

Project Title : The effects of family socialisation on second-generation South Asian adolescents in Hong Kong: Academic identity construction and second language learning

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Final Report

by

Principal Investigator

(a) Title

The Effects of Family Socialisation on Second-Generation South Asian Adolescents in Hong Kong: Academic Identity Construction and Second Language Learning

(b) Abstract

With the aim to investigate the impact of family socialization on the acculturation, academic identity construction and Chinese language learning among South Asian adolescents in Hong Kong, this project looked into what factors influence their academic identity construction and language learning in different domains. In consideration that the effect of family socialization remains unexplored in previous research, this study contributed to research literature by investigating the effect of family socialization on second-generation immigrant adolescents in terms of the nexus of acculturation, identity, and language. A mixed research methodology, involving survey study and follow-up interviews, have been adopted to generate a conceptual model of how family socialization interacts with other sociocultural factors to affect second-generation immigrant students' academic identity construction and L2 learning via their acculturation orientations. The qualitative part delved deeper into how second-generation immigrant adolescents, as agentic individuals, drew on cultural and linguistic resources to position themselves academically, under familial influence and within the social discourses on ethnic minority languages and groups. Structural equation modelling (SEM) has been used to analyze the survey data. This research findings found that family socialization, moderated by other socio-cultural factors within multiple contextual layers and mediated by the students' acculturation, shaped the immigrant adolescents' identity formation and mainstream language learning. Providing an in-depth understanding of bottom-up language practices, language planning and implementation in immigrant home contexts, this study has provided implications for policy makers in terms of language education and immigration policy.

(c) Keywords

Acculturation; academic identity; Chinese language learning; ethnic minority students; family language policy; family socialization; heritage language and culture

(d) Introduction

Second generation immigrants are a growing portion of the populations of many industrialized countries and regions. Recently, the focus of immigration studies has paid particular attention to intergenerational mobility in immigrant communities and the economic assimilation of the second generation of immigrants (Dustmann & Theodoropoulos, 2010). It is argued that the long-term effects of immigration on society will be largely determined by the second generation, making contribution to the long-term destiny of their ethnic group (Portes, Fernández- Kelly, & Haller, 2009). Previous studies have explored the educational attainment, economic performance and socialization of second-generation immigrants in host societies, with a common theme across the literature being that the educational and career paths of the second generation are intertwined with their family socialization, their identity construction, their language learning attitudes, and second language (L2) proficiency. How the second-generation immigrant students acquire the local language and achieve smooth socialization and upward social mobility in mainstream society, has been a matter of concern to researchers, first-generation parents, and policy makers alike. However, the construction of immigrant students' academic identity and the sources of the influences, especially the intergenerational influences, on academic identity formation, remain largely unexplored. Furthermore, while a growing body of research literature has examined second generation adaptation in Western societies, more attention needs to be paid to the issue in the context of Hong Kong.

The mixed methodology study has addressed this issue by unravelling the intergenerational influences on adolescents' Chinese language learning and academic identity construction. By identifying the effects of family socialization on the South Asian adolescents' Chinese language learning and acculturation paths in Hong Kong, as well as how they resolve the dilemmas among

their cultural identities, academic identity, Chinese language learning and transnational relationships in the host society, this project has 1) generated a holistic and historical picture of the inter-generational transformation of acculturation and adaptation among South Asian immigrants; 2) shed light on school-parents collaboration to facilitate these students' acculturation and Chinese language learning; and 3) identified language teachers' and educators' roles in working with and for diverse learners, especially those from ethnic minority backgrounds, to construct a culturally and linguistically responsive learning environment. This research thus can be seen as a response to current Hong Kong government efforts to improve the language education and the long-term employment prospects of ethnic minority groups.

Seven journal articles, based on the project findings, have been published in internationally referred journals with high impact:

1. Gu, M., Chiu, M., & Li, Z. (2021). Acculturation, perceived discrimination, academic identity, gender, and Chinese language learning among Ethnic Minority Adolescents: A structural equation modeling analysis. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. (SSCI, impact factor: 4.159)
2. Gu, M., Lee, J. C-K., Lai, C. (2020). Neo-liberal paradox of teaching among ESL teachers of ethnic minority students in Hong Kong. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. (SSCI, impact factor: 2.814)
3. Gu, M., & Tong, H. K. (2020). Constructing classed linguistic practices across borders: Family language policy in South(east) Asian families in Hong Kong. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 41(7), 581-599. (SSCI, impact factor: 2.814)
4. Gu, M., & Han, Y. (2020). Exploring family language policy and planning among ethnic minority families in Hong Kong: Through a socio-historical and processed lens. *Current Issues in Language Planning*. (SSCI, impact factor: 1.523)
5. Gu, M., & Lee, J. C-K. (2020). Migrating capital and habitus: the extended space of female transnational migrants in Hong Kong. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43(10), 1833-1853. (SSCI, impact factor: 2.755)

6. Gu, M., & Lai, C. (2019). From Chungking Mansions to Tertiary Institution: Acculturation and language practices of an immigrant mother and her daughter. *Linguistics and Education*, 52, 52-60. (SSCI, impact factor: 1.592)
7. Gu, M., & Tong, H.K. (2018). The representation of multilingualism and citizen identity in a promotional video. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. (SSCI, impact factor: 4.159).

(e) Review of literature of the project

Acculturation, academic identity and L2 learning

Acculturation refers to the degree to which immigrants or other non-dominant groups are willing to (a) have contact with or avoid those outside their group, and (b) maintain or surrender their cultural attributes (Berry & Sabatier, 2010). Berry's bidirectional model of acculturation proposes that acculturation strategies are determined by the interaction of these two issues (Berry & Sabatier, 2010), leading to four acculturation strategies, from the point of view of non-dominant ethnocultural groups (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). Integration implies an interest in both maintaining one's original culture and interacting with other groups; thus, integrative individuals participate in the larger society while maintain a degree of cultural integrity. Marginalization means having little interest in either cultural maintenance or relations with other groups. Assimilation implies a strong identification with the majority culture, and a weakened sense of belonging to one's heritage ethnic group. On the other hand, separation refers to a strong identification with one's heritage ethnic group and weakened ties to mainstream society. Research has found that marginalization has been found to be the acculturation attitude least conducive to psychosocial well-being and adaptation, whereas those who are bi-culturally integrated are generally well-adapted (Berry & Sabatier, 2010).

Ethnic minority students are often found to have to balance ethnic affiliation and academic achievement as they position themselves in, and are positioned in relation to, cultural practices in and out of the school context (e.g., Carter, 2005; Kiang, Tseng, & Yip, 2016). In this proposed

study, **academic identity** refers to “an individual’s sense of affiliation with practices of schooling” (Nasir, & Saxe, 2003, p. 17); it does not essentialize the construction of academic identity as a static self, but as a multiple-faceted and dynamic across time and space. Immigrant students' acculturation orientations are found to be correlated with their establishment of academic identity. Marginalization and separation may lead to students' disengagement from academic activities. While assimilation has been found to be the acculturation strategy through which students achieve the most academic success in the host society, some recent studies have indicated that ethnic minority students who are multicultural navigators, and who are able to draw from multiple traditions, tend to be high achievers in school (Gu, 2015; Nasir, McLaughlin, & Jones, 2009). Therefore, a bicultural orientation that allows for a sense of belonging to one’s heritage community and the host cultural community both predicts a stronger academic identity, which can serve as a resource to overcome a variety of stereotypes (Syed, Azmita, & Cooper, 2011).

The relationship between acculturation orientation and L2 learning outcome has also been extensively explored in the field of L2 education, with it being generally accepted that isolation and a lack of social contact with the host community will negatively influence learners' acquisition of the target language (Byram, 2000). While some studies have emphasized the importance of L2 learners' full assimilation into target cultural norms and achieving a full transition to the target language (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Sattin- Bajaj, 2010), other studies in different cultural contexts have found that the ability of second generation youths to preserve knowledge of their heritage language and culture, together with their target language proficiency, can lead to more desirable outcomes in their relationship with families and their own personality development (Golan-Cook & Olshtain, 2011; Lai, Gao, & Wang, 2015).

Based on the above literature on acculturation orientation, academic identity and language learning, this study looked at the following: (1) assimilation impacts Chinese language learning by building up students' academic identity and increasing their frequency of Chinese use; (2) integration impacts Chinese language learning by building up students' academic identity, enhancing their frequency of Chinese use and fostering their psychological wellbeing; and, (3)

marginalization and separation negatively predict Chinese language learning outcomes by negatively contributing to students' formation of an academic identity. Moreover, the review reflected that there been insufficient research into the sources of various influencing factors, such as individual and socio-cultural antecedents, that explain individuals' acculturation process. Therefore, researchers have called for an incorporation of socio-cultural factors (e.g., generational status, community cultural makeup, social attitudes), socio-cognitive factors (e.g., personality, attitudes), and socio-emotional factors (discrimination stress and intra-group pressures) (Benet-Martinez, & Haritatos, 2005) into the investigation of acculturation.

Perceived discrimination and target language learning

Perceived discrimination influences how immigrant students acculturate and adapt to their host society (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Brown & Chu, 2012; Makarova & Birman, 2015; Schachner et al., 2018). Discrimination hinders both psychological and socio-cultural adaptation (Berry et al, 2006; Guerra, et al, 2019). While assimilation mitigates the effect of perceived discrimination, marginalization amplifies its harmful effect on well-being. As discrimination hinders engagement with the host society and sparks defensive in-group behaviors, students who perceived greater discrimination often used a separation strategy (Berry & Hou, 2017).

