

THE ADJUSTMENT OF NORTH AMERICAN TEACHERS IN CHINA:  
A CASE STUDY

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OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
MASTER OF EDUCATION

BY  
ELAINE MARTYN

AUGUST, 1988

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ELAINE MARTYN

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of  
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
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## ABSTRACT

### THE ADJUSTMENT OF NORTH AMERICAN TEACHERS IN CHINA:

#### A CASE STUDY

by

Elaine Martyn

The purpose of this study was (a) to describe the process of adjustment of two North Americans teaching English during a one year sojourn in the People's Republic of China; (b) to identify situational factors which influenced their adjustment, and (c) to identify coping strategies used to deal with negative situational factors.

The informants recorded affect ratings for ten aspects of the physical and social environment, identified situational factors contributing to those ratings, recorded times spent at various activities, and wrote general comments on life in China.

Overall affect ratings were calculated. Comments were content analyzed to identify influential situational themes of the social and physical environment. Adjustment

indices were calculated for each theme (based on the principles of Bradburn's affect balance scale, 1969). Specific positive and negative situational factors affecting the informants and their coping strategies were isolated.

The informants progressed through three identifiable phases of adjustment: contact, disintegration/reintegration, and leave-taking. Six emergent themes of the social environment which affected the informants significantly were discovered: bureaucratic dealings, work habits and attitudes, crowds and unknown Chinese, student/teacher relationships, Chinese friendships, and foreigner friendships. Each theme included both negative and positive specific situational factors. The net adjustment index of these factors determined the order of the above list from most negative to most positive. Physical environment did not appear to significantly influence the adjustment of the sojourners.

It is recommended that a broader based study be completed in China focusing on the themes identified, and additional specific situational factors and coping strategies. This will then prove significant in determining appropriate orientation strategies for agencies involved in placing teachers in China.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Since the First Development Decade of the 1960's, a significant number of workers and volunteers from western countries have been active in third world countries. Teachers of English as a foreign language have been particularly evident as nations wish to improve their accessibility to western knowledge, resources, trade, and tourism--very often from English-speaking countries. Since 1978, the goal of education in The People's Republic of China has been to speed up the process of "The Four Modernizations"--modernization of agriculture, industry, national defence, and science and technology. As a result there has been a growing demand on the part of colleges and universities for teachers of English, as well as professors in other specialties, especially sciences and management. The number of North American teachers in China has grown, for example, from about 180 Americans and a small number of Canadians in 1980 (Clough, 1981, p. 45) to 400 English teachers, including 250 classified as foreign experts and 150 as foreign teachers

(Turner-Gottschang, 1987, p. 4).

The motivations of teachers going to China vary greatly, some go in search of adventure while others have more academic or career oriented purposes. Many enter a situation they had not expected--their minds may have held visions glowing with a romantic mystique or political idealism. Or they may expect Chinese in the People's Republic to fit their stereotypical view of Chinese from the westernized, city life of Hong Kong--studious, hard-working, striving for material (capitalistic) gains.

Instead they are faced with the physical and social realities of a developing country, and vastly different cultural and political values which affect almost every aspect of their lives. For example, the poor living and travel conditions and bureaucratic inefficiency, which are the norm in most developing countries, may make life very difficult for North Americans, including those who expect these circumstances.

In addition foreigners may be confused by what appear to them to be conflicting and even incompatible expectations. In particular, English teachers are expected to converse with students and Chinese English teachers, both in and out of class time, on an academic level to improve oral/aural ability, but not on a personal one to develop close friendships. This counters the underlying goal of many who go to work in China in hopes

of getting to know the country and its people intimately. Gray, Hensley, and Sullivan first noted this in their 1981-82 survey: "This lack of opportunity to learn Chinese and associate personally and informally with Chinese people dramatically affected the experience of many teachers" (1983, p. 27). Yet this aloofness reflects both Chinese traditional and Maoist political values. Traditional norms of interaction with non-Chinese have always dictated an underlying distrust and social distance, even though face-to-face interactions are friendly and courteous. Certainly the ideological base is evident in this policy statement of Vice-Premier Deng Xiao Ping at the 12th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in August, 1982:

We will unswervingly follow a policy of opening to the outside world and actively increase exchanges with foreign countries on the basis of mutual equality and benefit. At the same time we will keep a clear head, firmly resist corrosion by decadent ideas from abroad, and never permit the bourgeois way of life to spread in our country. (Hayhoe, 1984, p. 206 from Xinhua News Agency, Sept. 1, 1982).

This fear of the 'decadent bourgeois' lifestyle affecting Chinese society results in conflicting pressures on foreign teachers, so while they are warmly welcomed on both the official and personal level there is restraint in these relationships. China seeks language skill but in isolation from the cultural influence it is likely to have. An old Chinese saying coined by Zhang Zhidong in

1898 has risen to prominence: "Chinese learning for fundamental principles, western learning for practical application" (Price, 1982, p. 1).

The experiences of English teachers in China are not unlike those of other workers and students who spend extended periods of time outside their native lands. Since the mid-1950's researchers from a number of disciplines have studied sojourner adjustment, "adjustment of relatively short-term visitors to new cultures where permanent settlement is not the purpose of the sojourn" (Church, 1982, p. 540). Much of the published literature refers to foreign student adjustment, but some studies have involved others, such as Peace Corps volunteers, technical assistants, and scholars. Church cites 292 references in his 1982 review of the literature which he divides into four categories: (a) definitions and descriptions of adjustment, (b) problems of adjustment, (c) background, situational, personal, and outcome variables affecting adjustment, and (d) cross-cultural counselling.

In his critique of cross-cultural adjustment, Church (1982) pointed out major weaknesses and gave recommendations for further research. This study addresses his four major concerns (also noted by other researchers).

Firstly, he pointed out the varied and ambiguous uses

of the term, "adjustment" (Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Ruben & Kealey, 1979; Tucker, 1973) and suggested it be made operational in terms of several distinct but related dependent variables. In this study the process of adjustment is described in terms of (a) presence of characteristics of stages of adjustment curves, (b) affect ratings of social and physical environment, (c) social interaction with hosts, and (d) adjustment index related to positive and negative situational themes. (Dimensions of adjustment adapted from Church, 1982; Ruben & Kealey, 1979.)

Secondly, Church noted that a major limitation of previous studies was the non-longitudinal nature of designs (Arnold, 1967; Guthrie, 1975; Smith, 1955; Spaulding & Flack, 1976). Most studies have been cross-sectional often only describing the sojourn retrospectively. Few studies have involved multiple assessments until recently (Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Yeh, Hung, Klein, Alexander, & Miller, 1981). However, related studies of the quality of working life in a small northern Manitoba resource frontier community used daily questionnaires of satisfaction (Nickels, Sexton, & Bayer, 1976). Recall bias could have seriously affected curves of adjustment proposed by Lysgaard (1955), Sargent (1970), and Selby and Woods (1966). David (1973) and Church (1982) both recognized the significance of a lack

of baseline data to which adjustment could be compared; Church recommended one solution would be to compare adjustment from an initial period by way of a longitudinal study. This study followed the suggestion, by interviewing informants about a month after their arrival and then receiving information on a weekly basis throughout the school year.

A third problem of previous research was the lack of developed theories of adjustment or testing of proposed theories by dynamics of the actual process of adjustment (Brislin & Charles, 1977; Church, 1982; David, 1973). This study is set within the framework of Ruben's (1983) systems theory and Bandura's (1977) social learning theory as applied to cross-cultural adaptation (Bochner, 1972; David, 1973, 1976; Guthrie, 1975, 1981; Seligman, 1975). It also considers the applicability of theories of curves and stages of adjustment as proposed by Lysgaard (1955), Selby and Woods (1966), and Sargent (1970).

Fourthly, Church (1982) recommended more diverse and multiple methodologies (also Brislin & Charles, 1977). This intensive case study involved several. Data were collected by weekly questionnaires, initial and post-study interviews, and participant observation throughout the sojourn. Interviews and questionnaires included four different types of questions: (a) affect rating scales (Bradburn, 1969, 1974; Phillips, 1967); (b) affect

comments in four life contexts, work, leisure, life in China, and family and friends at home (adapted from the four contexts used in the quality of working life survey conducted by Helzel, Goodale, Joyner and Burke (1974): work, family, friendships, and leisure), (c) descriptions of specific situational factors that had impact on the informants, and (d) social interaction with Chinese people. In past studies informants have generally been asked to merely endorse or rate items on checklists (Hull, 1978; Spaulding & Flack, 1976), though Ruben & Kealey supplemented their 1976 study by behavioral observations and written responses. In the present study, positive and negative situational factors were identified by the informants themselves thereby avoiding a bias introduced by selection of study items (Church, 1982).

Several researchers have mentioned the significance of situational factors "which encompass factors of both the physical and social environment" (David, 1972) and have a significant impact on adjustment (Church, 1982; Dane, 1981; Foust, 1981; Guthrie, 1975, 1981; Klineberg, 1981; Sargent, 1970; Spradley & Phillips, 1972). Byrnes (1966) also pointed out the similarities and differences between culture and role shock: he found these two types of adjustment to be in direct conflict. However, Bradburn (1969) found situational factors related to the quality of experience in the work situation have a strong

relationship to overall well-being: this would indicate a parallel progression between sojourner adjustment and role adaptation. Situational/environmental impact has also been found to have a significant impact on cross-cultural communication (closely related to adjustment) by Mansell (1981) and Broome (1985). Both physical and social environment have been identified as having impact on adjustment by some writers (David, 1972; Guthrie, 1981; Oberg, 1960). A few researchers have focused on physical environment (Barna, 1976; Smith, Fawcett, Ezekiel, & Roth, 1963), while several studies have been made on the social environment, including situational factors (eg. Guthrie, 1975, 1981; Hall, 1959) and problems of sojourners (Cleveland, Mangone, & Adams, 1960; Hull, 1978).

Little success has been met by researchers attempting to identify personality or background variables to predict successful adjustment, though a recent study by Hawes & Kealey (1981) looks promising, however: several researchers now point to the likelihood of environmental factors being more influential than personal and background variables in determining adjustment (Klein, 1977). As suggested by Guthrie, perhaps the difficulties in adjustment "are rooted in the environment [characteristics of hosts and living conditions] as much as in the dynamic make-up of the individual" (1975, p. 106). Similarly Smith et al. (1963) found that behaviors

and motives for joining Peace Corps had little effect on adjustment or work, while Guthrie (1975) noted a clear discontinuity in behavior from one society to another, as indicated by how Peace Corps functioned at home and in the Philippines. As suggested by Church, "The actual conditions to which the individual is exposed in the new culture would seem to be of paramount importance for emotional well-being and satisfaction" (1982, p. 549). While there is an argument as to the best type of orientation for sojourners, culture-specific or culture-general (Ruben, Askling, & Kealey, 1977), this study will identify information of relevance to China orientation programs.

### **The Problem**

The purpose of this case study was to describe the process of adjustment while focusing on the situational factors that had impact upon the adjustment of two North Americans teaching English during a one year sojourn in The People's Republic of China.

### **Sub-Problems**

1. To determine if the informants follow the classic U-curve or stages of adjustment or adjustment related to the academic year.
2. To identify situational factors of the social

environment, both work-related and non-work-related, that positively or negatively affect the sojourners' adjustment.

3. To relate the effect of social factors to adjustment by impact and time duration.

4. To identify situational factors of the physical environment (work and non-work) that positively or negatively affect the sojourner's adjustment.

5. To relate the effect of physical factors to adjustment by impact and time duration.

6. To compare the relative impact of physical versus social, and work versus non-work factors on overall sojourner adjustment.

7. To compare affect ratings and situational factors noted during the sojourn to those reported one year after the end of the informants' time abroad.

8. To list the positive and negative situational factors that had major impact on the informants during their sojourn in China, and to identify their coping strategies for each negative factor.

### **Significance of the Study**

This research is significant theoretically for two reasons:

1. This study of cross-cultural adjustment is truly longitudinal--with information gathered weekly throughout

the sojourn and one year later. No other longitudinal studies of this type were identified by the literature review.

2. It addresses the need identified by research to relate adjustment to situational/environmental factors.

More practically, this study will be of value to two sets of people:

1. North Americans who are considering teaching in China as an indication of the type of experience they might expect.

2. Chinese and international agencies who wish to develop culture-specific orientation programs for teachers preparing for a sojourn in China.

### **Assumptions**

It was assumed that:

1. Cross-cultural adjustment is similar to the adaptation to the environment required by all parts of our general system, including, for example, chemical or animal adaptation and child socialization.

2. Self-reports of informants are an honest and effective, though clearly subjective, way of determining adjustment and situational factors which affect adjustment.

3. Informants' views of the success of their own adjustment in relation to personal goals for the sojourn

are valid. (Similar to Seashore's (1974) assumption that a person is his own best judge of job satisfaction--related to his needs, preferences, and expectations.)

### **Delimitations**

This study was delimited to two North Americans teaching English in one educational institute in China with whom the researcher had intensive contact during their sojourn from September, 1985 to June, 1986.

### **Limitations**

There were three chief limitations to this study:

1. The self-reporting method used in interviews and questionnaires may include inaccuracies in both reports of affect and actual incidents due to forgetfulness or unwillingness of the informants to reveal full details since the researcher was also a friend and co-worker during this period. However, this relationship also overcame the problems of lack of understanding faced by strangers conducting interviews (Ruben & Kealey, 1979).

2. This study is also limited to the experiences, feelings, views, and biases of only two individuals in their particular circumstances in China.

3. The author's own experiences and views may have unintentionally biased the presentation of this study. A negotiated outcome method was used to overcome this

potential difficulty (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

## Methodology

### Rationale and Instrument

As stated by Cantril:

Any superimposing of preconceived ideas which forces patterns upon people's reports loses the richness, the uniqueness, the flavor, or the authenticity of what they are trying to say about themselves. (1965, p. vii)

Therefore, all questions on questionnaires and in interviews, which followed the same pattern, were designed to minimize the imposition of the researcher's categories upon the responses. Seeking qualitative material which reflected the experiences and perspectives of the informants, questions were purposely general. For example, Part I of the questionnaire gave the following directions: "For each category rate your feelings over the past week from very negative (1) to very positive (5)." One category in social (work) environment, for example, included Chinese work associates/teachers and other staff. Specific situational factors were then elicited from the respondents' own experiences: "Then describe specific experiences which lead to your reactions or feelings." (Interview outlines - see Appendix 1; Questionnaires - see Appendices 2 and 3.)

### Process

First, literature on sojourner adjustment, experiences of English teachers in China, and on the history, culture, and higher educational system of China was reviewed. Interview questions were developed, and a questionnaire was written and pre-tested on two teachers who had just completed one year in China.

About one month after their arrivals in China two informants were invited to participate in this study. The initial interview included an explanation of the purpose of the study. Informants completed weekly questionnaires throughout the school year. Near the end of the year, they were interviewed again.

Upon the researcher's return to Canada, taped interviews were transcribed. Questionnaires and interview transcripts were analyzed to relate the informants' general adjustment to situational factors identified during each half-term, that is, in four time periods. A preliminary report was written and reviewed by the informants following the negotiated outcome method of Lincoln and Guba (1985).

A second literature review was conducted to update and broaden the research base. A post-sojourn questionnaire was completed one year after the informants returned to North America.

The information supplied by the informants was analyzed as follows:

1. The average affect rating per week was calculated and graphed for each informant (Based on the additive qualities of affect as identified by Bradburn's "affect balance scale", 1969).

2. The content of written and verbal comments was analyzed to discover emergent themes--groupings of significant situational factors affecting each of the informants.

3. A detailed description of each informant's process of adjustment was written.

4. These detailed descriptions were condensed into process summaries.

5. Social interaction times and numbers of contacts with Chinese friends were recorded and calculated.

6. The adjustment indices for situational factors were graphed and calculated. Each theme identified in number (2) above was rated according to number of verbal notations: positive factors (+1), negative factors (-1), negative factors overcome (accepted, changed, or adjusted to) (+1) (Similar to adjustment index of Ruben & Kealey, 1979).

7. From notes made in number (2) and graphs made in number (6) sub-problems 2 to 6 were answered.

8. Situational factors noted during the sojourn were

compared to those remembered one year later.

9. The results of this study were then compared with the findings and theories of other researchers, and to experiences of other teachers in China.

10. In conclusion, a summary of results of this study and recommendations to researchers and those involved in the placement of teachers in China were written.

### **Definitions**

**Affect** - feelings or emotions.

**Campus** - the area under the control of an educational institute which is similar in many ways to a largely self-contained village. It includes classroom and laboratory buildings, a sports field, a swimming pool, student residences, teacher and worker housing, a guest hotel, a factory, a market, small shops, cafeterias, a restaurant, a daycare, primary school, lower middle school, a hospital, a post office, and a bank.

**Culture Shock** - emotional and psychological reaction of high activation brought on by immersion in a new culture and the resultant feelings of disorientation and helplessness or even physical and mental illness.

**Foreign Exchange Certificates (F.E.C.)** - currency for which foreign money is exchanged. All foreign tourists are legally required to use this money for purchase of all goods and services in China. Also both Chinese and

foreigners must use F.E.C. to purchase most foreign-produced products and exportable Chinese goods.

**Foreign Exchange Exemption Card** - a card issued by the government which allows a foreign worker who receives pay in renminbi from local sources to use this currency to purchase goods and services, with the exceptions noted above.

**Foreign Expert** - a teacher or other professional with approximately a master's degree and some relevant work experience who is hired by the Foreign Experts' Bureau of the Chinese government. An expert receives a higher level of benefits than other foreign staff hired directly by Chinese institutes or companies: a higher salary, return air fare for the employee and his or her family, 30 to 50 per cent of salary in F.E.C., and may include better living conditions.

**Foreign Teacher** - someone who may or may not be qualified as a teacher, but is usually hired directly by an educational institute--not through the same bureaucratic government channels as foreign experts. This person is paid in renminbi usually at a lower rate (especially if not qualified), receives no air fare, and may be expected to live in the same conditions as foreign students; but they may be able to negotiate better conditions, pay, etc.

**Guest Hotel** - a hotel with apartments located on a

campus where foreign teachers and experts live. Short-term Chinese and foreign guests may also live there. Meals are available at a low cost; cleaning services are also provided.

**Institute** - specialized college.

**Key Institutes** - receive a higher proportion of financial allocations, better equipment and facilities, more qualified teaching and research staff, and they are more likely to have an international academic reputation. Only top level students, 10% of the national student body, attend these schools and colleges.

**Leaders** - upper level administrators including both academic department heads and presidents, and high Communist Party officials in the institute.

**Renminbi** - "people's money" - local currency used by Chinese people. It may not be exchanged for foreign currency.

**Physical Environment** - living and working conditions.

**Residence Card** - a card issued by the Security Bureau of a city which shows a person's place of residence in China.

**Situational Factors** - specific conditions, events, or occurrences which positively or negatively affect a sojourner.

**Social Environment** - host characteristics, ways of interacting, thinking, or other cultural aspects of a

society in both work and non-work domains.

**Sojourner** - a short-term visitor in a country where he or she does not plan to remain permanently.

**Sojourner Adjustment** - process of adaptation to the environment of relatively short-term visitors to new cultures where they do not intend to remain permanently. At times it is a very positive process of growth, while at other times it may reach the negative level of extreme culture shock manifested in physical or mental illness. It is similar to the adaptation that occurs everywhere to everything and everyone due to environmental changes.

**Worker's Card** - a card which shows a person's place of employment.

**Work Associates** - includes other teachers, department and section heads, librarians, listening laboratory supervisors, print shop workers, etc.

**Work Unit** - a microcosm of Chinese society, such as a commune, factory, or university, with its own political hierarchy, networks of personal and professional relationships, services, and housing. It issues identification cards and ration coupons, gives permission to marry, have children, travel, and receive housing.

### **Organization of the Remainder of the Study**

Chapter 2 is organized into four sections: a review of previous sojourn research, a current perspective on

culture and education in China, reports of experiences of English teachers in China, and background information on the informants, the institute, and the area where they resided. Chapter 3 presents an analysis of the data by the eight sub-problems. Chapter 4 relates findings of the present study to previous sojourner research and the experiences of English teachers in China. Finally, Chapter 5 concludes with a summary and recommendations for further research, and for international and Chinese agencies involved in the placement of English teachers in China.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Information on sojourner adjustment research, politics and higher education in China, experiences of English teachers in China, and the informants and local setting within the country provide the background for this study.

#### Sojourner Adjustment

##### 1. Theoretical Framework

Ruben (1983) proposed a 'systems theory' for conceptualizing the nature of human communication which included culture, intercultural communication, and intercultural adjustment. While he linked this to a broad-based 'general systems theory', the present discussion is limited to the human communications system. As Rubens suggested, "communication can be defined as the processing and transformation of information by a living system [such as a person] in order to adapt to and adapt its environment" (p. 143). From a more personal perspective, communication may be defined as:

the individual's way of acting and reacting on the one hand, and his or her symbolic environment on the other hand are reciprocally defining and mutually causal. The individual organizes to cope with his or her physical and symbolic environment. As a consequence, he or she is shaped by the environment and in his or her behavior he or she shapes the environment. (Ruben, 1983, p. 139)

This is the origin of culture, which may be defined as those shared symbols, meanings, images, habits, values, verbal and non-verbal interactions (including meanings, situations, and structures, as defined by Broome, 1985); as well as the shared history, traditions, and physical environment of a particular social group--society or subgroup. Therefore, while culture is a product of communication, so is human communication, its patterns and purposes, an outcome of culture. Intercultural communication occurs when a person from one culture is immersed in another culture and takes note of or is taken note of by another individual from the new culture. This always involves some degree of stress and requires some adjustment. However, this stress (also known as culture shock) is simply "an inevitable aspect of the adaptation process, essential for growth and change, necessary defining qualities of all living systems" (Ruben, 1985, p. 144).

As noted by Barna, "culture provides a safe haven" (1976, p. 3). The function of culture is to provide a predictable world where signs and symbols of interaction

allow for automatic responses and life lived in as relaxed a state as possible. A culture reinforces conformity which, for example, in the case of North Americans includes support for individualism. Culture shields a person from the threat of the unknown.

The process of adjustment may be interpreted in terms of Bandura's (1977) social learning theory whereby people and their environment are reciprocal determinants of each other (Bochner, 1972; David, 1973, 1976; Guthrie, 1975, 1981). In behavioral terminology, the sojourner faces a massive shift in reinforcement when moving to a new culture. Reinforcement for behavior may be terminated, modified, or accidental, while aversive stimuli and approved behaviors may be new. Termination of positive reinforcers is inevitable as the sojourner leaves behind familiar friends, foods, and entertainment. The meaning of reinforcers may also be modified or even reversed. For example, Guthrie (1975) noted laughing as a prime source of confusion for Peace Corps working in the Philippines. He claimed that "Filipinos laugh with an embarrassed person so that he will not feel too isolated" (p. 109). Chinese act similarly; thus a foreigner who is trying to speak in Chinese may feel irritated or discouraged because he is being 'laughed at'. In addition, accidental reinforcement, both positive and negative, occurs in cross-cultural learning situations. Guthrie's following

comment likewise applies to China: "In many societies individuals agree with proposals, keeping reservations to themselves" (1975, p. 110). This social form of politeness may be taken by a foreigner to mean approval. Aversive stimuli, such as common spitting or close physical proximity in public places, as well as loss of approval for previously acceptable behavior such as holding hands with a person of the opposite sex, may result in anger and aggression on the part of sojourners. As noted by Guthrie (1975), the transition from reinforcement to extinction of a particular behavior often results in aggression in the case of both humans and laboratory animals. Finally, non-contingent reinforcement for behavior considered unworthy by the sojourner tends to produce feelings of powerlessness (Guthrie, 1981). In China foreign teachers who are ill are 'rewarded' with gifts of fruit, honey, and attention from Chinese colleagues. Similarly, Seligman (1975) introduced the concept of 'learned helplessness' or apathy which results from reinforcement independent of action. Foreign teachers may be offered positive comments from their Chinese colleagues, regardless of whether they put effort into their teaching or not.

Schild (1962) hypothesized learning of new cues could occur through observation, participation, and direct explanation. Unfortunately, since the sojourner's

learning is primarily by trial and error, it may lead to adverse consequences and even result in subsequent isolation (Bochner, 1972; Hull, 1978). This social isolation of many sojourners, in turn, makes culture learning through accurate direct communication with host nationals less probable.

Theories of curves or stages of development have been devised based on cross-sectional and remembered experiences (curves: Lysgaard, 1955; Morris, 1960; Sargent, 1970; Sewell & Davidsen, 1961; stages: Adler, 1975; Oberg, 1960). These theories have only been tested in a longitudinal manner by Klineberg and Hull (1979) in their international study which found little support for the U-curve hypothesis developed by Lysgaard (1955) and refined by Sargent (1970). Stage and curve descriptions of adjustment follow similar patterns. The original U-curve hypothesis proposed by Lysgaard (1955) based on a retrospective study of two hundred Norwegians who had studied in the United States for 0 to 6 months, 6 to 18 months, and over 18 months. He discovered 'good' adjustment for the first and third aforementioned groups, while concluding the second was 'less well' adjusted. Sewell and Davidsen's study (1956) of forty Scandinavian students found support for a U-shaped curve based on an Index of Affect. Students staying for one year displayed favorable attitudes for the first few months, less

favorable attitudes toward the midpoint, and more favorable attitudes toward the end of the sojourn. While Morris's study of students from sixty-five countries studying at the University of California in Los Angeles was originally claimed to support the U-curve hypothesis; his book, The Two-Way Mirror, provides no direct evidence of support (1960). In general, U-curve theories suggest adjustment follows a predictable time pattern, though the degree and duration of each part of the curve varies for each individual and is dependent on many variables. As noted by Morris (1960) and Brein and David (1971), the degree of cultural variation between the sojourner's and the host's cultures is a major determinant of the depth of the lower curve in the process of adjustment.

Klineberg and Hull (1979) studied cross-cultural adjustment in a number of host countries with a questionnaire developed internationally to establish inter-relationships among various factors that might affect adaptation or coping. In spite of breaking up sojourn length in several ways and looking for evidence of a U-curve for several variables (such as number of problems reported, depression, loneliness, homesickness, and opinions of local people), they found little cross-sectional support for the hypothesis. In addition, longitudinal studies of a sub-group of twenty foreign students in each host country indicated that the U-curve

occurs in only a minority of cases.

Stage descriptions follow a similar pattern to that of curves. In 1960, Oberg proposed a four stage theory of adjustment: the first or 'honeymoon' stage characterized by fascination or elation and optimism with the new culture, the second or hostile stage characterized by a crisis (or classic culture shock) period in which the sojourner expresses negative stereotypical attitudes toward the hosts and associates primarily with fellow sojourners, the third or recovery stage characterized by increased humor and language use as well as by a sense of superiority to the host, and a final stage of almost complete recovery and acceptance of the host culture.

Adler (1975) divided the process similarly, but into five stages with the first three, the contact phase, the disintegration phase, and the reintegration phase parallel to Oberg's first three stages. However, his fourth, autonomy and particularly the fifth, independence, emphasize the self-actualization of the individual sojourner--raising the experience to a higher plane.

Sargent (1970) combined the stage and U-curve models of adjustment, then added two pre-departure periods, before leaving the home and host countries. In addition to the curve, stages were clearly described situationally, emotionally, and physically. The major distinction which Sargent made from other models was in his division after

the exploration and frustration stages (similar to those noted in stages one and two above). He described participators (estimated at 40 % of sojourners) as effective, involved, and with a higher performance level than normal; adjusters (50%) as self-satisfied, doing an adequate job, but perhaps rejecting even the environment; escapers (5%) as motivated by a search for escape from their home environment and thus seeking to establish a clear identity within the host environment; and serious return problems (5%) who never learn to cope, develop deep emotional problems, and thus often return earlier than originally planned.

