Acculturative Experiences of Pakistani Secondary School Students in Hong Kong:

A Phenomenographic Inquiry

by

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Abstract

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This study offers an in-depth understanding of acculturative experiences among a group of Pakistani secondary school students in Hong Kong. The study findings seek to report the various ways in which the research participants experience acculturation in the familial, communal, educational, and societal contexts and identify the various factors that facilitate or hinder their acculturation to mainstream society. The study employed a culture learning approach and adopted a strength-based perspective to understand the lived acculturative experiences of first-generation and second-generation Pakistani students (n-16) attending six different secondary schools in Hong Kong. Phenomenography as research methodology guided the study, and data was collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews. The phenomenographic data analysis aided by *Nvivo* software resulted in twenty-eight categories representing the different ways in which the research participants experience acculturation. The three findings chapters delineate what and how the participants learn about their heritage culture (enculturation) as well as other cultures (acculturation) and what factors hinder their acculturation to the mainstream society.

While growing up in the multicultural city of Hong Kong, the research participants not only learn about their social identities and acquire multiple languages but also learn about their heritage culture and other cultures. Although all the participants make sense of their social identities differently, their place of birth, ethnicity, nationality, and religious affiliation shape their hyphenated identities. The acquisition of linguistic capital in multiple languages, including mother tongue, Urdu, English, Cantonese, and Arabic, facilitate their learning about heritage culture and other cultures. Their everyday socialization across the social settings results in both their enculturation as well as acculturation.

Within the familial context, language preferences, dietary practices and ethnic cuisine, parenting styles and family relationships, the consumption of ethnic media, and daily domestic engagement proved to be the primary sources of their enculturation. Their religious education practices and participation in daily obligations further facilitate their learning about heritage culture. Attending public schools with non-Chinese students' concentration, everyday teaching and learning with peers from diverse ethnic backgrounds, interactions with teachers, and academic engagement helped the research participants' learning about other cultures and hence their acculturation. Their everyday intercultural encounters and socialization, experiences of difficulties in fulfilling ethnic needs, and the intercultural awareness through popular media in the larger society facilitated learning about both of their heritage culture and other cultural groups in Hong Kong.

As for the acculturative challenges, the study found several factors across the contexts of socialization that potentially hinder the participants' acculturation to mainstream society. The

lack of supportive conditions in the family, ethnic and non-Chinese friendships and socialization in the neighborhoods and community, the practice of segregated schools, lack of teachers' sensitivity toward special educational needs among non-Chinese students, and the lack of social support and facilitation in schools account for their acculturative difficulties in Hong Kong. The incidents of prejudice and discrimination, the lack of interaction with locals, the lack of intercultural understanding, and the lack of accommodation towards ethnic needs and preferences in the larger society also hamper the participants' acculturation to mainstream culture.

In light of these findings, the study discusses the potential theoretical, practical, and research implications. It also underscores the limitations of the study.

Keywords: Acculturation, Intercultural Learning, Pakistani Students, Phenomenography, Hong Kong

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List of Abbreviations

DSS	Direct Subsidy Scheme
EDB	Education Bureau
EMs	Ethnic Minorities
EMS	Ethnic Minority Students
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GMDAC	Global Migration Data Analysis Centre
HKDSE	Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education
HPES	Highest Performing Education System
IDI	Intercultural Development Inventory
IES	Independent Enquiry Study
IGCSE	International General Certificate of Secondary Education
KG	Kindergarten
LRT	Light Rail Transit
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MTR	Mass Transit Railway
NCS	Non-Chinese Speaking
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PE	Physical Education
RDO	Racial Discrimination Ordinance

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The Focus of the Chapter

This chapter introduces the thesis and outlines its structure. Section 1.1 gives an introduction to the thesis, and section 1.2 describes the background of the study and advances the concept of acculturation. Section 1.3 through 1.5 highlights the purpose of the study, the research questions, and the research focus, respectively. Section 1.6 explains the rationale of the study. Section 1.7 introduces the research methodology, while section 1.9 elaborates the significance of the study. Section1.10 gives an overview of the thesis structure and its chapters, and section 1.10 concludes the chapter.

1.1. Introduction

This thesis provides an in-depth understanding of acculturative experiences among a group of Pakistani secondary school students in Hong Kong. It seeks to report the various ways in which the research participants experience acculturation and identify the various factors that facilitate or hinder their acculturation to mainstream society. The study employed a culture learning approach to understand the lived acculturative experiences of first-generation and second-generation Pakistani students (n-16) attending six different secondary schools in Hong Kong. Phenomenography as research methodology guided the study, and data was collected through in-depth semi-structured interviews. The phenomenographic data analysis aided by *Nvivo* software resulted in twenty-eight categories representing the different ways in which the research participants experience acculturation. The three findings chapters delineate what and how the

participants learn about their heritage culture as well as other cultures and what factors hinder their acculturation to the local culture. The discussion chapter discusses the study findings in light of existing studies, whereas the final chapter concludes the thesis and underscores its theoretical, practical, and future research implications.

1.2. Background of the Study

Cultural diversity and intercultural contact have emerged as the essential features of our contemporary multicultural societies throughout the world. Today, most of the social contexts are heterogeneous in terms of race, culture, religion, ethnicity, and language. In this context, a growing body of research and scholarship examines the notions of multiculturalism, transnationalism, and globalization across the societies of settlement. People with diverse backgrounds not only interact with each other but also influence each other in a variety of ways. The phenomenon of *intercultural contact* and its consequences on people from diverse cultural groups in multicultural contexts has been conceptualized as *acculturation* (Redfield, Linton, Herskovits, 1936; Berry, 2005; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Accordingly, acculturation is inherent to the everyday life of people living in multicultural societies irrespective of their socio-economic status and nationality.

Despite the unprecedented growth of scientific research on acculturation during the last century, researchers hardly agree on a single definition (Rudmin, 2003; van de Vijver, 2018). This lack of agreement suggests that the phenomenon of acculturation is a complex and multidimensional

construct (Schwartz & Unger, 2017). Nevertheless, recent studies with immigrants and ethnic minorities describe acculturation as a dual process of acquiring knowledge and skills about social identities, behaviors, and values related to both the heritage culture and that of the mainstream society (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). However, some scholars describe acculturation as second culture learning (Rudmin, Wang, & de Castro, 2017) contrasting it with *enculturation* as first culture or heritage culture learning (Alamilla, Kim, Walker, & Sisson, 2017; Ferguson, Costigan, Clarke, & Ge, 2016; Yoon, et al., 2013). Indeed some prefer using enculturation than acculturation because "Migrants and the offspring of migrants continue to enculturate elements of the various cultural manifestations available to them" (Weinreich, 2009, p. 135). Although both enculturation and acculturation are inherent to the everyday life of immigrants and ethnic minorities, a clear distinction between first and second culture learning helps delineate the factors that hinder or facilitate second culture learning in the societies of settlement.

The study of acculturation is well established across the societies of the settlement, particularly in the West. Central to the inquiry are the questions of adaptation, adjustment, and integration of people with an immigrant background. With its origins in the field of anthropology, acculturation theory has evolved tremendously across the disciplines of social sciences, particularly in the field of psychology. Indeed, acculturation has emerged as a field of health sciences with a paradigm shift from social sciences (Schwartz & Unger, 2017; Rudmin et al., 2017). The available body of knowledge suggests that researchers in cross-cultural studies have approached acculturation from three theoretical perspectives including (i) stress and coping framework, (ii) the culture learning

approach, and (iii) the social identification perspective (Masgoret & Ward, 2006) covering the respective importance of *affective*, *behavioral*, and *cognitive* dimensions also termed as the ABCs of acculturation (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001).

Among the three theoretical perspectives, the stress and coping framework has been the dominant research approach in acculturation research. This line of theory assumes intercultural contact being essentially a stressful phenomenon and focuses on the causes and the consequences of the stress stemming from intercultural contact (Berry, 1997). However, the emerging trends of acculturation to foreign cultures from afar challenge the stress and coping framework that studies acculturative experiences merely from a deficit perspective (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015; Ferguson et al., 2016; Ferguson et al., 2017). Researchers now hardly view "acculturation as homogenously stressful, with negative consequences for all immigrants, and easily measured by language proficiency… [Instead argue that] adolescence is not necessarily a homogeneously stressful and tumultuous period" (Motti-Stefanidi & Coll, 2018, p. 220). Therefore, critics propose a culture learning approach to acculturation, considering that "second-culture learning would direct attention to the learning processes by which cultures are acquired, and thus might generate more research on efficient methods of acculturative learning" (Rudmin et al., 2017, p. 80).

The research specializations that investigate the questions of *learning* acknowledge the critical role of lived human *experiences.* They describe learning in terms of the experience of learning and assume "learning as gaining knowledge through experience" (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 6).

Accordingly, human experience accounts for learning about a social phenomenon of research interest. Moreover, researchers interested in studying experiences hardly see the research participants independent of the world around them. Indeed, they assume experience as the internal relation between the subject and the object of their study (Bowden & Walsh, 2000; Marton, 1986; Marton & Pong, 2005). Thus, the study of acculturation from a culture learning perspective seeks to examine lived acculturative experiences critically and explore the physical, social, and cultural world as experienced.

1.3. The Purpose of the Study

Despite a lack of consensus on a single definition, there is a wealth of knowledge on what acculturation is and how both the individual and the social factors affect the process of acculturation and its outcomes. However, there is a dearth of literature as to how young people in a multicultural setting experience acculturation. In the context of Hong Kong, little is known about how acculturation is experienced, particularly by young people with an ethnic minority background from a strength-based perspective. By taking a case of a single ethnic group as a point of departure, the present study aimed to learn about the various ways in which the Pakistani secondary school students experience acculturation from a culture learning perspective.

Thus the primary purpose of the study was not to explore the essence of acculturation but instead aimed to learn how the research participants experience acculturation or learn about various cultures that they encounter while growing up in the multicultural context of Hong Kong. A way

of experiencing acculturation defined the unit of investigation and the identification and description of the various ways in which the research participants experience acculturation was the objective of the study. Integral to the research objective was what the research participants learn and how they learn about both their heritage culture and other cultures.

1.4. The Research Questions

The present study sought to answer the following research questions.

1. How do Pakistani secondary school students experience acculturation in Hong Kong?

2. What factors facilitate or hinder their acculturation to mainstream society?

1.5. The Research Focus

There are several reasons to focus on Pakistani secondary school students. Since the cease of British colonial rule and handover of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China, issues and concerns of the non-Chinese population living in the territory have attracted much of the attention of academics during the last two decades. Their socioeconomic plight and the challenges of adaptation and integration into the mainstream society have been the primary research foci (Heung, 2006; Hong Kong Unison, 2012a; Tonsing, 2014; Tonsing, Tse, & Tonsing, 2016). Although a great deal of existing literature highlights the pressing issues among ethnic minorities (EMs), the socio-economic predicament of South Asians in general and of Pakistanis and Nepalese in particular have been of great concern for the researchers and

practitioners alike (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016a; Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016b; Cheung & Chou, 2017; Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Ku, 2006; Ku, 2010; Ku, Chan, & Sandhu, 2005; Law & Lee, 2012).

Statistically, among South Asians, Indians, Pakistanis, and Nepalese make the largest sub-ethnic groups. However, the population growth rate has been higher among Pakistanis. According to the Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong, between 2006 and 2011, the population growth rate among Pakistanis was the second highest (62.4 %) next to the category of the mixed population with Chinese parents. Pakistani children age under 14 make the largest group (38.91%) of South Asians; whereas, Indians and Nepalese share only 28.70% and 32.16% respectively (Census and Statistics Department, 2017a). Their performance in schools has been a significant concern for public officials, educators, and scholars alike. Their school completion and tertiary education enrollment rates are low in addition to an increasing trend of the out-of-school phenomenon with a growing number of students at the risk of drop-out (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016a; Kapai, 2015).

Furthermore, a review of the literature on EMs suggests that there exists a considerable variation across the different ethnic groups concerning their socioeconomic status and quality of life. An overwhelming research findings suggest that Pakistanis are more vulnerable to the socio-economic challenges (Arat, Hoang, Jordan, & Wong, 2016; Chee, 2015; Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Hong Kong Unison, 2012a; Ku, 2006; Shum, Fang, & Tsung, 2012; Shum, Fang, Tsung, & Ki, 2011; Tonsing, 2014). Recent studies have revealed that poverty among children born to

Pakistani families is very high, and unlike other immigrants, the length of stay in Hong Kong has worsened their socioeconomic situation (Census and Statistics Department, 2015; Cheung & Chou, 2017).

These demographic, socio-economic, and educational realities differentiate Pakistanis from other EMs and demand particular attention from policymakers, educators, and researchers. Since the issues of sociocultural adaptation, adjustment, and integration are central to the study of acculturation, a deeper understanding of their acculturative experiences may help the institutions of public interest to undertake pragmatic initiatives for such marginalized and less-advantaged non-Chinese residents in the 'Asia's World City.' Since acculturation is pervasive in the lives of people living in multicultural settings, their subjective experiences of acculturation across the contexts of socialization may highlight the everyday realities of the young people who grow up under the influence of multiple cultures.

1.6. The Rationale of the Study

At the crossroad of cultural diversity, multiculturalism, transnationality, and globalization, acculturation has become an integral part of life in our contemporary multicultural societies. Various events and circumstances - human-made or natural, political or economic, educational or recreational, have brought different social and cultural groups into intercultural contact. They speak different languages, follow different customs and traditions, have different food and clothing preferences, adhere to different religions and schools of thought, cherish different social

norms and values, and exhibit multiple identities. Although there is a wealth of literature on the psychological consequences of acculturation (Ward et al., 2001; Sam & Berry, 2016, Tonsing, Tse, & Tonsing, 2016) little attention has been given to the study of acculturative experiences among immigrant and ethnic minority young people from a culture learning perspective.

Given the emerging conditions and trends of cultural encounters across the diverse sociopolitical contexts, the existing frameworks and research conclusions might offer little help in understanding acculturation in the contemporary and highly interconnected societies of the world. Contrary to traditional conceptualizations, today the firsthand contact is no more a pre-requisite for acculturation. As a matter of consequence, a growing number of scholars are critical of the existing body of knowledge and its application towards the wellbeing of acculturating people in the societies of settlement (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Chirkov, 2009a; Chirkov, 2009b; Rudmin, 2009; Rudmin, 2003; Ward, & Rana-Deuba, 1999). To address the issue, critics call for alternative research approaches for a deeper understanding of acculturation across the diverse sociopolitical contexts instead of looking for psychological problems among immigrant youth (Motti-Stefanidi & Coll, 2018; Rudmin et al., 2017; van de Vijver, 2018; Ward & Geeraert, 2016; Ward, Milfont, & Poortinga Ype, 2017).

The unprecedented developments in science and technology have not only facilitated the movement of people across nations, regions, and continents but also connected them virtually. Indeed, modern communication tools and virtual interaction have transformed the traditional ways of intercultural encounters and put the dominant conceptualizations and theoretical

perspectives under critical scrutiny (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; Ferguson Bornstein, 2015; Ferguson et al., 2016; Ferguson et al., 2017; Landis, Bennett, & Bennett, 2004). Today, virtually every individual, immigrant or otherwise, experiences acculturation in one way or the other. Intercultural encounters take place in a variety of ways even without having a firsthand contact and people have easy access to the cultural values, practices, and artifacts of far off cultures through media and technology resulting in both a fear of a 'clash of cultures' (Huntington, 1997) and the opportunities for mutual understanding (Said, 2001) for a promising future. Even though technology plays a critical role in intercultural contact, little attention has been paid to the study of its impact on immigrants' acculturative learning.

Moreover, the empirical evidence of acculturation among non-immigrants to cultures from afar also underscores the limitations inherent in the deficit-based perspective of acculturation. While proposing a strength-based approach to acculturation, critics maintain that:

> Early studies took a deficit-based perspective on immigrant acculturation and adaptation. Researchers expected that the stress inherent in migration and subsequent acculturation would result in heightened mental health symptoms, difficulties in adaptation and identity confusion among immigrants (Motti-Stefanidi & Coll, 2018, p. 218).

Although the existing body of research and theory on acculturation categorizes acculturating people into different groups based on their responses to intercultural contact, little attention has been devoted to inquiries about how acculturation is experienced by culturally diverse people in

the multicultural societies of the settlement. Since the 'stress and coping' perspective has limitations in understating the acculturative experiences of people who may not go through stressful situations - such as mainstream people or the children of immigrants born and brought up in the societies of the settlement, it is worthwhile to investigate acculturation from a culture learning approach and strength-based perspective.

Hong Kong is a unique context for the study of acculturation. Hong Kong's political history sets her apart from other multicultural societies of the West. It has been home to two regional cultures for more than one and a half-century – Chinese culture and Western culture. Consequently, cultural hybridity is an essential feature of Hong Kong (O'Connor, 2012; 2019). Moreover, with a predominantly ethnic Chinese population, Hong Kong is home to half a million (8 %) Non-Chinese people (Census and Statistics Department, 2017b). Despite having no apparent issues of social cohesion, however, the government is highly concerned about their adaptation and integration into mainstream society (Office of the Chief Executive, 2013; 2014). However, we know little about their acculturative experiences and their voices of struggle towards their adjustment in a Chinese majority society. There is a dearth of evidence on what their acculturative experiences are, how they experience acculturation, and how they negotiate with or respond to the acculturative challenges in the cosmopolitan city.

Following the dominant research approach with the 'stress and coping' perspective, few studies have investigated acculturation of both Chinese and non-Chinese adults in Hong Kong (Chen, Benet-Martínez, & Harris Bond, 2008; Hui, Chen, Leung, & Berry, 2015; Pan, Fu Keung Wong,

Joubert, & Chan, 2007; Pan, 2011; Tonsing, 2014; Tonsing et al., 2016; Tonsing, 2013).

Recently, some researchers have also investigated the experiences of postgraduate students from

the Mainland China using qualitative research methodologies (Bhowmik, Cheung, & Hue, 2018;

Fang & Chun, 2018; Vyas & Yu, 2018). However, these studies may be of little help in

understanding the acculturative experiences of students from different age groups and ethnicities.

Their experiences may not be similar to that of the non-Chinese ethnic minority population and

may be of little help in understanding acculturation of students who were born and raised in

Hong Kong or those immigrants who may not be willing to return to the countries of origin in

future unlike the postgraduate students from the Mainland. A deeper understanding of their

acculturative experiences from a culture learning perspective may not only contribute towards

the body of knowledge on acculturation but also help improve the educational experiences of

non-Chinese young people attending schools in Hong Kong.

1.7. The Research Methodology

Since the main objective of the study was to explore and understand acculturative experiences

from a culture learning perspective, a quantitative research design could hardly help achieve the

research goal. Instead, a research design that does have experience as a research object and

assume it as the source of learning could better facilitate the research purpose. Therefore, the

nature of the study is qualitative. There is a range of qualitative research specializations that

study *experience* and take it as the research object, albeit, they differ from each other in terms of

the research focus and methods of studying human experiences. The potential research

specializations that specifically take human experiences as the object of the study include phenomenology and phenomenography.

Phenomenology, as an established research specialization, focuses on the in-depth understanding of human experiences of a phenomenon and identifies its essence (Creswell, 2013; Porter, 2011; Ricoeur, 1981; Van Manen, 1997). In other words, phenomenology seeks to address the gaps in understanding a phenomenon through a full description and the explication of essences that make something as something without which it ceases to be the same thing. Whereas, phenomenography aims to understand the variation in ways people experience a phenomenon (Bowden & Walsh, 2000; Marton, 1986; Marton & Booth, 1997; Sjöström & Dahlgren, 2002; Trigwell, 2000). Although both the research approaches take human *experience* as the object of a study and share several commonalities, they differ in terms of theoretical and methodical standpoints about human experience and data analysis, respectively.

Considering the fact that acculturation is a multifaceted phenomenon, and the people may experience it differently, it is essential to focus on variation in the participants' experiences. Whereas phenomenological inquiries seek to describe the common meaning for the lived experiences of a phenomenon or a concept for a group of research participants (Creswell, 2013) phenomenography aims to identify the various ways in which a phenomenon can be experienced by the experiencer or the various ways in which people are capable of experiencing a phenomenon (Marton, 1986). Thus understanding the variation in ways people experience a social phenomenon in phenomenography is aligned with the culture learning approach to

acculturation. It can help explore and better understand the various ways of experiencing acculturation. Therefore, the present study adopted phenomenography for exploring the acculturative experiences of the research participants from a culture learning perspective.

1.8. The Significance of the Study

The unprecedented movement of people, both within and across the nations, and the phenomenal developments in science and technology, have brought diverse cultural groups closer to each other more than even in human history. Demographically, today, many societies are multicultural, and the challenges of managing cultural diversity have attracted much of the attention of public officials, researchers, and practitioners across the societies of settlement throughout the world. Governments take various policy initiatives for building social cohesion, whereas scholars have been trying to understand the phenomenon of intercultural contact and propose policies and practices that value cultural diversity based on equity and equality. Being a multicultural society with diverse cultural, racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups, Hong Kong is not immune to the issues of living multiculturally. Based on existing global and local realities, policies, practices, research, and scholarship, the following points elaborate the significance of the present study.

1.8.1. Trends in International Migration

Today a significant number of people live in cultural contexts that are different from their societies of origin. The world has witnessed the highest number of migrants in human history.

According to some reports, there were more than one billion migrants in the world, and 244 million of them were living in societies other than the country of their birth in 2015 (Global Migration Data Analysis Centre, (GMDAC), 2015). The latter number is not inclusive of the people who were born to immigrant families in the societies of settlement. It is not surprising to note that among these immigrants, many of them have been living for multiple generations and have emerged as 'transnationals' (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1995) or 'diasporic' (Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Roy, 2008) communities. These populations not only have an actual contact with diverse cultural groups but also have a virtual contact with foreign cultures as well as the countries of origin in turn engaging in the dual processes of acculturation and enculturation (Ferguson et al., 2016; Ferguson, Ferguson, & Ferguson, 2017; Schwartz & Unger, 2017). These social realities suggest that intercultural contact will continue to reshape the demographic picture of modern societies in the years to come and underscore the importance of acculturation research across the societies of settlement.

