



Mental Health Risks for Chinese International Students in Australia: Enduring Problems, Possible Solutions

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This paper explores existing evidence on indicators of risk to the mental health status of Chinese students studying in Australian universities prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Studies published from January 1999 to January 2020 were considered. Findings indicated that Chinese students routinely report increased levels of fear, stress, anxiety, depression and social problems, as well as decreased levels of general well-being, while studying in Australia. Numerous factors may exacerbate the issues confronted by Chinese university students studying in Australia, including language barriers; social, academic and financial difficulties; challenges associated with the different education systems of the two countries; and their own underuse of available mental health services. Recommendations for further practice and research are presented based on these findings.

Introduction

The COVID-19 crisis has had a profound effect on the higher education sector in Australia. Australian universities stand to lose up to \$19 billion in revenue by 2023 due to losses in tuition fees from international students alone (Thatcher et al., 2020). At the time of writing, over 17,000 Australian university staff had already lost their jobs due to the financial consequences of the pandemic. Further job cuts are also expected in coming years (Zhou, 2021).

Prior to this crisis, Australia was a popular overseas study destination particularly for Chinese students, who accounted for 38.03% of all international students enrolled in Australian universities in 2019 (The Australian Government, 2019).

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Historically, therefore, Chinese students have played a critical role in Australia's higher education system, cultural diversity, and economy (The Australian Government, 2016; Wang et al., 2015). In 2017, for example, students from China accounted for 54% of the almost 32 billion dollars brought into the Australian economy from international students (McGowan, 2018).

After COVID-19 travel restrictions were imposed, Chinese students were no longer travelling to study in Australia (Hurley et al., 2021). Various collateral effects of the pandemic such as increases in discrimination against Asians (BBC News, 2020) and growing tensions between China and the West, including Australia (Study international staff, 2020) also contributed to fuelling this unfortunate trend. Recovering from the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic will, therefore, require the Australian government to develop new strategies to encourage Chinese university students to embark on studies within Australian universities. In this context, it is critical to understand the factors that make Australian universities more or less appealing to such students. One of the key factors that could influence such demand is the impact of studying in Australia on students' mental health and well-being (Forbes-Mewett & Sawyer, 2011).

The World Health Organization (2018, para. 6) defined mental health as "a state of well-being in which every individual realizes his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stresses of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community". Anxiety, depression and psychological distress are all deemed to be negative indicators of mental health, or symptoms of poor mental health (Winzer et al., 2014). Other symptoms, including stress and social exclusion, have also been identified as key indicators of poor mental health (Moeller et al., 2020; The World Health Organization, 2018).

Students studying and living in a different country within an unfamiliar culture are likely to confront various challenges and difficulties, which can increase stress, anxiety and depression, amongst other negative mental health indicators. An earlier review

that focused on Chinese international nursing students studying in Australian universities (Wang et al., 2015), attributed risks to mental health status primarily to factors such as: low language proficiency, cultural barriers, differences in learning styles, differences in the academic demands of the host and home countries, homesickness, and perceived racism. Given, however, that this review focused only upon nursing students, the generality of these findings across cohorts and timepoints is unclear.

The current paper presents a systematic review of research published from January 1999 to January 2020, which focused on Chinese international students' mental health while studying in Australian universities prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. The key problems identified by these papers are first summarised. Based on the problems identified in these previous papers, recommendations are then made for current practice and future research in the field. Since the principal author is a Chinese international student studying in an Australian university herself, while the second and third authors are university academics who have been teaching and supervising Chinese students in Australia for many years, the authors bring a unique combination of perspectives to this issue.

Search Methods

Search Procedures

The first author initially retrieved all English-language articles of various types published from January 1999 to December 2020 which examined the challenges, experiences, adaptation, transition, adjustment, mental health, depression, stress, anxiety or well-being of Chinese international students in Australian universities. Nine databases were explored: ERIC, EBSCO, Google Scholar, ProQuest Psychology/Education Database, PsycINFO, Sage Journals online, Wiley online, and A+ Education. An initial pool of 2285 articles was generated from these databases searching for the terms “Chin*”, “students”, “Australi*”, “adjustment”/ “adaptation”/ “transition”/ “experience”/ “mental health”/

“depression”/ “stress”/ “anxiety”/ “well-being” in the abstract or title.