With both curve and stage theories, questions arise regarding the length and inevitability of the various phases occurring. While theorists question their validity for predictive purposes, groups who are involved in sending North Americans overseas still seem to find them useful in helping sojourners understand their experiences. For example, the CUSO Handbook for Cooperants in the mid-80's devoted over one page to Sargent's U-curve, while the 1987 handbook, Getting Started: Preparing to go Overseas as a CUSO Cooperant, includes three pages from Kohls' Survival Kit for Overseas Living (1983) complete with a new curve diagram titled, "Culture Shock Cycle: For a Two Year Assignment", which besides the regular U-curve dip includes a second dip at about the one year mark with a

rise and stability only after that. In addition, re-entry adjustment has been a topic for curves and concern since Gullahorn and Gullahorn first introduced the W-curve hypothesis in 1963, with the second dip occurring on the return of the sojourner to his homeland. And research on the process of re-adjustment has continued including one of the most recent, Asako Uehara's study, "The Nature of American Student Re-Entry and Perceptions of the Sojourn Experience" (1986). Clearly while the process of adjustment has either not been accurately described or perhaps is, in fact, a completely individualized reaction, it still maintains the interest of researchers and sojourners; more research into the process remains essential.

## **2. Affect Rating**

It is reported that Marcus Aurelius said, "No man is happy who does not think himself so". While self-ratings of affect are undoubtedly subjective, so is the experience. However, it was demonstrated by researchers as early as 1960 that self-ratings of happiness were related to other measures such as ratings by friends, measures of life problems, and other measures of well-being including physical health, social adjustment, financial situation, and a happy marriage (Bradburn, 1969; Bradburn & Caplovitz, 1965; Gurin, Veroff, & Feld, 1960).

Bradburn and Caplovitz (1965) developed a measure of

psychological well-being based on positive and negative affect. Each was found to be an independent dimension, with no influence of positive affect on negative affect or vice versa. They concluded that the discrepancy between the two was the best predictor of over-all happiness self-ratings. In addition, they found negative affect was primarily related to variables associated with mental illness, such as marriage and work difficulties, interpersonal tensions, mentions of 'nervous breakdowns', worry, and anxiousness; positive affect was associated with a series of factors related to the degree of involvement of the individual with the environment. Social contact and an active interest in the world--including social participation, group membership, number of friends and close relatives, sociability, and companionship with spouse, and exposure to variety in life experiences--were significant. Bradburn (1969) conducted a second study in which his purpose was to determine the nature of interaction between various dimensions of psychological well-being and social pressures. His social/psychological approach included consideration of concerns, worries, feeling states, role adjustment, and patterns of social participation. Based on his previous research with Caplovitz (1965), he constructed the Affect Balance Scale. He gave a score of +1 for each reported positive affect and -1 for each negative. On the left side of the scale,

Bradburn placed those with a greater number of reported positive feelings over negative feelings, in the middle were those in which positive and negative feelings reported were equal in number, and on the right he placed those who reported more negative than positive affect. He discovered that by arranging his scale in this manner, there was a lessening from left to right of those reporting overall feelings of well-being or happiness, with a sharp decrease on the right side of the scale. The amount of feelings reported was discovered to have no consistent relationship to self-reports of happiness. The only disadvantage in this method, noted by Bradburn, was the large group in the middle with a score of zero.

Wessman and Ricks (1966) also reported on affect in Mood and Personality:

affect plays a critical part in initiating, maintaining, and regulating man's environmental encounters. It instigates, accompanies, facilitates, and sustains active engagement by human beings. (p. 3)

Therefore, affect is important in relations with the environment. If negative feelings dominate the person is closed, shutoff, and defensive or most concerned for his own security thus behavior is constricted. If positive affect dominates the person is open and able to proceed along the path of individual fulfillment and self-realization. While affect does shift, Wessman and Ricks found it to be relatively stable, unlike mood which

reflects greater emotional shifts.

### 3. Situational Factors

The significant effect of situational factors in cross-cultural adjustment has been noted, at least briefly, by a number of researchers on the topic of adjustment, as noted in chapter one. Though this study did not specify factors thereby allowing the informants to identify the significant ones themselves, previous research indicates several negative as well as some positive situational factors which affect cross-cultural adjustment. However, it should be noted that none of these studies involved the adjustment of sojourners to life in China.

Situational factors identified by research are classified below in terms of social environment (first for their negative and then for their positive impact) and physical environment. Finally, research studies on stresses due to life changes regardless of their negative or positive impact are discussed.

The greatest amount of research has been in the area of negative social factors affecting adjustment. In the conclusions of their study, Spradley and Phillips (1972) reported in general terms that adjustment is most difficult in areas where the rules of appropriate behavior are clearly delineated in the sojourner's culture and less restricted in the new cultural environment. In their

study of returned Peace Corps this included punctuality, personal cleanliness, and privacy; for Chinese students in the United States it included family closeness and individual responsibility to family.

Nine types of significant negative situational factors were identified, the final four of which refer specifically to the work environment.

The most commonly cited difficulties related to language and communication problems, including language proficiency of the sojourner (not specifically a situational factor, though it affects the ability to cope with the new environment), use of social niceties, difficulties in understanding the logic and context of the language used, and non-verbal communication cues which are misunderstood. Language proficiency was seen as extremely important to cross-cultural adjustment generally and social interaction with hosts in particular by several researchers: David (1972), Di Marco (1974), Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963), Morris (1960), and Sewell and Davidsen (1956); however, other studies have lead researchers to question this assumption. Cleveland et al. (1960) pointed out that language proficiency alone is not enough and its significance varies according to situation--posting, position, and aptitude of the individual. Selltiz, Christ, Havel, and Cook (1963) suggested that confidence in language ability was more significant than actual

facility, and Dane (1981) found language to be unimportant to adjustment. Perhaps these disagreements over the importance are related to the more complex situational factors mentioned above. The lack of social niceties, such as saying please, thank-you, and excuse me, has also been noted as disturbing to sojourners (Cleveland et al., 1960; Guthrie, 1975). Harris and Moran (1979) emphasized that different types of logic or methods of reasoning may prevent positive adjustment and understanding. Broome (1985) has provided a scheme for the need to understand language in context in terms of (a) structural levels of society, for example, family, business, government, and educational institutions--in their relationships and importance; (b) situational levels, such as greeting, bargaining, socializing, and ceremonies--knowing the rules and how different situations relate; and (c) meaning levels--including the implicit meanings, their content and regulative rules. In terms of context, Hall, in his book, Beyond Culture, (1976) differentiates between low culture context persons, such as Americans who speak their meaning directly in words, and high culture context persons, such as Japanese [and Chinese] who are also concerned for silence and what is not said. This has led to assumptions on the part of Americans that other groups are too indirect or even sneaky. (Also noted by Cleveland et al., 1960; Guthrie, 1966). The importance of non-

verbal communication was first and most fully developed by Hall (1959), but has subsequently been noted by others in cross-cultural studies (Barna, 1972; Guthrie, 1975; Harris & Moran, 1979).

Secondly, social interaction with hosts has been established as being very closely related to adjustment, to the degree that it may itself be used as a measure of adjustment (Basu & Ames, 1970; David, 1972; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Morris, 1960; Selltitz et al., 1963; Sewell & Davidsen, 1956). As a result, opportunities for social interaction with the host culture become important for cross-cultural adjustment as the lack of such opportunities is a negative situational factor, making accurate culture learning less likely. Mansell (1981) focused on the need for opportunities for creative responses. She noted that successful adaptation is not just a matter of time duration or amount of contact: the quality of the experience is important. She defined this as an awareness of shared aesthetic experiences which result in higher emotional tolerance, unity, and mutual affection. This may occur through shared work-related interests but especially develops through shared leisure and play activities. One additional factor affecting social interaction and successful adjustment is variation in sex roles and male/female reactions (Harris & Moran, 1979; Yeh et al.,

1981).

Thirdly, contact with other sojourners has been identified as having a significant impact on adjustment, either positively or negatively--dependent on the attitudes of the other sojourners (David, 1972; Guthrie, 1975; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Lundstedt, 1963). As summarized by Guthrie:

We need to remind ourselves again of the First Law of Social Psychology that attitudes are learned through contact with attitudes holders and not in contact with the objects of the attitudes. (1975, p. 110; also Smith, 1955)

Fourthly, differences in time orientation, especially in the definition of punctuality has been noted by several researchers: Cleveland et al. (1960), Hall (1959), Harris and Moran (1979), and Spradley and Phillips (1972). North Americans are very time conscious--with a future orientation in thought, a strong sense of planning, and a view of time as a commodity which is to be used and not wasted. Our sense of punctuality for various purposes is also clearly defined; for business or professional purposes one must arrive at or before the appointed time, while for social engagements one might acceptably arrive fifteen to thirty minutes late.

Personal space requirements vary greatly from culture to culture; misunderstanding, frustration, and even defensive actions take place when personal space is invaded or the other individual is perceived as too

distant (Hall, 1959, 1976; Harris & Moran, 1979). Hall (1976) defined the following informal space requirements of individuals:

- (1) intimate distance: 21-22 in. (range: 6-18 in.)
- (2) personal distance: 22-23 in. (range: 1-4 1/2 ft.)
- (3) social distance: 4-5 ft. (range: 4-12 ft.)
- (4) public distance: 25 ft. (range: over 12 ft.)

It is the incongruence in personal space patterns between sojourner and host which cause a strain on the sojourner.

The lack of individualism in other cultures can be disturbing to North American sojourners: the group orientation of some countries is incomprehensible and often unacceptable (Harris & Moran, 1979). The process of individuation, whereby the sojourner constantly stands out in a crowd due to color or other distinguishing features does not allow the anonymity that would be possible in his home country, is also disconcerting. Likewise, de-individuation, whereby an individual is simply seen as a member of a group, foreigners, or Americans, rather than as an individual also has negative impact (Guthrie, 1981; Jones & Popper, 1972).

Two other sources of negative impact, mentioned only by one researcher were personal cleanliness (Spradley & Phillips, 1972) and legal status (David, 1972).

Finally, Byrnes (1966) identified three major negative situational factors in the work environment:

role ambiguity, bureaucracy, and the working style of host nationals. Ambiguity in professional roles included a lack of clear definition of job duties (Byrnes, 1966; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Klineberg, 1981) and role conflict, the degree of correspondence versus dissimilarity between home and host values and expectation (Yeh et al., 1981). Where the degree of change or role conflict is minimal the adjustment is relatively easy, but it is more difficult when the role conflict is severe (Bochner, 1972; Yeh et al., 1981). A lack of understanding of unfamiliar bureaucratic structures, particularly in relation to identification of decision-makers, and the authoritarianism of administration often resulted in complaints of bad management, according to Byrnes (1966). In addition, he reported concerns regarding the attitudes, work habits, and competency of host national workers. Harris and Moran (1979) identified a specific cultural conflict in this regard: they found that Americans stress activity in work, and become frustrated when things do not happen as they wish or there is no general air of busyness in a work environment. When sojourner goals are primarily job-related, job conditions strongly affect sojourners' satisfaction (Byrnes, 1966; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1966).

Five positive situational factors for sojourner adjustment have been identified in the literature review: high level of opportunities for host cultural contacts,

friendly actions of hosts, shared goals, a highly structured experience, and contact with other well-adjusted sojourners. Guthrie (1975) and David (1972) cited the need for a strong social support system. A parallel between the degree of social interaction or contact with host nationals and positive adjustment and attitudes has been reported (Basu & Ames, 1970; Hofman & Zak, 1969; Selltitz et al., 1963; Sewell & Davidsen, 1961). Morris (1960) found the volume, range, and depth of social interactions were significantly related to satisfaction with the sojourn. Beneficial contacts occur in both social and work environments. Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) found that American grantees who maintained contact with their host national institutions, consulted on professional matters with host colleagues and students, and helped hosts apply for grants in the United States also had high adjustment scores. The definition of culture contact or intercultural interaction has varied greatly, including number of interactions, visits to homes and churches, number of recreational activities, and travel (Sewell & Davidsen, 1961). Mansell (1981) with her emphasis on quality interaction pointed to the value of leisure and play activities which result in a creative response. Kelman (1962) noted, in particular, that friendly actions on the part of hosts resulted in more positive attitudes as well as the continuing involvement

in projects or activities which goals are shared. Based on his literature review, Church (1982) predicted that sojourner adjustment is easiest for sojourners undergoing more structured professional experiences, such as business people and scholars. Though Smith et al. (1963) found no evident difference in morale or rated overall effectiveness based on previous teaching experience for Peace Corps volunteers in Ghana, Di Marco (1974) cited teaching skills as one of the three abilities contributing to adaptation and change. Guthrie (1981) also reported that wives and children have greater difficulty in adjusting than employed persons who at least have continuity in their work experience.

Finally, friendly associations with other well-adjusted sojourners contribute to the adjustment of a new one. Enclaves of fellow nationals (or those of similar background) often form because of the anxieties of immersion in a foreign social environment. Such groups may serve a protective function whereby primary group relations are developed allowing the maintenance of values and beliefs which minimize psychological and behavioral adjustments. These groups also serve as reference groups with whom the new environment can be discussed, compared, and interpreted (Simon & Schild, 1961). While this may result in negative effects--especially isolation and alienation--it also offers positive benefits. Since Smith

(1955) reported that sojourners tend to develop similar attitudes and behavior patterns to those with whom they associate in the new environment, positive role models may result in more positive adjustment. Hawes and Kealey (1981) reported social adaptation of new Canadians to other Canadians in a foreign country to be important to adjustment. Guthrie (1975) emphasized the significance of good contacts as they offer access to important information for living in the host culture. This is particularly of relevance in health issues where fear, due to a lack of information on care which is available, may have a great negative impact.

The physical environment also affects sojourner adjustment. David (1972) included survival issues-- climate, clothing, transportation, food, water, housing, and money. While the presence of these seldom are reported as positive situational factors since they are often simply assumed as essentials; if they are perceived as inadequate the result is reported as stress. Smith et al (1963), Barna (1976), and Hawes and Kealey (1981) emphasized the significance of an acceptable level of physical comfort and convenience. Likewise, in terms of work environment, Byrnes (1966) reported a lack of equipment and appropriate facilities as having negative impact on job adjustment. Similarly, Bradburn (1974) hypothesized physical working conditions and pay would

have an effect on negative not positive affect. Living arrangements also affect social interaction. Selltiz et al. (1963) found that conditions which offer a lower potential for host contact result in actual lower contact, while higher potential situations result in higher contact for foreign students. While the size of school or location in a rural or urban area had little influence on adjustment for students in the U.S.A. (Selltiz et al., 1963), lack of exposure to foreigners on the part of host nationals in a country or area was found to be positively related to Peace Corps' completion of service, one measure of successful adjustment (Jones & Popper, 1972). Hall (1976) explained there is often an incongruity between internalized patterns of the sojourner and the external spatial arrangements of housing. For example, referring to Arabs in the United States, Hall noted that they

find that their own internalized fixed-feature patterns do not fit American housing. Arabs feel oppressed by it--the ceilings are too low, the rooms are too small, privacy from outside inadequate and views non-existent. (1970, p. 18)

Finally, a lack of privacy was also reported to have a negative impact by Harris and Moran (1979).

The impact of life changes, whether positive or negative, has been a subject of psychological research both within the U.S.A. and in cross-cultural contexts (Hinkle, 1974; Holmes & Masuda, 1974; Holmes & Rahe, 1967). In 1967 Holmes and Rahe constructed the Social

Readjustment Rating Scale, in which various life events that require a change in individual adjustment were rated by life change units (LCU's). The following list, which includes ten of the forty-three identified life events evoking stress, indicates life events by type, rank, and the mean value of the LCU. It indicates the high degree of stress or adjustment due to changes encountered by virtually all sojourners working in a new land.

16.	financial state	38
22.	responsibilities at work	29
28.	living conditions	25
29.	personal habits	24
31.	work hours or conditions	23
32.	residence	20
34.	recreation	19
36.	social activities	18
39.	number of family get-togethers	15
40.	eating habits	15

The informants in this study also experienced:

18.	different line of work	36
	(excerpted from Holmes & Rahe, 1967)	

The total of 226 (or 262) places sojourners automatically in the category of a 50% risk of major illness, without even considering the much greater degree of change which takes place in a move to a new country and culture. In addition, Rahe (1974) also noted that 70 to 80% of illnesses reported involved just four main body systems--similar to those characteristic of culture shock: gastro-intestinal, genital-urinary, musco-skeletal, and dermal. In relation to LCU's Hinkle (1974) concluded that the effect of a culture change, social change, or a change in

interpersonal relations on the health of an individual is affected by the circumstances under which the change is encountered as well as the physical and psychological characteristics of the person. In contrast to Holmes, Hinkle does not accept the idea that all change leads to stress on health. He specified that these changes may lead to a significant change in health only if

(a) a person has pre-existing illness or susceptibility to illness, and he perceives the change as important, or

(b) there is a significant change in his activities, ingestants, exposure to disease-causing agents, or in the physical characteristics of the environment. (1974, p. 42).

Once again the sojourner is very likely to face major changes as noted in (b) above even if there is little tendency toward ill health as in (a). The environment places the sojourner at a high risk of stress or culture shock, which may lead to illnesses varying in degree of severity or in an inability to adjust successfully to the environment. It has been postulated by Holmes and Masuda,

that life change events, by evoking adaptive efforts by the human organism that are faulty in kind and duration, lower 'bodily resistance' and enhance the probability of disease (1974, p. 68).

## Politics and Higher Education in China

### 1. Historical Perspective

Since the first century B.C. the Chinese have recognized the value of education in fulfilling the political and social goals of the state:

If a sage-prince wishes to transform the people, to improve their morals and manners, should he not pay attention first to the schools? When sovereigns of old set up their states and regulated the government of their people, they made education and the schools a priority. (Bastid, 1987, p. 3, from Li ji (Book of Rites), Chapter 16, paragraph 2).

Following this ancient precedent, Chinese Communist leaders have recognized formal education as a vehicle for either social cohesion or social change. In particular, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has stressed the role of education in transforming society to meet its political/developmental goals. At times the focus has been on transformation of the individual; at other times the focus has shifted to transformation of economic and social conditions.

When the CCP came to power in 1949, it inherited a fragmented, disorganized, and inequitable educational 'system' unsuited to modernization. In addition, since 1949 China's educational policies, like its development, have "undergone significant changes, twists, and turns, presenting a kaleidoscopic view that baffles an observer looking for discernable trends" (Chen, 1981, p. vii).

Yet these shifts have been between two opposite poles

within Chinese socialist thought--in political terms these are shifts between left wing policies in which economic development and progress towards socialism are viewed as inseparable, and right wing policies ('moderate' as viewed from the West) in which priority is given to economic growth and the implementation of socialist values is seen as a long-range objective. In education the parallel policies have been termed red versus expert. The red model stresses political education and practical work experience with no clear differentiation between formal, informal, and non-formal education. The expert model stresses technical and academic teaching in full-time schools and colleges. The twin goals of revolution (socialism and communism) and development (modernization and nation-building) represented by the red and expert models of education have received varying degrees of emphasis, resulting in the zigzag course of both education and development. However, throughout the Communist history of China, the ideal of higher education has always been to produce individuals who are both red, good socialists who put politics and the motherland first, and expert, knowledgeable in their field and capable of practical implementation of that knowledge for the general good. When 'politics was in command' and national goals focused on revolution and communism, as during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-76), the emphasis

was on the red or revolutionary model of education which aimed at producing revolutionaries, unswerving ideologues and dependable activists. Redness was more important than expertness, as in the case of 'barefoot doctors', the 'barefoot professionals' best known in the West. Such untrained people were seen as appropriate to lead production and bring about development. In contrast when national goals have focused on development and modernization, the expert model has been followed with the aim of producing highly skilled technical personnel and scholars committed to socialism.

Deng Xiaoping stated in his "Opening Speech at the Twelfth National Congress of the CCP" on September 1, 1982:

We must integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete realities of China, blaze a path of our own and build socialism with Chinese characteristics. (Maxwell, 1984, p. 86)

The development of a model of "socialism with Chinese characteristics", has, in fact, been the aim of leaders throughout Chinese communist history, beginning with Mao's involvement of peasants as revolutionaries--a departure from the classic of workers as the base of the revolution.

The shifts between red and expert models of education have been paralleled by swings in the influential party leadership between left and right elements, such as Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping, as well as in the development models followed. At times education unleashed powerful

and unexpected forces which had negative and destructive impact, and resulted in several policy reversals. The pre-Cultural Revolutionary period (1949-65) experienced three shifts between red and expert models of education, but the shifts were small as compared with the left swing of the second phase, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966-76 or the swing to the right of the current Four Modernizations campaign (1977-87), the third phase.

## **2. The Four Modernizations: 1977 - 1987**

The current Four Modernizations campaign aims to rapidly develop the country in the areas of agriculture, industry, defence, and science and technology. Today, education is seen as linked to the level of technology and as apolitical, allowing it a more independent status. In addition, this status has been enhanced by the assertion of objective laws of education, thus allowing recognition of non-Communist models of, for example, learning, psychology, and management (Brown, 1982, pp. 329-334). Now one hears quotations not only of Mao, but also of Confucius, Dewey, and Piaget. Posters of Einstein accompany Lei Feng, who is now known for doing a good deed daily, on the walls of classrooms as models to be emulated.

Three major events stand out as most significant to the development of higher education during the past ten

years: the National Work Education Conference of 1978, the adoption of the new Chinese state constitution in 1982, and the 1985 Conference on the Reform of Education. All three have enhanced the respect for education and intellectuals.

In his keynote address to the 1978 National Work Education Conference, Deng quoted Mao but reversed the emphasis from the Cultural Revolution. Adapting from Mao's May 7th Directive, he stated:

while students must learn other things, too, [ie., agriculture, industry, and military affairs], their main task is to study, to learn book knowledge, ie. science and technology."  
(Teng, 1978, p. 7)

This conference also revived and revised the "Sixty Articles of Higher Education" (written in 1961), making universities centers of research as well as teaching. The most significant shifts of the time were policy changes away from those of the Cultural Revolution period: in the roles of students, and teachers, and the admission, programs, and evaluation of students. The CCP and government since 1977 have aimed and are succeeding in establishing a stable and systematic educational program which gives priority in funding to the development of higher education and key schools for the top students to produce leaders--scientific, cultural, and managerial--for the future.

The roles of students and teachers have been

legitimized. The primary goal of students is to study diligently, and they are expected to show respect to their teachers, an ancient tradition totally disrupted during the cultural revolution. The intellectual freedom of teachers and students has increased, and for the first time since 1949, there is now legal protection for intellectuals. Article 23 of the 1982 constitution states:

The state trains specialized personnel in all fields who serve socialism, increases the number of intellectuals and creates conditions to give full scope to their role in socialist modernization. (Fifth, 1982, p. 15)

As explained by the editors of the Beijing Review, intellectuals are supposed to be "treated as equal by workers, peasants and soldiers", but there is still a "tendency to discriminate and look down upon intellectuals" (Xin, 1982, pp. 3, 4). The recognition of intellectuals as members of the working class has also increased their esteem and intellectual freedom. The major policy shift required society

to rely on intellectuals and trust them as members of the revolutionary ranks and to give them full opportunities to play positive roles. . . . They have become full participants in the modernization drive and the mainstay in such fields as technology, culture and education, medical service and public education. (Xin, 1982, p. 3)

As early as October, 1979, intellectual freedom was encouraged by the government. In a "Speech Greeting the Fourth Congress of Chinese Writers and Artists" on October

30, 1979, Deng declared,

We must adhere to the principle put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong--that literature and art should serve the broadest masses, and first of all, the workers, peasants, and soldiers. We must always uphold the principles of "letting a hundred flowers bloom", "weeding through the old to bring forth the new", and "making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China". (Maxwell, 1984, p. 81)

However, the government actions in the fall of 1986 illustrated the limits of intellectual freedom once again. Earlier that year there had been significant party and government encouragement of creative thought. (The "Hundred Flowers" campaigns allude to a period of intellectual openness in the third and fourth centuries B.C.) As in an earlier period of 'blooming and contending' in 1958, mass demonstrations erupted on campuses and spread throughout youth in major cities, and once again 'the flowers were cut down'. Xie Xide, President of Fudan University in Shanghai expressed the views of many college faculty when he told American reporters that the students involved in the demonstrations did not "realize what the country went through [during the Cultural Revolution], and why stability and unity are so important to everyone who experienced that awful time" (Sexton, 1987, p. 42). Ultimately, order is most important, and freedom does not mean freedom to question the state. While the conservatives or leftists were behind this backlash, Deng

Xiaoping supported the move for strong actions, including jail sentences for the leaders or even execution if necessary to regain stability. For those who lived through the Cultural Revolution there is a tremendous fear of chaos; the students were naive to think they could push reform too far.

The rise in status of university teachers and their demands for greater autonomy were paralleled by a trend towards decentralization in decision-making and increased control over the transmission and advancement of knowledge, as evidenced by the Conference on Educational Reform in 1985. While the Ministry of Education has retained powers of policy determination, long range planning, and funding allocation; institutes have greatly increased in their control in the following areas:

- \* Deciding on teaching plans and curricula, and compiling and choosing teaching materials;
- \* Accepting projects from or cooperation with other social establishments . . .
- \* Suggesting appointments and removals of vice-presidents and officials at various levels;
- \* Disposal of capital construction investment and funds allocated by the state; and
- \* Developing international exchanges by using their own funds. ("Upgrading", 1985, p. 16)

Attempts to wrest educational decision-making power from party committee control within institutes has also met with some success. The 'president responsibility system' has given the President (academic head) of an institute full administrative responsibility, while the party secretary's role has officially been limited to

guaranteeing and supervising party guidelines (Wang, 1985, p. 110). In fact, many party secretaries retain the deciding power, however, unofficially.

University admission policies have changed since 1977, affecting both selection procedures and access of specific groups. Students must now pass national entrance examinations to prove academic abilities, be of good moral/political character, and in good physical condition. Those with the highest scores qualify for admission to key colleges and universities. They have been reinstated to develop the potential of the top 10% of the student population which are accepted into them (Henze, 1984, p. 124). These institutes are expected to offer top quality courses, to set a high standard to which other colleges and universities will aspire, and to produce the most highly qualified manpower for the drive to modernization.

While the present policies favour the expert model of education, special policies have been developed for those who are less advantaged. For example, those who do not qualify for university admission are encouraged to make use of adult education opportunities such as radio and TV universities or part-time colleges. In fact, graduates of such programs can also receive degrees if they pass equivalency examinations (Shiqi, 1984, p. 5). However, such courses are seen as distinctly different from and unequal to regular universities. The alternative programs

to regular universities are designed to raise the general level of education throughout the country to contribute to the modernization drive.

Affirmative action programs have been implemented to promote certain disadvantaged groups. For example, special educational policies for minorities have received particular emphasis. Recognizing that this 5.6% of the population occupies 50 to 60% of the area of the country, especially in the resource rich frontier areas (Henze, 1984, p. 145), this special treatment--establishment of minority colleges, extra financial aid, special preparatory and regular classes and teaching materials, in addition to lower entrance standards--has political significance.

Program length has been extended to four or five years for bachelors' programs. A clear distinction is made between the regular university programs and others, including short-cycle courses which may be offered in regular institutes of higher education, and non-formal educational opportunities, such as correspondence and TV universities.

The expert model of education reigns in power again. Academic learning now receives top priority in universities, so there is less emphasis on politics and ideology. Many texts have been rewritten to eliminate the most overt political content, though in 1986 some American

teachers were still teaching their own country's history from English language texts which constantly referred to Americans as "corrupt and decadent bourgeoisie capitalists!" Political education is still of major importance, however; all students are required to study it 20% of the time in liberal arts programs and 10% in science, technology, foreign languages, and medicine. In addition, all students and staff are required to attend political meetings one-half day per week. A new shift was evident as of April, 1987, when the State Education Commission in its new Provisional Regulations for Enrollment of Regular Institutes of Higher Learning placed a new stress on social stability and unity; and in July, 1987, the commission announced that 10,000 students in 105 colleges would receive 7-8 weeks of military training, including political education, military theory, and combat skills to raise their political consciousness and sense of discipline and national defence (Committee, 1987, pp. 20-21). China no longer attempts to maintain complete self-reliance, but favours interdependence while attempting to maintain autonomy in both education and development. Students are encouraged to learn from Japan and the West, especially in science and technology. Once again western learning is seen as suitable for practical application. Even the North American system of credits and options has been introduced in some universities (Lin, 1985, p. 28).