Hong Kong, as a cosmopolitan city with its unique culture of hybridity, is home to more than 7.3 million people with diverse racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural backgrounds. Of its total population, nearly 40% (approx. 2.9 million – 2,885,092) of the residents claim to have their place of birth other than Hong Kong (Census and Statistics Department, 2017a). This figure does not include 81,964 people who were born to immigrant families. The presence of a significant number of immigrants makes Hong Kong a city of migrants. Furthermore, of its 1.17 million (1,171,362) young people under the age of 19, 5.7 percent of them come from ethnic minority backgrounds who are non-Chinese. Although acculturation is a reciprocal process of

intercultural learning, little is known about the acculturative experiences of children and adolescents, particularly with an ethnic minority background. Empirical evidence on acculturative experiences among immigrant young people from a cultural learning perspective may help take appropriate initiatives for their wellbeing.

1.8.2. Adaptation and Integration: A Public Policy Rhetoric

Public officials have been continuously advocating the policy of integration and adaptation towards non-Chinese populations in Hong Kong. Authorities claim that the "government is committed to encouraging and supporting the integration of NCS [Non-Chinese Speaking] students into the community, including facilitating their early adaptation to the local education system and mastery of Chinese language" (Education Bureau, 2016, p. 4). Although Hong Kong lacks a sound policy framework of multiculturalism (Kennedy, 2011), the government has been putting a strong emphasis on NCS students' adaptation to the local education system by helping them to master the Chinese language for their immersion into the mainstream community (Office of the Chief Executive, 2013; Office of the Chief Executive, 2014).

For public officials, the lack of Chinese language competency is the primary cause of maladaptation among ethnic minority population in Hong Kong. During his annual policy address in 2013, the then Chief Executive of Hong Kong Mr. Leung Chun-yin made the following remarks:

> Many ethnic minorities in Hong Kong were born and brought up here. Some of them are less successful in integrating into the community because they are unable to read and write Chinese. To provide an opportunity for ethnic minority students to learn Chinese more effectively, we will enhance support measures in schools. We hope that it will help nurture a new generation of people who call Hong Kong their home regardless of origin, race and religion (The Annual Policy Address 2013, p. 45, para, 130).

The above excerpt suggests that the adaptation and integration of EMs are central to government policy initiatives. However, it is not clear if the lack of proficiency in the Chinese language is the only cause of being less successful in integrating into mainstream society. Such a sole focus on language may hardly help to understand the various dimensions of social integration. Furthermore, it barely clarifies the reasons for maladaptation among the ethnic minority young people who exhibit a considerable command over the Chinese language. The study findings on the participants' multiple language learning experiences offer an alternative to the traditional language deficit perspective and identify the factors that may hinder their 'successful' acculturation to mainstream society.

1.8.3. Equity and Quality in Education

Equity and quality in education are some of the frequently referred terminologies in educational debates across the multicultural contexts. According to the 2012 annual report by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OEDC), the Highest Performing

Education Systems (HPES) combine both equity and quality in education, whereby students develop skills and knowledge based on their abilities irrespective of their socioeconomic background (OECD, 2012). The same report also glorifies Hong Kong as one of the HPES.

Contrarily, empirical studies reveal disparities in students' learning outcomes across ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong. The disproportionate school dropout rate and tertiary education attendance among the ethnic minority young people undoubtedly question the quality of education in Hong Kong. The widespread out-of-school phenomenon and low rates of school completion among ethnic minority students (EMS) not only highlight the potential gaps in the educational policy and practice but also question the impact of Hong Kong's education system that presumably values and combines both equity and equality in education. The study findings on the participants' academic experiences in the educational context bring forth the issues related to equity and equality in education that may potentially affect their educational acculturation.

1.8.4. Acculturation Research on Ethnic Minority Young People

A plethora of studies illustrates the educational plight of ethnic minority students in Hong Kong. Researchers have examined the potential aspects that directly shape the educational performance of EM young people (Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Ku, 2006; Lai, Fang, & Wang, 2015; Law & Lee, 2012). Despite the higher research quality and rigor, the existing body of knowledge on ethnic minority young people is not without criticism. A meta-analysis of 36 journal articles suggests that in investigating the educational plight of ethnic minority young people, researchers have

mainly focused on micro-level 'risk factors' with little or no consideration given to the 'protective factors' at multiple levels of the ecology (Arat et al., 2016). The various factors that shape educational experiences will be discussed in chapter two. Critics argue that an ecological framework with particular considerations to both the risk and protective factors are critical for an objective analysis of youth development in Hong Kong. The in-depth understanding of the research participants' acculturative experiences in the familial, communal, educational, and societal context from a strength-based perspective addresses the research gap.

1.8.5. Methodological Concerns in Acculturation Research

Research on acculturation is well developed in numerous Western societies. With a positivist research paradigm, cross-cultural psychologists have magnificently investigated health-related issues among acculturating people in the societies of settlement. However, some scholars have been critical of the progress in acculturation research and highlighted epistemological and methodological concerns with the available body of knowledge (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Bhatia & Ram, 2004; Chirkov, 2009a; Chirkov, 2009b; Creswell, 2013; Rudmin, 2009; Rudmin, 2003; Weinreich, 2009). Henceforth, the available findings primarily rely upon a positivistic research paradigm aiming to predict acculturation outcomes and generalize the results across the social settings. Critics argue that acculturation has been conceptualized like any other process in natural or physical sciences. Consequently, specific measurement tools, scales, and surveys with statistical analyses have been the primary ways in acculturation research.

Since "qualitative changes in children's acculturation that cannot be accurately represented in terms of increase or decrease" (Fuligni, 2000, p. 313), such an over-reliance on quantitative methodologies may limit our understanding of acculturation as a multifaceted social phenomenon. Therefore, a growing body of the literature proposes a multidisciplinary and multi-method approach (Bhatia & Ram, 2009), with an interpretive research paradigm (Tardif-Williams & Fisher, 2009) in understanding acculturation beyond the field of health sciences. Qualitative research investigations beyond the positivist research paradigm may provide potential insights into how the process of acculturation unfolds in an ecological context. The phenomenographic inquiry in the present study offers a deeper understanding of acculturative experiences from a cultural learning perspective among a group of Pakistani secondary school students in Hong Kong.

1.9. Overview of thesis Outline

This thesis is comprised of nine chapters and structured in the following manner.

Chapter 1 introduces the whole thesis, explicates the study background, describes the purpose of the study, enlists the research questions, explains the research focus & rationale of the study, introduces the conceptual framework and the research methodology, and elaborates the significance of the study.

While starting with a brief introduction of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, chapter 2, "*The Context of Acculturation: Pakistanis in Hong Kong and their Heritage Cultures,*" discusses the

notion of culture and describes the prevailing cultural practices, attitudes, and values among Pakistanis. The chapter details the familial, communal, educational, and social life of Pakistanis concerning their country of origin to give an overview of Pakistani ethnic culture and its characteristics. It also gives a brief overview of Pakistanis and their lives in various contexts around the globe. The last section of the chapter discusses the educational setting and reviews the existing literature on ethnic minority education in Hong Kong.

Chapter 3, "*Advances in Acculturation Theory and Research: Emerging Trends and Issues*," reviews the existing body of theory and research on acculturation. It examines the evolution of some influential models and frameworks and highlights the conceptual, epistemological, and methodological gaps in the current body of knowledge. The chapter also describes potential frameworks or models that are sensitive to the dynamic and multidimensional character of the acculturation process and reviews the relevant research findings. Based on the recent theories of acculturation, the chapter highlights the emerging trends and issues in acculturation science and proposes an extension to the existing frameworks. It also discusses the existing research on acculturation in Hong Kong and emphasizes the potential concerns.

Chapter 4 covers the discussion on "*Research Methodology and Methods."* It outlines the potential methodologies for the study of human experiences and justifies the selection of phenomenography as the appropriate research method for the study of acculturative experiences from a culture learning perspective. It also details the processes of data collection, the research participants and the research cites, the data collection method, and the process of data analysis.

Chapter 5, through Chapter 7, presents the research findings in light of the conceptual framework that focuses on participants' enculturative as well as acculturative experiences in familial, communal, school, and societal contexts. Chapter 5, *"Acculturative Experiences"* describes *what* the research participants learn and chapter 6, *"Enculturative or Acculturative Experiences and the Socialization Contexts"* explains *how* the research participants learn about their heritage culture and other cultures across the social contexts including family, community, school, and the larger society. Chapter 7, "*Acculturative Challenges,"* highlights the factors that hinder the research participants' acculturation to mainstream society.

Chapter 8 discusses the research findings reported in Chapter 5, 6, and 7 at the backdrop of earlier findings, and lastly, Chapter 9 concludes the thesis. The conclusion chapter also puts forth the limitations and highlights the potential theoretical, practical, and research implications toward the study of acculturation among ethnic minority students in multicultural societies in general and in the context of Hong Kong in particular.

1.10. Conclusion

This chapter began by introducing the whole thesis. It elaborated the background, the purpose, the research questions, the focus, the rationale, and the methodology of the study. It also shed light on the significance of the study by highlighting the emerging socio-cultural realities in multicultural contexts and the gaps in the existing body of knowledge on acculturation theory and research. The chapter concluded with an overview of the thesis chapters.

Chapter 2: The Context of Acculturation: Pakistanis in Hong Kong and their Heritage Cultures

The Focus of the Chapter

This chapter begins with an introduction to the chapter (section 2.1). Section 2.2 gives an overview of ethnic minority populations in Hong Kong and highlights their demographic, historical, and socio-economic realities. It also reviews the available body of literature on ethnic minorities in general and highlights the socioeconomic and educational plight of Pakistanis in particular in Hong Kong. Since the primary purpose of the study is to understand the acculturative experiences of Pakistani secondary school students in Hong Kong, Section 2.3 discusses the role of culture in acculturation and briefly describes some of the commonly upheld cultural values, norms, practices among Pakistanis concerning their heritage culture. Whereas section 2.4 provides a brief overview of Pakistani heritage cultures, at the backdrop of social ecology, section 2.5 elucidates the cultural diversity in Pakistan. Its primary purpose is to depict everyday life in the rural areas of the country to understand the context and to facilitate the analysis of the participants' acculturative experiences. Section 2.6 discusses the educational predicament of Pakistani young people in Hong Kong and elsewhere. It introduces the educational context and elaborates the various factors that affect the educational experiences of ethnic minority youth in Hong Kong. Lastly, section 2.7 concludes the chapter.

2.1.Introduction

With an absolute Chinese ethnic majority, Hong Kong is home to almost eight percent of non-Chinese people (Hong Kong Yearbook, 2017). Indonesian and Filipino domestic workers make

the majority of this group. Other ethnic minority groups include White, Indians, Nepalese, Pakistani, Thai, Japanese, and others. Although all the non-Chinese people share a different racial identity, each ethnic group possesses unique characteristics. Some of them exhibit quite different features due to their diverse socio-economic, cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds. For instance, among others, the socio-economic plight of South Asians in general and Pakistanis, in particular, has attracted much of the attention of non-government organizations and scholars (Kapai, 2015; Kapai & Singh, 2018; Kapai & Lalvani, 2019; Cheung & Chou, 2017). Despite their presence since the British colonial times, they often find themselves in disadvantaged and marginalized situations compared to others and hence experience acculturative challenges.

The phenomenon of acculturation presupposes differences in the culture of interacting people, yet the existing literature on the subject mainly focus on individual-level variables that account for the psychological wellbeing. The impact of intercultural encounters on peoples' cultural awareness and learning is relatively an understudied subject in acculturation research, especially how different people experience acculturation. The available body of knowledge mainly focuses on individual-level variables such as age, gender, education, personality, length of residence in the host society, and assumes acculturation as a universal phenomenon, suggesting that people living in an environment of intercultural contact experience acculturation is similar ways. The available findings reveal little about how acculturation is experienced across the ethnicities, age groups, and genders. Since the phenomenon of acculturation unfolds in a given ecology, a holistic understanding of acculturative experiences would require a critical analysis of both the

acculturation context as well as the cultural differences of acculturating people in the societies of settlement.

2.2.Ethnic Minority Population in Hong Kong

With the predominantly ethnic Chinese population, Hong Kong is home to a considerable number of non-Chinese people with diverse cultural, racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. They contribute to almost 8 % of the total population comprised of Filipino (31.5 %), Indonesian (26.2 %), White (9.9 %), Indian (6.2 %), Nepalese (4.3 %), Pakistani (3.0 %), Thai (1.7 %), Japanese (1.7 %), Other Asians (3.3 %), and Others (11.8 %) (Census and Statistics Department, 2017a). South Asians account for 29.7% of the total non-Chinese. The officially recognized South Asians include Indians (45.5 %), Nepalese (31.8 %) Pakistanis (22.6 %) together make 14% of the total non-Chinese population (Census and Statistics Department, 2017b). Out of 1.6 million young people under 24 years, 5.55% are non-Chinese in Hong Kong. Their increasing number also suggests a culturally diverse composition of the student body in public schools (Legislative Council, 2017).

Indonesian and Filipino female domestic workers together make the largest non-Chinese ethnic minority group who cannot bring their family members to Hong Kong. People from European countries make the second-largest non-Chinese group who relatively live a better life with better socioeconomic status compared to others. Ethnic minorities with South Asian backgrounds make the third-largest group. These include Indians, Nepalese, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis. Their

socioeconomic plight, particularly after the event of the hand-over of Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China, has attracted much of the attention of scholars. Evidence suggests that despite living for decades, their socioeconomic status worsened compared to other ethnic groups (Cheung & Chou, 2017; Kapai, 2015; Law & Lee, 2013).

The labeling of ethnic minorities as a single group of the non-Chinese population potentially obscures the cultural, religious, linguistic, economic, and historical differences across the various groups. Researchers have already highlighted the disparities in their socioeconomic plight and found that some ethnic minority groups enjoy substantial privileges over the others (Cheung & Chou, 2017). Children and adolescents who grow up in such families likely to suffer from multiple challenges, and their educational performance is not an exception. The likelihood of greater vulnerability of the students with the particular ethnic background to educational disparities and unfavorable social conditions distinguishes them from other ethnic minority groups. Since the present study focuses on a single ethnic group among South Asians, the following sections will discuss their demographic, socioeconomic, and educational realities in Hong Kong.

2.2.1. Demographic and Linguistic Realities

South Asians, including Indians, Nepalese, and Pakistanis together, share approximately 14% (80028) of the non-Chinese population in Hong Kong. This number includes 45.5 % Indians (36462), 31.8 % Nepalese (25472), and 22.6 % Pakistanis (18094). Of total 18094, 6776

Pakistanis claim Hong Kong their place of birth, whereas 11318 were born elsewhere. Their

population growth remained at 62.3 % between 2006 and 2011.

Table 2. 1 Population Growth among Pakistanis in Hong Kong

Year	2006	2011	2016
Persons	11111	18042	18094

(Census and Statistics Department, 2017a)

According to population by-census 2016, only 30.76 percent (5567) of Pakistanis are engaged in

various economic activities. They are employees (88.7 %), employers (4.4 %), or self-employed

(6.8 %) people. However, 85.8 % of them are males, whereas the majority of female adults are

homemakers. These statistics suggest that about 70 % of them are economically inactive. Table

2.2 details the economic activity status among Pakistanis in Hong Kong.

Table 2. 2 Pakistanis by Economic Activity Status and Sex 2016

Gender	Male	Female
Economic Activity Status		
Employees	4186	753
Employers	219	26
Self-employed	372	11
Unpaid family workers	41	20
Home-makers	100	2631

Students	3273	3185
Retired	342	237
Others	1855	843

(Census and Statistics Department, 2017a)

From an educational point of view, the majority of Pakistanis have completed some schooling.

Two thousand six hundred and sixteen (2616) people age 15 and above have post-secondary

education certificates whereas five hundred and sixty-six (566) people, age above twenty-five,

have never been to a school. Approximately 35.7 percent (6458) of the total population is

currently attending the various levels of schools as full-time students.

Table 2. 3 Educational Attainment of Pakistanis by Age and Gender 2016

Educational Attainment (Highest Level Attended)	No schooling/ Pre-primary		Primary		Lower secondary		Upper secondary		Post-secondary	
Sex	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Age										
0 - 14	1222	826	1125	1241	359	529	11	14	-	-
15 - 24	-	-	83	22	578	348	994	626	421	411
25 - 44	21	10	632	728	930	588	1414	660	892	677
45 - 64	76	238	274	194	220	103	562	248	117	67
65+	127	94	103	-	79	20	131	48	17	14

(Census and Statistics Department, 2017a)

Out of three thousand eight hundred and twenty-three (3823), of age group 5-19 born in Hong Kong, two hundred and seven people claim to have Cantonese as their everyday spoken language. Whereas three hundred and thirty-three (334) of them speak English, and three thousand two hundred and eighty-two (3282) use other languages. Although it is not clear what languages are included in the category of other languages, anecdotal experiences suggest that these languages include Punjabi, Pashtu, Saraiki, Hindko, and Urdu. Among one thousand eight hundred and twelve (1812) persons of age between 5-19 who were born elsewhere, nineteen people claim to speak Cantonese in their usual conversation whereas seventy-two (72) speak English and one thousand seven hundred and twenty-one (1721) use other languages during their everyday communication. Table 2.4 elaborates the status of language use and the place of birth of young Pakistanis under age 19.

Table 2. 4 Residents by Year, Ethnicity, Usual Spoken Language, Place of Birth and Age 2016

Place of Birth	Hong Kong				Elsewhere			
Age	0 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 14	15 - 19	0 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 14	15 - 19
Usual Spoken Language								
Cantonese	-	69	76	62	-	-	9	10
Putonghua	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Chinese dialects	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
English	-	134	64	136	-	21	10	41
Others	-	1181	1280	821	-	331	600	790

Persons aged under 5 or mute persons	1407	-	-	-	137	-	-	-

(Census and Statistics Department, 2017a)

2.2.2. Early Arrival, Settlement, and Immigration

The history of Pakistanis in Hong Kong goes back to the British colonial period in the Indian subcontinent in the nineteenth century (Vaid, 1972; White, 1994). The early arrival and the settlement of the then Indians can be understood in light of the historical forces of colonization (Law & Lee, 2013). Under the colonial administration, they arrived in Hong Kong and were engaged in various capacities as civil servants, soldiers, and police officers. Since the main objective of expanding the British Empire in South and Southeast Asia was trade and commerce; the commercial interests of colonial rulers brought the South Asians to the territory first time in history. Thus "to facilitate trade with China, the British, along with approximately 2,700 Indian soldiers and four merchants, occupied the HK island in 1841" (Lee & Law, 2013, p. 988).

During those times, some Indians married to the local Chinese that facilitated the later generations' efforts in making Hong Kong their homeland. However, the partition of India and the birth of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 1947 segregated the then Indians. Moreover, the migrants from various parts of the Indian subcontinent continued to hold their 'distinct cultural heritage' in Hong Kong (Crabtree & Wong, 2013). However, the current wave of migration from Pakistan and India can be understood under the influence of industrialization and globalization.

Various reports suggest that today there are considerable socioeconomic differences between Indians and Pakistanis even though the reasons are not visible. A recent review of census reports concluded that Indians enjoy better socioeconomic status than Pakistanis do, and the quality of life among the former is much higher than the latter (Cheung & Chou, 2017). At the same time, similar variations can be found across Pakistani households with differing immigration status, length of residence, reasons for migration, and the urban and rural backgrounds before migration. These differences are also critical while understanding the issues of acculturation in general and the educational integration in particular in Hong Kong. Before discussing the overall educational plight of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, it is worthwhile to consider the culture and the heritage culture of Pakistanis – one of the fundamental aspects of acculturation phenomenon.

2.3. The Notion of Culture and its role in Acculturation

Scholars hardly agree on a single definition of culture but the potential role of culture in acculturation. Anthropologists and sociologists often debate and put forward different views. Some focus on its material dimension, whereas for others, culture is more than the tangible artifacts around people in a given society. For still others, culture has both an abstract and tangible dimension. They focus on understanding rather than on definition and conceptualize it in terms of a particular kind of *information* that refers to a particular *group of people*.

Hofstede (2001, p. 1) defines culture as a shared "programming of the mind; it manifests itself not only in values, but in more superficial ways: in symbols, heroes, and rituals." This cognitive

dimension of culture can be conceptualized in terms of values, beliefs, attitudes, and norms of social behavior. For Wyer, Chiu, & Hong (2009), culture is a network of shared knowledge that shapes human attitude and behavior. Whereas, Heine (2012) emphasize on how one acquires these mental programs and shared knowledge. Accordingly, "culture is any kind of idea, belief, technology, habit, or practice that is acquired through learning from others" (p. 3).

Triandis (1994) differentiates the tangible and non-tangible aspects of a culture called the 'objective culture' and the 'subjective culture.' The former refers to all the objects and material a group creates or develops in a given environment to fulfill their everyday needs. It consists of human-made part of the environment that may include tools, rituals, educational systems, and social institutions, whereas how uniquely "people perceive, categorize, believe, and value entities in their environment" (Triandis, 1994, p. 2) makes the subjective dimension of a culture such as beliefs, norms, attitude, and values. Accordingly:

> Culture is a set of human-made objective and subjective elements that in the past have increased the probability of survival and resulted in satisfaction for the participants in an ecological niche, and thus become shared among those who could communicate with each other because they had a common language and they lived in the same time and place (Triandis, 1994, p. 22).

Some of the elements highlighted in this definition deserve a little further elaboration. First, culture is a human-made way of life and includes both the objective and subjective factors, and

there exists a relationship between the way people perceive their environment and the activities they undertake to fulfill their needs. Consequently, peoples' way of life largely depends on the type of environment in which they grow up. The environment may not be limited to the physical conditions instead may include the social structures and the norms of interaction between individuals and social groups (Triandis, 2009). In this sense, culture has a direct relationship with its ecology. Indeed, the ecological context shapes a particular culture and hence becomes a significant source of variations across cultures (Triandis, 1994).

Studies on immigrants and ethnic minority groups reveal that cultural influence largely depends on, among other things, the essential characteristics of each culture. It is these differences and similarities in cultural characteristics that make acculturation a subject of great importance. For cross-cultural scholars, national cultures differ in several ways. At a simple level of comparison, one can easily differentiate cultures based on religion, family structure, living standards, social values, and norms of behavior (Triandis, 1997). Based on empirical validation, Hofstede (2001) identified five dimensions that help differentiate one culture from another.

