than Chinese people though. Ping (CG-1, 1:13:24) talked about how she and her British husband got constant requests from acquaintances and friends, all in the name of charity. They found some pleas objectionable but just could not simply say 'no' due to *face-saving* and ended up making forced donations. For example, she and her husband both received the mails from a friend of theirs, who lost his son in Iraq and initiated a sponsored climb to honour and pay tribute to heroes, and they were even asked to disclose the amount on the online pledge page separately. Ping concluded that they empathised with how much pain their friend was in but giving money to him might not be their first choice. Although they did not want to appear stingy when facing financial stress of mounded-up request, they also felt it was an abuse of social networks to pass on people's guilt.

The other two aspects whereby British take care of their 'face' are the front garden and courtship. Traditionally speaking, the classic British front garden is usually seen as the householders' 'public face' offering 'kerb appeal'. It is in large part due to the sense of keeping up appearance regarding the life of the street, as people are concerned about how they are perceived by their neighbours. On the other hand, it was strictly regulated after the World War I for people to maintain the council housing in a particular way. The British courtship characteristic of the uncertainty principle is another example of British 'face-saving' to avoid offence. As Kate Fox (2004) noted that "What they (foreign females) fail to understand is that English courtship is essentially an elaborate face-saving game, in which the primary object is not so much to find a sexual partner as to avoid offence and embarrassment." The offence-avoidance courtship is practiced in a vague and indirect way, revealing British males' prudence and reserve, which allow both parties to save face from the dire embarrassment of rejection.

Lv (CG-1, 1:16:12) moved on with her observation that British people are "*emotionally distant*" and demand a '*sense of space*', which can be referred to an invisible boundary in a psychological sense that people feel uncomfortable and intrusive without the balance between togetherness and individuality in a relationship (i.e. parents and children, husband and wife, etc.). Indeed, British people's 'reserve' and 'coldness' can be more easily perceptible as they are not keen on displaying emotions in public, but they turn out to be very friendly and helpful when someone is in trouble. Still, British people's much-complained standoffishness and their much-admired courtesy are somewhat actually compatible in a way that they understand people attend to their privacy need as much as theirs and, for them, it's better to just mind their own business. In this sense, their apparent coldness is really an underneath consideration, which has been demonstrated by plenty of literature that British people favour 'negative politeness' related to being non-intrusive, not interrupting.

Given Lv's international marriage, she did not think British family members formed a close attachment, compared to very close-knit Chinese families. In her eyes, British family members or lovers cared for each other, but still there existed emotional distance partly due to their need for personal space. She explicitly implied that space issue seems remain a recurrent plague of international marriage as Chinese couples shared complete togetherness by default whilst British couples expressed their need for space. However, Jing (CG-1, 1:25:53) obviously favoured British sense of space, among friends, colleagues and even family members, without hedgehog's dilemma. She described the common situation in China that people tend to seek closer reciprocal relationship and unavoidably hurt one another. For example, Chinese parents were perceived as more controlling. It is a common conflict between Chinese parents and children as children demand more space and independence in decision-making than their parents grant them. This can be best illustrated in BBC Four Storyville documentary (2013-2014), *Fame in China*, which was filmed on the first generation after one-child policy enforced in China pursuing their dream, and mirrored a typical family attachment. A father invited relatives and friends, 500 people or so, to a huge banquet to celebrate his son being accepted by college, as he said, "*In our clan, he's the only college student in his generation. I made up my mind back then - I was willing to go broke for his education*". The motive behind this was the father was having him fulfil his dreams, which were not realised due to the Cultural Revolution. The son hoped his parents could in front of

friends and relatives bring them honour. It is all about then, as he said, "*I don't expect much for myself*". They are just dedicated by their parents' expectations.

Also, the British feel the need to demand absolute limit of 'personal space' in a physical sense as respecting other people's personal space is a long-standing rule of good social etiquette. He further illustrated that in China "*it is seen as being less important*" as some people are just unaware of standing very close to each other on crowded public transport. Undeniably, the invasion of personal space, for Chinese people, is not awkward but unavoidable, given China's large population. You may better understand this by checking out the images of Google search for 'the crush of train passengers', which can shock you by the scene of millions of mostly migrant workers descending on the train stations. Hence, the fact that Chinese people really have no sense of personal space is a result of the reality that there are just too many people to care for this. It is not surprising that foreign visitors found that public places appear inescapably and threateningly close in China, especially bodies press up against each other to get on the bus during the rush hours. Interestingly, Richard Gray in his article showed his concern about the fact that "invasion of personal space has become a growing problem on Britain's overcrowded train and public transport networks".

Lv (CG-1, 1:17:02) also admitted to the discrepancy in the work-life relationship between the two cultures. In contrast with Chinese work ethos of 'work hard, save money', the British appeared a bit lazy as regards their work. She indicated her pre-arrival perception somewhat changed and she adopted the British outlook on "*positive work-life balance*". Jing (CG-1, 1:24:24) identified some salient traits based on her several years' life experience in the UK. She observed that "*queuing*" is the supreme example of the orderly nature of British culture. People are seen to automatically stand in an orderly line in public places, like bus stations, taxi rank, banks, shop counters, etc. Interestingly, the pub is the only place in Britain in which no formal line-up is formed. Still, it serves as the evidence of invisible rule of British queuing as the bar staff is amazingly skilled at knowing whose turn it is and the customers know where they are in this invisible line-up. Jing (CG-1, 1:24:40) held the same view as Lv (CG-1, 1:11:01) previously mentioned about "*concern for the vulnerable"*. She understood that a clear system designated to protect vulnerable groups from abuse as well as people's consciousness to take responsibility for their welfare. It is true that British legislation was passed and charities were set up to ensure the vulnerable were receiving proper health and social care and taking regulatory actions for

serious incident. The concern for vulnerable groups in British social values derives from the Bible and now developed into ethical protection. Consequently, the vulnerable population is likely to be involved in research to address the ethical issues and risks. However, vulnerable population in China have received relatively little attention, for example, the family wellbeing for these rural children, who are being neglected or abused. Still, recently, experts called for social care system and effective family intervention for rural children who live apart from their migrant-worker parents.

Yan's (CG-1, 1:28:41) six-month house-sharing experience with two British students revealed clear signs of British "*reserve and social inhibition*". She elaborated on the failure of cross-cultural interaction in their four-person share-house. She did not realise the awkward situation at the last minute when she was planning to move out for the new experience of a home-stay with a local family. Yan and her Chinese friend had lived in a student accommodation before the two British girls moved in. There had no house 'policies' and the new housemates did not suggest working out a cleaning schedule, etc. Everyone appeared to rely on self-conscious to keep things fair with unwritten rules and etiquette to keep the house running smoothly. Just before Yan was leaving, she invited her housemates to a dinner just as the Chinese people usually do, and the two British housemates confirmed her invitation. On the eve of her leaving, the two girls came home late at night, a bit drunk, and Yan was wakening up by their noise. She overheard that they were complaining about her and the other Chinese students careless cleaning. Yan was shocked, as she had not been aware that any annoyances existed and took it for granted that they all got along well with each other with nice conversations on a number of occasions. The next day, the two girls did not show up at the dinner party. When Yan tried to contact them by text messages and phone calls, they responded like '*Oh, I am still working*' without any intention to join in at all. She was very upset, as they could have approached her to talk about it if they had been frustrated about her. Judging from her experience, Yan concluded that British people were not as direct as she has previously assumed. They were reluctant to say 'no' for the sake of avoiding conflict, and thus, rules-making with a written rule list from the very beginning could have been useful in promoting harmony between housemates as she did with her British partner when they decided to live together. She still wondered if things would be other way around if the two British girls had taken the accommodation first and made the written rule list for the housemates moving in later.

Jie (CG-2, 21:32) was impressed by British '*friendliness*', which had not conformed to her preconceived view of the western countries' '*racism*'. She found it still existed and shared her experience in which she and the other three Chinese students had a discussion in a university library when a group of British students, tall and looking like a sports team, passed by, staring at them. They distinctly heard someone say loudly, "They are just Chinese." She felt very uncomfortable and found the tone offensive. Liang (CG-2, 22:50) and Jie (CG-2, 28:04) observed antisocial behaviour among teenagers in British society. Liang further pointed out that his view of young people's bad behaviour was just what was negatively portrayed in the media, which, in his opinion, was becoming an acknowledged pressing issue in this culture. Based on my participant observation, some Chinese students had their brief encounters with 'hoodies' and gangs hanging around, swearing in public or skateboarding on the street. They admitted their intense fear and menace under such circumstances when they were just stopped by these young people, who asked for a few quid, or requested buying them the cigarette or alcoholic drinks. Some students just did what they were asked whilst some were pretending not to understand English and walked away quickly. The general view revealed from the British media is the youth of today were misbehaving or anti-social behaviour more than ever before.

Conclusion of 4.4.5:

In terms of Chinese on British, the Chinese participants made observations and talked at great length about their experiences with British culture.

Firstly, the Chinese participants' experiences of British culture was, in some cases, consistent with their preconceived traits. The world-renowned stereotypical image of the 'English gentleman' was one such example, which was unanimously demonstrated during their life experiences in Britain.

Secondly, the Chinese participants found some traits inconsistent with their pre-determined perceptions of British society. An example of this is their views on the topic of 'privacy'. On the one hand, they understood British people did value their sense of privacy and personal space. On the other hand, they observed the contradictory nature of the British people's views on the topic of 'privacy' as they have propensity to pry into other's private affaires through the medium of gossip.

Thirdly, through their first-hand experiences, the Chinese participants consciously and unconsciously compared their own cultural traits with British society and noted that there were obvious cultural similarities and differences. The phenomenon of ‘face’ value was observed in Britain. Although it appeared to function differently than the same notion in Chinese society. This was revealed from the cultural practice of charitable giving, where individuals felt obligated to donate in spite of their unwillingness.

Fourthly, it came as no surprise that the Chinese participants discovered some unexpected traits, when they walked into the reality of their daily lives in Britain. The participants were aware of the so-called British ‘reserve’ but they were unprepared when they first experienced the local people’s ‘social inhibition’. The Chinese participants were accustomed to resolving issues in a direct manner but their socially inhibited British counterparts chose to avoid such direct interaction preferring instead to complain behind closed doors.

CHAPTER 5 FINDINGS – QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

As detailed in the Methodology chapter, following the first phase of data collection with a qualitative approach as a basis for collecting further data, a questionnaire survey was designed to reinforce and quantitatively evaluate stereotypical attitudes among 27 British and 39 Chinese informants (For the detailed information on the British and Chinese informants, see Appendix 1). The questionnaire (see Appendix 2) consisted of 20 items, mainly incorporating the British and Chinese participants' propositions drawn from focus group interviews with the goal of capturing informants' evaluative tendencies of accuracy and role of stereotyping and contemporary stereotypes of British and Chinese cultures in the context of cross-cultural interaction. A pilot study was first conducted by administering questionnaires to subsets of the research population to learn about usefulness, reliability, clarity of the survey items.

The following sections employed two stages of analysis. Firstly, descriptive analysis involving simple statistical descriptors, i.e., means, medians, standard deviations, and percentages, to present the patterns and the characteristics of the survey data sets in figures and charts. Secondly, inferential analysis, whereby the descriptive analysis results were taken subsequently analysed by statistically testing some of the relationships between the variables. The performed tests were designed to bear on what I perceived to be the important and potentially interesting properties of the gathered data and to supplement the descriptive phase of analysis. In this way, inferential statistics would cross-validate and quantify the statistical significance of the evidence and effectively observe the correlations between British and Chinese sets of data.

5.1 "KERNEL OF TRUTH" HYPOTHESIS

In the questionnaire survey, the question 1 (see below) explored the 'Kernel of Truth' prediction. As indicated in Figures 5.1 and 5.2, the frequency distribution showed that 16 of the 27 (64%) British informants (see Figure 5.1, Note: two informants left the question blank) and 23 of the 39 (59%) Chinese informants (see Figure 5.2) respectively gave the highest frequencies in the category "has an element of truth", and 6 of the 39 (15.4%) of the Chinese informants indicated that the stereotype is 'true' while no British informants were certain about its absolute accuracy. Thus, it can be concluded from this

descriptive analysis that there is a consensus among the two groups with more than half of British and Chinese informants indicating that there is a grain of truth in stereotype. Besides, Chinese participants tend to believe in the reliability of stereotype.

1. When you hear of a cultural stereotype (e.g. about British or Chinese people), you think it _____

a. is true b. may not be true c. has an element of truth d. is for reference only

Figure 5.1 British on "Kernel of Truth"

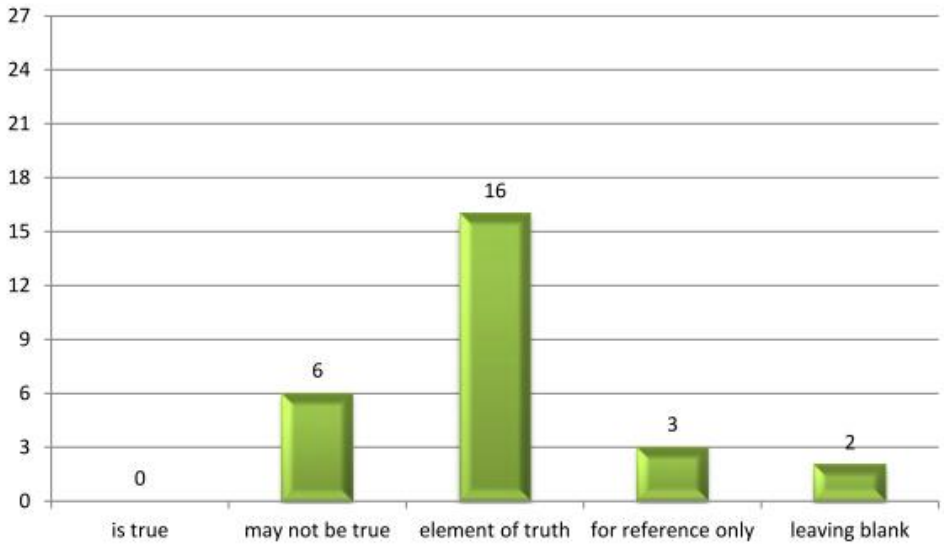
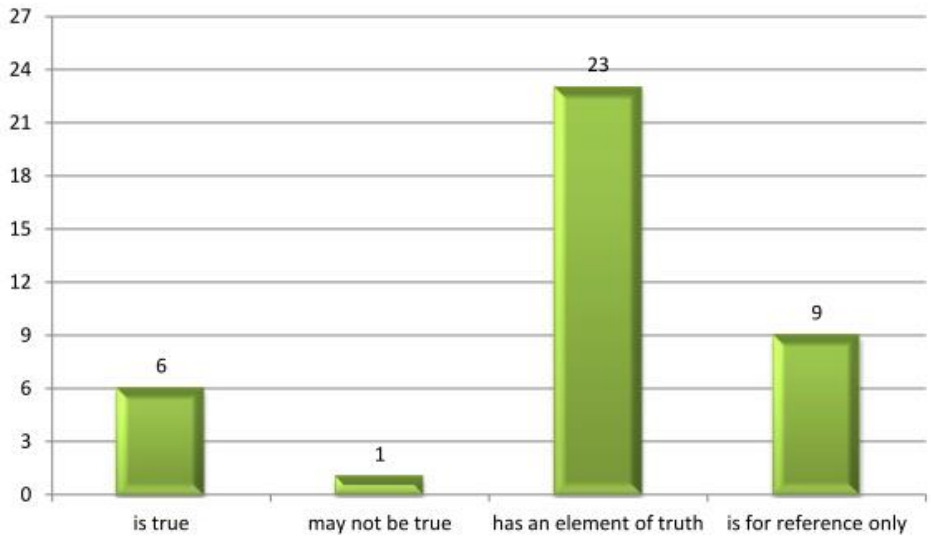


Figure 5.2 Chinese on "Kernel of Truth"



Following the descriptive analysis regarding the 'Kernel of Truth' in stereotypes, the prediction revealed that the majority of the British and Chinese informants in this current research believed that stereotypes had 'an element of truth'. A more specific 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis was formulated, seeking to test whether the categories, ***Nationality*** of the British & Chinese informants in an observed frequency distribution (in 'an element of truth') differ significantly from one another. In this way, inferential analysis could shed light on the meaningfulness of descriptive findings.

Hypothesis 1: There is a significant association between nationality and rating, regarding the British and Chinese informants' beliefs in the "Kernel of Truth" Hypothesis.

In order to explore the overall behaviour of British and Chinese informants when they answered Q1, some important preliminary analyses were conducted. The technique used for multiple choices data was to cross-tabulate the frequencies in the various categories and then perform a chi-square test, which tested whether the distribution of frequencies differs significantly from that predicted on the basis of the null hypothesis that there is no relationship whatever between the two variables. However, the chi square test for Q1 (See Figure 5.3), in this case, is not valid because several of the expected values are below 5. Referring to Figure 5.3, as can be seen, the output of 'Expected Count' in five of the eight cells was smaller than 5, that is, for the British Nationality, value ratings were: "May not be true" (2.7), "Is for reference only" (4.7), "Is true" (2.3). For the Chinese Nationality, value ratings were "May not be true" (4.3), "Is true" (3.7). This represents 42% of expected values being below 5, whereas a maximum of 20% of expected values below 5 are allowed as this can discredit the interpretation of the findings.

Figure 5.3

Nationality * Rating Crosstabulation

			Rating				
			Has an element of truth	May not be true	Is for reference only	Is true	Total
Nationality	British	Count	16	6	3	0	25
		Expected Count	15.2	2.7	4.7	2.3	25.0
		% within Nationality	64.0%	24.0%	12.0%	.0%	100.0%
		% within Rating	41.0%	85.7%	25.0%	.0%	39.1%
		% of Total	25.0%	9.4%	4.7%	.0%	39.1%
	Chinese	Count	23	1	9	6	39
		Expected Count	23.8	4.3	7.3	3.7	39.0
		% within Nationality	59.0%	2.6%	23.1%	15.4%	100.0%
		% within Rating	59.0%	14.3%	75.0%	100.0%	60.9%
		% of Total	35.9%	1.6%	14.1%	9.4%	60.9%
Total		Count	39	7	12	6	64
		Expected Count	39.0	7.0	12.0	6.0	64.0
		% within Nationality	60.9%	10.9%	18.8%	9.4%	100.0%
		% within Rating	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	60.9%	10.9%	18.8%	9.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.306[a]	3	.010
Likelihood Ratio	13.596	3	.004
N of Valid Cases	64		

a. 5 cells (62.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.34.

However, in order to cross-validate this 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis, the Question 4b, in which participants were asked whether they agreed/disagreed the statement, "Cultural stereotypes always have a *kernel of truth* in them somewhere", was tested by taking the Fisher's Exact Test result (See Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4

Nationality * Rating Crosstabulation

			Rating		
			No	Yes	Total
Nationality	British	Count	9	18	27
		Expected Count	4.1	22.9	27.0
		% within Nationality	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		% within Rating	90.0%	32.1%	40.9%
		% of Total	13.6%	27.3%	40.9%
	Chinese	Count	1	38	39
		Expected Count	5.9	33.1	39.0
		% within Nationality	2.6%	97.4%	100.0%
		% within Rating	10.0%	67.9%	59.1%
		% of Total	1.5%	57.6%	59.1%
Total		Count	10	56	66
		Expected Count	10.0	56.0	66.0
		% within Nationality	15.2%	84.8%	100.0%
		% within Rating	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	15.2%	84.8%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	11.749[a]	1	.001		
Continuity Correction[b]	9.478	1	.002		
Likelihood Ratio	12.470	1	.000		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	.001
N of Valid Cases	66				

a. 1 cells (25.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.09.
b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

The above Fisher's Exact Test attempted to classify the categorical data relating to Nationality and Rating, in order to examine the significance of the association (contingency) between the two kinds of classification. Therefore, in the above test, one criterion of classification was whether the Nationality of the participants was either British or Chinese; the other was whether they agreed with "Kernel of Truth" in stereotypes. The test attempted to show whether these two classifications are associated, that is, whether British or Chinese participants really believe in the "Kernel of Truth". The Fisher's Test utilised a 2 × 2 contingency table. The p-value from the test was computed and the results showed that 66.7% British informants and 97.4% Chinese informants AGREED this statement of stereotype's "Kernel of

Truth" with the significant value, p=.001, which is much smaller than .05, showing that the British and Chinese informants' beliefs regarding 'an element of truth' in stereotypes, are statistically significant.

As indicated in Figure 6.4 above, Fisher's Exact test appears to corroborate the assertion of hypothesis. Whereby, the descriptive results of Question 1 and the inferential results of Question 4 cross-validate the stereotype's 'Kernel of Truth' prediction.

5.2 "IMPROVE VS. IMPEDE" CROSS-CULTURAL INTERACTION?

In the questionnaire survey, Q5 (see below) determined the British and Chinese informants' understandings of the role of stereotyping by improving or impeding interaction given their real-life experience.

5. While living in the UK or China, do you think cultural stereotypes were **helpful** to your study and life in your target culture? (* If "**NO**" go to 7)

a. Yes b. Quite a lot c. No d. Not sure

The descriptive results revealed an experiential dichotomy between the two groups, as indicated in the two figures below. Clearly, the British and Chinese informants held opposing viewpoints, that is, 18 out of the 27 (66.67%) British informants (see Figure 5.5) perceived stereotype as 'not helpful' while 28 out of 39 (71.79%) Chinese informants (see Figure 5.6) claimed that stereotypes were 'helpful' when interacting with people in their target cultures.