Perceived discrimination's negative influences on socialization in school context and sense of belonging to school might account for its negative effects on acculturation and learning motivation (e.g., Cooper & Sanchez, 2016; Hashemi et al, 2019; Hood, Bradley, & Ferguson, 2017). Individuals' enhanced identification with their ingroup raises their self-esteem and sense of belonging to their community (Giamo, Schmitt, & Outten, 2012; Umaña-Taylor, 2016). Moreover, greater perceived discrimination increased the ethnic identification of immigrants (Çelik, 2015) and decreased their identification with the host culture and language (Jasinskaja - Lahti, Liebkind, & Solheim, 2009), so this stronger heritage identity can help buffer the negative effects of discrimination on psychological well-being (Dimitrova, Aydinli, Chasiotis, Bender, & van de Vijver, 2015). Among Latino college students, perceived discrimination on campus, mediated by identification with the heritage culture and activism, was linked to well-being over

time (Cronin, Levin, Branscombe, van Laar, & Tropp, 2012). Nonetheless, in schools with a predominant mainstream culture, perceived discrimination did not predict acculturation orientation (Motti-Stefanidi, Pavlopoulos, & Asendorpf, 2018). In such contexts, the strong orientation to heritage cultural might impeded the immigrants' socialization and cultural adaptation (Schachner et al., 2016, 2018). In the interactive acculturation model, perceived discrimination may strengthen ethnic identification and weaken connections to the mainstream cultural group (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Heim, Hunter, & Jones, 2011). The current study, in line with most previous research, expects that perceived discrimination will negatively contribute to the target language learning.

Gender and target language learning

Past studies show substantial differences in the first language (L1) and second language (L2) learning (e.g., Cole, 1997; Lietz, 2006; Rosén, 2001; Wagemaker, 1996). Compared to boys, girls often show superior communicative competence at a younger age, larger vocabularies, greater variety of sentence structures and superior reading skills in L1 across many countries (Chiu, et al., 2017; Huttenlocher, et al, 1991). Similarly, girls outperformed boys in L2 learning (e.g., Boyle, 1987; Davies, 2004; van der Slik, et al, 2015).

Furthermore, gender might be linked to acculturation and L2 learning. Among Syrian refugees in Turkey, males were more integrative than females, who felt more isolated and had more difficulty socializing into the host culture; hence, these males were more willing than these females to speak Turkish and spoke better Turkish (Gürsoy & Ertaşoğlu, 2019). Gürsoy and Ertaşoğlu (2019) attributed this phenomenon partially to the patriarchal nature of Syrian families where few females had jobs and their heritage cultural values limited their societal role. Considering the patriarchal culture among the south Asian families and the relatively low education of female South Asians in Hong Kong (Gu, 2015; Gu, Kou, & Guo 2019), male students might outperform female students on Chinese reading and writing in Hong Kong.

Family socialization

Family socialization includes family ethnic enculturation and family host cultural

enculturation. While the former refers to the extent to which families feel the need to integrate their children within the ethnic culture and ethnic social network, and expose children to topics related to country of origin and ethnic culture; the latter means the extent to which parents feel it necessary to integrate their children into the host society, the extent to which parents identify with the emotional and relational style of the host society, and intra-familial exchanges on topics related to host culture, host society, immigration and racism (Sabatier, 2008). Intergenerational influences on adolescents' acculturation are most likely to take place in the family, their first locus of socialization. An immigrant family, as a complex social system, allows space for the acculturation orientations of each family member to interact, and may influence the family's adaptation as a whole (Vatz Laaroussi, 2001). It has been found that parents' enculturation attitudes and parental style are both found to contribute to the identity construction and acculturation of immigrant students (Roubeni et al., 2015; Sabatier, 2008; Sano, Kaida, & Tenkorang, 2015). Nonetheless, family host culture enculturation has not been sufficiently addressed and is seen, in most cases, as a secondary factor in explaining ethnic identity (Kim et al., 2017).

Family language policy (FLP)

FLP is an interdisciplinary research area which involves language policy, language socialisation and literacy studies (Caldas, 2012; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2012, 2013; Curdt-Christiansen & Silver, 2012; King & Fogle, 2013). FLP is found to interact closely with and be influenced by a variety of linguistic, historical, social and political factors, entailing language ideologies, language practices and language management in home domains (Spolsky, 2012; King & Fogle, 2013). It is concerned with how family members perceive social structures and social changes, as well as the subsequent influence of these perceptions on their language ideology and practices (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Individual families' perceptions of social structures and social changes impact their decisions about how to strengthen their social, cultural and economic standing, consequently shaping FLP (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). The formation of FLP is inextricably related to "linguistic culture—the sum total of ideas, values, beliefs, attitudes,

prejudices, myths, religious strictures, and all the other cultural ‘baggage’ that speakers bring to their dealings with language from their culture” (Schiffman, 2006, p. 112).

FLP research has been informed by Spolsky’s (2009) model of language policy, which is conceptualised as constituted by language beliefs, language management and language practices. While language management refers to “direct efforts to manipulate language situation”, language practices deals with individuals’ language choices from their linguistic repertoire in interactional contexts (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8), their language ideologies, and their beliefs about language and language use. Dafouz and Smit (2016) identified the multi-layered and complex nature of the three components of language policy and planning (LPP) and their existence in relation to supra-national, institutional and linguistic factors. Furthermore, conflicts or contradictions exist between language policy statements, language practices and ideologies as a result of the different interests of different societal groups (Dafouz & Smit, 2016; Hornberger, 2002; Tollefson, 2006).

FLP in transnational families

Research has also been conducted on FLP in multi-generational transnational families (Canagarajah, 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2016; Zhu & Li, 2016). An ethnographic study conducted by Curdt-Christiansen (2009) found that multiple factors, including socio-political elements, family cultural disposition and parental ideology, all contributed to family language policies. Focusing on Sri Lankan Tamil communities in the US, Canagarajah (2008) also discovered that heritage language maintenance goals were influenced by the dominant status of English; ability in this dominant language could, to a certain extent, determine socialization into mainstream society and resolve intergenerational pressures.

FLP influences children’s language learning and development. For example, Orellana (2015) identified parental involvement and support (e.g., exposing their children to various transnational learning activities) as the most important factors in the heritage language learning of bilingual migrant children. Proactive attempts by parents to facilitate their children’s multiple language learning were found by Curdt-Christiansen (2012); in this study migrant parents turned to external supports such as language learning institutions when they could not fully focus on language

management with their children.

Previous studies have discussed the role of children's agency in shaping FLP in transnational families, enabling consideration of family socialization and FLP as a bi-directional path between parents and children. Researchers have conceptualized children as agents in FLP, especially in migrant and ethnic minority families where language contact and maintenance take place (Caldas, 2012; Smith-Christmas, 2016). It has been found that individual practices, in the form of both covert and implicit language management, may undermine overt and explicit language management policies (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Fogle & King, 2013; Shohamy, 2006). For instance, FLP and parents' heritage language socialisation were found to be contested implicitly by children, who tended to distance themselves from the heritage language due to peer socialisation (Goodwin & Kyratzis, 2011; Mu & Dooley, 2015).

Previous researchers have identified a variety of types of child agency, including "medium requests, metalinguistic comments and cultural and linguistic mediation" (Revis, 2019, p. 2). First, children in migrant families have been found to stick to using their preferred language in defiance of their parents' efforts to shift the medium of communication to their heritage language (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Fogle & King, 2013); this can happen even when parents have insufficient language competence in their children's preferred language, and can negatively influence parent-child interactions (Tuominen, 1999). Furthermore, language practices have been found to be altered; for example, Gafaranga (2010) found that the children of Rwandans in Belgium consistently adopted French as their preferred language and altered their interlocutors' and parents' languages choice from Kinyarwanda to French in their interactions. Second, children have been found to use metalinguistic comments, such as positive or negative evaluations of language choice, to affect FLP (Fogle & King, 2013). In a study of the Gaelic language maintenance of a family on the Isle of Skye, Smith-Christmas (2016) found that a four-year-old child set family rules about what words should be said in English instead of Gaelic, while Guo (2014, p. 78) found that Chinese children in England taught their parents cultural concepts from the host culture through "reciprocal scaffolding".

In sum, previous research has shown that family language policy may be managed and planned in both explicit and implicit ways, and that the family members' divergent language ideologies, and language planning and policy at different contextual levels, all lead to the construction and implementation of family language policy. In view of the existing research on FLP, this study exploring the factors shaping FLP in South-Asian families in Hong Kong aims to contribute to the literature by: 1) moving beyond the discrete analysis of FLP in household contexts by accounting for influences from school, community and societal contexts; and 2) investigating FLP in relation to cross-generational development across historical time.

School composition in Hong Kong and perceived discrimination

Hong Kong is a multicultural city composed of various ethnic groups. The ethnic composition of the school and neighbourhood, and adolescents' perceived discrimination are found to mediate the influence of family socialization on the acculturation of adolescents. While schools with high minority ethnic density enable ethnic minority students to maintain their heritage language, ethnic behaviors, and ethnic identity, it may also lead students to live in an isolated environment, unaware of ethnic and intergroup issues. A more mixed environment that provides opportunities to mingle with local students would enhance immigrant students' cultural exposure and their level of local cultural identification (Gonzalez, Eades, & Supple, 2014; Schachner et al., 2016).

Perceived discrimination has been found to be an important predictor of the ways in which immigrant students acculturate, and their adaptation process lies in the experience of discrimination (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Makarova & Birman, 2015). Berry et al (2006), using structural equation modeling, found that discrimination has a significant negative impact on both psychological and socio-cultural adaptation. It was also found that, while those who were marginalized report experiencing the most perceived discrimination, those who seek integration experience the least. Perceived discrimination plays a key role in the identity construction of ethnic minority youths (Schwarz et al., 2014) and researchers have taken different perspectives on the relationship between it and identity formation. Within a developmental model of identity,

Cross (1991) identified perceived discrimination as a driving force for ethnic minority students to develop awareness of their ethnic identity and intergroup relations; working within social psychological approaches, Tajfel and Turner (1986) identified three coping strategies taken by ethnic minority individuals from devalued groups: escaping from their ethnic and the mainstream cultural group both; reinforcing their ethnic identity; and, involving themselves in social movements. The interactive acculturation model considers that perceived discrimination may strengthen ethnic identification and weaken connections to the mainstream cultural group (Berry & Sabatier, 2011; Heim, Hunter, & Jones, 2011). This proposed study expects that school ethnic composition and perceived discrimination will moderate the influence of familial socialization on adolescents' acculturation. In the following section, the relevant literature on the Chinese language learning situation of South Asian students will be reviewed.