The abstracts retrieved were then read for relevance to the topic. The initial pool included all full-text scholarly English-language literature on Chinese international students in Australian universities (including journal articles, books, and book chapters, conference papers, and theses) published by the end of January 2020. The only articles excluded were (i) non-academic articles (e.g., newspaper articles); (ii) non-original studies (e.g., reviews); (iii) non-empirical articles; (iv) studies that focused on Chinese international students at other levels of education (e.g., primary or secondary school); (v) studies focusing on the experiences of students pre-departure or after graduation, rather than during their time overseas; (vi) studies of on-line learning/ off-shore education; and (vii) studies of Chinese students in Australian universities which did not focus on mental health variables.

Article selection

Based on the initial search, three main categories of articles emerged: (i) those that focused upon the pedagogical issues confronted by Chinese students in Australia; (ii) those that focused upon Chinese students’ use of mental health services in Australia; and (iii) those that focused upon evidence of mental health risks to Chinese students studying in Australia. Only those in the latter category were included in the review, though those in category (ii) were also retained to assist in formulating recommendations for addressing the mental health risks identified. Based on accepted systematic review processes (Siddaway et al., 2019; Zhang & Goodson, 2011), 19 studies about Chinese international students’ mental health while studying in Australia, published from January 1999 to January 2020, were eventually retained for the review.

Evidence of Mental Health Risks for Chinese Students Studying in Australia

Studies identified based on the selection criteria are summarised in Table 1. Of the 19 studies that met the selection criteria, 15 were scholarly journal articles, two were doctoral theses, and two were conference papers. Ten studies used quantitative methods, seven used qualitative methods, and two used mixed methods. Interviews and surveys were the most commonly used data collection methods.

The 19 papers reviewed highlight the increased levels of fear, stress, anxiety, depression and psychological distress that some Chinese students can experience while studying in Australia (Dai, 2018; Dai & Garcia, 2019; He et al., 2012; Lu et al., 2014; Pan et al., 2007; Pan et al., 2008; Redfern, 2016; Wang, et al., 2017; Zhang, 2010). These studies suggested various factors that could contribute to negative mental health outcomes for Chinese students studying in Australia. These include language barriers (Dai, 2018; Dai & Garcia, 2019; He et al., 2012; Pan et al., 2007; Pan et al., 2008; Zhang, 2010), poor social interaction or social lives (Pan et al., 2007; Pan et al., 2008; Wang & Shan, 2006); academic or work difficulties (Dai, 2018; Dai & Garcia, 2019; Pan et al., 2007; Pan et al., 2008; Redfern, 2016; Zhang, 2010); cultural differences (Pan et al., 2008); family factors (Redfern, 2016); unfamiliarity with the teaching and learning methods (Dai, 2018; Dai & Garcia, 2019; He et al., 2012; Zhang, 2010); and day-to-day living challenges (He et al., 2012; Zhang, 2010).

The social problems experienced by Chinese students, such as difficulties in making friends with Australian students, emerged consistently in the papers (e.g., Briguglio & Smith, 2012; Cross, 2006; Dai, 2018; Leung, 2001; Wang & Shan, 2006; Wang et al., 2017). Low English proficiency, combined with cultural differences, form a key risk factor that appears to hamper students' social interactions. A decreased sense of agency and belonging and lacking a strong social support network are also non-negligible factors that influence Chinese students' social experiences, thus putting them at risk for psychological distress.

Table 1. Characteristics of included articles

Author/s	Study Type, Participants and Sample Size	Problems identified
Pan et al. (2008)	Survey of Chinese PhD and master's students ($n = 606$) studying in Australia and Hong Kong	Chinese students in Australia experienced acculturative stressors from language deficiencies, social interaction, academic work, and cultural differences.
Briguglio & Smith (2012)	Interviews and writing tasks with Chinese undergraduate students in Australia (Stage 1: $n_1 = 20$; Stage 2: $n_2 = 20$).	Chinese students experienced difficulties in participating in class and making friends with Australian students due to their low English proficiency.
Redfern (2016)	Survey of Chinese ($n_1 = 103$) and Australian ($n_2 = 98$) undergraduate students.	Chinese students experienced higher levels of stress and anxiety than local students due to academic, life balance, and family factors.
Leung (2001)	Survey of Chinese migrant students ($n = 33$), Chinese overseas students ($n = 55$) and students of other ethnics. No course type listed.	Chinese students were less satisfied with their academic and social lives than students of other ethnicities.
Wang et al. (2017)	Interviews and focus groups with Chinese undergraduate nursing students ($n = 6$).	Chinese nursing students in Australia experienced fear and anxiety, driven by unfamiliarity with the hospital environment, education methods, assessment expectations, and the difficulties of forming friendships with domestic students.