1. *Power distance*, which is related to the different solutions to the basic problem of human inequality

2. *Uncertainty avoidance*, which is related to the level of stress in a society in the face of an unknown future

3. *Individualism* versus *collectivism*, which is related to the integration of individuals into primary groups

4. *Masculinity* versus *femininity*, which is related to the division of emotional roles between men and women

5. *Long-term* versus *short-term* orientation, which is related to the choice of focus for people's efforts: the future or the present (p. 29) (emphasis original).

Similarly, Triandis (2009) identified variations across cultures in terms of simple versus complex cultures, tight versus loose cultures, and collectivist versus individualist cultures. Researchers studying cultures also draw attention to the cultural differences at international or intra-national levels. The dimensions mentioned above of cultural variations have been identified as universal or 'etic' dimensions, whereas variations within a specific culture have been denoted as 'emic' dimensions of cultural differences (Triandis, 1994).

It is argued that acculturation is an experience of cultural encounters and learning whereby individuals acquire, maintain, and alter cultural practices, values, and identities related to the interacting cultures. The different cultural dimensions can help better understand how culture as a shared network of knowledge based on shared beliefs, values, norms, and attitude dictate social behavior shapes acculturation. As Berry (2006) notes that:

A complete understanding of acculturation would need to start with a fairly comprehensive examination of the societal contexts: In the society of origin, the cultural characteristics that accompany individuals into the acculturation process need

description, in part to understand (literally) where the person is coming from and in part to establish cultural features for comparison with the society of settlement (p. 18).

Due to its long colonial history, the culture of Hong Kong has its unique features. For some, Hong Kong is a fusion of Western and Eastern Cultures (Law & Lee, 2012). In the eyes of people living in Mainland China, people of Hong Kong might be different from them because the former have adopted a western way of life; whereas people from the west may hardly see the culture of Hong Kong similar to any western culture. Therefore, the culture of Hong Kong is neither purely Chinese nor Western; instead, it is a hybrid of both cultures. Cultural hybridity best defines Hong Kong, and its manifestation can be seen across the socialization contexts of socialization, particularly in the educational and societal contexts. As Kennedy and Hue (2011) note:

> Hong Kong regards itself as a very successful Western-oriented society but at the same time it is deeply embedded in Chinese cultural traditions. When teachers express views about the value of education these are not just modernist views but deeply held cultural views as well (p. 531).

As the focus of the present study is the acculturative experiences of Pakistani secondary school students in the multicultural context of Hong Kong, it is essential to describe their heritage culture concerning the country of their origin. Although cultures are subject to change, the contemporary way of life in Pakistan could be different from the one that the Pakistani

community in Hong Kong cherishes to follow. Pakistani families may desire to maintain their heritage culture despite the challenges of adaptation and integration. Since the research participants reportedly trace their origin to the rural parts of the country, a description of rural cultural patterns at the backdrop of national culture would help better understand their acculturative experiences in Hong Kong.

2.4. Pakistanis and their Heritage Cultures

At the peak of intercultural encounters within and beyond nation-states, describing a national culture is a challenging task. It is true not only because of the forces of globalization but also due to the dynamic nature of a culture that always under the flux of change. Since all the ethnic groups in Hong Kong exhibit a different culture that resembles in several ways to the cultures prevailed in the countries of origin, it is essential to describe some features of their heritage culture to identify the differences and the similarities if any. Since the description of Pakistani heritage cultures relies significantly on anecdotal experiences and subjective understanding, the researcher being a Pakistani who grew up and spent most of his life in Pakistan acknowledges the biases that may be inherent to the writing.

While studying immigrants in the societies of settlement, researchers frequently make references to the culture that prevails in the country of their origin (Abbas, 2000; Erni, 2014; Ghuman, 2000; Ghuman, 2003; Shah, Dwyer, & Modood, 2010). The study of Pakistanis in the multicultural context of Hong Kong is not an exception (Chee, 2015; Ku, 2006; Ku, Chan, Chan,

& Lee, 2003). Anecdotal experiences suggest that Pakistanis wish to either retain their heritage culture (at least in private spheres) or make it a reference point for structuring their everyday life business in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, summarizing the significant aspects of Pakistanis' heritage culture is not without difficulties due to the complex historical trajectory as well as the multiplicity of subcultures within the nation-state. Despite the dynamic nature of culture in both objective and subjective terms, Pakistani cultural has some essential features that distinguish it from others.

> The country reflects an interesting mix of old and new, rural and urban, tribal and nomadic. It is certainly a land of diverse ecology, pluralistic community, rich folk traditions, and historical vicissitudes … Whereas religion, history, and ecology generally unify Pakistanis as a homogenous national group, their linguistic and regional roots determine their respective ethnicities (Malik, 2006, p. 25-26).

Demographically, Pakistan is a multiethnic and multicultural country. Its population is comprised of "five or six major ethnic groups who are not confined to their own specific territories" (Malik, 2006, p. 26). It is the sixth-largest country in the world, with nearly 207.8 million people (Rana, Shahbaz, 2017). A majority of them (60 %) live in rural areas and rely on agriculture. Urdu is the national language, which is the mother tongue of only 8 percent of the total population. Both Urdu and English are the official languages. More than thirty-six different languages are spoken across the country, of which four are the regional languages characterizing

its four provinces that represent four major different cultural groups with strong ethnic identities (Daily Sabah Travel, 2018; Tripathi & Mishra, 2016).

In addition to the four major ethnic groups, there exist several subcultural or ethnic groups with different languages and histories. The extended family practice characterizes the social structure of Pakistani society in which loyalty to the family and nepotism carry high social value (Tripathi & Mishra, 2016). The strong influence of rural and tribal ways of life makes Pakistan a traditional society (Malik, 2006). Among other identity markers, the politics of ethnicity has been fundamental in defining the national culture of Pakistan (Alvi, 2011). Thus, diversity is an inherent feature of Pakistan, and its ethnic, religious, sectarian, and linguistic diversities characterize the country as an immensely pluralistic society.

2.4.1. Diversity and Plurality within a Polity

Although Pakistan is a Muslim majority country, the presence of Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, and Zoroastrians makes it a multi-religious society. More than 90 % of its population adheres to Islam, and the rest is comprised of religious minorities (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Of two major traditions in Islam, the majority Muslim population, 85 - 90 % identify themselves as Sunnis, and 10 – 15 % claim to be Shia (Central Intelligence Agency, 2018). There exist several doctrinal denominations within each major tradition. Their internal differences originate from the multiple interpretations of the sacred text, called the Holy Book – *Quran* and the sayings of

Prophet Muhammad – *Hadith* resulting in different schools of Muslim jurisprudence (Khuri, 2014).

Pakistanis strongly identify with their ethnicity than their affiliation to a specific sect. Within the national affairs, ethnicity appears as the most potent identity marker among the people (Hurst, 1996; Khan, 1999). Nonetheless, some believe that "from the country's inception to its external policies and educational system, Islam is a major determinant and also an important collective experience even for smaller Muslim sects. On occasions, more than national or ethnic identity, it is the Muslimness that turns out to be the most-shared characteristic" (Malik, 2006, p. 47).

The role of Islam in the nation-building project is understood differently across the sections of the society. For some, Islam has proved the project of national integration even more difficult. At times, the use of Islam as a tool in the curriculum to promote national unity across the diverse ethnic groups often resulted in severe implications towards social cohesion, tolerance, and gender equity (Durrani & Dunne, 2010). A brief review of various nation-building projects since independence suggests that the state interventions of developing a single national identity through religion could do little well than the worse.

> At the time of Pakistan's creation, it was thought that all the cultural differences would melt away because Islam would act as the binding force. On more than one occasion, Pakistan has tried Islamization by introducing Sharia [religious law] to achieve

integration. But it has helped little in the subordination of ethnic identities in favor of national or Islamic identity (Tripathi & Mishra, 2016, p. 347).

Like many Muslims throughout the world, the Quran is considered to be the source of guidance for its adherents. According to the Muslim faith, the Quran was revealed to the last prophet Muhammad Bin Abdullah fourteen hundred years ago. However, as a 'living faith' (Robinson, 2013), Islam guides the everyday conduct of Pakistani Muslims. In other words, Islam significantly shapes the Pakistani culture. Nevertheless, there is a lack of a shared understanding of Islam and its role in people's daily life, particularly concerning running state affairs. Different sects understand and interpret the sacred text in various ways. At times, differences in religious interpretations become so intense that it makes it challenging to identify if there is a single Islam. This multiplicity of religious interpretations informs the everyday life of Muslims with varying degrees of implications towards every aspect of life, and education is not an exception.

Therefore, it becomes imperative to take into account the overarching religious forces that unite the diverse populations and the cultural, intra-religious and intra-ethnic differences while analyzing the everyday life Pakistani young people in the multicultural context of Hong Kong.

2.5. Pakistan and its Cultural Ecology: A Background

Linguistically, Pakistan means *the Land of the Pure*. Its current capital, Islamabad, means the land of Islam. In official books, it is recognized as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. As the name suggests, religion is central to any debate related to the way of life in Pakistan. Its constitution

claims the supremacy of the *Quran* (the Holy book) and *Sunna* (the teachings of Prophet Muhammad) in conducting the everyday affairs of the state. These factors confirm the importance of Islam in state affairs and make Pakistan different from many western democracies that believe in the separation of religion and the state, at least in the political rhetoric (Fox & Sandler, 2005). However, the role of religion in the political life of the country is well debated, and to some extent, it is controversial.

The political trajectory of the country could reflect such a confusion resulting in different understanding about the political role of Islam. Nevertheless, Islam plays a dominant role not only in private life but also in the public sphere of its citizens. Although a detailed analysis of Pakistan's political history is beyond the scope of this section, suffice to say that Islam has been central to both the political trajectories and cultural evolution in Pakistan.

> Religion, being the bedrock of a collective life, feeds into a pluralistic national ethos and, with a strong accent on traditional values, significantly translates itself into a powerful national characteristic. Religious diversity, intra-Muslim pluralism, and ethnic identities, collectively underwrite the thought processes, cultural norms, and pervasive outlook of the Pakistanis (Malik, 2006, p. 46).

From a cultural perspective, Islam is a way of life (Robinson, 2013). It demands its adherents uphold certain principles that shape their thoughts and social behavior. Irrespective of time and space, these religious principles are upheld with varying degrees of commitment throughout the

world. These are the shared principles that bind together the Muslims as a single community, which is referred to as *Ummah* means a community based on the notion of religious brotherhood that transcends the national boundaries. Despite a high degree of variations within the Islamic Ummah related to the interpretations of Quranic teachings and the sayings of the last Prophet, there exists a certain degree of uniqueness among all Muslims.

Although certain religious principles unified Muslims, the way Islam is practiced in various contexts vary enormously throughout the Muslim world. Some follow the religious orders with high intensity making their way of understanding and practicing Islam as the only right way. While others adhere to their religious demands with great flexibility and ease, making it compatible with the contextual and temporal demands (Charfi, 2005). There are still others, for whom neither of the extreme positions is acceptable (Khan, 2003; Kurzman, 1998). It is beyond the scope of the current study to elaborate the sensitiveness of such differences in religious interpretation, which often culminate into conflicts within different traditions even more severe than any inter-religious misunderstandings.

There exists a great deal of diversity within the Muslim community concerning the role of religion in one's life, and such can be noticed the way Islam is practiced in various cultures around the globe. A comparative analysis of cultural practices among Muslim communities leads us to conclude that there is not a single Islam; instead, there are many *Islams* (in plural) in practice and hence, different Muslim cultures. Therefore, it is worthwhile to note that the way Islam entered into different cultural groups has its historical trajectories, which may not be

comparable even in a single dimension. The way different cultural groups adopted and practiced Islam varies from one context to another, and this is rightly true in the context of Pakistan. There might be differences among people related to how they understand the religion and make it as part and parcel of their lives (at cultural level), Pakistanis hold specific cultural values, attitudes, norms, and practices that are firmly rooted in the fundamental teachings of Islam.

Demographically, Pakistan is home to more than 200 million people with different regional languages and cultures. The majority of them are the firm adherents of Islam, and religion is an integral part of every domain of life. Of the main two traditions in Islam - Sunni and Shia, the majority of the people follow the former tradition of interpretation. From birth to death, every aspect of life is colored with religion. Various rituals and customs, flavored with religious teachings, are central to people living in both rural and urban settings but with high intensity among the communities in the latter. The majority of the people live in rural areas, and agriculture is the primary source of Pakistan's economy. However, during the last few decades, industrial developments have resulted in major demographic transformation and urbanization (Haider & Badami, 2010). The infrastructure and public services system is well developed in most of the major urban cities than the rural settings. The following sections will briefly introduce the familial, communal, educational, and societal contexts of Pakistani culture with particular reference to people living in rural areas.

2.5.1. The Familial Context

Like any other society, the family is the fundamental unit of life in Pakistan. Most family members include parents, grandparents, and children. The extended family system is a norm in rural and tribal areas, and patriarchy is a common practice. Elders are respected, and in return, they are expected to love and care for all members of the family. Elders are never called by their names. Eye contact with them in conversation is considered disrespectful and a sign of disobedience. The male family members are responsible for earning and providing bread and butter. However, it is an obligation on every member to support the family and put the collective wellbeing first over individual interest. People often sacrifice their interests over the family and devote their lives to other family members. People who do not fulfill their family obligations are disrespected and are considered irresponsible.

Within the family structure, the relationship between wife and husband is of pivotal importance. However, the husband holds a superior status, and the wife is always expected to obey him. They have their gender-biased roles and responsibilities. Assuming the role of the opposite sex is seldom respected. In a typical Pakistani family, the father fulfills the financial needs while the wife takes care of household matters and child-rearing. Father acts as head of the family and makes major decisions related to children's education, employment, and marriage. Mothers are also expected to train their daughters to be good homemakers in their future lives.

The relationship between parents and children is strong. Children are considered adults when they start earning and support their parents. Boys and girls are treated equally during their childhood; however; discrimination starts once they enter their teenage or adolescence. Since mothers and women are mainly responsible for domestic matters, they always remain in-door and spend a private life, which makes them dependent on male bread earners. In this sense, Pakistani society is a male-dominated society where the virtues of privacy, dependency, and obedience make women respectful. Accordingly, an obedient child is the one who listens to elders, never argues, and avoids questions.

A mother who bears more male children is valued and respected. Since they bring honor and respect, boys are treated with proper care and privileges. More male children are considered a source of power. Children who grow up in combined families receive maximum care from all family members. In return, children are expected to respect elders. Major family decisions are made either by father, elders, or collectively in an extended family system. The domestic matters are handled at the family, tribe, or clan level, and it is considered disrespectful to bring family issues into the public. That is why many individual-level matters or family disputes remain unsurfaced.

Compared to boys, girls have limited opportunities for recreation and freedom. Boys can spend their free time in various outdoor pastimes depending on where they live, whereas girls could hardly think of their pastimes beyond a house, particularly in rural and tribal settings. They spend most of their time either helping their mothers or studying under strict discipline, which

often allows girls to produce goods results if they study; because they devote more time to their studies compared to boys. Thus, girls, in general, are hardworking despite the limited opportunity of recreation and outdoor pastimes. However, a female member always needs the company of a male family member if she needs to leave the house. Girls are considered as the honor of the family, and they are always considered in need of protection from male or elderly female family members.

Nevertheless, the social norms related to gender roles are under the flux of change. Now, people in rural settings value girls' education and women's employment. The practice of a daughter's financial support to a family is accepted, particularly in urban settings. However, there are still reservations about the phenomenon both in rural and tribal contexts. Harry (2012) describes the unique position of young women in Pakistani families.

> Some young females who are educated, find employment and help to support the family enjoy the status of being a son in the family. If she needs to go to work alone, she will be allowed. However, she has to protect the respect and honor of the family by staying away from male company. If she has to work with males, she cannot have an intimate relationship with any male. She has to remember always that she is an honor to the family. A young woman without a boyfriend who is hard working and obedient to the family enjoys the status of being a son in the family (p. 10).

The concept of single mothers is foreign to Pakistani culture. Having a child without marriage is unacceptable. If a woman gives birth to a child either before marriage or without marriage, she loses her right to living in society. She is considered the source of shame for the family, and her sin is counted as unforgivable. Nevertheless, the phenomenon of being a divorced woman or widow is common. The rate of divorces is comparatively low, and most of the time, it is a man who exercises this privilege. A divorced woman either goes for a second marriage or remains single in the rest of life while staying with their parental family. In case of the death of a husband, living as a widow is more valued than going for a second marriage.

From a religious point of view, polygamy is acceptable as long as a man can afford but with the consent of his first wife or earlier wives. A man can marry up to four women. However, Islam neither encourages polygamy nor prohibits it (Malik, 2006). In such situations, all the family members live together except in cases where a man marries women living in different cities or countries. Given the unfavorable socio-economic conditions, very few men can afford multiple marriages. However, poor people also go for a second marriage if the first wife is barren. Women who cannot bear children are less valued. They often have to suffer considerable emotional and social challenges.

The relationship between a daughter-in-law and mother-in-law is quite complicated in most Pakistani families. The respect and value of the former depend upon her education, economic standing of her parents, tribe or clan affiliation, household skills, and the possibility of giving birth to a male child. Every mother-in-law wants a male child from her daughter-in-law. The

later receives great care if she bears a male child. The birth of a girl is seldom celebrated. Part of the reason is the belief that she will belong to someone else once married. A woman who does not bear a male child is often divorced and hardly receives respect from her husband and in-laws. Male children are raised with good care compared to female children. Every daughter-in-law is expected to obey her mother-in-law all the time. The success of a marital life largely depends upon the former's capacity to be obedient, respectful, and silent at the time of extreme pressure from her in-laws. Most of the time, husbands hardly dare to defend their wives due to the fear of expulsion from the family bound.

2.5.2. The Communal Context

The communal life among Pakistanis is deeply tied with religious practices and rituals. It is hardly possible to differentiate the mundane and religious life among Pakistanis. Unlike in many Western societies, religious and worldly matters among Muslims are inextricably interconnected. Islam teaches its adherents to structure their lives according to certain religious principles. In this sense, every aspect of communal living is religiously inspired. Every Muslim is expected to fulfill his or her sacred responsibilities and cannot escape from it. Thus, religion plays a fundamental role in public engagement as well as the subjective culture of Pakistanis.

Despite differences over the operationalization of religious principles among Muslims, religion is an integral part of life across the doctrinal denominations. Ones' life not only starts and ends with religiously inspired rites, rituals, and ceremonies but also shapes the social life of people of

a deceased person. For some, even religion is so pervasive to the extent that it shapes pre-birth trajectories. However, this does not mean to suggest that every Pakistani Muslim upholds the religious principles with the same spirit. The extent to which people allow religion to enter their worldly affairs or the level of their religiosity differs across the social groups and doctrinal denominations. For some, religion should be made an integral part of every behavior. However, for others, modesty is the best policy in life.

The fundamental pillars of Islamic faith provide the base for communal activities among Pakistanis. Like for all Muslims (Blanchard, 2010), the five pillars of Islam dictate the everyday communal life of Pakistanis. These include *Tawheed* or *Shahadah* (the declaration of faith), *Salah* or *Namaz* (obligatory prayer), *Sawm* or *Roza* (fasting in the month of Ramadan), *Zakat* (compulsory giving), and *Haj* (pilgrimage to Makkah). It is incumbent upon every Muslim to offer five-time prayers a day. Men and women do not pray together. Men go to the Mosque whereas women offer prayers at home. In some places, separate prayer halls are built for women within the premises of Mosques.

Similarly, women cannot attend other collective prayers with men on special religious occasions (Zahidi, 2013). They cannot participate in funeral processions neither they are allowed to go to the graveyard during the ritual of burying the dead body. The practice of consolation is quite common, and people console in various ways. People travel long distances to console relatives and close friends.

During the month of *Ramadan* (fasting), every capable Muslim do not drink or eat during the daylight time. It is considered as the holy month in which office hours are shortened, and people try to spend most of their time in Mosques or offering prayers. The end of the month is celebrated with great zeal as a festival called *Eid-ul-Fitr*. People wear new suits and make visits to relatives and friends and exchange gifts. At least for three days, people enjoy public holidays. People working in cities return to their hometowns and spend *Eid* days with their families.

Another religious festival called *Eid-ul-Azha* or the festival of sacrifice is celebrated. Those adult Pakistanis who can afford to visit Saudi Arabia for pilgrimage. Financially stable families slaughter animals, and the meat is distributed among relatives and needy people. Like the first Eid, the government announces public holidays, and people make visits to relatives and exchange gifts. In addition to religious festivals, the government also announces public holidays on several national days of prominence, such as Pakistan Day, Independence Day, National Defense Day, Birth and Death anniversaries of national figures, Kashmir Day. Pakistanis enjoy celebrating these ceremonies with great enthusiasm collectively, and such occasions often facilitate social bonding and strengthen collective identities. On such events, food becomes one of the major parts of communal activities.

Other than the three daily meals, Pakistanis may have special meals on the weekends, on the national holidays, and for religious festivals. Ceremonies such as the birth of a baby, circumcision of male children, successful completion of the first Quranic recitation,

engagements, marriages, and death anniversaries all are other social events where food becomes a symbol of affection and hospitality (Malik, 2006, 130).

However, like other major religions, Islam also prescribes to its adherents what to eat and what not to eat. Like Jews, Muslims avoid eating pork. Drinking alcohol is strictly prohibited among Muslims (Stacey, 2009). That is why the open consumption of alcohol is strictly prohibited, and drinkers are viewed as dangerous to society. Meat is one of the primary and privileged food items, especially in social gatherings in Pakistan. Pakistanis love having meat in food and enjoy chicken, mutton, and beef the most. Although fish is not typical food, there are certain types of fish food Pakistanis enjoy. Almost all the social ceremonies and festivities are incomplete without some meat dishes.

Generally, Muslims categorize meat into eatable (Halal) and uneatable (Haram). According to Islamic law, *halal* means lawful or permissible and is contrasted with *haram,* meaning forbidden. Meat obtained from a particular type of animal and birds through a prescribed manner is considered Halal (Toure, 2012). Muslims must follow a prescribed procedure while making meat Halal (Islamic Council of Victoria). Chanting the name of God and reciting a couple of Quranic verses while slaughtering an animal by a Muslim man makes the meat Halal. However, even killing of an animal such as a cow, god, chicken, buffalo, and a camel without a prescribed manner is considered as *makruh* meaning disapproved. Pakistanis prefer having homemade food; however, visiting fast-food chains restaurants in major cities is an emerging trend among families belonging to the middle and upper class of the society.