Cultural identification, cultural knowledge, and language use

The previous studies indicate that a variety of cultural and linguistic factors have impacts on immigrant parents/adults' mainstream language proficiency. Specifically, the factors including immigrants' cultural identification with the ethnic community, their cultural knowledge of the heritage community and of host society, the chances and intention of using the host language, and the parenting style which implies the family language use and the use of host language and interaction style between different generations, all contribute to the immigrant parents/adults' mainstream language proficiency.

The research suggests immigrants' cultural identification with the ethnic community, as part of the enculturation process, and the composition of their residential neighbourhood affect mainstream language proficiency. Researchers found that ethnic minorities would have few opportunities to socialize with the host cultural community and practice their mainstream language skills if they live in segregated neighborhoods (ethnic enclaves) (Bolt et al., 2010; Friedrichs et al., 2003; Kearns & Parkinson, 2001; Musterd, 1998). Immigrant's cultural knowledge of the host society, as part of the acculturation process, influences their mainstream language proficiency. Choi et al (2018) argued that immigrants' cultural knowledge of and

orientation to the host culture could be reflected through their mainstream language proficiency (English). The link between pro-assimilation beliefs and oral mainstream language skills was strongest for the 1.25 generation and decreased in later generations (Chiswick & Miller, 1999). Host identification might motivate immigrants to learn the target language to immerse themselves into the host culture.

(f) Theoretical and/or conceptual framework of the project

Quantitative study

Regarding the working mechanisms behind familial influences and L2 learning, we have hypothesized a model whereby family socialization affects L2 learning outcomes through acculturation and its subsequent effect on academic identity. In specific, the following paths have been proposed. The directional links among these variables are schematically represented in Figure 1.

1. Family ethnic enculturation, affecting children's ethnic identification, positively contributes to children's integration and separation. While separation negatively predicts L2 learning outcomes by negatively contributing to students' formation of an academic identity, integration impacts target language learning by building up students' academic identity and enhancing their frequency of Chinese use.

2. Family host cultural enculturation, contributing to the construction of adolescents' host cultural identification, positively contributes to children's assimilation and integration. Both assimilation and integration positively affect L2 learning through enhancing L2 exposure and use and promoting academic identity.

3. Parental style contributes to the forming of adolescents' academic identity and target language learning through the mediating effect of Integration.

4. There is a negative causal relationship between Family ethnic enculturation and Marginalization, and between Family host cultural enculturation and Marginalization, as either kind of family enculturation will contribute to adolescents' identification with a particular

culture. Marginalization negatively predicts L2 learning outcomes by negatively contributing to students' formation of an academic identity.

5. Ethnic composition in school and perceived discrimination moderate the effect of family socialization on children's acculturation.

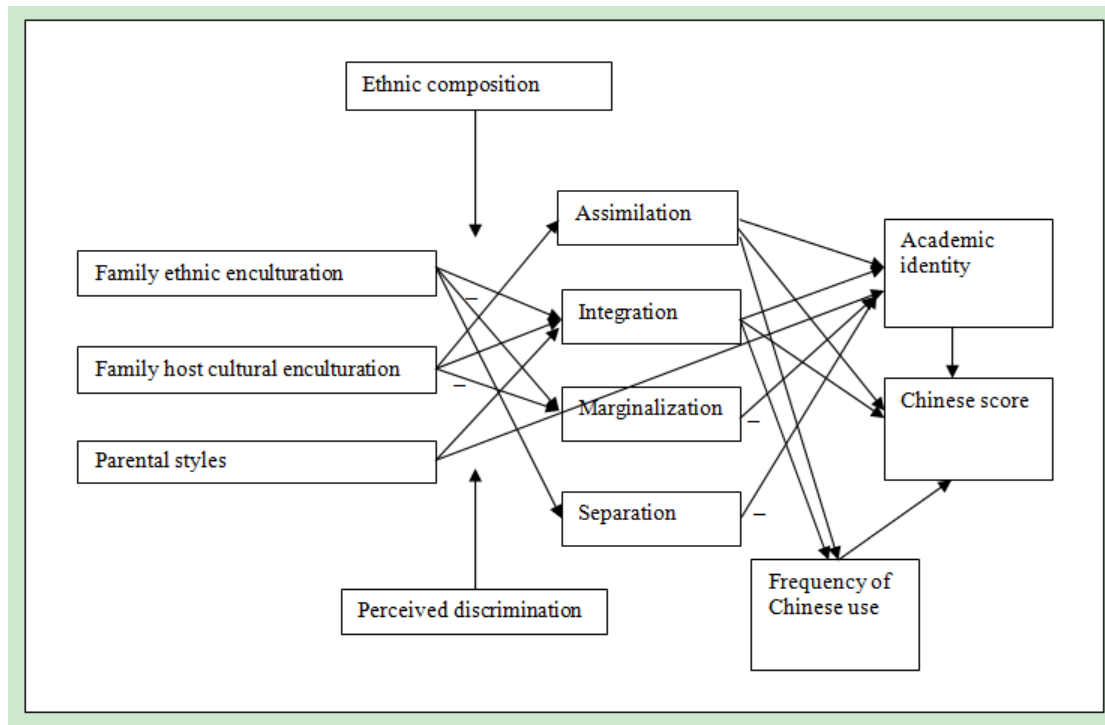


Figure 1. The hypothesized model on ethnic minority adolescents.

Qualitative study

A social class approach to FLP

Recent studies found that migrants' embeddedness as agents practicing in multiple spaces could be simultaneous (Levitt & Schiller, 2004; Mahler, Chaudhuri, & Patil 2015). The across-space embeddedness was configured through social, political and economic structures at different levels, such as family policy and migration policy, and the intersection force between gender, social class and generation in the transnational process (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017; Rother, 2017). Besides the empirical dimension of transnationalism, 'transnational' could be conceptualized as a perspective (Faist, 2010; Levitt & Schiller, 2004) to enable the investigation of "the empirical phenomenon of sustained multilocal and cross-border engagements and its changing nature" (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017, p.875).

Identifying a transnational dimension with the concept of class, Rother (2017) argued that social class tends to be defined and redefined as migrants change their positionality within different organizations and generate new capital. Therefore, class is not static but relevant to performativity. Individuals could have multiple class identities depending on their positions in different contexts of the transnational social space.

Kelly (2007) related class to a typology of “position, process, performance and politics.” Class as a position refers to “the location of an individual in a societal division of labour and a stratified structure of wealth” (5). Within a transnational social space, migrants may experience complex relationality and contradictory class mobility. For example, one might belong to a lower class in the host society but a higher class in one’s home country (Rother, 2017). Class as process highlights the non-static nature of class and emphasizes that class is not solely determined by economic status, but is influenced by other social processes (Gibson-Graham, Resnick, & Wolff, 2000, p.21). Class as performance regards class as “subjective understanding” and something that can be individually constructed (Rother, 2017, p.961). This relates to two subcategories of class, namely, class as consumption (e.g., class habitus and identity) and as embodiment (e.g., physical attributes such as race and gender) (Kelly, 2007, p.8-10). Class as politics refers to “political mobilization and activism” (Kelly, 2007, p.11), and might be closely connected with “citizenship rights” as well as the perception of country of origin” (p.25-26). Rother (2017) proposed a fifth dimension to the overall concept of class—i.e., class as political capital “that can be built and diffuses through organising, collective action and as a form of political remittances” (p.961). Political capital can be obtained through the acquisition of political values, ideologies, or strategies during the migration experience (Kessler & Rother, 2016). This social class approach to FLP in migrant families enables us to consider FLP in relation to the multiple contexts of home, school, community, and society, together with the family’s history, linguistic repertoire, and cultural memories, by assessing how class identities are constructed, how class positioning practices influence the fashioning of FLP, and how FLP are shaped by language policies practiced in school and society.

(g) Methodology

Research context in Hong Kong schools

The ethnic minority population in Hong Kong has increased by 31.2% in the past decade, from 343,950 in 2001 to 451,183 in 2011, and now constitutes 6.4% of the total population of Hong Kong (Census and Statistics Department, 2012). Of this sub-population, 81% are South Asians, including Indonesians (29.6%), Filipinos (29.5%), Indians (6%), Pakistanis (4%), Nepalese (3.7%), Japanese (2.8%), Thais (2.5%), Koreans (1.2%) and other Asians (1.6%). In this study, the term South Asians refers to ethnic Pakistanis, Indians and Nepalese, as well as Filipinos and Indonesians. The transfer of sovereignty over Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to China in 1997 is seen as a watershed for the South Asian communities with the beginning of a new language policy of biliteracy and trilingualism for the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (Li & Chuk, 2015).

