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Abstract:	Understanding the value of monocultural acculturation orientation to the host culture (assimilation) and bicultural acculturation orientation (integration) for language learning is critical in guiding educational policy and practices for immigrant students. This study examined the relationship between acculturation orientation and second language learning. It generated two conceptual models to describe how cultural identification affect language learning as hypothesized in different theories on identity and second language learning, and tested these two hypothesized models in the immigration context of Hong Kong. A survey was conducted among a group of senior high school South Asian minority students on their learning of the language of the host culture, Chinese, to provide the basis for comparison. It was found that the students mainly adopted the bicultural/integration orientation and that bicultural orientation was the optimal acculturation orientation for learning Chinese. Bicultural orientation influenced the participants' Chinese language learning outcome through impacting psychosocial wellbeing and engagement with the target language and community. The findings suggest that we need to take both linguistic and psychosocial adjustment factors into consideration when conceptualizing the role of identity in second language learning. Further, this study cautions us against a context-independent stance towards the utility of assimilation for language learning.

Bicultural Orientation and Chinese Language Learning among South Asian Ethnic Minority Students in Hong Kong

Understanding the value of monocultural acculturation orientation to the host culture (assimilation) and bicultural acculturation orientation (integration) for language learning is critical in guiding educational policy and practices for immigrant students. This study aimed to enhance our understanding on the relationship between acculturation orientation and second language learning. It generated two conceptual models to describe how cultural identification affect language learning as hypothesized in different theories on identity and second language learning, and tested these two hypothesized models in the immigration context of Hong Kong. A survey was conducted among a group of senior high school South Asian minority students on their learning of the language of the host culture, Chinese, to provide the basis for comparison. It was found that the students mainly adopted the bicultural/integration orientation and that bicultural orientation was the optimal acculturation orientation for learning Chinese. Bicultural orientation influenced the participants' Chinese language learning outcome through impacting psychosocial wellbeing and engagement with the target language and community. The findings suggest that we need to take both linguistic and psychosocial adjustment factors into consideration when conceptualizing the role of identity in second language learning. Further, this study cautions us against a context-independent stance towards the utility of assimilation for language learning.

KEYWORDS bicultural identity; integration; bilingualism; multilingualism

Introduction

The intricate relationship between identity and language learning arises from the fact that language is a symbolic resource in a multilingual society, and that learners' self identification and the consequent values they place on a particular language or language variant have an enormous impact on their L2 learning. According to Duff (2010), findings of research on second language learning conducted from sociolinguistic and sociocultural perspectives have attested to the close relationship between identity and language learning. Research from a sociolinguistic perspective indicates that learners' identity positioning influences their selection of a desired target language reference group, which consequently shapes their language learning goals and outcomes. Research from a socio- and cultural- psychological perspectives suggests that the essential components of language learning – opportunities to speak with native speakers and exposure to the target language – are socially structured and subject to the influence of identity and perceived power relationships (Golan-Cook & Olshtain, 2011, Norton & McKinney, 2011). Learners' self-positioning in relation to society, not just immediate communities but also imagined communities across space and time, affects their motivational investment and participation in the L2 settings, and constrains or enables their learning behaviors (Norton & McKinney, 2011; Ushioda, 2011). The central role of identity in second language acquisition has been repeatedly confirmed by research evidence from multilingual, foreign language and study abroad contexts (Blackledge & Creese, 2008; Menard-Warwick, 2009; Norton, 2001).

At the same time, in today's globalized multilingual world, where many people are bilingual or multilingual speakers or members of multiple ethnic, social and cultural

communities, people are most often found to assume plural multidimensional identities (Benet-Martínez, 2012; Pavlenko, 2002). Research studies in different cultural contexts have found that immigrants most often embrace the target culture and language in an additive manner, whereby they assimilate and identify with the target culture and at the same time retain their ethnic identity. In this way, they form a bicultural or multicultural identity (Benet-Martínez, 2012; Golan-Cook & Olshtain, 2011). However, the dominant discourse in second language education emphasizes the value of L2 learners accommodating to the target cultural norms and language, and facilitating full assimilation into target cultural norms and language is a common practice in most countries (Masgoret & Gardner, 1999; Portes & Salas, 2010; Suarez-Orozco, Suarez-Orozco & Sattin-Bajaj, 2010). How such bicultural or multicultural orientation relates to second language learning has then become a natural question, and an urgent one as well. To understand the potential impact of bicultural orientation on language learning, we seek theorizations and concepts concerning identity both generic to human learning and specific to second language learning to get an integrative view of the role of identity in second language learning (Ushioda, 2012).

Bicultural Orientation and Learning

The cultural psychology field has explored extensively the impact of acculturation orientation on people's psychological and social well-being. Bicultural orientation refers to "the development of one's cultural self as a member of more than one cultural, ethnic and/or racial group" (Marks, Patton & Coll, 2011, p. 270). It is discussed in respect to the relationship of individuals' identification with the culture of ethnic origin and the culture of the receiving/host country in the case of immigrants (Benet-Martínez, 2012; Berry,

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2003). Among the various conceptualizations of acculturation, Berry's bidirectional

model of acculturation has been the most influential (Berry, 2003; Berry & Sabatier,

2011). Berry believes that individuals' affiliation with the host culture and the ethnic

culture are independent of each other, and it is possible for individuals simultaneously to

hold two or more cultural orientations. He further categorizes individual's acculturation

orientations into four types: assimilation (only interested in embracing the host culture),

integration (interested in embracing the host culture while maintaining the ethnic culture),

separation (only interested in maintaining the ethnic culture), and marginalization

(neither interested in embracing the host culture nor interested in maintaining the ethnic

culture). Integration, or bicultural orientation, has been found to be the most adaptive

acculturation attitude among the four in achieving psychosocial well being and adaptation

(Berry & Sabatier, 2010). A recent meta-analysis of 83 studies that examined the impact

of bicultural orientation found that there was a positive and significant relationship

between integration and both psychological well being (e.g., life satisfaction, self-esteem)

and sociocultural adjustment (e.g., social skills, academic achievement, career success).

The meta-analysis also showed that the relationships between integration and

psychosocial outcomes were statistically stronger than those of the other three

acculturation orientations (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2011). Specifically, individuals

who adopt an integration acculturation attitude and develop a bicultural identity usually

perceive the least amount of discrimination and undergo less acculturative stress (Berry

& Sabatier, 2010; David, Okazaki & Saw, 2009), possess higher self-esteem (Eyou,

Adair & Dixon, 2000; Phinney, Chavira & Williamson, 1992), and demonstrate greater

prosocial behaviors (Chen, Benet-Martínez & Bond, 2008; Schwartz, Zamboanga &

Jarvis, 2007). The reasons behind these positive effects are that individuals with a bicultural orientation tend to have greater competencies and cognitive flexibility in traversing the two cultures and utilizing the resources in both cultures to their benefit (Benet-Martínez, 2012).