Labour continues to be required of college students. In the 1980's university students have been working only about one month per year and in the field of their studies. For example, engineering students serve as factory workers. By defining intellectuals as mental workers, today's leaders have taken a new approach to end the dichotomy between mental and manual labour. However, as of the summer of 1988, graduates will be assigned one year of probationary work experience, accompanied by political and management training, at the grass-roots level. Those who pass will then qualify for job titles and salaries, application for graduate studies, and study abroad; those who fail will be reassigned to probation for up to one year (Committee, 1987, p. 21).

Since the 1960's, throughout the Cultural Revolution and up to the present day, there has been a concern to improve teaching methodology from largely rote learning to a style which will encourage independent thinking and development of analytical skills. Teachers, given little in the way of practical suggestions, are exhorted to change their ways. As then Vice-Premier Wan Li stated at a national education conference on May 17, 1985, China's educational system has always encouraged docility and

adapting to the environment instead of transforming it. . . . The pattern of thought formed under the guidance of this kind of traditional education theory is totally incompatible with modern science and technology development. (Wan, 1985, p. 20)

Despite the rhetoric, such transformations of teaching methods are slow in realization.

One of the major reversals since the Cultural Revolution has been in the area of assessment and promotion. Examinations are again seen as an essential check on student learning and quality teaching, though terms marks are also given for tests and assignments. Since 1981 various colleges and universities have been authorized to grant degrees at the bachelor's, master's, and doctoral levels--the first time since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

What has been the overall impact of the return to the expert model of education and development in China? The major area of improvement has been the establishment of an orderly, stable, and systematic educational system. The production of qualified personnel for development and modernization has been significant but there are still major imbalances in the system which need to be redressed.

While the process of transformation of the educational system has not proceeded as quickly as originally intended, the expert model has been firmly re-established and leaders such as Hu Yaobang, former General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CCP, realized as early as 1980 that they had been, "overambitious and overanxious in regard to the process of the four

modernizations" (Hu, 1980, p. 13), as well as the need to focus on long range planning. Despite the lofty goals of the Four Modernizations campaign and strong centralized influence on educational policies, changes to make teaching more innovative, to encourage independent and analytical thinking have been slow and sporadic. Why? Traditional educational views are still strong and 'innovation' during the Cultural Revolution lead only to chaos. According to Chen, local authorities and party officials charged with implementation still do not clearly understand policies, nor how to implement them (1981, p. 197). Conflict between the right and left wings of the party continues as they try to determine the best manner in which to proceed. In addition, the sharp turns in policy in the past thirty years have left teachers wary of leading in any sort of change--in case the political wind should shift direction. Yet, unless students take more responsibility for their own learning how will they be able to act appropriately in work situations where the responsibility system has already been instituted as in factories, communes, and some colleges?

To produce the manpower necessary for development--to introduce technical advances, reduce over-employment, and run enterprises profitably--there is a great need for skilled labour and management resources. Today there are about 1.5 million college and university students (Lin,

1985, p. 1). The number of graduates of higher education per year has approximately doubled from 1976 to 1983: the total figure, including both regular and short courses rose from 149,154 to 335,344; in regular/normal programs the number rose from 132,700 to 252,571 (Department, 1984, p. 80). Yet only 5.99 per thousand people have completed higher education in China (Wang, 1985, p. 144).

Post-graduate education has grown in the past ten years as well. During the ten years of the Cultural Revolution only 4,546 students completed their studies; in the six years from 1978 to 1983, 20,849 students received graduate degrees (Department, 1984, p. 118). As of September, 1987, applicants with several years of work experience have been given priority in admission to philosophy, social sciences, and applied sciences through a lowering of the passing mark on the graduate entrance examination. In the fall of 1987, approximately 41,000 people were admitted into masters' programs (Committee, 1987, p. 21). Weakness remains in an imbalance between various fields of study in relation to manpower needs--a difficult balance for any country to attain. However, by regulating admissions and job placements, the government has attempted to reach a balance. The need for change may be illustrated by reference to the percentage of students in various fields in 1983: 33.5% in engineering, which needs to be reduced; 5.5% in agriculture, 4.1% in light

industry, and only 20.2% in humanities and social sciences (including business, management, and law) which need to be increased. An attempt has also been made to improve job skills of graduates in the humanities by introducing secretarial and computer training. In addition to better link education with the needs of the workplace, 33% of the institutes of education in 1982 were administered not by the Ministry of Education but by relevant ministries, such as ship-building, forestry, or railways (World Bank, 1983, p. 161).

Overall higher education has made remarkable progress since 1949, despite political upheavals. Though more destructive than constructive, the Cultural Revolution identified major weaknesses in the system. An antidote to one of these was the innovative developments which have taken place in non-formal education. To balance the elitist nature of the expert model of education which now dominates in regular education, concepts of the red model have been successfully implemented.

Open door policies with the West have been justified in economic and development terms. Besides access to foreign books and technology, there has been a great boom in interpersonal contact between Chinese and foreigners. While some students do not return after their overseas studies, a concern voiced in several China Daily articles in the spring of 1986, 6,473 students returned from

studies abroad between 1977 and 1983 (Department, 1984, p. 131). Many foreigners now also work or study in China. This has raised concern of the Chinese leaders as evidenced by recent "Anti-Pollution Campaigns" which warned that "overseas ideas [are]...the source of impurities in Chinese society leading weak-willed youth astray and encouraging lawlessness" (Cleverly, 1985, p. 265). As argued by Price, "cultural borrowing is not necessarily a conscious process" (1982, p. 10); perhaps with this in mind, policies have been implemented to limit contact between foreigners and Chinese--segregated housing and classes. These are only effective to a limited degree--dependent on the willingness of both Chinese and foreigners to accept the restrictions. Individual foreigners are often warmly welcomed into the hearts and homes of Chinese by those who recognize the governments intentions to limit their contact with foreigners and those who do not. While China is attempting to learn from the West without the cultural implications, it is facing a losing battle on the individual. However, the vast size and population, rather than the policies which attempt to maintain social distance are most likely to be successful in this regard.

Deng Xiaoping as chief leader was able to maneuver a difficult course for the country while maintaining the risky and delicate balance between conflicting ideologies

and goals through his pragmatic approach to both politics and development by balancing opposing elements. This approach was popularized by his famous slogan, especially popular in 1985-86: "It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white as long as it catches the mice" (Maxwell, 1984, p. ix, common in the China Daily, 1985-1986) Any leader must be wary of maintaining the balance in the following continuing conflicts: between left and right wing politicians, between democracy and centralized authoritarian control, between self-reliance and international independence, between profit incentives and socialistic economic concern for all, and between red and expert models of education. Recently Chinese educational and political theorists have emphasized that the dialectical shifts between these poles are appropriate--a fulfillment of Marxism.

With the resignation of Deng Xiaoping, the question arises: Will the current leadership be able to control and maintain both party and popular support. Personal popularity has been very important in successful leadership in China, often a delicate balancing act between right and left wings of the party while faced by tremendous physical and human challenges to socialism. Since November, 1987, Zhao Zhiyang, Secretary of the Communist Party, has attempted to consolidate his power by institutionalizing the decision-making process. This

should also serve to stabilize the reforms which have been implemented in education and politics during the past decade.

### **Experiences of Foreign Teachers in China**

Foreign English teachers in China face great changes in both their personal and professional lives. While many generalizations may be made, individual experiences vary greatly. This is due not only to the sojourner's background, such as teaching and cross-cultural experiences, but particularly due to his or her placement within the country--location, the college's experience in dealing with foreigners, and the type of program in which he or she is working.

With the exceptions of Maureen Hynes' Letters from China (1981) which offers a detailed description of her experiences and China Bound: A Guide to Life and Work in the PRC (Turner-Gottschang, 1987) which offers detailed information and guidance based on the experiences of many foreigners, the remaining seven articles to be discussed offer a limited introduction to teaching in China and adjustments required of sojourners.

First, a summary of the seven articles is included, beginning with the more general and followed by those specifically focusing on work. Next, is a summary of insights from Hynes' book. Finally, the broader

perspective of China Bound is summarized.

The description of experiences of Judy Shapiro, by Posner (1980) and the report of Bob Barlais (1984) offer a very personal view of teaching in China with reference to initial experience, living conditions and view of students. Barlais was impressed that he and his family were met in Beijing when their placement was in Chongqing, a thousand kilometers away. Being the first foreign teacher at Hunan Teachers' College when she first arrived, Shapiro was overwhelmed with "motherly affection" (Posner, 1980, p. 22). In fact, the college

suggested students not associate with her after class; she need[ed] the time to prepare her lessons. And it suggested to Judy that she give up dancing. (She is a professional dancer.) How could she follow that career and teach at the same time? Wouldn't it be too tiring? Shapiro wasn't happy with the special attention and concern. She wanted something more: acceptance. It came gradually. (Posner, 1980, pp. 22-23)

Eventually Shapiro became so integrated she even attended weekly political studies meetings, a rarity for foreigners (perhaps due to the fact that she was fluent in Chinese).

Both Barlais and Shapiro saw their teaching loads as heavy, but they enjoyed their students. They faced up to nineteen hours of teaching per week with up to 120 students in a single class. In comparison to Chinese college teachers, who usually teach four to eight hours, the load was high. Barlais described the students as very different from Canadian ones, as hard-working and silent,

feeling

the teacher is always right [and] their job as students is to listen, write down what the teacher tells them and to repeat it back on the final examinations. [As he stated,] for a western teacher that took a little bit of getting used to and sometimes trying to change. (Barlais, 1984, p. 3)

Shapiro also commented on the need for adaptation in the area of male/female relations. Ironically by the time this article was published Shapiro was already married to a Chinese student, finally getting approval from Deng Xiaoping himself--as reported in Son of the Revolution (1983) by Shapiro and her husband, Liang Heng.

Barlais was most affected by the friendliness of the people: "Of all of the impressions that I took away from China after a year of living there, the smiling faces is one of the strongest" (Barlais, 1984, p. 1).

Martin (1986) and Fischer-Kohn (1986) both reflected on the great variations between expectations of ESL teachers going to China and the reality they face in their work. Martin, who had taught ESL for eighteen years and included Peace Corps within her overseas experience, pointed out that North American teachers have basic expectations of structure and regularity; reasonable class size; and some degree of control and flexibility in class goals, atmosphere, and approach to teaching. As she noted, "To transplant these expectations intact to teaching ESL abroad is to court frustration,

disappointment, and potentially a sense of failure" (Martin, 1986, p. 4). She certainly experienced frustration at the beginning of her term in China: she was assigned different courses from those which she had originally been assigned and for which she had prepared. She was asked to teach nine different classes for thirty-one hours--which she bargained down to five classes with a total of 130 students, only to meet over 200 as well as several approved auditors. In her largest class there were sixty-three students. She was unable to test proficiency or get information on students from other teachers before being expected to select appropriate texts. Finally, she was given an inappropriate one to use, allowed no copying privileges nor the use of an overhead projector when such equipment was available. Also, of continuing significance were the vastly different conceptions she and the Chinese held as to the proper role of students and teachers. She had expected "deference and respect for a teacher" but was amazed at the degree of it and the sharp boundaries she faced. In her students' view, she stated, "I belonged on my platform, behind my lectern, in front of my blackboard: I alone decided or "knew" what they should learn (translate: memorize) from which page" (Martin, 1986, p. 4). If she even stepped down from her platform by the blackboard, she felt she was suspect. Her first weeks were frustrating, as she

grappled with an inability to make use of modern western-style teaching techniques which focused on communicative competence. However, over the year, as she explained,

My Chinese hosts and students helped me re-learn what teaching is. It is not the trappings of materials and machines, not even paper, books, texts, trusted techniques. In the "real world", where many of these are stripped away, one must rely on perceptiveness, patience, all prior experience, and training--the old as well as the new. One must have a willingness to accept and adjust to different expectations, without losing sight of one's own expectations and goals. (Martin, 1986, p. 4)

Her adaptations drew on the students' strengths in memorization and expectations of control; she gained respect by using these and then adapting the audio-lingual method with which they were comfortable to partially achieve her own objectives.

Fischer-Kohn's article focused on the teaching of reading and her experiences in Shandong province. She was initially taken aback by the intensive (or close reading) approach of Chinese teachers and students which focuses on a detailed understanding of the specifics, words, and grammatical structures, in contrast to the current western approach which is more global, emphasizing speed and overall comprehension. Due to the 1985 emphasis in the China Daily on reform of teaching methods, she expected the teachers whom she taught would appreciate learning her 'new' global approach. They politely but firmly refused; they insisted that she "explain all the vocabulary items

and grammatical structures and give them many examples of such items in a variety of contexts" (1986, p. 8). Why? This is what their students expected of them; they believed "reading comprehension is a process that begins with the analysis of the smallest elements of language (letters or words)" (1986, p. 10) and proceeds systematically up to the level of the whole; and finally they did not want to take the risk of initiating reform until it was fully approved through the hierarchy. Towards the end of her article, Fischer-Kohn remarked on the strengths and weaknesses of the intensive reading approach and the value of integrating it after a more holistic view in ESL teaching in both the U.S.A. and China.

Matalene, in her article, "Contrastive Rhetoric: An American Writing Teacher in China" (1985) focused on differences in culture, language, and rhetoric, and their effects on Chinese students which she observed while teaching one semester in Shanxi University and later analyzed the writing with the assistance of a Chinese professor on an exchange in the U.S.A. Matalene, like others, had noted how hard-working her students were, their abilities at memorization, and their tendency to overuse set phrases. She was able to link these with Chinese language learning and the long-established cultural preference to refer to Chinese proverbs and

political slogans to enliven discourse. While western teachers abhor cliches and encourage students to be original, Chinese writing teachers use the opposite approach. She noted,

For the Chinese, then, the primary function is to preserve general harmony and to promote social cohesion; and to tradition, and to the authority of the past; its technique always the repetition of maxims, exempla, and analogies presented in established forms and expressed in well-known phrases. (p. 795)

Such techniques prove the speaker or writer is well-educated and worth listening to, as well as being polite and well-mannered since they tend to be indirect. For example, the 1966 news report that Mao had gone swimming might have seemed insignificant in the West, but "every Chinese knew that exercise was not the issue; Chairman Mao had quelled the factions, taken charge, and was about to launch the Cultural Revolution" (Matalene, 1985, p. 802).

The final two articles refer to educators employed in special projects, one in a joint Canadian and Chinese training program for Chinese proceeding to study in Canada (Swanson, 1984), the other in a television university ESL program (Flower, 1983). Of interest to this study are David Cooke's comments to Swanson on the challenges of identifying and adapting materials from various sources and the experience of working in one-to-one relationships with Chinese teachers, who though interested in the Canadian approach found a communicative competence method

very difficult to implement. Katherine Flower, now a 'star' in China because of her involvement in the well-known ESL program "Follow Me", identified specific difficulties in her work which are not unique to her situation: cumbersome bureaucratic procedures, mixed levels of students, shortage of qualified staff, and limited financial resources.

Hynes, in Letters From China (1981) offers, in letter and diary format a perceptive account of her experience from the rush of excitement before she left Canada when she felt "like a beserk barometer of human emotions, registering fear, elation, panic, smugness, desperation, and uncertainty" (p. 28) to the sadness she felt on leaving five months later. She and a male colleague from Canada taught a short-term training course for high school and university English teachers at a key university. Several themes arose in her writing of significance to this study of cross-cultural adjustment. Three will be presented regarding students, staring, and the lack of autonomy.

Hynes felt the most frustration in teaching with students' "emphasis on textual analysis, painfully formal English, the touchy difficulty of trying to wean them from political cliches" (1981, p. 58). She found students to be curious, but terribly stilted in conversation. Like Martin, her teachers as students "knew exactly how they

wanted to be taught, . . . [and were] very resistant to/skeptical of anything else, despite their avowed hunger to be exposed to 'new' methods" (1981, p. 67). They also held clear and conflicting views of the role of teachers and student: The students saw them as "dispensers of information and knowledge" while they saw themselves as

agents who concocted and organized activities that would enable [the students] to speculate and analyze and argue--to stretch the boundaries of the English they already had. (1981, p. 119)

From the beginning, Hynes was overwhelmed by the staring. Near the beginning of May, she wrote,

I suppose the thing I was least prepared for was the staring. It's absolutely unnerving. Children gaze at us open-mouthed, parents stare flatly, young girls giggle, and old women walk up beside us and inspect. The thing we can't do is stop when we're walking--anywhere on campus, on the streets, in parks, in stores. (1981, p. 51)

After a few weeks she became more annoyed and wanted to tell the people to stop being rude, but by then she felt flabbergasted when she saw a Westerner, too (1981, p. 70). By June 17th she appreciated that at least the staring was not sexual (p. 107), and she was more able to take it into her stride. Towards the end of her stay, it appeared she was no longer upset by the staring as it was not mentioned in August and September entries.

What appeared to be more serious was the lack of personal freedom. Getting bicycles and travelling alone in the city offered some relief from the "foreign-experts-

whisked-to-the-city-in-curtained-car-shackles" (pp. 56-57). But their "wild fling on [a] Saturday night" when she and her colleague did not return till 10:30 p.m. "touched off shocks of alarm" and special new rules were devised (p. 63). When they refused to comply they faced no consequences, yet on June 18 she commented,

It's peculiar to feel naughty when you're thirty-two years old. I'd forgotten what it's like, and I still feel the same perverse pleasure I did when I was a kid! Sometimes we get back as late as 10:30. Wicked." (1981, p. 136)

Their non-work hours became an adventure when they went downtown on their own to send a telegram, have their bikes repaired, or buy coffee. However, the constant "mothering" and "loss of accustomed autonomy" (1981, p. 72) continued to plague them throughout their sojourn period.

The 1987 publication, China Bound, designed for students and teachers heading to China, covers a broad range of topics relevant to any academic sojourner in China, including details regarding both teaching and social environment with specific illustrations.

Each of these articles and books on experiences of foreign English teachers in China includes many comments on experiences and feelings shared by many who sojourn there. The two informants in this study also shared many of these, though they were neither trained nor experienced in teaching English as a foreign language.

### Background Information

Background information on the two informants, the college where they worked, and the province in which they lived were described as a backdrop to the research data which is given in chapter three.

#### 1. The Informants

Ann (pseudonym), a Canadian, was thirty-one years old. She held a Bachelor of Education degree and had completed one year of a master's program, but had no teaching experience. Bob (pseudonym), an American, was twenty-five years old, held a Bachelor of Arts degree, and also had not taught previously.

Background variables from Church's literature review (1982) are noted here, though not considered as variables in this study: age and experience, sojourn goals, language proficiency, and status. Both informants were relatively young, but more significantly they were inexperienced as teachers and neither had been outside of North America except on short vacations. Their goals were personal not professional; they were seeking adventure, to test their ability to cope in a foreign culture, and in the case of Ann, perhaps to find "a companion", "Mr. Right" who would be more adventurous than men she had met at home. (Initial Interview). These variables made them comparable to Peace Corps volunteers in assuming unfamiliar roles or to undergraduate students with more personal development goals

than professional ones, and like these groups may have been expected to face more adjustment difficulties than professionals (Church, 1982, pp. 545-547). They are also representative of the many inexperienced English as a Foreign Language teachers in China and many other third world countries.

Bob had completed an introductory Chinese course and had been a tourist in China for three weeks prior to his sojourn. Ann had no language training. However, ability in speaking Chinese was neither necessary nor expected for teaching. Finally, it should be noted that both informants experienced a rise in status, respected as native speakers and English teachers in addition to being viewed as representatives of their countries which are highly respected in China today (Church, 1982, pp. 548-549).

## **2. The College**

The college was a key institute established in 1960, with departments transferred from other more established colleges up to 1970. While it was a college of agricultural engineering, it also ran a small English teacher training program.

In 1983-84 it had 69 post-graduate and 2,005 undergraduate students (Department, 1984, p. 419), but with an increase of about 500 students per year, there were almost 23,000 students during the 1984-1985 school year of Ann

and Bob's sojourn. The teaching staff was over 2,000 that year, including professors, teachers, assistants, and researchers. The steady construction of new classroom buildings and housing indicated it would continue to grow rapidly in size.

The fifty hectare campus was similar to a village in that it contained, in addition to the educational facilities and housing, a factory, several small shops, two barber shops, a daycare, a primary school, a hospital, a post office, and a bank. About 7,000 students, teachers, and other staff lived on the campus.

Bob and Ann each were each assigned to a small apartment in a guest hotel on campus along with the researcher and her husband, and other foreign and Chinese guests who stayed for up to three months. Their furnished apartments contained air-conditioners/heaters, and modern bathroom facilities (with a very irregular hot water supply), colour televisions, and tape recorders.

Seven other English teachers had previously worked at the college for one to two years each since 1982. During the year of the sojourn of Ann and Bob, two British teachers worked at another institute in the city. Fifteen advanced trainees from Asian and African countries studied in a United Nations sponsored course at the same college as Ann and Bob. Overall, the staff had had a fair amount of experience in dealing with foreigners.

### 3. The City and Jiangsu Province

The college is located in the distant suburbs of an industrial city of about 350,000 people occupying over 100 square kilometers. Though the city was open to foreigners when Ann and Bob arrived, only one year earlier a special permit had been required of foreigners to visit it. It was not seen as a desirable place to live by people from many other cities in the province due to its pollution and lack of recreational and cultural facilities. However, there was one hotel for foreign visitors, and as an ancient city--over 2,500 years old--its historic sights were well-known.

Jiangsu is 100,000 square kilometers in size, has a population of 61 million people, and has a density of 600 persons per square kilometer. It is therefore the most densely populated province in the country (Jiangsu Supplement, 1985, p. 1). It is also the most productive in terms of industry and agriculture, worth 97.66 billion yuan in 1984 (Jiangsu Foreign Affairs, 1985, p. 2). About two-thirds from industry and one-third from agricultural products. In 1984, the rural per capita income was 447 yuan, while urban workers earned about 918 yuan annually (Jiangsu Foreign Affairs, 1985, p. 12). Thus Ann and Bob lived in a very populous and productive area of the country.

### Summary

Previous researchers into sojourner adjustment have developed theories of the process and identified many significant situational factors which affect it. However, no systematic framework of situational/environmental influences on adjustment has been developed; nor has sojourner adjustment research taken place in China.

Politics has an influence on education in all societies, but in China it has been particularly important as it has been seen as a significant vehicle which may be used to fulfill the political and social goals of the state. And as political emphasis has changed so has education. Many of the specific experiences of sojourners in China would be very different if the country had not maintained its isolation from the West for so long. One of the riddles often pondered by foreign teachers in China today is the relative impact of politics and culture.

The present study is, in a general sense, a study of cross-cultural adjustment; more specifically it is an intimate and detailed analysis of the adjustment process of two North Americans to life and work in a key institute in Jiangsu, one of the richest and most populous provinces in the People's Republic of China. It is the specific situational factors affecting adjustment which are the focus of this study.

## CHAPTER 3

### DATA ANALYSIS

Questionnaires and interview transcripts were analyzed in the order indicated in the methodology section of Chapter 1. Following is an analysis by sub-problem.

#### Sub-Problem 1

To determine whether the informants follow the U-curve or stages of adjustment or adjustment related to the academic year.

Overall, the U-curves of adjustment were not clearly evident in the experience of either Ann or Bob. However, three stages were identified: (a) a contact phase, (b) a disintegration/reintegration phase, and (c) a leave-taking phase. The major influences on the progression were linked primarily with the academic year and personal relationships. This will be illustrated as follows:

(1) A graph of the overall affect rating during the period of the sojourn (based on the principles of Bradburn's affect balance scale, 1969, and Ruben & Kealey, 1981).

(2) A process summary of comments on each of the informant's adjustment experience and situational factors affecting it--in four time periods based on the academic year which consisted of two terms each subdivided by mid-term examinations. In each instance, first Ann's then Bob's adjustment process will be presented.

(3) A summary of social interaction with Chinese hosts with reference to time, number, and type of contacts.

(4) A detailed description of the adjustment process of each informant.

#### **1. Overall Affect Rating**

The overall affect rating was calculated including the following areas: the system or society in general, Chinese work associates, students, foreign affairs, Chinese friends, Chinese met casually (eg., in shops or on the streets), living conditions, and working conditions. The 5-point questionnaire scale was converted as in Table 1.

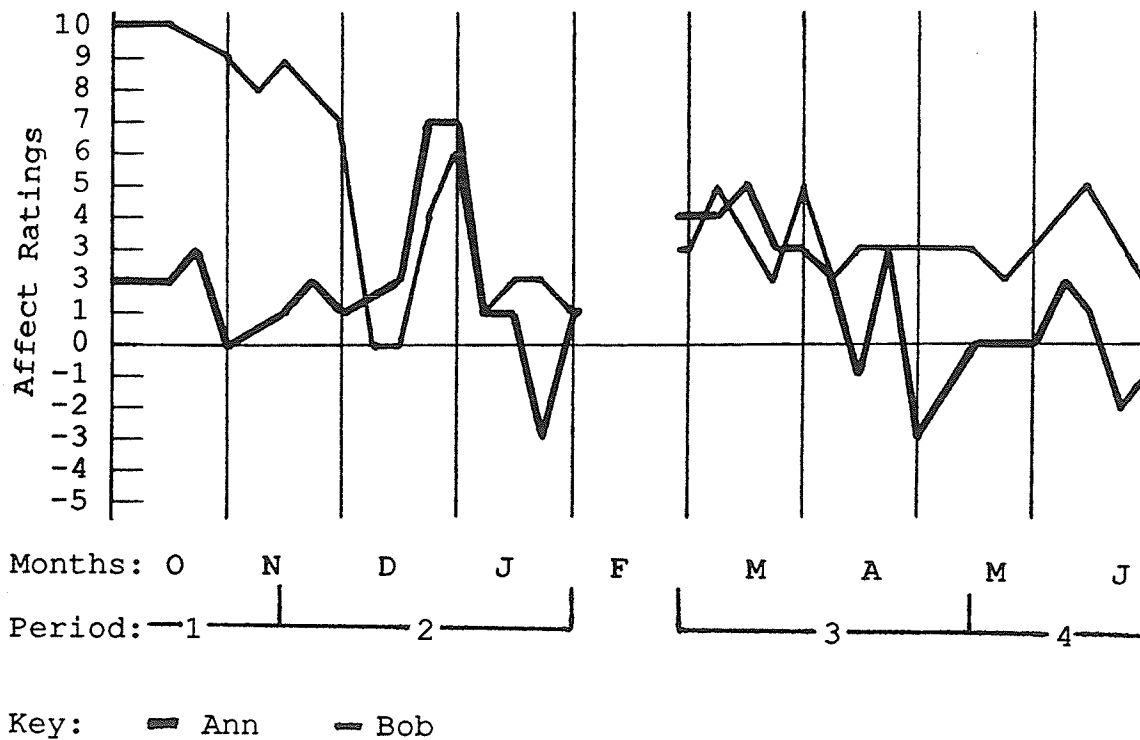
Table 1

Questionnaire Scale Converted to Affect Rating

Rating	5 Point Rating	Affect Value
Very Positive	5	+2
Positive	4	+1
OK	3	0
Negative	2	-1
Very Negative	1	-2

Figure 1 illustrates each informant's overall affect rating, based on Bradburn's (1969) affect balance scale.

Figure 1

Average Affect Ratings During Sojourn

## 2. Process Summary of Adjustment Experience

### Period 1 - Ann

As illustrated on Graph 1, Ann was adjusting positively to life in China during this initial period. The greatest positive influence was developing friendships with Chinese and foreign friends (especially with United Nations International Development Organization (UNIDO) trainees taking a three month course at the college). Negative influences included uncertainty regarding work expectations, lack of response from students in class, lack of reliability of support staff, and physical living and working conditions. The dip at the end of October marked the departure of the UNIDO trainees.