While English was the main working language and Chinese was required for civil service positions such as police, customs and fire brigade under British colonial rule, the new language policy stipulates that the Chinese language requirement is mandatory for civil service jobs and university places. As such, Chinese language abilities become a major obstacle that prevent South Asian students from studying at the eight government-funded tertiary institutions and, in turn, negatively influence their path to upward social mobility. Much effort has been made by the Government to cater for the South Asian students' Chinese learning needs, including establishing 'designated' schools for students with South(east) Asian backgrounds, adjusting a school-based curriculum in Chinese, and setting up alternative international Chinese language assessments. Before the school year of 2013/2014, there was a system of 'designated schools' that used English as the medium of instruction and primarily served working-class ethnic minority students. Students scoring the highest totals had the widest choice of places under the Secondary School Place Allocation System (SPAS) and most South Asian students were allocated to the 'designated' schools due to their relatively low academic achievements compared with local students. According to the Census and Statistics Department (2012), while 38.7% of all non-Chinese

students (approximately 14, 076) were allocated to mainstream schools, 61.3% studied in ‘designated’ schools. Since the number of South Asian students was physically overwhelming in the ‘designated’ schools, these students’ exposure to Chinese culture and language was restricted (e.g., Wong & Lo, 2011). From the 2013/2014 school year, the label of ‘designated school’ was removed from the education system (Chow, 2013), and South Asian students could study in government-subsidised schools through SPAS at the compulsory stage. Some mainstream schools (using Chinese as the medium of instruction) that are faced with decreasing student enrolment tend to open international sections, which operate in a similar way to the formerly designated schools, to accommodate ethnic minority students. While the previous relevant studies conducted in Hong Kong have reported the language and cultural barriers the South Asian students encountered in the educational and social settings (e.g., Gu & Patkin, 2013; Gu, 2015), the role of family and parents in facilitating the construction of their academic identity and their target language learning remains unexplored.

Participants and methods

Participants in this project are ethnic minority students as well as their parents, who were recruited from Hong Kong secondary schools and contacted through their principals and NCS teachers. These secondary schools represent the two typical educational contexts for ethnic minority students: (a) former ‘designated’ EMI schools or (b) mainstream CMI schools with EMI classes for ethnic minority students. As most ethnic minority students from the working class in Hong Kong are enrolled in one of these two kinds of schools.

In the quantitative part, taking 0.5 as the anticipated effect size and 0.05 the desired probability level, 400 participants were set as the targeted sample size, to give a statistical power of 0.9 with the number of latent variables and observed variables in our SEM model. While in practice, 881 ethnic minority students (471 female, 410 male) were recruited to complete the survey. Stratified random sampling was adopted in this survey to ensure sufficient variation among the participants with regard to the variables we are interested in, including two school strata, three levels of academic achievement (i.e., high, medium, and low academic performance).

Data of immigrant parents were also collected as a part of this study, investigating the relationship between family socialisation, family language policy, and the learning of mainstream language(s) among immigrant children and their parents in Hong Kong. 655 parents (334 female, 321 male) of ethnic minority students who studied in secondary schools completed this survey (see Table 1 in Appendix). For $\alpha = .05$ and a small effect size of 0.2, statistical power for 655 parents exceeds .99 (Cohen et al., 2003). The ethnicities of these participants were 41% Pakistani, 31% Nepali, 11% Indian, 5% Filipino, 2% Indonesian, 2% Kenya, 1% Bangladesh, and 1% Malay (other ethnicities were below 1%). Most of them were from lower socio-economic backgrounds.

And in the qualitative part, several rounds of individual and focus group interviews with ethnic minority students and migrant parents were conducted, concerning different research focuses. In study one and study two, ten migrant mothers, and five mother-child dyads from different ethnic backgrounds were recruited for interviews to explore their linguistic practices and family language policy, as well as the underlying cultural, socio-political, and ideological reasons. In study three which adopts a narrative approach, two participants included in the narrative study are a mother, Emma, and her daughter, Stella, who were chosen as participants for better understanding on their acculturation experiences and language practices from two immigrant generations, and to exemplify how they coped differently with marginalization, acculturation and identity crisis in the host society. Other than the context of family language practices, schools committed to neoliberal education have been investigated, where novice teachers could be influenced by the contextual factors in the process of constructing their teacher beliefs when teaching ethnic minority students. In study four, eight local English teachers in the junior forms were interviewed to look into their professional development in response to the neoliberal discourses in education. Furthermore, in study five, in order to gain a holistic picture of the transnational migrants in Hong Kong, eight female migrant professionals with diversified ethnic backgrounds and career trajectories participated in the interviews, to examine their capital transformation and habitus recalibration. In study six, eight South Asian students who were studying in universities in Hong Kong, were interviewed to investigate their ethnic identity

construction, and the influences on their academic identity formation. All the participants and their families are permanent residents of Hong Kong when the study was conducted (please see participants' information in Table 2 in Appendix).

A qualitative inductive analysis, in combination with critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1993; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985), was adopted in this study. Open coding was conducted after reading, digesting, and reflecting on the raw data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.101). Axial coding was then conducted by grouping the codes and turning them into 'sensitizing concepts,' referring to 'categories that the analyst brings to the data' (Patton, 2002, p.456). Theoretical themes were then established, based on the integration of the sensitizing concepts and theoretical framework, to respond to the research questions.

(h) Data collection and analysis

Survey study

Study One

Instrument

The student participants were surveyed on the following five main scales together with relevant demographic information such as gender, age, socio-economic status (SES), birth country, passport nationality, ethnicity, religion, number of siblings, years of stay in Hong Kong, years of learning Chinese. The students' reports on their parents' educational level were coded into four categories: no schooling (coded as 1), primary school (2), secondary school (3), and university (4). The students reported their proficiency level in reading and writing Chinese in five categories: very poor (coded as 1), poor (2), average (3), good (4) and excellent (5). All items concerning on the five main scales were measured on a five-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree ... 5 = Strongly agree), reliabilities of which are reported in Table 3 (see Table 3 in Appendix).

(1) Acculturation attitudes: Berry et al.'s (2006) 20-item survey on the four types of acculturation attitudes will be adopted to measure the students' acculturation attitudes along five dimensions: language (e.g. 'It is more important to me to be fluent in my native language than in

the Chinese language’); social activities (e.g. ‘I prefer social activities that involve people my native culture only’); friendship (e.g. ‘I prefer to have both friends from my native culture and Chinese friends’); cultural traditions (e.g. ‘I feel that people from my native culture should adapt to Hong Kong cultural traditions and not maintain their own’); and marriage (e.g. ‘I would rather marry a person from my native culture than a Chinese’). Each dimension will be measured by using a five-point Likert scale.

(2) Academic identity: Phinney’s (1992) four-item survey on academic identity will be adopted (e.g. ‘How important is doing well in school to who you are?’).

(3) Perceived discrimination: Fisher, Wallace and Fenton’s (2000) 15-item survey will be adopted. While four items will measure perceived ethnic discrimination along educational dimensions (e.g. ‘You were discouraged from joining an advanced level class’), six items will focus on institutional dimensions (e.g. ‘You received poor service at a restaurant or store’), and five items will focus on peer dimensions (e.g. ‘Others at your age did not include you in their activities’).

(4) Self-indicated Chinese proficiency level will be collected to indicate the students’ Chinese language learning outcomes.

Analytic issues and statistics strategies

Suitable analyses were adopted to address issues involving data, outcomes, and explanatory variables. Data issues include missing data and survey measurement error. As missing data can bias results, reduce estimation efficiency, or complicate data analyses, researchers estimate the missing data with Markov Chain Monte Carlo multiple imputation, which outperforms listwise deletion, pairwise deletion, mean substitution, and simple imputation according to computer simulations (Peugh & Enders, 2004). To minimize survey measurement error, multiple questions were used for each construct to create a precise index. We analyze whether sets of questions (e.g., mother’s job, mother’s, and father’s years of schooling) reflect one or more underlying constructs (e.g., SES) through factor analyses (Joreskog & Sorbom, 2018).

A discrete outcome (self-reported reading and writing of Chinese) was modeled, ordinary

least squares regressions can bias the standard errors, so we formulated a Logit regression (Kennedy, 2008) and a structural equation model (SEM, Joreskog & Sorbom, 2018). Explanatory variable issues include indirect mediation effects, interactions, many hypotheses' false positives, and robustness.

Separate, single-level tests of indirect mediation effects on nested data can bias results, so we tested for simultaneous indirect effects with a structural equation model (Crandall et al., 2012). Interaction terms are often correlated with their component variables and can yield unstable results, so we used residual centering to remove such correlations before testing for moderation effects in the SEM (Crandall et al., 2012). As testing many hypotheses increases the possibility of a false positive, we reduced its likelihood via the two-stage linear step-up procedure, which outperformed 13 other methods in computer simulations (Benjamini, Krieger, & Yekutieli, 2006). Lastly, by repeating the analyses for the original, un-estimated data, we tested whether the results remain stable despite minor changes in the data or analyses (robustness, Kennedy, 2008).

Explanatory model

This study tested a structural equation model (Joreskog & Sorbom, 2018) of each student's self-reported proficiency in reading and writing Chinese with the following four sets of explanatory variables: demographics (girl, age, SES, birth country, passport nationality, ethnicity, religion, number of siblings, years of stay in Hong Kong, years of learning Chinese), acculturation (assimilation, integration, marginalization, separation), perceived discrimination, and academic identity. As omitting non-significant variables does not cause omitted variable bias, researchers safely removed them to increase precision and reduce multicollinearity (Kennedy, 2008). Then, we tested for indirect, mediation effects and interaction terms among significant variables (Crandall et al., 2012). As with the CFA, we tested for goodness of fit among competing models (with vs. without each additional explanatory variable) with CFI, TLI, SRMR, and RMSEA (Hu & Bentler, 1999). The total effect (TE) of an explanatory variable on the outcome is the sum of its direct effects and all its indirect effects.