Involvement and identification with both the host and ethnic cultures have been found to be associated with greater academic engagement as well. Both Gonzales et al. (2008) and López and his colleagues (2002) found that the Mexican American adolescents who had stronger ties with both Mexican and Anglo cultures tended to demonstrate higher academic self-efficacy and competence, stronger school attachment and higher educational aspirations, and gained greater academic achievement. Schwartz, Zamboanga and Jarvis (2007) found that Hispanic American adolescents who adopted both U.S. and Hispanic orientations were more likely to achieve better academic grades and to demonstrate prosocial behaviors as a result of lower acculturative stress and greater self-esteem. The same phenomenon was observed among Jamaican college students, in that the students who embraced the host cultural norms and at the same time kept close ties with their ethnic culture were found to have higher grade point averages (Buddington, 2002).

All in all, individuals with dual involvement and identification with both the host and ethnic cultures are found to be likely to experience a more positive acculturation process and demonstrate better psychosocial adjustments, which in turn facilitate greater academic engagement and learning outcomes. However, at the same time, researchers have also cautioned that the magnitude and direction of the association between integration orientation or bicultural identity and psychosocial and academic outcomes are

context dependent. The association is subject to the complex interactions between the immigration policies and social realities of the receiving countries, the characteristics of the immediate community or neighborhood contexts, and the characteristics and socioeconomic status of the immigrants (Benet-Martínez, 2012; Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Schwartz, Unger & Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010). For instance, the adaptive value of integration may vary depending on the nature of neighborhood makeup: in a predominantly non-ethnic neighborhood, assimilation may hold more adaptive value than integration (Benet-Martínez, 2012; Schnittker, 2002).

Bicultural Orientation and Second Language Learning

In the second language education domain, researchers have also conceptualized and explored the relationship between cultural identification and second language (L2) learning outcomes, and this relationship has been conceptualized differently in various socio-psychological models of L2 learning. In Gardner's (1985) Socio-Educational Model, the extent to which learners wish to identify with the target-language culture is a major factor in their L2 learning motivation, which in turn has a beneficial effect on L2 learning behaviors and outcomes. The possible role of maintaining one's ethnic culture in L2 learning is not discussed in this model. In Giles and Byrne's (1982) Inter-Group Model, strong identification with one's own ethnic culture and language is conceptualized as being associated with low levels of L2 communicative competency. Schumann's (1986) Acculturation Model theorizes that learners with assimilation acculturation strategies are most likely to achieve the highest level of second language fluency, whereas learners with integration acculturation strategies are likely to vary in their second language achievement depending on each individual's degree of contact with

the host language and culture. In contrast, in Lambert's (1974) conceptualization of *additive* and *subtractive bilingualism*, learners who hold positive views towards both their ethnic identity and the target-language culture are likely to become *balanced bilinguals*. Thus, existing theories that account for the relationship between acculturation orientation and language learning outcomes are consistent in their affirmation that identification with the target culture are significant predictor of second language learning, but diverge in their stances on the roles of bicultural orientation in second language learning and its association with second language learning behaviors and outcomes. The rationale behind these conceptualizations of identity and second language learning is that cultural identification influences both individuals' desire to engage with the target culture and language and the resources they subsequently allocate to contact with and interaction in the target culture and language, the intensity and nature of which determine the ultimate language learning outcomes.

There have been some attempts to examine empirically the relationship between acculturation orientation and second language learning. Masgoret and Gardner (1999) examined the impact of the four types of acculturation attitudes on self-rated English proficiency among 249 Spanish immigrants in Canada. They used a composite measure of assimilation, consisting of linguistic and cultural assimilation and Berry's assimilation acculturation attitude, and found that assimilation positively and significantly predicated self-rated English proficiency and psychological well-being (indicated by life satisfaction and acculturative stress). However, a composite measure of integration acculturation orientation, measured by integrative motivation and Berry's integration acculturation attitude, had only significant and positive impact on psychological well-being. The

authors thus concluded that an integration acculturation attitude is not a significant predictor of second language proficiency because engagement with both the host and ethnic language and cultures diverts learners away from sufficient opportunities to learn and practice the target language. Spenader (2011) did a case study of the Swedish language learning experience of four exchange college students in a one-year study abroad program. The four students demonstrated the four prototypes of Berry's acculturation orientation. Spenader found that the student who adopted an assimilation acculturation strategy spent the most time interacting with native speakers and was the most successful learner. However, the student who adopted the integration acculturation strategy also demonstrated good language learning outcomes and at the same time achieved overall psychological well-being. These findings were consistent in supporting the value of assimilation for language learning but were inconclusive in reference to the role of integration orientation in language learning.

Recent development in the conceptualization of the relationship between identity and language learning stresses more the impact of the dialectic relationships between social structure and human agency (Norton, 2001; Ushioda, 2011). These theories conceptualize that identity affects second language learning not through complete embracing of the host culture and withdrawal from one's ethnic culture (i.e., assimilation), but through influencing learners' motivational investment and participation in the L2 community as a result of the power relations and imagined future self-representations shaped by learners' ways of relating self to the world (Ushioda, 2011). Norton (2001) emphasizes that the interaction between the sociocultural context and personal agency shapes individuals' self-positioning in the society, which in turn influences opportunities

for language learning and use. Such conceptualizations give learners' agentic reactions a bigger role in determining language learning outcomes than is conceptualized in traditional socio-psychological models. Namely, learners' psychosocial reactions to acculturation shape power relations and future self-positioning, which in turn influence learners' engagement with the target language. When individuals' agentic reactions to sociocultural realities are added to the equation, assimilation may no longer have the absolute advantage, and the utility of acculturation attitudes for language learning may vary depending on the sociocultural contexts (Pavlenko, 2002; Ushioda, 2011). In contexts where bicultural/multicultural identity is the norm and leads to the most psychosocial well being, integration acculturation orientation may be more favorable in bringing about good learning outcomes. Cummins (2012) argued strongly that maintaining ethnic language literacy and a bicultural orientation give immigrants valuable social capital to utilize in the development of L2 literacy and academic achievement in general.

Some research evidence supports the essential role of bicultural orientation in language learning in some immigration contexts. For instance, Vanalainen (2010) examined the relationship between acculturation strategies and the achieved proficiency of Finnish among immigrants in Finland, and found that the majority of her 13 participants adopted an integration acculturation attitude. She further found that the participants' scores on the integration scale were positively associated with their self-rated Finnish proficiency. Lee (2001) surveyed 115 Korean undergraduate students at an American university on their acculturation strategies and English learning experience. She found that students' bicultural tendency was positively associated with their self-

reported English proficiency, and that students acknowledged that both assimilating into American society and securing positive acceptance of their ethnic identity were essential to improving their English proficiency. Cervatiuc (2009) interviewed successful adult immigrants in Canada on their language learning experience and found that the successful language learners tended to adopt a multilingual and bicultural identity to boost their self-confidence, which buffered the negative influence of the marginalization acculturation atmosphere. These learners also actively utilized their ethnic cultural capital as ways to enhance opportunities of interacting with native speakers so as to increase their communicative competency.