### Period 1 - Bob

Initially it appeared that Bob might follow the classic curve of adjustment. In his first few months he showed high levels of excitement and wonder at his new life in China. Positive factors included a positive outlook on the system, excitement at new experiences, as well as enjoyment of new friendships with Chinese associates. His difficulties in teaching in terms of uncertainty of work expectations and limited responses from students were just challenges he sought to understand and overcome.

**Period 2 - Ann**

During this time Ann's ratings rose to their highest and fell to their lowest depths. The initial rise was due to student feedback on mid-term examinations and positive coping with the lack of reliable assistance from support staff, including learning details of their schedules and taking on responsibility for her own typing. At the beginning of December she enjoyed a great party at a nearby middle school, but was frustrated by the censuring of her friend by his school principal as a result. Shortly thereafter Ann lost her wallet (or it was stolen), and she had a very difficult time making arrangements for the refund of her traveller's cheques. The sudden rise in Ann's affect rating in December reflected her most positive period as her friendship with Bob became romantic, and she enjoyed Chinese and foreign friendship at Christmas. Her overall ratings dipped significantly at the new year when she and the other foreigners were told a 'face-saving white lie' by a foreign affairs staff in regards to a party. Then, January was a lower period due to the heavier workload associated with the examination period and the uncertainty of winter vacation plans.

**Period 2 - Bob**

Bob's first and only major fall in affect rating occurred at the beginning of December when he learned about restrictions that could be placed on

Chinese/foreigner relations through his friend who was directed not to see foreigners after the party previously mentioned. This incident caused him to seriously question the whole 'system' for the first time.

Good friendships with students and colleagues, especially around Christmas, and a developing intimate relationship with Ann buoyed up his feelings in late December though he felt a lack of privacy, a fear of rumors, not to mention that he and Ann were breaking Chinese laws which forbid pre-marital sexual relations. January brought a myriad of difficulties, which appeared to Bob as examples of 'lies', poor management, and lack of appropriate assistance from Foreign Affairs staff. The loss (or theft) of his Foreign Exchange Exemption Card in January was the greatest problem as he knew it would make his winter vacation much more difficult. During this month he faced a shift in his teaching assignment and an increase in work load due to term end examinations. In spite of these, Bob maintained a fairly positive attitude, seeing difficulties as challenges and opportunities for learning more about China--rather than as just obstacles. He tried to cope by standing up for his rights more aggressively than he had ever done before.

### **Period 3 - Ann**

When Ann returned to the institute after winter vacation, she felt much more comfortable with her life

there, and her relations with students, colleagues, and friends (everyone except Foreign Affairs staff). She was enthusiastic about teaching and talked of completing a master's program in English as a second language in the future.

Ann and Bob's decision to get married near the beginning of March strongly affected the remainder of the school year. Their next major decision was that they would return to the U.S.A. the following summer, instead of remaining in China for another year as they had previously hoped to do. This created an urgency to do and see as much as possible in the remaining time. Tension also developed between the couple as they considered their future. In addition, Ann found her thoughts shifted significantly from her Chinese experience to planning her next move to the U.S.A. and selling her home in Canada.

The continuing lack of communication between the institute's leadership and the two informants became evident near the end of April. Ann and Bob planned a four-day trip from Thursday, May 1st to Sunday, and made arrangements to teach their few Friday classes in advance. Just prior to this, there had been a policy change disallowing class time shifts. Not having been informed of this, Ann was very annoyed when she and Bob got in trouble for their plans. Though the trip was finally

approved, the situation resulted in the release of Ann's pent-up frustration at the system.

### Period 3 - Bob

Bob's overall adjustment remained relatively stable during the third period of his sojourn with a variation of only three points in his affect ratings.

Like Ann, he felt more sure of himself in his teaching. He also felt very comfortable with his Chinese friends, work associates, and students. The only less than positive affect rating was towards foreign affairs staff; he continued to feel suspicious of them though no new specific causes arose. While giving consistently high ratings to his foreign friends, by the end of April he sometimes felt the need for either more solitude or more contact with other foreigners. Bob enjoyed many encounters with Chinese he met casually, and seldom complained about staring or crowds.

During this time Bob felt neither positively nor negatively towards the Chinese system in general. He noted difficulties, devised theories and possible 'solutions', but also realized his own limitations in really understanding the problems.

Having decided to return to the U.S., Bob often wished he could stay longer, felt sadness at leaving his Chinese friends and a strong desire to do and see more. Meanwhile, his interest in teaching declined.

**Period 4 - Ann**

The major shift Ann experienced was from concern with her life in China to basic acceptance, and a focus in her thoughts and dreams on the future--on her return to Canada and her move to the U.S.A. to live with Bob. She expressed a greater understanding of students' perspectives on school work than she had previously. As well, she appreciated her Chinese friendships though they had not developed as closely as she had expected--due to her more important relationship with Bob.

One of Ann's prime objectives during period four was to see more of China. This was negatively affected by both the weather and the institute leaders. In fact, two of the greatest frustrations of the final term arose out of a lack of communication, and uncertainty about decisions and decision-makers--which ultimately allowed one trip and disallowed the other.

Ann ended the year satisfied with her teaching, friendships and overall adjustment to life in China.

**Period 4 - Bob**

During the fourth period of his sojourn Bob became bored, like Ann, as he yearned for home. He thought carefully about his China experience--which he loved and was proud of. He also appeared more cynical as he tried to reach a personal understanding of the country. He was concerned by the control exerted by authorities, the need

to always remain polite, the lack of reliability of some workers, and the need to deny his relationship with Ann. The positive side of the experience was, again, friends--whom he had already begun to miss. However, through this period he felt attacks of 'cabin fever' and the need to escape from his foreign 'family'. He greatly enjoyed his sojourn, and felt he had learned a lot, and was proud that he had succeeded in living the year outside of the U.S. Though in the third period he had concocted 'solutions' to some of China's 'problems', during the fourth humility won out: he developed no theories--just recognized the differences. Somehow China had become more real and less mysterious, not "understandable--just less mysterious" (June 9).

### **3. Social Interaction with Chinese Hosts**

As noted above, social interaction with Chinese hosts and students had a very positive impact on the adjustment of Ann and Bob. However, it has also been defined as a measure or dimension of adjustment itself (Church, 1982; Ruben & Kealey, 1979). Social interaction was described in terms of reported hours spent per day with Chinese friends, number of significant friendships reported, types of activities, and affect ratings in the category, Chinese friends.

Bob usually reported spending two hours per day with Chinese friends throughout the year, while Ann averaged

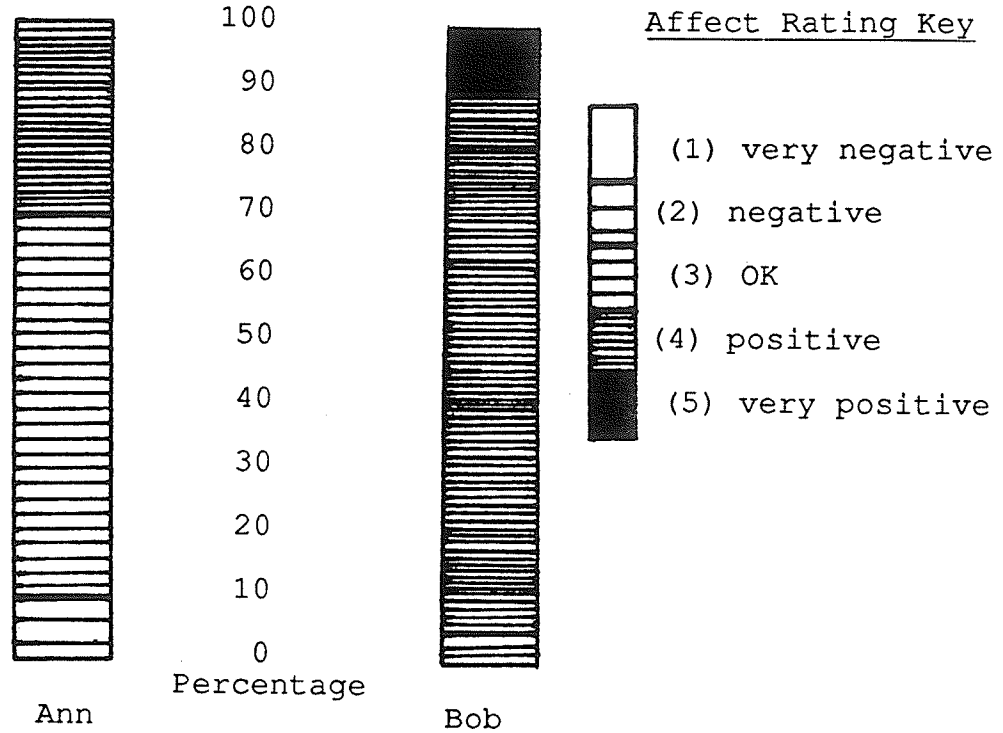
about one hour per day excluding work hours. Until she became intimate with Bob it was one to two hours per day, while afterwards it was only one-half to one hour. In contrast Ann reported spending six to eight hours per day with other foreigners throughout the year, while Bob's time with foreigners shifted from about five hours to seven and then back to five--with the rise due to his developing intimacy with Ann. It should be noted, however, that meal-times contributed significantly to the time spent with foreigners.

Types of interaction with Chinese people included parties or dinners, going out together, and visiting in either Chinese or foreigners' rooms. Freedom to drop in on Chinese friends at their homes, going out together informally, and the opportunity to share in meals and parties were most appreciated by the informants. They also had daily limited contact with a variety of other people, who usually spoke little or no English--at the market, in shops, in buses, on the street, and in their guest house.

Affect ratings of Chinese friends also revealed Bob's higher level of social interaction: Bob selected positive or very positive 95% of the time, while Ann only chose it 30%. Ann most often chose OK (61% of the time). Figure 2 illustrates the details of affect ratings selected.

Figure 2

Affect Ratings for Chinese Friends



As each of these measures of social interaction with Chinese shows a higher level for Bob than Ann, they suggest that he was better adjusted than she in this measure. There was no significant shift in any of these measures over the course of the year, while both Ann and Bob often felt guilty about not seeing more of their Chinese friends during the second term, the hours spent and affect ratings showed no significant changes.

**4. Detailed Description of the Adjustment Process**

**Ann**

Ann's reported adjustment did not follow any classic U-curve. In terms of a shape it was more like an M--with

periods of greatest stress at the beginning of the sojourn, at the end of term one, and at the end of the sojourn.

#### Period 1

During this period the strongest positive contributing factor to adjustment came from the development of personal relationships with Chinese and foreign friends, and to some degree with students outside of the classroom. Negative influences included: physical environment, uncertainty of work expectations and teaching, and unresponsiveness of students.

Ann's initial reaction to her housing and the lack of upkeep of buildings on campus was negative. However, this had only a limited impact on her adjustment. For example, she explained at her first interview,

The first night I arrived here, I just looked at the place and thought I can't . . . This is horrible. My first impression was "It's dirty and just awful." By the next morning I looked around at everything more clear-eyed and I said, "I've lived in worse apartments." So once I settled in I felt very comfortable here.

She enjoyed the campus being out of town and on the Changjiang (Yangtze) River. However, she was still disturbed by the deterioration of buildings and the tracking of mud into classrooms. None the less, she commented, "I didn't think it was as bad as I was prepared for."

Although Ann really liked her work supervisor, she found the woman did not give her a clear sense of direction for her teaching. She was

too loosey-doosey to start. I found I needed some sort of direction and I wasn't getting it at the start and if anything that's been the worst [in terms of work]. I expected to have what you wanted done in the first class more defined. But then it eventually came out. But in that first meeting she just left me with all these books and walked out. . . . I couldn't figure out which books went with which class. The first couple of weeks were hard because I didn't know what I was doing. Now I don't either, but at least I have a semblance of bravado. (Initial Interview)

This woman's friendship and jovial manner, however, was greatly appreciated from the beginning. Just one month after her arrival, Ann commented,

I feel very comfortable with her. I've been calling her "Mom" and it's really nice to know that I can go over and visit her, and she'll fuss over you and be like a mom. It's probably something I kind of need or at least some figure who's going to make a meal for you or whatever. To have that compassion, caring, almost nagging, and that's very nice. (Initial Interview)

Throughout period 1, Ann found the work habits of support staff very frustrating. At first she reported being extremely annoyed at

the typist who doesn't type. The print shop that isn't open. Whatever. Expecting things to happen at a certain time. Generally speaking things do happen punctually, but there's that under-current of unreliability or what appears to us as westerners as laziness or not caring about the ramifications of your work. (Initial Interview)

Shortly afterward she was able to cope with what appeared to her as bad attitudes to work. She decided to do all her own typing. Once she had learned that the print shop was regularly closed for political studies on Wednesday afternoons, she appreciated these workers' reliability.

Ann also faced difficulty in understanding her students at first. She described her students as hard-working, but unresponsive. As they just wrote down everything she said, she only saw "blank faces" and she "didn't know if anything was going in, if they could understand" (Initial Interview).

After her first examinations in late October she was relieved. They did well and finally she got feedback--criticism of her marking. What contributed most to her rising view of students, was getting to know them out of class-time as she chatted with them on the sports field, visited them in their dormitories, and attended "English corners" (English activity evenings).

Other foreigners provided Ann with excellent support during the first period as well. She enjoyed contact with three other foreign teachers (Bob, the researcher, and her husband) and United Nations International Development Organization (UNIDO) trainees who were living at the college and taking a three month course in agricultural engineering.

Ann described the relationship between the four teachers very positively: "I think personally the four of us get along extremely well, and that makes it for me." However, she had a nagging feeling, which was quite often noted throughout the year, "Perhaps I should be out in the community a little more" (Initial Interview).

The desire to meet new and exciting men was one of the factors that drew Ann to China. It also affected her feelings and adjustment throughout the year. She explained this at her interview:

I really thought that I might (and I know it's cliché) meet Mr. Right. . . . I would like to find a companion and it wasn't working [at home]. . . . I certainly haven't met Mr. Right, but the periscope is up. (Initial Interview)

When the trainees left, she was in tears as she waved good-bye to one of them with whom she had become intimate, but the despondent reaction lasted less than a week.

During period 1, Ann showed good adaptation to the changes in type of work and in living and working conditions. Developing new friendships made it all worth while.

#### Period 2

During the second period, Ann reported her most positive and negative overall affect ratings of the whole sojourn. A series of five negative incidents and resultant reactions were primarily responsible for the negative affect ratings. These included the loss or theft

of Ann's wallet, a Chinese friend being forbidden to visit his foreign friends by the principal of the school where he taught, a sudden change in teaching assignment, a 'white lie' told by a foreign affairs staff, and the loss or theft of Bob's Foreign Exchange Exemption Card. In each case the incident was, or precipitated actions or non-action, on the part of bureaucratic leaders which were unacceptable to Ann and caused her a great deal of stress. Ann's developing relationship with Bob and the kindness shown by Chinese students and friends around Christmas were the major positive forces at work during this period.

Near the end of November, Ann's wallet was lost or stolen while she was downtown. While the loss of one hundred yuan (renminbi) and two hundred dollars in travellers' cheques did not seriously upset Ann, trying to recover the cheques was very frustrating. Attempting unsuccessfully several times to contact the American Express office in Beijing to arrange a refund, renewed her concerns regarding Chinese work habits and reliability. For a week she had trouble sleeping and felt "handcuffed . . . trapped here, unable to make a phone call" (November 23). So she revised her approach, sent a letter to Beijing, and later visited a Bank of China in Nanjing. Ann "was both impressed (maybe surprised, too) and grateful" that the two workers there "shouldered

responsibility, worked efficiently, and amicably to refund the travellers' cheques" (December 11).

In early December Ann and her three foreign colleagues enjoyed a great Chinese birthday-party--eating, drinking, and dancing in a friend's room at a nearby commune middle school. The aftermath was a shock. The Chinese teacher who had invited the foreigners was censured for this by his school principal. He was told that the school was closed to foreigners because of its bad conditions. He was forbidden to have additional contact with his foreign friends, and since the 'problem' had been discussed with foreign affairs staff at the college, it was also risky for him to visit them there. Valuing his friendship over obedience, he explained this to Ann and Bob after sneaking them into a friend's home downtown. Hearing this, Ann felt "very down on the system." She asked, "How can they do this?" and declared, "It isn't fair" (December 11).

As well, Ann felt uncertainty and frustration in her work environment. When the researcher's husband had to leave the country suddenly due to family reasons, Ann feared an onslaught of extra work. She was assigned no additional hours but was angry when she had to spend less time with her classes to cover some of his (December 16). Meanwhile, she was also concerned with the slow pace of salary negotiations and upset by the liberty taken by

guest hotel workers who used foreigners' telephones and tape recorders when they were away.

Fortunately, other human relations were proceeding satisfactorily. She appreciated her friend's loyalty and his willingness to take risks to maintain their friendship. Communication with her students improved both in and out of class. She was also excited about her developing relationship with Bob. The Christmas season, in particular, reinforced these relationships. Ann exchanged cards and arranged special activities with students and friends. After an excellent trip with Bob to a nearby tourist city for Christmas, Ann commented, "I seem to be fitting in more all the time. It rarely crosses my mind now that 'I'm in China'!" (December 31)

A New Year's Eve party planned by the college for the foreign teachers with the English teacher trainees and others, marked another downswing in Ann's affect ratings. Ann felt the party was too 'contrived' for the students to enjoy themselves. Though the foreigners were told there would be beer at the party (as there had been the year before), none appeared. The foreign affairs staff member explained that the cook had accidently taken the key with him on an out-of-town trip, so the beer storage cupboard was locked. It wasn't the lack of alcohol that bothered Ann, but the 'white lie' that was so easily proven false the next day when the cupboard was open and beer was

served at lunch--long before the return of the cook. Ann later commented, "I got quite irritated and talked about going home where you wouldn't have these problems" (January 6)--the only time she reported thinking this way.

Ann's relationship with Bob became steadily more intimate as her friendships with Chinese friends deepened. One memorable evening, Ann, Bob, and the researcher went to a theatre with their 'forbidden' friend to see "Superman" in Chinese (January 15). Afterwards, with toques pulled down and collars up, they slipped quickly and quietly past the guard gate at the entrance to a mental hospital (obviously closed to foreigners) to spend the remainder of the evening visiting their friend's sister, a nurse, and her family. In his attic bedroom or second home, the three secretly shared wine, music, and conversation.

Ann mentioned to the researcher that this Chinese friend seemed to have something on his mind. She thought perhaps he wanted one of the foreigners to arrange a birthday party for him (January 20). By the next week, she reported she was "intrigued by he idea that he [was] so interested in a foreign girlfriend" (January 26). What she didn't realize--perhaps because she was by then deeply involved with Bob--was that he meant he was interested in her.

While the students seemed to approach the term end in a fairly relaxed manner, Ann felt under pressure to get everything done--completing courses, writing and marking examinations. However, she looked forward to the new term and new students, and anticipated teaching better, but was cautious. In regards to a new oral English class with graduate students, she commented, "I am beginning with a certain amount of skepticism. Sounds really good, but I'm developing a wait-and-see attitude (January 20). During the same week she reported exasperation at suddenly being expected by her students and work supervisor to give an extra review lesson the evening before her examination, when she felt she had completed the review in classtime. Cheating on some examinations caused her concern, but overall she felt positively towards her work:

This business about cheating annoyed me. I did not like the feeling that I had to be so vigilant. The majority of the students, however, I felt happy towards and have genuinely enjoyed teaching them. (January 26)

With the cold season came cold food and a cold dining room. The food had become monotonous and unpalatable: "I am sick of french fries and sick of the food. I am really fed up with it. Bad, bad feelings" (January 26).

In January Ann and Bob faced many little obstacles as they prepared for winter vacation. Ann was dissatisfied with the assistance she got from foreign affairs in making arrangements: "I am beginning to wonder if all these

setbacks are occurring deliberately, subterfuge rather than being upfront" (January 6). One week later, she and Bob travelled to Shanghai to buy their own air tickets which eased some of the pressure but introduced a new one. Bob's Foreign Exchange Exemption Card disappeared. This was more than a bad omen; it meant they would have difficulty every time they tried to pay for a hotel room with renminbi on their vacation. On their return to campus, they were informed that Bob would be given a letter explaining the situation which he could carry with him on his vacation. This offered little relief. One week before holidays Ann complained, "I am much more distrustful of things coming off without pushing or nagging" (January 20). When Foreign Affairs staff tried to reassure her that there was "no problem" regarding her vacation salary, train tickets, Hong Kong visa, and the employment letter designed to replace Bob's lost card, Ann was exasperated. Her response was, "Again I feel I must be more assertive and less mellow" (January 20).

On the train out of town on the first day of her holiday Ann reported "feeling benevolent [towards Foreign Affairs] rather than anxious" (January 26). It seemed the snags were worked out.

#### **Winter Vacation**

While on vacation, Ann and Bob enjoyed the sights of southern China, meeting Chinese people, and sharing

experiences with other foreign teachers. They faced difficulties at several places and had to remind each other that it was "supposed to be a holiday not an endurance test" (February 2). After a week in Hong Kong, Ann commented on the many glaring lights, and described it as "a noisy and plastic place." Then she realized what she had missed in China:

I had missed the comfort and ease of buying food and making transactions, the certainty of things, being able to book ahead. I had not really missed the food much and not too many of the comforts either. I had missed meeting new people who, while from different countries, had some cultural similarities that allow making friends more easy. I had not missed the consumerism. . . . It was fun shopping for three days, but then it got to be overwhelming and tedious. (February 18)

The winter vacation was a great break for Ann from the routine of teaching and the frustrations of daily life that she had experienced. It also gave her a sense of accomplishment that she and Bob had been able to get around on their own.

### **Period 3**

Ann was much more positive in her feelings towards her life and work during the third period of her sojourn than she had been previously. She took actions to improve her living situation--she cooked supper daily for herself and Bob. She felt new confidence in her teaching. She also committed herself to marry Bob.

The term began with positive comments from her work supervisor. Hearing that the science student president had praised her teaching also encouraged Ann. She immediately experienced better communication with students as she could understand their muted response. She also had a better idea of what was expected of her in her work, so she felt very comfortable on campus: "Everyone is very friendly and easy to talk to. I feel like one of the regulars" (March 3). However, she still felt uneasy with Foreign Affairs staff.

By the beginning of March, Ann and Bob had decided to get married in China but the logistics of this proved too difficult. This decision significantly affected Ann's whole experience. Almost immediately they decided to leave China at the end of the school year, rather than stay for a second year as both had previously contemplated. Having made this decision Ann began to question leaving China and felt a particular urgency to see and do more. Dull, rainy weather made it difficult to get out, and towards the end of April, she complained, "Too much time, not enough to do" (April 21). Ann also noticed a major shift in her thoughts from China to the United States:

I am making myself more and more ready to go. With each day I sense the urgency of finishing off here, but have growing excitement about my new life in North America. (April 14)

The relationship brought some tense moments. When Bob was ill in March, Ann wrote,

Eventually I got angry with his lethargy and lingering (it seemed to me). I have had difficulty motivating him lately and that makes me less motivated (March 25).

The tension seemed largely due to Bob's doubts regarding the marriage decision. Ann explained,

Bob is experiencing grave doubts, not merely "cold feet". Most of his fears come from difficulty in making decisions. I, however, once having decided, generally do not dwell on the myriad possibilities. (April 14)

Overall, however, the relationship was positive, and a fulfillment of Ann's desire to find Mr. Right. As she noted,

My attitudes and feelings to my China experience maybe flattened and softened because of a much more momentous change in my personal life. (April 14)

Ann's success in adjusting to life and work in China were evident in her more positive remarks on teaching and her decision to take ESL training when she moved to the U.S.A. A lecture series by an American ESL professor really encouraged her in this regard near the end of April.

One disturbing incident, however, occurred that made it clear that communication between the Chinese leadership and the foreigners was not yet clear. Ann and Bob planned a four day trip (Thursday to Sunday) as May 1st was a holiday. They made arrangements to teach their few Friday

classes before the holiday. Just before this time, there had been policy changes disallowing such shifting of classes. However, the foreigners had never been told. Ann wrote, "For heavens sake, tell us the rules" (April 29). Eventually the trip was approved, but feelings were still raw. Ann said,

On one hand I feel annoyed and excluded about not having been informed on this policy change. I really do make an effort at not abusing the privileges of relative freedom . . . that I have because I am a foreigner. If I had known of the new rule I would still have tried to get classes changed, but I would have gone through the appropriate channels. . . . I should expect and be expected to follow rules and regulations, but often this becomes impossible. It is almost a 'Catch - 22' situation. (April 29)

This situation blasted off a tirade of frustrations often faced but usually held under control: regarding higher prices for foreigners, Chinese talk about foreigners' high salaries, and the greater number of hours foreign teachers teach. After the trip Ann discovered that not only had her work supervisor argued to the President in favor of allowing the trip, but so had the foreign affairs staff member about whom she often felt uncertain and suspicious.

#### Period 4

Ann's feelings towards her sojourn were fairly neutral with a slight rise after an enjoyable weekend trip and a fall due to the extra work of final examinations, uncertainty as to their dates, and the tensions of leave-taking.

She had become accustomed to her life in China and had begun to feel excitement regarding her return to Canada and subsequent move to the U.S.; she began to lose interest in her life in China:

Thinking about life in China today, the only real comments are how it feels so comfortable, routine, and boring. Eating, shopping, visiting--seem to have become part of daily life. Incredible as it may seem, life has almost become boring. I feel a certain lethargy about getting out and 'experiencing' things. Is this what happens when one knows one is returning home? Am I just not making enough effort? Lazy? At the same time, I feel guilty about this inactivity. I'm in China, damn it! I should be doing everything; I will regret all the things I neglected to do! That sort of thing. I am really beginning to miss the variety of things we do in North America; the variety in restaurants, shopping, a new job or university courses, etc. Notice: the same old problems I had at home, bored and wanting new experiences. Hum! (May 19)

In regards to work Ann had similar feelings of boredom on the part of her students and herself: "They seem to be really uninterested these days--or maybe it's me!" (May 19) However, shortly afterward this the situation improved, and following an enjoyable weekend out of town, she reported that she was "still eager, having fun" (June 3). Comments about students and teaching, at her final interview, revealed a growing acceptance of the attitudes of students. For example, in regards to her extensive reading course she wrote,

Sometimes I feel like the first year students are shirking their work, but I feel a lot like that's due to the North American approach we've taken in that course, and where we see it as

shirking, they see there's no limit, no guidelines, so they feel that isn't shirking. This is just doing the minimum. (Final Interview)

Also in regards to the oral English class with graduate students, she commented,

That was a fiasco, a waste of time. . . . That was really annoying. I mean I didn't mind--no work to do, no exam to give, they didn't show up for class. Big deal about it! But really if that had happened first term I would have felt really bad. It would have been a terrible blow. This term I'm more used to that sort of thing, so it didn't bother me so much. If that had happened first term I would have felt terrible; I would have felt it was me. I mean, maybe it was; no, it wasn't. (Final Interview)

Her most rewarding teaching experience was a conversation class with the UNIDO teachers (Chinese). She enjoyed,

finding out as much about China as they wanted to know about the west. . . . We just sit back and talk and joke, and that's been really delightful. Not really a class and yet contact. That's really good, and good for a foreigner, I think. (Final Interview)

By the end of June Ann reported being generally pleased with her teaching accomplishments and was still planning to complete an English second language master's program.