Study Two

Instrument

The survey on immigrant parent participants asked for their demographic information (birth country, passport nationality, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, education, job status, education, income, years in Hong Kong, years of working in Hong Kong, number of children). The participants reported their proficiency level in reading and writing Chinese, and in speaking Cantonese and speaking English in five categories: very poor, poor, average, good or excellent. All items were on a five-point Likert scale (1 = Strongly disagree ... 5 = Strongly agree). Parent occupation was converted to a numerical job status index via the International Cambridge Scale (Meraviglia et al., 2016). (a) cultural identity has host cultural acculturation (6 items; Zea et al.'s (2003) $\alpha = .90$; e.g., I think of myself as being a Hongkonger) and culture-of-origin acculturation (5 items; $\alpha = .89$; e.g., Being a member of my culture of origin plays an important part in my life). The survey also captured nine constructs, including (1) Zea et al.'s (2003) 41-item family enculturation survey covered three dimensions:

(a) cultural identity has host cultural acculturation (6 items; Zea et al.'s (2003) $\alpha = .90$; e.g., I think of myself as being a Hongkonger) and culture-of-origin acculturation (5 items; $\alpha = .89$; e.g., Being a member of my culture of origin plays an important part in my life);

(b) language use has mainstream language use in the host community (9 items; $\alpha = .97$; How well do you speak Chinese at school or work) and use of HL(s) (9 items; $\alpha = .86$; How well do you speak your native language with family); and

(c) cultural competence has host cultural competence (6 items; $\alpha = .89$; How well do you know Hong Kong heroes?) and heritage cultural competence (6 items; $\alpha = .83$; How well do you know national heroes from your native culture?).

(2) Baumrind's (1971) 30-item parenting style survey has three dimensions:

(a) Permissiveness (9 items, Buri's (1991) $\alpha = .81$ for mothers; $\alpha = .77$ for fathers), for example, "In a well-run home, children should have their way as often as parents do";

(b) Authoritarianism (9 items, $\alpha = .86$ for mothers; $\alpha = .85$ for fathers), for example, "It is for

my children's own good to require them to do what I think is right, even if they do not agree"; and

(c) Authoritativeness (12 items, $\alpha = .78$ for mothers; $\alpha = .92$ for fathers, for example, "Once family rules have been made, I discuss the reasons for the rules with my children").

Factor analyses

We tested the internal validity of the survey items for each of the ten constructs and minimized their measurement errors with confirmatory factor analyses (Joreskog & Sorbom, 2018): socio-economic status, ethnic culture identification, host culture identification, cultural knowledge of heritage community, cultural knowledge of host community, heritage language use, mainstream language use, permissiveness, authoritarianism, and authoritativeness. To assess the fit of the CFA, we used the comparative fit index (CFI), Tucker–Lewis index (TLI), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) and root mean square error approximation (RMSEA), which minimize Type I and Type II errors under many conditions in Hu and Bentler's (1999) simulations. Fit thresholds are good (CFI & TLI > .95; SRMR < .08; RMSEA < .06) and moderate (.90 < CFI & TLI < .95; .08 < SRMR < .10; .06 < RMSEA < .10). For each factor, we compute its unbiased Bartlett scores (Joreskog & Sorbom, 2018).

Explanatory model

We modelled parents' perceived language competences with a system of equations (Kennedy, 2008).

$$\mathbf{Language_competences}_{yi} = F(\beta_y) + e_{yi} \quad (1)$$

In the vector of **Language_competences**_{yi}, outcome y (*speak Cantonese, speak English, Chinese literacy*) of parent i has a grand mean intercept β_y via the Logit link function $F()$ with unexplained components (*residuals*) at the parent-level (e_{yi}).

Explanatory variables were entered in sequential sets to estimate the variance explained by each set and to test for mediation effects (Kennedy, 2008). Structural variables can influence malleable process variables, so demographic variables were entered first. Parent enculturation might precede parenting processes, which might affect language use.

Hence, explanatory variables are entered in the following order: demographics, enculturation, parenting, and interaction variables.

$$\mathbf{Language_competences}_{yi} = F(\beta_y + \beta_{yu}\mathbf{Demographics}_{yi} + \beta_{yv}\mathbf{Enculturation}_{yi} + \beta_{yw}\mathbf{Parenting}_{yi} + \beta_{yz}\mathbf{Interactions}_{yi}) + e_{yi} \quad (2)$$

We run mediation tests across the above vectors, and the path analysis results yield an initial candidate for the SEM (Joreskog & Sorbom, 2018). We remove non-significant variables for the final SEM. The *total effect* (TE) of an explanatory variable on the outcome is the sum of its *direct effects* and all its *indirect effects*. We also analyze residuals for influential outliers.

Interview study

Instruments

Interviews both reflect and are part of social reality, which involves power relations and identity issues (Atkinson & Silverman, 1997); individuals share their views and opinions in an interview context which is co-constructed between the interviewer and interviewee, and such social categories as ethnicity, language and cultural affiliations will influence the interviewee's accounts and narratives (Briggs, 1986). Several rounds of semi-structured individual student interviews were conducted to answer research questions. The participants may choose either English or their heritage language for the interview. And when the heritage language is chosen, interpreters of certain minority languages were invited to join the interviews with the researchers. Each interview lasted around 50 minutes and were audio-recorded for further data analysis. Students were interviewed about their identification with the heritage and host cultures, familial influence on acculturation and language learning, perceived relationships with their parents, perceived discrimination, and language learning experiences, through which we would interpret the second-generation students' identity and acculturation attitudes in the host society.

Parents of these ethnic minority students were also interviewed to gather information about family enculturation attitudes and their family language policy (FLP) in home contexts. Furthermore, by employing social class as a theoretical lens and social divisions of migrants as multiple constitutive positionalities that are context-specific (Fresnoza-Flot & Shinozaki, 2017;

Rother, 2017; Shinozaki, 2012), the interviews with migrant parents aimed to investigate their perceptions of multiple class identities (especially migrant mothers) and how they constructed FLP and used their linguistic and cultural repertoires to achieve social class mobility in host communities. Their attitudes towards hierarchical relationships within the family and towards learning and using the Chinese and English language were explored.

Data analysis

A “selected reading approach” (van Manen, 1990, p.93) were used to uncover themes related to the research questions. When reading and re-reading the interview data, researchers searched out statements, phrases and words the participants seem to use most often, so as to reveal the students’ relationship with their parents, their identification with the parental culture, host culture, and academic community, and their attitudes towards Chinese language learning. We will also explore the parent participants’ attitudes towards cultural maintenance and adaptation, and towards their children’s studies and language learning would also be elicited. Guided by the research questions, we will identify themes and sub-themes relating to: (a) family language practice and its influences on the acculturation of second-generation adolescents; (b) maintenance of heritage culture and Chinese language learning of second-generation adolescents and their identity construction; and (c) inter-generational transformation of acculturation and adaptation among South Asian immigrants.

(i) Results and Discussion

Quantitative survey study

Study One

Among the four acculturation strategies, the participants reported the greatest use of integration (m= 3.854) followed by marginalization (m= 2.776), assimilation (m= 2.185), and separation (m= 2.191). Compared with the previous research (i.e., Lai, Gao, & Wang, 2015), this study had a larger dataset and participants with greater ethnic diversity. The factor analyses showed that assimilation, marginalization, perceived discrimination, academic identity, and SES are constructs that fit the data well and have acceptable inter-rater reliability. However, the

constructs of integration and separation did not fit the data well, so their results require cautious interpretation (See Table 3).

The results show that student gender, assimilation, perceived discrimination, and academic identity are linked to their self-reported proficiency in reading and writing Chinese. Compared to boys, girls report greater proficiency in reading and writing Chinese (0.129). Furthermore, students who report greater assimilation report slightly less proficiency in reading and writing Chinese (TE: 0.030 = -0.177×0.167). In contrast, students who report greater perceived discrimination report greater proficiency in reading and writing Chinese (0.107). Students reporting greater academic identity report greater proficiency in reading and writing Chinese (0.172). Also, assimilation and academic identity show a negative interaction link on reported proficiency in reading and writing Chinese (-0.090). Other variables were not significant. Parallel analyses with listwise deletion of missing data yielded similar results (See Explanatory Model in Figure 3).

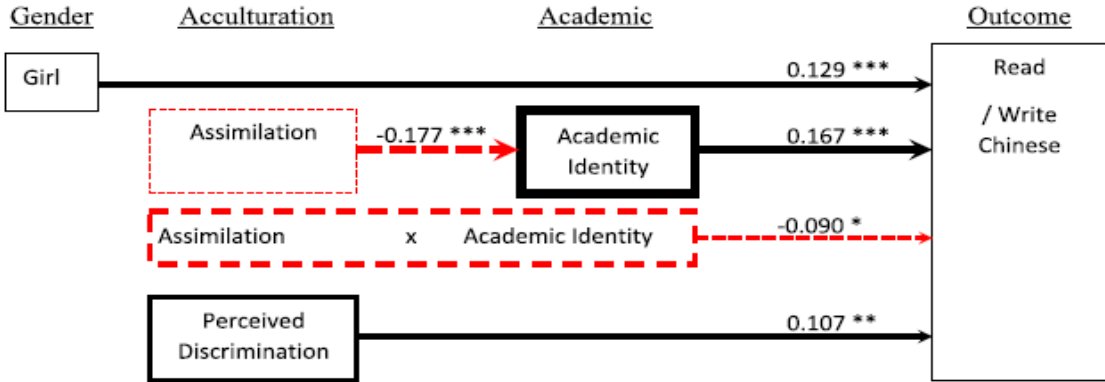


Figure 3. Structural Equation Model of Reading / Writing Chinese (SRMR = .058; RMSEA = .045; CFI = 930; TLI = .922; SMC = .064). Black, solid lines indicate positive links. Red, dashed lines indicate negative links. Thicker lines indicate larger effect sizes. Thickness of Factor boxes indicate total effect size. Due to space considerations, component variables of each factor are not shown.