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Author/s	Study Type, Participants and Sample Size	Problems identified
He et al. (2012)	Survey of Chinese international undergraduate nursing students ($n = 119$).	Chinese nursing students experienced stress and a high level of anxiety due to language barriers, studying in a new educational system, difficulties of finding an accommodation and a part-time job to support themselves financially.
Zheng et al. (2004)	Survey of Chinese students ($n = 157$, including undergraduate, postgraduate students, postdoctoral fellows and visiting scholars).	Chinese students who were 'integrated' from a cultural standpoint had significantly stronger subjective well-being than their peers who were assimilated, separated or marginalized.
Lu et al. (2014)	Survey of Chinese students currently studying in Australia ($n = 144$). No course type listed.	Chinese-speaking international students were a high-risk group for developing psychological distress, yet tended to underuse mental health services.
Zhang (2010)	Interviews with international undergraduate students with ethnic Chinese background in an Australian university ($n = 10$).	Chinese international students in Australian universities experienced high levels of psychological distress. Those who utilised a greater level of internal cognitive management experienced lower levels of psychological distress.
Wang & Shan (2006)	Interviews with Chinese students who are doing Master's degree in two Australian universities ($n = 10$).	Chinese students in this study did not have a strong sense of loneliness and isolation or culture shock due to their maturity, strong goal-orientations, and high levels of independence as learners.
Cross (2006)	Survey ($n_1 = 50$) and interview ($n_2 = 15$) of Chinese students. No course type listed.	Most Chinese students had poor social lives. Language and cultural differences were major barriers which impacted on their social experiences in Australia.

Author/s	Study Type, Participants and Sample Size	Problems identified
Pan et al. (2007)	Survey of Chinese international students in Australia ($n = 227$) and mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong ($n = 400$). Included Bachelors, Master and PhD students.	Chinese students in Australia experienced significant acculturative stressors, which predicted negative affect. Lack of English proficiency, lack of confidence English-language skills, academic issues, social interaction difficulties and cultural differences were all identified as risk factors.
Dai (2018)	Interviews with Chinese undergraduate students ($n = 12$).	Chinese students experienced changes regarding their senses of agency, identity, and belonging. They started with stress in the new context as an intercultural stranger. Some students also felt stressed about perceived language barriers and their different teaching and learning environments.
Dai & Garcia (2019)	Interviews with Chinese undergraduate students ($n = 7$).	Chinese students started their learning and adjustment process with feelings of stress and uncertainty while studying in Australia.
Chen (2008)	Interview with Chinese PhD students ($n = 20$) and Australian supervisors ($n = 6$).	The cultural values implied by two educational systems in China and Australia differ. Communication barriers arose between students and supervisors had a negative influence on students' research performance and affective responses to their studies.
Anderson & Guan (2018)	Survey with Chinese undergraduate students ($n = 65$).	Implicit acculturation correlated with increased acculturative stress, with concomitant decreases in life satisfaction, academic lifestyle and motivation.

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Author/s	Study Type, Participants and Sample Size	Problems identified
God & Zhang (2019)	Survey ($n = 124$) and focus groups ($n = 16$) with Chinese international students and local students.	Chinese students struggled with comprehension problems and low-quality interactions with local students.
Pan & Wong (2011)	Survey of Chinese PhD and master's students ($n = 606$) studying in Australia and Hong Kong	Chinese students commonly encountered acculturative stressors while studying in Australia and associated negative affect.
Ai (2015)	Interview with Chinese Bachelor and Master students ($n = 7$).	Chinese students had difficulties in achieving a sense of belonging in Australia.

In addition, Zheng et al. (2004) found that Chinese students with strong host- and co-national identification tend to have enhanced subjective well-being, and that Chinese students who were better culturally integrated had significantly stronger subjective well-being than peers who were assimilated, separated or marginalized. Thus, it is possible, based on these results, for Chinese students to experience an increased sense of mental health and wellbeing in their studies. The question that remains is that of how this can be achieved.