Ann's contact with Foreign Affairs increased, as well as uncertainty and frustration regarding control by unidentified leaders at the institute. By May 26, tension associated with hopes of being given airfare home evaporated as it was made clear that no such assistance was available. Ann was disappointed but immediately set

new goals which only required renminbi--mailing items home, shipping, and extra cash for travel. By mid-June, Ann's concern switched to the problem of setting examination dates. She and Bob hoped to have 1 - 2 weeks to travel either before or after the examination and before the date of their flights home. Ann became quite apprehensive and frustrated: "Again I feel because we are foreigners we are highly visible and may be getting some restrictions that Chinese teachers can get around" (June 23). Feelings towards Foreign Affairs continued to be uncertain and suspicious, especially in regards to the bureaucracy and examination dates. Once again the slowness in decision-making distressed Ann:

I have this vague feeling of somehow being abused or being used. This vague uneasiness . . . perhaps it's tied in with this exam business. . . . I don't mind if you tell me the real reasons, but don't give me the bullshit reasons.  
(Final Interview)

Also once again the decision-maker was unclear to them: "Who knows where these policies come from?" Though many times Ann had been frustrated by her main Foreign Affairs contact, she admitted,

She is personable enough and never really has, especially recently, done anything that I can't count on. . . . It's just this vague uneasiness again that I can't really pinpoint. I suppose it's really just that bureaucracy, uncertainty.  
(Final Interview)

In regards to the head of foreign affairs she could only

comment, "I guess he's part of that nebulous "they". You never really know who it is" (Final Interview).

While in the May long weekend situation Ann and Bob were allowed their trip, this time they were not due to the examination times selected. However, the resultant feelings of abuse and questions regarding the reasons for the decision remained the same:

I don't mind if you tell me the real reasons, but don't give me the bullshit reasons. I can see; I'm not stupid. I can see the little things happening, [such as Chinese teachers giving examinations early]. Tell me the reason is because we have to keep our foreigners around or something. (Final Interview)

Another source of frustration was the delayed arrival of a confirmation for Ann and Bob's plane tickets from Hong Kong.

In terms of support from friends there was a trend away from the Chinese--some weeks Ann reported good chats, while others she only regretted not having gone out more. The highlight was a birthday party for Ann and the researcher's husband put on by the four foreigners. Ann really enjoyed seeing everyone having fun together, including Chinese friends, and a new group of UNIDO trainees. At one point in June, Ann felt regret that she had not become more involved:

It's funny, I came here with the idea of living and working and really getting to know the ordinary Chinese person. At first, it seemed I was really doing this. With only a month to go, I feel as though I know nothing. I have barely scratched the surface. I feel as though I am

giving up too soon. At this point I have firm ideas of returning. (June 16)

However, by her final interview Ann expressed a more positive perspective. She knew she had made some good friends, but that the intensity of these relationships had been less than she had originally expected. She was comfortable dropping in on Chinese friends, or when they dropped in to see her. Her "ideal" of friendship was fulfilled only in her relationship with her work supervisor.

Of course, she had been "caught up in developing [her] relationship with Bob rather than taking time to really develop Chinese friendships" (Final Interview). The end of May brought a marked improvement in Bob's and Ann's relationship. While the third period was often strained, Ann felt more confident and secure in the fourth, especially when Bob finally told his parents she would be moving to live with him. Ann finally clarified the tensions she had previously experienced in her final interview. During period three Bob harboured many doubts regarding his relationship with Ann. Many questions arose in Ann's mind:

Do you want to continue this relationship or not? . . . and clarifying his feelings. That for me was a difficult time and I didn't realize how unhappy I was until it was all over. I was still keeping up ok but once it was over I felt a lot better. . . . I could see him vacillating, you know, and I just didn't know what to expect. One day there'd be a lot of affection or emotion and the next week or so there wasn't. . . .

That was for about two months, just after vacation. We came back on a real high and then started talking really seriously. . . . After that we just got kind of carried away--perhaps a little too quickly, and the Bob needed to back off. (Final Interview)

The final period, in fact, brought all four foreigners together as they talked about their futures, planned, and did packing and shipping together.

As Ann's thoughts shifted to her return, her leisure time began to weigh on her. Due to a lot of rain, which she found depressing, she did not get out to explore China as she would have liked. As well, her plans for a trip to Lhasa were squashed due to the examination dates. She also began to feel bored and wish for more entertainment activities, like movies and coffee shops. Being comfortable in China, she no longer found much interest in everyday life:

At first I seemed to be able to fill up my time really well. I don't know what I was doing, perhaps just learning things, absorbing. Everytime I went for a walk on campus, I'd come back and think about it. But because I'm comfortable and settled in now, you need more things to do. I feel a real restriction, not in the sense of being restricted [by anyone] but restricted in what you've got offered--on television (no English movies), and even just perhaps it would be better if we lived in town where we could go for a bicycle ride, or go for a walk in the evening. . . . And perhaps in a bigger city there'd be something, but in this situation I'm really bored. (Final Interview)

From mid-June on, Ann had difficulty sleeping, and experienced several dreams associated with the stress of leave-taking. In one, the foreigners had a sudden chance

of leaving, and did so without ever saying good-bye or getting letters of recommendation. Then she felt great guilt (May 9). In another she was unable to work her stove properly at home. She said, "I was a wreck; I couldn't do anything, and worst of all, no one was paying any attention to me: I felt forlorn, alone, and ignored" (June 23).

Overall Ann felt she had come "full circle" in her experiences--from frustration to frustration:

At first I was frustrated I don't know--I think I felt frustrated not knowing about how things worked. Then I think there was a period in the middle when I felt really mellow or it didn't really matter. I can remember saying, "Oh, no problem, everything's going just fine" and now everything's a problem. I almost feel like I'm getting all tensed up about things again. (Final Interview)

In spite of this Ann's final general comments expressed over all satisfaction with her own adjustment. She had succeeded in learning to live in a foreign culture; she had made a new circle of Chinese friends with whom she felt comfortable and had never really experienced any homesickness, though she felt this was partially due to her relationship with Bob.

### **Bob**

Bob's initial high feelings of excitement and enthusiasm reflected the first part of stage and U-curve

theories, though later developments showed greater influence of personal relationships and the school year.

### Period 1

After a three-week vacation in China a few years earlier, Bob had decided he wanted to live in the country. He took a Chinese course and arranged to teach at the college. He initially approached China with naivety:

The first time I rode the bus, for instance, you know my eyes were open and looking at everything, and "Oh, gosh, I'm on a Chinese bus. Wow! This is exciting!!" . . . Or I'll look out a window and see things written in Chinese and it's like a flash. "Hey, you are in China, the People's Republic" which for several years now is what I wanted to do, so it's the excitement. And I think, "Remember Bob, last year when you said, I wonder if I'll ever be there--well, you're there now." So I'm real happy being here. (Initial Interview)

Social experiences with Chinese people were very rewarding for Bob throughout his sojourn, but were especially significant factors during the first period as he adapted and experienced work related frustrations. Bob enjoyed the curiosity and friendliness of Chinese people, but he was concerned about the limits on relationships with Chinese women and uncertain as to how he should act to be perceived as polite.

His Chinese ability immediately generated a very positive response from Chinese people, who appreciated his excellent Beijing (standard) accent. As he stated at his first interview,

I've had several very positive experiences when speaking Chinese and I'm successful at it. . . . One day [at a shop] they were speaking slowly and simply enough that I could understand, and they were patient with me so I could speak Chinese back to them and it was a lot of fun. Everyone was smiling at me and I did not feel they were crawling all over me. It was more of an interactive situation and I've had several experiences like that. (Initial Interview)

He was also intent on developing in-depth relationships with Chinese people. Like Ann, his work supervision was his best friend. He felt accepted as a person rather than as a foreigner by her:

I feel like I can ask her anything, maybe I trust her more than most Chinese people or I know I can trust her. I talk about things with her I couldn't ask most Chinese people. In fact, I think I can even ask about how I should handle [the foreign affairs staff] and she'd give me advice. She's opened up a lot to me I think, told me some personal experiences in the cultural revolution and things like that I'm really interested in. My experience with other Chinese people is that they're willing to talk about it, but up to a point. I feel like she will tell me pretty well anything if I give her enough time. (Initial Interview)

He was also developing friendships with two male teachers, a female teacher, and the dining room hostess. He described the last relationship as

highly controlled. Never have we seen each other outside of the dining hall. I don't think I could ever, say, take the bus to town with her, which is very frustrating. (Initial Interview)

Bob noticed the head cook watching them and felt that he disapproved of the friendship. By this time Bob was

clearly beginning to miss female companionship. Later he said,

It would be nice to be married. I do miss not only female friendship but the possibility of romance. . . . But I didn't come to China for that . . . I'm not involved with any Chinese woman at the present time, but I'd be open to it. . . . But that's not why I came here. (Initial Interview)

Most of the frustrations Bob experienced were related to work, not surprising as he had never taught before. Like Ann, he felt their work supervisor did not make clear her expectations and he found students to be unresponsive at first. In one instance, he felt others were controlling his behavior.

Bob described his work supervisor as a "good boss but too polite." He described his initial source of bewilderment:

When I came here I was hoping for a lot more guidance than I got. I wanted them to hand me a book and say this is what I want you to do. Instead they just kind of handed me a little information and a little more. Maybe it was a language problem. But she'd give me big explanations about this book, and this book, and this book, and then she'd leave the room. Then I'd look and I couldn't figure out what I was supposed to do. And then the next time I'd talk to her, she'd give me another little tidbit. Oh, ya, you're supposed to do this book. So that was frustrating and also a little nerve wracking. Not only did I have to deal with a new environment, but also I had to figure out how to become a teacher real quickly. (Initial Interview)

The lack of responsiveness of students also frustrated him. He yearned for class discussions as he

had experienced them in an American university as a student. He was always concerned that he not judge Chinese people too quickly:

I have to stop myself from being a cultural imperialist, thinking that my way is right and they should do it that way. As I'm learning more about what they are used to, I'm learning to compromise in my teaching methods. . . . I have to sort of meet them half way but I find that interesting, too. That's the kind of thing I wanted to learn by coming here. . . . I can't just make a lesson plan and perform it. Very often in the middle of the class I find I have to improvise because they have no conception of what I'm asking them to do. As I'm explaining, I have to keep measuring their reaction.  
(Initial Interview)

Part of what Bob was experiencing was simply learning how to teach. Any good teacher must regularly listen and adjust his teaching; however, as Bob mentioned "that's difficult especially when you don't get a whole lot of reaction." Nonetheless, he generally enjoyed himself:

But I am perhaps a bit of a ham, performer; so with my science class, it's more sort of a performance than a teaching session. (Initial Interview)

Time and personal relationships eventually won out, as Bob began to understand both his students and work supervisor better.

One very different incident also irritated Bob. He and Ann entered a hotel for Chinese, though he knew they weren't supposed to be there. It was also immediately obvious to him that their presence was not appreciated by

the staff. He wanted to get a better look at the building, so he started to go upstairs,

I could see the second floor. . . . I told them I just wanted to look around. But, "No, no, the workmen are up there." He gave me some sort of bullshit answer. I get tired of the bullshit answers. I guess that is what it is. I wouldn't mind so much if he just said, "No. Foreigners aren't allowed up there." And I'd go "Oh, ok, I'm sorry." (Initial Interview)

Though only a minor incident, it was a precursor of later concerns. Bob did not approve of others attempting to control him using such indirect methods.

Otherwise, Bob was truly enjoying his experience. He liked other foreigners being around, though he felt he could have coped if he had been the only non-Chinese. His apartment had turned out to be better than he expected. And he also was pleased with the city which had few tourists. In fact, he wished he had come a year earlier so he would have needed a special permit to enter it because he was a foreigner. Yet, he was still pleased with his adventure: "I guess I'm just real proud of myself for doing this" (Initial Interview).

## Period 2

The most notable dip in Bob's affect rating occurred just after he learned of the restrictions placed on his Chinese friend. Throughout this period a series of at least half a dozen incidents or situations arose which caused Bob stress. However, his overall rating never dropped below the "OK" point. Personal relationships with

Ann, students, and friends, as well as a determination to learn and succeed, buoyed him up.

During the first week of December, Bob learned a lot about how restrictions could be placed to limit Chinese-foreigner contact. He noted,

I'm dealing with my first case of depression this week. I am currently frustrated with the 'system' here. It makes me angry that because I'm a foreigner he has to be so cautious about seeing us. Last Saturday, having to be so discreet about slipping in and out of his friend's apartment, and seeing his negative feelings about his life in China, made me feel bad. (December 10)

Bob's increasingly intimate relationship with Ann raised issues of Chinese morality and privacy. He wondered if other restrictions might affect him more directly. Ann offered him valuable support through these strains:

She's very good about offering emotional support when needed, and now there is a great deal of physical contact between us. However, because we are not married and China is the greatest and largest rumor mill on the face of the earth, we have to be discreet--to the point of secrecy. That's very hard to deal with coming from such an open society. (December 10)

In spite of the demands of maintaining secrecy, these two relationships were also sources of strength. He viewed the problems as "inevitable and temporary set backs" (December 10); they did not defeat him.

The following week a new difficulty arose. As a result of one of the foreigners having to leave temporarily, Bob was asked to pick up some of his classes.

He was upset and saw it as another example of inefficiency that Chinese teachers who taught only 4 to 6 hours per week would not pick up the classes. His fourteen hours were not increased; instead, some of his own classes were cancelled, so that he could cover the others. Bob felt this was unfair to his students:

It seems really stupid and unfair to the trainees. This is really no more than an annoyance for me because my hours will stay the same; but it does lower my opinion of Chinese teachers in general-- how's that for an imperialistic point of view? (December 15)

It also made him question again what the institute really expected from him.

Life for Bob improved during the Christmas season. He wasn't homesick as he had feared earlier in the month. Rather he enjoyed exchanging gifts, and cards, preparing for special events, and taking a trip with Ann for Christmas. He particularly enjoyed being away from Chinese people who knew them and, as he noted, "would gossip if they saw us being too happy together" (December 29). Though he felt some concern that the relationship was becoming too close, as he said, that fear was unrelated to his being in China. He ended the year on a very positive note: "I love it here. Even the bad stuff is part of the experience" (December 29) and the graph showed he had almost risen to his earlier high ratings.

But the new year brought a barrage of new difficulties in relation to administrative procedures,

'face-saving' cover-ups, term end examinations, travel-planning, and the loss of an important piece of identification.

As in the case of Ann, it wasn't the lack of beer at the New Year's party that annoyed Bob, but the excuse given; he commented:

I did not like when she lied about the beer--but this has to be some sort of cultural thing--lying, that is. It happens so much, so many places that it must be a way of 'saving face', but being an 'upfront' American, I become quite annoyed. (January 5)

Similarly the indirection of his work supervisor annoyed him when she asked his opinion of another college's teacher training program but was unwilling to give even a 'preliminary opinion' of her own. This made him suspicious of a new load of unexpected work, and he once again called her an "indecisive leader". His concern from the beginning of the year was reinforced:

I sometimes feel like nobody will tell me what is expected of me or maybe it's possible they don't know what's expected of me. (January 5)

The most stress-causing event for Bob was the loss of his Foreign Exchange Exemption Card, which entitled him to pay for services in renminbi, the type of currency in which he was paid. He feared difficulty every time he tried to pay for a hotel room or train fare with Foreign Exchange Certificates. He got little help from the employees of the Friendship Store where he thought he might have lost it. Back at the institute, he felt the

Foreign Affairs person showed "little interest or enthusiasm" in making arrangements to replace his valuable card. Though she said that the two weeks before vacation was not enough time for it to be replaced, she tried to reassure him that a letter from the college would take care of any difficulties.

During this same period Bob faced a myriad of little frustrations--difficulty in purchasing airline tickets, getting taxis, a sudden rise in postal rates, and overcharging for his haircut--kept him on edge. The following incident illustrates his lack of trust:

Today I told her I wanted to call C.A.A.C. [Chinese Aviation and Aeronautical Corporation] in Shanghai to confirm our bookings. She told me to find the C.A.A.C. number because she didn't know it [very unlikely]. To her surprise I said I could get it in a couple of minutes and call her back. Well, she called me back in a couple of minutes and said "the lines are down" and we can't call Shanghai today. I hate to be suspicious but how did she find out so quickly? I think I will try to find someone else to help me, just to see . . . (January 20)

These misunderstandings continued, though by this time Bob felt it was purposeful sabotage not due to language. Only a few days after the previous incident, the Foreign Affairs person appeared surprised when he reminded her of his vacation allowance. He didn't believe she could have forgotten the amount--since it had been an important part of salary negotiations to him.

The positives in January all were due to relationships. One time, he wrote, "I love my students

very much." He particularly enjoyed taping radio plays and chatting with them socially though he was upset with the cheating on the examination he gave his colleague's class. His appreciation of his supervisor's role also increased:

Once again she is a pleasure to work with and is very helpful in dealing with the invisible leaders that make up ridiculous decrees about who and what and how many I should teach. I think if she weren't around, my scores under this heading [Chinese work associates] would be 2's and 1's [ie. - negative or very negative]. (January 20)

Bob's friendship with the dining room hostess continued to progress slowly. He reported,

She told me she likes me and also for the first time we had a relatively serious conversation--as much as our language differences would allow-- which seemed to indicate a greater level of acceptance on her part. (January 5)

It was experiences such as these that kept Bob going. His general comments on life in China ranged from "I love it" (January 5) to

There are many hassles and frustrations to bear when living in China, but that's part of the experience. I guess knowing that I can leave helps make it tolerable. (January 14)

In the midst of his problems Bob would step back and consider his experience from a broader perspective. On January 20, he wrote,

I love it here. I think that in spite of the strain involved in living here I'm holding up quite well and learning something everyday. I'm proud of myself for that and I sometimes look forward to being a big shot at cocktail parties

because I'll have many good stories to tell.  
(January 20)

By January 25, the strain was telling; Bob mentioned being irritable and depressed for a few weeks. For the first time, he also said he didn't want to stay for two years--as he had been planning (January 25).

### **Winter Vacation**

During his vacation Bob did face difficulties in paying for hotel rooms with renminbi (without his Foreign Exchange Exemption Card) despite carrying a letter from the college and other identification. Along with the usual difficulties of travel--such as securing tickets and being accepted into hotels--he experienced some examples of really fine service. He particularly enjoyed meeting other people, Chinese students and other foreign teachers. Though he missed his friends at the college he enjoyed the conveniences of Hong Kong for a week. But by the end of it, Bob was happy to return to China to continue his adventure. On his return to the college, he commented,

Now that it's over, the four week journey wasn't as bad as I had feared, though it wasn't without its problems. I guess that I feel like I've really accomplished something by surviving the trip. (February 25)

### **Period 3**

Bob's overall positive adjustment remained relatively stable during this time. He had adapted satisfactorily to his new life. Social interaction was his highlight, while

he remained concerned about the way the 'system' intruded upon individual lives.

He especially enjoyed his friends and felt disappointed when he thought one did not trust him. He was asked by one man to pick up a package of top quality Chinese cigarettes for his wedding, but Bob was unable to do so without Foreign Exchange Certificates. Afterward he commented, "I get the feeling that he doesn't believe I can't get them without F.E.C.--I think he thinks I'm making up excuses the way Foreign Affairs does" (March 17). He also felt bad when he was unable to join students and Chinese friends on excursions to nearby sights:

I felt guilty both because I know he likes to be with us, but also, my time here is limited so I shouldn't pass up opportunities to be with Chinese friends. (April 13)

His work supervisor continued to be his most significant Chinese contact: "Sometimes it seems that she is the only Chinese person who really talks freely with me" (April 30).

The other three foreigners also provided him with valuable companionship, as they shared activities like suppers and weekend trips. One week he commented, "I would have gone crazy by now without three foreigners in close proximity" (April 8). However, by the end of the third quarter he was at times craving solitude from them as well as wishing for contact with a greater variety of foreigners.

While Bob continued to be suspicious of Foreign Affairs, he also began to appreciate them a little more. At times he enjoyed his contact in the department, and even felt sorry for her when she attempted to take a group of visiting foreigners on a tour one day. Later, he also learned that she as well as his work supervisor had been instrumental in getting approval from the college's leaders for a four day trip which involved missing one regular day of classes. In spite of these, he felt he often acted as he did towards her most often for 'Machiavellian reasons.' For example, he stated,

I don't really mind teaching UNIDO teachers but I'm portraying it as a favor to the school--for use later trying to get a plane ticket and shipping home. (April 13)

None of these items were part of his contract. Even when he faced no specific difficulties he wrote comments such as,

I've had no problems with them lately, but I'm always on my guard, ready for problems. I feel like I've been screwed in the past and I have a long memory. (March 25)

Concern regarding staring and crowding had pretty well disappeared this quarter. Bob had accepted them and found ways to cope with the situation while enjoying the friendly people he met on the street and in shops:

Sometimes the staring bothers me, but I've developed methods of 'active ignoring' or having fun by aping their behavior back to them or pretending to photograph them. I think that, almost as often though, I come across people who

truly want to be friendly--instead of looking at me like I'm a piece of furniture. (April 21)

Throughout most of the period Bob felt 'OK' towards the Chinese system and society, but he questioned its assumed rights in two incidents. The first centered on a bright but somewhat non-conformist student who was suspended from the school:

His problems seem to illustrate some of China's problems. He's very intelligent and interested in learning, if a bit lazy--yet his morale is being brought down by feudalistic attitudes. He doesn't want to be an English teacher, so he's frustrated --if he could study whatever he wanted, there's no telling how far he could go. Also, old attitudes on relationships between the sexes frustrate him. He must go through the formality of declaring his love to a girl only to be rejected--instead of being able to have more informal contact with her and let things move slowly. (April 13)

In addition this young man had been criticized by a political advisor for wearing his hair too long, wearing shoes with 1 1/2 inch heels, and reading the Bible (for literary purposes).

Secondly, Bob noted one week later, when walking around the city with the friend who had been forbidden to spend time with foreigners, "I was always aware of the low level risk he was taking by hanging out with us" (April 21). He also commented on the "disgusting" boys' dormitory "with rats, trash, and broken glass". Then he became more philosophical: "Somehow the 'system' can't deal with this sort of problem. But after all, this is a developing country" (April 21).

In terms of physical environment Bob retained only one concern, the lack of privacy for his relationship with Ann. But by April 8th he seemed to have adjusted to this when he wrote, "The lack of privacy hasn't been a problem for me in the past few days--I don't know why." Any other mention of concerns regarding living and working conditions were followed by N.B.D (no big deal). He particularly enjoyed his balcony and the warmer spring weather.

The addition of a general question on changes in thoughts, feelings, and attitudes regarding China gave Bob the opportunity to comment on what he was learning through his experience. He included two types of statements--on his own learning and on the Chinese system. He felt he had gained personally in two ways:

I believe that since I came here I've become much more assertive, sometimes aggressive, than ever before. I've also become much better at dealing with new social situations, and this is one of the many things I hoped to achieve by coming to China. I hope it sticks when I return home. (April 21)

Bob also developed theories on the causes of China's underdevelopment, but always tempered his assertions with reflections on his own biases and audacity in daring to make such comments. In relation to the lack of encouragement for individual initiative, he wrote:

I now seem to see great significance in seemingly minor incidents, people pushing to get on a bus, for instance. People don't like it, but no one seems to think about what to do about

it--they can't . . . it's out of their hands. I feel like China could progress faster or better if it would only encourage the people to take, or I should say allow them to take, their own initiative to solve problems. The last sentence points out how my free enterprise, pluralistic upbringing makes me think. I had never really confronted that before this year. (April 13)

Bob also was developing thoughts on the nature of the Chinese bureaucracy:

I have learned a lot about how China works--or perhaps how it doesn't work. I thought, before I came, that the Chinese government was a monolithic omnipotent force in Chinese society, but I've found this to not be true. The bureaucracy is so large and has so much inertia that the level of policy enforcement varies tremendously from place to place, depending how the local cadres feel about the particular policy.

I try hard not to be judgmental about this, but I do get frustrated with this situation. It affects me particularly when I'm travelling. In Kunming, for instance the hotel was clean and fairly efficiently managed and they did not seem to be too worried about F.E.C. nor showed any desire to fleece the foreigners. But in Guilin it was the opposite. It seems the local party branch has taken a different stand on workers' rights and attitudes to foreigners. Our hotel was terrible and we had to wrestle over how much to pay and what kind of currency to use. Restaurants seemed to be the same way; workers were rude and the food was bad. My theory is that this sort of thing is a result of the attitudes of the cadres in the area--efficient management just isn't important in Guilin.

Sometimes I think that if I was given a free hand to manage an establishment that I could improve things. Give me this institute and things would really be different. I'd fire the lazy workers; I'd organize the library; I'd fail the poor students; I'd make the boys clean up the dormitory grounds; I'd do this and I'd do that. Then I'd find out why my western ideas of good management and efficiency are western. I'd find out that what I thought was socialistic is really Chinese. I'd find out that I only think

I know how this place works. That's why I want to stay longer and why I think I'll never stop being fascinated with China. (April 30)

Throughout the year Bob repeated his love of China. After deciding to return home at the end of it, he still questioned the wisdom of the move though he looked forward to returning home. His lengthy reflection clarifies what he saw as the pros and cons of the situation:

For a long time here in China I planned to stay at least two years. I feel like such an adventurer and I sort of relished the hardships. Lots of people come for one year; two years shows that one is quite a hardy soul. But when I came here I really did not have any specific goals in mind. All I knew was that I was absolutely fascinated with China and I have always wanted to live outside the U.S. for a time. If a 'groovy experience' is all I wanted, one year is enough. I began to see that without some specific goals in mind, coupled with the opportunity to return to my old beloved radio job, a second year here would be foolish. If I want to learn Chinese, Taiwan is a better place--or fulltime schooling in China is OK. If I want to teach, I should get some more schooling at home so I'll know what the heck I'm doing, and enjoy it even more--so anyway I've come to a fairly rational conclusion that maybe I'll be back, but it's best if I return home this year.

Somehow, though, it was more fun being here when I planned on two years: I felt no rush to see everything and do everything because I had plenty of time. I was enjoying learning Chinese, too, because with two years of part-time study I had a reasonable chance to become fairly proficient, but now I feel like I can't waste any time because I'll be leaving in just a couple of days. And Chinese isn't so fun because I'm not going to get too much better than I am now, and I don't have much more time to use it anyway (though I am very pleased with how much Chinese I know now).

Also, thinking of staying here two years kept my mind focused on China and not on home. But now I'm in a sort of transition. I'm beginning to think and plan more and more about going

home--which makes me impatient to go, which distracts me from enjoying and experiencing my life in China. (May 12)

#### Period 4

In the fourth period, Bob stayed within the same three point range he had during the third. During this time, he missed three weekly questionnaires--which might have been due to illness or laziness, as he suggested June 9. However, other comments suggested boredom with his life in China or as he stated on a questionnaire after missing two weeks in a row, "A couple of weeks ago I went through a period when I was tired of all non-Chinese people I knew-- sort of cabin fever, but now it has passed" (June 9). No wonder he missed filling in his questionnaires! After missing another week, Bob gave his foreign friends another positive affect rating with this comment:

I've relied on having foreign friends for a lot of support, almost like a family. But, just as with a family, there are times when I wish I could get away for some contact with other people. (June 23)

During Bob's final period in China, he appeared more realistic than he had been previously, especially in regards to the "system" and bureaucracy. In May he wrote, "Things move slowly, but things do get done--and when things don't get done people seem to be able to cope" (May 19).

However, despite the progress he observed, he was disturbed by the governments repression of the individual. For example, after the birthday party in June, he commented, that seeing his friend who was forbidden to visit foreigners at the party "reminds me how frustrated some people are living in such a controlled society" (June 9). Bob repeated this concern in his final interview:

I can see a lot of frustration in some people who would like to leave or feel really repressed, but I try not to be too judgmental about that. They have everything they need to survive. (Final Interview)

To some degree, the control by others also affected Bob directly:

I've had to keep myself calm sometimes when I've been told how to give exams, and when, and things like that--for no rational reason I can see. But then I tell myself I can't compare it to where I come from because--I don't want to be arrogant about it--but I come from a pretty good situation in North America, and it's not really fair to judge a country that's just entered the twentieth century a few years ago, and has a billion people to carry around with it--I can't. Things move slowly here. (Final Interview)

In spite of his discomfort with others being able to prevent him from fulfilling his plans, such as the trip in July which the leaders had disallowed by setting inconvenient examination dates, Bob stated, "I admitted to myself when our trip fell through, I wasn't that disappointed. I was doing it more as an obligation to myself" (Final Interview). He had learned to accept situations, and then rationalized away his disappointment.