Assimilation, academic identity, and target language learning

Students with stronger academic identities reported greater Chinese reading and writing proficiency among these ethnic minority students. This finding confirmed those from the previous

studies that students who have constructed positive academic identities exert more effort in their academic studies to achieve better academic results (Berzonsky & Kuk, 2000), including superior target language learning. However, students with greater assimilation showed weaker academic identity and reported lower proficiency in reading and writing Chinese. As past studies showed that heritage identity was closely related to self-esteem and academic identity, ethnic minority students can use it to overcome obstacles, discriminations, and stereotypes (Neblett, Terzian, & Harriott, 2010; Oyserman, Harrison, & Bybee, 2001; Syed, Azmitia, & Cooper, 2011; Wiggan, 2008). Hence, we argue that the assimilation strategy yields a weaker tie with the heritage community that outweighs its benefits from stronger ties with the dominant group for the ethnic minority students in this study.

The traditional discourse in L2 learning had highlighted the positive effect of migrant children's accommodation to and full assimilation into the target language and mainstream cultural norms (e.g., Masgoret & Gardner, 1999; Portes & Salas, 2010). The underlying reasons for this discrepant result may lie in the following aspects. The research context of the study by Masgoret and Gardner (1999) adopted a favorable immigration policy, and the participants might perceive less psychological pressure due to the potential erasing of ethnic identity if they adopted an assimilation strategy. Therefore, with less retaliation against the negative discourse on immigrants, assimilation might play a positive role in target language learning. However, in Hong Kong, low policy priority has been found to be given to the integration policy (Lai, Gao, & Wang, 2015). The less favorable immigration and education policies for ethnic minority immigrants (especially the South Asians from low-income families), the difficulty they met in learning Chinese, their unfamiliarity with local culture, their strong intra-ethnic cohesion, and their high family/community expectation on the maintenance of ethnic identity (c.f., Gu, Guo, & Lee, 2019; Lai, Gao, & Wang, 2015) all hindered the effect of these students' assimilation strategy for Hong Kong.

Perceived discrimination and target language learning

Students who perceived greater discrimination did not show significantly different academic

identity from other students and reported greater proficiency in reading and writing Chinese. These findings differ from those of past studies which indicated that immigrant students who perceived greater discrimination than others aspired for heritage cultural maintenance over engagement with the host culture and language, which yielded lower school achievement (Guerra, et al., 2019; Schachner et al., 2016, 2018). We can imagine two possible explanations. First, ethnic minority students who are more perceptive than others might recognize subtle discriminations that others do not, so they perceive more discriminations. Students who are more perceptive tend to be more aware of the external environment and then develop coping strategies, so they might show greater academic achievement, including superior Chinese reading and writing. Second, ethnic minority students who perceive more discrimination might be more motivated to study hard and develop academic credentials to help protect them against future discrimination.

Notwithstanding, these results partially echoed the recent finding that perceived discrimination was not significantly associated with a decreased desire to contact the local peers (Guerra, et al, 2019). As our study did not assess contact with local peers, similar future studies can include this measure to explore the underlying reasons for its positive link to reported target language skill. This positive linkage between perceived discrimination and superior Chinese reading and writing proficiency warrants our attention. This result alerts us that the Chinese language learning outcome may not have stemmed from positive experiences such as smooth biculturalization and socialization.

Study Two

All factors showed good fits to the data except for heritage language use (which fit the data better as two factors: heritage language use with people and heritage language use with media) and SES (which did not form a factor and were entered as three separate variables: education, job status, income) (see Table 4 in Appendix).

The participants' mean age was 42 years old, mean education level was secondary school, mean stay in Hong Kong was 19 years, job status was low (28 / 100) and mean family income was HK\$5,504 per month (vs. Hong Kong median of HK\$35,100 per month, Census and

Statistics Department, 2020). They reported speaking better English ($M = 3.4$) than Cantonese (2.5), and a low proficiency level of Chinese literacy (1.8). Also, they had slightly more cultural identification with their ethnic community (3.4) than with their host society (3.2). They reported much more heritage cultural knowledge (3.3) than host society cultural knowledge (1.9); and more heritage language use (with people: 3.6; with media: 3.7), than host language use (2.1). Furthermore, they reported more authoritative parenting (3.9) than authoritarian (3.3) or permissive parenting (3.3).

Use of Mainstream languages (Cantonese, Chinese literacy and English)

Demographics (gender, years in Hong Kong) and enculturation were linked to speaking Cantonese. Compared to men, women reported speaking 6% worse Cantonese (standardized parameter $-.064$, see Figure 4). Participants who stayed 10% longer in Hong Kong than the mean reported speaking 2% better Cantonese. Women who stayed 10% longer in Hong Kong than other women reported speaking 1% better Cantonese. Enculturation (host language use, heritage culture knowledge) was also linked to speaking Cantonese. Participants reporting 10% more Cantonese use than others reported speaking 7% better Cantonese. Also, participants reporting 10% more heritage culture knowledge than others reported speaking 1% better Cantonese. Among participants with 10% higher job status than others, those reporting 10% more heritage culture knowledge than others reported speaking 1% better Cantonese. This model accounted for nearly 52% of the differences in self-reports of speaking Cantonese.

Participants born in Hong Kong reported 11% greater Chinese literacy. Acculturation (host language use, host culture knowledge) was also linked to Chinese literacy. Participants reporting 10% more Cantonese use than others reported 5% greater Chinese literacy. Also, participants reporting 10% more host culture knowledge than others reported 1% greater Chinese literacy. This model accounted for over 31% of the variance in self-reports of Chinese literacy.

Demographics (gender, years in Hong Kong), acculturation, enculturation, and parenting were linked to speaking English. Compared to men, women reported speaking 10% worse English. Women who stayed 10% longer in Hong Kong than other women reported speaking 1%

better English. Acculturation (host language use), and enculturation (identifying culturally with the ethnic community, heritage culture knowledge) were linked to speaking English. Participants reporting 10% more Cantonese use than others reported speaking 2% better English. Also, participants reporting 10% more cultural identification with the ethnic community reported speaking 2% better English (fully mediated by permissive parenting). Furthermore, participants reporting 10% more heritage culture knowledge reported speaking 4% better English, one-quarter of which (1%) was mediated by permissive parenting. Participants reporting 10% more permissive parenting reported speaking 2% better English. This model accounted for 17% of the variance in self-reports of speaking English.

All other explanatory variables, interactions, and mediation tests were not significant. Analysis of residuals showed no significant outliers.

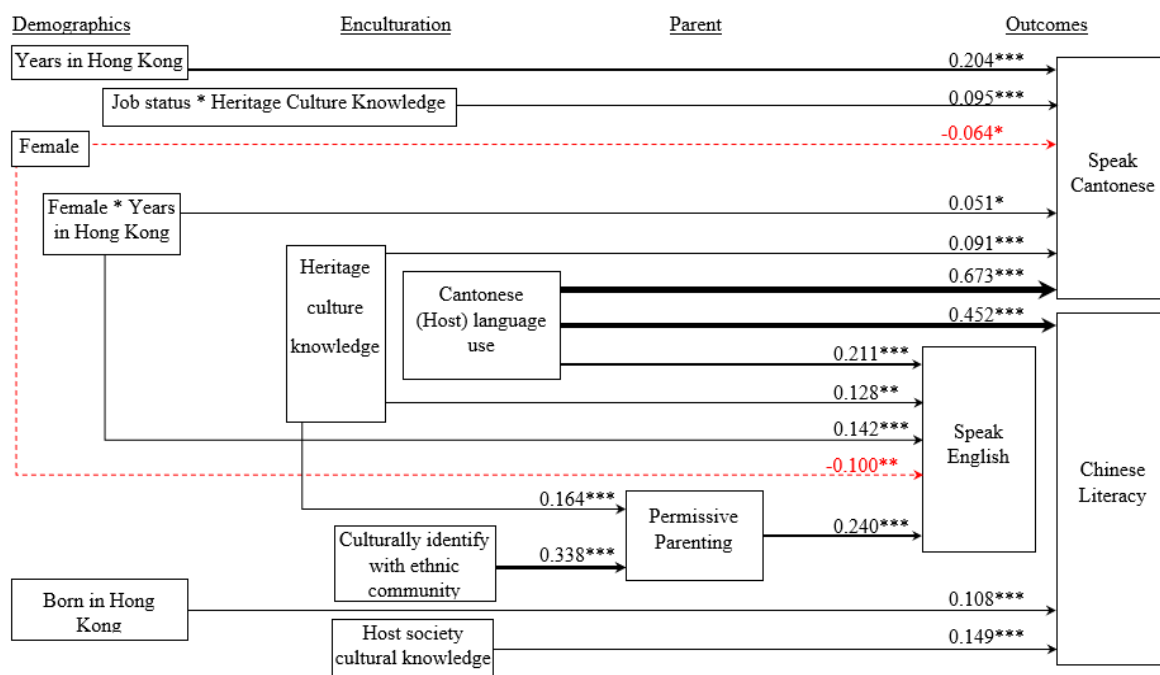


Figure 4. Structural Equation Model of speaking Cantonese, Chinese literacy and speaking English.

Ethnic enculturation, host acculturation and mainstream languages learning

Participants reporting more heritage cultural knowledge reported better Cantonese, while participants reporting more cultural identification with their ethnic community reported better spoken English. By contrast, past studies showed negative links between ethnic identity and L2

performance when language learners perceived insecurity regarding the validity and maintenance of their ethnic group (Trofimovich et al., 2013). Such perceived discrimination can enhance their loyalty to the ethnic group in opposition to the host society and thus hinder their efforts to improve their L2 (Gatbonton et al., 2005). Likewise, stereotype threat or negative judgments of an ethnic minority can dampen its L2 performance. This effect points to the importance of establishing an open society that embraces diversity and welcomes people from different ethnic groups to develop and contribute their ethnic culture and language. For example, intercultural activities can benefit people from all ethnicities. For the first-generation migrants without mainstream language proficiency, a biliterate community member can translate via explanations in their heritage language to help them understand host cultural activities.