Islam also teaches its adherents about the proper clothing styles. It demands all Muslim women and men to cover their bodies in an ethical way (Al-Islam). However, there is a great diversity of opinions as to what type of dressing may be ethical and what may be unethical (BBC, 2009). There is a consensus with minor differences about the religious dress code for men; there exists an immense diversity towards female dressing among Pakistanis (Ansari, 2014). Typically, women wear loose clothes and avoid skintight shirts. Nevertheless, the way women dress vary across regions and social classes.

> Generally, in the evening Pakistanis dress up in their best clothes for special occasions. Age and social standing plus religious festivals, travel, work, school, or leisure determine the dress choice. The essential unit of Pakistani dress for both men and women across the country and also with the neighbors to the west and east is the tunic or upper garment (kamees), with all its variations in texture, colour, and tailoring. Trousers (shalwar) are worn by a vast majority of Pakistani men and women, irrespective of age and class (Malik, 2006, p. 137).

Nowadays, there is an emerging trend of developing new fashion designs that combine both traditional and modern dressing (BBC, 2015). Also, the standard dress codes in the neighboring countries have influenced women's clothing substantially. For instance, "the hijab or a headscarf is a new arrival in Pakistan and might have come from Iran or the West; alternatively, women either cover themselves with a full chaadar [garment] or in the rural and tribal regions may opt for the full veil. The older form of the veil has embroidered spaces for the eyes and is called a

burqa. The more fashionable veil, usually in black, is in vogue among the traditional families across the subcontinent" (Malik, 2006, p. 139). It is interesting to note that the contemporary concept of veil or headgear or scarf is very different from the early times of seventh-century Arabia. The literature on early Arab Muslim society suggests that total seclusion and wearing of the veil has never been a common practice among women during the time of Prophet Muhammad (Al-Islam).

2.5.3. The Educational Context

Muslims often made a distinction between religious and secular education. Some even do not see any relation between the two and subordinate the latter to the former. Consequently, there is a multiplicity of education systems, which can be categorized into two broad categories as religious and secular, with opposing objectives and philosophies of education (Ali & Farah, 2007).

Among Pakistanis, the education of the children is valued, but girls hardly get equal opportunities due to various reasons. Harry (2012) describe the typical attitude of Pakistanis towards youth education as discriminatory yet often proves beneficial for girls.

Pakistani male youth are trained with much love, whereas girls are trained with strict rules. Because boys have recreational opportunities, they are not home most of the time. They are with their friends or at recreational centers. Due to their extra activities, they are unable to pay strong attention to their studies, and consequently their studies suffer. Now,

however, there is a change and Pakistani male youth are becoming more serious about their educational issues (p. 34).

Due to strict rules about male-female intermingling, the gender-biased schools are quite common in Pakistan, especially in rural settings. Boys and girls attend separate schools except for universities where they attend their courses together. That is why, until the recent past, girls' enrollment used to be lower than boys across public universities.

From a religious point of view, education is a sacred passion, and teaching is a holy profession. The relationship between a teacher and student is treated as discipleship. Both students and parents respect and follow teachers unquestionably. Harry (2012) summarizes the way a teacher-student relationship occurs in Pakistani society in the following lines.

> A student in school is actually in a discipleship with his teacher. He has been given by his parents to a teacher to make him into a human being or man. The teacher does the training with love, care and even sometimes given physical punishment. A disciple remains forever a disciple to his teacher or guru [spiritual master of teacher] even when the teaching is completed (p. 37).

However, in economic terms, teaching is the least preferred career choice. Since education has never been a national priority in Pakistan, only 2.5 % of the national GDP goes into the education sector (Tahir, 2017). The quality of education, particularly in the public sector, is

deficient. Neither teaching is an attractive profession due to low levels of monitory benefits (Bari, 2016). To fulfill their financial needs, many teachers utilize their extra time in business and economic activities (Amer, 2018). Consequently, there is an emerging trend of private tuition centers run or owned mostly by teachers (Aslam & Mansoor, 2011; Khan, 2014).

2.5.4. The Societal Context

Being a collectivistic society (Nazim & Wajidi, 2016), social life among Pakistanis is valued and cherished across the social groups. People love visiting their relatives, friends, and loved ones. Unscheduled visits are quite frequent and are considered as an indication of respect and love. There is no need to make an appointment before visiting a family. However, sometimes informed visits result in better treatment and food arrangements. Pakistanis feel pride being hospitable to relatives, friends, and guests. Special foods are prepared for honoring the guests depending upon the economic standing of the hosts.

Visiting families and relatives are quite common in rural areas. Pakistanis are generally hospitable. The practice of paying guest is foreign to Pakistani culture. People like living with others and usually avoid having meals alone. Good neighbors are thought as a sign of blessing and relationship with neighbors in rural areas is stronger than cities. People are respected if they live with families and sacrifice for others. It is quite common to make visits to relatives and friends during the time of happiness and sorrow. In this sense, Pakistanis are empathetic as well as sympathetic towards others. It is believed that Pakistanis think with the heart rather than their

minds. People are sensitive to family honor and respect. Male children are trained to be the protectors of the family honor.

People live for others to earn respect from the society. For instance, giving dowry to a daughter at the time of her marriage is necessary as per one's financial capability. Sometimes this practice becomes a source of burden. In extreme situations, families often face financial crises while fulfilling this social obligation. People do not like discussing personal problems in public due to fear of losing respect in society. Therefore, people seldom share their issues openly, and it is often considered disrespectful. Complaining about social problems is rare among ordinary people. Part of the reason could be the less sensitiveness of authorities towards public concerns. Due to the absence of an efficient judiciary system, issues of social significance are discussed among elders at family, clan, or tribe level. Approaching courts is often discouraged.

Given the diverse nature of regional environments, dependency on each other is central to social life. Beyond a family, socialization occurs within extended family structures, clans, tribes, geographic locations, and religious affiliations. However, in general, compared to men, Pakistani women have limited opportunities for social life. Significant variations exist across rural, tribal, and urban populations and social classes. For instance, males in tribal regions, "would not allow their women to eat out and be seen by other men" (Malik, 2006, p. 130). Depending on where they live, socialization of women is limited to either extended families or the places of worship. In addition to collective traditions and customs, various occasions of religious and national prominence provide women with few opportunities for social life that facilitate the strengthening

of social bonds with each other. Malik (2006) succinctly describes the phenomenon of gender, courtship, and marriage in the following lines.

> Most Pakistanis are not polygamous, yet the society is commonly viewed as patriarchal, where marriage might become an ultimate bondage with women- wife, daughter, or sister- all assuming a subservient role. The woman's role is seen as strictly domestic, behind the confines of boundary walls chaardiwari- and totally invisible behind a veil or purdah. However, such views are rather simplifications of a complex phenomenon and fail to see Pakistan as a multifaceted and multilayered society. It may be true that unlike Western women, Pakistani women have lesser public roles, yet presumptions of the society being inherently oppressive and antiwomen are unfair. Excepting some cases of intolerance and bigotry, Pakistan is a land of pluralistic, traditional, and mostly egalitarian values where sacred and secular, and religious and profane exist side by side (p. 146).

There is a vast difference between rural and urban social life. Socialization in rural and tribal settings mainly happen among men. Women cannot attend social gatherings beyond the walls of a house. Teenagers are discouraged from mingling with each other, and girls are instructed to avoid eye contact with same-age boys. By becoming adults, girls are taught even to cover their heads while encountering males. However, within a family, girls can have eye contact with their father and brothers. Pakistani women prefer to visit a female physician for medical checkups than a male because women do not want male doctors to touch their bodies. At times, families

decide where their female members should go for medical checkups. In such a case, a male family member always accompanies females. Furthermore, discussing mental health issues with their relatives is not common. Instead, many mental health problems are kept in secret.

Home is considered to be the safest place for women. In tribal areas, they can hardly think of leaving the house without the company of a male family member. If a woman needs to travel, she must be accompanied by a male family member. In many rural areas, a substantial number of women can be seen in various places, particularly in local markets, whereas in major cities, the presence of women in public life is quite noticeable. Women go shopping of their own, visit places of recreation, and play sports. Women in cities contribute to the society abreast of men almost in every occupation. However, their participation in the field of teaching and healthcare is higher than any other profession.

The demographic picture of cities as well as rural areas has changed and changing rapidly due to urbanization and maximum opportunities for better education and health care. People migrate to either cities or other countries in search of better employment and a higher quality of life. Despite their desire to return to their hometowns after gaining some financial stability, many families end up settling in cities. Most of the young men and women who attend higher education institutions in cities prefer to start their careers and stay there. Since women in migrant families and young girls who come for education enjoy a higher degree of freedom in urban cities, they seldom wish to return to their restricted lifestyle in their hometowns. They prefer to

acculturate in cities and adapt to the city lifestyle. However, those who return often face issues of re-adjustment and maladaptation.

Marriage is considered an important social aspect of life. It is not only the relationship between two individuals but also of two families. It is not a personal matter, rather a communal and social event. In Pakistan, "marriage is not only a religious duty, but it is also a social obligation besides being the main medium for a sexual relationship and procreative activities. Marriages are largely arranged through families, friends, or by a growing sector of matchmakers" (Malik, 2006, p. 159). Before deciding on a marriage proposal, both the families take into account several family aspects. All marriages are arranged, and in certain situations, families even do not bother asking for the approval of future couples. In most of the case, a marriage proposal takes a considerable length of time for a decision. However, fewer times, marriage decisions are made immediately. Sometimes, parties are consulted and asked for their likes and dislikes, and decisions are made accordingly.

Whereas in cities, love marriages are becoming a social norm, but in most of the rural and tribal settings, love marriages are next to impossible. The first lesson parents teach their daughters after marriage is letting things go. Therefore, despite several family issues, women act upon this advice to make their marital life successful. Living single or remaining unmarried is not a choice in Pakistani society. The marriage of children, particularly of daughters, is the primary social obligation for parents. Culturally, if women wish to remain unmarried, it is considered

disrespectful for the family. However, in urban settings, parents respect their daughters' choices if they do not want to spend a married life.

Dating is not a respected behavior. Most of the families with religious orientation consider dating as unethical, whereas it is quite common among wealthy families, who cherish the western way of life. Hollywood and Bollywood movies play a critical role in changing the attitude of youth. The emerging trend of media consumption among young people dating is gradually becoming quite common among middle and lower-middle-class families but often held in secret. Men can hardly think of shaking a woman's hand in public. Even a husband does not dare to hold his wife's hand beyond his house. Harry (2012) describes Pakistanis' attitude towards kissing someone in public in the following lines:

> Kissing in public is forbidden and unacceptable, unlike Western societies where kissing publicly after a wedding validates the marriage. In Pakistan, kissing a wife publicly is shameful and disrespectful. It is not only a shame and disrespectful to a bride and bridegroom, but also it is disrespectful to both the families and to everyone present. The parents, grandparents, and elders kiss their children and grandchildren. If someone is seen kissing in public, even a girlfriend, the gesture could instigate a beating (p. 18).

Culturally, talking about or discussing sex and sexual matters is a bad practice. In line with the Islamic teachings, priority is given to reproduction and family whereby "sex remains a joyous yet quite private affair within the parameters of a married life" (Malik, 2006, p. 149).

Consequently, sex education is not a common practice. Neither parents nor society takes steps towards educating youth about sex and sexual life. It has become a social taboo, which often intensifies children curious to know more about sexual activities that start to happen only after entering into marital life. At times, the lack of awareness leads to misconceptions and misunderstanding with lifelong social implications.

Premarital sex is strictly prohibited across the populations irrespective of their class and rural and urban lifestyles. In many rural and tribal areas, incidents of premarital sex claim the lives of the parties involved. Similar incidents often result in tribal and clan level clashes. Honor killing is one of such social repercussions. Most of the time, this involves the murder of girls who are perceived, bringing dishonor and shame to the family. Such social evils explain why poor parents and families want their daughters to get married as early as possible.

In the preceding section, a brief description of how Pakistanis believe, think, and behave across the social contexts, including familial, communal, educational, societal context, is provided. Its primary purpose was to understand how Pakistanis in Hong Kong respond to their intercultural encounters with other cultural groups at the backdrop of their heritage culture, which is often taken as a reference point in their everyday lives. With this heritage cultural baggage, it is essential to discuss the educational predicament of Pakistani children and adolescents at the backdrop of the educational context of Hong Kong.

2.6. Educational Predicament of Young Pakistanis

According to various reports, school-going youth with South Asian background make the largest student body among ethnic minorities. The officially recognized South Asians include Indians, Pakistanis, and Nepalese. Although Pakistanis make the third largest group of South Asians in Hong Kong, the population growth rate among Pakistan has been unparalleled. According to Census and Statistics Hong Kong, between 2006 and 2011, the population growth rate among Pakistanis has been second highest (62.4 %), next to the category of the mixed population with Chinese parents. Pakistani young people aged under 24 make the second largest group (31.9 %) next to Indians (36.7 %) whereas, Nepalese share only 29.20 percent (Census and Statistics Department, 2017a). Similarly, the highest number of students enrolled at primary and secondary schools during the academic year 2014-15 was of Pakistanis (Kapai, 2015); and the students with the same ethnic background made the largest group (35.5%) who were enrolled in 71 Kindergartens in 2011(Hong Kong Unison, 2012).

Table 2. 5 School Enrollment and Population among South Asians

Ethnicity	Total Population [A]	Youth Under 24[A]	School Enrollment 2014/15[B]	
			Primary	secondary
Indians	45.5 %	36.7 %	923	1196
Pakistanis	31.8%	29.2 %	3029	2607
Nepalese	22.6%	31.9 %	1434	1269

Sources - A: Census and Statistics Department, Population By-census 2016; B: Director of Bureau: Secretary for Education Session No. 13 retrieved from

http://www.edb.gov.hk/attachment/en/about-edb/press/legco/others/EDB-2-e1.pdf on 10 August 2017; C: Unison HK, 2012.

Despite being the third-largest group of South Asians however, the low level of social acceptance (HK Unison, 2012b); higher rates of poverty (Cheung & Chou, 2017) and school drop-out (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016a; Shum et al., 2011; Tsung, 2012); higher number of under academic achievers, and the growing phenomenon of perceived social exclusion or discrimination (Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Ku, 2006; Ku et al., 2003; Law & Lee, 2013) distinguish Pakistanis from other ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong. It was observed that Pakistanis were two times less likely to attend preschool compared to Chinese students and two and half times more likely as Chinese students to leave the school before grade 5 (The Education University of Hong Kong, 2013)[1]. In terms of school dropout rates, Pakistanis (15.6 %) of age group 13-19 are next to Nepalese (20.6), and participation in post-secondary schooling is lowest among Pakistanis than other South Asians. Only 4.3 % of Pakistanis account for either studying or completed university education, which is the lowest percentage among different ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong (Kapai, 2015).

Empirical studies suggest that Pakistanis often experience prejudicial treatment in Hong Kong due to their low level of social acceptance, unfair treatment based on race, ethnicity and religion and low level of their socioeconomic status (Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Ku, 2006; Ku et al., 2003).

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[1] The Hong Kong Institute of Education, 'Study on Educational Inequality and Child Poverty among Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong' (*The Hong Kong Institute of Education*, 29 October 2013). <http://www.ied.edu.hk/media/news.php?id=20131029> accessed 10 August 2017.

In a survey with a group of 1862 ethnic Chinese participants, comprised of police recruits (57.6%), teachers (10.3%), secondary school students (27.6%) and university students (4.5%) it was found that 37.4 % of the participants showed the least acceptance towards Pakistanis in their neighborhoods, workplace, or education for themselves or their children (Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Hong Kong Unison, 2012a). A recent study has also revealed that child poverty is very high among Pakistanis. Accordingly, 59.6% (7787) Pakistani children are living in an economically desperate situation (Cheung & Chou, 2017). Under such socio-economic conditions, it is vital to know as to how such a public attitude towards Pakistanis may shape their acculturation in general and educational acculturation in particular despite having a long history of immigration and settlement in Hong Kong (Erni, 2014; Ku, 2010).

The following section briefly discusses the educational performance of South Asians in general and of Pakistanis in particular beyond Hong Kong. This will help understand the similarities and differences in educational trends among Pakistani young people living in various contexts.

2.6.1. Education among Immigrant Pakistanis beyond Hong Kong

There is a great deal of literature on immigrants across the societies of settlement in the West (Gonzalez, 2005; Gonzalez & Frumkin, 2016; Grigorenko & Takanishi, 2009; Reyes, Uchikoshi, Takanishi, & Grigorenko, 2010). However, only a small number of studies have investigated the educational performance of young people with a South Asians background. Numerically, Britain accommodates a large number of South Asians, including Indians, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, and

others. Unlike in Britain, there is limited information available about the educational performance among South Asians in North America and European.

Despite a significant presence of South Asians in many parts of Europe and North America, little is known about their educational issues, particularly in America, Canada, Australia, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Netherlands, and several other European countries. Studies have hardly highlighted the educational issues among Pakistanis in these contexts. Part of the reason could be the likelihood of experiencing better educational opportunities in these contexts. Also, most of these societies do regard and value social diversity, pluralism, and implement multicultural education practices for the last two-three decades (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006a). The work of Ghuman (2003), based on comparative research data from four countries, including Canada, Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom, is an exception.

Studies have identified a great deal of variation in the educational performance between South Asian ethnic groups in Britain (Abbas, 2002; Dustmann, Machin, & Schnberg, 2010; Hamashita & Manami, 2007; Rana & Kausar, 2011; Shah et al., 2010; Sunder & Uddin, 2007). Abbas (2002) summarizes these variations and possible reasons in the following lines:

> A large part of the reason is because of economic, social capital and knowledge
> differences between South Asians, as well as the ways in which religion and culture
> affect groups ... It is the adverse cultural practices within the home coupled with
> disengagement with the school that lead to educational underachievement … Based on an

evaluation by religion, Hindus outperform Sikhs, who in turn outperform Muslims ... South Asian Muslims underperform because of a number of factors affecting them negatively within the home and school – at home because of patriarchy and at school based on the views that currently exist towards Muslims in Britain … Indians on the other hand, are more likely to experience a double advantage – higher socio-economic status and better schools as well as greater acceptance by teachers and society in general, necessarily because of their religion and culture" (Abbas, 2002, p. 310 - 311).

Abbas's (2002) analysis confirms a common trend of maintaining and valuing heritage culture among South Asians. It also suggests how the common perceptions about Islam and Muslims can shape the educational predicament of young Muslims. While the educational performance of different ethnic groups of South Asians in Britain differs from one another, researchers have also identified a relationship between religious identity and educational achievement (Ghuman, 2003). Accordingly, Indians outperform both Pakistanis and Bangladeshis Muslims, but differences exist between the latter two groups (Sunder & Uddin, 2007). Since both the groups share the same low socioeconomic status due to their migration from underdeveloped rural and agrarian-based areas in the countries of origin, Muslim students are more vulnerable to poverty than any other South Asian ethnic groups in Britain (Sunder & Uddin, 2007). In terms of their socio-economic status as well as the places of origin, the situation of Pakistanis in Hong Kong is similar to their counterparts in the United Kingdom (Cheung & Chou, 2017).

Nonetheless, the research findings on the educational performance of Muslims are mixed.

Despite experiencing greater structural challenges, some researchers have observed higher rates

of educational improvement among Bangladeshi Muslims (Dustmann, Machin, & Schonberg,

2010). Whereas, others perceive an encouraging trend in the educational performance of

Pakistanis across the generations; in that younger generations are performing better than their

elders (Hamashita, 2007). Even some claim that the Pakistani adult population outperforms the

majority of White British Adults in terms of educational achievement (Dustmann, Machin, &

Schonberg, 2010). Shah and associates (2010) have attributed this progress to the high

educational aspirations among Pakistani parents, which has been conceptualized as 'ethnic-

capital.'

In a comparative study of habits and educational performance among Pakistani British and White

British students, Rana and Kausar (2011) found no significant difference in their academic

performance despite having better study habits among the latter. Moreover, Sunder and Uddin

(2007) observed Pakistanis being more integrated with other ethnic minority groups but without

any positive association with their performance in public examinations. In terms of participation

in tertiary education, Pakistani boys and girls compared with other South Asian peers are most

likely to attend university education than their White British counterparts (Shah et al., 2010).

However, the situation in Hong Kong is the opposite. These mixed research findings suggest that

the phenomena of educational performance among Pakistanis in Britain can be associated with

their cultural, religious, and structural conditions than any other factor such as language or

medium of instruction.

The educational scenario among Pakistanis in Britain exhibits both some similarities as well as differences to that of Pakistanis in Hong Kong. The situation is quite similar concerning underachievement and poverty. Pakistanis in Britain are more likely to enter University and more integrated with other ethnic groups, which is not the case in Hong Kong. It is interesting to note a different situation in tertiary education among Pakistanis living in Hong Kong and Britain. The potential role of different structural conditions external to their cultural and religious identity cannot be underestimated. Likewise, the differences in the educational acculturation of South Asians across different sociopolitical contexts including Canada, Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom (Ghuman, 2003) suggest the critical role of the educational context in investigating the issues of adaptation and integration in the societies of settlement. Thus, a deeper understanding of the educational context would help better understand the acculturative experiences of Pakistani secondary school students in Hong Kong.

2.6.2. The Educational Context of Hong Kong

The education system in Hong Kong is similar to the British education system. Children of age group 3-6 can attend kindergartens and under the 'Free Quality Kindergarten (KG) Education Scheme,' eligible children can receive free education at institutions that are participating in the scheme. The government provides nine-year free basic education to all populations that fall in the age group 6-15. According to the Hong Kong Monthly Digest of Statistics published in September 2016, 572 primary and 506 secondary schools are educating 337558 primary and

352609 secondary students (690167 total). The following table details the division of schools in various types and categories.

Table 2. 6 Primary and Secondary Schools in Hong Kong

School Type/ Level	Govt.	Aided	Caput	DSS	Private	Int. Schools	Total
Primary	34	420	-	21	53	44	572
Secondary	31	360	2	61	22	30	506
Total	65	780	2	82	75	74	1078

(Source: Census and Statistics Department, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, September 2016)

Children receive free education up to junior secondary, i.e., secondary III. The overall education system focuses on bi-literacy (Chines and English) and trilingualism (Cantonese, Putonghua, and English). However, the medium of instruction at the majority of the schools is Chinese. Both the Government and Aided primary schools do not charge any tuition fee while students enrolled in Aided schools pay a small amount under the head of specific purposes approved by the Education Bureau (EDB). The rest of the schools, including Caput, Direct Subsidy Schools (DSS), Private, and International schools, charge tuition fees ranging from HKD 1000 to HKD 15000 per month or more.