Though Bob realized by that time the importance of being indirect, it still frustrated him. However, his comprehension had greatly increased. He explained,

I came here rather naive, and believed everything I was told. Not that they were 'lying', but there seems to be a Chinese trait of agreeing with everything you say but having no intention . . . and it's not like a lie in the western sense, it has something to do with saving face or being polite, being agreeable. But when I thought I was getting a promise, it was really just chit-chat. And then when it really came time to talk turkey, things were a lot different [especially regarding contract].  
(Final Interview)

By the end of his sojourn, Bob held a very low opinion of support staff. He saw them as quite unreliable. For example, he described the listening lab staff as friendly and helpful, but he was sure he would have gotten much different treatment if he had been Chinese, "We just have a good ol' time, but I know that's only because I'm a foreigner" (Final Interview).

In terms of his work, Bob really enjoyed his students, particularly out of class, but also in class. He especially "did not enjoy forcing those who don't want to study English to work" (June 9), however, another week he commented, "It's always flattering to have such a good audience when I tell stories" (May 19). By the final quarter Bob's discomfort with his role as a teacher had begun to show. As well, he felt bored and wished to be back to his job as a radio announcer. He felt he was losing his enthusiasm because he felt the institute's

expectations for him had, in fact, been rather low. He commented,

I really believe I could have gone in and told stories about America in every class all day long, and if I'd kept them in the room for the specified number of hours nobody would have cared. In fact, they would have been just tickled. But I actually made an effort to teach them the best way I could! But, I'd let them out of class about twenty minutes early usually [2 hour classes] and got criticized for it. So I kinda went, "What am I bustin' my ass for?" And the fact that I'm not going to be here next year. I just got really tired of it. (Final Interview)

As was the case throughout the year, Bob's most positive feelings were for personal relationships with both students and friends, Chinese and foreign. By the beginning of June Bob was already feeling the pain of parting from his Chinese friends, "I'm already beginning to miss [them] and I think they'll miss me" (June 9). Though some tension developed between Bob and his work supervisor in June, he felt very close to her. His comments were very similar to those he had made earlier in relation to strains in his relationship with Ann:

It has been sort of a shame the last couple of weeks. We sort of snap at each other sometimes, but that is the mark of a good friend. We've both snapped at each other, but I still feel it hasn't done anything to the overall relationship. I really like her, she's one of the best things about China. (Final Interview)

He also felt very positively towards a young female teacher and the dining room hostess, as well as other less significant relationships. However, he ended the year

with very mixed feelings towards the friend who wasn't supposed to be having any contact with him. About him he said,

I find him very interesting and I like him, but sometimes it's hard for me if I'm just not in the mood for him. He borders on the punk--he's almost the kind of guy with quaffed hair who smokes cigarettes and tries to speak English as a foreigner walks by just to impress him. . . . He's not one but sort of borders on it. I find him really annoying but at the same time I find him nice. And he has let me in on a real different side of Chinese personal life. He's one of the unhappy ones I think, and I'm really glad I got to talk to him about that sort of thing. He's also a heavy duty partyer by Chinese standards, and I'm not by just about any standards. (Final Interview)

Bob saw his relations with the other three foreigners at the institute as a "real release of pressure". While there were times he chose to withdraw and got tired of just three other foreign contacts, he said, it "wasn't a case of negative feelings" (Final Interview) just that he wanted a break.

The lack of privacy in his relationship with Ann still concerned Bob, but he was no longer upset by it. He didn't mind Chinese cleaners looking through his things because he knew they had been brought up differently, and he never felt he'd been spied on (as he had heard happened at other colleges). Both he and Ann continued to deny any relationship because he felt that was expected:

If we admitted it suddenly, then everything would be out in the open and people wouldn't hesitate to tease us; whereas by denying it, to be polite they can't really bring it up too

often. Spending the night together--we still have to kind of sneak around sometimes and be discrete about it. I'm almost positive somebody knows we do that. . . . Based on the law here in China, we still have to be careful. Technically sleeping with an unmarried woman is--I could go to jail for it--so we have to be discrete though I'm not fooling many people. But they're not going to come out and confront us. But I think we would get in trouble if we were flaunting, but it's sort of annoying sometimes. (Final Interview)

Bob always remained very positive about his Chinese experience though he became bored with his work and life towards the end of the year, and really looked forward to being busy with his old job and friends in the U.S. As he stated, "It's fun to be the adventurer it takes to do this" (Final Interview) and he looked forward to telling good stories at cocktail parties at home: "Bad trips are really good for stories. There has been nothing that has happened to me that I won't laugh at in a year". Later, he added "I'm really glad I did this. It's something I had wanted to do for a long time (Final Interview).

Through it all, Bob had come much closer to understanding China. Earlier he had explained,

I was very interested in China before I came this year, so I read several books about China, both history and accounts of westerners living here. Living here myself has really helped to flesh out those books.

I don't claim to have much more of an understanding of why the Chinese do some things the way they do, but I do have first-hand observations of some of these things, and somehow China isn't quite so mysterious--I don't mean understandable--just less mysterious. (June 9)

### Sub-Problem 2

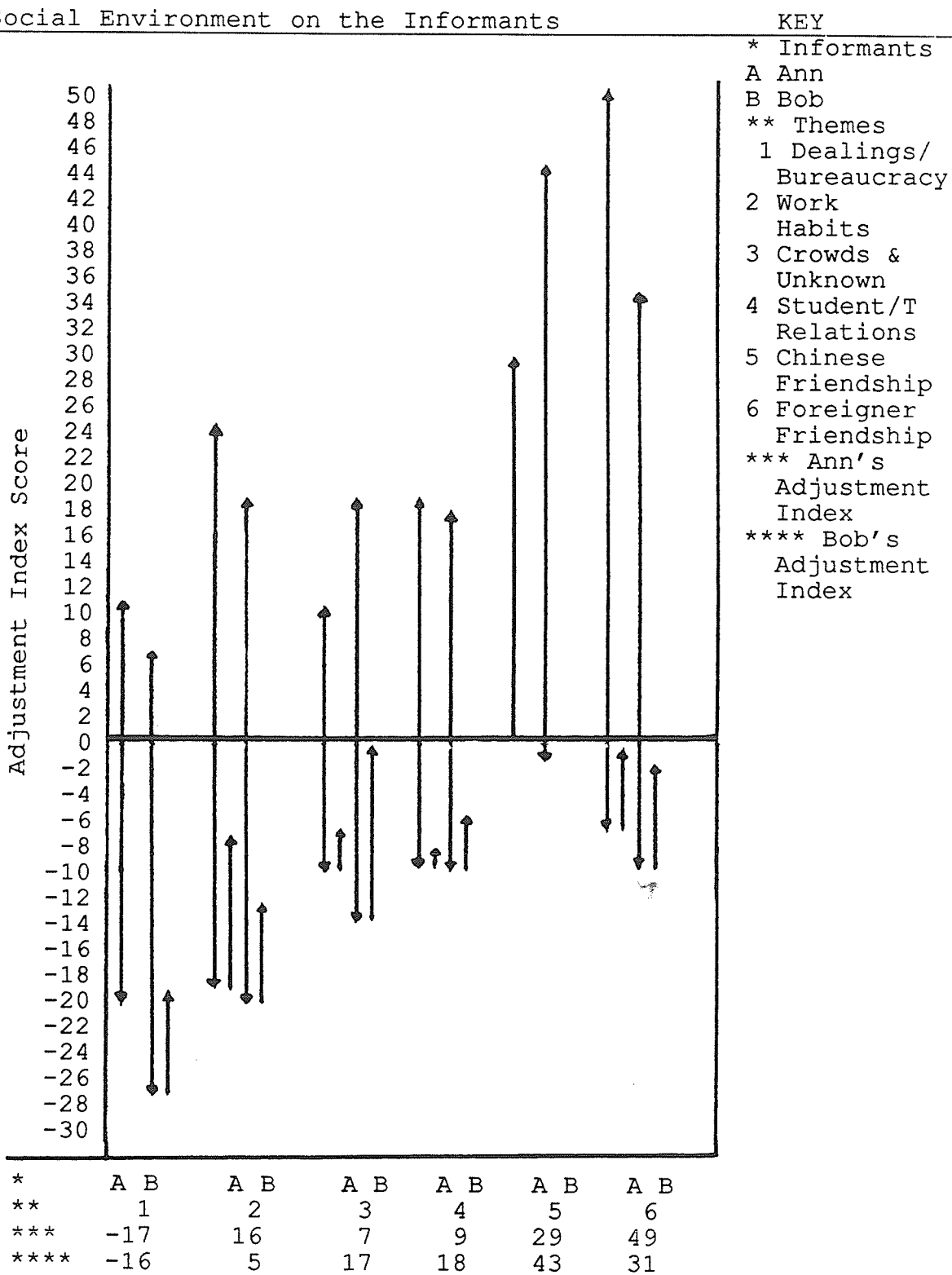
To identify situational factors of the social environment, both work-related and non-work-related, that positively or negatively affect the sojourners' adjustment.

Six major themes of the social environment emerged as significant situational influences. They were considered significant because of the great number of times that specific situational factors of these types were mentioned in written or oral comments by the informants. Each theme includes some negative and some positive aspects. Following is a summary of each of these themes:

1. bureaucratic dealings,
2. work habits and attitudes,
3. crowds and unknown Chinese,
4. student/teacher relationship,
5. Chinese friendship, and
6. foreigner friendship.

Each statement made by Ann or Bob on one of these themes is recorded as part of an arrow in Figure 3 below. Positive items are shown by the upward arrows above zero; negative items are shown by downward arrows below zero. The upward arrows below the neutral line show acceptance or a positive coping strategy to deal with negative factors. At the bottom of the graph the net influence of each theme is given (based on Bradburn's affect balance concept, 1969).

**FIGURE 3**  
Summary of the Influence of Emergent Themes of the  
Social Environment on the Informants

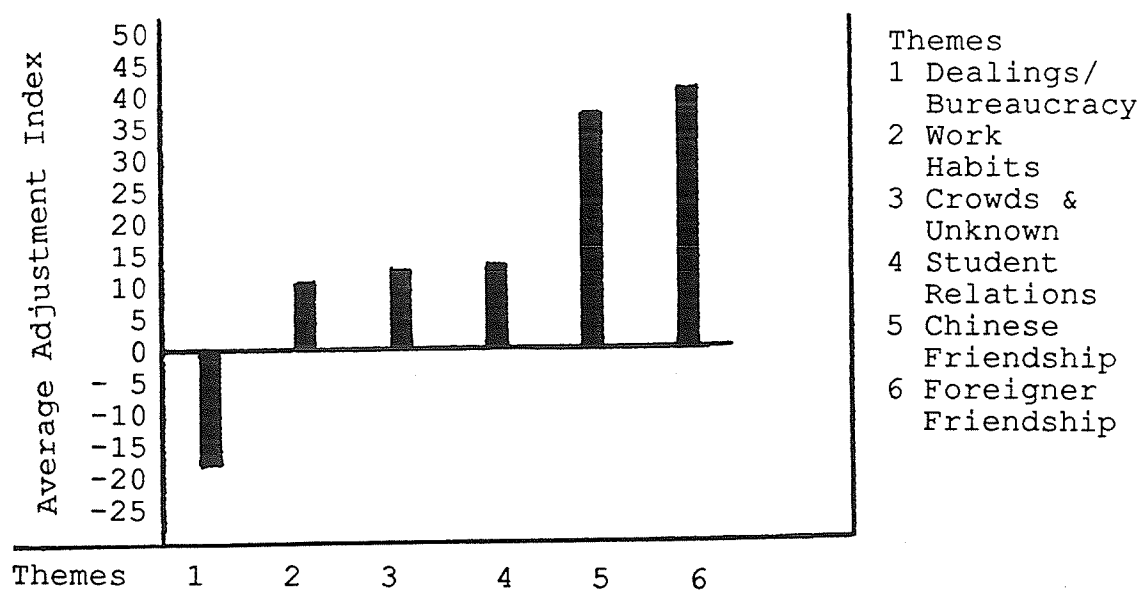


**KEY**  
 \* Informants  
 A Ann  
 B Bob  
 \*\* Themes  
 1 Dealings/  
 Bureaucracy  
 2 Work  
 Habits  
 3 Crowds &  
 Unknown  
 4 Student/T  
 Relations  
 5 Chinese  
 Friendship  
 6 Foreigner  
 Friendship  
 \*\*\* Ann's  
 Adjustment  
 Index  
 \*\*\*\* Bob's  
 Adjustment  
 Index

The order of themes in Figures 3 and 4 proceed from the most negative to the most positive influence. The only theme with a net negative index was bureaucratic dealings. Chinese friendship included only one notation of a negative situational factor--clearly a very positive influence. While foreigner friendships resulted in the highest average index, it also contained more negative notations than under Chinese friendships. Figure 4 clearly illustrates the net effect of each them from negative to positive.

**Figure 4**

Average Net Effect of Emergent Themes of the Social Environment on the Informants



## 1. Bureaucratic Dealings

Understanding and relating to the Chinese bureaucracy was one of the most difficult aspects for both informants. It was clearly the most negative factor for both, resulting in a net affect of -17 or -16. While both mentioned the bureaucracy positively--as efficient or effective-- sometimes, these were clearly in the minority. Though Bob attempted to learn to adapt to the system, he was largely unable to do so. Comments in this category appeared under a variety of questions on the questionnaire--relating to work, friendships, travel, and society in general. Both were annoyed when those with whom they had direct contact appeared to be secretive by being either indirect or telling 'white lies' to save face. It also made them suspicious when they did not know who was making decisions or why. Bob was most upset by what he saw as repression, interference in or control of the individual's work and social life. The positive items generally reflected the settling of work-related matters such as the signing of contracts or agreement on teaching load.

## 2. Work Habits and Attitudes

In fact the attitudes really developed out of observed work habits, though these were from time to time also confirmed by Chinese friends. The concern here was

really the unreliability of workers such as support staff and hotel clerks. They often questioned whether necessary tasks would be completed on time which lead them to conclusions of uncaring attitudes. Although the net effect of this theme was positive (+16, +5), this remained an area of concern. The difference from the last theme, bureaucratic dealings, was that in this category the informants did adapt or cope successfully; because they could usually identify the source of the problem. For example, when they observed that the typist did not complete their work punctually, they just did it themselves. In addition, they were very appreciative when they did experience good service.

### **3. Crowds and Unknown Chinese**

This theme includes two very distinct aspects. The positive aspect involved informal interaction with Chinese people Ann and Bob met on the street. This included simple conversations in Chinese or English and friendly interaction with shop-keepers and clerks as the informants made purchases. The negative aspect involved staring and crowding whenever Ann or Bob went off campus. Ann mentioned annoyance at this 10 times and Bob, 14. However, Ann mentioned coping strategies only 3 times, while Bob mentioned them almost every time he complained. Some of his strategies included staring back, speaking to the people, or bringing his camera up to eye level. These

usually dispersed the crowd. Both enjoyed meeting shopkeepers and others on the street. Bob particularly enjoyed interactive situations which gave him an opportunity to speak in Chinese. Bob's mood seemed to determine whether he enjoyed the crowds or found them annoying. Neither Ann nor Bob considered the staring and crowding as a very negative situational factor, yet they continued to mention them throughout the year.

#### **4. Student/Teacher Relationship**

There were three major factors in this category: feedback, work habits, and social interaction. Initially both informants were disturbed by the lack of student response. This, however, was soon overcome largely through social interaction. Meeting students out of class-time was particularly valuable for building rapport, and also became a positive influence. Poor work habits of students, such as not doing assignments or not attending class were never really resolved, just accepted. However, in spite of these difficulties, both informants really enjoyed spending time with their students--out of class but in class, too.

#### **5. Chinese Friendships**

Making friends with Chinese people had only a very positive effect on the informants (scoring 29, 44)--fulfilling one of their major purposes for their sojourns. (See Figure 3) They enjoyed visiting in their rooms and

Chinese homes, but especially in sharing activities: meals, dancing, drinking, playing cards, or going on one day trips together. The only negative statement was in regards to one friend's behavior. He appeared to be too forward in his behavior to foreigners and too much of a partyer for Bob. Yet Bob also greatly appreciated the perspective on Chinese personal life that he learned from this friend, and usually really enjoyed him.

#### **6. Foreigner Friendship**

Relations with other foreigners were always perceived as positive overall. The romantic attachment between Ann and Bob clearly had a major impact on both of their positive scores (50, 43) but there were also many positive statements regarding the other two teachers at the college and occasional contacts with other foreigners. The closeness of the relationship between Ann and Bob, resulted in tension as their commitment to one another became permanent. Bob also experienced 'cabin fever' in the spring when he wanted either to avoid the other three foreigners or make a variety of new contacts.

### **Sub-Problem 3**

To relate the effects of social factors to adjustment by impact and time duration.

#### **1. Bureaucratic Dealings**

The informants were disturbed throughout their sojourns by the slow pace and indirectness of all dealings

with the bureaucracy. Initially they were uncertain as to work expectations (period 1). But from that time on, they were frustrated by the fact they could not figure out who made decisions nor reasons for them. A lack of clear communication affected these and resulted in the informants not understanding policies which directly affected them. Repression of the individual was a big concern of Bob, but for Ann this was much less of a problem.

Both informants found the pace of negotiations for contracts and assignments of teaching duties, as well as making travel arrangements, frustratingly slow. This affected them throughout the year. In regards to arrangements for the second term timetable Bob felt "It would be so much easier if the departments would just cooperate a bit" (January 14). On another occasion he wrote, "It's always a hassle making arrangements, for the listening lab, for instance, 'cause everything is so unorganized . . . or overly organized" (April 21). By mid-June Ann's and Bob's sense of urgency was pressed, as when she stated, "I'm annoyed that we cannot get an exam date set. We have got to make plans!" (June 16). They attempted to cope by becoming more assertive, but usually to no avail; though in some instances, as when Bob was negotiating his second term teaching load, he felt success:

I think I'm learning to be more assertive to get what I want. I demanded a meeting with the head of the graduate student program and it's possible that the prospect of seeing me face-to-face helped [my work supervisor] back him down on the issue of how many students I'd teach. (January 20)

He also felt that it helped to get Foreign Affairs staff to define as precisely as possible the topic at hand.

Both Ann and Bob felt that uncertainty also added to the difficulties of travel. For Ann, this was a particular strain:

It's that constant stress of organization and planning, and getting things done--and that is really a stress. Perhaps if you're really laid back, . . . and I'm not when I travel. I like a certain amount of certainty, booking, and what are we going to do today, and what are we going to do tomorrow, and being able to count on things. (Final Interview)

Perhaps a lot of the frustration was due to a lack of understanding of the processes taking place. In his final interview Bob commented,

Here you have to wait for the leaders and sometimes I wonder if there really is a leader in on it, or if it's just a play for everyone to think about it, or break down and agree. (Final Interview)

Though their work supervisor also left the informants confused at times as to what was expected of them and what was happening in terms of negotiations, they truly appreciated her role as an intermediary between themselves and higher authorities in the college:

Sometimes you feel bad because she has to take a lot of flack because she's in charge of us. And then whenever you see some of the leaders,

they're always personable enough. It's just whenever these crazy directives come down, it's always an anonymous sort of thing. (Final Interview)

The most frustrating experience was clearly the policy change disallowing changing of class times--which became an issue when the informants planned a long weekend trip at the beginning of May. Till the end of the year they felt a "vague uneasiness", fearing a sudden change of rules. In addition they felt under greater restraints than Chinese teachers due to their visibility as foreigners. For example, Ann mentioned, "The seeming discrepancy about when we can have our exam and when some Chinese teachers have theirs really angered me" (June 23).

Though claiming improvement, Bob was still annoyed by the style of negotiations,

Being an American I just want them to be direct, put the cards on the table. Here's what I want and I know what you want to give me, so let's negotiate, but here you have to play games to save face and be polite. I think I feel I'm in danger of being ripped off all the time, just because I don't know how to play the game. (Final Interview)

While aware that Chinese people around her faced restrictions, Ann did not feel she was restricted in the classroom or personally. Though initially she had been upset by the limitations of association on her one Chinese friend, she said that the impact of it was on him, not her. How did she cope? "I just go ahead and do this or that and don't tell anybody and it's done. If you weren't

supposed to do it--oh, too bad" (Final Interview).

For Bob, this was a bigger issue throughout the year. For example, in his first interview, Bob commented, "Sometimes I feel that they're trying to control me." This control annoyed Bob when he could not go where he wanted to, could not associate openly with friends, and when he noticed students unhappy with their studies yet unable to change fields. In his final interview, he commented, "The repression of the totalitarian government here really does bug me. More than a lot of people, I really chafe at such directives." He saw it as limiting not only individuals, like himself, his friends, and his students; but also the modernization of the whole country. While recognizing that some of the controls were almost unavoidable due to the fact China is underdeveloped and its population is huge, he could not accept it. He overcame restrictions placed on contact with his friend by simply disobeying the 'rules', yet he was uncomfortable doing this.

While always appreciating clear actions on the part of the bureaucracy, these were often seen as long-awaited answers to concerns or as exceptions for which one should be thankful, as for instance when Ann wrote, "Signing of the contract was a relief." (December 31). And when reasons seemed logical, as in the case of the institute not providing airfare home, the informants accepted the

decisions without complaint. This, once again, pointed to the need for increased communication and understanding in regards to the bureaucracy.

By and large, however, dealing with the powerful bureaucracy which they could not understand was the most negative social factor, and one which the informants did not overcome in their one year sojourns.

## **2. Work Habits and Attitudes**

Concern regarding reliability was greater near the beginning and middle of the year than the end. Acceptance and learning improved the situation later.

Ann, in particular, was upset by the unexpected closing of the print shop near the beginning of her sojourn; but she soon learned it was due to political studies meetings held one afternoon per week--when she was free to see about such duties as she was not expected to attend. It also helped when Chinese confirmed that the typist was also considered by Chinese teachers to be lazy. The solution was to type all work themselves. Near the beginning of the second period Ann was upset by the telephones not being answered, at the American Express office, though the office had not been open for long. Another incident, which reflected the same concern for reliability, occurred when watching an international volleyball tournament on television: "Even just watching the volleyball game the other night . . . and when the

satellite time was used or whatever--click--it was turned off just before the final score" (Initial Interview). Such incidents really upset Ann, because she was very time conscious:

I find it really irritating at home [when things aren't punctual and reliable], but it seems pervasive here. And part of it has to do with my personality. I tend to be very punctual and when I say I'm going to do something I do it. If I know something's going to start on time, I can say, I've got fifteen minutes, I can darn my socks. I tend to look at how long something's going to take and fit it into the appropriate period of time. (Initial Interview)

However, it was more often a question of reliability than punctuality for Ann. As she noted the same day, "You can't really fault the punctuality. Classes begin on time, and trains or functions that are organized" (Initial Interview).

When Ann observed a lack of upkeep on buildings, she thought it was a great waste and displayed carelessness:

It just annoys me to see such a new building deteriorating. Why aren't people looking after it? . . . I guess it's none of my business if they want to build buildings and within a year have the plaster falling off the walls, but it just annoys me when I see that because I don't like to see energy and resources wasted. (Initial Interview)

While both informants grew to accept the above as just the way of life in China, they were often upset when travel plans were disrupted or slow in being arranged. This caused particular concern prior to winter vacation and leaving the country. Difficulties also arose when

travelling. For example, Ann explained one frustrating experience during winter vacation:

Through C.I.T.S. [China International Travel Service], our train tickets were screwed up. She had quoted the wrong price originally for soft sleeper [first class], so we said hard [lower class]. When we went to pick up our tickets, they had booked us soft and wanted more money. As it turned out the price was reasonable and we would have bought them in the first place! After arguing, the 'manager' smooths thing over, drops the C.I.T.S. charge, and promises us a ride to the station. Of course, the ride never materializes and the original worker who screwed up was very surly. I was annoyed and angry enough not to take a cab on principle, so we barely made it to the station on the most crowded bus ever. But it was a personal triumph!!

Also, the hotel desk lied to us about there being no dorm beds for the last night! Pissed me off as we got a room. However, during our earlier stay we had gotten away with one free night (Could have walked out as they had no record of our registration. Damn!) So we actually came out ahead. (February 2)

The incident in December, when Bob and Ann were expected to cover the other foreigner's classes had a clearly negative impact on Bob's view of Chinese teachers. It seemed to show inefficiency and a lack of commitment that they were unwilling to pick up a few extra hours on top of their four to six per week (December 15). It also made him question how much the institute leaders valued his own work; this was an issue that he never completely resolved.

Bob's negative view was most obvious towards the end of the year when he was expected to make use of a listening lab. He kept the tapes himself as he did not

trust the staff with them. In his final interview he commented on the situation:

The two guys in the listening lab are friendly and helpful. They'll do anything, but I know it's just because I'm a foreigner. As a matter of fact, a few days ago I went and knocked on the door to give some photos to one of them in the office and I know they were in there but no one was answering the door. Well, I didn't say anything; I just knocked. If they didn't answer the door, they didn't get their photos. It doesn't bother me, but I kind of have a low opinion of them. I know if I had a Chinese name, if I was Chinese, I wouldn't be able to get any more out of them than any one else does. Coming from the Puritan work ethic that I do, it sort of bothers me, but then I don't want to be judgmental about it. It doesn't cause me a problem, so I shouldn't worry about it, so I don't. I probably would have a much different opinion if I had to rely on them more than I do. As it was I was only using that stupid listening lab because I was keeping somebody else happy, and if it doesn't work there is really no problem for me. So it's fine with me. But if I had to really rely on a typist here or something like that, I'm sure I would get very frustrated.

Ann and Bob appreciated the reliability of their work supervisor throughout the year, their Foreign Affairs staff contact when plans progressed smoothly, and tourist industry workers when they faced none of the difficulties mentioned above.

Coping mechanisms included taking on more responsibility, "pushing and nagging" (Ann, January 29), and accepting the slow pace and unreliability so long as it did not impact directly on them. While this was a continuing frustration, it was one with which they felt capable of dealing. For example in regards to travel

difficulties in June, Ann commented,

I have a lot more confidence in travelling and things working out. I feel we can get around a lot more of the difficulties now. We know how things work and the attitude to take. . . . So while we can't maybe win the game, at least maybe we play it with a bit more certainty. Like Bob says, you know if it had to be done you could do it. . . . [for example] if I have to jam on to buy train tickets, I'm pretty sure it's going to work, but there's still that uncertainty. (Final Interview)

### 3. Crowds and Unknown Chinese

Both Ann and Bob commented on the negative aspects of crowds, the staring and crowding, throughout the sojourn; but neither saw it as having any significant impact on their adjustment. Both also commented on the positive impact of encountering curious Chinese. These positive meetings only occurred when the informants were not annoyed by the negative factors.

At the beginning of her sojourn, Ann found people on the streets and in shops to be "interesting, quaint, and cute" (Initial Interview), but by the beginning of November she reported anger as her reaction in a store:

I was very annoyed today when I couldn't even get my money out. The elbows were just jammed around me and, of course, we were wet. . . . I guess the novelty has worn off of me, because it obviously hasn't worn off them. I never felt so angry as today. (November 3)

However, this seemed to be only an intermittent frustration until spring when she began mentioning annoyance at staring regularly after mid-April (ie., throughout period 4), though she claimed she was

comfortable in crowds. Her method of coping was simply acceptance of the situation.

Bob's concern with crowds was mentioned only intermittently throughout the year. He blamed it on being in a bad mood from time to time. Near the beginning of his sojourn (period 1), he had only a positive reaction to crowds because, as he noted in his final interview, "it was just so groovy being in China." On June 23, he explained his general reaction, "The staring does annoy me sometimes, but I know it's nothing personal. (Indeed! Maybe that's the problem.)" He also reported active methods of coping with staring such as staring back, speaking, lifting his camera to eye level, or active ignoring.

#### **4. Student-Teacher Relationship**

Both informants were initially frustrated by student work habits. Active participation in class was nil; students just sat and wrote notes. They appeared to be hard-working, but offered little feedback. By the end of period one, this had improved due primarily to the informants visiting with students in their classrooms and dormitories in the evenings.