Another issue identified in these studies was that many researchers treat Chinese international students from different subcultures as a singular group (Chen, 2008; Yue, 2010; Zhang, 2002). For example, Chinese international students from various countries and/or regions were regarded as a single cohort by Zhang (2002), who used the term 'students with ethnic Chinese background', and included those from mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand within a single group. Similar generalisations can be seen in other studies (e.g., Chen, 2008).

We argue that Chinese international students of various subcultures should not be treated as a homogenous group, owing to the influences of different host country cultures and/or different home country cultures. In other words, the interaction between the host country culture and the home country culture should not be ignored while exploring international students' adjustment to a foreign country. This issue can be particularly important when the culture of the home country is very different to that of the host country (Sun & Chen, 1999). Hofstede (2001) defined cultural distance as the extent to which shared norms and values differ from one country to another. By implication, the larger the distance between the host and home country cultures, the more difficult it will be to adjust to a new host country (Bochner, 2003). According to Hofstede's 6-D Model of National Culture, cultural distance will depend on the degree of similarity between cultures on six key dimensions (e.g., collectivism vs individualism).

Based on Hofstede's model, the cultural distance between Australia and China is very high, compared with that between Australia and Western countries such as the UK. More extreme cultural differences will lead to increased adaptation difficulties for students (Han et al., 2013). By implication, Chinese international students are at greater risk than international students from Western countries of experiencing difficulties while studying in Australia. Therefore, the degree of distance between the host country and country of origin should be taken into consideration while exploring international students' adjustment, and therefore, risks to mental health, while studying in foreign countries.

Conclusions and Recommendations

It is clear from this review that Chinese students are at risk of experiencing negative mental health outcomes while studying in Australia. The mental health indicators of fear, stress, anxiety and depression (psychological distress), decreased wellbeing and social problems can also have reciprocal effects on one another. For example, social problems can increase anxiety in such students, which can in turn lead to further social problems (National Collaborating Centre for Mental Health, UK, 2013). This introduces the potential for catastrophic 'downward spiral effects' for these students. Similarly, anxiety symptoms within depressive episodes are strongly associated with the persistence of subsequent depressive symptoms, relationships that could endure over decades (Coryell et al., 2012). Depression can, in turn, cause the person to withdraw (Soong, 2014), which will then add to social problems, and further fuel the downward spiral effect. Thus, it is extremely important for these students that their experiences from the outset do not give rise to such adverse psychological effects, or alternatively, that earlier diagnosis, treatment and support intervenes to prevent development of a downward spiral.

The review identified six main issues based on these studies and six recommendations are now explicated based on these issues.

Recommendation 1: Identify and Apply Targeted Strategies for Chinese Students of Different Sub-cultures

An observation made in the review was that studies thus far have tended to treat Chinese students of different subcultures as a single homogenous group. Cultural background is, however, an important factor that may influence whether international students adjust well to new cultural environments (Mesidor & Sly, 2016; Thomson et al., 2006). This statement can also be extended to include students from different sub-cultures within the same country.

This point is illustrated by the growing body of research which suggests that Chinese students suffer a range of cultural adjustment problems when they study in Chinese universities even in specific regions of China. For example, in the thesis of Xie (2010), mainland Chinese students were found to have experienced challenges while studying in Hong Kong universities due to language barriers, teaching/learning differences, and cultural barriers. Similarly, Yu and Zhang (2016) found that mainland students in Hong Kong experienced various stressors associated with language, social network, and discrimination factors. It is evident that mainland Chinese students can experience culturally-based stressors even when studying in Hong Kong, which is a special administrative region of China. Hong Kong has retained many features of Western cultures, particularly in its education sector since the handover in 1997.

The research reviewed in this paper makes clear that the cultural adjustment problems encountered by students from different regions in China will not necessarily be the same. Whilst studies of this kind have provided some important general insights into the challenges confronted by all international students, a more nuanced approach will be needed to establish how best to cater for specific groups of students. Research in which all Chinese international students are treated as a single cohort can fail to cater effectively for the real challenges confronted by students from specific sub-cultures.