For the majority of the lower class parents, the only option of their children's education is either Government schools or Aided schools. Since the medium of instruction in the majority of

schools is Chinese and non-Chinese students find it challenging to compete with their Chinese counterparts, most of these students attend DSS, where English is the medium of instruction. Since a significant number of non-Chinese students attend these schools, the Government gives subsidies to support the needs of these students. Nevertheless, the majority of non-Chinese attend aided schools. Therefore, some researchers are of the view that it is the overall education system that limits ethnic minority students' access to quality education.

> 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 (Lai et al., 2015, p. 209).

Consequently, under the current racially segregated educational atmosphere, ethnic minority students are not doing well and face challenges in terms of their positive educational adaptation and integration into the mainstream society (Heung, 2006; Hong Kong Unison, 2015). AS most of the ethnic minority students attend the so-called 'de facto' segregated schools with predominantly non-Chinese students, it is quite essential to consider students experiences of intercultural contact and socialization for a deeper understanding of students' acculturation. It is also inevitable to analyze the overall teaching and learning practices at these schools, which are the only options for the majority of ethnic minority students to pursue their educational careers and fulfill their parental aspirations.

2.6.3. Factors Affecting Ethnic Minority Education in Hong Kong

A growing body of research focuses on various factors that may potentially affect the educational performance of ethnic minority (EM) young people in Hong Kong. These may include parental involvement in education (Shum et al., 2011; Tsung, 2012); the home-school collaboration and parents' educational aspirations (Phillion, Hue, & Wang, 2011); the Chinese language learning practices (Fang, 2011; Shum et al., 2011; Tsung, 2012; Ullah, 2012); the support mechanism in schools and in communities (Hong Kong Unison, 2012b; Tsung, 2012); the teachers' cultural sensitiveness, responsiveness, and school engagement (Hue & Kennedy, 2014a; Hue & Kennedy, 2015; Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen, 2010); the examination driven schooling system (Hue, Leung, & Kennedy, 2015); the different schooling cultures (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016b); the incidents of prejudice and discrimination (Cheung & Chou, 2017; Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Ku, 2006; Loper, 2004); and the lack of an overall policy framework towards equity and quality in education (Kennedy, 2011; Kennedy & Hue, 2011; Law & Lee, 2012; Lee & Manzon, 2014).

Some researchers argue that the body of knowledge on the educational predicament of EM lacks a systematic analysis based on an ecological framework (Arat et al., 2016). Accordingly, researchers have mainly focused on micro-level variables such as children, parents, teachers, and schools, but limited attention has been given to the interaction of various subsystems of the ecology in which the process of youth development takes place. Based on the meta-analysis of

36 research journal articles on ethnic minorities in Hong Kong, Arat and her associates (2016) concluded that:

> The existing studies predominantly examined the microsystem risk factors on a single dimension of youth development. The volume of identified protective factors for youth development was much smaller, and the majority of them were microsystem protective factors focused on relatively few dimensions of youth development. This study also finds that there were very few discussions of evidence on risk and protective factors of ethnic minority youth development at the exosystem level in the existing literature (p. 228-229).

These findings suggest that numerous factors related to children, parents, teachers, and schools may affect students' performance and hence their adaptation to the local education system and their integration into mainstream society. A brief overview of existing literature on ethnic minorities' educational predicament and the potential factors will help better understand the educational context and their acculturative experiences in Hong Kong.

2.6.3.1.   Students & Parents Related Factors

Researchers have highlighted a range of factors related to ethnic minority students' unsatisfactory educational performance. Most of these issues are related to either students or their parents and families. Since the education system in Hong Kong aims bi-literacy (Cantonese and English), proficiency in reading and writing Chinese has been identified as a fundamental

obstacle for ethnic minorities' education. Empirical investigations suggest that students from ethnic minority backgrounds find written Chinese difficult than its spoken form (Cantonese) whereas, learning English is much easier than Cantonese (Lai et al., 2015; Li & Chuk, 2015). Empirical evidence suggests that ethnic minorities use their mother tongue at home, and English remains the primary medium of communication with peers and teachers in schools (Shum et al., 2011).

Part of the reason for the difficulty in written Chinese has been associated with its 'non-alphabetic' written system. Studies have shown that students were interested to learn Chinese due to various reasons. Accordingly, despite little parental encouragement, the source of motivation for learning Chinese comes from their desire to either get a job or to pass an examination (Shum et al., 2011). However, parents' attitudes and students' orientation towards learning Chinese and the network of Cantonese speaking friends and peers are not without implications toward their academic performance.

Tsung and Fang (2012) interviewed Pakistani and Nepali parents to investigate the underachievement of their children in Hong Kong schools. It was found that despite having positive attitudes, parents' involvement in their children's education was limited due to lack of valued linguistic, cultural, economic, and social capital coupled with some structural factors that account for the underachievement. Also, lack of sufficient quality of schooling, devaluing students' first language, and lack of cultural sensitivity among local teachers and their low expectations for ethnic minority students accounted for the phenomenon.

Shum et al. (2011) analyzed Chinese language proficiency and experiences of language learning among students with the South Asian background. The analysis of the quantitative data from 300 secondary school students revealed that 92 % of the surveyed students use the mother tongue at home, whereas English remained the most frequently used language in schools. Employment prospects and parental aspirations were found as the primary sources of Chinese learning motivation. However, in a qualitative study with secondary school teachers Hue and Kennedy (2012) observed some practical reasons for lack of motivation among students towards Chinese language learning.

> Ethnic minority students' low motivation for learning the Chinese language was rooted in the students' beliefs that the effort they put into acquiring proficiency would not be properly rewarded with jobs and social recognition. For those students who planned further study in their home countries or to migrate to western countries, learning Chinese become even more irrelevant to their education and future career aspirations (p. 124).

For others, despite parents' high aspirations for learning Chinese, they lack linguistic and cultural capital essential for children's language achievement (Shum et al., 2011). Since Chinese proficiency influences students' academic performance, teachers and schools should assume a remedial role to the insufficient family support for students' improved achievement (Shum et al., 2011). However, the sole focus on language proficiency is a narrow approach to understanding the educational issues among students from an ethnic minority background (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016a; Bhowmik, Kennedy, & Hue, 2017).

Scholars also criticize the language policy for being less sensitive to the students' second language learning needs in Hong Kong. The existing Chinese language teaching practices suggest that the government's language policy is 'assimilationist' (Li & Chuk, 2015; Shum et al., 2011), resulting in challenges of adaptation and social integration. Scholars caution the repercussions of such a policy orientation that may undermine the importance of heritage culture; a prerequisite for a stronger sense of belonging with their respective ethnic communities (Lai, Fang, & Wang, 2015). To address the Chinese language learning needs, critics call for a separate curriculum for teaching Chinese as a second language with its assessment practices and greater emphasis on teachers' training (Li & Chuk, 2015).

Existing literature on students' perception of assessment in both primary and secondary schools suggest that within the examination-oriented public schooling system there is a lack of 'student-centred' and 'teacher-student interactive' assessment practices which may hamper the achievement of 'no loser' principle towards the educational performance of ethnic minority students in Hong Kong (Hue et al., 2015). The researchers advocate "the application of both student-centred and teacher-student interactive assessment practices, to fulfill the diverse learning needs of all students with racially, ethnically, culturally, and linguistically diverse backgrounds" (Hue et al., 2015, p. 270).

However, teachers working with ethnic minority students complain about the lack of student engagement with academic tasks beyond schools. It was noted that "ethnic minority students were reluctant to be involved in school-related work beyond the confines of the classroom, and

so failed to spend time on homework and revision at home" (Hue & Kennedy, 2013, p. 299). Consequently, ethnic minority students cannot cope with educational demands that account for their school failure or drop out. The case study research by Bhowmik & Kennedy (2016) investigates the experiences of the 'out of school,' ethnic minority youth explicitly, and highlights several factors responsible for student' dropout phenomenon. These included academic achievement, Chinese language teaching, the difference in schooling culture, peer and community factors, racism, dropout history in the family, and issues concerning gender.

These research findings underscore the need to study educational predicament among ethnic minorities beyond the language deficit model and to explore the issues from multiple perspectives. Bhowmik and colleagues (2017) believe that "focusing only on Chinese proficiency is a limited response on the part of government toward the issue of ethnic minority students' school failure" (p. 15). Accordingly, the dropout phenomenon is not sudden; instead is a process that appears long before the dropout stage. The complex interaction of school factors and students' personal or family issues affect their school performance and contribute to the out-of-school phenomenon (Bhowmik, Kennedy, & Hue, 2017). To respond to the learning needs of ethnic minority students in schools effectively, therefore, researchers recommend changes in the school curriculum by focusing on cultural themes of diverse ethnic groups in Hong Kong (Hue & Kennedy, 2013).

2.6.3.2.   Teachers and School-Related Factors

The school context has been identified as a fundamental aspect responsible for EM students' academic performance in Hong Kong. Studies have already identified the importance of culturally responsive environments in schools and classroom settings (Hue & Kennedy, 2012; 2013; 2014b; 2015). Researchers observe issues concerning cultural sensitiveness among teachers who are working with EM students (Hue, 2011; Westrick & Yuen, 2007). Teachers often lack intercultural competency to respond to students' diverse learning needs (Yuen, 2004). Their responses mainly based on the dominant cultural perspectives and their educational responsiveness often lack an understanding of students' learning needs from their cultural standpoint (Hue, 2011).

For many Chinese teachers, teaching ethnic minority students is an intercultural learning experience. Since their students represent diverse cultural backgrounds, they have to respond to the multicultural classroom environment appropriately. It is also an opportunity to learn about their students' different cultures.

> The classroom experience brings teachers to a multicultural context where they see the social world of their students from perspectives which are very different from the one in which they have been brought up. They gain knowledge of different ethnicities through lived experiences and internalize them into their professional life (Hue & Kennedy, 2012, p. 128).

Most of the time, teachers in secondary schools find themselves engaged in the process of learning, re-learning, and examining their own culture and struggling to respond to the cultural diversity in their classrooms. They try to be sensitive about different cultures and build effective relationships between their schools and parents (Hue & Kennedy, 2012). However, their intercultural learning through their lived experiences of teaching ethnic minority students is not sufficient for effective management of classroom diversity. The acquisition of cultural knowledge merely through classroom engagement may result in a partial understanding of the 'other' and negative cultural stereotypes or generalization.

Kennedy and Hue (2011) note that teachers' intercultural encounters result in negative images of ethnic minority parents and family contexts. Such views often affect teachers' attitudes and expectations towards ethnic minority students and their parents. For instance, "their experiences of ethnic minority families clash with their cultural views about the importance of education and negative images are formed. What teachers are really saying is 'Why can't ethnic minority families be more like Chinese families?'" (Kennedy & Hue, 2011, p. 351). These teachers' orientations suggest that it is "necessary for teachers to see an actual ethnic minority student's situation instead of generalizing about what the students' homes are like. Cultural generalizations could prevent teachers from seeing the reality and thus developing a sense of empathy towards the needs of students and parents" (Hue & Kennedy, 2013, p. 306).

In their qualitative investigation of teachers' views on creating culturally responsive classrooms, Hue and Kennedy (2012) note that teachers often "struggle to construct a new understanding of

multiculturalism and fairness, equality, and justice, upon which cultural responsiveness was built" (p. 128). Teachers find it challenging to cope with the different learning preferences and styles among Chinese and Non-Chinese students in their multicultural classrooms (Hue & Kennedy, 2013). In their study of ethnic Chinese teachers' narratives towards cultural diversity of ethnic minority student in secondary schools, Hue and Kennedy (2013) noticed teachers' concerns about the lack of students' interaction in the classroom, differing learning styles among Chinese and ethnic minority students, inefficient assessment practices, multiple attitudes toward school discipline and care for students, and insufficient home-school collaboration. As a matter of consequence:

> Chinese students tended to be described as visual and auditory learners who learnt by observation, using written notes, listening and memorizing. They could learn without touching real objects or experimenting, whereas ethnic minority students preferred to learn through touching real objects, through action and participation … ethnic minority students were usually described as tactile or kinesthetic learners who learnt through experiencing, demonstration, physical activity and doing things. They participated actively in learning activities; they asked more questions and were more able to express their thoughts openly (Hue & Kennedy, 2013, p. 298).

For teachers, students' streaming based on Chinese language ability often leads to less interaction and hence segregation in classrooms. The strict assessment policies potentially affect their motives for appropriate teaching practices also. Hue and Kennedy (2013) concluded that

existing educational policies, such as streaming of students, could have discouraging implications for the improved learning opportunities for EM students. The researchers advocate the development of a connected classroom environment with supportive conditions based on home-school collaboration.

On the part of teachers, Westrick & Yuen (2007) assessed the intercultural sensitivity of secondary teachers from four different types of secondary schools with either Cantonese or English or both as a medium of instruction. Using the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), the researchers identified different profiles of teachers in four sampled schools and noticed enormous variations across different profiles of teachers and schools. The international school scored the highest (105.02) followed by direct subsidy schools. Intercultural sensitivity was found high (89.40) at schools where the medium of instruction (MOI) was both Chinese and English than those schools where teaching and learning were taking place in Chinese only (84.62). The Government Aided School with Cantonese MOI scored the lowest in IDI scale. Central to the study is the identification of a positive relationship between intercultural sensitivity among teachers and their cross-cultural experiences.

Similarly, Yuen (2010) found similar findings among teachers from nine secondary schools in Hong Kong. While echoing the earlier results, she noted that Hong Kong-born Cantonese speaking teachers were lacking interest in their intercultural development and were resistant to cultural diversity and pluralism (p. 740). The researchers anticipate that "teachers within each school who have had more experience living in other cultures, who come from another culture

themselves, or whose families include members from other cultures may be able to assist their colleagues with understanding students of other cultures" (Westrick & Yuen, 2007). These findings suggest that teachers in Government Aided School and Direct Subsidy School with Cantonese medium of instruction are less sensitive to cultural differences and therefore need professional support and training in intercultural development (Yuen, 2012).

Furthermore, studies also highlight the gaps in educational policies and practices. At the classroom level, teachers often struggle with making sense of the existing policies that often go against the ground realities. For instance, teachers "constantly searching for a new rationale to make sense of multiculturalism" due to differences in the Western and Chinese conceptualization of social justice (Hue & Kennedy, 2014a; Kennedy & Hue, 2011). Teachers in their capacity are willing to help the diverse needs of ethnic minority students based on the principle of equity but also become worried about being accused of violating the Chinese cultural ethos of fairness and sufficiency (Hue & Kennedy, 2014b).

While trying to build a culturally responsive classroom, teachers often suffer from uncertainty as if they are discounting the values of Hong Kong's educational system (Hue, 2011). In creating culturally responsive environments in multi-ethnic schools, teachers often focus on 'cultural harmony,' 'successful adaptation,' and cultivating the 'new hope' among students (Hue & Kennedy, 2013). Teachers believe that they cannot avoid the influence of deep-rooted cultural values of 'fairness' and 'uniformity' not only in their teaching but also in their assessment practices (Hue & Kenndy, 2015; Leung & Hue, 2016).

While investigating the cross-cultural teaching experiences, Hue and Kennedy (2012) found that the deep-rooted cultural ethos in Hong Kong such as 'cultural harmony' often becomes a hurdle in addressing students' diverse learning needs and promoting fairness, justice, and equity. The researchers identified four major themes related to the creation of culturally responsive classrooms, including (1) making sense of cultural responsiveness to diversity, (2) developing intercultural sensitivity, (3) strengthening home-school collaboration, and (4) broadening ethnic minority students' aspirations for education and career.

To respond to the diverse learning needs of ethnic minority students, Hue and Kennedy (2012) suggest developing a broader framework of intercultural learning and knowledge rather than a 'dualistic' understating of Chinese and non-Chinese cultures.

> This new framework should not be built upon the dualistic concepts of the dominant culture and non-dominant culture, or majority or minority. Rather, it should move beyond these dual concepts, so that a broader perspective can be developed to help teachers rethink their understanding of 'cultural harmony' and multiculturalism (Hue & Kennedy, 2012, p. 128).

The existing assessment practice in Hong Kong school is another factor that potentially affects EM students' educational experiences. Studies have identified issues with assessment practices in schools. By analyzing 32 semi-structured interviews of teachers, Hue and Kennedy (2015) concluded that building a productive assessment environment within an examination-driven

system may require teachers and schools to work on connecting assessment to the context of teaching, reducing the range of linguistic diversity, and removing the language barrier from the assessment process. Teachers find the existing assessment system inflexible that hardly allows them to "develop and implement alternative assessments that would better meet the diverse learning needs of their students" (Hue & Kennedy, 2015, p. 299). The researchers suggest that for improved assessment practices, teachers and schools should embrace the need for understanding and recognizing the diverse assessment needs of the students from ethnic minorities. While advocating the culturally responsive assessment environments for ethnic minority students, the researchers note that "The assessment classroom environment should be constructed under the ethos of respect, empathy, and equality. It should not be limited to the legitimized notions of fairness and uniformity that underpin public examinations" (Hue & Kennedy, 2015, p. 300).

Researchers also observed a kind of disconnect between teachers, students, and parents. Accordingly, there is a lack of intercultural connectedness among Chinese and non-Chinese students. Scholars highlight the "need for a school environment where classroom, school, and home are connected in dynamic ways to promote culturally responsive approaches to caring, teaching, and learning, and to ensure that every individual student is treated equitably" (Hue, 2011, p. 150). At the same time, researchers are also concerned about "the irreconcilability of cultural values and progressive concepts of social justice and the debilitating effects this had on ethnic minority students" in Hong Kong (Kennedy & Hue, 2011, p. 352).

While the overall educational policy rhetoric is about encouraging the educational adaptation of ethnic minority students, the educational practices solely place this burden on students and their parents. The 'monocultural multiculturalism' is the evidence of such a policy reliance on students. The genuine support and facilitation would require both the ethnic minorities and school practitioners to value the real sense of adaptation. Therefore, existing literature not only emphasizes students' efforts for adaptation but also the adaptation on the part of schools and teachers.

This adaptation should inevitably involve a shift of pedagogy from a teacher-centred to a student-centred approach to teaching and learning, and from examination-oriented to learning-oriented assessment, to cater for ethnic minority students' individual needs regardless of their language ability and racial background" (Hue & Kennedy, 2013, p. 305).

2.6.3.3. Policy & Practice Related Factors

Despite having a long colonial history and its legacies, the education system in Hong Kong is mainly monocultural (Heung, 2006). Some have described such an educational situation as "monocultural multiculturalism" (Kennedy, 2011). Since the current educational practices in schools are based on the Confucian philosophy of harmony, fairness, and social justice, the diverse learning needs of ethnic minority students can hardly be addressed. According to the Confucian philosophy of social justice, "the government is responsible for *sufficient* provision

rather than *equitable* provision. Chinese students and ethnic minority students must be treated in the same way to meet the standards of Confucian justice" (Kennedy & Hue, 2011, p. 348).

Studies have already examined the existing policy frameworks and practices about equity in education in general and education for ethnic minorities in particular in Hong Kong. Hue and Kennedy (2013) argue that with few exceptions, no specific policies have been formulated in Hong Kong to facilitate the learning experiences of ethnic minority students. Within the available yet limited public policy frameworks, there exist gaps in both policy and practices towards education among ethnic minorities and their cultural diversity in Hong Kong. The lack of coordination, as well as consultation in the policymaking process, depicts the orientation of policies toward non-Chinese populations as more political than educational (Hue & Kennedy, 2014a). Some scholars have described the absence of proper public policy provisions to protect the rights of diverse ethnic groups as an "irony" in Hong Kong. A discriminated attitude towards racial differences seems inherent to the colonial legacy of Hong Kong.

> The British colonial rule for over 150 years provided such a deep impact that one of its detrimental legacies is the internalization of British self-worth and thinking among Hong Kong people, particularly the social elite. Colonialism causes the systematic classification of people based on skin colour, with the highest class pertaining to the white race. The white people represent civilization, development, elegance, wisdom and rationality. In contrast, the coloured races represent cruelty, vulgarity, stupidity and irrationality (Law & Lee, 2012, p. 120).

As a matter of consequence, it is quite probable for ethnic minorities suffering from their lowered social status as second-class citizens. They could hardly think of enjoying equal rights similar to that of white and Chinese people. Existing literature substantially highlights the plight of ethnic minorities in general and of people with a South Asian background in particular in every field of life and education is not an exception (Cheung & Chou, 2017; Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Ku, 2006, 2010; Law & Lee, 2013). Empirical studies suggest that despite having a bicultural orientation, a range of factors affect the successful adaptation of ethnic minority students in Hong Kong.

> 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 socioeconomic 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 (Lai et al., 2015, p. 215).

Although policies towards educational opportunities aim to facilitate educational performance, they hardly encourage schools to take appropriate steps for equitable education of ethnic minority students (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2012). Despite the unique learning needs of ethnic minority students, teachers and schools treat the Chinese and Non-Chinese students equally in

terms of teaching content, teaching methods, and assessment processes with "no better and no worse" policy (Kennedy & Hue, 2011, p. 350).

The broader policy framework that guarantees the equal rights of all citizens is the Racial Discrimination Ordinance (RDO), an anti-discrimination law, which was enacted in July 2008. It has come to operation since July 2009 (Equal Opportunity Commission). It is interesting to note that the RDO is silent about whether or not the preference given to one language over the other in education could come under the definition of discrimination (Hue & Kennedy, 2014a). Some even argue that "the enactment of antidiscrimination ordinance was not a deliberate attempt on the part of the Hong Kong government to create a policy on the treatment of ethnic minority students; rather, as public discussion on the Racial Discrimination Bill was under way, ethnic minority students and their treatment emerged as an issue" (Kennedy, 2011, P. 168). Thus racial discrimination ordinance hardly cater to the diverse learning needs of ethnic minority students, and it is instead an attempt to make them and their needs "invisible" (Kennedy & Hue, 2011).