Figure 5.5 British on 'Helpful' Stereotype in Cross-cultural Interaction

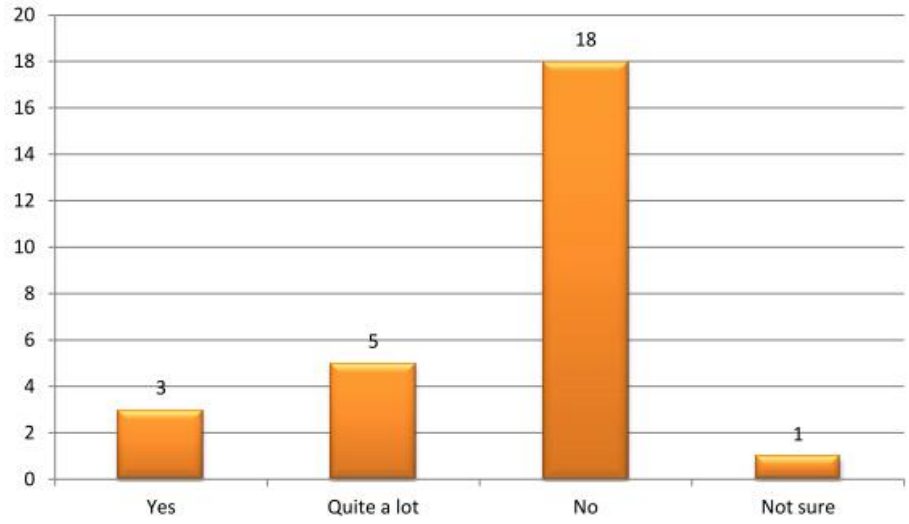
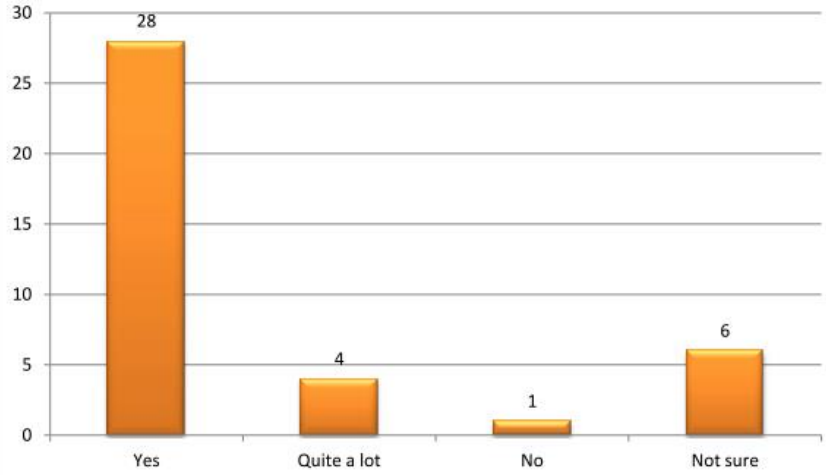


Figure 5.6 Chinese on 'Helpful' Stereotype in Cross-cultural Interaction



Given the opposing viewpoints revealed from the two ethnic groups of informants, the following prediction was formulated and put to the test. The specified hypothesis below endeavours to test the significant association between ***Nationality*** (British & Chinese informants) and ***Rating*** (Yes & No regarding the informants' perceptions of whether stereotyping in cross-cultural interaction is "helpful" or "unhelpful").

Hypothesis 2: There is a statistically significant difference between British and Chinese informants' understanding of the role of stereotyping in cross-cultural interaction, that is, British tend to perceive it as unhelpful while Chinese would find it helpful.

The chi-square test for Q5 (see Figure 5.7), presented from the cross-tabulation that the categories, British 'No' (not helpful), and Chinese 'Yes' (helpful), both have much higher frequencies than expected on the basis of the null hypothesis. As indicated in Figure 6.7, there were "18" negative responses from the British participants whilst there were "28" positive responses from the Chinese participants. The significant value p=.001 was much smaller than .05 (p<.05) when omitting the category 'not sure' (as it invalidates the test due to low frequencies), and only 1 cell (<20%) <5, so we could proceed with the test and report a significant association between the variables. As illustrated by the Chi-square test, the significant value appears to confirm the hypothesis, that is, the difference between nationality groups (the British and Chinese informants), regarding their opinions about the role (positive and negative) of stereotyping are statistically significant.

Table 5.7

Nationality * Rating Crosstabulation

			Rating			
			No	Quite a lot	Yes	Total
Nationality	British	Count	18	5	3	26
		Expected Count	8.4	4.0	13.7	26.0
		% within Nationality	69.2%	19.2%	11.5%	100.0%
		% within Rating	94.7%	55.6%	9.7%	44.1%
		% of Total	30.5%	8.5%	5.1%	44.1%
	Chinese	Count	1	4	28	33
		Expected Count	10.6	5.0	17.3	33.0
		% within Nationality	3.0%	12.1%	84.8%	100.0%
		% within Rating	5.3%	44.4%	90.3%	55.9%
		% of Total	1.7%	6.8%	47.5%	55.9%
Total		Count	19	9	31	59
		Expected Count	19.0	9.0	31.0	59.0
		% within Nationality	32.2%	15.3%	52.5%	100.0%
		% within Rating	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	32.2%	15.3%	52.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	35.147[a]	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	41.046	2	.000
N of Valid Cases	59		

a. 1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.97.

Also, for the sake of cross-validation, Q14, 'If you have NEGATIVE perception of British/Chinese people, do you think you would be unwilling to interact with any member of the group even if they don't have the attributes you dislike?' was tested to cross-validate the conclusion. The Pearson Chi-Square test result (Table 5.8) shows that the significant value (p=.017) is below .05, indicating a significant association between the variables. The cross-tabulation presented that the 11 out of the 25 (44.0%) British informants' responses of "No" and 9 out of the 25 (36.0%) "Not applicable', and 8 out of the 39 (20.5%) Chinese informants' "Yes" and 15 out the 39 (38.5%) 'Maybe', have higher frequencies than the expected value.

Table 5.8

Nationality * Rating Crosstabulation

			Rating				
			Maybe	No	Yes	Not applicable	Total
Nationality	British	Count	3	11	2	9	25
		Expected Count	7.0	8.6	3.9	5.5	25.0
		% within Nationality	12.0%	44.0%	8.0%	36.0%	100.0%
		% within Rating	16.7%	50.0%	20.0%	64.3%	39.1%
		% of Total	4.7%	17.2%	3.1%	14.1%	39.1%
	Chinese	Count	15	11	8	5	39
		Expected Count	11.0	13.4	6.1	8.5	39.0
		% within Nationality	38.5%	28.2%	20.5%	12.8%	100.0%
		% within Rating	83.3%	50.0%	80.0%	35.7%	60.9%
		% of Total	23.4%	17.2%	12.5%	7.8%	60.9%
Total		Count	18	22	10	14	64
		Expected Count	18.0	22.0	10.0	14.0	64.0
		% within Nationality	28.1%	34.4%	15.6%	21.9%	100.0%
		% within Rating	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	28.1%	34.4%	15.6%	21.9%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.167[a]	3	.017
Likelihood Ratio	10.660	3	.014
N of Valid Cases	64		

a. 1 cells (12.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 3.91.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the British and Chinese informants have opposing views on whether stereotyping improves or impedes cross-cultural interaction, and, in a sense, stereotyping is less likely to have an impact on the British informants but plays a considerable role in the Chinese informants' cross-cultural interaction.

5.3 "IN-GROUP FAVOURITISM & OUT-GROUP DEROGATION"

The secondary research question addressed in the current research is "What are the mutually stereotypical perceptions that the British & Chinese participants hold of each other and themselves?" In the questionnaire survey, the Questions 19 and 20 (see Appendix 3) provided two sets of trait lists (self- and other-stereotypical traits) of the British and Chinese cultures, generated from focus group interviews. The British and Chinese informants were specifically instructed to think about their opinions regarding self- & other-stereotypes as follows: Firstly, they were required to choose, from a self-

stereotypical trait list, the top five traits, which they believed people in their own culture commonly held about themselves and five traits they personally believed were true. Secondly, the British and Chinese informants were asked to choose, from other-stereotypical trait list, the top five traits, which they believed people in their culture commonly held about their target cultures, and five traits they personally believed were true. In total, each informant chose 20 traits for their self- and other- stereotypes at social and personal levels. Thirdly, they were required to assign ratings on 7-point scale to the chose traits, indicating how positive or negative they thought their chosen traits were.

Since averaging informants' ratings (7-point scale) is a reasonable step if we are interested in overall tendencies of particular groups, the procedure of the calculation was as follows. 1) the average ratings of single chosen traits were calculated; 2) the means of the four rating types for the FIVE traits (Self-Social, Self-Personal, Other-Social, Other-Personal) were respectively added up; 3) the results of step 2 were then divided by the numbers of British or Chinese informants. As indicated in Figure 5.9, the FIVE traits were used as a simple descriptive measure to determine "overall tendencies" of the group-level attitudes towards self- and other- stereotypes within the British and Chinese groups. We can see that both British and Chinese informants gave ratings of self-stereotypes either at the social or personal levels in a more positive light than those of other-stereotypes. That is, for the British informants: Self-Social: 0.6 > Other-Social: 0.41, Self-Personal: 0.22 > Other-Personal: 0.18. For the Chinese informants: Self-Social: 1.03 > Other-Social: 0.93, Self-Personal: 0.96 > Other-Personal: 0.77. The pattern of being in favour of the in-group was consistently found for the trait evaluation processing involved in both British and Chinese self- and other-stereotypes. These findings are consistent with Allport's (1954) and Sumner's (1906) paradigm of "in-group love and out-group hate", or "in-group favouritism and out-group hostility" (Fischer, 1994; Struch & Schwartz, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

Figure 5.9

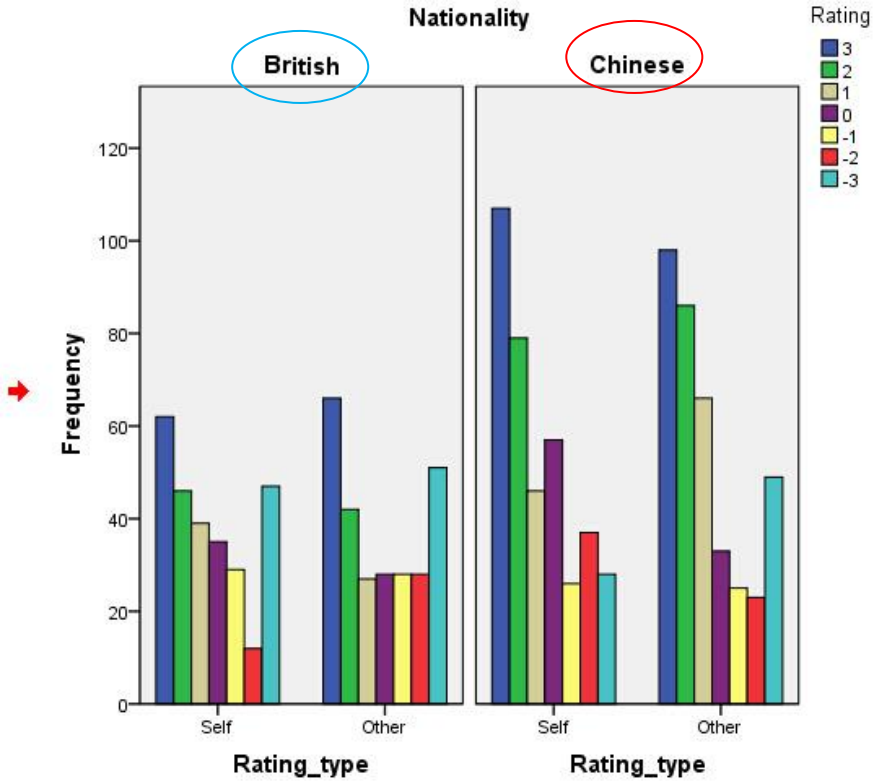
Research informants	MEAN of Ratings			
	Self-stereotypes		**Other**-stereotypes	
	Social	**Personal**	**Social**	**Personal**
British Students	0.6	0.22	0.41	0.18
Chinese Students	1.03	0.96	0.93	0.77

It is worth mentioning some other findings revealed from the table above. First, social ratings are, overall, significantly higher than personal ones. The ratings MEANS indicates that both British and Chinese informants gave higher ratings on social opinions than personal opinions about their own culture and the target culture. That is, for the British informants: Self-Social: 0.6 > Self-Personal: 0.22, Other-Social: 0.41 > Other-Personal: 0.18. For the Chinese informants: Self-Social: 1.03 > Self-Personal: 0.96, Other-Social: 0.93 > Other-Personal: 0.77. These findings provide descriptive statistical evidence for the focus group participants' viewpoint that stereotypes can be used as a vehicle for positive national propaganda, as they maintained that people or countries could reap the benefits of positive stereotypes of a nation to export its image across the world for tourism, economic gains, etc.

Second, the Chinese informants give significantly higher ratings than the British informants do. That is, for all 4 ratings: Self_Social: Chinese: 1.03 > British: 0.6; Self_Personal: Chinese: 0.96 > British: 0.22; Other_Social: Chinese: 0.93 > British: 0.41; Other_Personal: Chinese: 0.77 > British: 0.18. We can also plot the frequencies of each rating value in the various categories as in 'Histogram on log-linear analyses' (see Figure 5.10). The Chinese informants gave much higher frequency of rating of '+3' than the British informant did, and they gave more '+3' on their own culture than the British culture. The frequencies of ratings of '+3' and '-3' that the British informants assigned to their own culture and Chinese culture were approximately equal. This may suggest an increasing awareness of political correctness in their social consciousness, which leads British people to be more conservative when being critical of other cultures. On the other hand, British people's focus on acquiring 'critical thinking awareness" and developing 'critical thinking competencies', which involves positive attitudes, open-mindedness, inquisitiveness, flexibility, a desire to be well-informed, and a respect for diverse viewpoints, which may lead to a more balanced rating of the Chinese culture. The Chinese culture emphasizes "harmony" and "national pride" thus Chinese people are very cautious about open discussion and sensitive to any negative remarks. This would include any negative connotations towards their counterparts. In this case, the Chinese informants were very cautious about expressing negative viewpoints towards themselves and the British culture. In a similar vein, there is a great emphasis within the Chinese culture on the notion of "face", which in simple terms defines an individuals' sense of dignity or prestige in social contexts. This also plays into the sense of national pride, patriotism and moral values, which are instilled in the Chinese culture via the school educational system. In light

of the above, in the context of the rating analysis, the Chinese informants gave a statistically higher frequency of rating of “3” and lower frequency of rating of “-3” to their own culture. Furthermore, the interpretation above was borne out by the findings yielded from the focus group interviews as these stereotypical traits (critical thinking, harmony, national pride, patriotism, face) were proposed by both British and Chinese participants (see Chapter 4). These findings can be used to provide guidance and suggestions on improving Sino-British interaction when it comes to any forms of discussions and negotiation.

Figure 5.10



While the theoretical and empirical differentiation between cultural values’ orientations is widely acknowledged in the literature (e.g. Geert Hofstede’s (2010)[17] model of national culture, with a list of 76 countries’ scores on the six dimensions), the salient distinction of some specific cultural traits in cross-cultural studies is often neglected. In order to visually present the overall tendency of individual traits in

[17] Geert Hofstede (2010). "Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind". New York: McGraw-Hill USA.

a positive and negative light, as assigned by the British and Chinese informants, a presentational method was devised unique to this research. This involved assigning each chosen trait a rating by British and Chinese informants. A rating was marked by a point within a quadrant on a coordinate graph. The 'ordered pair' was worked out by following the frequency analyses showing the number of single trait of the four groups chosen by the British and Chinese respondents (e.g. '9' British informants chose 'polite' for their personal opinions of self-stereotypes). The average ratings of all the chosen traits for British and Chinese self- and other- stereotypes were calculated after working out the average ratings of each traits to summarise measures of central tendency.

For example, the 'ordered pair' of British self-stereotypical trait 'pubs' (2, 0.8), with the average rating of '2' for 'personal opinion' and '0.8' for 'social opinion' (see Figure 5.11), indicated the positivity of these traits at both the social and personal levels, and the British informants' overall ratings of 'personal opinion' was higher than their 'social opinion' of 'pubs'. Also, by comparison (see Figure 6.11 'British on Self' & Figure 5.12 'British on Chinese'), it is evident that the British informants have 41.2% traits of their own culture falling in the quadrant I (+, +) with positive social and personal opinions, which is higher than the 30.8% traits they rated for the Chinese culture. In contrast, they have 17.6% traits falling in the quadrant III (-, -) with negative social and personal opinions, which is lower than 21.2% traits they assign ratings on Chinese culture. Very few traits fall in the quadrant II (-, +) with negative personal but positive social opinions, or quadrant IV (+, -) vice versa, which indicate the consistency of British informants' social and personal opinions of traits valence. The more positions of chosen traits and the overall tendency of British and Chinese group-level attitudes towards the chosen traits, falling into positive or negative quadrants, can be observed in the Coordinates Charts (see Appendix 5). The discrepancy of the British and Chinese informants' opinions of self- and other- stereotypical traits valence can possibly lead to potential misunderstanding and barriers in cross-cultural interaction.

Figure 5.11 British on Self

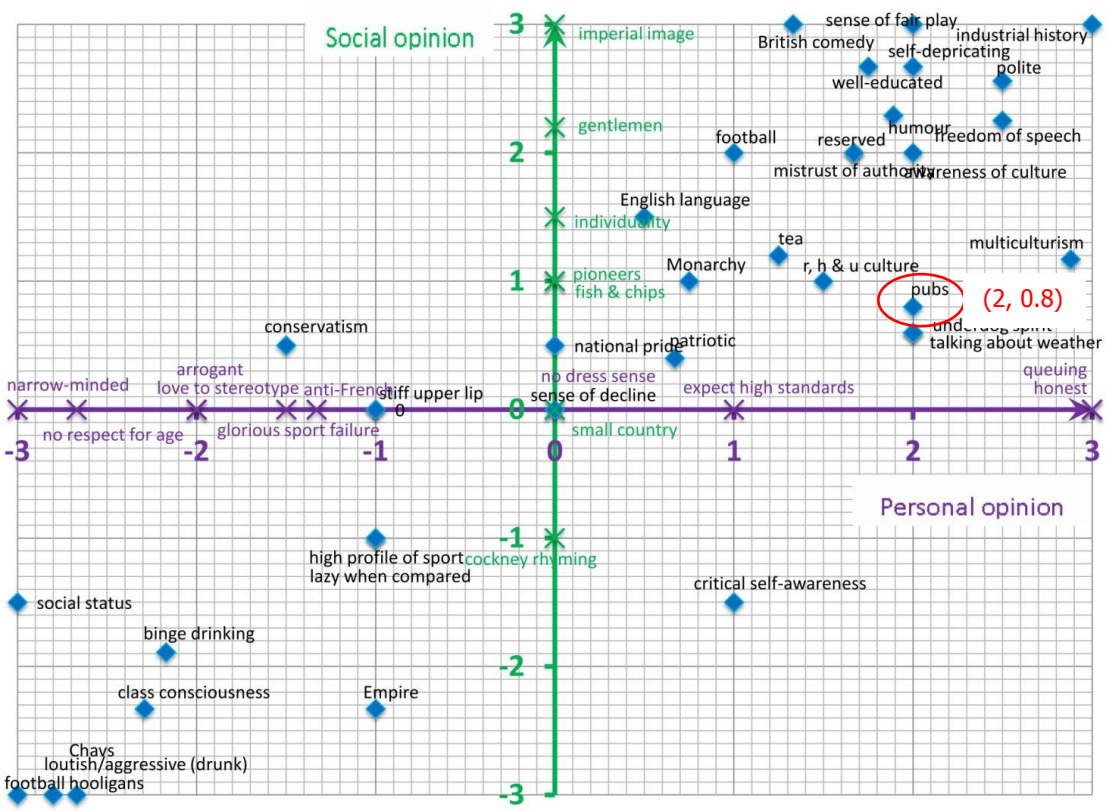
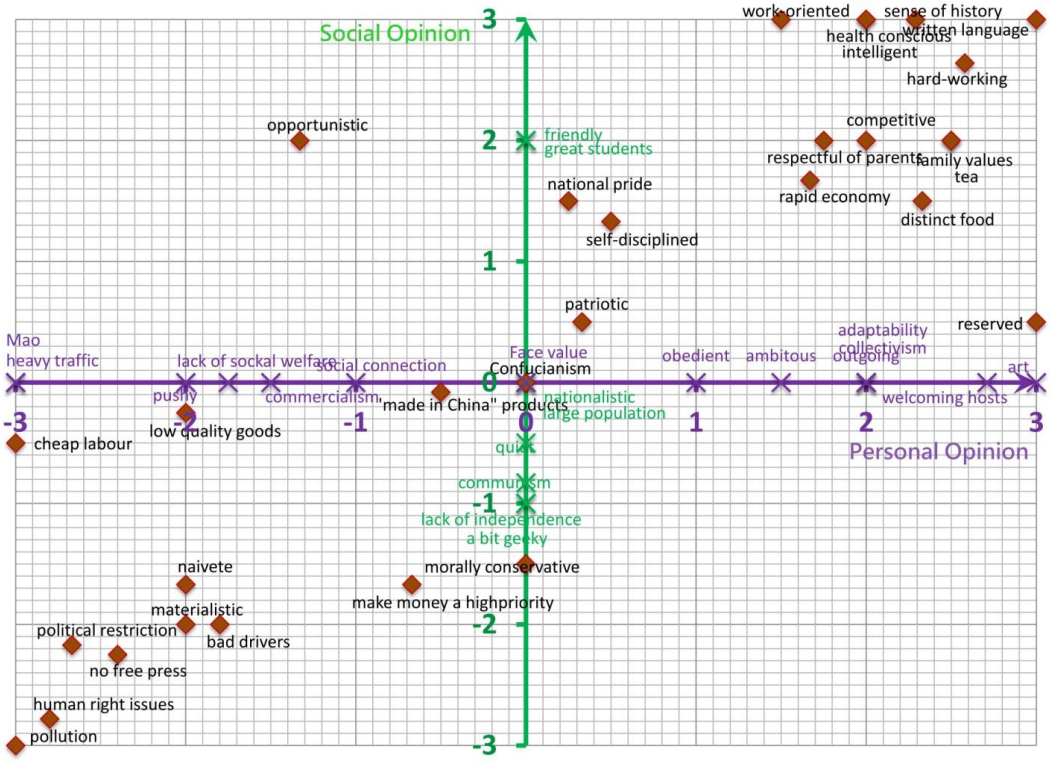


Figure 5.12 British on Chinese



In conclusion, the descriptive analysis has demonstrated the existence of "In-group favouritism & Out-group Derogation". Firstly, as can be seen in Figure 6.9, the statistical differences between self- & other-stereotypes at the social and personal levels for both ethnic groups has been stated. Secondly, this has then been analysed on the frequency of a 7-point scale in Figure 6.10. Finally, the overall tendency of traits ratings, either positive or negative, was plotted within the quadrants of the coordinate graph (in Figure 5.11) giving a granular level of detail.

5.4 SELF- VS OTHER- STEREOTYPES & SOCIAL VS PERSONAL OPINIONS

The British and Chinese informants' propositions of their self- and other-stereotypes at social and personal level are presented in the figures (See Appendix 6). Based on the descriptive analyses results of 'in-group favouritism & out-group derogation', the following hypothesis were formulated and put to test for interactions among the variables. We would proceed with the test and report if there is a significant association between the variables as below:

Hypothesis 3: There is significant difference between the British and Chinese informants' ratings on Self- and Other-stereotypes.

Hypothesis 4: There is significant difference between the British and Chinese informants' ratings on Social and Personal Opinions, both within a single culture and across cultures.