Recommendation 2: Identify and Apply Appropriate Cultural Induction Strategies for Staff

Communicating and interacting with academic and administrative staff is an important part of life for international students studying in Australia. Limited research has been conducted to explore international students' experiences in interacting with staff while studying in Australia. The large number of international students in Australia can impose significant pressures on academic and administrative staff, as they are generally provided with "no special training and little institutional support to equip them to meet these additional demands" (Millar, 2009, p. 1).

The authors thus encourage future research on how best to increase the cultural awareness of academic and other university staff who have significant contact with Chinese international students. Such inductions could provide strategies either on how to better accommodate the needs of Chinese students or on ensuring that locally-based expectations are clear. During such inductions, opportunities to engage with students from the relevant cultures would also provide valuable input into any potential challenges. These cultural inductions could also help to establish a two-way adaptation process for university staff and students.

Recommendation 3: Develop and Apply Effective Pre-arrival Student Support Systems

One strategy to reduce the effects of challenges and difficulties on students' mental health is to prepare them well even before they arrive to Australia. For example, He et al. (2012) found that students routinely experienced practical difficulties such as finding accommodation or part-time jobs to support them financially. Challenges of these kinds could be avoided or reduced by providing related information and help to students before they arrive in Australia. "Halfway house" accommodation could be provided in student residences to newly arrived students while they prepare to transition to independent living.

Further research could also focus on improving current pre-arrival induction programs for students, to ensure that their experiences are as positive as possible from first arrival. Research has suggested that negative initial experiences can prompt students to withdraw immediately from their new environments, thus hampering their integration in their new environments (Modipane, 2011). This, as noted previously, has been found to be associated significantly with negative mental health experiences or outcomes.

Strategies that could be considered include pre-arrival mentoring programs or 'buddy' systems (Menzies et al., 2015; Pearce, 2012), which help students develop a better understanding about what to expect in their new studies and lives in the host country, as well as what their respective universities are likely to expect of them. Buddy systems that continue in the first months after arrival can also provide a positive reference point while newcomers adjust to the academic and social environment and to identify relevant support systems. Considerable previous literature (e.g., Quan et al., 2016) has indicated that pre-departure processes of this kind can play a significant role in the subsequent cultural integration of Chinese students in Western contexts.

We also suggest a greater role for social media in the pre-arrival process. For students from mainland China, connecting with other students from around the world may present challenges, as many forms of social media are restricted for mainland Chinese residents. Social media platforms that are commonly used in Australia are rarely heard in mainland China such as Facebook, Instagram and Youtube. Regarding these restrictions, formal websites from universities, which will be accessible to students in mainland China and offer the opportunity to students to communicate with other students before their arrival, could be of significant benefit. This may be particularly useful if the students who are about to embark on their studies in Australia have access to students who have already adapted successfully to Australian culture, and who are originally from the same or a similar sub-culture.

Recommendation 4: Develop and Apply Pedagogies that Support Cross-cultural Engagement

Chinese students have been found to encounter myriad difficulties in their academic experiences in Australia due to different education systems of two countries (Chen, 2008; He et al., 2012; Pan et al., 2008; Wang et al., 2017; Zhang, 2012). Zhang (2012), for example, reported that some academic difficulties experienced by Chinese students in Australia are due to different expectations of academic orientations or different teaching and learning approaches in two countries. Previous research has also reported increased stress levels for Chinese students in relation to specific pedagogical approaches used commonly in Australian higher education, including joining tutorial discussions (Wong et al., 2015). In fact, most activities that involve listening and speaking could initially pose a challenge for Chinese students, who may be sufficiently proficient in language to succeed in their studies, but may not immediately have the equivalent proficiency in listening and speaking as local students. In the study of Ang and Liamputtong (2008), for example, mainland Chinese students in Australia were reported to confront language barriers due to the fact that “their experiences of Australian spoken English were different from what they had expected” (p. 113).

Much research into the challenges faced by Chinese students studying abroad has focused on the impact of English language proficiency as a factor (Briguglio & Smith, 2012; Zhang, 2002). However, English proficiency, which is more about linguistic competence, is not the only factor that is likely to influence Chinese international students’ communication either during class or in their social lives. Most Chinese students will by necessity have reached at least the required scores in formal language testing measures (e.g., the International English Language Testing System, or IELTS), yet may still find it difficult to communicate with others in foreign contexts. Knowledge of the culture, history, attitudes and values and other aspects of local dialect include accent, speed of delivery, idiomatic language usage, tendency of native speakers to use local reference points and jokes may all play a significant part

in Chinese students' communication with other students, both in classes and in their daily lives.