Our findings indicate that greater host acculturation is linked to greater mainstream language learning. Immigrant parents reporting more host language use, a form of host acculturation, reported better Cantonese speaking. Those reporting more host language use or host culture knowledge reported greater Chinese reading and writing skills. More local language use was linked to better English speaking. Greater opportunities for L2 and intercultural communication experiences increase (a) ethnic minorities' appreciation of L2 culture and ethnic culture, (b) inclusion in and belonging to L2 cultural networks, (c) opportunities for authentic L2 use, and (d) L2 development (Clément et al., 2003; Trofimovich & Turuševa, 2015).

Qualitative study

Family language practice and its influences on the acculturation of second-generation adolescents

The interviews with participating mothers revealed how and why a group of migrant mothers from South Asian backgrounds in Hong Kong made decisions about language use and learning in the home context, and in what ways the family members' experiences in other social domains and the social structure influenced family language practice (FLP). The data suggest that their language planning at home was influenced by their connections with their home country and their experiences within their local community, workplace, and society, whose decisions would affect

their children's language use and maintenance. For example,

Ayeza: My [extended] family lives in Pakistan. For the first time, when she went to Pakistan, she was very scared and afraid of everything. Because at that time, I never spoke to her in Urdu, and she was not getting along with anyone. Then I realized this was not a good thing to do, and so I started talking to her in Urdu. This time she was fluent in Urdu [when] she went to Pakistan, and she was so friendly, and she was getting along with everyone. A very lovable person over there. I think it is very important to stay with [people who share] our culture, otherwise we will feel isolated here; we don't have our family. I think it is important to stay connected through this, and maybe one day she will go back to live and work [in Pakistan].

Heritage languages were found to be consistently adopted as main family languages and were mainly acquired by the children via home study rather than through formal channels. The important role played by heritage language and culture in enhancing cohesion and mutual identification within heritage communities was further recognised by Ayeza when she realised that the FLP emphasis on Chinese and English in Hong Kong had led to her daughter's difficulty in socialising in Pakistan. Ayeza's cultural belonging, but also entailed potential possibilities for her child's future development. This indicates that family members' perceptions of social change influence their FLP (c.f., Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). Other languages (English and Chinese) seemed to come into play as family members gained experiences in other contexts such as schools and workplaces. The following excerpt is representative:

Badiha: Before working here, I was an interpreter, just speaking my language and English. But since coming here, [I've been] working with Chinese colleagues, and, like, the rest of my colleagues, they know how to speak Chinese. And sometimes they talk and I'm, like, I don't know what they're talking about, so I really got encouraged to learn it. Because I think, for learning Chinese, I think we need an environment in which you can practise it. So, when I was just doing interpreting, I never had a chance to communicate with any Chinese and didn't have an environment in which I could

practise it or learn it. But now, I think have, and really it motivates me to learn it ... I also urge my child to learn it.

This experience could explain how language ideologies and language management in the home context are shaped by the perceptions and experiences individuals gain from other social contexts, and how FLP may be ideologically and socially shaped. In a similar vein, social communication needs and the economic value embedded in the Chinese language motivated Shad to learn Chinese and to redesign her FLP and enrolled her son in Chinese medium of instruction (CMI) schools with a Chinese student majority. As she explained:

Shad: Chinese is very important if you live in Hong Kong; I met with troubles and inconveniences because I could not speak it well. I lost hope that I could learn it and that is why I [enrolled] my daughter in Chinese mainstream schools, starting from kindergarten; she's now P1 and she's going to learn Putonghua and Cantonese at the same time, along with English. I hope she can have more chances for a better education.

Interviewer: And how is she doing at school?

Shad: She's doing good. In her class, there are no South Asian children. And the tutorial center she goes to – all Chinese. So, she has a number of Chinese friends ... But in the beginning, I had some problems [with] the teachers because they didn't want to have a South Asian child in the school, because their parents cannot communicate in Chinese. In the beginning, the teachers were, like, discouraging, asking me to change schools, but I kept going.

Shad had negative social interaction experiences due to her low Chinese proficiency. Recognising that understanding Chinese brings more opportunities for a better education, she changed her language (acquisition) planning related to Chinese by placing her child in a mainstream school, hoping the immersive learning environment would help the child learn the host language well.

It was also found that as the mothers gained more exposure to the wider society and tried

different professions, they adjusted their FLP accordingly. For instance, when one Pakistani mother left her job as an interpreter and became a community worker, the different linguistic and cultural environment at her new workplace reshaped her language ideologies, leading her to place more emphasis on Chinese learning at home. One Nepalese mother considered the value of different genres across fields and made a specific language acquisition learning plan to help her child acquire the necessary and relevant linguistic repertoire for future career development.

Maintenance of heritage culture and Chinese language learning of second-generation adolescents and their identity construction

Migrant mothers in this study emphasized the importance of Chinese learning for their children's education and future development in the host society. However, they held contradictory attitudes towards their children's socialisation into the mainstream culture. With the better education provided in Hong Kong and the gradual acquisition of Chinese language skills, they believed that their children would achieve an upward social mobility. But some of them tended to see integration into Chinese culture as having the potential to diminish their heritage culture and language. While they put their children into CMI mainstream schools, they also tended to advise them not to interact with locals out of school. Javeria, in the following extract, was a Pakistani mother who was a homemaker, commenting on her son's socialisation:

Interviewer: So, where do your children and the friends play together?

Javeria: In school. Mostly in school. Not after school. Yeah.

Interviewer: And how about the tutorial center?

Javeria: {Speaks to the translator}

Translator: She doesn't really allow them to interact too much with the Chinese people because she's afraid that sometimes they will have some racist remarks towards the kids. So, it's not really good to interact with them too much.

...

Translator: She thinks the Chinese people don't really want to be friends with minorities and also if one of the kids is naughty, they assume that all of them are naughty. So, she

doesn't want a bad kind of stigma on the kids.

Interviewer: And I just want to know, when you say racist, what kinds of things are racist?

Javeria: {Speaks to the translator}

Translator: Last night one of the Chinese kids lost their phone and they assumed that one of the Pakistanis stole it so they kept blaming them and the kids were scared and so she thinks this kind of thing can hurt the kids.

Her concern was that the locals would impose negative social images of some South Asian people on the population as a whole and thus not want to befriend her children. This strategy might produce a self-alienation effect, and less interaction between people from different cultural backgrounds may lead to less bi/multicultural awareness being nurtured among individuals. The importance of parental guidance in both language learning and cultural integration emerges in this excerpt. Some mothers tended to place the contexts of home, school, and society as separate, un-malleable and functioning in an essentialised way. When asked how they would teach their children about Hong Kong, the mothers responded that school was the legitimate place for them to learn about Hong Kong culture:

Interviewer: Okay. How about learning about the customs and culture of Hong Kong?
How do you know about Chinese people?

Rashid: I learnt in school.

Interviewer: Yeah? What about Chinese New Year and Mid-Autumn Festival, how do you know about them?

Rashid: The teachers teach us in the school.

Interviewer: Did you ever attend some of those events with some of your Chinese friends?

Rashid: No. In school.

Interviewer: In school, but you didn't go to their house or go to a party with them or something?

Rashid: Or in the center {NGO Centre}.

The conversation between the interviewer and Rashid indicated that the school and NGOs were the major contexts wherein South Asian children picked up Chinese culture and customs, and that ethnic minority students had little out-of-school interaction with local classmates. In a similar vein, the home context was seen as the legitimate place for nurturing heritage culture and maintaining heritage language, and all participants indicated their heritage languages were adopted for daily communication therein:

Interviewer: Yeah, okay. So, what language do you talk to your mum in?

Aleena: Urdu. Our language.

Interviewer: Urdu. What's your language?

Aleena: Urdu.

Aleena saw Urdu as 'our' language, and we should recognise its constitutive role in identity construction. In spite of the symbolic meaning the participants attached to their heritage languages, the mothers took it for granted that speaking heritage languages was a way of maintaining them in a host society:

Interviewer: How important is your mother tongue?

Sanjiya: Like why she thinks it's important?

Interviewer: Yeah, how important is it?

Sanjiya: {Translates question to her mother from English to Nepali}

Sanjiya: She thinks it's very important because it's a part of our identity. It's who we are. So, it's very important to us.

In terms of language use, parents are in an intrinsically more powerful position than their children and implement family language policies that, to a large extent, inculcate their own ideologies into those of their children. And in the mother-child dyads in this study, the children seem to align their linguistic behaviours with the mothers' family language policies. The children's language use was regulated towards a new version of trilingualism (heritage language,

Chinese and English).

Inter-generational transformation of acculturation and adaptation among South Asian immigrants

Adopting a narrative inquiry, a longitudinal study was conducted to explore the experiences of a migrant mother and her daughter, Emma and Stella, in an immigrant family within the changes of the host society over forty years and presented a picture of how two generations of immigrants have responded to marginalization, accumulated social and cultural capital, reconstructed an ethnic identity, and empowered themselves in the process of acculturation.

As a first-generation immigrant with little knowledge of the host society, Emma often felt she had to keep silent in the face of unfair treatment. For example, when, in primary school, Stella was placed in a segregated class together with other non-Chinese students and taught Portuguese rather than Chinese as her second language, Emma didn't question the arrangement. As a working mother, Emma knew little about the local educational system and, unlike local parents, could not advise Stella when it came to her schooling. Since Emma was unaware of the importance of being able to write and read Chinese in a Chinese society, she never insisted Stella be taught the language, which raised a lot of obstacles to Stella's career options and socialization into mainstream society. For example, Emma documented one negative experience in her daughter's school as the first-generation parent:

Emma: During Parents' Day, sometimes I would go home and cry. The teacher knew that I was not local Chinese. It hurt me because the teacher spoke to all the parents in Cantonese. I was so hurt, so I did not say goodbye and just went home.