5.4.1 Analysis of Overall Trait Ratings

5.4.1.1 Non-Parametric Methods (Friedman ANOVA & Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test)

The reason to work out sum of all 5 ratings for culture rated (self- and other-stereotype) and each rating type (social and personal opinion) is that one figure for each informant is needed for each of the four groups (Self-Social, Self-Personal, Other-Social, Other-Personal). The trait analysis output presented the patterns of the descriptive statistics for all informants, British only, and Chinese only with respect to means, medians, standard deviations, etc. Tests for whether each variable conforms to the so-called 'normal distribution' were performed, which is important in deciding what kind of test to use. Strictly speaking, the group of tests, 'parametric tests', require a normal distribution of data, though

there are some details here we needn't go into. When the data are non-normal, we should use tests called 'non-parametric tests'. The descriptive output shows that although there are no deviations from normality for any of the 8 variables in the British data, because the tests for deviations from normality are all non-significant, with p > .05) while 6 of the 8 variables for the Chinese informants are not normally distributed. And if we look at all the informants together, 4 of the 8 are not normally distributed. We are going to compare across Soc_Self, Pers_Self, Soc_Other and Pers_Other, and also between Soc_Total, Pers_Total, Self_Total and Other_Total. In each case, there is at least one set of data that is not normally distributed. We should therefore use a non-parametric test.

The test needed is Friedman's ANOVA (ANOVA stands for Analysis of Variance). This test aims for differences in the MEDIANS across a group of more than 2 groups, where the data are not independent but related, because each informant provided all 4 ratings. The test was performed by assigning ranks to all the various values and then comparing the sums of ranks in the various groups. For the test involving all informants the mean ranks are Soc_Self 2.90, Pers_Self 2.18, Soc_Other 2.54 and Pers_Other 2.38, and the differences are significant (p = .009, a lot less than .05) (see Figure 5.13). For the test on Brits only the mean ranks are Soc_Self 2.83, Pers_Self 2.28, Soc_Other 2.31, Pers_Other 2.57 and these differences are non-significant (p = .326, > .05) (see Figure 5.14). For Chinese only, the means are Soc_Self 2.95, Pers_Self 2.11, Soc_Other 2.70, Pers_Other 2.25, and the differences are significant (p = .012, < .05) (see Figure 5.15).

Figure 5.13 Friedman Mean Ranks for All Informants

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distributions of Soc_Self, Pers_Self, Soc_Other and Pers_Other are the same.	Related-Samples Friedman's Two-Way Analysis of Variance by Ranks	.009	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

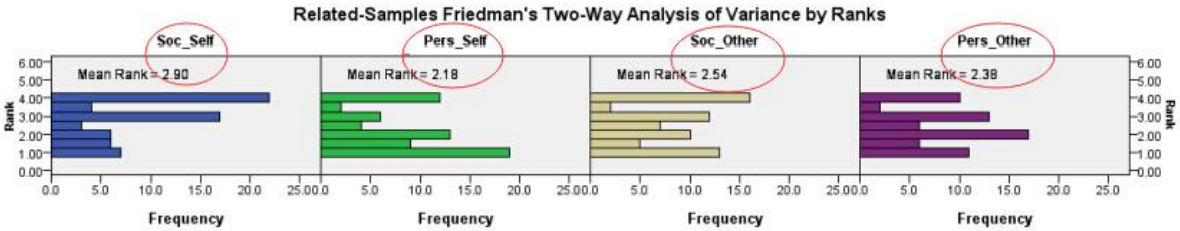


Figure 5.14 Friedman Mean Ranks for British only

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distributions of Pers_Self, Pers_Other, Soc_Self and Soc_Other are the same.	Related-Samples Friedman's Two-Way Analysis of Variance by Ranks	.326	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

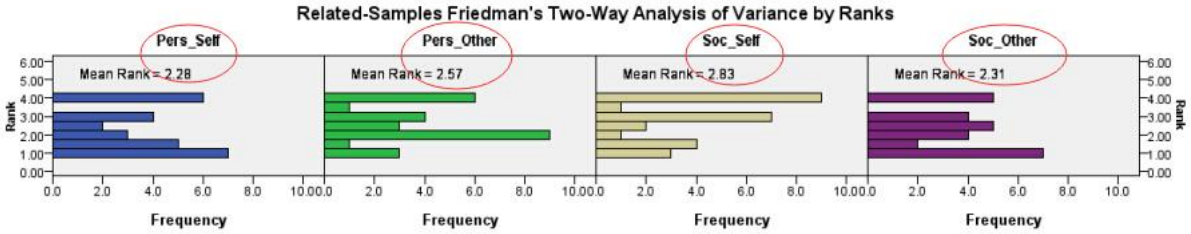
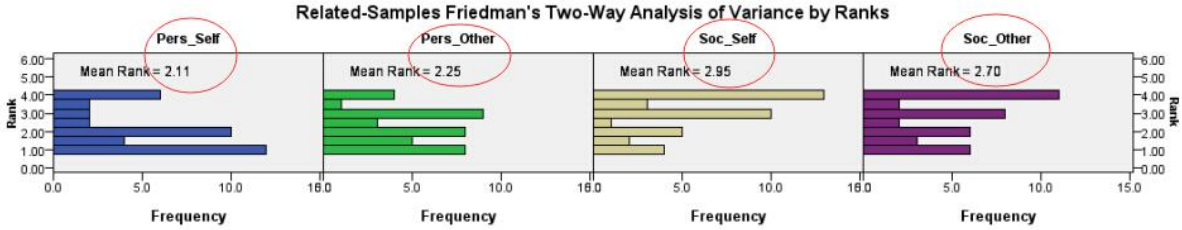


Figure 5.15 Friedman Mean Ranks for Chinese only

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distributions of Pers_Self, Pers_Other, Soc_Self and Soc_Other are the same.	Related-Samples Friedman's Two-Way Analysis of Variance by Ranks	.012	Reject the null hypothesis.

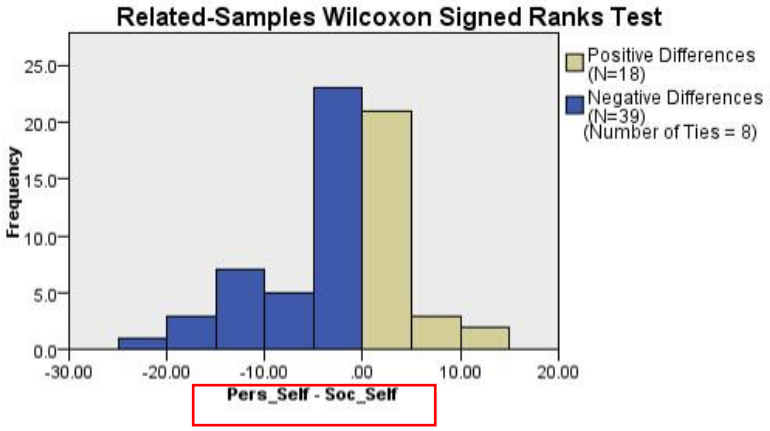
Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.



We now know that the differences in the 4 ratings OVERALL are significant for Chinese and for all informants taken together, but not for Brits taken alone. We can now test which pairs of ratings are significantly different in the Chinese set and in the set for all informants. Such tests are called 'post-hoc tests'. There was no point in doing it for the British only set, since the overall effect across the 4 groups was non-significant. This was done using the Wilcoxon Signed ranks test, which tests the difference between the medians of TWO groups of RELATED data. It is reported that the pair of rating, Soc_Self

vs. Pers_Self, is significantly different in the set for all informants (p=.002) and in the Chinese set (p=.003). The results are displayed in the following Figure 5.16 & 5.17.

Figure 5.16 Wilcoxon Pers_Self vs Soc_Self for ALL INFORMANTS

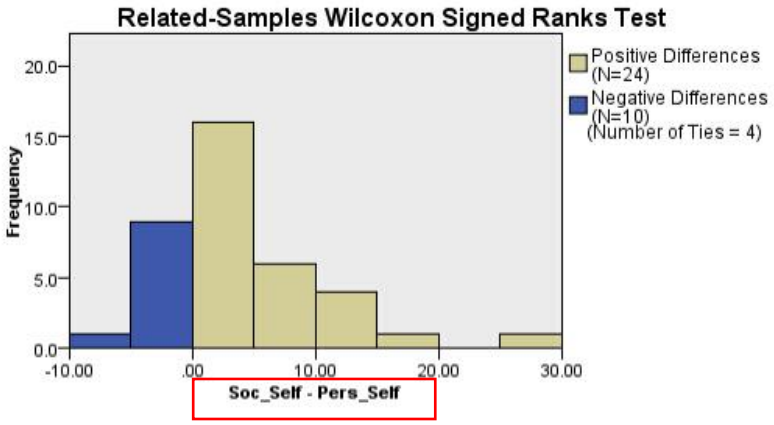


Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Soc_Self and Pers_Self equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test	.002	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Figure 5.17 Wilcoxon on Pers_Self vs Soc_Self for Chinese



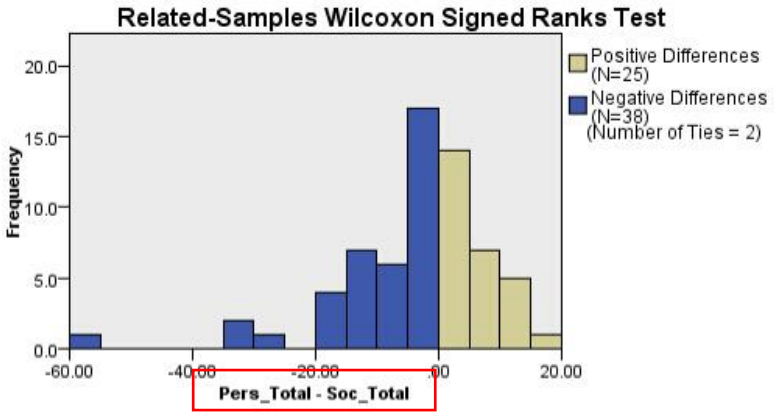
Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Pers_Self and Soc_Self equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test	.003	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

There is one additional point to notice here: when doing several pair wise tests on the same set of data, for technical reasons we have to reduce the significance value we will accept. Normally this is .05, but if we do N tests we have to divide this figure by N. We are doing 6 tests each time, so we need to reduce the significance level we will accept to .05/6 = .0083. By means of the Wilcoxon test, the differences between Soc_Total and Pers_Total, and between Self_Total and Other_Total, were tested for the whole set of informants, and for the Brits and Chinese separately. Here we do not need to reduce the significance level we accept. It is reported that the pair of rating, Soc_Total vs. Pers_Total, is significantly different in the set for all informants (p=.034) and in the Chinese set (p=.012). The results are displayed in the following Figure 5.18 & 5.19.

Table 5.18 Wilcoxon Pers_Total vs Soc_Total for ALL INFORMANTS

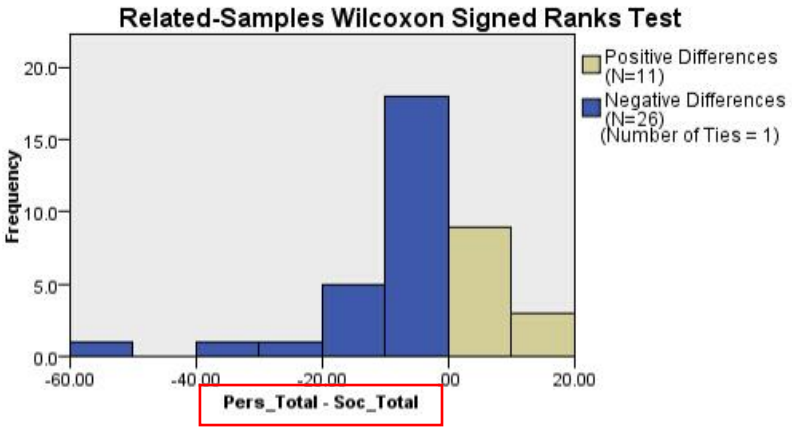


Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Soc_Total and Pers_Total equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test	.034	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Table 5.19 Wilcoxon Pers_Total vs Soc_Total for CHINESE



Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Soc_Total and Pers_Total equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test	.012	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

The MEDIAN RANK test, which is based on the chi-square analysis, is used to determine whether there is a significance between the medians of two or more independent variables. That is, this test is focused on the midpoint of the frequency distribution of the observed values relating to the sum of all 5 ratings for each British and Chinese informant on all four types (self-social, self-personal, other-social, other-personal). By performing Friedman's ANOVA test, the differences in the 4 ratings (self_soc, self_pers; other_soc, other_pers) OVERALL are significant for Chinese and for all informants taken together, but not for British taken alone. Further analysis was conducted by using the Related Samples Wilcoxon Signed ranks test. The results show that the difference of the medians of the pairs of rating, Soc_Self vs. Pers_Self, and Soc_Total vs. Pers_Total are significantly different in the set for all informants and in the Chinese set. There is sufficient evidence to conclude on the basis of these two tests that the differences of social-self and personal-self with respect to the Chinese informants' ratings on their personal belief and social knowledge on their own culture. However, these two tests have proven to be inconclusive regarding the interaction between the British and Chinese informants' self- and other-stereotypes.

5.4.1.2 Log-linear Analysis of Trait Ratings

The chi square test works with just 2 categorical (i.e. nominal) variables. The goal is to determine the relationship involving 3 such variables: Nationality (British vs. Chinese), Rating_ type (Self vs. Other) and Rating (3 vs. 2 vs. 1 vs. 0 vs. -1 vs. -2 vs. -3). For this, we need a technique called log-linear analysis, which is an extension of chi square where we have more than 2 categorical (nominal) variables. Log-linear analysis is a hierarchical procedure, which reveals not only the effects of individual variables on the pattern of frequencies, but also the effects of interactions between variables. In this case, there are 3 individual variables, so there are 3 '2-way' interactions (Nationality*****Rating_type, Nationality*****Rating & Rating_type*****Rating), and also one 3-way interaction involving all 3 variables (Nationality*****Rating_type*****Rating).

The output file 'Cell counts and Residuals table' is a cross-tabulation for chi square, but it also shows the 'residuals', i.e. the amount of variability in the data which the model has not been able to predict, and fortunately these are all zero. In another file 'Goodness-of Fit Tests table', two measures, Likelihood Ratio and Pearson, are given for how well the model created by the computer fits the data, and since chi-square is zero, the model fits the data perfectly. The important table is K-Way and Higher-Order Effects (see Figure 5.20). The first line at the top half of the table (K = 1) shows the effect of removing all 1-way effects (i.e. individual variables) AND all higher (2-way and 3-way) effects. The second line shows the effect of removing the 2-way and 3-way effects, and the third line the effect of removing just the 3-way effect. Because the significance values for the chi-square statistic are so low (.000, .000, .003), each of these removals has a significant effect ($p < .05$). The bottom half of the table shows the effects of removing ONLY the 1-way effects (the K = 1 line), ONLY 2-way effects (K = 2) and ONLY 3-way effects (K = 3). Again, all are significant (.000, .000, .003). We now know that removing 2-way effects makes a significant difference to the model, but we do not know WHICH 2-way effects are involved.

Figure 5.20

K-Way and Higher-Order Effects

	K	df	Likelihood Ratio Chi-Square	Likelihood Ratio Sig.	Pearson Chi-Square	Pearson Sig.	Number of Iterations
K-way and Higher Order Effects[a]	1	27	304.652	.000	328.006	.000	0
	2	19	57.989	.000	56.427	.000	2
	3	6	19.435	.003	19.196	.004	2
K-way Effects[b]	1	8	246.663	.000	271.579	.000	0
	2	13	38.554	.000	37.232	.000	0
	3	6	19.435	.003	19.196	.004	0

a. Tests that k-way and higher order effects are zero.
b. Tests that k-way effects are zero.

The Partial Associations table (See Figure 5.21) tells us which 2-way effects make a significant difference, i.e. we see that the effect for the Nationality*Rating_ type interaction is not significant (p = .861), and neither is Rating_ type*Rating (p = .106), but the Nationality*Rating is indeed significant (p = .000). We also see that when we look at individual variables, Nationality is significant, as is Rating, but Rating_ type is not.

Figure 5.21

Partial Associations

Effect	df	Partial Chi-Square	Sig.	Number of Iterations
Nationality*Rating_type	1	.031	.861	2
Nationality*Rating	6	28.098	.000	2
Rating_type*Rating	6	10.486	.106	2
Nationality	1	37.411	.000	2
Rating_type	1	.000	1.000	2
Rating	6	209.252	.000	2

The Backward Elimination Statistics table confirms that removing the 3-way interaction has a significant effect (p=.003) on the model. Because log-linear analysis is a hierarchical model, SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) software does not go any further than this. In other words, although we have shown that the individual variables Nationality and Rating, also the 2-way interaction Nationality*Rating, are all significant (see Figure 5.22 & 5.23), we should not in fact take this into consideration, because the 1-way and 2-way effects are subsumed in the 3-way interaction. What this 3-way interaction means is that if we look at the relationship between 2 of our variables, that relationship will depend on the value of the third variable.

Figure 5.22 Nationality * Rating (Self) Cross-tabulation

Nationality * Rating Crosstabulation

			Rating							Total
			3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	
Nationality	British	Count	62	46	39	35	29	12	47	270
		Expected Count	70.2	51.9	35.3	38.2	22.8	20.4	31.2	270.0
		% within Nationality	23.0%	17.0%	14.4%	13.0%	10.7%	4.4%	17.4%	100.0%
		% within Rating	36.7%	36.8%	45.9%	38.0%	52.7%	24.5%	62.7%	41.5%
		% of Total	9.5%	7.1%	6.0%	5.4%	4.5%	1.8%	7.2%	41.5%
	Chinese	Count	107	79	46	57	26	37	28	380
		Expected Count	98.8	73.1	49.7	53.8	32.2	28.6	43.8	380.0
		% within Nationality	28.2%	20.8%	12.1%	15.0%	6.8%	9.7%	7.4%	100.0%
		% within Rating	63.3%	63.2%	54.1%	62.0%	47.3%	75.5%	37.3%	58.5%
		% of Total	16.5%	12.2%	7.1%	8.8%	4.0%	5.7%	4.3%	58.5%
Total		Count	169	125	85	92	55	49	75	650
		Expected Count	169.0	125.0	85.0	92.0	55.0	49.0	75.0	650.0
		% within Nationality	26.0%	19.2%	13.1%	14.2%	8.5%	7.5%	11.5%	100.0%
		% within Rating	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	26.0%	19.2%	13.1%	14.2%	8.5%	7.5%	11.5%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	26.404[a]	6	.000
Likelihood Ratio	26.534	6	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	7.404	1	.007
N of Valid Cases	650		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.35.

Figure 5.23 Nationality * Rating (Other) Cross-tabulation

Nationality * Rating Crosstabulation

			Rating							Total
			3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	
Nationality	British	Count	66	42	27	28	28	28	51	270
		Expected Count	68.1	53.2	38.6	25.3	22.0	21.2	41.5	270.0
		% within Nationality	24.4%	15.6%	10.0%	10.4%	10.4%	10.4%	18.9%	100.0%
		% within Rating	40.2%	32.8%	29.0%	45.9%	52.8%	54.9%	51.0%	41.5%
		% of Total	10.2%	6.5%	4.2%	4.3%	4.3%	4.3%	7.8%	41.5%
	Chinese	Count	98	86	66	33	25	23	49	380
		Expected Count	95.9	74.8	54.4	35.7	31.0	29.8	58.5	380.0
		% within Nationality	25.8%	22.6%	17.4%	8.7%	6.6%	6.1%	12.9%	100.0%
		% within Rating	59.8%	67.2%	71.0%	54.1%	47.2%	45.1%	49.0%	58.5%
		% of Total	15.1%	13.2%	10.2%	5.1%	3.8%	3.5%	7.5%	58.5%
Total		Count	164	128	93	61	53	51	100	650
		Expected Count	164.0	128.0	93.0	61.0	53.0	51.0	100.0	650.0
		% within Nationality	25.2%	19.7%	14.3%	9.4%	8.2%	7.8%	15.4%	100.0%
		% within Rating	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	25.2%	19.7%	14.3%	9.4%	8.2%	7.8%	15.4%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	20.814[a]	6	.002
Likelihood Ratio	20.999	6	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	10.664	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	650		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.18.

We can now break down the 3-way interaction by doing individual chi-square tests at different levels of one of our variables. The test of Rating_ type vs. Rating for British informants contains the chi-square analysis of Rating_ type against Rating and shows no significant association between the two variables ($p > .05$), whereas the corresponding test for the Chinese informants (See Figure 5.24) shows a significant interaction ($p=.003$). The nature of variables can be determined by examining the cells in the cross-tabulation.

Figure 5.24 Rating_ type * Rating Cross-tabulation for Chinese

Rating_type * Rating Crosstabulation

			Rating							Total
			3	2	1	0	-1	-2	-3	
Rating_type	Self	Count	107	79	46	57	26	37	28	380
		Expected Count	102.5	82.5	56.0	45.0	25.5	30.0	38.5	380.0
		% within Rating_type	28.2%	20.8%	12.1%	15.0%	6.8%	9.7%	7.4%	100.0%
		% within Rating	52.2%	47.9%	41.1%	63.3%	51.0%	61.7%	36.4%	50.0%
		% of Total	14.1%	10.4%	6.1%	7.5%	3.4%	4.9%	3.7%	50.0%
	Other	Count	98	86	66	33	25	23	49	380
		Expected Count	102.5	82.5	56.0	45.0	25.5	30.0	38.5	380.0
		% within Rating_type	25.8%	22.6%	17.4%	8.7%	6.6%	6.1%	12.9%	100.0%
		% within Rating	47.8%	52.1%	58.9%	36.7%	49.0%	38.3%	63.6%	50.0%
		% of Total	12.9%	11.3%	8.7%	4.3%	3.3%	3.0%	6.4%	50.0%
Total		Count	205	165	112	90	51	60	77	760
		Expected Count	205.0	165.0	112.0	90.0	51.0	60.0	77.0	760.0
		% within Rating_type	27.0%	21.7%	14.7%	11.8%	6.7%	7.9%	10.1%	100.0%
		% within Rating	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	27.0%	21.7%	14.7%	11.8%	6.7%	7.9%	10.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	19.677[a]	6	.003
Likelihood Ratio	19.878	6	.003
Linear-by-Linear Association	.240	1	.624
N of Valid Cases	760		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 25.50.