In addition to students' own efforts to improve their language proficiency and cultural awareness, academic staff should be trained to move forwards more standard and formal English to accommodate international students – not just Chinese international students, but anyone not familiar with Australian English and informal cultural practices. Universities could also consider increasing their use of pedagogical approaches which require local and international students to interact. Cooperative learning is a popular and widely used method for enhancing student interaction, which has been promoted by various authors as a way to increase the interaction between international and local students in universities (e.g., Cruickshank et al., 2012).

Research to date, however, suggests that these activities must be structured carefully to be effective. Tiong and Yong (2004), for example, found that Asian students confronted difficulties in group discussions due to their low English proficiency and poor communication skills (lack of confidence, worrying about losing face). Based on Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, in order for contact between members of recognised groups to enhance intergroup relations, members must meet on equal status terms. By implication, if the task assigned is one that inherently disadvantages the Chinese student, there is risk that the groupwork activity could actually exacerbate existing stereotypes, causing the student to withdraw further from such interactions. Therefore, further research could focus on ways to improve Chinese international students' competence to communicate in English, cultural awareness and students' perspectives on groupwork and cooperative learning, and specifically, on the characteristics of strategies that are needed to ensure that the overall impact of cooperative learning is positive.

Recommendation 5: Develop and Apply Mechanisms to Monitor Chinese International Students

To better understand Chinese international students' mental health, a systematic approach to monitoring their mental health is necessary, so that specific programs can be established to improve their mental health, both during and after the COVID-19 pandemic. Risk factors that influence students' mental health can be investigated, and profiles of students' mental health can be created. This will mean that students who are more at risk of experiencing mental health issues can be identified and offered additional support pre-emptively. For example, factors such as English proficiency, personality traits, gender, marital status and previous overseas experiences have been found in some studies to moderate Chinese students' or other sojourners' adjustment success and subsequent mental health status (Bastien et al., 2018; Briguglio & Smith, 2012; Ching et al., 2017; Duru & Poyrazli, 2007; Huang et al., 2005; Kim & Cronley, 2018; Tang & Dion, 1999; Wang, 2009). Universities should put more efforts to ensure the mental health and well-being of their students, especially for the first year of study, which is a particularly critical time period for mental health risks that arise from the adaptation process (Ashton-Haya et al., 2016).

Recommendation 6: Identify and Apply Culturally Sensitive Mental Health Support Services

Although Chinese students have been found to experience different adverse mental health outcomes such as stress, fear, anxiety, depression, and social problems, research also suggests a tendency amongst such students to underuse university counselling services (Anderson & Guan, 2018; Ang & Liamputtong, 2008). Ang and Liamputtong (2008) noted that some Chinese students tend to regard counsellors as outside the circle of people that they would use for support. Some lack knowledge of available university counselling services; others may fear that use of counselling services may stigmatize them as having a mental illness; others still may be unable to fully express their emotions and thoughts to university counsellors due to a limited English vocabulary.

According to Anderson and Guan (2018), Chinese students typically had a preference for reaffirming their home cultures and as a result may be less likely to fully integrate into their (temporary) host cultures. Such tendencies were associated with increases in adaptation stress and decreases in life satisfaction amongst these students.

Most Australian universities provide free mental health support services for students. The authors pose that, in addition to making mental health support services more visible in universities, it is important to ensure that these services are culturally relevant for students with different cultural backgrounds. For example, universities could ensure that student counsellors have all attended suitable workshops on culturally appropriate mental health support services for Chinese students. Arthur (1997) explored issues faced by international students in Canada, and found that international students may form different views of counsellors based on cultural factors, which need to be taken into consideration in counselling service provision. Snider (2001) similarly reported that counsellors' ethnicity can play a significant role in Chinese students' first reactions to counselling services. Translation services could also be provided to those who have difficulties in expressing their emotions and thoughts in English. Together, these previous studies suggest a need for a multi-pronged approach to address the mental health issues in Chinese university students who are studying in Australia.

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