Stella, as a member of the second generation, appeared to have more agency in responding to marginalization, and far less likely than her mother to tolerate derogatory racial stereotyping and racial discrimination. While Emma kept silent about parental meetings that were always conducted in Cantonese, Stella wrote a letter to the newspaper to complain about the racial discrimination inherent in daughter's teacher warning students against speaking English with Filipino domestic helpers, which Stella saw as derogatory stereotyping of the whole ethnic group:

Stella: It happened when my daughter in Primary 4. One day over dinner, she told me the story. The teacher said to them ‘you have to be very careful when you go home, especially those who have domestic helpers, especially if they are Filipino, because their accents are wrong, and they don’t have the proper English accent. If you keep speaking English with your Filipino mates, it’s gonna affect your spoken English.’ So, my daughter got very suspicious. My mother is Filipino. Are you telling me not to talk with my mother? So, she was confused and upset. I was afraid to confront the teacher of my daughter, I channeled my anger to the newspaper. I wrote an article and sent it out.

This reflected that, even though second- and third- generation immigrants aspire to parity with the dominant societal group and have indeed become members of the professional class, they are still keenly aware of their perceived inferior racial status and have internalized the disadvantages associated with their heritage identity (Tuan, 1998; Zhou, 2004). As a result, when Stella wrote to the newspaper as a Filipino mother rather than as a lecturer in university, she invoked her ethnic identity to empower the ethnic group as a whole.

Having experienced unfair treatment in both the workplace and the outside society, Emma strongly believed that Stella could only survive in Hong Kong society if she learned to speak “good, real and standard” English so others would not easily tell she was Filipino. Emma did not want her daughter to speak the so-called Tagalish, half Tagalog and half English, which was usual among second-generation Filipino immigrants. So, in contrast to some ethnic minority parents, who tried to perpetuate their heritage identity in their children, Emma tried, to some degree, to distance her daughter from her heritage identity:

Emma: Some of my friends asked me “can you daughter speak Tagalog?” I said “yes, a little bit.” But I did not tell them she can speak good English.

It was Emma’s dream that her daughter would receive a good education and achieve academic excellence. However, the non-Chinese students were segregated and taught Portuguese, with little exposure to Chinese language learning. Stella’s resulting lack of knowledge of written

Chinese deprived her of numerous opportunities in her future academic career. Stella made conscious efforts to improve her Chinese skills as she could, even though she could not read or write Chinese, and to push her kids to learn how to read and write Chinese. Stella stated:

Stella: In order for me to break the stereotype without telling them that they're stereotyping me, I have to speak their language. When I am with my Chinese friends, I will speak Cantonese so that they will feel comfortable with me. I'm actually accommodating them. . . Hong Kong is multicultural in terms of the different brand names, but it is not multicultural in terms of accepting cultures.

Interviewer: Will you use Cantonese only?

Stella: No, I used English as well for convenience of communication. I could flexibly use different languages.

Stella practiced a flexible language ideology to socialize with others and gaining a legitimate position within the mainstream community. The above excerpt also reflected Stella's developmental view on languages as resources for communication. With a multicultural awareness, she was willing to accommodate the local friends through translanguaging and used Cantonese and English rather than English only to Chinese friends.

Despite having been born in Hong Kong and held a stable job in tertiary education, Stella felt ambivalent toward her identity. Although she had a strong connection to Hong Kong, she did not feel a part of it and, despite of Filipino heritage, she was not seen as a member of her heritage community. As she said:

Stella: Have you ever heard of a story called 'Joy Luck Club' written by Amy Tan? She's an American Chinese who wrote about four Chinese mothers who moved from Mainland to America. She talked about how the second-generation Chinese in America would code-switch when they talked to their mothers. For me, it's the same. You are like a piece of clay, so you have to relate to whomever you relate to.

Stella adopted "a piece of clay" as a metaphor to symbolize her self-positioning. She admitted that she was embarrassed about her heritage identity when she was a young teacher in

her 20s; however, when she grew older and after she had her children, she realized the importance of maintaining one's heritage language and culture for shaping one's identity and for claiming a legitimate position in the host society and in one's home country.

(j) Conclusions and Recommendations

This research contributes to literature by investigating the nexus of acculturation orientations, academic achievement, and Chinese language learning outcome of second-generation South Asian and Southeast Asian immigrants in Hong Kong; and identifying the ways in which second-generation immigrants resolve the dilemmas among their cultural identities, academic identity, Chinese language learning and transnational relationships in the host society. The results show that students with stronger academic identity reported superior Chinese reading and writing, thereby offering empirical support for previous studies (e.g., Gu et al., 2019; Berzonsky & Kuk, 2000; Nasir, McLaughlin, & Jones, 2009). Furthermore, students who perceived greater discrimination did not show a significantly different academic identity from other students and reported greater proficiency in reading and writing Chinese. Positive experiences such as smooth bi-culturation and socialization do not always drive superior Chinese language learning outcomes. And students with greater assimilation had weaker academic identity and reported poorer Chinese reading and writing. The negative link between assimilation and target language learning suggests the importance of maintaining the heritage identity and sense of belonging to heritage culture for enhancing the ethnic minority students' mainstream language learning. To identify the knowledge, values and aspects that enable second-generation immigrants to construct their academic identity, negotiate identity conflict, and facilitate their Chinese language learning, this study investigated the family language planning of migrant families, and the ideologies and linguistic practices informing their decision-making process through which they constructed identities across borders (King & Rambow, 2012; Hornberger et al., 2018). But it has been found that while the migrant mothers constructed developmental family language policies and actively constructed their lives and identities across communities and classes, they tended to hold separate views on language use and the contexts for language use and learning, and their language practices were not built on

a fluid multilingualism (García, 2009). By presenting the interrelations between family language planning and family members' experiences in other social domains such as schools, communities, the workplace and wider society, this study can enhance the public's understanding of the difficulties and struggles migrant families experience in the integration process and increase public awareness of the value and importance of recognizing differences, thus promoting a more inclusive society.

In addition, this study has generated a holistic and historical picture of the inter-generational transformation of acculturation and adaptation among South Asian immigrants, by presenting a picture of how two generations of immigrants have responded to marginalization, empowered themselves and fought for a legitimate position in the host society, accumulated human capital and experienced self-struggle and ambivalence in their identity construction, as well as how they developed different acculturation strategies for their children. As the first study to investigate the developmental path of two generations in the multicultural context of Hong Kong, the findings of this study could be compared with those from other empirical studies in other immigrant societies as part of a future research direction to draw implications at the pedagogical and policy levels.

This study has offered a resource package to establish more effective school-home collaboration to facilitate these students' acculturation and L2 learning; and to identify language teachers' and educators' roles in working with and for diverse learners, especially those from ethnic minority backgrounds, to construct a culturally and linguistically responsive society that provides equality and equity for immigrant families. The resource package in this study refers to the implications drawn from this study that can contribute to value creation, perceptual changes, and mutual understanding in any school-family partnership models aim for promoting the integration and socioemotional wellbeing of ethnic minority students. The results from the project have shown the "negative link between assimilation and target language learning" (p. 57), which has important implications on the current school-family partnership models. Both schools and families could work together in promoting a more positive stance toward heritage language

maintenance and an appreciation for multilingual perspectives toward L2 language learning and integration. In schools that accommodate ethnic minority students, traditional language educational approach that allows only the use of the dominant language among those students can be seen as concealing the linguistic and cultural capitals of the language-minoritized students (Bourdieu, 1991). For schools, a more inclusive model of foreign language education needs to be built. A more innovative, flexible approach that transgresses the hierarchical conceptualizations of languages could be adopted. This study has clearly shown that neglecting the value and cultural resources that South Asian ethnic minority students enact would not enhance the socioemotional well-being and would conversely inhibit the effectiveness of Chinese language learning. The schools could work with parents to develop a more positive stance toward heritage language maintenance and help ethnic minority students to construct a more flexible, multilingual identity that can truly empower their language learning and social integration. The above implications of the findings have been disseminated through journal publications, keynote speeches and invited talks, and public lecture with a wider audience of teachers, parents, and practitioners. Furthermore, the results suggested the importance of providing more support to foster a positive learning experience for ethnic minority students. Considering the negative impact of perceived discrimination on well-being, the government and schools can provide more support measures to facilitate their acculturation and socialization and offer more recognition of the value of their heritage cultures in the local curriculum and education policy, thereby promoting a positive learning experience of the ethnic minority students. This would also help them construct ethnic/heritage identity and multicultural identity to counter social discrimination (c.f., Miller-Cotto & Byrnes, 2016; Neblett, Terzian, & Harriott, 2010) and to contribute to target language learning. And this study can especially inform policy makers as they develop suitable immigration policy by providing an in-depth understanding of bottom-up language practices, language planning and implementation in migrant home contexts, which has the potential to guide policy makers in adjusting language education and provision measures. It would be desirable for policy makers to allocate long-term budgetary resources to facilitate heritage language

maintenance and learning among migrant children, and schools to revisit their educational and language policy in order to create chances for migrant children's multilingual development. More inter-cultural activities could be organized to create platforms in schools and communities for validating migrant students' linguistic and cultural resources.

Lastly, the findings suggest that it would be desirable if programs supporting selective acculturation (i.e., learning English and Chinese while uploading the value of the heritage language and culture), together with compensatory resources to help them deal with social discrimination, are needed to ward off the challenges faced today by immigrant families. Thus, it would also be desirable if ethnic minority students and their parents could be given a complete overview of the educational system, so as to help them understand social realities and the need to prepare themselves for assessment if they want to move upward. In the Hong Kong educational system, as in other multicultural societies, one-size-fits-all assessment may need to be modified over time to suit the needs of ethnic minority students in the local system, where their cultural and linguistic resources could be valued.

(k) Bibliography (*use APA Editorial Style throughout the report*)

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