In order to observe the effects of interaction involving 3 variables, log-linear analysis would give a greater level of visibility of the interaction between nationality (British & Chinese), rating-type (self- & other-stereotypes) and rating (-3 to +3) than the chi-square test which can only deal with 2 variables. This analysis was conducted using a two-step process. Firstly, the log-linear analysis proved to be inconclusive in analysing the 3-way interaction between Nationality*Rating-type*Rating, but it did highlight removing the effects of 2-way interactions, the Nationality*Rating, and the individual variables,

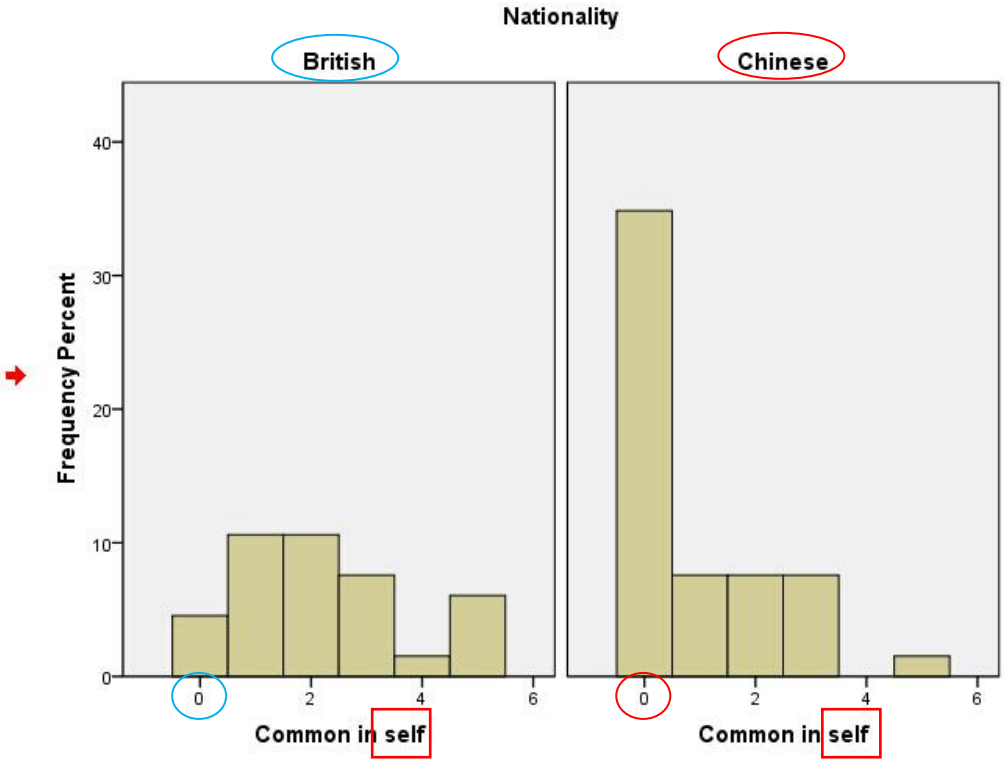
Nationality and Rating, on the pattern of frequencies makes a significant difference to the model. In relation to the research question on the British and Chinese informants' self- & other-stereotypes, this analysis has shown that there is indeed an observable pattern of frequency on the 7-point scale used by the British and Chinese informants when they rated themselves and each other. For example, when these two groups of informants rated self-stereotypes, the British and Chinese informants had the opposing tendencies to use the extreme positive rating (+3) and extreme negative rating (-3). This can be seen in the cross-tabulation that for the British informants, the frequency of using the positive rating (+3) at 62 was lower than the anticipated expected count at 70.2 while the frequency of the negative rating (-3) at 47 was higher than the anticipated expected count at 31.2. However, for the Chinese informants, the frequency of using the positive rating (+3) at 107 was higher than the predicted expected count at 98.8 while the frequency of the negative rating (-3) at 28 was far lower than predicted expected count at 43.8. Secondly, by forming granular analysis on the 3-way interaction, the individual chi-square test of 'Rating_type (self- and other-) vs. Rating' for Chinese informants shows a significant interaction. The cross-tabulation presented that Chinese informants' responses of "+3" on 'self' (28.2%) has higher frequencies than on 'other' (25.8%), whereas '-3' on 'self' (7.4%) has lower frequencies than on 'other' (12.9%). Taking the results of this analysis as a whole, the implications revealed from the British and Chinese informants' propensity to use extremes of opposing positive/negative rating (+3/-3) was consistent with prior research findings in section 5.3 "In-group Favouritism & Out-group Derogation".

5.4.2 Analysis of Common Traits in Social & Personal Assessment

An Excel file, containing the data set on traits common to social and personal opinions, was imported into SPSS with a specific column showing the difference between the frequencies with respect to 'self' and 'other'. The produced Histograms on "traits common in self and other" (see figure 5.25) for British and Chinese show the distributions of the frequencies. Note the very large difference between British and Chinese distributions: the majority of Chinese informants rating Chinese culture have no traits in common between social and personal assessments, whereas the distribution is much more spread out for the English self-assessments. The same is true when the informants are rating their own culture. The resultant 'Histograms difference between common in self and common in other' shows that the difference between 'self' and 'other' frequencies of common traits is zero for the majority of Chinese

informants, but this is of course because most of those informants had no common traits in either 'self' or 'other'. Again, the frequencies for British informants are much more spread out.

Figure 5.25 Traits Common in Self



A test of the significance of the difference between the 'self' and 'other' frequencies was also performed, separately for British and Chinese informants. This is a repeated measures design, since the same informants are providing both the 'self' and 'other' information. In order to know whether a parametric test (in this case the t-test for related samples, sometimes called the dependent t-test) would be appropriate, it was necessary to check whether the differences between the two frequencies are distributed according to the 'normal' distribution. We can assess this roughly from the histograms for the differences, which mentioned above, but there are also tests within SPSS, which can be done using the Explore feature of the Descriptive statistics menu within the Analyse menu. The results, 'Tests of Normality' (See Figure 5.26), show that two tests have been performed, and that for the British informants both are non-significant, that is, the significance values p=.122 and p=.309, much greater than .05. We therefore conclude that the British data are normally distributed. However, the Chinese

data are not, because the two tests are highly significant (p = .000, which is obviously very much less than .05). For the Chinese data, then, there is a highly significant deviation from normality, and we should therefore not use the parametric t-test for these data.

Figure 5.26

Tests of Normality

		Kolmogorov-Smirnov[a]			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Nationality	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
Difference	British	.150	27	.122	.957	27	.309
	Chinese	.375	39	.000	.761	39	.000

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

The equivalent non-parametric test has therefore been done, the Wilcoxon signed ranks tests, for both British and Chinese data, for the sake of comparability. The results (see Figure 5.27 & Figure 5.28) showed that, for both nationalities, the differences are significant (the p values are .004 and .007, which are much less than .05). If we look back at the data file, we can see that for both nationalities, the number of traits common to social and personal assessments is, overall, greater in assessment of self than in assessment of other. Moreover, we have demonstrated that this difference is statistically significant.

Figure 5.27 Wilcoxon on common in self and common in other _ British

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Common in self and Common in other equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.004	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

Figure 5.28 Wilcoxon on common in self and common in other _ Chinese

Hypothesis Test Summary

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The median of differences between Common in self and Common in other equals 0.	Related-Samples Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test	.007	Reject the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .05.

The resultant 'Histograms difference between common in self and common in other' shows that the vast differential between 'self' and 'other' frequencies of shared traits is '0' for the majority of Chinese informants, but the frequencies for British informants are much more spread out. That is to say, the five traits suggested by Chinese informants representing their beliefs in social opinion of the Chinese culture were at odds with the other five traits they picked for their personal beliefs. Conversely, the British informants' opinions proved to be more consistent as there were overlapping similarities in the spread of selections between their social and personal opinions.

It is pleasing to note that these results support the propositions produced by the focus group discussions. Specifically, in relation to the Chinese informants' social opinions, which as previously noted in Conclusion of 4.5.2, could be attributed to their exposure to a nationalist ideology leading to their default assessment of social trait sets. On the one hand, this is assumed to be due to the high ideals of the Chinese people themselves, on the other hand, these could be the collective images they would like to portray to the outside world. Still, the Chinese informant's assessment of their personal trait sets proved to be more individualistic presumably through the formation of their own opinions and observations.

However, the results of the British informants revealed a more congruent approach to their selections, which demonstrated a high degree of integrity between their social opinions and personal beliefs, with many of their selected traits applying equally to both categories. For example, those stereotypical traits relating to the very British "monarchy", "humour", "stiff upper lip" and "freedom of speech" are themes appearing to be foremost in the minds of the British informants when describing their own culture,

personal identity and heritage, where freedom of expression and the right to choose what they believe is paramount in their own nationalist ideology.

By performing the Wilcoxon signed ranks test, the difference is statistically significant, for both nationalities, in the number of traits common to social and personal assessments is, overall, greater in assessment of self than in assessment of other. That is to say, the number of shared traits suggested by both British and Chinese informants representing their social knowledge and personal beliefs in their own cultures was greater than the number of shared traits representing their equivalent opinions in their target cultures. Simply put, there were more overlapping similarities in the spread of selections of their self-stereotypes than other-stereotypes opinions. This could be explained by acknowledging that the informants would have a deeper level of knowledge of their own cultures but only a limited degree of exposure to a subset of their target cultures. Moreover, for both British and Chinese overseas students, their social opinions were mostly their preconceptions of their target cultures while their personal beliefs were based on their post-arrival life experience, which would account for the gap between these two categories.

CHAPTER 6 SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

6.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Stereotyping has come to our knowledge since Lippmann's groundbreaking work, *Public Opinion* (1922), which was mainly located in the domains of cognitive psychology and intercultural relations. Traditional studies have addressed the negative values of stereotyping and researchers viewed it as inherently inaccurate, oversimplified generalisations and exaggerated assumptions in social perception. These are best avoided, as they are believed to lead to an individual member within a group being treated in an unfriendly and even unfair manner as the basis of prejudice.

The new era of intensified global communication has given rise to the increased intergroup contacts, formation and expressions of stereotypes, which are believed to have an impact on cross-cultural interaction. The role and pragmatic function of stereotypes as well as meaning-in-context as the interactive aspects of stereotypes in a social-cultural context comes within the field of cross-cultural pragmatics. The current research takes an immediate position and argues for a kernel of truth in interactants' stereotypical perceptions and the recognition of stereotyping as pragmatic device to assist interactants in predicting, expecting, and explaining what is meant in each specific cultural context, and thus achieving a mutual harmonious interaction. As cultural norms and behaviours of in- and out-groups are easily observed and compared through the perceiver's own cultural frame of reference, the divergences of stereotypical perceptions and evaluations can be the cause of socio-pragmatic failure in any interaction between insiders and outsiders.

In conclusion, stereotype is a pervasive phenomenon that can be both consciously and unconsciously activated in social interactions relating to the perceived membership and characteristics of certain ethnic or social groups. Being intrigued by this social phenomenon and given my own ethnic background and cross-cultural interactive experience, this was an area of great personal interest to me. I was very eager to investigate the four aspects of stereotypical phenomenon, these informed the basis of my lines of enquiry and subsequent research questions (see Section 3.1.1). Among these four research questions, the central aims of this thesis concentrate primarily on the two main RQs, that is, the main points of contention relating to stereotypes, being whether "there is 'Kernel of Truth' in

stereotypes" and if stereotypes "Improve vs. Impede interactions". Then this raises the question: how do the real-life interactants understand the stereotypical phenomena? They are not either well-trained scholars or laboratory experimental participants responding to imaginary scenarios, but have first-hand experience with the target groups.

The full conslusions of these four research questions can be seen in detail by referring to Section 7.3. In addition, it is worth listing the two noticeable recurring patterns of results data relating to social stereotypes. I would argue that these findings shed new light on the traditional stereotypes research and would prove helpful to real-life interactants in the cross-cultural context.

6.2 REVIEW OF METHODOLOGY

The current research offers a mixed-method paradigm in which to conduct two consecutive phases for collecting data and analysing findings. By integrating both qualitatively described and quantitatively represented data, the integrity of the research questions and hypothesis can be ensured, which avoids the methodological weakness of stereotype research discussed previously. In addition, the employed mixed-method framework provides a more comprehensive set of outcomes than the use of single method design, and thus builds a holistic perspective to illuminate the research questions.

6.2.1 The Two Methods Employed in the Mixed-Method Methodology

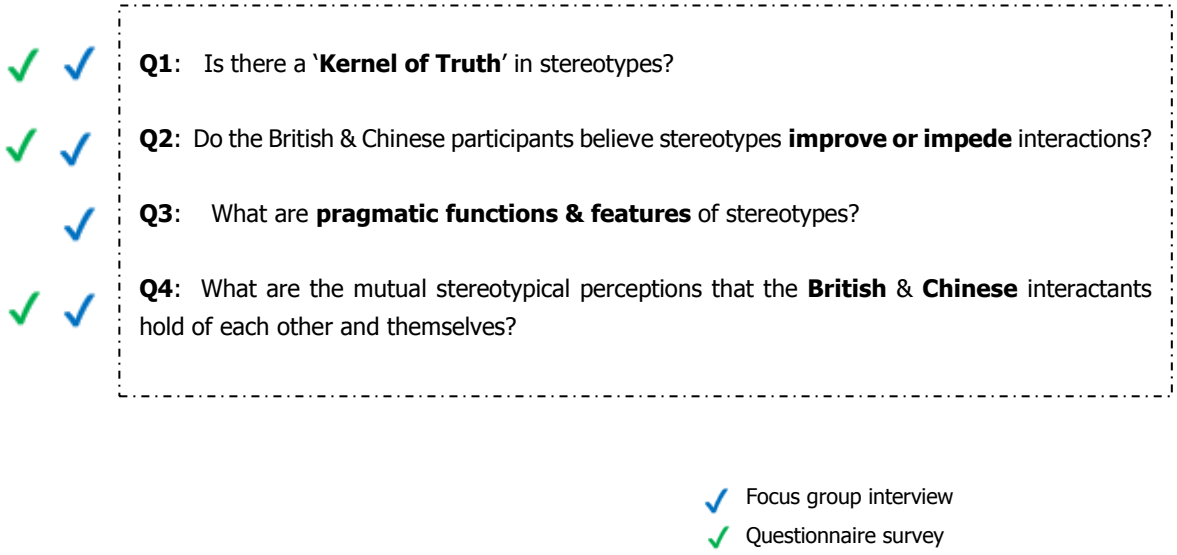
Specifically, the first phase of focus group interviews served in a preliminary capacity to elicit participants' stereotypical perceptions and first-hand experience through two sequential (separate and mixed groups) discussions, for the sake of their possible inhibition to discuss mutual (and negative) perceptions in their counterparts' presence and their overall sense of group cohesiveness. Peters (1993) believes such setting could make interview participants feel assured to discuss thought, opinions and share experiences. In addition, the linguistic and ethnic backgrounds of moderators for separate and mixed groups were given proper consideration in this cross-cultural research setting. The moderators for separate groups shared a similar linguistic or cultural background with the participants, and two moderators (British and Chinese) were arranged to conduct the mixed groups for a smoother communication and a more balanced ethnic setting. In the second phase, questionnaire surveys

incorporated self- and other- perceptions and viewpoints on the nature and role of stereotype, drawn from the previous qualitative enquiry to act as follow-up quantitative methods to develop descriptive and inferential statistics to evaluate findings on a broader scale and test the research hypotheses. This thus "effectively determine the prevalence of any given attitude or experience" (Bertrand et al., 1992).

6.2.2 The Links between the Two-Phase Mixed-Method Methodology

The overall aim of this thesis is to probe stereotypical phenomena from the perspectives of real-life interactants through their cross-cultural interactive practice and reflections, and thereby shed light on stereotype research. The mixed-method framework, which involved two different types of samples as well as data collection methods, was designed to not only effectively cross-validate produced data, but also capture different dimensions of the same phenomenon. Hence, the links between the two methods employed in the designed methodology lie in the formation of the research questions and the corroboration of the outcome generated by each method, which were cross-validated as part of the research findings.

The overall aim was formulated into four research questions and the addressed research questions shaped how the specific selected methods were conceived and implemented throughout a study to correlate the findings and outcome yielded by two individual methods. The diagram below shows that what the research question(s) was (were) addressed by the selected method, given the relative merits of each method and what question(s) could be gained by combining two methods. To be specific, the first phase, Focus Group Interviews, investigated all of the four questions. The second phase, Questionnaire Survey, evaluated the Question 1, 2 & 4. As can be seen from the diagram below, the two core research questions: Q1 ("Kernel of Truth") and Q2 ("Improve vs. Impede interactions") are the key questions whereby a cross-validation of the two methods can be evidenced.



As can be seen, the focus group interview objective (see Section 3.3.1.2) is aligned with the questionnaire survery objectives (see Section 3.3.2.1), thus ensuring the consistency of these two methods and evidencing the cross-validation of the research findings.

6.3 IMPLICATIONS AND FINDINGS

In this informative, much engaging thesis, the British and Chinese participants' first-hand experiences has shed light on the perennial issues in stereotype research – definition and accuracy. More importantly, the yielded results also point to a richer pattern of the interactive aspects of stereotypes in a social-cultural context, based on the interactants' cross-cultural practice. The broader implications of the findings will now be discussed.

6.3.1 'Kernel of Truth' Hypothesis

As discussed in 2.2.3.3, the 'Kernel of Truth' debate echoed in the stereotypes literature. In line with Triandis and Vassiliou's (1967) claim that "there is a 'kernel of truth' in most stereotypes when they are elicited from people who have first-hand knowledge of the group being stereotyped" (p.324). The findings of this thesis contribute to this discussion, with both qualitative and quantitative results providing support for a 'grain of truth' in 'stereotypes'. It began with focus group responses that both British and Chinese participants drew very confirmatory conclusions about the accuracy of stereotype (see 4.1.4.2).

Following this, in the questionnaire survey, the descriptive results of Question 1 and the inferential results of Question 4 cross-validate the stereotype's 'Kernel of Truth' prediction (see 5.1).

Regarding the accuracy of stereotypes, it is likely not only to be oversimplifying in order to define accurate and valid stereotypes in terms of its match to insider's perceptions. Rather than determine to what extent a particular stereotype contains some truth, this study explored the social-cultural context in which stereotypes are valid.

6.3.2 Role of Stereotype in Cross-cultural Interaction

Both the British and Chinese participants elaborated the way stereotypes improve and impede cross-cultural interaction, as discussed in 4.1.4.3 participants were aware that the word 'stereotype' carries a negative connotation, but they believed that stereotypes need not be negative as a negative attribute was the prototype of a stereotype. Descriptive results in inferential tests showed that the British and Chinese informants have opposite views on whether stereotyping is helpful in cross-cultural interaction, and, in a sense, stereotyping is less likely to have an impact on the British informants but plays a considerable role in the Chinese informants' cross-cultural interaction (see 5.2).

The Chinese informants' preference to use stereotype is evident in a historic ideology which is embodied in the Chinese concept of '*categorisation'*, known as '方以类聚，物以群分', as discussed previously. It is also noteworthy that the Chinese concept of 'categorisation', known as '方以类聚，物以群分' (Birds of a feather flock together), is embodied and exemplified in the renowned classical Confucian literature, the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*, and have been widely recognised and practised in Chinese people's daily social interactions. In the I Ching (or the Book of Changes; Chinese: 易经；pinyin: Yijing), which was one of the Four Books and dates back to the Warring States Period (475-221 BC), it stated, "(Affairs) are arranged together according to their tendencies, and things are divided according to their classes. Hence were produced (the interpretation in the Yi, concerning) what is good (or lucky) and evil (or unlucky)". In Liji (or the Book of Rites), which was one of the Five Classics compiled by the earlier Han Dynasty (206 BC), it said "The different quarters (of the heavens) are grouped together, and

the things (of the earth) are distinguished by their separate characteristics; and this gave rise to (the conception of) natures and their attributes and functions[18]".

This idea of 'categorisation' is fully consistent with the story reflected in another contemporary influential work, The *Strategies of the Warring States* (Chinese: 战国策；pinyin: ZhanGuoCe), which covered a collection of anecdotes revealing the social status, stress, political events and diplomacy of the political figures using their wits and deploying warriors during the Warring States period (403-221 BC). This well-told and often repeated fable provides a historical setting for the origin and an outstanding instance of the application of 'categorisation'. Chunyu Kun was a renowned sage and served as a court advisor for the Duke Xuan of Qi. In response to the Duke's appeal for talented and capable men to develop and reinforce the State of Qi, Chunyu Kun recommended the Duke seven wise men, whom clearly won the Duke's great favour. Still, the Duke was amazed at the fact that the seven wits were readily available to be summoned at a time. He thus asked Chunyu Kun if the State of Qi had an abundant supply of talented men since he understood that only one wise man could be found within the 500 square kilos of land area and there was only one saint every 100 years. Chunyu Kun replied, "Not Really, it was because of birds of same feather flock together and beasts of same feet walk together. Moreover, it is the same case with locating the Chinese herbs, Bupleurum and Platycodon, you can never find any of them in the low-lying land but your wagon can be loaded with them if you go to the north side of the mountain. The premise here is '夫物各有畴' (things belong to different categories). Chunyu indicated that he had taken such associations in hand if he was considered a member of the so-called intelligentsia class. This fable is a perfect reflection of the argument for 'stereotypes' in Chinese participants. Illustrations, immediately relevant to this concept can also be found in other contemporary works such as, the *Comments of a Recluse*, The *Miscellaneous Schools*, both of which emphasize the significance of shaping meaningful social groupings.

[18] In the Passage 18 of Chapter of Yueji, translated by James Legge, 1885

The Chinese thought of '方以类聚，物以群分', which emerged in the classical period of Chinese philosophy from Pre-Qin (221 BC) to Han Dynasty (206 BC-220), has had profound influence on the Chinese way of life concerning politics, ethics and social relationships for several thousand years, with its emphasis on perception patterns and influence. Today, this widely accepted perspective still underpins Chinese society and scholars who are attempting to explore the extent to which the overwhelming importance of this concept is widely shared and accessible in Chinese thinking.

6.3.3 Pragmatic Functions of Stereotype

The current research was reframed within the four perspectives that are relevant to cross-cultural pragmatics. Firstly, interface between language, interaction, and social cognition. This strand of research posits that 'the ways in which we perceive and, therefore, interact with others shape, and are shaped, by the language available to use, and its underlying social perception (Semin & Fiedler, 1992). Secondly, developing a contrastive perspective. Pragmaticists have been interested in investigating contrastive patterns of two languages varieties and pragmatic features, but few studies utilise a contrastive perspective to address intricate cognitive structures as internalised cultural value system in interactions. Thirdly, context contributes to meanings. Context is one of the key notions in pragmatics. Social stereotyping has a lot to play in the context, as linguistic representation of stereotype-related events only become intelligible through their relation to specific-cultural context. Fourthly, interaction as Analytical Procedure. Pragmaticists have been convinced that the importance and role of interactions can not only be explained as being subservient to linguistic function, discourse, stylistic strategies, but also must be explained as social perception and cultural norms as realised in interactive context.