All in all, we see different conceptualizations of acculturation orientation and second language learning: the majority of socio-psychological models of acculturation attitudes and second language learning affirm the value of assimilation in facilitating positive learning outcomes through enhancing target language exposure and opportunities to use the target language, but are ambivalent about the necessity of integration acculturation orientation for successful language learning. Contemporary theories on identity and language learning seem to support a more relative view towards the utility of acculturation attitudes in language learning, and highlight the value of bicultural or multicultural orientation for language learning in some sociocultural contexts. These different conceptualizations on the relationships between learners' cultural identification and language learning may lead to different hypotheses on the working mechanisms behind acculturation attitudes and second language learning. This study aimed to test empirically different conceptualizations of the relationship between acculturation

orientation and second language learning in a multilingual society in order to understand how acculturation orientations relate to second language learning outcomes.

RESEARCH CONTEXT AND HYPOTHESIZED RELATIONSHIPS

Given that the acculturation-adjustment relationship is context-dependent (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Schwartz, Unger & Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010), it is sensible to consider the social realities the participants are facing when hypothesizing the relationship. The study was situated in Hong Kong, which had been a British colony for more than 100 years and was handed over to China in 1997. This historical background creates complex sociocultural and linguistic situations in Hong Kong (Gu & Patkin, 2013; Li, 2009). According to the latest population census in Hong Kong, 93.6% of the whole population in Hong Kong in 2011 was ethnic Chinese and 6.4% were ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities comprised of people from South- and Southeast Asia (around 73% of the ethnic minority population) – Indonesians, Filipinos, Indians, Pakistanis and Nepalese –, people from other regions of Asia such as Japanese, Koreans and Vietnamese, and people with Anglo-European backgrounds (i.e., Americans, British and Canadians) (Census and Statistics Department, 2012). South Asian ethnic minorities discussed in this study referred to people with south- and southeast- Asian heritage backgrounds.

Cantonese, English, Putonghua and heritage languages of the ethnic minorities form the complex linguistic landscape in Hong Kong. Cantonese is the dominant language, reported as the daily language by 89.5% of the population aged 5 and above (Census and Statistics Department, 2012). English is an official language in Hong Kong with great symbolic and instrumental values. After 1997, Cantonese is assigned greater value in Hong Kong society and is equally important as English to individual's career

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development and upward social mobility. Putonghua is also given more importance at school, although remaining "a somewhat peripheral language" (Gu & Patkin, 2013, p. 132). South Asian ethnic minorities are juggling in between English, Chinese (normally Cantonese) and their heritage languages. According to the latest population census, 41.7% of the Asians (non-Chinese) in Hong Kong reported English as the most-frequently used language at home, and there was great variation among the South Asian ethnic minority groups: 83.5% of the Filipinos, 37.2% of the Indians, 9.4% of the Pakistanis and 5.35 of the Nepalese reported English as the most-frequently used language at home. A large percent of the Nepalese, Pakistanis and Indians spoke their heritage languages at home. Only a small proportion of Filipinos, Indians, Pakistanis and Nepalese (4.1%, 4.6%, 5.5% and 2.3% respectively) reported Cantonese as the spoken language used at home (Census & Statistics, 2012). A survey study on South Asian ethnic minority students demonstrated that their perceived proficiency in these languages vary greatly: they normally report English as their strongest language in all four language skills, their grasp of ethnic languages varying among the language skills (having good speaking and listening abilities in their ethnic languages, but weaker reading and writing abilities), and Chinese as the weakest in all four language skills (Ku, Chan & Sandhu, 2005).

The education policy in Hong Kong emphasizes producing graduates with trilingual competency in Cantonese, Putonghua and English and bi-literacy competency in Chinese and English. Hong Kong implements a mother tongue (defined as the mother tongue of the majority Chinese ethnics) education policy and the majority of its primary and secondary schools use Chinese as medium of instruction, which has greatly reduced

South Asian students' social mobility since these students have frequently reported

encountering great difficulty grasping Chinese (Cantonese as the spoken form and

Modern Standardized Chinese as the written form) (Ku, Chan & Sandhu, 2005; Shum,

Gao, Tsung & Ki, 2011). Despite Hong Kong being a multilingual society, the South

Asian ethnic minority students do not have much exposure to Chinese in daily life since

the language(s) at home are usually their heritage languages and/or English, and they

most often live in geographically segregated regions in Hong Kong. Due to the language

barriers, South Asian ethnic minority students are constrained in their school choices, and

around 60% of them go to study in racially segregated schools that are characterized by a

high concentration of the ethnic minority students and use English as medium of

instruction. These schools usually have poor educational arrangements and low levels of

academic achievement.

South Asian ethnic minorities are the underprivileged social groups and usually of

low socio-economic status (Shum, Gao, Tsung & Ki, 2011). Although the Hong Kong

government claims that its policy regarding the ethnic minority groups is one of

integration, rather than assimilation, its integration policy has been found to be vague and

given low policy priority (Lee, Law & Kwok, 2012). South Asian ethnic minorities are

facing a lot of social obstacles and discrimination in society (Crabtree & Wong, 2012;

Kennedy & Hue, 2011). Immigration from South Asian ethnic groups has been a

historical phenomenon over several generations, and the South Asian community in Hong

Kong, although consisting of less than 5% of Hong Kong population, is stable (Kennedy,

2012). The intragroup cohesion is very strong and ethnic cultural norms are well

preserved within the community. The school that the participants attended is a

government-subsidized "designated" school (schools which commonly take ethnic

minority students and receive extra funding from the government), where the majority of

their classmates are from similar ethnic backgrounds. Thus the immediate schooling

environment is favorable to maintaining ethnic language and culture.

Given that individuals' acculturation attitudes are shaped by both group and the

larger society acculturation orientations (Benet-Martínez, 2012), we would expect that

the participants may orient towards valuing the instrumental value of the host culture and

language. But, at the same time, the strong group cohesion and the discrimination the

ethnic groups face in society would drive these younger generations towards ethnic

affirmation to buffer social discrimination (Thomas et al., 2009). Thus we would

hypothesize that the participants would perceive less threat in assuming an integration

acculturation attitude and were therefore most likely to adopt an integration acculturation

orientation (Benet-Martínez, 2012).