While critics question the existing policy provisions protecting the educational rights and needs of ethnic minorities, OECD praises the education system of Hong Kong. Accordingly, Hong Kong is among those highest performing education systems across OECD countries that target not only equality but also equity in education (OECD, 2012). Scholars may see OECD's declaration from a western liberal perspective as irrelevant to the educational context of Hong Kong. Because the concept of social justice in western liberal democracies is understood differently than non-democratic societies, it is worth knowing if the equity in education can be

achieved in a "monocultural" education system with the differing conceptualization of social justice in the context of Hong Kong (Kennedy, 2011).

Considering the fact that the Confucian philosophy of social justice emphasizes fairness and uniformity, Lee and Manzon (2014) question the co-existence of educational equity and equality within a highly unequal society of Hong Kong in the face of a widening gap between the poor and rich. While following Bourdieu's *concept of the logic of practice,* Lee and Manzoon maintain that it is the Chinese culture of hard work and resilience (*habitus*) that help many economically disadvantaged (*capital*) students (*as actors*) in society (*filed*) overcome challenges and excel in education. They argue that it is the cultural capital than any other factor responsible for the students' performance. Their analysis puts non-Chinese students into a disadvantaged position who not only lack such a cultural capital but also suffer from their low level of socioeconomic status in society.

Law and Lee (2012) seem pessimistic about a promising framework of multiculturalism in Hong Kong. Accordingly, contrary to the colonial time, the multicultural situation in Hong Kong is merely a description of various ethnic groups where multiculturalism appears to be more 'offensive' than 'protective' in nature. The core values of multiculturalism, such as freedom from discrimination and poverty as well as mutual respect and reception, are still "thin and weak under Hong Kong's public policy." Under the so-called 'cinicization' or 'mainlandization' of policies, the authors believe, ethnic minorities are negotiating with their citizenship status resulting in unequal treatment both in employment and in compensation, causing poverty. Also,

the shift of medium of instruction from English to Chinese deprived many ethnic minority students of quality education, resulting in fewer possibilities of improving the upward social development. Thus, Lee and Law (2012) suspect any improvement in the near future on this front. Kennedy (2011) has described the situation as "the 'long march' toward multiculturalism in Hong Kong" (p. 155).

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter started with introducing its contents. It briefly discussed the demographic picture of the ethnic minority population in Hong Kong with a particular focus on ethnic diversity and their early settlement. Then the chapter discussed the notion of culture in acculturation and elaborated the cultural diversity and plurality among Pakistanis. By focusing on the ecological contexts, the chapter explained the everyday life in the rural settings of Pakistan. A brief comparison of the educational predicament of Pakistani young people in Hong Kong and elsewhere was made, and the factors that potentially affect their educational experiences in Hong Kong were discussed in detail.

Chapter 3: Advances in Acculturation Theory and Research: Emerging Trends and Issues

The Focus of the Chapter

This chapter reviews the literature and discusses the trends and issues related to acculturation research and theory. Section 3.1 introduces the chapter, and the notion of intercultural contact in multicultural societies is elaborated in section 3.2. Whereas section 3.3 details the advancement of acculturation research and theory and offers a critique of the dominant model, section 3.4 discusses other potential approaches to the study of acculturation in multicultural contexts. Based on recent findings, section 3.5 briefly introduces the concept of 'remote enculturation' and 'remote acculturation' and underscores some terminological ambiguities in the literature. Section 3.6 highlights the potential considerations for extending the existing frameworks and advocates the culture learning approach for a comprehensive understanding of acculturative experiences of young people in the multicultural societies of settlement. While section 3.7 surveys the available research findings on acculturation in Hong Kong, section 3.8 elaborates the conceptual framework of the study for exploring the acculturative experiences of Pakistani secondary school students in Hong Kong. Lastly, section 3.9 concludes the chapter.

3.1. Introduction

Cultural diversity, intercultural contact, and pluralism are perhaps the right words to describe many of our contemporary interconnected societies around the globe. The developments in science and technology have tremendously facilitated not only the emergence of cultural diversity but also the phenomenon of intercultural encounters both within and without the

national boundaries. Today the demographic picture has become more complex than ever in human history across the societies of settlement. Some have termed this social heterogeneity as 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007). In various contexts, people with different cultural, religious, linguistic, racial, and ethnic backgrounds live side-by-side and come together for the common welfare. As a matter of consequence, almost every society with varying degrees of cultural diversity has become multicultural. Scholars have described such demographic realities as 'multiculturalism' (Berry & Ward, 2016; Joppke, 2004) that is a defining feature in many societies throughout the world.

Although the history of intercultural encounters goes back to ancient times and civilizations, scientific research and scholarship on the subject started in the recent past with the settlement of immigrants in the host societies, mainly in the West (Rudmin et al., 2017). Central to the inquiry are the questions of social adjustment and adaptation to the host culture or the societies of settlement. Although various fields of inquiry such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology have contributed to advancing the body of knowledge on intercultural contact, it is the field of psychology and notably cross-cultural psychology, which has contributed enormously to the development of research and theory on acculturation.

Under the umbrella of acculturation, various theories and concepts were put forward to explain the varying levels of adjustment, adaptation, and integration of immigrants and their later generations – termed as ethnic minorities, in their respective host societies or the societies of settlement. However, the unprecedented growth of acculturation research expanded the scope of

acculturation studies. Cross-cultural studies examine not only the 'immigration-based acculturation' but also 'globalization-based acculturation' (Chen et al., 2008). Recent evidence suggests that people today acculturate to foreign cultures from afar and enculturate to the cultures of their countries of origin (Ferguson & Birman, 2016; Ferguson et al., 2016; Ferguson et al., 2017) without even having a firsthand contact. Consequently, the dominant approaches to acculturation research have become under critical scrutiny, and any attempts to understand acculturation may need to take into account all the possible dimensions of intercultural contact, either actual or virtual irrespective of one's legal status in a multicultural setting. Thus, in the context of Hong Kong, it is crucial to study acculturative experiences of ethnic minorities with a clear awareness of advances as well as emerging trends and issues in acculturation theory and research.

3.2. Intercultural Contact in Multicultural Societies

At the peak of 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007), intercultural contact has become one of the defining features of contemporary multicultural societies. As a matter of consequence, multiculturalism is now a demographic reality in many societies throughout the world (Berry, J. W. & Ward, 2016). Unprecedented international migration trends during the last few decades have transformed the demographic pictures in the societies of settlements, and immigrant populations have emerged as 'transnationals' (Glick-Schiller et al., 1995) or the 'diasporic' (Roy, 2008) communities. According to the International Organization for migration, there were more than one billion migrants in the world of whom 244 million migrants were living in societies

other than the country of their birth in 2015 (Global Migration Data Analysis Centre, (GMDAC),

2015). The latter number does not include those who were born to immigrant families. These

demographic realities suggest that young generations with an immigrant background grow up

amidst multiple sociocultural settings in their respective societies of settlement. Their

acculturative experiences may not be similar to their parents or young people who are first-

generation migrants.

Anthropologists have conceptualized such intercultural encounters and the resulting cultural

changes as acculturation (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). Sociologists and psychologists

have proposed various models drawing on various theories and perspectives to understand the

nature of changes across the populations with an immigrant background. Some emphasize on

group level changes, whereas other foreground changes in one's attitude, emotions, and

behaviors. Similarly, some have been concerned with the relationship between various variables

isolating them from the settings, while others have highlighted the importance of context and

ecology in the process of acculturation.

Nevertheless, theories on the subject have evolved significantly during the last few decades. Part

of the reason is the ever-growing body of knowledge on peoples' intercultural behavior as well

as the various ways and means of intercultural contact and exposures. An emerging body of

knowledge and discourses of intercultural contact not only challenges the traditional

conceptualization of acculturation but also calls for alternative approaches to the study of

populations growing up in multicultural contexts. Some of the scholars are of the view that "the

web of contradictory discourses related to home, tradition, community, nation, and loyalty experienced by the new immigrants and their children demand that we rethink our traditional notions of immigrant adaptation and acculturation" (Bhatia & Ram, 2004, p. 225).

Keeping in view the complex nature of contemporary societies and the variety of potential ways of acculturation, researchers now recommend multidimensional, contextualized, and integrated research approaches to study the phenomenon of intercultural encounters (van de Vijver, 2018). In the unique multicultural context of Hong Kong, investigating acculturation of ethnic minority children and adolescents demands a comprehensive framework that is sensitive to the cultural contexts as well as the multidimensional, complex, and dynamic nature of acculturation that takes place within a particular sociopolitical and religio-cultural environment.

3.3. Advances in Acculturation Theory and Research

Although the phenomenon of acculturation is as old as the history of intercultural contact, Rudmin (2003) traces the origin of scientific inquiry to the study of Polish peasant in Europe and America by Thomas and Znaniecki in 1918. From an etymological point of view, scholars note a directional connotation in the word 'acculturation' suggesting its meaning as "movement toward a culture" or as the acquisition of second-culture (Rudmin et al., 2017, p. 77). Anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists have attempted to understand the concept from their respective fields of inquiry and therefore have never agreed on a single definition. For early anthropologists, acculturation was the study of change in culture due to intercultural contact

between different cultural groups that could have equal consequences for both the interacting

cultural groups (Redfield et al., 1936). However, it was not clear from this initial

conceptualization if the *change* could also occur at the individual level. It is important to note

that anthropologists categorically differentiated cultural change due to acculturation from culture

change that is inherent in every culture (Blumenthal, 1936; Triandis, 1994).

Based on the notion of cultural change, Milton Myron Gordon, an American sociologist,

theorized acculturation as one of the seven stages of assimilation referring to the adoption of

majority culture by immigrants at the cost of their heritage or ethnic culture (Gordon, 1964).

However, psychologists were interested in studying changes at the individual level and termed it

as psychological acculturation (Graves, 1967). Subsequently, acculturation was understood as a

dual process of cultural and individual change due to a meeting of two different cultural groups

or as "the modification of the culture of a group or individual as a result of contact with a

different culture" (Chong, 2007, p. 58). Later on, Berry (1997) argued that immigrants not only

adopt the mainstream culture but also maintain their heritage culture. Nonetheless, until the

recent past, firsthand cultural contact used to be a pre-requisite of acculturation phenomenon.

Recent theory and research suggest that the phenomenon of acculturation is a multidimensional,

complex, and dynamic process of change, acquisition, and maintenance of cultural values,

attitudes, practices, and identities related to both the heritage culture and other cultures that are

accessible to the acculturating people (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010; Ward

& Geeraert, 2016). The evolution of theory during the last century suggests that research studies

on intercultural contact should not only focus on available findings but also remain sensitive to the emerging trends and realities of intercultural contact for improved understanding and theorization of acculturation phenomenon.

3.3.1. The Evolution of Acculturation Research

A brief survey of the literature suggests that the evolution of acculturation theory during the last century resulted in different theoretical perspectives. Ward and colleagues (2001) identify three theoretical dimensions, including *affective, behavioral*, and *cognitive,* also called the *ABCs of acculturation,* denoting three respective theoretical perspectives, including stress and coping perspective, culture learning approach, and social identification perspective (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Although the study of acculturation originated in anthropological inquiries, the theory on the subject has progressed magnificently in the field of psychology or, more precisely, in cross-cultural psychology (Rudmin, Floyd, 2009; Sam & Berry, 2016a). Anthropologists were interested in studying the changes in cultures (Redfield et al., 1936), whereas changes at the individual level attracted much of the interest of psychologists (Graves, 1967). According to the most frequently cited definition in the literature:

> Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups (Redfield et al., 1936, p. 149 - 150).

This early conceptualization gives a general view of acculturation in which the focus was on cultural changes but without any further references to the various aspects of a culture/s or cultural patterns and the variations across the age, religious, ethnic, or racial groups. Despite having explicit references to changes in both the interacting cultures, however, the research focus remained primarily on immigrants in the societies of settlement. Subsequently, the sole focus on cultural change led to the understanding of acculturation as a unidimensional or unidirectional process. Social scientists theorized it as a bipolar process along a single continuum that begins with *separation* (highly oriented toward the heritage culture) and ends up with *assimilation* (highly oriented toward the host culture) (Gordon, 1964). The unidimensional and bipolar model assumed that immigrants would assimilate into the host culture and relinquish their heritage culture after being in contact with the host culture for a prolonged period.

The unidimensional model came into question when Graves (1967) introduced another dimension called psychological acculturation. Since then, acculturation has been understood as a psychological construct. The introduction of the psychological dimension not only led to the modification in the earlier conceptualization but also caused a shift from unidimensional to a bi-dimensional model. Later on, Berry (1980) further extended the theory by adding a cognitive dimension and argued that individuals might not necessarily adopt the host culture at the cost of their heritage culture; rather, the *choice* might be relatively independent of them. Instead, one might simultaneously maintain the heritage culture and adopt the characteristics of the host culture. Thus, the possibilities of preserving the heritage culture and adopting the host culture resulted in two additional ways of acculturation. Based on his research findings, Berry (1997)

developed his four-fold typology, including *separation*, *assimilation*, *integration* (highly oriented toward both the cultures), and *marginalization* (low orientation toward both the cultures).

Despite some progress, the focus remained on continuous firsthand contact in Berry's framework, and acculturation became a *de facto* feature of immigrants. However, for others, the role of the mainstream society was critical and proposed an Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) (Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, & Senecal, 1997; Haugen & Kunst, 2017). It was noticed that acculturation was not a value-free process; instead, it did depend on the overall conditions in the host society. Subsequently, Berry (2005) revised his typology and proposed four corresponding acculturation expectations on the part of the host society, including *segregation*, *multiculturalism*, *melting pot*, and *exclusion,* respectively. If the host society demands that immigrants retain their heritage culture and identity, segregation is defined. The melting pot is established when the hosts expect the assimilation of immigrants. Multiculturalism is upheld when immigrants are encouraged to strike a balance between the two cultures, and exclusion is defined when the host society marginalizes its immigrants (Berry & Sam, 2016). The revision in the framework also led to the redefinition of the concept.

> Acculturation is the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. At the group level, it involves changes in social structures and institutions and in cultural practices. At the individual level, it involves changes in a person's behavioral repertoire (Berry, 2005, p. 698 – 699).

The above definition mentions the contact between more than two cultures, but in practice, only two cultures remained focused. Since a great deal of research on acculturation is based on Berry's framework, it is essential to describe it briefly.

3.3.2. Berry's Fourfold Acculturation Framework

According to Berry's (1997) framework of acculturation (Figure 3.1), intercultural contact is an inherently stressful experience. Following the intercultural contact, changes take place at both the group/cultural level and at the individual/psychological level of people from both the cultures. At the group level, changes take place in culture, whereas at the individual or psychological level, intercultural contact results changes in the behavior of acculturating people. However, he argued that the intercultural contact put individuals into a stressful situation whereby they try to manage it by adopting different coping strategies.

Consequently, these changes at the individual level lead to different types of adaptation outcomes. These adaptation outcomes primarily depend on how individuals prefer to acculturate in the host society. Figure 3.1 elaborates Berry's updated conceptualization of the acculturation process.

Figure 3. 1 Framework for conceptualizing acculturation components and relationships
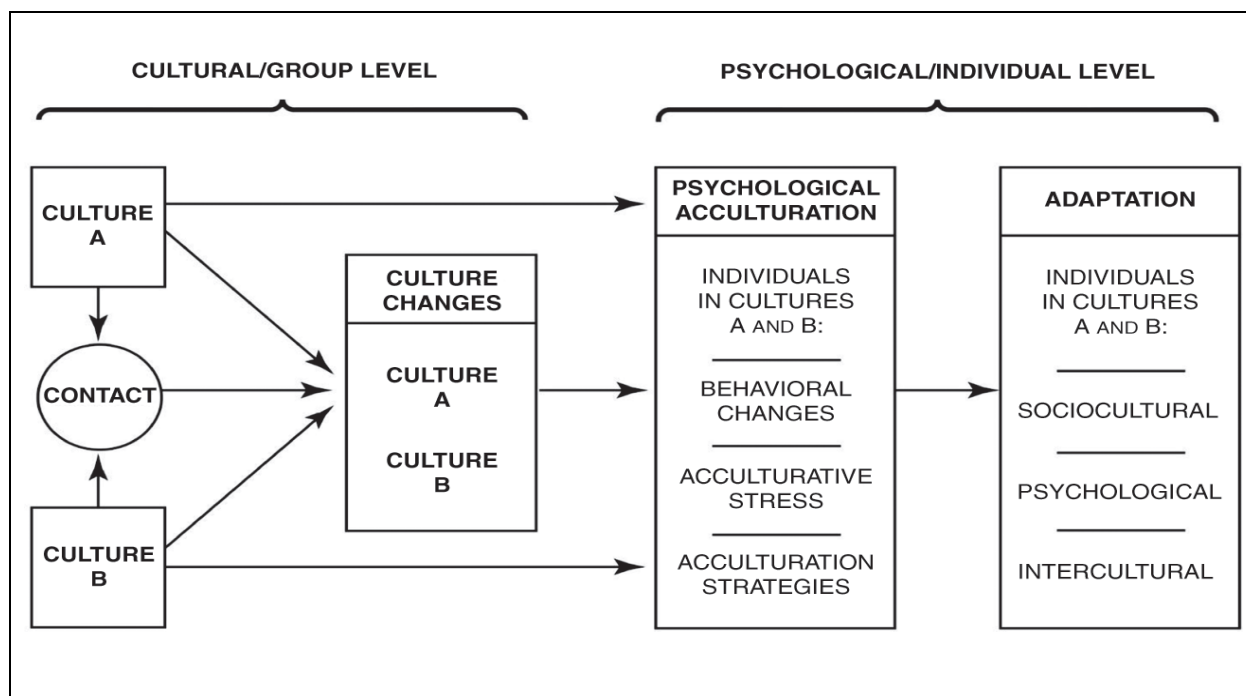
Source: Sam & Berry (Eds.). (2016).

In the above figure, it is essential to note that the acculturation process involves people from both the interacting cultural groups. All the people experiencing intercultural contact may undergo behavioral changes and may adopt different strategies to manage their stressful situations. It may be right for the first generation of immigrants but can hardly reflect the condition of later generations of immigrants as well as the people from the host society. Similarly, the adaptation outcomes of the acculturation process are not limited to immigrants or ethnocultural groups; rather, people from the host society or the mainstream culture may also experience similar consequences. However, immigrants have been the focus of research studies as if individuals from the mainstream culture are not subject to change or part of the process.

Acculturative Preferences

According to Berry (1997), acculturation is a bidirectional and reciprocal process. On the part of immigrant and minority groups, individuals may exhibit different ways of acculturation guided by two main issues – orientation towards maintaining their heritage culture and identity or seeking intercultural relations with the host culture and identity. Based on these issues, whether or not they wish to maintain their heritage culture and identity, or participate in the majority culture, four different acculturating ways emerge. These four individual-level preferences termed as acculturation strategies among immigrants or ethnocultural groups included *integration* (valuing both the cultures)*, separation* (valuing the heritage culture)*, assimilation* (valuing the host culture), and *marginalization* (no preferences for any culture) (Berry, 1997).

Accordingly, integration is defined when individuals wish to maintain their heritage culture and ethnic identity and at the same time, identify with and seek participation in the majority culture. This understanding is similar to the concept of bicultural orientation, often referred to as biculturalism whereby individuals exhibit a strong sense of identification and belongingness to both the cultures (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). Some scholars also used the term 'accommodation' to refer to such an individual acculturating preference (Ghuman, 2003). If individuals do not wish to identify themselves with either of the cultures, this preference is defined as marginalization. Separation is defined when individuals want to maintain their heritage culture and avoid participation in the majority culture. Finally, if individuals do not wish

to identify themselves with their heritage culture and seek engagement and interaction with the

majority culture, assimilation is defined.

Figure 3. 2 Acculturation Strategies in ethnocultural groups and the larger society
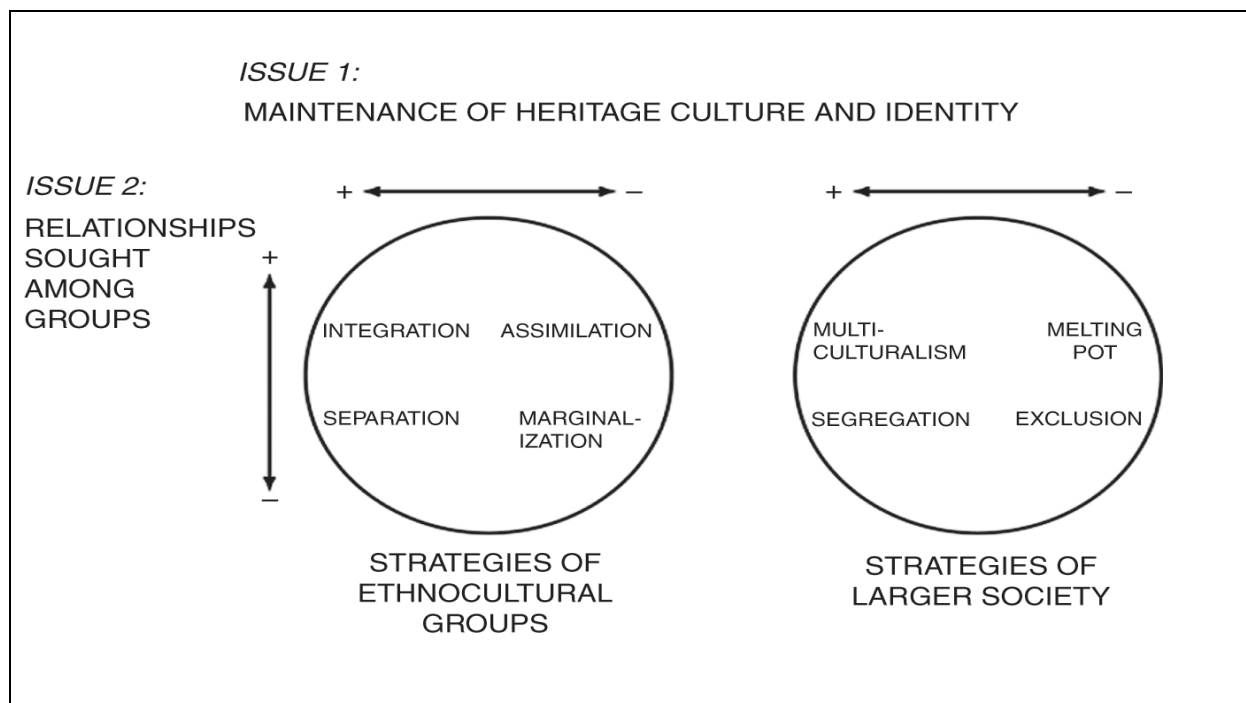
Source: Sam, D., & Berry, J. (Eds.). (2016).