From this thesis can then contribute to this perspective by observing how interactants' stereotypical perception is filtered through their own system of values in their social interactions.

Stereotyping is believed to have an impact on cross-cultural interaction. As discussed in focus group interviews (see 4.3), each illustration of the three types of pragmatic functions harbour unique aspects of the participants' actual life experience. Stereotyping is thus demonstrated as pragmatic strategies to assist interactants in the following aspects: 1) Stereotypes really add much to the predictive power of judgments; producing and communicating their personality judgments in an attempt

to justify inter-group attitudes and behaviours in their cross-cultural practice. 2) Stereotypes provide expectancy and predictable patterns to react to any given cross-cultural situation. 3) Stereotypes can explain culturally different activities within different cultural frames of reference and what they mean in a specific cultural context.

6.3.4 Contemporary British and Chinese Stereotypes on Self and Each Other

The British and Chinese participants' stereotypical perceptions of themselves and their target cultures have been presented in the Figure below.

(UK) Mixed Group – 1: (Chinese) Self- & Other-stereotypes

	Chinese on Self	Chinese on Brits	Internationals on Brits	Internationals on Chinese
Top 1	Friendly (+3)	Gentlemen (+2)	**Before:** Laddish Culture	**Before:** Shy
Top 2	Delicious food (+3)	Pubs (+1)	Emmerdale	Communist
Top 3	Family values (+3)	Football (+3)	Tea	Self-discipline
Top 4	Guanxi (-1)	Relaxing lifestyle (+0)	Football (hooligans)	Hard-working
Top 5	Cultural diversity (+2)	Unafraid of bad weather (+2)	Emotionally distant	Good food
	Large population (-1)	Humorous (+1)	Rain & umbrella	No environment consciousness
	Long history (+3)	Crazily creative (+1)	Gentlemen	
	Industrious (+1)	Fascinating rock music (+2)	Drinking	
	Chinese Tea (+3)	Violence (-2)	**After:** Awful food	**After:** Money obsessed
		Emotionally distant (-1)	Too polite	Brand-conscious
		Boring (-1)	No dress sense	Lack of independence
			Friendly	Friendly & helpful
			Cavalier to cold weather	Health-conscious

* **Participants:** British (4) + Chinese (5) + Internationals (3)

(UK) Mixed Group – 2: (British & Chinese) Self- & Other-stereotypes:

	Brits on Self	Brits on Chinese	Chinese on Self	Chinese on Brits
Top 1	Humour (+3)	Sense of history (+3)	Large population (-1)	Imperial history (+1)
Top 2	critical self-awareness (+1)	Human right issues (-3)	Guanxi (-1)	Gentlemen (+2)
Top 3	English language (+2)	Adaptability (+2)	Long history (+2)	Respect for heritage (+2)
Top 4	Industrial heritage (+1)	Cheap labour & low quality goods (0)	Cuisine culture (+3)	Emotionally distant (-1)
Top 5	Tea (+3)	Lack of social welfare (-2)	Hard-working (+2)	Good at time management (+2)
	Drinking culture (-1)	Food (0)	Tolerant (+1)	Emphasis on critical thinking
	British weather (0)	Cultural homogeneity (-2)	Culturally/ethnically diversity (+3)	Humour
	Glorious sporting failure (+2)	Communism (-2)	Resilience (0)	Privacy
	Stiff upper lip (0)	Pollution (-1)	Wisdom (+1)	Well-organised intuitions
	Monarchy (+2)	National-institutional pride (0)		Arrogant
				Focus on education of children

Internationals on Brits	Internationals on Chinese
Weather (-2)	Large population (-2)
Conservatism (-1)	Neo-socialists (0)
Imperial history (-3)	One-child policy (1)
High-profile universities (2)	No freedom (0)
Big government / Orweilian (-2)	Financial bubbles (-2)
Cultural diversity (+3)	Diaspora (2)
Awful food (-3)	Food (2)

* **Participants:** British (3) + Chinese (3) + Internationals (3)

(China) Mixed Groups: (British) Self- & Other-stereotypes

	Brits on Self	Brits on Chinese	Internationals on Brits	Internationals on Chinese
Top 1	Polite (+2)	Chinese Tea (+3)	Humour (+3)	Great students (+3)
Top 2	Humour (+3)	Friendly (+2) & Hospitable (+2)	Sexy accents (+2)	Hospitable (+3)
Top 3	Reserved (+1)	***	Cold (-1)	Face (-3) & Guanxi (-3)
Top 4	British Empire (0)	Poor driving etiquette (-2)	Traditional & historic (+2)	National pride (+1)
Top 5	English Tea (+3)	Make money a high priority (-2)	Drinking (+2)	Pushy (-1)
	Loutish when drunk (-3)	Spit on the floor (-2)	Football hooligans (-3)	Urban Management officers' violence (-2)
	Anti-French (-1)		Good education (+3)	Enthusiastic (+2)
			Sophisticated (+2)	Good weather (+2)
			Empire (0)	Smiley (+1)

* **Participants (MG – 1): British (4) + Chinese (5) + Internationals (3)**

Top 1	Sense of fair play (+3)	Patriotic (-1)	Polite (+3)	Patriotic (+1)
Top 2	Polite (+1)	Friendly (+3)	Humour (+2)	Traditional (0)
Top 3	Sarcastic (+3)	Serious (+1)	Drinking (0)	Hard working (+2)
Top 4	Bing drinking (-2)	Ambitious (+2) & Opportunist (+1)	Punctual (+3)	Hospitable (+2)
Top 5	Underdog spirit (+2)	***	Arts (+3)	Competitive (-1)
	Self-deprecating (+3)	Hospitable (+3)	Football (+1)	Culturally inclusive (+3)
	Mistrust of authority (+1)	Materialistic (-2)	Socially awkward (0)	Hierarchic society (-2)
	Privacy (0)		Proud (-1)	Obedient (-1)
	Pioneers (0)		Gentlemen (+3)	Enthusiastic (+2)
	Honest (+3)		History (+1)	Shy (-1)
	Patriotic (0)			Reserved (-1)
	History & Culture Awareness			

* **Participants (MG – 2): British (5) + Chinese (5) + Internationals (5)**

Sequence 2: (China) Mixed Groups: Self- & Other-stereotypes

	Brits on Self	Brits on Chinese	Internationals on Brits	Internationals on Chinese
Top 1	Polite (+2)	Chinese Tea (+3)	Humour (+3)	Great students (+3)
Top 2	Humour (+3)	Friendly (+2) & Hospitable (+2)	Sexy accents (+2)	Hospitable (+3)
Top 3	Reserved (+1)	***	Cold (-1)	Face (-3) & Guanxi (-3)
Top 4	British Empire (0)	Poor driving etiquette (-2)	Traditional & historic (+2)	National pride (+1)
Top 5	English Tea (+3)	Make money a high priority (-2)	Drinking (+2)	Pushy (-1)
	Loutish when drunk (-3)	Lack of good manners in public (-2)	Football hooligans (-3)	Urban Management officers' violence (-2)
	Anti-French (-1)		Good education (+3)	Enthusiastic (+2)
			Sophisticated (+2)	Good weather (+2)
			Empire (0)	Smiley (+1)

* **Participants (MG – 1): British (4) + Chinese (5) + Internationals**

Top 1	Sense of fair play (+3)	Patriotic (-1)	Polite (+3)	Patriotic (+1)
Top 2	Polite (+1)	Friendly (+3)	Humour (+2)	Traditional (0)
Top 3	Sarcastic (+3)	Serious (+1)	Drinking (0)	Hard working (+2)
Top 4	Bing drinking (-2)	Ambitious (+2) & Opportunist (+1)	Punctual (+3)	Hospitable (+2)
Top 5	Underdog spirit (+2)	***	Arts (+3)	Competitive (-1)
	Self-deprecating (+3)	Hospitable (+3)	Football (+1)	Culturally inclusive (+3)
	Mistrust of authority (+1)	Materialistic (-2)	Socially awkward (0)	Hierarchic society (-2)
	Privacy (0)		Proud (-1)	Obedient (-1)
	Pioneers (0)		Gentlemen (+3)	Enthusiastic (+2)
	Honest (+3)		History (+1)	Shy (-1)

* **Participants (MG – 2): British (5) + Chinese (5) + Internationals**

6.3.5 Interactive Implication

In this thesis, interaction features were demonstrated in both the methodology as well as the results and their interpretation.

Firstly, the devised methodological framework commenced with the primary method of focus group interview. The rationale behind this method lies in its obvious benefits, that of the essential element of the 'synergistic effect' (or 'group effect'), which was leveraged to "allow respondents to react to and build upon the responses of other group members" (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990:16). In this way, the interactions occurred at the main level between the British and Chinese participants and at the sublevel amongst the respective British and Chinese groups. The interactions were in the forms of consensus or debate, agreements or disagreements, contesting and arguing opinions, which helped to inform the outcome and conclusions of the participants' viewpoints.

Secondly, with respect to the focus group results and interpretation, two typical excerpts of participants' interaction were revealed by a case in point. On the heated discussion of China's 'large population' in one international group, The British participants perceived China's overpopulation issues in a negative manner, given the western media's coverage of the 'one-child policy' and the Chinese participants also looked at this situation unfavourably as they had an appreciation that families in China would like an opportunity to have more children. In this sense, both the British and Chinese groups were able to form a consensus of opinion. However, three international students with culturally diverse backgrounds had a heated discussion on 'China's large population', given their differing opinions. Initially, Nina's (Estonia) immediate 'knee jerk' response was the highest negative rating based on the western mainstream media perspective on China's 'human rights issues'. Jason (Canada) proposed a more rational line of argument and attempted to persuade Nina to reconsider her pessimistic rating by articulating the fact that China's population 'is large but not growing'. Jam (Sweden) supported Jason by stating the 'one-child policy' could be a political decision. Nina then conceded her earlier opinion and accepted Jason's suggestion of a less negative rating, being '-2'. However, Jam persisted with his arguments as he came to realise that the 'one-child policy' was an essential response to a critical situation by the Chinese State in order to control the drastic population growth rate. Therefore, he did not view China's 'large population' as negative as he believed that 'the policy itself has a purpose'.

Jason accepted Jam's arguments and proposed a better rating of '1'. Jam and Nina were then both in agreement with Jason's suggestion.

As above, by using the focus group method and associated data analysis, the participants were given the opportunity to exchange their viewpoints on the traits stereotypically representative of the British and Chinese cultures. Following their group interaction, after initial arguments, the participants were able to reach a consensus of opinion and this results then informed the interpretation of the research findings.

Therefore, the interactive implications of this current research are to approach one cross-cultural pairing of British and Chinese interactants, who have had real-life experience in each other's cultures. By observing their dynamic interactions across/within the British and Chinese groups, it revealed how the British and Chinese students make sense of their stereotypical preconceptions about themselves and each other's cultures, how they responded to viewpoints proposed by the other students within/across the British and Chinese groups, and how they evaluated the suggested stereotypical traits. As part of the research findings, the participants proposed stereotypes could function in three ways by informing judgments, allowing predictive expectancy and explaining the inference of a specific interaction. They also discovered the three pragmatic features of stereotypes, being culturally different linguistic forms in both an offensive and un-translated manner, the meaning-in-context of stereotypical traits and the context-determination of stereotypical traits' valence.

The pragmatic implication of this current research is to reveal the real-life interactants' life experiences and viewpoints, as they are representative of the broader view of cross-cultural communication, which provided both researchers and cross-cultural practitioners significant insights into a more practical understanding of the interactive features of stereotypical attributes in a cross-cultural context.

6.3.6 'In-group Favouritism & Out-group Derogation'

Consistent with 'in-group favouritism and out-group hostility' (Fischer, 1994; Struch & Schwartz, 1989; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), survey findings revealed the pattern of being in favour of the in-group was

found for the trait evaluation processing involved in both British and Chinese self- and other-stereotypes. The differences in the 4 ratings (self_soc, self_pers; other_soc, other_pers) overall are significant for all informants taken together.

6.4 LIMITATIONS

Although the methodological framework this thesis offers and explores has been systematically developed to the appreciable extent, it has several limitations that need to be addressed.

The first limitation is the considerably small proportion of British overseas students in China and their limited availability on the designated research sites both in China and in the UK. This determined the similarly small sample size for both the British and Chinese groups for the sake of this comparative research, despite the sufficient availability of and easy access to Chinese participants. Also, the use of interactants with first-hand cross-cultural experience as research population has imposed challenges on bringing together the British and Chines participants with expatriate experience in their target cultures for the exchange of their perceptions. Only one such ideal 'mixed' group session was organised, together with three other 'mixed' sessions involving local British and Chinese students in the discussions. This thesis calls attention to the idea of involving real-life interactants with cross-cultural practice and exploring the role of stereotype in the context of cross-cultural pragmatics, which would offer opportunities to cross-cultural interactants as well as stereotype researchers to develop practical vision of research problems addressed in this thesis. Despite an accurate representation of recruited research participants, the variety of responses could be limited when qualifying and quantifying data for analysis. For this reason, these findings can only be generalized to the smaller community based on this study alone.

The second limitation is that interaction among British/Chinese/International participants in the 'mixed' session is limited by barriers resulting from Chinese students' insufficient English proficiency, a lack of efficient icebreakers, and participants' reluctance to challenge different or negative viewpoints in the presence of their counterparts. This research aimed to bring together target groups to articulate their stereotypical perceptions on their self and target cultures in the presence of their counterparts, in

the hope of contrasting and observing their interactions and responses (agreement, argument). However, less interactive data was generated by focus groups.

The third limitation is the use of questionnaire survey. A concern highlighted in conventional research methodology is the over-reliance on survey-assessed strategy. This checklist approach could be problematic for the use of a pre-determined list of traits for two reasons: Firstly, Out-dated list over time by omitting current beliefs. Secondly, Researchers' bias on their own prior selection of traits; Thirdly, Applicability of checklist with sufficiently meaningful sets of traits/statements. An attempt was made to address these issues by creating trait lists by including traits elicited from focus interviews respectively with both groups of participants. The contemporary viewpoints from real interactants would be of much interest and relevance to research informants. However, the produced long trait lists (with 50-80 attributes) and the four-step instructions to select four different groups of traits representative of British and Chinese cultures at personal and social level of opinions place an undue burden on informants, which could be expected to result in participant fatigue and raise the issue of validity.

6.5 FINAL CONCLUSION

As an original piece of research, this PhD thesis is a result of a deliberate effort to take an interdisciplinary approach by introducing a stereotypical cognitive schema, as the 'point of entry' into cross-cultural pragmatics. Within the designed mixed-method research methodology, this cross-cultural pairing (British & Chinese overseas students), who are neither stereotypes researcers nor laboratory experimental participants with second-hand stereotypical percetpions, but have first-hand experiences with the target groups, are believed to provide more in-depth insights and valuable viewpoints into the research questions. The research findings provide empirical evidence supporting the 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis. Also, the findings depict an overall picture of how both groups of participants viewed stereotypes as functional, that is, the more positive than negative purposes stereotypes served when they were activated and used in their cross-cultural practice. Results suggest a consistent view of three pragmatic strategies: producing judgments, predicative expectancy, and evidence-to-inference explanation. The findings presented shed light on conventional stereotypes research and highlight what makes my work an original contribution.

The practical implications of my research are to demonstrate that stereotypes strategically function as pragmatic tools, rather than being an inherently good or bad traits-loaded cognitive schema. Stereotyping plays an important role in cross-cultural interaction while its effects are not necessarily negative, which have further implication for us to reflect on the creative treatment of its application, as well as its cause and effect. Tracing back to Lippmann's original ideas may shed light on current research on stereotype, as he claimed that stereotypes did not contain any particular ideas, and thus enabled us to "hold them lightly and modify them gladly" (Lippmann, 1992:91).

In this thesis, it has been demonstrated how the arguments, the methodology and findings have relevance to the two main research questions as below.

Firstly, on what basis were the core arguments proposed? The conventional research has conceived 'stereotype' as negative (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981:16) and people are becoming highly self-conscious at the mention of stereotypical perceptions with "a societal prescription to avoid them" (Kurylo, 2012:337). Fortunately, stereotype researchers ironically claim that "stereotypes have been stereotyped" (Jussim et al., 1995:15) and are increasingly recognising that "Stereotypes wear the black hats in social science" (Schneider, 2004:1). In the context of this debate, this thesis assumed the latter viewpoint in that stereotypes can be seen in a positive light. Therefore, the two main research questions: 'Kernel of Truth' hypothesis and role of stereotypes (i.e. whether stereotyping improve or impede cross-cultural interaction), were formulated and facilitated the current research.

Secondly, how did the design and execution of the mixed-method research strategy attain the best results of the two main research questions? The most credible outcome was believed to be based on the interactants' real-life experiences in the cross-cultural context as "communication is integral to a complete understanding of stereotype processes" (Kurylo, 2012:338). That is to say, in order for effective interaction, we need valid/accurate stereotypical knowledge of what people are likely to be like and which behaviours will be considered acceptable and we also need to rationalise stereotypes' functionality and provide justifications of their inherent usefulness as stereotypes "would not persist unless they performed some social or cognitive function for people" (Schneider, 2004:363). Utimatley, constructing/renewing valid stereotypical generalisations, as intervention effort, help to develop mutual understanding and achieve smooth and succesfful cross-cultural interactions (Gao, 1995). Therefore,

British and Chinese overseas students appeared to be the ideal research participants as they are non-experts on the topic of stereotyping but they are real-life interactants who make use of stereotypes. Based on their active engagement in cross-cultural practice, their first-hand steretoypcial perceptions and their viewpoints on the use of steretoypes were elicited in the foucs group interviews, the first phase of the mixed-method research design, which were beneficial in investigating the two main research questions. The follow-up questionnaire survey was devised to evaluate focus group findings and acertain the further quantitative analysis of the two main research questions. Overall, this methodoglical design facilitated the implementation of a comprehensive perspective for illuminating the research questions.

Thirdly, how did the findings have relevance to the two main research questions? The yielded findings revealed that both the British and Chinese participants demonstrated their awareness that there is 'a grain of truth' in stereotypes and steretoypes have proved useful in many real-life situations based on their cross-cultural experiences and observations. These findings provide an alternative perspective on the established doctrine of stereotypes' negative connotation and consequence.

It is hoped that this thesis takes on an interdisciplinary approach and develops a contrastive perspective to gain a deeper understanding of stereotypes, which will encourage further stereotype research into areas of cross-cultural pragmatics that have not yet received full attention. One area which merits additional study is that the conceptualisation of stereotypes referencing communication (Kurylo, 2012:338) following the shifting research focus on the "reproduction of stereotypes over time through communication processes" (Condor, 2006; Kenrick et al., 2002; Lyons & Kashima, 2001; Schaller, Lucian Gideon Conway, & Tanchuk, 2002). With the dynamic mode addressing the functions and contents of stereotypes, cross-cultural interactants might find most conducive to the understanding of highly entrenched patterns of perceived traits and behaviour in response to socio-cultural contexts. Interactants will be able to comprehend how contextualization cues effectively (re)construct their stereotypical knowledge. In this way, accurate stereotypes developed through cross-cultural contacts can have a positive impact on reducing misunderstandings and promoting smooth interactions.

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Appendix 1 Focus Group Research Consent Form

School of Music, Humanities and Media

University of HUDDERSFIELD
Inspiring tomorrow's professionals

Participant Consent Form

Title of Project: **A Contrastive Study of Chinese and British Stereotypes in Cross-cultural Interaction**

Name of Researcher: **Chunyao Zhao**

* *We would like to invite you to take part in the study named above but before you decide, please read the following information carefully and sign this form before the interview to consent for participation.*

This project intends to contrast Chinese and British cultural stereotypes from the other's perspective and identify information sources which influence and shape the way of their perceptions of each other, and thus provide an opportunity to explore the role of cultural stereotyping in intergroup relations and improve cross-cultural interaction as a result of the insights gained.

Session No.:	Chinese English L ☐ British Chinese L ☐ Chinese OS ☐ British OS ☐ Other ☐	Please initial box
I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this study and consent to taking part in it.		
Any questions that I asked about the purpose and nature of the interview have been answered to my satisfaction.		
I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without having to give reasons		
I give my permission for my interview to be audio/video recorded.		
I understand that today's recording will be watched/heard only by researchers of this study and audio recordings and transcripts of my interview may be used for educational purposes but will not be made available to any other person for any other purpose.		
I understand that any transcriptions of direct speech will be anonymised.		

Name of participant …… Signature ……

Date ……

I have explained the project and the implications of being interviewed to the interviewee and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation.

Name of interviewer…… Signature of interviewer……

Date……

Chunyao Zhao (PhD Student)

Department of History, English, Languages and Media
School of Music, Humanities and Media
University of Huddersfield, HD1 3DH, UK
Mobile: +44 779 432 5607
Email: chunyao.zhao@hud.ac.uk

* *Thank you for agreeing to take part in this study!*

Appendix 2 Focus Group Research Schedule

British and Chinese Self-stereotypes & Others-stereotypes FOCUS GROUP

(Sequence 1)

Time:
Venue:
Moderator:
Observer:
Participants:

Section 1 Awareness of Stereotypes

1. Have you ever heard of any stereotypes?
2. If so, what are they?
3. How do you think you learn about these?
4. Please give your definition of 'stereotypes'.
5. What is your general attitude towards stereotypes?
6. Identify some advantages and disadvantages of stereotypes.
7. If you are planning to study in China, do you think some kinds of stereotype will be helpful to your life in that country?
8. If so, what information would you like to know before you go there?
9. If not, why not?

Section 2 Self-stereotypes

1. How do you perceive your OWN culture?
2. What stereotypes do you hold about yourselves as British?

Section 3 Others-stereotypes

1. In your country, what is your GENERAL perception of Chinese?
2. What are your PERSONAL BELIEFS that you hold about the Chinese?

Thank you!

British and Chinese Self-stereotypes & Others-stereotypes FOCUS GROUP

(*Sequence 2*)

Time:
Venue:
Moderator:
Observer:
Participants:

Section 1 Self-stereotypes

Step1 Ask participants to write as many words, phrases or sentences as possible beginning with 'Chinese… ', 'British …'

Step 2 Please rate how positively or negatively you view each item using the following scale.
(very negative -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 very positive)

Step 3 Ask participants if they accept the first five adjectives, verbs and nouns selected from Step 1, with the highest frequencies describing Chinese and British.

Step 4 If YES, please provide examples or illustrations to support their agreement.

Section 2 Others-stereotypes

Step 1 Ask participants to write as many words, phrases or sentences as possible that are called to their minds when they think of Chinese / British students.