As for the working mechanisms behind acculturation attitudes and language

learning, two possible models were hypothesized. Model 1 was out of the consideration

that most socio-psychological models of second language learning acknowledge the

predominant effects of assimilation on second language learning outcome through

enhancing target language exposure and use and that cultural psychology literature

emphasizes the strong association between integration and psychological well-being and

sociocultural adjustments. Thus, we hypothesized Model 1 to be: (1) assimilation

influences language learning outcomes through enhancing contact with the host language,

Chinese, and with Chinese peers, and (2) integration influences language learning

outcomes primarily through fostering psychosocial well being. On the one hand,

assimilation acculturation orientation affects Chinese learning outcomes through

enhancing the amount of Chinese use and contact with Chinese peers. High amount of

Chinese use and contact with Chinese peers associate positively with confidence in

Chinese learning (Masgoret & Gardner, 1999; Spenlader, 2011), which influences

language learning outcome (Clement, Dörnyei & Noels, 1994; Park & Lee, 2004). On the

other hand, integration acculturation strategy strongly and positively predicts bicultural

competency (Benet-Martínez, 2012). High level of bicultural competency associates

positively with high self-esteem (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Schwartz, Zamboanga & Jarvis,

2007), which affects their Chinese learning outcomes (Cervatiuc, 2011). Model 2 was

based on the consideration of Lambert's (1974) theory on the importance of bicultural

identity in reaching balanced bilingualism and the theoretical arguments in the

contemporary theories on identity and language learning that highlights the dialectic

relationship between social structure and human agency and favors the value of

integration for language learning in sociocultural contexts where integration acculturation

are associated with positive psychosocial well-beings. Thus, we hypothesized an

alternative model in the context of Hong Kong (Model 2) whereby the integration

acculturation attitude affects language learning outcomes through both psychosocial

adjustment and language use opportunities. Specifically, according to this model, for one

thing, integration acculturation orientation strongly and positively predicts bicultural

competency (Benet-Martínez, 2012), and high level bicultural competency is associated

positively high self-esteem (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Schwartz, Zamboanga & Jarvis,

2007), which predicts better Chinese learning outcomes (Cervatiuc, 2011). For another,

integration acculturation orientation is positively associated with opportunities of Chinese

use and contact with Chinese speakers, and high amount of Chinese use and contact with Chinese peers associate positively with confidence in Chinese learning (Cervatiuc, 2011; Vanalainen, 2010), which influences language learning outcome (Clement, Dörnyei & Noels, 1994; Park & Lee, 2004). The two hypothesized models are illustrated in Figure 1. We intended to test these two hypothesized models to examine how integration acculturation orientation influences Hong Kong East Asian ethnic minority immigrants' Chinese language learning.

[Insert Figure 1 About here]

Research Methodology

Participants

Participants were 111 South Asian ethnic minority students who were in their first year of study at a senior high school in Hong Kong. The senior high school was a designated school for South Asian ethnic minority students, and thus the majority of the students were of South Asian ethnic backgrounds. The medium of instruction at the school was English, and Chinese was a mandatory second language course that every student was required to take. The Chinese course was streamed based on the students' proficiency, and this study included only the students from the Chinese as a Second Language stream.

The average age of the participants was 16. Fifty one percent of the participants were male and forty nine percent were female. They were of Pakistan (37%), Filipino (25%), India (19%) and Nepal (17%) ethnic backgrounds. 95% of the participants had Hong Kong citizenship. 41% of the participants were born in Hong Kong and 23% of them immigrated to Hong Kong before 5 years old. 22% of the participants' father and/or

mother were born in Hong Kong. Only 9% of them immigrated to Hong Kong after they were 11 years old. For those who immigrated to Hong Kong after birth, their average length of stay in Hong Kong was 9.8 years. 63% of the mom and 56% of the dad only received secondary or primary education (Table 1).

[Insert Table 1 About Here]

Research Instruments

Participants were surveyed on their cultural identification, language use and proficiency, Chinese and ethnic peer contact, acculturation attitudes, bicultural competency, self esteem, confidence in Chinese learning and relevant demographic information. Participants' end-of-semester Chinese grade was collected as the indicator of Chinese language learning outcome.

Cultural identification (6 items). Participants' cultural identification with ethnic culture and Hong Kong culture were elicited using the survey items used in Ben-Shalom and Horenczyk's (2000) study. Identification with each culture was measured by three items such as "I am proud to be a Hong Kongnese", "I feel close to Hong Kongnese wherever they are", and "If I were to be born again, I would prefer to be born as a Hong Kongnese." Cultural identification with ethnic culture and Hong Kong culture were calculated through averaging the three items that measured each.

Language proficiency and use (6 items). Participants rated their overall language proficiency in Chinese, English and their heritage language on a Likert scale of 1-6 (1=very little ability; 6=very high ability) through questions like "rate your overall English ability". Participants were surveyed on their frequency of using the three languages (Chinese, English and their heritage language), using questions like "How

much do you use Chinese in general?" Participants rated their frequency of language use on a scale of 1-6, 1 being "almost never" and 6 being "very often".

Acculturation attitudes (16 items). Berry et al.'s (2006) 20-item survey on the four types of acculturation attitudes was adapted to measure the participants' acculturation attitudes. The original survey measured five dimensions (i.e., language, social activities, friendship, cultural traditions, and marriage), but we chose not to include the items related to marriage because we feel this dimension is not very relevant to the particular group of participants' daily life. In Berry et al's (2006) survey, each dimension was measured using double-barrel items. For example, to measure participants' acculturation attitudes in the cultural tradition dimension, four survey items were included: "I feel that I should maintain my own ethnic cultural traditions but also adapt to those of Hong Kong culture" (integration); "I feel that I should adapt to Hong Kong cultural traditions and not maintain those of my ethnic culture group" (assimilation); "I feel that I should maintain my own cultural traditions and not adapt to those of Hong Kong culture" (separation) and "I feel that it is not important for me either to maintain my own ethnic cultural traditions nor to adapt to those of Hong Kong culture" (marginalization). A Likert scale of 1-6 was used, with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 6 being "strongly agree". Each type of acculturation attitude was measured by four items and these four items were averaged to come up with the composite score of each acculturation attitude.

Peer Contact (6 items). Berry et al.'s (2006) survey items on peer contact were used to measure participants' contact with ethnic peers and Chinese peers. Participants were asked to indicate the amount of close friends they have in both cultures on a Likert scale of 1-5 (1= none; 5=many) through answering the question "How many close

Chinese friends do you have?" They were also asked to rate their frequency of contact with ethnic and Chinese peers in and out of school: "How often do you spend free time in school with your ethnic culture peers?" and "How often do you spend free time out of school with your ethnic culture peers?" A Likert Scale of 1-5 was used, with 1 being "almost never" and 5 being "very often". Participants' contact with peers of Chinese and ethnic origin were calculated through averaging the three items that measured their respective peer contact.