Since acculturation is a reciprocal process, the corresponding four preferences of the people from

the majority culture were termed as acculturation expectations, (how the majority society wants

the minority cultural group/s to acculturate) and the strategies of the larger society included

multiculturalism, *segregation*, *melting pot*, and *exclusion* respectively. At the group level, the

two types of acculturation strategies were identified as 'strategies of ethnocultural groups' and

'strategies of the larger society.'

Acculturative Outcomes

The intersection of these interdependent individual and group level acculturative preferences leads to three sets of adaptation outcomes. Ward (1999) and Searle and Ward (1991) have differentiated the first two as psychological adaptation and sociocultural adaptation. Accordingly, the former refers to how an individual is 'feeling well,' i.e., psychological well-being, whereas the latter denotes how an individual is 'doing- well.' Researchers interested in psychological adaptation may mainly focus on mental health aspects such as depression and anxiety, whereas sociocultural adaptation is conceptualized in various behavioral outcomes such as school achievement or adjustment, behavior problems, and social competence (Sam, David L. & Berry, 2010). The third adaptation outcome, intercultural adaptation is regarded as an individual characteristic that explains how "individuals develop positive relations with members of different cultural groups, including positive ethnic attitudes and stereotypes, low levels of prejudice and discrimination and acceptance of a multicultural ideology" (Berry & Sam, 2016, p. 18).

Berry's (2001) framework was well received by others, and later studies confirmed the four categories of acculturating people irrespective of differences in their identities, values, and practices. Recently Berry (2017) has revised his earlier proposition and suggested eight different categories of acculturating immigrants in the society of settlement. Without much thought given to their biographic details, it can be inferred from his recent categorization that immigrants may experience acculturation at least in eight qualitatively different ways at a given point in time and

the variation in their acculturative experiences may have potential research implications. Despite several limitations and criticism (Chirkov, 2009b), Berry's framework has been a source of research inspiration for others throughout the world.

3.3.3. A Critique of Berry's Acculturation Framework

One of the major tenets of Berry's (2001; 2005) framework is the idea that every acculturating individual experiences stress following intercultural contact and adopts specific coping strategies resulting in varying adaptation outcomes. Although Berry's framework is a valuable contribution to the cross-cultural inquiry, it is not without limitations.

The main problem lies with the ambiguity in the terminologies and the treatment of acculturating people as static categories (Bhatia & Ram, 2004; Triandis, 1997). Critics argue that the available literature mainly focuses merely on the psychological aspects and assumes the four-acculturation strategies as fixed constructs (Chirkov, 2009a; Rudmin, 2009) or as options available to immigrants as if they can choose to acculturate. It makes *stress* as an integral part and leaves no room for acculturation in its absence, suggesting that people can only acculturate if they experience stress following intercultural contact. Nor does it consider the possibility of change in one's attitude over the period and hence a shift in ones' strategy. The first generation of immigrants might experience stress, but this might not be the case with later generations who were born and raised in the societies of settlement. Furthermore, the phenomenon of 'remote acculturation' (Ferguson, 2013) challenges both the sole focus on stress and coping perspective

and the firsthand contact. People acculturating to foreign cultures from afar neither may experience stress nor require any coping strategy.

The categorization of immigrants based on their specific coping strategies in a given time makes acculturation being a onetime process. In other words, immigrants identified with separation preferences at an early stage can never change or modify their acculturating style at a later stage. It is very likely for an acculturating individual to exhibit a high orientation towards the host culture after spending considerable time or after acquiring skills and knowledge to function effectively in the host society. Although the framework proposes different acculturative attitudes among acculturating people (Berry et al., 2006), it does not give due consideration to the notion of 'cultural distance' hypothesis (Triandis, 1994).

Studies have already reported different acculturative attitudes among immigrants across the domains of life (Birman, Trickett, & Vinokurov, 2002; Khan, Amna, Lindridge, & Pusaksrikit, 2017; Mccoy, Kirova, & Knight, 2016). Whereas, Berry's framework is silent about domain specificity and does not clarify what and how much an immigrant adopts from the dominant culture and retains from the heritage culture. The framework also ignores the possibility of variation in acculturative experiences across the diverse groups of immigrants, such as sojourners; asylum seekers, refugees, expatriates, and international workers. It is not clear if integration is possible in all spheres of life, such as religion, family structure, and personal life. Furthermore, the framework does not give due consideration to the dual process of acculturation and development (Sam & Oppedal, 2003; Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2012); the significance of

socialization contexts and culture learning (Jin & Cortazzi, 2013; Masgoret & Ward, 2006; Rudmin, 2009; Ward & Geeraert, 2016); the multidimensionality of acculturation (Schwartz et al., 2010); and the phenomenon of 'remote acculturation' (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012).

Although Berry's framework made a valuable contribution towards the affective and cognitive aspects, it disregards the culture learning approach (Masgoret & Ward, 2006), which is integral to the behavioral dimension - one of the three theoretical perspectives of acculturation. Indeed, the culture learning approach to acculturation seems more promising than stress and coping perspective. It not only addresses the gaps inherent in stress and coping framework but also offer explanations to the phenomenon of 'remote acculturation' and 'remote enculturation.'

Issues in the overall research paradigm and methodologies deserve critical attention too. Critics argue that researchers who assume acculturation as a psychological construct depend merely on research methodologies from a positivist paradigm and try to look at the social world objectively with the lenses of scientific methods (Chirkov, 2009a; Rudmin, 2009; Rudmin et al., 2017; Ward et al., 2017). Berry's framework certainly helped conceptualize and theorize acculturation as a dual process of cultural and psychological changes, yet it is hardly sensitive to the emerging modes of cultural encounters from afar. It may offer little help in understanding the variations in how people may experience acculturation, particularly in situations where firsthand contact is no more a pre-requisite.

3.4. Other Approaches to Acculturation Research

A growing body of literature has been examining the process of acculturation from a developmental and intercultural learning perspective with special considerations to its socialization contexts (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016; Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Scholars even find it challenging to ascertain if the changes among young people that may be affective, behavioral, or cognitive are due to acculturation or normative development (Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2012). Proponents are of the view that "more research is needed to better understand the delicate balance between learning processes akin to the family or ethnic culture, acculturation processes and accompanying normative development" (Vedder & Motti-Stefanidi, 2016, p. 477). This line of research argues that in the societies of the settlement, transnationals and diasporic communities not only modify but also acquire and maintain the values, attitudes, beliefs, identities, and practices of their heritage culture and that of the host society. Similarly, the empirical evidence on acculturation among non-immigrants into foreign cultures from afar has also attracted the attention of scholars.

3.4.1. The Study of Change: Acculturation or Development

The study of changes during the process of acculturation is central to the researchers in developmental studies. Accordingly, acculturation is a dual process of both normative change and the change that results from intercultural encounters. Studies suggest that ethnic minority children and adolescents acquire and learn the knowledge and skills that are necessary to participate in both their heritage culture and that of the host society, which is integral to their

lifelong processes of ontogenetic development (Oppedal, 2006). The developmental approach

assumes acculturation as a developmental pathway (Sam & Oppedal, 2003) and examines the

unique experiences of children and adolescents within an ecological context. Its advocates posit

that acculturation is essentially a developmental process in which the acquisition of knowledge

and skills related to the heritage culture and the majority culture is a developmental task within a

'developmental niche.'

> The developmental niche is situated in the midst of two different sociocultural domains:
> that of the child's heritage culture group and that of the majority society. Each domain
> consists of various sociocultural settings (e.g., religious community, coethnic peers,
> sports clubs, school, healthcare institutions) that affect the child's development in direct
> and indirect ways. Through the child's interaction and participation in settings within
> each of the two sociocultural domains, by processes of learning and maturation, the child
> develops domain-specific cultural working models to guide and direct his or her activities
> (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016, p. 73-74).

The developmental model of acculturation places the familial setting at the center of the niche

and exemplify it as the most crucial context where a child 'enculturate' – learns about first

culture or heritage culture that precedes the process of learning about the second culture

(Rudmin, 2009; Ward, Fox, Wilson, Stuart, & Kus, 2010). Since every child follows a unique

developmental path, it is less likely for all children to experience acculturation in similar ways.

Though the developmental model of acculturation is a potential theoretical framework, it limits

the analyses to only two cultures; whereas, young people may acculturate to more than two cultures who grow up in multicultural societies (Murdock, 2016). Nevertheless, the developmental perspective also suggests the possibility of variation in how young people may experience acculturation in the societies of settlement.

Figure 3. 3 Acculturation Development Model
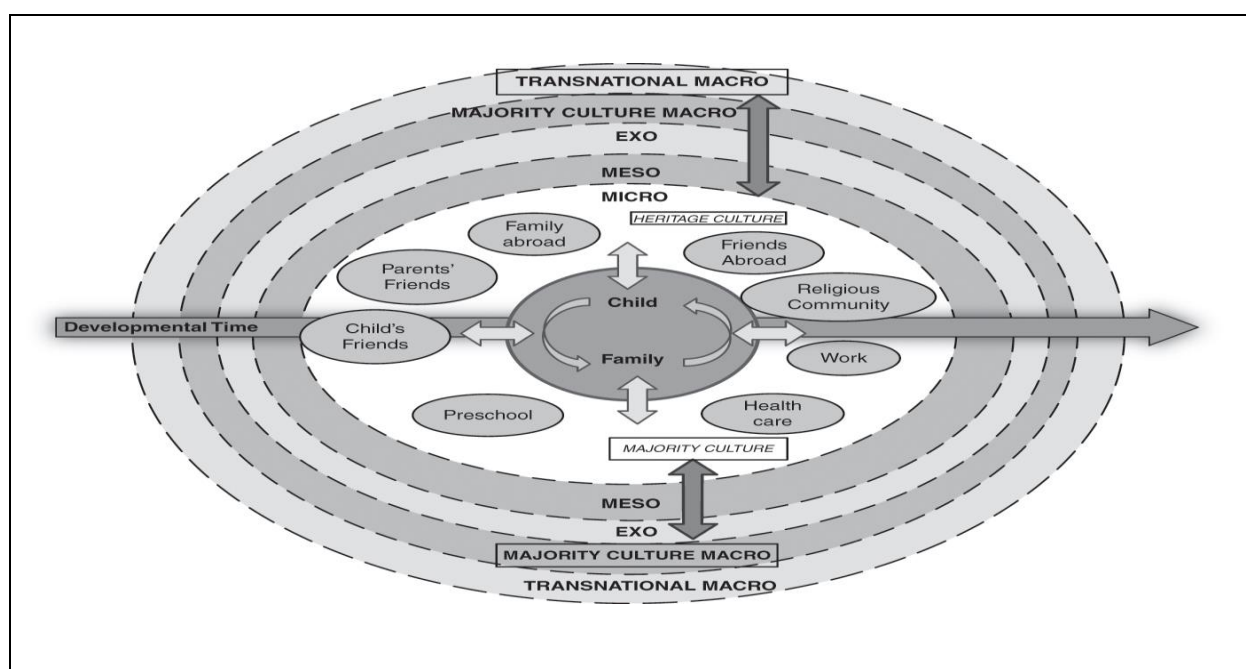
Source: Oppedal, B., & Toppelberg, C. (2016).

The acculturation development model is indeed an extension to Bronfenbrenner's (1994) ecological model. The two, macro-systems, national and transnational, exemplify both the national level majority culture and the transnational culture of EMs. The latter culture represents the shared values, beliefs, and traditions of the heritage culture in which a child's enculturation and acculturation processes take place (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016; Ward & Geeraert, 2016).

This is one of the potential dimensions of acculturation ecology that may help explain the phenomenon of remote acculturation and the possibilities of intercultural encounters beyond the firsthand contact with cultures in a multicultural setting.

The conceptual tools of the acculturation development model can help better understand not only the phenomenon of intercultural contact but also help explain the issues of underachievement, school dropout, and Chinese language learning among ethnic minority students in Hong Kong. If one's educational behavior supposed to determine the future courses of social behavior in adult life (Vedder & Motti-Stefanidi, 2016), it is vital to analyze the unique experiences intercultural learning and socialization of ethnic minority young people across the ecological contexts of acculturation and its impact on their educational behavior.

3.4.2. The Culture Learning Approach to Acculturation

The culture learning approach to acculturation is one of three major theoretical frameworks of acculturation research (Masgoret & Ward, 2006). Given the theoretical and practical issues inherent in stress and coping perspective (Chirkov, 2009; Weinreich, 2009; Rudmin, 2006) critics have been proposing the cultural learning approach from a strength-based perspective to address the gaps in existing body of knowledge on acculturation (Motti-Stefanidi & Coll, 2018; Rudmin et al., 2017). Unlike the traditional focus on problems and risks, the strength-based approach aims to explore, identify, acknowledge, and improve the strengths and capabilities among people who need support and assistance in the community. It is a different mindset that

"seeks to understand and develop the strengths and capabilities that can transform the lives of people in positive ways" (Hammond & Zimmerman, 2012, p. 01). It is a proactive approach that advocates the development of the skills, attitudes, and abilities that can help individuals transform everyday life difficulties, hardships, and challenges into opportunities (Alvord & Grados, 2005). Hammond and Zimmerman (2012, p. 05) list the beliefs that are inherent to the strength-based perspective.

- All people have strengths and capacities

- People can change. Given the right conditions and resources, a person's capacity to learn and grow can be nurtured and realized

- People change and grow through their strengths and capacities

- People are experts of their own situation

- The problem is the problem, not the person

- Problems can blind people from noticing and appreciating their strengths and capacity to find their own meaningful solutions

- All people want good things for themselves and have good intentions

- People are doing the best they can in light of their experiences to date

- The ability to change is within us – it is our story

Thus research and practitioners endorse a strength-based perspective to avoid labeling in describing people and communities who need support and facilitation. They use a different language. They believe in engagement, understanding, empowerment, and support.

While analyzing the social phenomenon of learning, sociologists precisely take into account the importance of the social settings in which people learn about cultures and make sense of their environment in order to facilitate their everyday life functioning. The process of coming to an appropriate or 'right' way of thinking, feeling, and behaving is called *socialization* (Cushner & Brislin, 1996). Maccoby (2014) define socialization in the following lines.

> The term socialization refers to processes whereby naive individuals are taught the skills, behavior patterns, values, and motivations needed for competent functioning in the culture in which the child is growing up. Paramount among these are the social skills, social understandings, and emotional maturity need for interaction with other individuals to fit in with the functioning of social dyads and larger groups. Socialization processes include all those whereby culture is transmitted from each generation to the next, including training for specific roles in specific occupations (p. 3).

Central to the above definition is the notion of *process* and *cultural transmission*. The questions such as how the process of socialization takes place, what are the primary agents of socialization, where a child learns about others cultures, and what type of social settings facilitate or hinder intercultural learning often concerns social scientists. The process of learning or acquisition of knowledge, skills, and behavior prerequisite for effective functioning in one's first culture or heritage culture has been conceptualized as 'enculturation' as oppose to the concept of 'acculturation' that refers to learning about second culture typically the host culture or the dominant culture in a multicultural society (Alamilla et al., 2017; Kim & Omizo, 2006;

Weinreich, 2009; Yoon et al., 2013). Although these concepts are not new, the forms or processes of both enculturation and acculturation have changed tremendously in modern times. The notions of 'remote enculturation' and 'remote acculturation' have attracted substantial attention from researchers in the era of globalization (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Ferguson, 2013; Ferguson et al., 2016). Their findings highlight the critical role of settings or the context as well as the agents of socialization in the process of culture learning.

Empirical studies have highlighted a range of factors that influence the process of acculturation. These are not limited to individual-level characteristics such as personality and identity (Liebkind, Mähönen, Varjonen, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2016; van der Zee, Benet-Martínez, & van Oudenhoven, 2016) but also include a range of external factors that operate within an ecological context. Ward & Geeraert (2016) identified three sociocultural settings in both majority and minority cultures in which children acculturation. These include the family context, the institutional or organizational context: such as schools, and the societal context.

To understand human behavior, assessing the individual as well as the context in which the individual lives is an essential aspect of the acculturation process (van de Vijver, Berry, & Celenk, 2016; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Culture plays a central role in human developmental (Bronfenbrenner, (1994). As a network of shared knowledge, it shapes social attitude as well as behavior across the domains of life (Ward et al., 2001; Wyer et al., 2009), suggesting that cultural encounters may potentially shape the development of children and adolescents who grow up in a multicultural setting while socializing across the social settings such as familial context

(Maccoby, 2014), school settings (Wentzel, 2014), virtual space through media (Prot et al.,

2014).

Figure 3. 4 Acculturation and its Ecological Context
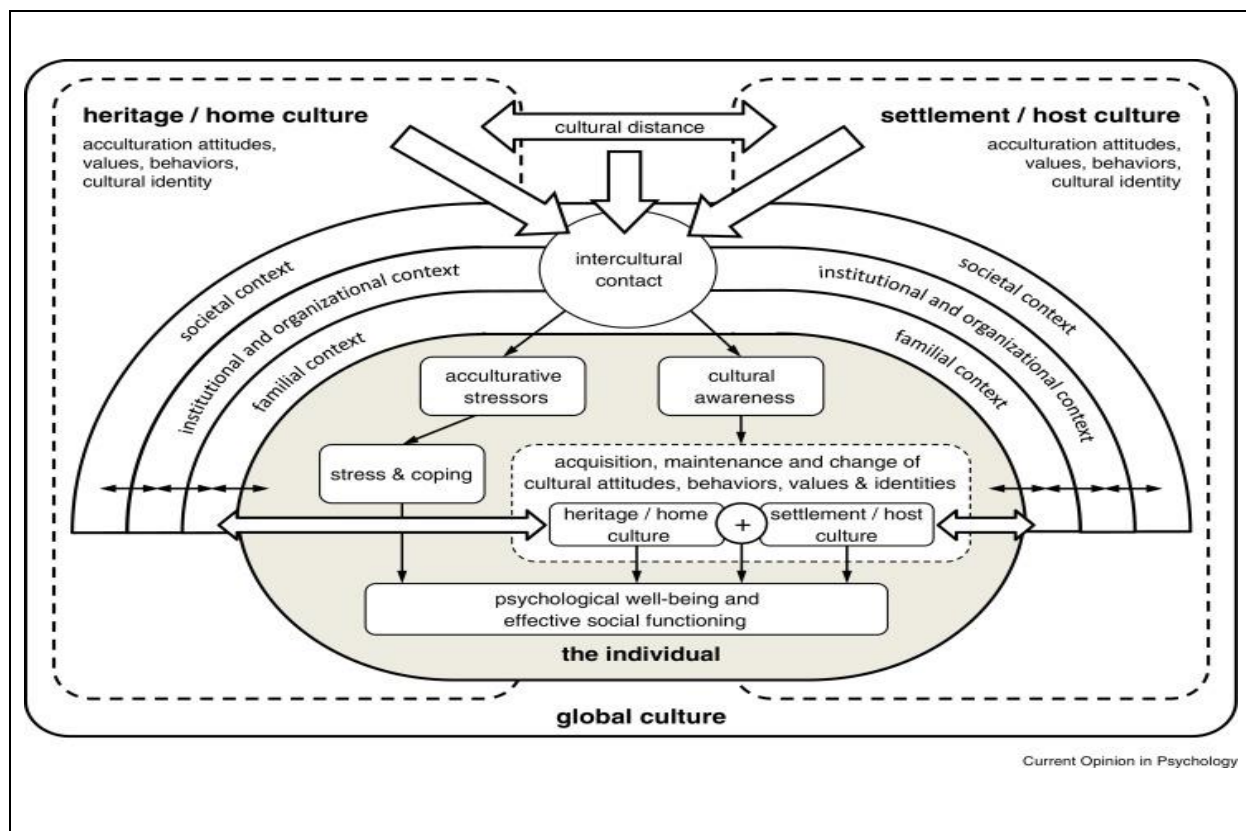
Source: Ward & Geeraert (2016)

The ecological model of acculturation by Ward and Geeraert (2016) addresses both the

contextual and theoretical limitations inherent in earlier ecological frameworks. Although it

foregrounds both the acculturative stressors and cultural awareness perspectives, the

identification of three sociocultural settings in which young people grow up is a potential

analytical framework to examine the acculturative experiences. Since the stress and coping approach to acculturation may not explain the emerging trends in acculturation, the culture learning and awareness approach may better facilitate the study of acculturative experiences among young people in multicultural settings. The three socialization contexts of acculturation suggested by Ward and Geeraert (2016) are briefly discussed below.

3.4.2.1. The Familial Context

The familial context has been identified as a fundamental aspect of acculturation for young people (Vedder & Motti-Stefanidi, 2016; Ward et al., 2010). Studies have underscored the critical role of parenting practices and parent-child relationships in acculturation (Bornstein & Cote, 2006). There is a common understanding that "family dynamics exert significant influences on the acculturation process when cohesion leading to positive outcomes and conflict leading to negative consequences for young people" (Ward & Geeraert, 2016, p. 100). Lee and Koro-Ljungberg (2007) note that parents' attitude and family environment potentially influence children's beliefs and values towards others that may serve either positive or negative examples of acculturation.

Besides parenting practices and intra-family relations, family's socioeconomic status, parental expectations, language use at home, and the importance of religion have been identified as the potential predictors of family orientations towards heritage culture and that of the host society (Ghuman, 2003; Goldblatt & Rosenblum, 2007; Niens, Mawhinney, Richardson, & Chiba, 2013;

Stuart, Ward, Jose, & Narayanan, 2010). Researchers maintain that "family values, which often involve a sense of family cohesion, closeness and obligation, high parental aspiration for education and an emphasis on their children's education, are sources that promote the positive adaptation particularly of first-generation immigrant children as compared to their later-generation counterparts" (Vedder & Motti-Stefanidi, 2016, p. 467). Empirical evidence from various contexts confirms the critical role of familial context during the process of acculturation (Li, J., 2009; Skuza, 2007; Ward et al., 2010; Yeh, Kim, Pituc, & Atkins, 2008).