As the year progressed Bob appreciated the positive response he got to his jokes. Ann was most pleased with two groups: administrative engineering students who she found "eager and willing to contribute. When you asked

them to speak out, they'd give an opinion. . . . They blurted things out and asked questions. I liked their openness" (Final Interview), and UNIDO teachers who were interested in small group conversation.

But not all classes were so successful. The first year teacher training students caused frustration for both informants throughout the year. For example, during the first term, Bob's conversation groups elicited little flow of discussion, especially among the boys who would use any excuse, such as rain to absent themselves. By the end of the second term, Ann had identified a possible source of the problem--lack of structure and clear demands on students. Working with graduate students, Ann faced similar difficulties. Many students did not show up for classes as they were no tests or marks to be awarded. She wished she had another year to refine course requirements. She saw the lack of commitment as due to the approach taken--students only were required to a minimum to pass, so few aspired to do more--and also as a reflection of the general work environment. Both Bob and Anna objected to the fairly automatic passing of students. Any student who failed was allowed up to three chances to rewrite any examination. Only major infractions, such as not attending many classes or a poor political attitude, resulted in negative sanctions. One student was expelled, and another suspended during the year for these reasons.

Ann was not bothered by poor work habits by the end of the year; she just shrugged them off. Bob blamed the system, especially its lack of choice. If they had had a greater commitment to teaching, perhaps some of the difficulties would have been solved. Otherwise they would likely have become more frustrated.

### **5. Chinese Friendship**

Development of friendships with Chinese people was the most positive situational factor, balancing negative affect ratings even in the most difficult circumstances. (For details of specific factors which contributed to the development of friendship see "Social Interaction with Chinese Hosts" above.)

A great deal of trust developed in the relationships, especially with their work supervisor. They enjoyed leisure time activities with Chinese friends. But these friends also helped them understand the culture, history, and workings of the bureaucracy better.

### **6. Foreigner Friendship**

Association with the other foreign teachers at the institute was always a positive factor for both informants. Initially the researcher and her husband were able to help the informants to understand some of the procedures at the college. At the end of the year, Bob commented,

The first week I was here I would have given the foreigners at 5, a 6, a 7, an 8. [on affect

rating scale, maximum 5]. Just the anxiety of being here, not knowing. Especially you having been here a year and knowing the ropes as far as teaching. You were a big help. (Final Interview)

The four foreigners were in contact on a daily basis throughout the year--eating, talking, going out together. When the researcher's husband was away, he was missed. Ann commented, "He seems to be a catalyst in the group" (January 20). By the spring, however, Bob felt a need to escape from the close daily contact and wished for other foreign associations. At his final interview, Bob explained,

It's sort of like a family--I've relied on having foreigners around. A lot of times just knowing you guys are upstairs and I could speak English. . . . I'm glad you guys are here. We can talk about things you could never talk about with a Chinese person--things they just couldn't understand so it's been a real release of pressure at times.

Contact with UNIDO trainees offered variety in the spring and fall, while travelling during winter vacation allowed the informants to share with foreign teachers from all over the country.

Of course, the most significant relationship was between the informants themselves. At the beginning of the year both mentioned wanting a romantic relationship or even friendships with members of the opposite sex. The romance and decision to marry resulted in tension during period three, but without it they might have faced much greater difficulties in adjustment. It also affected

their relationships with Chinese people, since they spent a lot of time developing their own relationship which they might have spent with Chinese friends. However, Ann also thought it had had some positive aspects in that regard:

In one respect the relationship [with Bob] has been really gratifying, but, in another sense, I think, "Wow! I've given up potential relationships with Chinese people, Chinese friends." But then again I wonder--it's really hard to say, I really wonder, because, in one sense, I think people will come over and visit more often when another guy is around. They're likely to find the two of us here, and often I think that there's two of us to talk to so there's less pressure to think of what to say. (Final Interview)

#### Sub-Problems 4 & 5

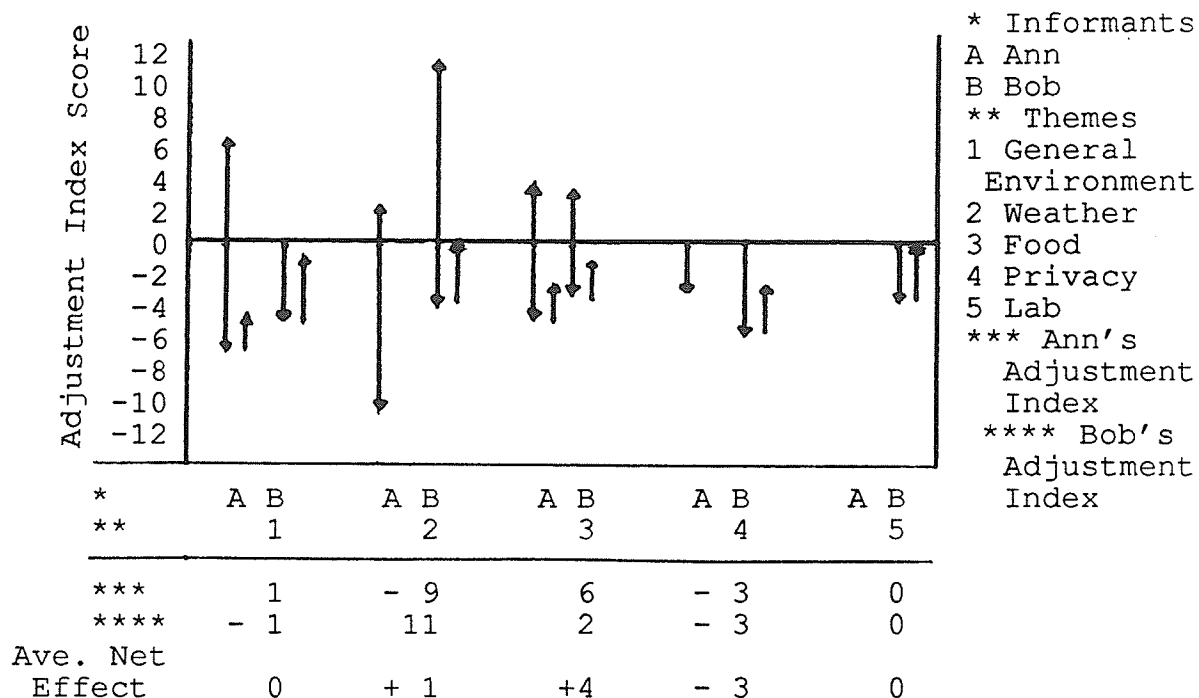
4. To identify situational factors of the physical environment (work and non-work) that positively or negatively affect the sojourner's adjustment.

5. To relate the effect of physical factors to adjustment by impact and time duration.

As may be noted by comparing Figure 5 below with Figure 4, situational factors of the physical environment were far less significant than those of the social environment. The specific factors to be discussed briefly include: the general environment, the weather, the food, the lack of privacy, and use of the listening lab.

Figure 5

Summary of the Influence of Emergent Themes of the  
Physical Environment on the Informants



The general environment of the campus was viewed positively by both informants near the beginning of the sojourn, though Ann was initially appalled by her rooms and the general lack of cleanliness. They liked being out of town--able to enjoy walking by the Yangtze River and through peasants' fields nearby. Almost every complaint by Bob was followed by N.B.D. (no big deal). They both appreciated access to a hot water heater for showers. In fact, conditions were better than Bob had expected. By the end of the year, however, when Ann and Bob were

getting bored with their daily life and thinking of returning to North America, they began to wish for a city with more things to do. So, the overall net effect was close to zero. Knowing that colleagues and students of other foreign teachers were unable to visit in each others' homes, resulted in appreciation of the benefits of their proximity on campus and the free flow of people that was allowed.

The weather and cold building temperatures were more of a concern for Ann than Bob. Bob particularly commented on his good heater in winter and on the fine weather in the spring. Ann didn't seem to mind the cold weather, but was depressed by the continual spring rain which prevented or discouraged her from getting out and sight-seeing. Of course, people can't change the weather. The air conditioner/heaters were seen as quite effective, so the temperature in their rooms was not a problem. They accepted the lack of heat in the classrooms, but objected to the cold dining room.

The winter cold aggravated the poor food situation. There seemed to be little variety and an excess of oil. Bob claimed, "the food's the only draw back" (Final Interview) but he would not let it bother him. Ann became very upset with it before winter vacation, and then decided to ease the situation by cooking supper for herself and Bob each day. After that, there were fewer

complaints.

After Ann and Bob became intimate the lack of privacy became a real issue for Bob, but less of a concern for Ann. This was due to living on campus in the guest hotel, where Chinese staff were always around and entering rooms to clean daily. By spring Bob said it didn't bother him any more, yet he continued to mention it. However, they did not notice any actual 'spying' on them--as they had heard happened at some other campuses.

The only factor of the work environment which was mentioned specifically was the listening lab--and only by Bob. In regards to physical working conditions, Bob commented,

I think I've always said "OK" because it really is not that important to me. I've had everything I need. . . . The language lab is the pits, but I don't care. It might be a lot different if I was a really dedicated teacher or I really had a stake in the school. (Final Interview)

Working conditions--supplies, rooms, and equipment--were generally considered acceptable. Perhaps for this reason, no physical problems became sources of concern.

#### Sub-Problem 6

To compare the relative impact of physical versus social, and work versus non-work factors, on overall sojourner adjustment.

Clearly situational factors of the social environment had much greater impact than the physical ones

as has been noted in the discussion of themes in sub-problems 2 to 5. Figure 6 also illustrates this point. It displays graphically for each of the ten questions on the questionnaires and in the interviews, the percentage of times the informants chose each type of affect rating: negative (or very negative), OK, or positive (or very positive).

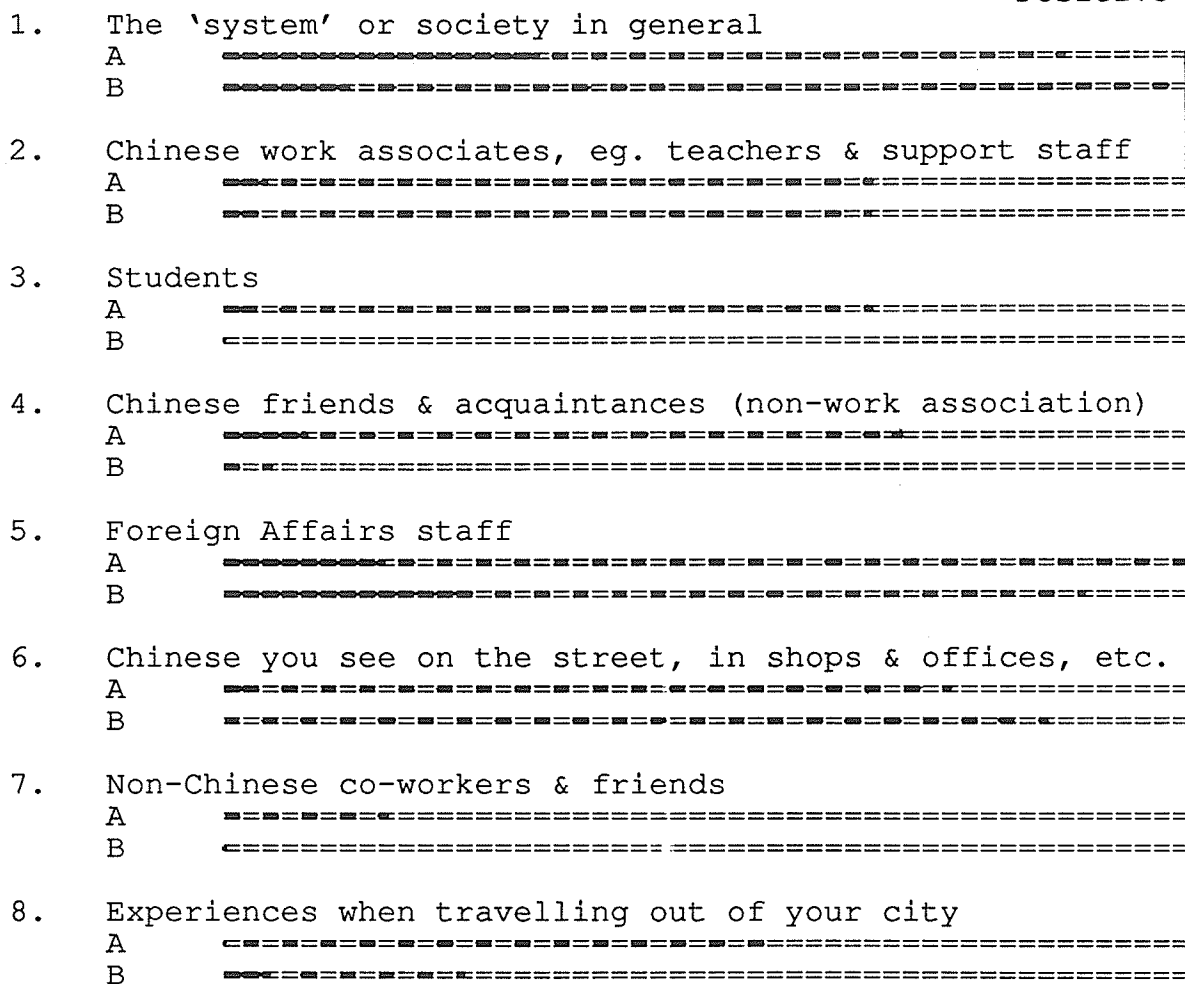
Ann selected an 'OK' score 80% of the time for physical environment but only 57% for social. The range of Bob's score varied an even greater amount. He chose 'OK' 95% for physical but only 40% of the time for the social environment.

Figure 6

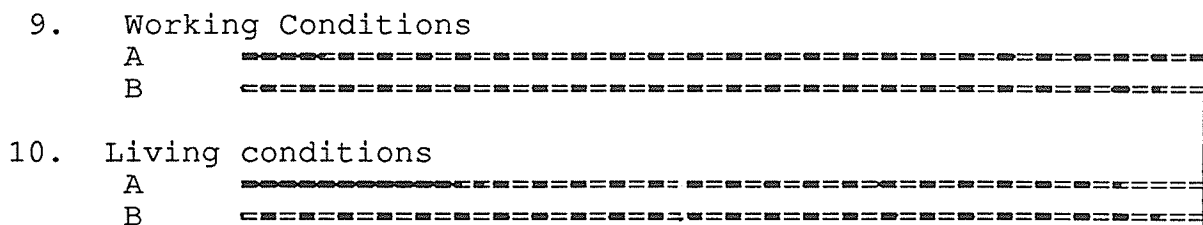
Selection of Affect Rating by Percentage

Key  
 A Ann  
 B Bob  
 --- Negative  
 === OK  
 == Positive

Social Environment



Physical Environment



0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

Percentage of Times Each Score was Selected

It proved to be impossible to separate work and non-work influences because of the great amount of overlap. For example, the informants' best friend was also their work supervisor. As well Foreign Affairs staff were involved in their work-life (salaries and contract) as well as in their non-work time (arranging trips and other activities). Also there could be no separation when, for example, teachers or students arrived ostensibly to ask an English question, but stayed to chat. So, there was a constant carry-over effect from one life domain to the other.

#### **Sub-Problem 7**

To compare affect ratings and situational factors noted during the sojourn to those reported one year after the end of the informants' time abroad.

##### **1. Affect Ratings**

Affect ratings reported one year after the sojourn showed a clear upward trend of about 1 point in each item from the year's averages, a significant distortion. This rating inflation was evident in 80% of the items for both informants (70% - Ann, 90% Bob). This is detailed in Table 2.

**Table 2**Affect Rating Comparison

Questionnaire Number & Item		Average Sojourn Rating	Post Sojourn Rating
1. System or Society in general	(Ann) (Bob)	3 3	4 3
2. Chinese Work Associates	(Ann) (Bob)	3 3	4 4
3. Students	(Ann) (Bob)	3 4	4 5
4. Chinese Friends	(Ann) (Bob)	3 4	4/5 5
5. Foreign Affairs Staff	(Ann) (Bob)	3 3	3 4
6. Chinese Met Casually	(Ann) (Bob)	3 3	3 4
7. Non-Chinese	(Ann) (Bob)	4 4	4 5
8. Travel	(Ann) (Bob)	3 4	4 5
9. Working Conditions	(Ann) (Bob)	3 3	4 4
10. Living Conditions	(Ann) (Bob)	3 3	3/4 4

**2. Situational Factors**

The specific factors noted one year later will be reported by emergent themes, first identified in Sub-problem 2 above.

### 1. Bureaucratic Dealings

Only Bob mentioned any concern in this area--arbitrary policy decisions. Then he generalized, "I often became frustrated, but again, that was part of the experience. It was exactly what I wanted to learn." Ann faced several delays and difficulties as she attempted to emigrate to the United States, so her comments in this theme reflected new experiences: "Considering the difficulties I have been having with the government, bureaucracy, etc. here, my feelings about China have become more positive."

### 2. Work Habits and Attitudes

Two specific negative situational were mentioned. Ann remembered not having typing done while, Bob reported an example to show he had only received good service from support staff because he was a foreigner:

I remember one of my students banging on a locked door trying to get the language lab guy to come out. The student could get no response until I banged on the door and identified myself--and the lab monitor was happy to help.

### 3. Crowds and Unknown Chinese

Bob mentioned being mobbed and stared at; Ann mentioned no details. Both noted that at times the situation was terrible, but both also longed to return to "re-experience the fun and the frustrations" (Ann).

### 4. Student/Teacher Relationship

No negative factors were mentioned; both missed their

interaction with students. Bob mentioned exchanging letters with one of them.

#### **5. Chinese Friendship**

Both informants mentioned their great sense of loss in this area and happy dreams about their friends and life in China. Bob was more specific, "I miss terrorizing [the hostess] in the kitchen and eating shrimp chips at [his best friend's] or discussing philosophy with [another friend]."

#### **6. Foreigner Friendships**

In this category a few more specifics were itemized. Ann liked meeting the variety of people from other countries --UNIDO trainees and teachers. She also mentioned dreams about the researcher and her husband, but felt less strongly because of continuing contact. Bob said his thoughts of China seldom included foreigners but when asked, images arose: "having fun with the UNIDO students", or "watching [the researcher's husband] 'interact' with Chinese people". He also added, "I miss going upstairs for the occasional glass of glutinous rice wine and making Chinese strangers think that your husband and I just met at the bus stop". In addition, the marriage of Ann and Bob, shortly after they left China, confirmed the perceived significance of this relationship.

Questionnaires completed one year after the sojourn clearly lacked the wealth of specific details gathered

through questionnaires and interviews throughout the year. In addition there was an obvious positive distortion upward in affect rating as compared with ratings during the sojourn.

#### Sub-Problem 8

To list the positive and negative situational factors that had major impact on the informants during their sojourn in China, and to identify their coping strategies for each negative factor.

Only those factors which had significant impact on the informants have been noted below.

#### Positive Situational Factors

1. Short interactive situations with Chinese met on streets and in shops (especially in Chinese).
2. Friendliness, reliability, and directness of Chinese work supervisor.
3. Reliability of Foreign Affairs staff (though always tainted by suspicion and uncertainty).
4. Punctuality of classes, trains, and planned events.
5. Informal interaction with students.
6. Development of friendships--with Chinese people visiting in both friends' rooms, sharing experiences and ideas, meals, and activities.
7. Friendship/support from other foreign teachers--talking, sharing meals, and activities.

8. Meeting a variety of foreigners--even briefly, including other teachers and UNIDO trainees.
9. Romantic relationship with another foreigner.

#### **Negative Situational Factors**

1. Staring and crowding.  
To Cope: Stare back, speak, or pick up camera, push to get on buses or trains as required.
2. Coping with the mysterious, but powerful Chinese bureaucracy. Frustrating characteristics: slow-paced, indirectness, decision-makers unknown, reasons for decisions unclear, poor communication with foreigners.  
To Cope: Be assertive, do things yourself, nag, ask questions to clarify agreements, improve your understanding of the bureaucracy.
3. Restrictions on individual freedom, including Chinese/foreigner relations, places to visit, student course choices.  
To Cope: Act before you ask, remain loyal to your Chinese friends, accept situations that you cannot change.
4. Lack of reliability of support services such as, typing service, lab assistance, availability of beds at hotels and when purchasing tickets, etc.  
To Cope: take on more responsibilities, be assertive, push and nag, be pleased when you

receive good service--even if it is because you're a foreigner.

5. Students' lack of responsiveness.

To Cope: Visit them outside of class time to build rapport.

6. Students not attending class or not completing assignments.

To Cope: Adapt your teaching methods, talk to your work supervisor, and if you can't improve the situation, accept it.

7. Food is unpalatable: monotonous, oily, cold in winter.

To Cope: Cook some meals for yourself, go out to eat from time to time.

8. Lack of privacy for intimate sexual relationship.

To Cope: Be as discrete as possible.

## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSION

The results of this case study were compared to previous research on sojourner adjustment (Chapter 2) by sub-problem. Then social situational factors noted in this study by theme (Sub-problem 2) were compared to notations in the records of other English teachers in China (Chapter 2).

#### Sojourner Research

##### Sub-Problem 1

While there was no clear indication of a U-curve of adjustment, the informants in this study did show progression through stages of adjustment.

As in Ruben's systems theory (1983), the informants were required to adapt to many changes in the environment and culture. They were able to identify the negative situational factors--those which acted as stressors on their 'systems' and required adjustment. Except in regards to dealings with the bureaucracy, Ann and Bob

learned how to effectively adapt and adapt to the new environment. The stress of the changed environment shaped their responses in this way.

As noted by Broome (1985) the informants developed in their comprehension of the culture through various levels--from shared meanings to situations to structures. For example at the meanings level, they learned that the first refusal to accept a gift was not a final rejection. Any offer had to be made and refused three times before it could be politely accepted. At the situational level, they learned how to appropriately interact with students in and out of class. The type of interaction that both yearned for was of the informal type which was quite appropriate out of class, whereas in class the teacher was expected to appear more serious and formal. By socializing with students out of class time, the informants were able to meet their needs, especially to learn more about the students' thoughts and views than was appropriate or possible within the classroom context. Towards the end of the sojourn, Bob was becoming more familiar with the bureaucracy and how it functioned--an essential to effective communication, but a very difficult step for the North American who expects much clearer lines of command and directness in expression of requests and intentions.

Bandura (1977) emphasized the massive reinforcement

shifts which take place during a sojourn. These were clearly evident in the experience of the informants. First the old reinforcements of friends, food, and entertainment were terminated by the move itself. Bob experienced immediate positive reinforcement, however, when he spoke Chinese. In terms of work there was a clear modification of both positive and negative reinforcement which left the informants very uncertain as to what was really expected of them. It took the first quarter of the school year for Ann to be able to gain some comprehension in this area. After the first set of examinations she felt relief to discover that the students had been learning and making progress. Also when the students began to complain about the examination itself, she received the long-awaited direct feedback. The informants also experienced accidental reinforcement. Similar to Guthrie's descriptions of the situation in the Philippines (1975), a Chinese 'yes' does not necessarily indicate agreement; it may simply show politeness. Bob was frustrated to learn this at the time of his salary negotiations around Christmas. Much earlier in the sojourn he thought he had received informal agreement on issues, only to discover that the apparent acceptance of his ideas just reflected good manners. Aversive stimuli also were noticeable, including spitting and crowding, as well as restrictions on friendships or relationships with

members of the opposite sex. While both informants claimed that the former two were not significant, comments on these topics were often repeated throughout the year and required adaptation in understanding and response. The latter loomed large throughout most of the sojourn. Spradley and Phillips (1972) found that a move from an environment with a more to a less strict delineation of appropriate behavior was more difficult than the reverse. However, in this case the restrictions on Ann and Bob were tighter; though they understood them they were not comfortable to live within them. Initially both informants missed the lack of companionship of persons of the opposite sex; once they developed a relationship with one another Bob was very concerned about not living within the Chinese definitions of acceptable behavior.

Because of their development of friendships with Chinese people, the informants were able to effectively learn the new cues in the full variety of ways noted by Schild (1962): observation, participation, and explanations. Ann and Bob were involved in the first two on a daily basis. They also had access to direct explanations of the meanings of situations through their work supervisor and a few other friends. Social isolation was successfully avoided. However, in the spring Bob at times chose to avoid interaction; these short periods did not seriously hurt his relationships because he had

already established secure friendships.

Theories on curves or stages of adjustment have never been firmly established. Bob displayed some of the classic characteristics of the U-curve, especially in his initial high; Ann's reports indicated no such progression. If, as suggested by Morris (1960) and Brein and David (1971), the degree of culture variation would have a proportional effect on the process of adjustment, then the theories should have been well supported in a detailed study such as this one which involved as vastly different cultures as Chinese and North American. Instead this study supported the conclusions of Klineberg and Hull (1979) which described the process as more individual with only a minority of sojourners displaying the classic symptoms.

Oberg (1960) identified four stages of adjustment. As noted above the 'honeymoon' stage was felt by Bob, not Ann, in his thrill and amazement at finally fulfilling his dream of living in China. During the hostile/crisis stage, many of Bob's previously held positive impressions of China were smashed, which left him displaying negative stereotypes and a tendency to propose a number of 'solutions'. During the recovery stage Bob's sense of humour was reinforced--though he remained a comedian throughout the sojourn. He experienced no major gains in language, but his cultural understanding increased through

social interaction. He continued to feel that Western ways of functioning were somehow superior though he disliked being so ethnocentric and attempted throughout his sojourn to improve his understanding of the intricacies of the Chinese system.

In terms of Adler's stages (1975), Bob experienced the high enthusiasm of the contact phase, the loss of 'awe' for China in the disintegration phase, and was beginning to reintegrate his understanding as in the third stage. He was also developing his personal understanding of the culture and society as in the autonomy phase, yet he did not remain long enough to reach the self-actualization of the independence stage.

As noted earlier, Ann did not clearly display evidence of these stages in her replies to questionnaire and interview questions. However, in retrospect at her final interview, she summarized the process in terms of a U-curve. Throughout the year her adjustment process appeared to reflect the stages of the school year (Selby and Woods, 1966) and the development of significant personal relations with foreign men.

This case study indicated that a simple three stage theory, illustrated in Figure 7, would be more appropriate:

1. Contact Phase - characterized by interest and excitement in the new environment.

2. Disintegration/Reintegration Phase - characterized by a shift from awe or amazement to a more critical attitude and a greater awareness, understanding, and adjustment to a number of significant situational factors at various times. This is the key period; without confrontation, adaptation, and perhaps even culture shock, there is no real sojourner adjustment.
3. Leave-taking Phase - characterized by a refocusing of interest from the sojourn experience to the next stage of life. Less effort is made to continue to learn and adapt to the host culture.

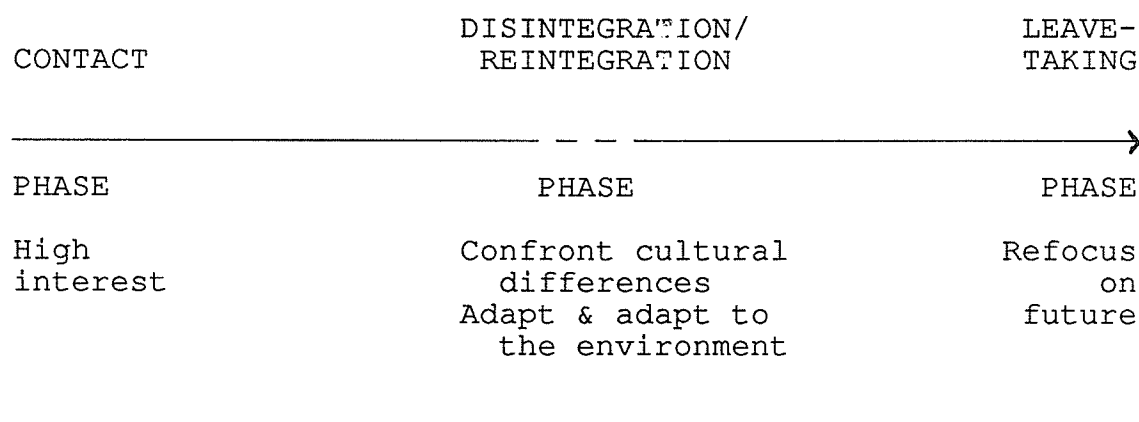
To attempt to fit the adjustment process to a curve or a time line is not to recognize the significant variations in physical and social environments, and individuals' coping strategies. By focusing on specific elements of the physical and social environment in affect ratings, this study directly linked these two aspects, and displayed a simultaneous process of disintegration and reintegration at the second phase.