Bicultural competency (6 items). Survey items from David et al. (2009) were adapted to measure the six dimensions of bicultural competence identified by LaFromboise et al (1993). These items measured the participants' social groundedness, communication ability, knowledge, role repertoire and bicultural beliefs, using statements like "I can communicate my ideas effectively to both Hong Kong people and people from the same heritage culture as myself." A Likert scale of 1-6 was used, with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 6 being "strongly agree". The six items were averaged to calculate the composite score for bicultural competency.

Self-esteem (5 items). Rosenberg's (1965) self-esteem scale was adapted to measure the participants' general self-esteem. This scale included five positively worded items (e.g., "On the whole, I am satisfied with myself") and five negatively worded items (e.g., "At times, I think I am no good at all"). This study only incorporated the five positively worded items because the negative items in Rosenberg's survey have often been found to cause method effects that threaten the uni-dimensionality of the whole survey (Lindwall et al. 2012). A Likert scale of 1-6 was used, with 1 being "strongly

disagree" and 6 being "strongly agree". The five items were averaged to calculate the composite score for self esteem.

Chinese learning self confidence (2 items). For self confidence in learning Chinese, we elicited learners' 'language ability confidence (i.e., perception of their current Chinese proficiency) and 'language potential confidence" (i.e., perception of their abilities to learn Chinese well) (Park & Lee, 2004, p. 202). Participants' rating on their overall Chinese proficiency was used as the indicator of their perception of current Chinese proficiency. Participants also were asked to rate their confidence in learning Chinese well: "Rate your degree of confidence about how well you can learn Chinese language" on a scale of 1-6, 1 being "cannot do it at all" and 6 being "highly certain I can do it". The two items on confidence in Chinese learning were averaged to calculate the composite score of self-confidence.

Chinese score. The participants' test results in the school-based Chinese exam at the end of the semester were collected. All the participants sat through the same Chinese exam. The Chinese exam consisted of four components, listening (20%), speaking (30%), reading (20%) and writing (30%), following the format of GCSE Chinese administered by Edexcel, a major examination board in Britain.

The survey was pilot tested among 8 students not included in this main study to identify potential language issues, and as a result, the wordings of six items were modified to make them more comprehensible to the students.

Data Collection and Analysis

The survey was administered in class at the mid of the school term. The survey was in English. English was selected as the survey language because South Asian ethnic

minority students usually have stronger English proficiency than their Chinese and heritage language proficiency. The pilot test showed that the students did not have much difficulty understanding the English survey. To avoid any potential problems caused by the survey language, the researchers were present in the classrooms during the data collection to answer any questions the participants when filling out the survey. At the end of the school term, students' end-of-term Chinese exam grades were collected.

Path analysis techniques were used to analyze how acculturation attitudes interact with other factors to influence the participants' Chinese learning outcomes. This analytic technique was chosen because it allowed us to test the fit between two or more hypothesized models with the data and to unravel the intricate relationships between the factors in the models and identify the factors that mediate the potential influence of acculturation attitudes on learning outcome. Amos 20.0 was used to estimate the models, and Maximum Likelihood Estimation was used to fit the models and estimate parameters. The absolute fit indices, $\chi 2$ statistic and CMIN/DF, the parsimonious indices, root mean square of approximation (RMSEA), the incremental fit indices, the comparative fit index (CFI) and the Tucker-Lewis index (TLI), were used to assess the model fit. The absolute indices measure whether the variables are independent, the parsimonious index indicates the badness-of-fit of the model (larger values signal worse fit), and the incremental fit indices measure the goodness-of-fit of the model (larger values signal good fit) (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013).

Results and Discussion

Descriptive Statistics

The participants reported English as their most proficient language (M=4.86, SD=0.70), followed by their heritage language (M=4.62, SD=1.24). They reported the least proficiency in Chinese (M=3.07, SD=1.29). Repeated measure ANOVA test and Bonferroni post-hoc tests showed that there was a statistically significant difference among their reported language proficiency (F=113.44, p<.01): their reported Chinese language proficiency was significantly lower than that of English and their heritage language, whereas there was no significant difference between English proficiency and heritage language proficiency. Repeated measure ANOVA test and Bonferroni post-hoc tests also showed the same pattern with their language use: Their use of Chinese was the least frequent and most diverse (M=3.21, SD=1.26). The frequency of Chinese use was significantly less than that of English (M=5.45, SD=0.72) and heritage language use (M=5.22, SD=1.09). There were no significant difference between their use of English and heritage language.

The participants reported hanging out more with their ethnic peers within and outside school (M=4.24, SD=0.74) than with Chinese peers (M=2.44, SD=0.90), and paired t-test suggested the difference was statistically significant (t=18.54, p<.01). The participants identified both with Hong Kong culture (M=4.32, SD=1.04) and Ethnic culture (M=4.87, SD=1.05), although their identification with their Ethnic culture was significantly higher than their identification with Hong Kong culture (t=5.39, p<.01) . They reported themselves as adopting a strong integration acculturation attitudes (M=4.73, SD=0.79), followed by separation attitudes (M=2.94, SD=0.90) and assimilation attitudes (M=2.71, SD=0.86). Their rating on marginalization was the weakest (M=2.24, SD=0.99). Repeated measure ANOVA analysis suggested a

statistically significant difference among the four acculturation attitudes (F=196.47, p<.01). Bonferroni post-hoc tests showed that the participants' ratings on the integration acculturation attitudes were significantly higher than those of the other three acculturation attitudes. This bicultural identification profile reflects the social reality they are facing. On the one hand, South Asian ethnic minorities have been living in Hong Kong for generations and have developed a strong sense of identity with Hong Kong society. On the other hand, South Asian groups face a lot of social discrimination and biased education policies (e.g., they have little chance of getting into the public school system due to language barriers and hence, mostly attend designated schools set aside for ethnic minority students; they mainly aggregate in low socio-economic regions), which make it hard for them to assimilate into society. As a result, they may react by holding on to their ethnic culture to buffer them against social hardships. The maintenance of ethnic culture is further reinforced by the strong intragroup cohesion due to their particular religious and community bonds.

[Insert Table 2 About Here]

Path Analysis

The model fit indices for Model 1 was not satisfactory: Chi-Square was 39.96 and CMIN/DF was 2.50, p=0.001. The Chi-Square test was significant, which suggests that the model did not fit the data well. RMSEA was 0.12 (lower 90% =0.07; higher 90%=0.16), which indicates a poor fit of the model with the data. CFI was 0.89 and TLI was 0.80, which also indicates poorness of fit (See Table 3 for the recommended cut-off values for each index).

The path analysis indices for Model 2 were good and showed a good fit with the data: Chi-Square was 11.05 and CMIN/DF was 1.23, p=0.27; CFI was 0.99 and TLI was 0.97; and RMSEA was 0.045 (lower 90% =0.00; higher 90%=0.12). The model explained 34.3% of the variation in Chinese learning outcomes.