Step 2 Please rate how positively or negatively you view each item using the following scale.
(very negative -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 very positive)

Step 3 Ask participants if they accept the first five adjectives, verbs and nouns selected from Step 1, with the highest frequencies describing Chinese / British.

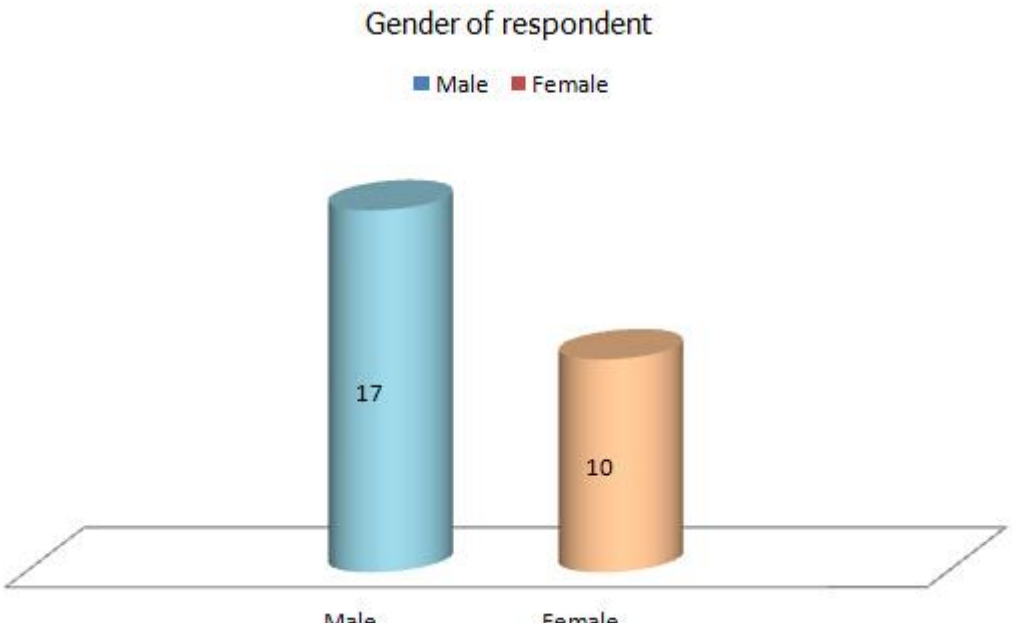
Step 4 If YES, please provide examples or illustrations to support their agreement.

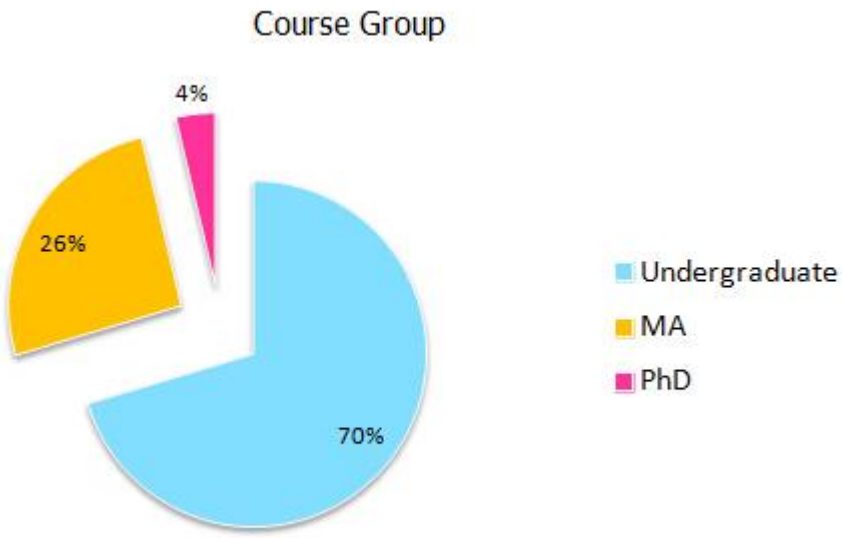
Section 3 Role of Cultural Stereotypes

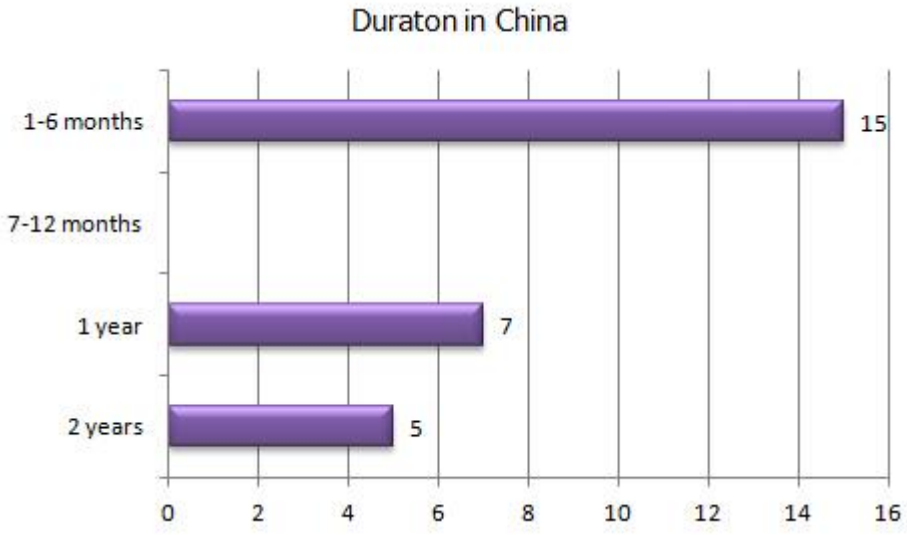
1. Do you think cultural stereotypes can improve or impede social interaction? Why?
2. Do you think there might be mismatches in self and other perceptions, that is, a gap between self-stereotyping and others-stereotyping?
3. If YES, how can we bridge the gap between them?
4. What information sources do you think are most reliable? And which are the most popular?

Thank you!

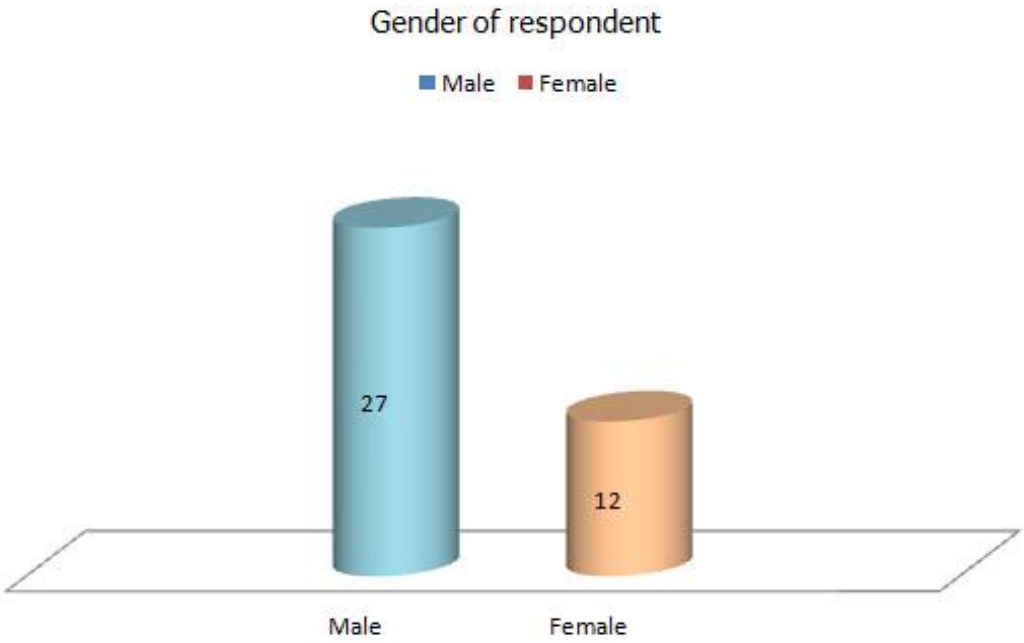
Appendix 3-1 British informants' information

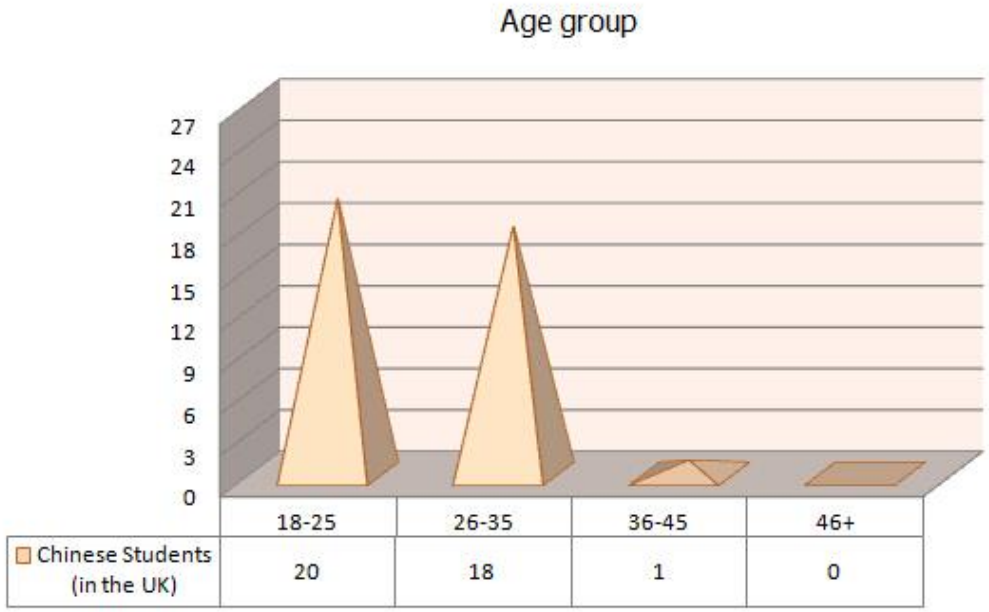


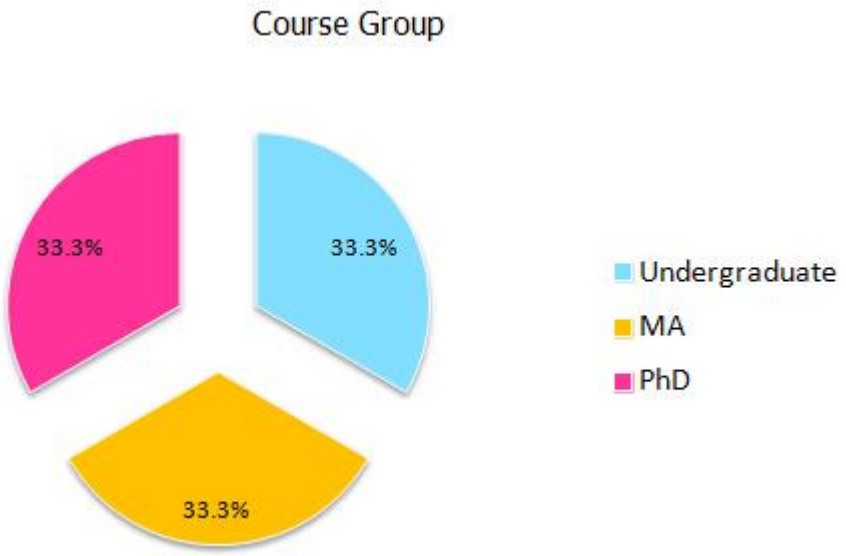

Course Group
4%
26%
70%
Undergraduate
MA
PhD

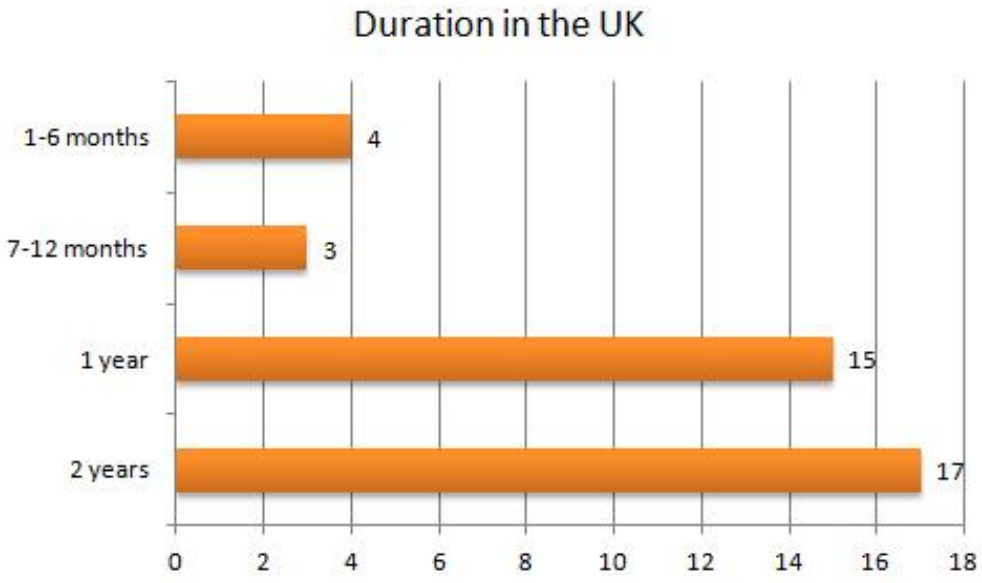

Duraton in China
1-6 months
7-12 months
1 year
2 years
15
7
5
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16

Appendix 3-2 Chinese informants' information






Course Group
33.3%
33.3%
33.3%
Undergraduate
MA
PhD


Duration in the UK
1-6 months
4
7-12 months
3
1 year
15
2 years
17
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18

Appendix 4-1 Questionnaire for British Informants

University of HUDDERSFIELD

Title of Project: A Cross-cultural Comparison of Chinese & British Stereotypes

PhD Researcher: Chunyao Zhao

Case number ☐☐☐

GENDER ☐ MALE ☐ FEMALE

AGE ☐ 18-25 ☐ 26-35 ☐ 36-45 ☐ 46+

COURSE ☐ UNDERGRADUATE ☐ POSTGRADUATE ☐ PHD

HOW LONG HAVE YOU LEARNED CHINESE? ☐ 1-6 months ☐ 7-12 months ☐ 1 year ☐ 2 years +

HAVE YOU EVER HAD ANY CHINESE FRIENDS? ☐ YES ☐ NO

HAVE YOU EVER BEEN TO CHINA BEFORE? ☐ YES ☐ NO

IF YES, HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN THERE? ☐ 1-6 months ☐ 6-12 months ☐ 1 year ☐ 2 years +

I would like to invite you to take part in the survey named above. Your experience and responses will contribute to a PhD project researching communication between the British people and the Chinese people from university students' point of view, with the focus on the perceptions held by these two groups about themselves and each other.

Give it a chance! You will be given an opportunity to know more about Chinese people, obtain reflections on British culture from your peers, and gain insights into how the Chinese students perceive British people and culture. Also, I would be more than happy to present my research findings and share my interactive experience with you. It should only take 15 minutes of your time to fill in the questionnaire below or complete online survey by clicking on the following link: http://www.survey.bris.ac.uk/hud/culturalstereotype. Your answers will be kept anonymous and strictly confidential. If you would like any further information or details of the study, please contact: u0873740@hud.ac.uk.

Thank you for your participation and support!

1

Cultural stereotyping questionnaire for the BRITISH people

1. When you hear of a cultural stereotype (e.g. about Chinese people), you think it _____

   a. is true b. may not be true c. has an element of truth d. is for reference only

2. What do you understand by "Cultural stereotype"? (you can choose **MORE** than one item)

   a. Just a way of poking fun at the people from a different social or cultural group.
   b. A convenient mental shortcut to generalising cultural difference or characterising a group of people.
   c. An oversimplified generalization about an entire group, regardless of the uniqueness of individuals or the variability within a group.
   d. As a way of sorting things by types, it pigeonholes people based on a small amount of evidence.
   e. As a fixed and one-sided view of a group, it can lead to a person being treated in an unfriendly and unfair way so it is often regarded as the basis of prejudice, even discrimination.
   f. A belief that associates a group of people with certain traits usually has element of truth.
   g. The word "stereotype" carries a negative connotation.
   h. Cultural stereotyping itself is not problematic but necessary and inevitable.

3. How do you think you learn about culture stereotypes?

   ☐ school education
   ☐ family
   ☐ friends
   ☐ books
   ☐ films
   ☐ jokes
   ☐ comedy
   ☐ caricature
   ☐ popular songs
   ☐ newspaper & magazine
   ☐ Internet (i.e. forum & blogs)
   ☐ official websites
   ☐ TV programmes
   ☐ documentaries
   ☐ advertisements
   ☐ personal contact/experience
   ☐ historical or current events

   OTHERS (please specify)

   _____

   YOUR COMMENTS:

   _____

A. Please rate from 1 to 5, the ones you think are the MOST **COMMON** from the LIST on the left.

TOP 1 _____

TOP 2 _____

TOP 3 _____

TOP 4 _____

TOP 5 _____

B. Which **ONE** of these FIVE do you think is the MOST **RELIABLE** information source?

_____

C. Which **ONE** of these FIVE do you think is the MOST **INFLUENTIAL** information source?

_____

2

4. What do you think of the following statements about cultural stereotype? Please put **Y** if you AGREE and **N** if you DISAGREE.

_____ It allows for no individuality and assumes characteristics that may be false, even dangerous.

_____ Cultural stereotypes always have a kernel of truth in them somewhere.

_____ It stops us from learning real facts about real people.

_____ It can be used to navigate the social rules of a culture you've never experienced before.

_____ The internalization of unfair stereotypes can negatively affect communicative performance.

_____ People or countries can reap the benefits of positive stereotypes, e.g. a nation can export its image across the world for tourism, economic gains, etc.

_____ It can be harder to break down stereotypes once they are established.

_____ Becoming aware of how others stereotype your own group can help you to see how false your stereotypes about other groups might be.

_____ Cultural stereotype works both ways in cross-cultural interaction, positive and negative, and it depends on the situation.

5. **While** living in China, do you think cultural stereotypes were **helpful** to your study and life in China? (* If "**NO**" go to 7)

a. Yes b. Quite a lot c. No d. Not sure

6. IF YES / QUITE A LOT, please tick off **FIVE** items that you think it would be MOST **HELPFUL** to know about.

☐ History	☐ Geography
☐ Education	☐ Weather
☐ Campus life	☐ Food
☐ accommodation	☐ Fashion
☐ Entertainment	☐ Travel
☐ Friendship	☐ Sport & Competition
☐ Love & Dating	☐ Jobs
☐ Identity	☐ Religion
☐ Personality traits	☐ The arts
☐ Privacy	☐ Ethnic issues
☐ Taboos	☐ Political issues
☐ Regulations & Laws	☐ Economic situation
☐ Popular topics for daily conversation	☐ Holidays & Special Occasions

OTHERS (Please specify) ☐ _____

YOUR COMMENTS: ☐ _____

7. When you think of “Chinese people”, do you have any IMAGES in your mind?

   a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

8. What’s your GENERAL perception of Chinese people from a wide range of information sources?

   a. Positive b. Negative c. Neutral d. Difficult to say

9. When you meet with any Chinese people for the first time, would you use your general impression of this cultural group to predicate his/her behaviour?

   a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

10. When you meet with any Chinese people for the first time, would you interact with him/her without any preoccupied views related to the traits associated with this cultural group?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

11. Do you think it is possible for you to employ your general impression for reference when interacting with any Chinese people for the first time?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

12. IF you have POSITIVE perception of Chinese people, would this good impression intensify your desire to make more contacts with Chinese people?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe d. Not applicable

13. Do you think a POSITIVE perception of Chinese people would lead to a positive interaction with them?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

14. IF you have NEGATIVE perception of Chinese people, do you think you would be unwilling to interact with any member of the group even if they don’t have the attributes you dislike?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe d. Not applicable

15. Do you think a NEGATIVE perception of Chinese people would lead to biased behaviour?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

16. Do you think your perception of Chinese people would keep changing while interacting with the members of this group?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

17. Do you think there might be MISMATCHES in self- and other- perceptions?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

18. Do you think it is possible to BRIDGE the gap between them?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

19. How do you perceive the BRITISH culture?

- Please put in BOX A below the **FIVE** traits from the LIST which you think British people COMMONLY HOLD about themselves and their culture. In BOX B, put the **FIVE** ones you PERSONALLY think are most TRUE.

- AND please give your own RATING of the traits you choose if you think they are **GOOD** or **BAD** traits, using the following scale. (Very bad -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 very good)

NATIONAL CHARACTERS
gentlemen
well-educated
critical self-awareness
stiff upper lip
underdog spirit
pioneers
patriotic
national pride
bland
awareness of culture & history
anti-French
expect high standards

VALUES
multiculturalism
conservatism
privacy
individuality prized
Chavs
sense of fair play
glorious sporting failure
no respect for age

HISTORY & CULTURE
Empire
imperial image
monarchy
colonial
mistrust of authority
freedom of speech
small country with large population
rich, historical and unique culture
industrial heritage
industrial history
class consciousness
social status determined by language
English language
British comedy
high profile of sport
booze culture
drinking culture
binge drinking
pubs
tea culture
afternoon tea
high tea

BEHAVIOURS
polite
reserved
humour/sarcasm
self-deprecating
arrogant
violent
football hooligans
honest
outward looking
travel a lot
effective
open-minded
narrow-minded
eccentric
loutish or aggressive when drunk
talking about weather
cockney rhyming slang
love to stereotype

OTHERS (Please specify)

☐ _____

BOX A (**Social Opinion**)

TOP	RATING
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

BOX B (**Personal Opinion**)

TOP	RATING
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

YOUR COMMENTS: ☐ _____

5

20. How do you perceive the CHINESE culture?

- Please put in BOX A the **FIVE** traits from the LIST which you think British people COMMONLY HOLD about Chinese people and their culture. In BOX B, put the **FIVE** ones you PERSONALLY think are most TRUE.

- AND please give your own RATING of the traits you choose if you think they are **GOOD** or **BAD** traits, using the following scale. (Very bad -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 very good)

NATIONAL CHARACTERS

national-institutional pride
love idea of harmonious communes
morally conservative
more nationalistic
patriotic
hard-working
work-oriented
ambitious
self-disciplined
welcoming hosts
adaptability
intelligent (esp. maths & electronics)
health conscious
naiveté

BEHAVIOURS

respectful of parents
shy
quiet
reserved
competitive
outgoing
solemn/serious
make money a high priority
less superstitious & religious practices
a bit geeky
bad drivers
can't drive

HISTORY & CULTURE

sense of history
cultural homogeneity
Confucianism
communism
little red book
political restrictions
no free press
Chinese tea
distinct food

VALUES

family values
collectivism
opportunistic
materialistic
commercialism

SOCIETY

rapid economy
cheap labour
low quality goods
"made in China" products
heavy traffic
pollution
lack of social welfare
human right issues

OTHERS (Please specify)
☐ _____

BOX A (**Social Opinion**)

TOP	RATING
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

BOX B (**Personal Opinion**)

TOP	RATING
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

YOUR COMMENTS ☐ _____

Thank you!