The pacing of these stages is dependent upon the environment, the coping strategies of the informants, and the existing time frames (eg. school year schedule, holiday times, length of contract, etc.). In the case of

the informants in this study, an additional factor, the personal romantic relationship between the informants, was also significant.

### Figure 7

#### A Timeline of Sojourner Adjustment



#### Sub-Problem 2

The situational factors identified by themes in this case study relate closely to significant situational factors identified by previous research.

##### 1. Bureaucratic Dealings

The greatest difficulty faced by the informants--dealing with a new bureaucracy--has been noted by many previous researchers. Lack of clear communication between the informants and the bureaucracy of the college with which they had to deal had a negative effect on the sojourners throughout their stay. Advanced language ability could have helped in this respect (Cleveland et

al., 1960; David, 1972; Di Marco, 1974; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Morris, 1960; Sewell & Davidsen, 1956). Then, for example, they would perhaps have been invited to attend political studies meetings, and been informed of policy changes which affected them. If not, they could have read the Chinese press and become more aware of the shifting political climate and social environment than was possible from reading the English language newspaper, The China Daily.

However, the need to understand language in its cultural context was even more significant, as noted by Broome (1985). While the meaning level was largely overcome by Chinese people's ability to speak English, the higher levels of situational and structural contexts were still difficult to grasp.

Understanding the situational level was important to numerous dealings with members of the bureaucracy. In China politeness and indirectness are important for perceived friendliness. Formal 'teas' and dinners with presidents and department heads were largely ceremonial and only appropriate for friendly light-hearted interaction and statements of hope and optimism. To raise any issue or disagreement was not acceptable, so that when Bob thought he had informally gotten agreement related to his contract, he had only experienced politeness. Bargaining was dealt with in a totally different

situation.

Structural contexts also affected the informants' relationships with their work supervisor and their foreign affairs staff. In China work and non-work relationships are closely integrated; in the West there is more often a clear distinction between work associates and friends. The closeness blurred the informants' abilities to segregate the different roles of their Chinese associates, so, for example, they questioned the sincerity of their foreign affairs staff who could at one point appear to be quite friendly and at another appear to use her power to disallow significant requests without even giving clear reasons or explanations.

One of the most significant issues which arose was how various levels of the bureaucracy related to one another, and who made the decisions affecting the life and work of the foreigners within the institute. The question, "Who decides?" was never clearly answered and caused almost endless frustration; the decision-makers remained anonymous under the title of "the leaders", yet Chinese within the system know who's who and who has the greatest influence in various areas. This issue was specifically raised by Byrnes (1966) as well as by Harris and Moran (1979) who related the total issue of control by authorities to the lack of individualism. Hall (1976) emphasized the difference between low context peoples such

as Americans and Canadians, who prefer to speak their meanings as directly as possible, with high context cultures, such as the Chinese who prefer a much more indirect manner of communication. This was a problem for both informants in their dealings with the bureaucracy. Though they recognized that the Chinese were likely just trying to save face when no clear reasons were given for decisions, they could not reconcile this with their own need to know why, to be given a logical reasons for what they were or were not allowed to do.

Mansell (1981) raised the significance of opportunities for creative response in social interaction through shared aesthetic experiences which could occur through shared work interests and goals, but were more likely developed through leisure activities. The work supervisor shared with the informants the work-related goals of improving the language abilities of students, while she generally accepted the differences in their methodologies. Shared leisure activities with Chinese friends--visiting, dinners, watching television, and short excursions--were experiences which resulted in greater tolerance and affection. However, travel goals of informants arose at times in direct conflict with the academic goals of the institute. While the informants' main goal was to learn about China, the colleges' major goal for them was the students' acquisition of English

language skills and knowledge of the West.

Previous research indicated that contact with other foreigners could have either a positive or a negative impact on sojourner adjustment (David, 1972; Guthrie, 1975; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Smith, 1955; Lundstedt, 1963). The attitudes of other sojourners has been shown to be more influential than actual interaction with hosts. Bob indicated that the researcher and her husband had been helpful, especially during the initial phase of the sojourn in explaining the educational system and the bureaucracy.

Role ambiguity was an especially significant issue near the beginning of the sojourn but recurred in different forms later in the year. Similar to the findings of Byrnes (1966), Klineberg (1981), and Hawes and Kealey (1981), the informants felt extreme uncertainty as to what was expected of them on the job. Initially this was as basic as knowing which text to use for which course; later the informants questioned the real purposes of the institution in hiring foreign instructors. There were also conflicts in terms of role, since the students defined the teacher's role quite differently from the informants' own views of their role. The difference in teaching methods used in the West and in China was the prime source of confusion in this area. However, role ambiguity was much less of an issue for the informants

than for many professionals described in previous research (Bochner, 1972; Byrnes, 1966; Yeh et al., 1981). As Bob often noted during the second term, his interests in China did focus on teaching so it did not really bother him if he encountered difficulties in that area. Also, since the informants had not taught previously, they had no established teaching methods so role conflict was less pronounced.

As noted by Church (1982) the highly structured experience of a professional often allows for greater ease of adjustment. To meet the basic requirements of teaching in China appeared to be neither difficult nor overdemanding due to limited teaching hours (14) and a Chinese preference for following assigned texts closely. In fact, by the end of his sojourn Bob felt that his expectations for his work had been far greater than those of the college.

## **2. Work Habits and Attitudes**

Changes in working style have also been found to affect sojourner adjustment. Differences in terms of time and appearance of busyness at work affected the informants in both their work and non-work lives. The western belief in time as a commodity not to be wasted was a source of frustration for Ann, a concern noted by previous researchers (Cleveland et al., 1960; Hall, 1959; Harris & Moran, 1979; Spradley & Phillips, 1972). Yet it was more

a question of reliability than pure punctuality, because the Chinese system was very punctual in many respects. Bob also questioned these same factors though to a lesser degree. In fact, Bob was questioned for having let his classes out twenty minutes early (2 hour classes). Differences in working style affected many aspects of their lives as employees, teachers, and tourists.

### 3. Crowds and Unknown Chinese

Language ability was noted as significant to both social interaction and adjustment by several researchers: Basu & Ames, 1970; David, 1972; Di Marco, 1974; Sewell and Davidsen, 1956; Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963; Hofman & Zak, 1969; Morris, 1960; and Selltiz et al., 1963. Bob's Chinese ability was a very positive factor, especially initially, as it allowed him to interact with a greater variety of individuals, including unknown Chinese who did not speak English. However, Ann's minimal language ability did not prevent her successful adjustment. As noted by Dane (1981) perhaps speaking the hosts' language is not essential to many sojourners. It is still possible to interact and communicate especially in the area of social niceties with very minimal language abilities; the ability to greet acquaintances (nihao), say thank-you (xie-xie), and smile are valuable in informal situations--though they would not have been enough if language ability had been necessary to job performance. The views of

Cleveland et al. (1960) are particularly significant to an ESL teaching experience in China: the significance of language proficiency varies according to the situation--posting, position, and individual aptitude. Chinese ability was not required nor necessary for the teaching of English. Perhaps, also, as noted by Selltiz et al. (1963), confidence may be more important than actual facility: Bob's actual ability remained fairly limited, yet allowed for very enjoyable interaction.

What proved very significant was the ability to adapt to changes in non-verbal communication and use of space in public situations. As noted by Hall (1959, 1976) and Harris and Moran (1979) the invasion of personal space can be rather traumatic. In China the North American distance for intimate interaction, 21-22 inches, was often invaded by the crowding and staring of unknown Chinese. This caused intermittent annoyances for both Ann and Bob.

The lack of individualism also affected the informants. De-individuation occurred as the informants were simply regarded as representatives of the group, foreigners, based on racial characteristics. As noted by Jones and Popper (1972) and Guthrie (1981), this caused a sense of anomie resulting in the informants sometimes acting in ways that were out of character. For example, Ann would not normally have 'danced' in a shop with another foreigner if she had not lost her sense of self.

As a tactic to divert attention from Bob as he made his purchase, it was effective. With the massive shift in reinforcements, norms from the home culture are lost before the norms of the new culture are internalized. Individuation was also an issue as the sojourners lost the freedom of anonymity (Guthrie, 1981; Jones & Popper, 1972). This was particularly significant to the sojourners during the fourth phase when it appeared they were facing greater restrictions than some Chinese teachers.

#### 4. Student/Teacher Relationships

Initially there was a significant conflict in the way the informants and their students viewed their roles as teachers (similar to Byrnes, 1966; Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Klineberg, 1981--in relation to students rather than employers). The ambiguity in role definition with the bureaucracy also affected student/ teacher relationships. This also illustrates the importance of context (Broome, 1985). While social interaction was considered inappropriate in a classroom environment, it was encouraged in leisure time (Mansell, 1981) allowing for much more creative interaction. Due to sex role definitions, for example, female students were very quiet in class, but they were quite willing to express their ideas and opinions in a less formal environment (Harris & Moran, 1979). In addition, living on campus, in a

situation where students were allowed and even encouraged to visit the foreigners in their rooms, meant there was a very high potential for contact (Selltiz et al., 1963).

The second difficulty which arose in this area was due to work habits of students. Students took notes and memorized class work. When they did not attend class or complete assignments, this initially appeared to be a shirking of responsibility to the informants; later they suspected it was due to the lack of negative sanctions and a different work ethic. Since the minimum was all that was required, most felt obligated to do no more.

#### **5. Chinese Friendships**

The significance of social interaction with host nationals noted by Basu and Ames (1970), David (1972), Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963), Hawes and Kealey (1981), Morris (1960), Selltiz et al. (1963), and Sewell and Davidsen (1956), was strongly confirmed by this study. The informants had a strong social support network which was enhanced by the informants living on campus. Although some colleges in China discouraged interaction between foreign teachers and Chinese people, this one did not. This allowed for the creative responses in leisure activities identified by Mansell (1981). As noted by Harris and Moran (1979) and Yeh et al. (1981) sex role definitions, however, caused some strain in the development of friendships.

This study also supported the contention of a parallel between the degree of social interaction with host nationals and positive adjustment. The informants had a wide variety of types of contacts: in fact, they experienced most of the measures of social interaction noted by Sewell and Davidsen (1961) including visits to homes, recreational activities, and travel. They assisted Chinese friends in applying to western universities, a significant factor noted by Morris (1960). They also enjoyed friendly personal actions of their Chinese hosts: gifts and cards at Christmas, dinner and outings with friends, and shared preparations for special events (Kelman, 1962).

#### **6. Foreigner Friendships**

The informants experienced many of the protective features of a foreigners' enclave (though it only had four members). Bob described the group as a family. It minimized the need to adjust and functioned as a reference group with whom the informants could discuss new experiences and frustrations (Hawes & Kealey, 1981; Simon & Schild, 1961, Smith, 1955). Having contact with the researcher and her husband who had already lived at the college for a year offered valuable contacts and access to information and advice (Guthrie, 1975).

Only two negative situational factors noted in previous research were of little relevance to this study:

personal cleanliness (Spradley & Phillips, 1972) and legal status (David, 1972). Lack of cleanliness was mentioned by Ann but only in relation to buildings. Bob was never actually concerned about his legal status, but with the fact he was breaking the Chinese marriage law.

### **Sub-Problem 3**

Previous research did not deal with the effects of specific social situational factors over time.

### **Sub-Problems 4 & 5**

The physical situational factors appeared to have far less impact on Ann and Bob than the social ones, most likely because the conditions were satisfactory. As explained by David (1972) only when the 'survival issues'--such as climate, clothing, transportation, food, water, housing, and money--are unsatisfactory are they reported. And then they also lead to stress. Similarly, Barna (1976), Hawes and Kealey (1981), and Smith et al. (1963) emphasized the need for an acceptable level of comfort and convenience. These basic needs were fulfilled for Ann and Bob. Whenever Bob raised a concern regarding the physical environment he usually countered it with the initials, N.B.D. (no big deal). Ann noted two concerns related to the physical environment: rainy weather and cold, unpalatable food. While the weather simply had to be

accepted; it was possible for her to lessen the food problem by cooking some meals.

The living arrangements were satisfactory in terms of location also. The lack of exposure to foreigners of the people in the general area appeared to be a positive factor as noted by Jones and Popper (1972). The living arrangements also offered a high potential for social interaction as noted above (Selltiz et al., 1963). Space was no concern as the studies of Hall (1976) might have lead one to expect; the foreigners were assigned to much larger quarters than they would have been allotted if they had been Chinese. Knowing this and the less comfortable housing conditions of some other foreign teachers in the country resulted in a greater appreciation of their facilities. Privacy, as noted by Harris and Moran (1979), became a real problem.

#### **Sub-Problem 6**

No previous research specifically addressed the question of the relative influence of physical versus social environment.

In terms of work versus non-work factors, the research of Byrnes (1966) and Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1966) indicate that if a sojourner's job goals are primary then job conditions would strongly affect adjustment. In the cases of Ann and Bob, their major

interests and influences were clearly not work related, so work factors were not too significant.

#### **Sub-Problem 7**

Previous research has not addressed this question.

#### **Sub-Problem 8**

Previous research on situational factors affecting adjustment has been noted under sub-problems 2, 4, and 5 above. No previous studies dealing with coping strategies were located.

### **Experiences of English Teachers in China**

Though this report provides two very personal perspective on teaching in China, it is a familiar story to any foreigner who has taught there.

The significant situational factors identified in this case study were clearly reflected in previous writings of foreign teachers in China. References to these writings are noted by theme below.

#### **1. Bureaucratic Dealings**

Concerns regarding the bureaucracy were raised by Flower (1983), Martin (1986), and Hynes (1981). Martin noted the problem of teacher expectations which are unlikely to be met in China and particularly the shifting

of assigned responsibilities. The college saw no problem in changing her teaching assignment from what was originally agreed upon before her arrival in the country; she did. Ann and Bob were also upset when their teaching assignments were shifted half way through a term. Bureaucratic complexities, especially interdepartmental rivalry, prevented Martin's access to copying equipment and caused difficulties in teaching assignments for the informants in this study. Hynes (1981) experienced little bureaucratic interference in her work, but was frustrated by the loss of freedom in her personal life. To return from town at 10:30 p.m. gave her the childish delight of breaking the rules. Loss of personal freedom of association was felt by the informants in relation to one friend. In both cases the restrictions were overcome by just ignoring them. No negative sanctions followed the breaking of the 'rules'.

## **2. Work Habits and Attitudes**

Both Barlais (1984) and Hynes (1981) saw their students as very hard-working, as did the informants for the most part. While Ann and Bob identified some 'laziness' among certain students which concerned them, this was not mentioned in any of the previous writings discussed in this study. Perhaps this was due to the fact that they were working with higher level students. Hynes,

in particular, was working with teachers who had much clearer goals for their own learning than the undergraduates taught by Ann and Bob.

### **3. Crowds and Unknown Chinese**

Hynes (1981) went through a similar progression in relation to crowds as did Ann and Bob--from being overwhelmed and interested to being annoyed to acceptance. Barlais (1984) placed a greater emphasis on the general friendliness of people. This was also a strong and significant positive influence on the informants.

### **4. Student/Teacher Relationships**

The role and appropriate behavior of a teacher in a classroom in China is very different from that of the west. The uncertainty and conflicts of the informants in this study were very similar to those reported by other English teachers (Barlais, 1984; Martin, 1986; Matalene, 1985). It should be noted, however, that the role conflicts were less serious for Ann and Bob than for Barlais (1984), Martin (1986), and Matalene (1985), experienced English teachers.

Both the informants and previous writings illustrated a reticence of Chinese teachers to change teaching and learning styles. Though the leaders encouraged change officially, most teachers were unwilling

to take the risk. This never became an issue for Ann or Bob, though Bob noted his supervisor's unwillingness to even take a stand regarding possible program changes.

### **5. Chinese Friendship**

Once again there were similarities in experiences. Both the friendliness (Barlais, 1984) and the almost overpowering motherly affection (Hynes, 1981; Shapiro in Posner, 1980) were noted by the informants in this study.

Difficulties in male /female relationships were more of an issue for Shapiro (Posner, 1980; Heng & Shapiro, 1983), than for the informants, nevertheless the experiences were similar.

### **6. Foreigner Friendship**

The relationship between Hynes and her colleague offered support as they explored and discussed their new situation together (1981); similarly the informants shared continuously with each other and the two other foreigners on campus.

The results of this study are similar to those of previous researchers on sojourner adjustment and to the experiences of other English teachers in China. The uniqueness of the study lies in its longitudinal methodology and focus on situational factors.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS

#### Summary

As part of the human system all beings must continuously adapt their behavior to accommodate the physical and social environment where they live. By choosing to sojourn in a foreign culture, certain individuals bring greater than usual stress upon themselves as they attempt to adapt to and adapt the new environment. The shift in types and applications of reinforcement provide the greatest challenge as sojourners attempt to adjust to massive cultural changes, which are superimposed over changes in life events which could be caused by simply moving from one city to another within a country. According to Holmes and Rahe (1967) changes in a number of areas such as financial state, working conditions, residence, and recreation increase stress and the risk of major illness. With a move from one country to another, the "cultural distance" is so much greater that stress on the individual might be expected to be much

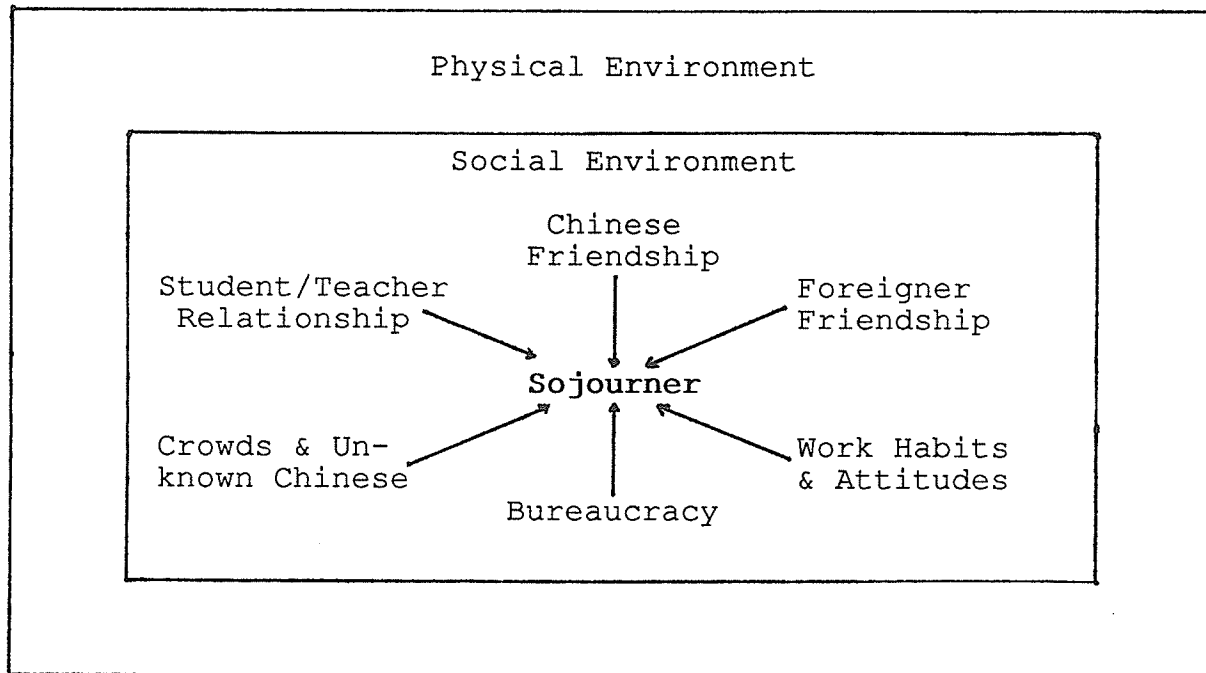
greater also (Brein & David, 1971; Morris, 1960). However, as recognized by Hinkle (1974), the choice of the change by the sojourner could result in more positive than negative stress. So while changes induce stress, they do not all lead to maladaptive coping or illness.

Successful sojourners are capable of learning and adjusting to the new environment. Ann and Bob succeeded. Bob arrived with a great deal of enthusiasm and naivety, Ann with interest and a sense of adventure noticeable in the contact phase. During the disintegration/reintegration phase, they delved into their new life, experiencing its joys and frustrations, adapting and coping. With the arrival of the leave-taking phase, their thoughts turned homeward, yet this did not reflect a rejection of China.

Though the physical environment varied greatly from North America and it is the base of culture, it appeared to have little direct impact on the informants. For example, two of the five situational influences of the physical environment netted an adjustment index of zero; others ranged from only -3 to +4. In contrast the six social factors ranged in influence from -16.5 to +40, with no factor showing less than 10.

The social environment was significant for both its positive and negative influence. Six themes emerged as most influential. See Figure 7 for an illustration.

Figure 8

Situational Themes Influencing Adjustment

The most significant situational factors affecting the adjustment of the informants in China were social. The most positive influences for the informants involved interpersonal relationships with students, Chinese friends, and foreigners. The most negative factor was dealing with the bureaucracy. Coping strategies were most effective when the informants could identify the source of the problem and take action to change the situation or their response. The least effective coping occurred in relation to the bureaucracy: the informants possessed neither understanding of how it functioned, nor power to

influence it.

Research on situational factors which affect adjustment (both in general and culture-specific) can identify appropriate targets for cross-cultural adjustment training.

### **Recommendations**

#### **To Future Researchers:**

1. Focus only on situational factors affecting adjustment and coping strategies for negative factors.
2. Include a greater number of informants (25-100), both foreign teachers and foreign experts working in a variety of locations within China (large cities, small cities, north, south, east, west, etc.).
3. Prepare a checklist or chart to record social interaction with Chinese on a daily basis.
4. Devise questions that address the issues of the six significant situational themes identified as most influential on the adjustment of foreign teachers in China.
5. Continue to provide opportunities and encouragement to identify additional significant situational factors by including the same 10 affect rating questions and opportunities for detailed commentary.

**To Foreign Placement Agencies**

1. Provide sojourners with information/training on cultural differences between China and North America, on likely sources of positive situational impact, and on specific situational factors which may cause difficulties. (Information on educational and government bureaucracies would be particularly significant).

2. Place newcomers with other well-adjusted foreigners. (Encourage 2 year sojourns for those who adapt well).

**To Chinese Foreign Affairs Staff**

1. Enlarge the role of foreign affairs staff (or work supervisor) to include the provisions of information on the roles of members of the bureaucracy within a college.

2. Increase opportunities for shared work and leisure activities between Chinese and foreign teachers.

3. Encourage (rather than discourage) social interaction between foreigners and Chinese within a college.

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## APPENDIX 1

### Interview Guidelines

#### INITIAL INTERVIEW

1. Explain purpose & parameters of research.
2. Positive & negative factors of  
Social environment - general, Chinese work associates,  
students, Chinese friends, foreign affairs staff,  
foreign friends.  
Physical environment - working conditions, living  
conditions, etc.
3. Other comments (goals, reasons for coming to China,  
etc.)
4. Introduce questionnaire.

#### FINAL INTERVIEW

Focus: Overall evaluation & changes during the year.

1. Go through questionnaire.
2. Initial goals & fulfillment.
3. Adjustment.
4. Final comments.

APPENDIX 2

Sojourn Questionnaire

SITUATIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING YOUR LIFE IN CHINA

Q- -0

Day & Date

DIRECTIONS:

1. Try to fill in the questionnaire on Sunday or Monday each week. Be sure to give day and date completed.
2. For each category rate your feelings over the past week from very negative (1) to very positive (5). Then describe specific experiences and your reactions. Use extra pages if needed.
3. At the end please comment of the suitability of this form for the expression of your feelings and experiences, or give other comments as desired.
4. Please return to me as soon as possible after completion.

RATINGS

Very Negative	Negative	OK	Positive	Very Positive
1	2	3	4	5

HOST CHARACTERISTICS:

1. The 'system' or society in general  
1                      2                      3                      4                      5
  
2. Chinese work associates, eg. teachers & support staff  
1                      2                      3                      4                      5
  
3. Students  
1                      2                      3                      4                      5



GENERALLY, HOW ARE YOU FEELING ABOUT EACH OF THE FOLLOWING?  
COMMENT PARTICULARLY ON ANY CHANGES.

1. Work
2. Leisure time
3. Your life in China
4. Family & friends at home

ABOUT HOW MANY HOURS PER DAY OR WHAT PERCENTAGE OF YOUR  
WAKING HOURS DO YOU SPEND ON EACH OF THE FOLLOWING?

1. Work (classes, prep., marking)
2. With Chinese friends (outside of working hours)
3. With non-Chinese friends (outside of working hours)
4. Thinking about or writing to family & friends at home

**COMMENTS:**

[General question added during final two months of the study: Comment on developments or changes in your attitudes, thoughts, feelings, or opinions of China, the Chinese, your work, life, or adjustments to life here which have occurred since your arrival in the country.]

**Thank-you. Elaine**

APPENDIX 3

Post Sojourn Questionnaire

FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE:  
SITUATIONAL FACTORS AFFECTING YOUR LIFE IN CHINA

Date Completed:

PART I:

For each category rate your feelings in an overall way regarding your experiences in China from very negative (1) to very positive (5). Then comment on why you have chosen this rating, and give examples of a few specific experiences that come to mind.

RATINGS:

Very Negative	Negative	OK	Positive	Very Positive
1	2	3	4	5

SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

A. WORK

- |    |   |   |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Chinese work associates/teachers and other support staff (in work role) |   |   |   |   |
|    | 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. | Foreign affairs staff   |   |   |   |   |
|    | 1   | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

3.	Institute leaders				
1		2	3	4	5
4.	Students				
1		2	3	4	5
5.	Foreigners				
1		2	3	4	5
<b>B. NON-WORK:</b>					
1.	Chinese friends and acquaintances (in non-work role)				
1		2	3	4	5
2.	Chinese you meet in the street, shops, markets, etc.				
1		2	3	4	5
3.	Experiences when travelling				
1		2	3	4	5
4.	Non-Chinese friends				
1		2	3	4	5

## PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

- |    |                    |   |   |   |   |
|----|--------------------|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Living conditions  |   |   |   |   |
| 1  |                    | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 2. | Working conditions |   |   |   |   |
| 1  |                    | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

## PART II:

Please comment generally on the three topics mentioned. Add any additional examples you wish that were not included in part I.

1. Work
2. Leisure
3. The 'system' or society in general

**PART III:**

Finally please answer the following question regarding changes in your feelings or attitudes due to your experiences in China. Write below and attach pages as required.

1. In what ways did your experiences change your attitudes or feelings towards China or the Chinese?
2. Do you feel you adjusted successfully to life in China? In what ways? What in your situation in China made it most difficult to adjust to life there? What eased your adjustment?
3. Did you meet the goals you held before going to China? State goals and how they were met.
4. What suggestions/advice would you give to someone who is considering going to China to teach?
5. Any additional comments you wish to add.

ETHICAL APPROVAL OF RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENT DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS  
INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS

This form is to be completed in accordance with the Faculty of Education policy on ethical review. This policy requires that Committee members take into account the relevant standards of the discipline concerned as well as, where appropriate, the standards specified by certain external funding bodies.

Project identification

(to be filled in by investigator)

Investigator(s) Elaine Martyn

Title The Adjustment of North American Teachers in China:

A Case Study

If applicant is a student, name the faculty member supervising the proposed research

Bruce Sealey

This is to certify that the Review Committee has examined the research and experimental development project indicated above and concludes that the research meets the appropriate standards of ethical conduct in research with human subjects.

Date: 1 May 1987

Signature of Chairperson: \_\_\_\_\_