[Insert Table 3 About Here]

The path analysis results suggest that the integration acculturation attitude was a significant predictor of the South Asian ethnic minority students' Chinese language learning outcome. Integration orientation not only was associated with positive psychosocial well-being, but also influenced contact with Chinese peers and Chinese use opportunities, both of which contributed positively and significantly to Chinese language learning outcomes. The finding differs from the results of Masgoret and Gardner's (1999) study of adult Spanish immigrants in Canada. Their study found that assimilation was the only acculturation attitude that was related to target language proficiency, and integration only influenced psychosocial well-being. The discrepancy in findings might be due to the fact that the two studies examined different sociocultural contexts. Masgoret and Gardner studied immigrants' language learning experience in a society with a favorable immigration policy, where immigrants face relatively little psychosocial threat regardless of whether they adopt an assimilation or an integration acculturation strategy. In such contexts, the value of assimilation for language learning would be fully realized and would show to be the most important determinant of language learning outcomes, as Masgoret and Gardner (1999) confirmed in their study. However, the present study studied immigrants' language learning experience in a society with less favorable immigration and education policies. The unfavorable education policy makes it hard for

ethnic minority students to assimilate fully into society, and at the same time, the students

face strong expectations in regard to ethnic maintenance from their ethnic communities.

In such a social context, adopting an assimilation strategy might threaten their ties with

their ethnic communities and their sense of belonging, which may ultimately endanger

their psychosocial well-being and adaptation. In such contexts, integration, or bicultural

orientation, might be more conducive to language learning in that it relates to positive

psychosocial well-being and opportunities to engage with the language of the host culture.

On the other hand, assimilation may lose its absolute advantage in such contexts since

assimilation, despite leading to greater language engagement, may threaten students'

psychosocial well-being and adaptation. Thus, this finding cautions us against a universal

affirmation of the absolute value of assimilation for language learning and against a

"monolingual and monocultural bias' in language policies of educational programs

regardless of the sociocultural contexts.

The Final Model

The final model showed that, as hypothesized, integration acculturation attitude

had a significant positive impact on South Asian ethnic minority students' Chinese

language learning outcome (β=0.17, p<.01). This influence was mediated by various

variables along two routes: positive psychosocial well-being (i.e., bicultural competence

and self-esteem) and high level of engagement with the L2 community (i.e., more contact

with Chinese peers, greater use of the Chinese language and high confidence in Chinese

learning) (See Figure 2). These two routes of influence together explained 34.3% of the

variation in participants' Chinese language learning outcome.

[Insert Figure 2 About Here]

Influences of the integration acculturation attitude on Chinese learning outcome through psychosocial well-being. Integration acculturation attitude influences Chinese language learning outcome through bicultural competency (β=0.06, p<.01) (See Table 4 for standardized direct-, indirect- and total-effects of various determinants and mediators on Chinese language learning outcome). Integration acculturation attitude directly and positively affected learners' bicultural competency (β=0.37, p<.001). Bicultural competency influenced language learning outcome through self-esteem (β=0.10, p<.01) and through frequency of language use (β=0.09, p<.05). Bicultural competency positively influenced learners' general self-esteem (β=0.40, p<.001). Learners' general self-esteem influenced learners' Chinese language learning outcome both directly (β=0.16, p<.05) and indirectly through learners' self confidence in Chinese learning (β=0.08, p<.01), with a significant total effect of 0.24 (p<.01). In line with other studies (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Schwartz, Zamboanga & Jarvis, 2007), the present study found that the integration acculturation attitude to language learning was associated positively with learners' competencies in traversing their ethnic culture and the host culture (Benet-Martínez, 2012). The greater bicultural competency participants perceived themselves to possess, the greater self-esteem they reported. And greater self-esteem was associated with greater gains in their language learning (Cervatiuc, 2011).

[Insert Table 4 About Here]

Influences of the integration acculturation attitude on Chinese learning outcome through opportunities for Chinese use. The integration acculturation attitude also significantly and positively influenced participants' Chinese language learning outcome through learners' engagement with the host community, namely the frequency of

learners' use of Chinese in general (β=0.07, p<.05) and learners' contact with Chinese peers (β=0.04, p<.01). The integration acculturation attitude positively predicted learners' contact with Chinese peers (β=0.19, p<.05) and the frequency of learners' use of Chinese in general (β=0.20, p<.05). Learners' contact with Chinese peers influenced Chinese learning outcome indirectly through frequency of use of Chinese in general (β=0.09, p<.05) and through self confidence in learning Chinese (β=0.10, p<.01), with a total effect of 0.19 (p<.01). Frequency of learners' use of Chinese in general influenced language learning outcomes both directly (β=0.12, p>.05) and indirectly through self confidence in Chinese learning (β=0.22, p<.01). The direct effect was not significant, which might be due to the fact that the participants did not use much Chinese in general and the small amount of Chinese may not be sufficient to make a significant direct impact on Chinese learning scores. Moreover, this variable only measured the quantity of language use with its quality unaccounted for, and the quality of language use matters more than the quantity of language use in influencing the development of language competency. Nonetheless, frequency of learners' use of Chinese in general had a significant total effect on Chinese language learning outcomes (β=0.34, p<.01), and the effect came largely from its positive impact on learners' self confidence in Chinese learning. Learners' self confidence in Chinese learning mediated the effects of both the frequency of Chinese use and the contact with Chinese peers, and influenced Chinese language learning outcome directly (β=0.45, p<.001). In summary, a major effect of the integration acculturation attitude on language learning outcomes was the enhancement of opportunities to engage with the host community (Lee, 2001; Vanalainen, 2011), which positively influenced learners' self confidence in learning the language.

Moreover, the two routes were not independent of each other, and psychosocial well-being was found to be associated with learners' engagement with the target language community. The influence of bicultural competency on language learning outcome was mediated by frequency of Chinese use in general and the associated self-confidence in learning Chinese ($\beta=0.09$, $p<.05$). Thus, the greater bicultural competency the participants perceived them to possess, the more frequent did they seek out opportunities to use the target language. The influence of self-esteem on language learning outcome was also found to be mediated by self confidence in Chinese learning ($\beta=0.08$, $p<.01$). This finding indicated that high self-esteem in general is associated with high confidence in language learning, which predicts language learning outcome.

Overall, the findings confirm that integration acculturation orientation influences second language learning outcomes through impacting learners' opportunities to engage with the host community (Norton, 2001; Ushioda, 2011) and the associated self confidence in learning the language (Cervatiuc, 2011; Vanalainen, 2010). However, the finding also points out that it is not the only route of influence: integration acculturation also influences second language learning through impacting learners' bicultural competency and general self-esteem. More importantly, this second route of influence also reinforces the first route of influence: bicultural competency influences learners' frequency of using the target language and general self-esteem affects learners' self-confidence in learning the language. Thus, the findings suggest that when conceptualizing the relationship between identity and second language learning, we should take into consideration not only the L2-specific constructs and processes, but also the concepts and processes generic to human learning (Ushioda, 2012).