Appendix 4-2 Questionnaire for Chinese Informants

Cultural Stereotyping Questionnaire for CHINESE students

1. When you hear of a cultural stereotype (e.g. about British people), you think it _____

   a. is true b. may not be true c. has an element of truth d. is for reference only

2. What do you understand by "Cultural stereotype"? (you can choose **MORE** than one item)

   a. Just a way of poking fun at the people from a different social or cultural group.
   b. A convenient mental shortcut to generalising cultural difference or characterising a group of people.
   c. An oversimplified generalization about an entire group, regardless of the uniqueness of individuals or the variability within a group.
   d. As a way of sorting things by types, it pigeonholes people based on a small amount of evidence.
   e. As a fixed and one-sided view of a group, it can lead to a person being treated in an unfriendly and unfair way so it is often regarded as the basis of prejudice, even discrimination.
   f. A belief that associates a group of people with certain traits usually has element of truth.
   g. The word "stereotype" carries a negative connotation.
   h. Cultural stereotyping itself is not problematic but necessary and inevitable.

3. How do you think you learn about culture stereotypes?

   ☐ school education
   ☐ family
   ☐ friends
   ☐ books
   ☐ films
   ☐ jokes
   ☐ comedy
   ☐ caricature
   ☐ popular songs
   ☐ newspaper & magazine
   ☐ Internet (i.e. forum & blogs)
   ☐ official websites
   ☐ TV programmes
   ☐ documentaries
   ☐ advertisements
   ☐ personal contact/experience
   ☐ historical or current events

   OTHERS (please specify)

   _____

   YOUR COMMENTS:

   _____

A. Please rate from 1 to 5, the ones you think are the MOST **COMMON** from the LIST on the left.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

B. Which **ONE** of these 5 do you think is the MOST **RELIABLE** information source?

_____

C. Which **ONE** of these 5 do you think is the MOST **INFLUENTIAL** information source?

_____

2

4. What do you think of the following statements about cultural stereotype? Please put **Y** if you agree and **N** if you disagree.

_____ It allows for no individuality and assumes characteristics that may be false, even dangerous.

_____ Cultural stereotypes always have a kernel of truth in them somewhere.

_____ It stops us from learning real facts about real people.

_____ It can be used to navigate the social rules of a culture you've never experienced before.

_____ The internalization of unfair stereotypes can negatively affect communicative performance.

_____ People or countries can reap the benefits of positive stereotypes, e.g. a nation can export its image across the world for tourism, economic gains, etc.

_____ It can be harder to break down stereotypes once they are established.

_____ Becoming aware of how others stereotype your own group can help you to see how false your stereotype about other groups might be.

_____ Cultural stereotype works both ways in cross-cultural interaction, positive and negative, and it depends on the situation.

5. **While** living in the UK, do you think cultural stereotypes were **helpful** to your study and life in the UK? (* If "**NO**" go to 7)

a. Yes b. Quite a lot c. No d. Not sure

6. IF YES / QUITE A LOT, please tick off **FIVE** items that you think it would be MOST **HELPFUL** to know about.

☐ History	☐ Geography
☐ Education	☐ Weather
☐ Campus life	☐ Food
☐ accommodation	☐ Fashion
☐ Entertainment	☐ Travel
☐ Friendship	☐ Sport & Competition
☐ Love & Dating	☐ Jobs
☐ Identity	☐ Religion
☐ Personality	☐ The arts
☐ Privacy	☐ Ethnic issues
☐ Taboos	☐ Political issues
☐ Regulations & Laws	☐ Economic situation
☐ Popular topics for daily conversation	☐ Holidays & Special Occasions

OTHERS (Please specify) ☐ _____

YOUR COMMENTS: ☐ _____

7. When you think of “British people”, do you have any IMAGES in your mind?

   a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

8. What’s your GENERAL perception of British people from a wide range of information sources?

   a. Positive b. Negative c. Neutral d. Difficult to say

9. IF you meet with any British people for the first time, would you use your general impression of this cultural group to predicate his/her behaviour?

   a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

10. IF you meet with any British people for the first time, would you interact with him/her without any preoccupied views related to the traits associated with this cultural group?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

11. Do you think it is possible for you to employ your general impression for reference when interacting with any British people for the first time?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

12. IF you have POSITIVE perception of British people, would this good impression intensify your desire to make more contacts with British people?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe d. Not applicable

13. Do you think a POSITIVE perception of British people would lead to a positive interaction with them?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

14. IF you have NEGATIVE perception of British people, do you think you would be unwilling to interact with any member of the group even if they don’t have the attributes you dislike?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe d. Not applicable

15. Do you think a NEGATIVE perception of British people would lead to biased behaviour?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

16. Do you think your perception of British people would keep changing while interacting with the members of this group?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

17. Do you think there might be MISMATCHES in self- and other- perceptions?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

18. Do you think it is possible to BRIDGE the gap between them?

    a. Yes b. No c. Maybe

19. How do you perceive the CHINESE culture?

- Please put in BOX A below the **FIVE** traits from the LIST which you think Chinese people COMMONLY HOLD about themselves and their culture. In BOX B, put the **FIVE** ones you PERSONALLY think are the most true.
- AND please give your own RATING of the traits you choose if you think they are **GOOD** or **BAD** traits, using the following scale. (Very bad -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 very good)
-

NATIONAL CHARACTERS

traditional
patriotic
hardy
intelligent
resilient
persevering
thrift
wisdom
practical
selfish
spirit of devotion
benevolence (core of Confucianism)
doctrine of golden mean
strong sense of human touch
content with things as they are
lack of national confidence
lack of a sense of security
tendency to be westernised
contradictory nature of dispositions
self-esteem
national pride
love peace
spirit of solidarity
strong inclusivity
focus on etiquette
pursuit of harmony
national confidence

HISTORY & CULTURE

tea
vast territory
long history
delicious food
large population
regional cultural difference
distinctive architectural diversity
extensive & profound traditional culture
cultural diversity
cultural universality
cultural innovation
culturallv inclusive

VALUES

collectivism
focus on education
filial piety
family value
Face value
strong social networks
respect for the old & love for the young

BEHAVIOURS

polite
brave
friendly
modest
honest
diligent
reserved
implicit
inclusive
tolerant
fast pace of lif
moderation in all things
dependent (students & children)
rigorous
hospitable
industrious
ambitious
persistent
emotional
considerate
hard-working
lateral thinking
linear thinking

OTHERS (Please specify)

☐ _____

_____

BOX A (**Social Opinion**)

TOP	RATING
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

BOX B (**Personal Opinion**)

TOP	RATING
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

YOUR COMMENTS ☐ _____

5

20. How do you perceive the BRITISH culture?

- Please put in BOX A the **FIVE** traits from the LIST which you think British people COMMONLY HOLD about Chinese people and their culture. In BOX B, put the **FIVE** ones you PERSONALLY think are most TRUE.
- AND please give your own RATING of the traits you choose if you think they are **GOOD** or **BAD** traits, using the following scale. (Very bad -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3 very good)

NATIONAL CHARACTERS

gentlemen
selfish
arrogant
patriotic
selfhood
national pride
traditional
democratic
innovative
inscrutable
contradictory
emotionally distant
sense of superiority
passionate about sports
unafraid of bad weather
focus on education of children
interested in political discussions
passionate about arts & literature

VALUES

racism
privacy
focus on common interests
rights protection consciousness

HISTORY & CULTURE

colonial
monarchy
long history
imperial history
industrial history
drinking culture
respect for heritage
institutionalization
British fashion style
world-class education
nobility (class system)
"country seat" culture
care of vulnerable groups
well-developed social care
free academic environment
classes (restrict to the hierarchy)
tender feeling-romantic rock music
the sun never sets on the British empire
rainy
pubs
football
boring life
biased media
religious life
lots of holidays
rapid pace of life
well-ordered society
free public resources

BEHAVIOURS

reserved
direct
modest
implicit
humours
punctual
inefficient
self-mockery
self-disciplined
football hooligans
rebellious (teenagers)
interpersonal distance
kind & patient (teachers)
good at time management
emphasis on critical thinking
cold
proud
violent
starchy
friendly
rigorous
creative
practical
eccentric

OTHERS (Please specify)

☐ _____

BOX A (**Social Opinion**)

TOP	RATING
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

BOX B (**Personal opinion**)

TOP	RATING
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

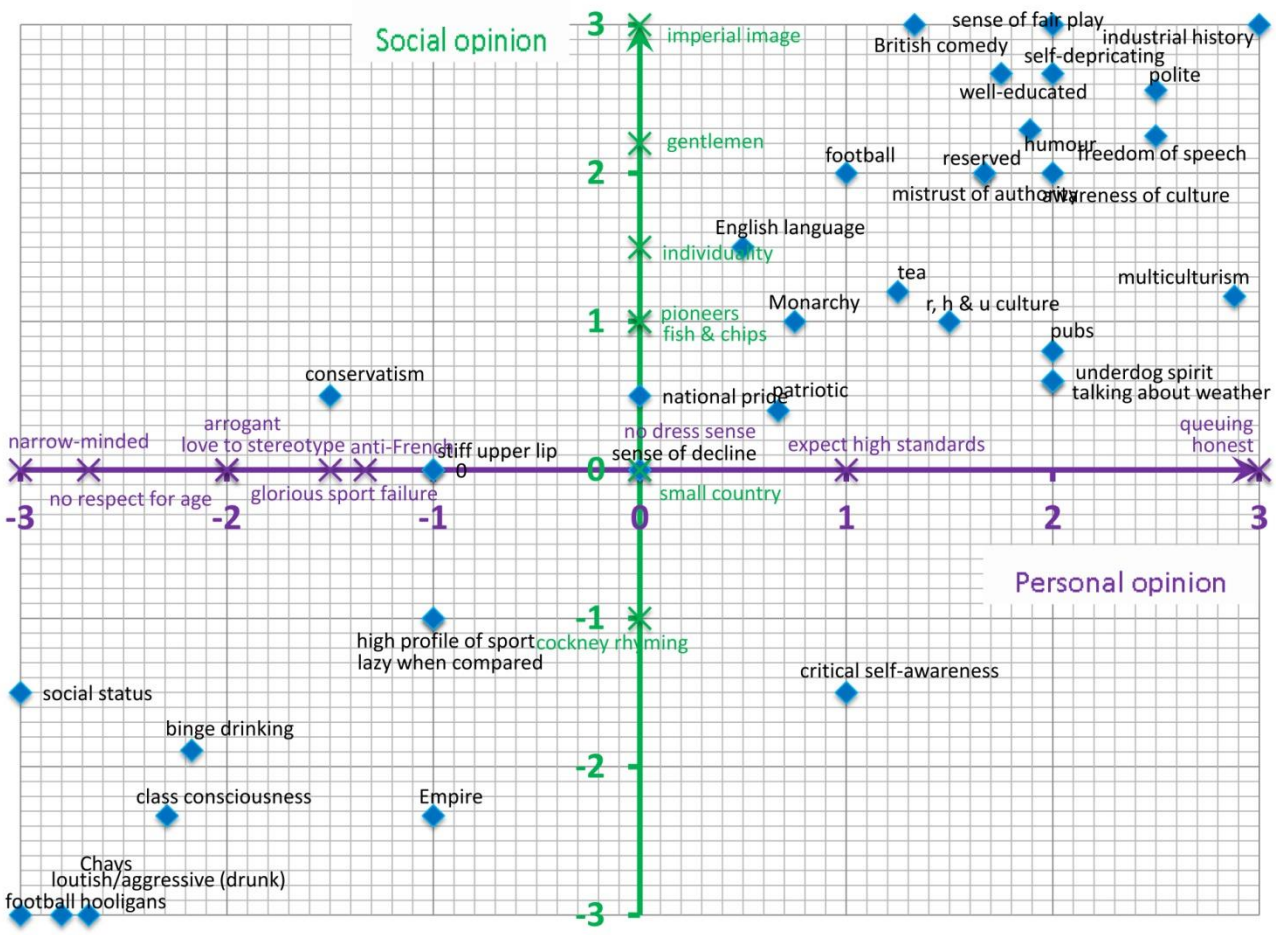
YOUR COMMENTS: ☐ _____

Thank you!

6

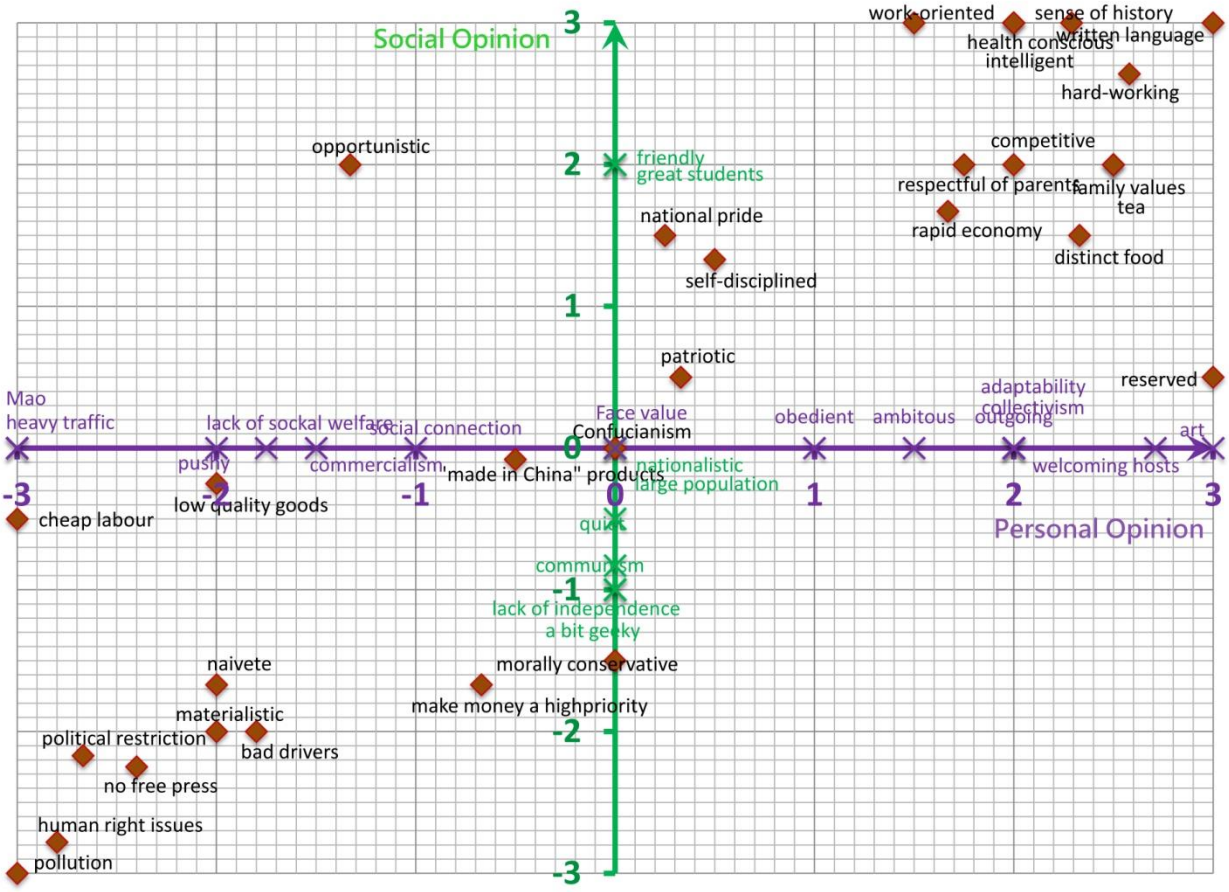
Appendix 5-1 Coordinates: British on Self

British on Self



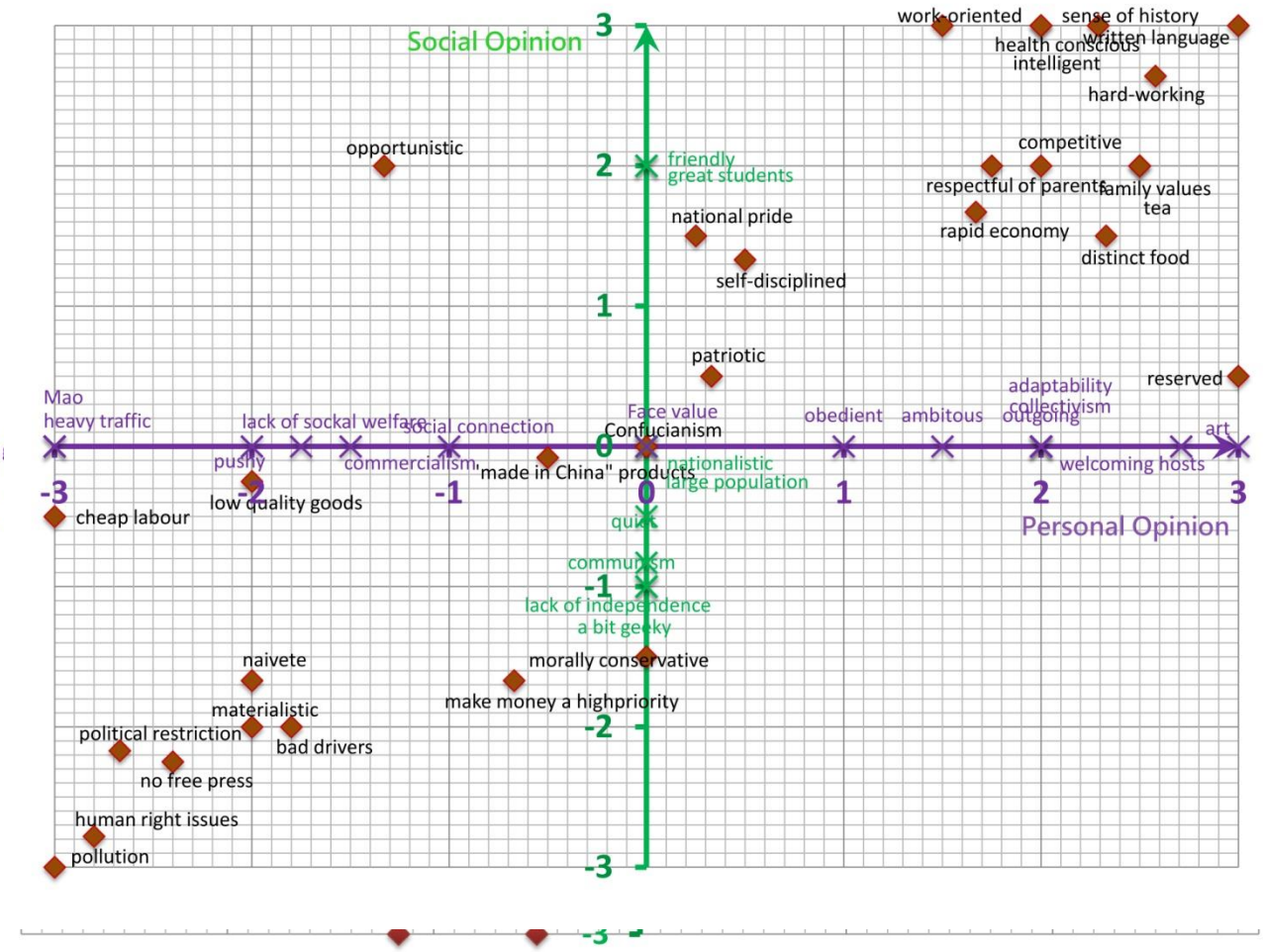
Appendix 5-2 Coordinates: British on Chinese

British Students on Chinese



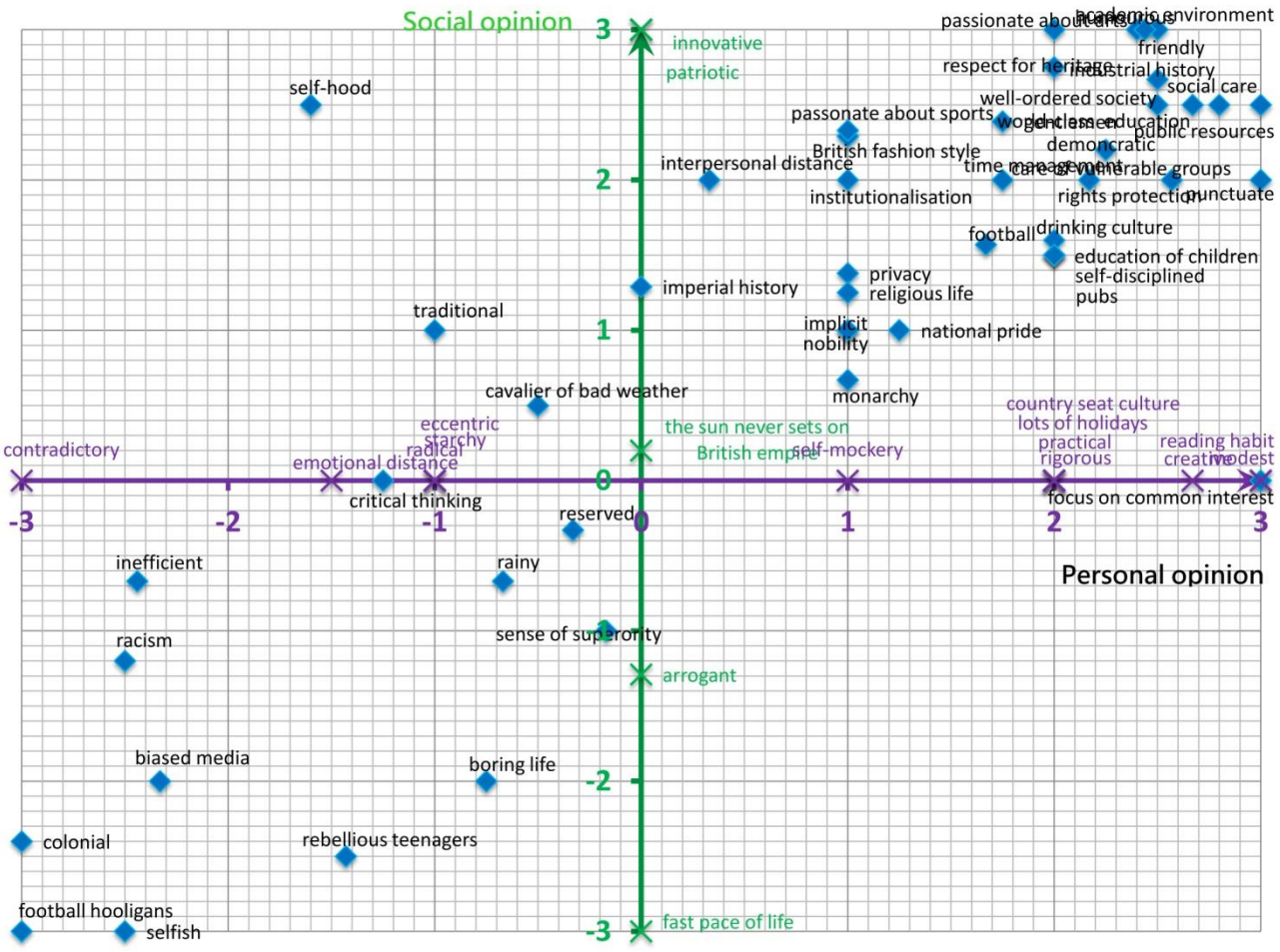
Appendix 5-3 Coordinates: Chinese on Self