Conclusion

This study examined the relationships between acculturation attitudes and second language learning. It tested two models of relationship conceptualization about cultural identification and language learning on the Chinese learning experience of South Asian ethnic minority students in Hong Kong. It found that integration acculturation attitudes predict good language learning outcomes. For one thing, the integration acculturation attitude impacts language learning outcome through influencing frequency of target language use and contact with target culture peers, and the associated confidence in learning the language. For another, the integration acculturation impacts language learning outcome through affecting bicultural competency and general self-esteem, which are associated with frequency of target language use and confidence in language learning respectively. The findings from this study caution us against a context-independent stance towards the utility of assimilation in language learning, and suggest that the integration acculturation attitude may hold greater value in language learning in certain sociocultural contexts. The findings concur with the arguments concerning the importance of understanding the interactional context in which acculturation occurs and the mediating role of the social context in the relationship between acculturation and adjustment (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; Schwartz, Unger & Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010). They remind us that the relative utility of an assimilation or an integration acculturation orientation for language learning needs to be conceptualized and evaluated in relation to the realities of different sociocultural contexts. In particular, this study suggests that integration or bicultural acculturation might be an optimal acculturation orientation for language learning in social contexts where the learners have low socioeconomic status, face strong

social discrimination and belong to highly cohesive ethnic communities with strong

expectations concerning the preservation of ethnic cultural norms and religions. Thus, we

need to reconsider the appropriateness of the language policies and practices in

educational programs across quite a few countries that ignore or downplay the

importance of maintaining the ethnic culture and language. Furthermore, the findings

suggest that we need to take both linguistic and psychosocial adjustment factors into

consideration when conceptualizing the relationship between identity and second

language learning.

This study has several limitations. First, this study examined the impact of

bicultural orientation on language learning outcomes in the particular sociocultural

context of Hong Kong. The immigration and education policy in Hong Kong is

assimilation-oriented, and ethnic minority students face high acculturation stress, low

socio-economic status and strong cohesion within their ethnic minority communities. In

such a context, integration acculturation orientation is the most favorable socio-

psychological response to acculturation, associating positively with socio-psychological

well beings and access to the target culture and language. The socio-psychological well

beings and access to the target culture and language are positively associated with

language learning outcomes. However, the advantage of integration acculturation

orientation may not stand in different sociocultural contexts that have different

immigration and education policies and with different ethnic minority groups that have

different characteristics and socio-economic status. It would be interesting to examine the

relationship between acculturation attitudes and language learning in interactional

contexts with different configurations of sociocultural variables (Schwartz, Unger &

Zamboanga, in press). Second, this study took a universalist approach to acculturation, which emphasizes the commonalities and shared psychological processes underlying acculturation and the consequent adaptation and learning, in order to quantify the causal processes behind the acculturation attitudes and language learning outcomes of a group of students at a certain point in their life experience. Although valuable in presenting a holist account of the relationships of these two variables, it falls short of capturing the complexity and dynamic nature of the relationship in response to the interaction between social contexts and personal agency. Future studies could examine how acculturation attitudes are formed and change in response to the interaction between sociocultural contexts and personal agency, and how these changes in acculturation attitudes affect the relationship between acculturation attitudes and language learning outcomes over time. Third, the research finding is also constrained by the variables we chose to include in the model and the way we elicited these variables, which might have led to the result that the model explained only 34.3% of the variation in Chinese learning outcome. For instance, learners' frequency of Chinese use was elicited through a rough measure of the general frequency of using the language, without examining the use of various language skills and in various social contexts. Future studies may want to include other variables that might mediate the relationship between bicultural identity and learning outcome, and/or include more fine-grained measure of current variables to better understand the pathways through which bicultural identity influences language learning outcome.

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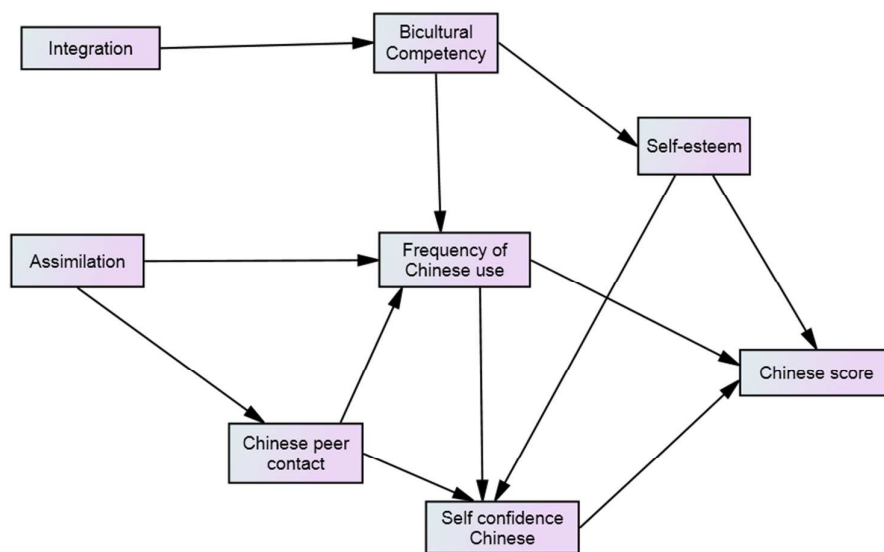
Model 1
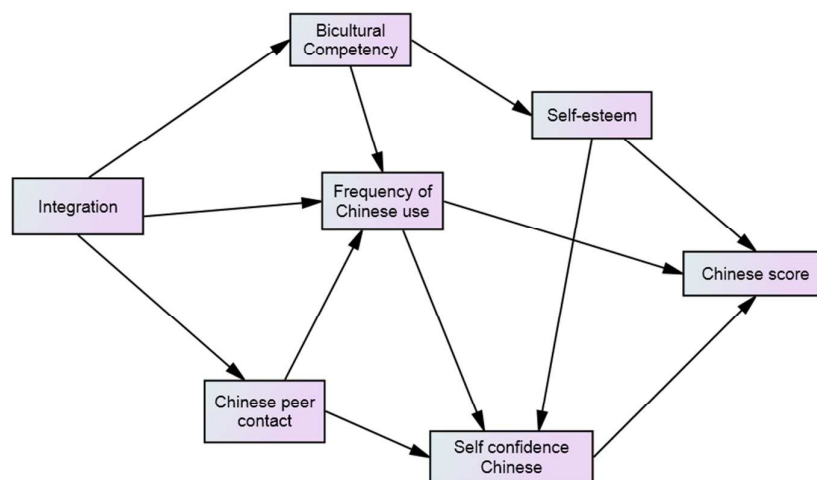
Model 2