Chinese Students on Self



Appendix 5-4 Coordinates: Chinese on British

Chinese Students on British



Appendix 6-1 Rating & Frequency: British on Self: Social & Personal Opinions

British on Self

Social	Frequency	Rating		Rating	Frequency	Personal
polite	9	2.56	overlapped	-2.17	12	binge/booze drinking
binge/booze drinking	9	-1.89	traits	1.89	9	humour
humour/sarcasm	7	2.29	**36/56**	2.5	8	polite
monarchy	7	1		2.88	8	multiculturism
multiculturalism	6	1.17		-2.29	7	class consciousness
class consciousness	6	-2.33		-2.8	5	loutish when drunk
stiff upper lip	6	0		-1.5	4	conservatism
underdog spirit	5	0.6		1.75	4	well-educated
patriotic	5	0.4		2.5	4	freedom of speech
gentlemen	5	2.2		1.25	4	tea culture
pubs	5	0.8		1.67	3	reserved
talking about weather	5	0.6		-2.67	3	no respect for aged
national pride	4	0.5		0.67	3	patriotic
freedom of speech	4	2.25		-1.33	3	anti-French
well-educated	3	2.67		0.75	3	Monarchy
Empire	3	-2.33		1.33	3	British comedy
tea culture	3	0.67		-2.67	3	Chavs
self-deprecateing	3	2.67		2	3	a sense of fair play
critical self-awareness	2	-1.5		1.67	3	mistrust of authority
conservatism	2	0.5		2	2	talking about weather
individuality prized	2	1.5		-3	2	football hooligans
sense of fair play	2	3		-1.5	2	glorious sport faliure
English language	2	1.5		2	2	pubs
afternoon tea	2	2		1	2	expect high standard
reserved	2	2		-3	2	social status determined by languag
football hooligans	2	-3		1.5	2	rich, historical & unique culture
social status determined by languag	2	-1.5		1	2	critical self-awareness
pioneers	1	1		-1	2	stiff upper lip
bland	1	0		0.5	2	English language
awareness of culture & history	1	2		0	1	no dress sense
Chavs	1	-3		1	1	football
imperial image	1	3		-1	1	lazy when compared
mistrust of authority	1	2		2	1	underdog spirit
small country	1	0		3	1	honest
rich, historical & unique culture	1	1		-1	1	bland
industrial history	1	3		-3	1	narrow-minded
British comedy	1	3		2	1	awareness of culture & history
high profile of sport	1	-1		0	1	national pride
loutish when drunk	1	-3		2	1	self-depricating
cockney rhyming slang	1	-1		3	1	industrial history
football	1	2		-1	1	high profile of sport
fish & chips	1	1		-2	1	arrogant
lazy when compared	1	-1		-1	1	Empire
a sense of decline	1	0		-2	1	love to stereotype
				3	1	queuing
				0	1	a sense of deline

Appendix 6-2 Rating & Frequency: British on Chinese: Social & Personal Opinions

British on Chinese

Social	Frequency	Rating		Rating	Frequency	Personal
hard-working	14	2.64	overlapped	2.58	12	hard-working
communism	12	-0.83	traits	2.5	8	family values
made in China' product	12	-0.08	**30/48**	2.29	7	sense of history
human right issue	9	-2.78		-3	7	pollution
rapid economy	6	1.67		2.71	7	welcoming hosts
policital restriction	6	-2.17		-1.8	5	bad drivers
intelligent	6	3		-2.4	5	no free press
cheap labour	5	-0.5		-2.8	5	human right issues
Chinese tea	5	2		0.25	4	national-instituional pride
respectful of parents	5	2		2	4	intelligent
no free press	4	-2.25		1.75	4	respectful of parents
distinct food	4	1.5		-2	4	materalistic
low quality goods	4	-0.25		-1.75	4	lack of social welfare
pollution	4	-3		0.33	3	patriotic
self-disciplined	3	1.33		-2	3	naive
naïve	3	-1.67		2	3	competitive
make money a high priority	3	-1.67		-0.67	3	make money a high priority
materialistic	3	-2		-2.67	3	political restriciton
national-instituaitonal pride	2	1.5		2.33	3	distinct food
morally conservative	2	-1.5		-1.33	3	opportunistic
patriotic	2	0.5		1.67	3	rapid economy
quiet	1	-0.5		1.5	2	work-oriented
reserved	1	0.5		1.5	2	ambitious
competitive	1	2		0.5	2	self-disciplined
more nationalistic	1	0		2	2	adaptability
work-related	1	3		0	2	confucianism
heath-conscious	1	3		2.5	2	Chinese tea
a bit geeky	1	-1		2	2	commercialism
bad drivers	1	-2		-1.5	2	collectivism
sense of history	1	3		-3	2	cheap labour
Confucianism	1	0		-0.5	2	made in China' products
family values	1	2		0	2	Chinese vace
opporunitistic	1	2		0	1	morally consevative
friendly	1	2		2	1	health conscious
written language	1	3		3	1	reserved
large population	1	0		2	1	outgoing
great students	1	2		-2	1	low quality gods
lack of independence	1	-1		-1	1	social connections
				-2	1	pushy
				1	1	obedient
				3	1	art
				3	1	written language
				-3	1	heavy traffic
				-3	1	Mao

Appendix 6-3 Rating & Frequency: Chinese on Self: Social & Personal Opinions

Chinese on Self

Social	Frequency	Rating		Rating	Frequency	Personal
traditional	12	1.42	overlapped	-1.58	12	face value
doctrine of Golden mean	11	0.64	traits	-0.33	12	social connections
hardy	10	1.9	**43/64**	2.56	9	hard-working
large population	9	-0.11		2.88	8	delicious food
intelligent/wisdom	9	1.67		-1.38	8	contradictory nature of dispositions
long history	6	2.83		-0.5	8	dependent
benevanlence	6	2.33		1.57	7	doctrine of golden mean
strong sense of human touch	6	1.33		1	7	inclusivity
family value	6	1.83		-0.14	7	strong sense of human touch
persevering	6	1.67		1.5	6	modest
social connection	6	-0.83		2.67	6	family value
pracitcal	6	0.5		-1.17	6	tendency to be westernised
extensive & profound traditional cultu	6	1.83		-2.83	6	selfish
delicious food	6	3		-0.2	5	collectivsm
patriotic	5	2.8		-1.4	5	large population
national pride	5	2		3	4	filial piety
persuit of harmony	5	1		2.75	4	extensive & profound traditional cultu
fiial peity	5	2.8		2.25	4	intelligent / wisdom
implicit	5	0.4		-2.5	4	lack of national confidence
inclusity	4	1.5		-1.25	4	lack of a sense of security
lack of national cofidence	4	-2		2.33	3	love for peace
thrift	4	1.25		1.33	3	tolerant
selfish	4	-1.5		2.33	3	focus on etiquette
moderation in all things	3	2		2.33	3	traditional
collectivsm	3	-1		2.67	3	long history
modest	3	2.33		2	3	implicit
fast pace of life	3	-0.67		1.33	3	respect the old & love the young
focus on etiquette	3	1.67		1.33	3	moderations in all things
hospitable	3	2		0	3	reserved
respect the old & love the young	3	3		3	2	patriotic
content with things as they are	3	-0.67		2.5	2	hardy
face value	2	-2		-0.5	2	practical
love for peace	2	1.5		3	2	self-esteem
self-esteem	2	3		3	2	focus on education
focus on education	2	2.5		2.5	2	persuit of harmony
friendly	2	3		-1	2	rigional cultural difference
spirit of devotion	2	1		2.5	2	hospitable
vast territory	2	0		0.5	2	honest
cultural diversity	2	1.5		0.5	2	ambitious
hard-working	2	2		3	1	tea culture
tendency to be westernised	1	-3		-2	1	lateral thinking
cultural innovation	1	0		2	1	friendly
biased media	1	-2		1	1	religioius life
free academic enviornment	1	3		2	1	focus on education of children
friendly	1	3		-3	1	colonial
fast pace of life	1	-3		0	1	imperial history
good at time management	1	2		2	1	respect for heritage
punctuate	1	2		1	1	institutionalization
				2	1	practical
				2	1	"country seat" culture
				2	1	lots of holidays
				-3	1	contradictory
				3	1	modest
				2	1	rigorous
				1	1	implicit
				-1	1	radical

Appendix 6-4 Rating & Frequency: Chinese on British: Social & Personal Opinions

Chinese on British

Social	Frequency	Rating		Rating	Frequency	Personal
gentlemen	31	2.39	overlapped	2.44	9	friendly
privacy	8	1.38	traits	-2.44	9	inefficient
sense of superiority	8	-1	**48/74**	1.75	8	gentleman
rights protection consciousness	7	2		2.25	8	demoncratic
imperial history	7	1.29		2.57	7	care of vulnerable groups
national pride	7	1		-1.43	7	rebellious teenagers
football	7	1.57		2	7	pubs
British fashion style	7	2.29		2.17	6	rights protection awareness
arrogant	7	-1.29		1	6	privacy
rainy	6	-0.67		-0.17	6	sense of superority
demoncratic	5	2.2		-0.67	6	rainy
drinking culture	5	1.6		-2.5	6	racism
colonial	5	-2.4		2.4	5	humorous
the sun never sets on British empir	5	0.2		2.8	5	well-developed social care
racism	5	-1.2		-1.6	5	selfhood
world-class education	4	2.5		1.25	4	national pride
football hooligan	4	-3		2.5	4	free academic enviornment
pubs	4	1.5		-1.25	4	emphasis on critical thinking
respect for heritage	4	2.75		3	4	free public resources
religious life	4	1.25		-3	4	football hooligans
monarchy	3	0.67		1.75	4	good at time management
passionate about sports	3	2.33		-0.75	4	boring life
inefficient	3	-0.67		-0.33	2	reserved
industial history	3	2.67		2.67	3	world-class education
reserved	3	-0.33		1.67	3	football
patriotic	2	3		-0.5	4	unafraid of bad weather
free public resources	2	2.5		2.67	3	creative
focus on education of children	2	1.5		0.33	3	interpersonal distance
selfhood	2	2.5		-2.33	3	biased media
boring life	2	-2		1	2	monarchy
unafraid of bad weather	2	0.5		3	2	punctuate
nobility (class system)	2	1		1	2	British fashion style
well-ordered society	2	2.5		2.5	2	industrious history
self-disciplined	2	1.5		2	2	self-disciplined
rebellious (teenagers)	2	-2.5		-2.5	2	selfish
well-developed social care	2	2.5		1	2	self-mockery
traditional	1	1		-1.5	2	emotional distance
implicit	1	1		2	2	passionate about arts & literatures
innovative	1	3		2	2	drinking culture
institutionalization	1	2		1	2	nobility
selfish	1	-3		2.5	2	well-ordered society
focus on common interests	1	0		-1	2	eccentric
emphasis on critical thinking	1	0		3	2	reading habit
humorous	1	3		-1	1	traditional
passionate about arts & literature	1	3		-1	1	starcky
interpersonal distance	1	2		1	1	passionate about sports
care of vulnerable groups	1	2		3	1	focus on common interests
				2	1	brave
				2	1	vast territory
				3	1	persistent
				0	1	national pride
				1	1	persevering
				2	1	cultural diversity
				3	1	distinctive achitectural diversity
				-2	1	act like lemmings
				-3	1	internet violence
				-3	1	growing gap between rich & poor

Appendix 7-1 Consensus: British on Self: Social & Personal Opinions

British on Self

F	R	Social	Personal	R	F
9	-1.89	binge/booze drinking	binge/booze drinking	-2.17	12
9	2.56	polite	humour	1.89	9
7	2.29	humour/sarcasm	polite	2.5	8
7	1	monarchy	multiculturalism	2.88	8
6	1.17	multiculturalism	class consciousness	-2.29	7
6	-2.33	class consciousness	loutish when drunk	-2.8	5
6	0	stiff upper lip	conservatism	-1.5	4
5	0.6	underdog spirit	well-educated	1.75	4
5	0.4	patriotic	freedom of speech	2.5	4
5	2.2	gentlemen	tea culture	1.25	4
5	0.8	pubs	reserved	1.67	3
5	0.6	talking about weather	no respect for aged	-2.67	3
4	0.5	national pride	patriotic	0.67	3
4	2.25	freedom of speech	anti-French	-1.33	3
3	2.67	well-educated	monarchy	0.75	3
3	-2.33	Empire	British comedy	1.33	3
3	0.67	tea culture	Chavs	-2.67	3
3	2.67	self-deprecating	a sense of fair play	2	3
2	-1.5	critical self-awareness	mistrust of authority	1.67	3
2	0.5	conservatism	talking about weather	2	2
2	1.5	individuality prized	football hooligans	-3	2
2	3	sense of fair play	glorious sport faliure	-1.5	2
2	1.5	English language	pubs	2	2
2	2	afternoon tea	expect high standard	1	2
2	2	reserved	social status determined by languag	-3	2
2	-3	football hooligans	rich, historical & unique culture	1.5	2
2	-1.5	ɔcial status determined by language	critical self-awareness	1	2
1	1	pioneers	stiff upper lip	-1	2
1	0	bland	English language	0.5	2
1	2	awareness of culture & history	no dress sense	0	1
1	-3	Chavs	football	1	1
1	3	imperial image	lazy when compared	-1	1
1	2	mistrust of authority	underdog spirit	2	1
1	0	small country	honest	3	1
1	1	rich, historical & unique culture	bland	-1	1
1	3	industrial history	narrow-minded	-3	1
1	3	British comedy	awareness of culture & history	2	1
1	-1	high profile of sport	national pride	0	1
1	-3	loutish when drunk	self-depricating	2	1
1	-1	cockney rhyming slang	industrial history	3	1
1	2	football	high profile of sport	-1	1
1	1	fish & chips	arrogant	-2	1
1	-1	lazy when compared	Empire	-1	1
1	0	a sense of decline	love to stereotype	-2	1
			queuing	3	1
			a sense of decline	0	1

Appendix 7-2 Consensus: Chinese on British: Social & Personal Opinions

Chinese on British

F	R	Social	Personal	R	F
31	2.39	gentlemen	friendly	2.44	9
8	1.38	privacy	inefficient	-2.44	9
8	-1	sense of superiority	gentleman	1.75	8
7	2	rights protection consciousness	demoncratic	2.25	8
7	1.29	imperial history	care of vulnerable groups	2.57	7
7	1	national pride	rebellious teenagers	-1.43	7
7	1.57	football	pubs	2	7
7	2.29	British fashion style	rights protection awareness	2.17	6
7	-1.29	arrogant	privacy	1	6
6	-0.67	rainy	sense of superority	-0.17	6
5	2.2	demoncratic	rainy	-0.67	6
5	1.6	drinking culture	racism	-2.5	6
5	-2.4	colonial	humorous	2.4	5
5	0.2	e sun never sets on British empire	well-developed social care	2.8	5
5	-1.2	racism	selfhood	-1.6	5
4	2.5	world-class education	national pride	1.25	4
4	-3	football hooligans	free academic enviornment	2.5	4
4	1.5	pubs	emphasis on critical thinking	-1.25	4
4	2.75	respect for heritage	free public resources	3	4
4	1.25	religious life	football hooligans	-3	4
3	0.67	monarchy	good at time management	1.75	4
3	2.33	passionate about sports	boring life	-0.75	4
3	-0.67	inefficient	reserved	-0.33	2
3	2.67	industrial history	world-class education	2.67	3
3	-0.33	reserved	football	1.67	3
2	3	patriotic	unafraid of bad weather	-0.5	4
2	2.5	free public resources	creative	2.67	3
2	1.5	focus on education of children	interpersonal distance	0.33	3
2	2.5	selfhood	biased media	-2.33	3
2	-2	boring life	monarchy	1	2
2	0.5	unafraid of bad weather	punctuate	3	2
2	1	nobility (class system)	British fashion style	1	2
2	2.5	well-ordered society	industrial history	2.5	2
2	1.5	self-disciplined	self-disciplined	2	2
2	-2.5	rebellious (teenagers)	selfish	-2.5	2
2	2.5	well-developed social care	self-mockery	1	2
1	1	traditional	emotional distance	-1.5	2
1	1	implicit	passionate about arts & literatur	2	2
1	3	innovative	drinking culture	2	2
1	2	institutionalization	nobility (class system)	1	2
1	-3	selfish	well-ordered society	2.5	2
1	0	focus on common interests	eccentric	-1	2
1	0	emphasis on critical thinking	reading habit	3	2
1	3	humorous	traditional	-1	1
1	3	passionate about arts & literature	starcky	-1	1
1	2	interpersonal distance	passionate about sports	1	1
1	2	care of vulnerable groups	focus on common interests	3	1
1	-2	biased media	religious life	1	1
1	3	free academic enviornment	focus on education of children	2	1

Appendix 7-3 Consensus: Chinese on Self: Social & Personal Opinions

Chinese on Self

F	R	Social	Personal	R	F
12	1.42	traditional	face value	-1.58	12
11	0.64	doctrine of Golden mean	social connections	-0.33	12
10	1.9	hardy	hard-working	2.56	9
9	-0.11	large population	delicious food	2.88	8
9	1.67	intelligent/wisdom	contradictory nature of dispositions	-1.38	8
6	2.83	long history	dependent	-0.5	8
6	2.33	benevanlence	doctrine of golden mean	1.57	7
6	1.33	strong sense of human touch	inclusive	1	7
6	1.83	family value	strong sense of human touch	-0.14	7
6	1.67	persevering	modest	1.5	6
6	-0.83	social connection	family value	2.67	6
6	0.5	practical	tendency to be westernised	-1.17	6
6	1.83	ensive & profound traditional culture	selfish	-2.83	6
6	3	delicious food	collectivism	-0.2	5
5	2.8	patriotic	large population	-1.4	5
5	2	national pride	filial piety	3	4
5	1	persuit of harmony	extensive & profound traditional cultu	2.75	4
5	2.8	filial peity	intelligent / wisdom	2.25	4
5	0.4	implicit	lack of national confidence	-2.5	4
4	1.5	inclusive	lack of a sense of security	-1.25	4
4	-2	lack of national confidence	love for peace	2.33	3
4	1.25	thrifty	tolerant	1.33	3
4	-1.5	selfish	focus on etiquette	2.33	3
3	2	moderation in all things	traditional	2.33	3
3	-1	collectivism	long history	2.67	3
3	2.33	modest	implicit	2	3
3	-0.67	fast pace of life	respect the old & love the young	1.33	3
3	1.67	focus on etiquette	moderations in all things	1.33	3
3	2	hospitable	reserved	0	3
3	3	respect the old & love the young	patriotic	3	2
3	-0.67	content with things as they are	hardy	2.5	2
2	-2	face value	practical	-0.5	2
2	1.5	love for peace	self-esteem	3	2
2	3	self-esteem	focus on education	3	2
2	2.5	focus on education	persuit of harmony	2.5	2
2	3	friendly	regional cultural difference	-1	2
2	1	spirit of devotion	hospitable	2.5	2
2	0	vast territory	honest	0.5	2
2	1.5	cultural diversity	ambitious	0.5	2
2	2	hard-working	tea culture	3	1
1	-3	tendency to be westernised	lateral thinking	-2	1
1	0	cultural innovation	friendly	2	1
1	1	tolerant	open-minded	3	1
1	-3	dependent	benevolence	3	1
1	0	contradictory nature of dispositions	spirit of solidarity	3	1
1	3	regional cultural difference	thrifty	1	1
			content with things as they are	-2	1
			brave	2	1

Appendix 7-4 Consensus: British on Chinese: Social & Personal Opinions

British on Chinese

F	R	Social	Personal	F	R
14	2.64	hard-working	hard-working	2.58	12
12	-0.83	communism	family values	2.5	8
12	-0.08	made in China' product	sense of history	2.29	7
9	-2.78	human right issue	pollution	-3	7
6	1.67	rapid economy	welcoming hosts	2.71	7
6	-2.17	policital restriction	bad drivers	-1.8	5
6	3	intelligent	no free press	-2.4	5
5	-0.5	cheap labour	human right issues	-2.8	5
5	2	Chinese tea	national-instituional pride	0.25	4
5	2	respectful of parents	intelligent	2	4
4	-2.25	no free press	respectful of parents	1.75	4
4	1.5	distinct food	materalistic	-2	4
4	-0.25	low quality goods	lack of social welfare	-1.75	4
4	-3	pollution	patriotic	0.33	3
3	1.33	self-disciplined	naive	-2	3
3	-1.67	naïve	competitive	2	3
3	-1.67	make money a high priority	make money a high priority	-0.67	3
3	-2	materialistic	political restriciton	-2.67	3
2	1.5	national-instituaitonal pride	distinct food	2.33	3
2	-1.5	morally conservative	opportunistic	-1.33	3
2	0.5	patriotic	rapid economy	1.67	3
1	-0.5	quiet	work-oriented	1.5	2
1	0.5	reserved	ambitious	1.5	2
1	2	competitive	self-disciplined	0.5	2
1	0	more nationalistic	adaptability	2	2
1	3	work-oriented	confucianism	0	2
1	3	heath-conscious	Chinese tea	2.5	2
1	-1	a bit geeky	commercialism	2	2
1	-2	bad drivers	collectivism	-1.5	2
1	3	sense of history	cheap labour	-3	2
1	0	Confucianism	made in China' products	-0.5	2
1	2	family values	Chinese vace	0	2
1	2	opporunitistic	morally consevative	0	1
1	2	friendly	health conscious	2	1
1	3	written language	reserved	3	1
1	0	large population	outgoing	2	1
1	2	great students	low quality gods	-2	1
1	-1	lack of independence	social connections	-1	1
			pushy	-2	1
			obedient	1	1
			art	3	1
			written language	3	1
			heavy traffic	-3	1
			Mao	-3	1