Figure 1. The Hypothesized Models
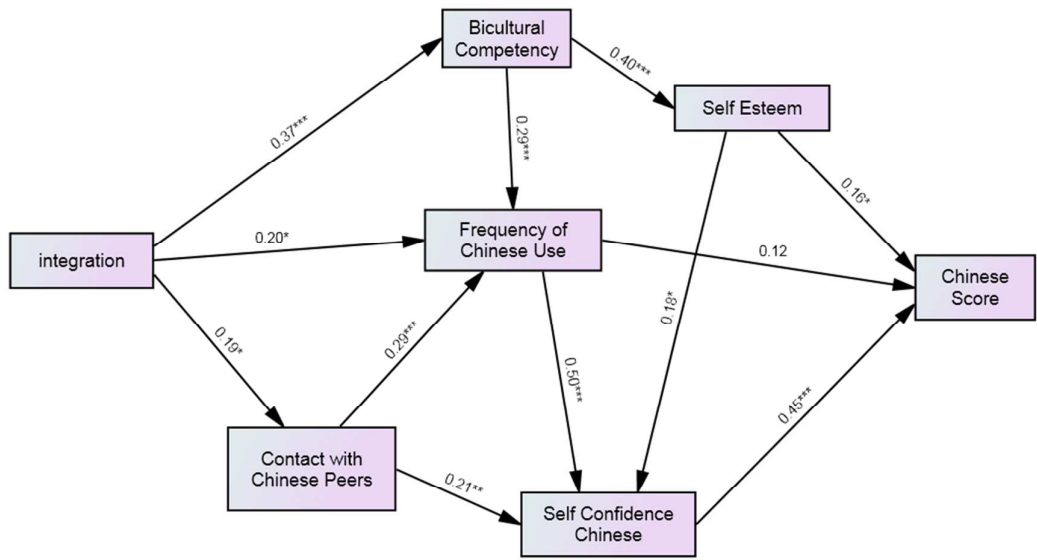
Figure 2. The final model

Table 1. *Demographic Descriptive (N=111)*

Variable	N	% of valid N
Gender		
Male	57	51%
Female	54	49%
Citizenship		
Hong Kong	106	95%
Ethnic Backgrounds		
Pakistan	41	37%
Filipino	28	25%
Indian	21	19%
Nepalese	19	17%
Undisclosed	2	2%
Age of Immigration		
Born in Hong Kong	46	41%
<5	25	23%
5-10	22	20%
11-15	10	9%
undisclosed	8	7%
Mom's Education		
≤ primary school	24	22%
Middle – high school	46	41%
≥ college	39	35%
undisclosed	2	2%
Dad's Education		
≤ primary school	13	12%
Middle – high school	49	44%
≥ college	47	42%
undisclosed	2	2%

Table 2. *Descriptors of the Variables: Descriptive Statistics (N=111)*

General Profile

Variable	Range	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	item	α
Cultural Identification							
Hong Kong	1-6	1.00	6.00	4.32	1.04	3	0.72
Ethnic culture	1-6	1.00	6.00	4.87	1.05	3	0.85
Language Proficiency							
Chinese	1-6	1.00	6.00	3.07	1.29	1	n/a
English	1-6	3.00	6.00	4.86	0.70	1	n/a
Ethnic Language	1-6	1.00	6.00	4.62	1.24	1	n/a
Language Use							
Chinese	1-6	1.00	6.00	3.21	1.26	1	n/a
English	1-6	3.00	6.00	5.45	0.72	1	n/a
Ethnic Language	1-6	1.00	6.00	5.22	1.09	1	n/a
Peer Contact							
Chinese peers	1-5	1.00	4.33	2.44	0.90	3	0.76
Ethnic peers	1-5	2.00	5.00	4.24	0.74	3	0.77

Variables Examined in the Models

Variable	Range	Min.	Max.	Mean	SD	item	α	Correlations									
								Grade	CPC	CLU	SCC	BC	SE	AA (mar)	AA (sep)	AA (ass)	AA (int)
Acculturation Attitude (AA)																	
Integration	1-6	2.50	6.00	4.73	0.79	4	0.72	.20*	.19*	.35**	.20*	.37**	.21*	-.34**	-.31**	.06	1
Assimilation	1-6	1.00	5.00	2.71	0.86	4	0.72	-.23*	.31**	.10	.09	.07	-.14	.54**	.34**	1	
Separation	1-6	1.00	5.50	2.94	0.90	4	0.67	-.15	.13	-.05	.06	-.06	-.003	.52**	1		
Marginalization	1-6	1.00	5.25	2.24	0.99	4	0.74	-.19*	.21*	-.07	.06	-.18	-.15	1			
Self Esteem (SE)	1-6	2.20	6.00	4.44	0.81	5	0.85	.35**	.15	.29*	.35**	.40**	1				
Bicultural Competency (BC)	1-6	2.33	6.00	4.16	0.71	6	0.83	.30**	.29**	.44**	.34**	1					
Self Confidence in Chinese (SCC)	1-6	1.00	5.50	3.09	1.08	2	0.75	.58**	.43**	.63**	1						
Chinese Language Use (CLU)	1-6	1.00	6.00	3.21	1.26	1	n/a	.44**	.41**	1							
Chinese peer contact (CPC)	1-5	1.00	4.33	2.44	0.90	3	0.76	.21*	1								
Chinese Grade	n/a	13.00	98.00	65.45	19.57	n/a	n/a	1									

Table 3. *Fit Indices for Two Different Path Models*

Model	Chi-square	CMIN/DF	RMSEA	TLI	CFI
Guideline (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2013)	Non-significant	<2	<0.05	>0.95	>0.95
Model 1	39.96 (p=0.001)	2.50	0.12	0.80	0.89
Model 2	11.05 (p=0.27)	1.23	0.045	0.97	0.99

Table 4. *Standardized Direct-, Indirect-, and Total-Effects of the Final Model*

Outcome	Determinant	Mediator	Standardized Estimates		
			Direct Effect	Indirect Effect	Total Effect
Grade ($R^2 = .34$)	Self Confidence in Chinese		.45(.09)***		.45***
	Self Esteem		.16(.09)*		.24**
		Self Confidence in Chinese		.08(.04)**	
	Frequency of Chinese Use		.12(.10)		.34**
		Self Confidence in Chinese		.22(.06)**	
	Bicultural competency	Self Esteem		.10(.05)**	.19**
		Frequency of Chinese Use		.09(.06)*	
	Contact with Chinese Peers	Self Confidence in Chinese		.10(.04)**	.19**
		Frequency of Chinese Use		.09(.05)*	
	Integration	Bicultural Competency		.06(.03)**	.17**
		Frequency of Chinese Use		.07(.04)*	
		Contact with Chinese Peers		.04(.02)**	

Note: ***$p < .001$; **$p < .01$; *$p < .05$. The first number reports the effect size; the number in the parentheses is the standard error.