3.4.2.2. The Institutional or Organizational Context

Beyond family context, various institutions and their structural arrangements play a significant role in shaping intercultural contact and its outcomes. For young people, the school context is thought to be the gateway to acculturation (Ward & Geeraert, 2016). Schools are the first places of intercultural contact for immigrant youth, where they encounter the host culture and develop the knowledge and skills to function effectively in mainstream society. Until children become capable of taking their full responsibility as adults, their families, and the educational institutions they attend together facilitate their learning and development. As Vedder & Motti-Stefanidi (2016) write:

> Children bring their social and cultural capital to school, which to a large extent
> determines their school performance, their academic success and social participation in

the adult life … Certainly, school careers do not only depend on family functioning. Family functioning also depends on school functioning (p. 464).

The structural arrangements and conditions of such public interest institutions may be some significant predictors of adaptation outcomes (Kunst & Sam, 2013). In a school context, the strong assimilation expectations, the teachers' as well as peers' support, and the socioeconomic status of a school play a fundamental role in acculturative adaptation (Lee & Koro-Ljungberg, 2007; Li, 2009; Mendez, Bauman, & Guillory, 2012; Ward & Geeraert, 2016). The teaching and learning practices and the overall social environment of a school potentially affect children's and adolescents' acculturation. For Instance, for a group of Chinese immigrant adolescents in Canada, the new Canadian learning environment and liberal teaching styles helped them develop their thinking skills, yet the lack of advanced academic training coupled with teachers' expectations validated the issues of integration in schools. Likewise, the practice of ethnic divides in peer socialization proved to be an obstacle in adjusting and fit into the Canadian culture (Li, 2009).

3.4.2.3. The Societal Context

A brief review of the literature suggests that policies and social structures prevailed in the host society are central to the process of acculturation (Berry & Ward, 2016; Ghuman, 2003; Ward et al., 2010). The higher levels of social acceptance, multicultural ideology, and positive expectations on the part of the majority result in better adaptation outcomes (Berry et al., 2006a;

Ghuman, 2003; Hui et al., 2015; Sam & Berry, 2010). Similarly, the nature of intergroup relationships climate also affects the acculturation preferences among the youth from an immigrant or ethnic minority background (Christ, Asbrock, Dhont, Pettigrew, & Wagner, 2015). High expectations of assimilation from the majority and high level of perceived discrimination among ethnic minority youth lead to the maintenance of heritage culture, resulting in low levels of positive adaptation outcomes (Berry et al., 2006a; Hui et al., 2015; Kunst & Sam, 2013).

For a meaningful analysis of acculturation process, scholars suggest considering the cultural characteristics of both the groups in contact, their cultural values and practices, the purpose of intercultural contact, and the compatibility of the cultures across the various dimensions such as values, traditions, language, and religion (van de Vijver et al., 2016; Ward et al., 2010). The social practices and the governmental policies towards various ethnic minority groups potentially influence the acculturation process (Ghuman, 2003; Murdock, 2016; Sam & Berry, 2016b).

Societies or cultures may differ from one another in several ways. For instance, in contrast to the prime emphasis on individual rights and freedom in western democracies, many Asian societies celebrate the values of morality, obedience, parental respect, and collective well-being (Hofstede, 2001; Kymlicka & He, 2005; Triandis, 1994). Such value differences suggest that acculturative experiences of young people in the U.S. from European countries may not be similar to that of immigrants from Asian countries. The value of individualism in the western contexts places greater emphasis on individual freedom, autonomy, self-reliance contrary to the preferences on collective wellbeing and familism in most of the Asian contexts (Hofstede, 2001).

Political scientists have already identified such examples of cultural differences as a significant source of clashes between cultures (Huntington, 1997). The core differences in values may pose unique acculturative challenging for immigrant young people from Asian countries in the West and vice versa. Studies with young people also confirm acculturative challenges due to the difference in cultural values. For instance, the substantial cultural distance made acculturation a challenging task for Korean young people studying in middle schools in the US (Lee & Koro-Ljungberg, 2007).

3.4.3. Acculturation and Multidimensionality

One of the significant research contributions to acculturation is the recognition of its multidimensional character (Schwartz et al., 2010). Since acculturation is pervasive in immigrants' everyday life, it is hardly possible to observe similar acculturative trends across the domains of life. One may adopt cultural values of the mainstream society in the public domain but follow the heritage cultural values in private life. Likewise, one may hardly relinquish religious or racial identity and follow the religion of the majority or become similar to them. Immigrants may be willing to maintain the heritage cultural practices and adopt the cultural values and norms of the host society simultaneously. For instance, Mexican adolescents were found reluctant to adopt U.S. cultural behaviors at the cost of their heritage, cultural values, norms, and traditions (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007). Instead, their involvement in cultural traditions and practices helped them preserve their sense of ethnic pride and become bi-culturally competent. Despite experiencing challenges to maintain familism, cultural traditions provide

Mexican families "with a sense of mutual obligation that delineated role and responsibilities in meeting the challenges in their new living situations" (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007, p. 66).

Similarly, despite disagreements over privacy & trust and relationships, both the parents and adolescents with an immigrant background in New Zealand showed agreement over the maintenance of heritage culture, devaluing the antisocial behaviors, and the importance of education (Stuart et al., 2010). In the same way, the acculturative experiences of Ethiopian Jewish adolescents in Israel underscore the importance of traditional family values while meeting the challenges of integration into Israeli society (Goldblatt & Rosenblum, 2007).

Religious identity and its development is another critical dimension of acculturation. Religious background not only influences students' acculturation in the context of school but also shapes their social behavior in the larger society (Chee, 2015; Goldblatt & Rosenblum, 2007; Niens et al., 2013; Yuen, 2013). Phalet and colleagues (2018) observe a tendency of stronger religious identification among minority Muslim youth in Europe compared to their non-Muslim peers. However, its adaptive advantage largely depends on the context of acculturation. Their comprehensive analysis of religious identity and acculturation among immigrant minority youth led the researchers to the following conclusion.

> In line with the adaptive function of identity development, and looking beyond ethnic and religious group differences in adaptation problems, religious identification contributed significantly and positively to the psychological adaptation of Muslim minority youth.

The adaptive benefits of religious identity in the acculturation context are related to the fact that religious involvement is closely entwined with a strong orientation towards heritage culture values and identities (p. 40).

Nevertheless, sharing the religious identity of immigrants with the majority of people may hardly guarantee a successful adaptation. For instance, being Jew did not make acculturation of Ethiopian adolescents in Israel less challenging. Instead, they found Israeli culture at odds with their past life in Ethiopia and felt a loss of cultural values such as respect and obedience (Goldblatt & Rosenblum, 2007). Similarly, for Korean teenager students in the US, their physical appearance and different dressing styles and speech constrained joining peer groups and developing feelings of acceptance. However, their improving language skills helped them not only develop friendships with American and other minority peers but also improve academic performance and address the adjustment issues related to bullying and discrimination (Lee & Koro-Ljungberg, 2007).

Gender is another critical dimension that may affect acculturative adaptation. Williams and colleagues (2002, p. 578) observe how 'gendered ethnicity' and 'ethnic gendering' potentially limit the adjustment and integration of transmigrant Latinas in the inner cities of America. The researchers argue that the social structures along gender lines such as the division of labor; participation in sports activities; and distinguishable personality traits result in differing acculturative experiences and adjustment outcomes among Latinas in the United States. Similarly, compared to boys, daughters often need to follow stricter family rules and get little

freedom to recreate outside of their homes among Mexican families who give immense value to respect for parents and familism (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007).

These examples suggest that the range of acculturative dimensions and the plurality and intersection of multiple identities, values, and practices of numerous cultures in multicultural societies of settlement make acculturation a complex phenomenon. Overlooking such realities while investigating acculturative experiences of young people may make research endeavors less meaningful. Although the ecological, as well as the developmental models, are sensitive to various aspects of acculturation, they still need to accommodate and responsive to emerging acculturation trends to make the research findings and conclusion meaningful.

3.5. Emerging Trends and Issues in Acculturation

Unlike the traditional trends of intercultural contact, researchers identify novel ways of acculturation across some societies in the West (Ferguson et al., 2017). Easy access to foreign cultures through media and communication technology has put the conventional assumptions of acculturation into questions. Some researchers have terms such types of intercultural encounters and its consequences as 'globalization-based acculturation' (Chen et al., 2008). Since young people in many societies grow up amidst multiple cultures and cultural choices, they develop their cultural values, behaviors, and identities based on their unique acculturative experiences. Recent findings suggest that young people acculturate to distant cultural values and practices even without having firsthand contact with those cultural groups (Ferguson, 2013). Ferguson and

Bornstein's (2015) study with early adolescents in Jamaica confirms the phenomenon of remote acculturation due to intermittent or indirect intercultural contact through the consumption of media, food, internet communication, and interaction with tourists.

The way the modern vehicles of intercultural contact facilitate remote acculturation among nonimmigrant populations, they also facilitate the processes of enculturation (learning about the heritage culture) among immigrants. Ferguson and colleagues (2015) posit that like remote acculturation among non-immigrant populations, remote enculturation among immigrant adolescents in our contemporary societies may potentially influence the construction of their ethnic and racial identities. The researchers have concluded that "current theories of cultural socialization and development of ethnic/racial identity do not account for the increasing ways in with individuals can become exposed from afar to materials, traditions, and values of their heritage culture" (p. 170).

Although the focus of immigration-based acculturation research was on the issues of adaptation, adjustment, and integration, the social realities and problems in the present time are quite different. Today educational efforts are made to inculcate global identities among young generations and educate them about rights and responsibilities beyond national boundaries. As a matter of consequence, young people are confronted with the unique challenges of adaptation posed by both local and global acculturative demands. These issues are not limited to a certain number of social contexts. Neither immigration is limited to the traditional societies of the

settlement in the West, nor has the means of intercultural contact remained the same. Such emerging acculturative trends and social realities add complexities to the study of acculturation.

Furthermore, despite the phenomenal progress in acculturation research and theory, some scholars have already questioned the overreliance on narrow research paradigms and simplistic conceptualizations that are hardly sensitive to the dynamic, multidimensional, and complex phenomenon of acculturation (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Chirkov, 2009a; Rudmin, 2009; Rudmin et al., 2017; van de Vijver, 2015; Weinreich, 2009). Studies have already highlighted gaps in Berry's work (Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Chirkov, 2009a; Rudmin, 2003; Schwartz et al., 2010; Weinreich, 2009) and the over-reliance on stress and coping perspective may help little in understanding the emerging trends of remote acculturation and enculturation or the globalization-based acculturation. Because such type of acculturation neither requires firsthand continuous contact nor it may necessarily be a stressful experience.

The issues highlighted above raise a range of questions to the current findings and conclusions in acculturation research, mainly accumulated in the liberal contexts. Can we expect any heterogeneity in acculturative experiences across the populations of immigrants living in both liberal and non-liberal societies? Can immigrants' citizenship status, their multiple identities – racial, religious, ethnic, and linguistic identity, and the cultural contexts shape different trajectories of acculturation? Any affirmative response to these questions confirms the complex nature of the acculturation phenomenon and puts the existing body of knowledge in question that mainly relies on a positivistic research approach and ignores the variability dimension of human

experiences. The contemporary realities of intercultural encounters demand context-sensitive and alternative research approaches to the study of acculturation in distinctively varying socio-political contexts. An extension in the existing set of models and frameworks of acculturation is inevitable to accommodate the emerging acculturative trends and to broaden the existing body of knowledge on acculturation.

Before discussing the potential considerations in existing models and frameworks of acculturation; however, it is essential to highlight some of the issues related to the meaning of some terminologies in acculturation literature.

3.5.1. Some Terminological Ambiguities

One of the challenges for scholars interested in acculturation studies is the terminological ambiguities inherent to the literature on acculturation. Like any other concept in social sciences, there is a lack of clarity about the meaning of the term 'acculturation.' Although scholars from different academic disciplines make sense of the term from their respective fields of inquiry, some are also concerned about the appropriateness of the term itself. Since acculturation involves learning about another culture just like learning about one's first culture, for some, the term best defines the phenomenon is 'enculturation,' not 'acculturation' (Weinrich, 2009). Whereas others use enculturation in terms of learning about one's first culture, i.e., the heritage culture (Ferguson, 2016).

Epistemologically, acculturation has a directional meaning (Rudmin et al., 2017) and connotes a movement from one culture to another. Sociologists have conceptualized such a process as assimilation (Gordon, 1964); however, it lacks significant recognition in the community of cross-cultural researchers. Since a growing body of research now focuses not only on cultural changes but also on cultural continuity or the maintenance of heritage culture (van de Vijver, 2018), acculturation also subsumes the meaning of enculturation. Preferring one than the other may create confusion and ambiguities. In this sense, there is not an appropriate term than acculturation that can best describe the phenomenon of intercultural contact and its resulting consequences. Part of the reason could be due to the multifaceted, dynamic, and complex phenomenon itself.

Contrary to the traditional focus on cultural change, a growing body of literature now examines the acculturation process from a developmental (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016) and intercultural learning or cultural awareness perspectives (Ward & Geeraert, 2016; Jin & Cortazzi, 2013). However, such a line of inquiry finds it challenging to ascertain if the changes among children and adolescents' attitudes, emotions, and behavior are due to acculturation or normative development (Titzmann & Silbereisen, 2012).

Another term that is frequently referred to in the literature on acculturation is integration. It is an ambiguous term, a debated concept, and a complex phenomenon (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006). For some, integration means the coexistence of diverse cultural groups where equality and tolerance are valued (Ghuman, 2003; 1997). For others, an integrated immigrant is one who is

adjusted and accepted as a full member of the new society (van de Vijver, 2018) and has become

bicultural (Triandis, 1997). For still others, the successful adjustment in terms of personal

wellbeing, development of good interpersonal relationships with the members of the host society,

the achievement of work-related goals, and no higher stress that experienced in the home culture

characterize integration (Cushner & Brislin, 1996).

Boski (2008) identified five different meanings of integration. One of them is similar to the

meaning of biculturalism, and the rest of them belong to the field of cultural psychology.

Psychologists conceptualize integration as both an orientation as well as an outcome whereby

immigrants or ethnic minorities maintain their heritage culture and seek positive relations with

the mainstream society. An integrated immigrant is highly oriented towards both heritage culture

and the dominant culture that results in positive adaptation. Berry (2006) posits that integration,

as an acculturating strategy, can only be "chosen and successfully pursued by nondominant

groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural

diversity" (p. 20). However, such meaning becomes irrelevant where the dominant society lacks

a positive orientation towards cultural diversity.

For successful acculturation, researchers propose integration as an ideal approach, in which both

the adoption and the maintenance is valued for better psychological and sociocultural adaptation

outcomes (Berry et al., 2006). It is very different from the acculturating style of assimilation that

refers to a "process whereby a minority group gradually adopts the customs and attitudes of the

dominant or prevailing culture" at the cost of its heritage culture (Chong, 2007, p. 58). In this

sense, there is a lack of clarity in concepts that are often discussed in acculturation literature, and scholars have expressed such an ambiguity succinctly.

> The terminology of the acculturation field suffers from a persistent problem in that prevailing terms, notably acculturation and integration, are often taken to be synonymous to adjustment, where psychology has garnered convincing evidence that this perspective needs to be complemented but has been unable to find a clear and apt terminology that found wide spread acceptance (van de Vijver, 2018, p. 2).

This multiplicity of meanings and the different understandings suggests that researchers may need to avoid focusing on a single aspect of acculturation or integration that may risk a comprehensive knowledge of acculturative experiences among ethnic minority young people in the societies of settlement.

3.6. The Potential Considerations to the Existing Theoretical Frameworks

Despite being sensitive to multiple aspects of acculturation, the existing models are not without limitations. Both the ecological and developmental models focus on firsthand contact and assume intercultural contact between merely two cultures. They hardly consider the possibility of acculturation beyond firsthand contact. Although the ecological model underscores the importance of cultural distance, it does not clarify if the differences in political ideologies or broader cultural frameworks may affect acculturation. It requires further considerations

concerning the differing views on self and others, individual freedom, and political ideologies across the cultures.

The cultural awareness perspective indeed focuses on the acquisition, maintenance, and change of cultural attitudes behaviors, values, and identifies (Ward & Geeraert, 2016), yet to what extent acculturating people are free, encouraged, or facilitated to do so across the cultures or civilizations is not very clear. Since all the acculturation models have been developed in the Western democracies, they may be less effective for understanding acculturation in Asian contexts, particularly in non-democratic settings. Therefore, to interrogate acculturation theory in contemporary societies, it is crucial to be considerate of the novel modes of intercultural contact and emerging trends of acculturation. The three noteworthy considerations are briefly discussed in the following sections.

3.6.1. The Nature of Intercultural Contact: Actual or Virtual

The modern developments in technology and the forces of globalization have transformed the demographic picture of societies throughout the world. Today many people live in cultural contexts that are different from the countries of origin and have emerged as 'transnationals' (Schiller et al., 1995) or the 'diasporic' communities (Roy, 2008). These populations not only have firsthand contact with diverse cultural groups but also have a virtual contact with foreign cultures as well as the countries of origin resulting in dual processes of acculturation and enculturation (Ferguson et al., 2016; Ferguson et al., 2017; Schwartz & Unger, 2017).

As a matter of consequence, the conventional assumption that acculturation originates from firsthand contact and is limited to immigrants has become under critical scrutiny. An easy exposer to foreign cultures through media and technology shapes and reshapes the lives of young people in a variety of ways in many societies (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Ferguson, 2013). Globalization has not only facilitated the firsthand contact between different cultural groups but also made foreign cultural values, norms, and practices accessible to local and non-immigrants populations (Ferguson G. M. et al., 2017; Ferguson, Y. L. et al., 2017).

Empirical evidence suggests that every individual in a given socio-political context is likely to have experienced acculturation through continuous or intermittent exposure to foreign culture/s. At the same time, young people born to immigrant families in the societies of settlement can learn and acquire knowledge about their heritage culture (enculturation) through modern communication tools and technology and can maintain continuous virtual contact with the countries of origin (Ferguson et al., 2016). It means the firsthand contact is no more a pre-requisite for acculturating people. Instead, exposure to foreign cultures through new means of digital media and communication also accounts for acculturation among non-immigrant populations (Ferguson, 2013; Ferguson & Bornstein, 2014; 2015; Ferguson & Birman, 2016). Such type of research findings may have potential implications for the existing body of knowledge that bases on firsthand contact and heavily rely on stress and coping perspective.

If cross-cultural encounters and resulting consequences are the cornerstones of acculturation (Berry, 2017; Redfield et al., 1936; Schwartz et al., 2010), then it is no more alien to our lives in

contemporary societies. Both immigrants and non-immigrant populations may experience acculturation but in different ways and with different outcomes. This underscores the need to consider all the factors that are critical to the process of acculturation in our contemporary multicultural societies. Acculturation studies may need to reflect upon existing conceptualizations and enrich them in the light of emerging trends and recent findings with particular considerations to contextual realities in multicultural societies.

3.6.2. The Meeting of Cultures: How Many?

Although the new frameworks have extended the earlier theory and redefined the concept, yet the available theory assumes the confluence of cultural values, behavior, and identities from merely two cultures – the home/heritage-culture and the settlement/host-culture. Recent studies suggest that young people acculturating in multicultural settings exhibit characteristics of more than two cultures (Berry & Ward, 2016; Bourhis, Montaruli, El-Geledi, Harvey, & Barrette, 2010; Ferguson et al., 2017). This means, in multicultural societies, young people adopt values and practices from more than two cultural groups and prefer to identify with multiple cultures. For instance, an immigrant Jamaican in America confronts three different cultures, including Ethnic Jamaican Culture, African American Culture, and European American Culture, and exhibits some cultural aspects of each culture (Ferguson, Bornstein, & Pottinger, 2012).

Similarly, in her cross-cultural study with 473 adolescents and mothers dyads, Ferguson (2013) found that Jamaican immigrant adolescents in the United States were acculturating in three

different dimensionalities. Similar to earlier findings, the majority of the sample was classified as integrated. Among 40% of the integrated adolescents, tri-culturalism was prominent, suggesting adolescents acculturate into three different cultures, including Ethnic Jamaican Culture, African American Culture, and European American Culture. Furthermore, among 46% of adolescents, tri-cultural integration was positively associated with life satisfaction and distress. Thus, it is hardly possible to understand the dynamics of social integration and adaptation without considering the transnational character of people in multicultural societies. Thus, conceptualizing acculturation concerning two cultures can hardly facilitate our understanding of the concept in multicultural settings.

Furthermore, change or acquisition of culture is not the only aspect of acculturation, nor is it limited to immigrants. Instead, people with an immigrant background may also retain their heritage culture (Berry, 2001) or cultural values, practices, and identities (Ferguson et al., 2017; Schwartz et al., 2010; van de Vijver, 2018). Conclusions are drawn either based on a single aspect of acculturation or considering merely two cultures may have potential implications for both theory and research on acculturation as a multifaceted phenomenon. As it is acknowledged that:

> The construct is far more complex and multidimensional than assimilationist theories (and perhaps even bidimensional theories that distinguish heritage-culture retention from receiving culture acquisition) suggest. Given the rapid diversification occurring in most immigrant-receiving societies, where second-generation migrants constitute a growing

proportion of the population, the assumption that migrants are acculturating to a single receiving cultural stream is increasingly untenable (Schwartz & Unger, 2017, p. 2).

Instead of studying acculturation in terms of just change and modification in the first culture (heritage culture) or adoption of a second culture, researchers have been arguing for a holistic understanding of the phenomenon through its various dimensions such as 'behavioral acculturation,' 'value acculturation,' and 'identity based acculturation' (Schwartz et al., 2010, p. 244). Subsequently, studies now conceptualize acculturation as a process that "involves the acquisition, maintenance, and change of cultural behaviors, values, and identities associated with heritage and settlement cultures" (Ward & Geeraert, 2016, p. 98).

Although Ferguson's (2012; 2013) conceptualization considerably addresses the gaps in the earlier definition and covers the multiple aspects of acculturation, it still focuses on change and lacks some of the critical dimensions, including the acquisition and maintenance aspects of acculturation. As she writes, "Acculturation can now be defined as what happens when groups or individuals of different cultures come into contact – whether continuous or intermittent, firsthand or indirect – with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of one or more parties" (Ferguson, 2013, p. 2). By adding the multiple dimensions identified by Schwartz et al. (2010) and Ward & Geeraert (2016), Ferguson's (2013) definition can be enriched for a holistic understanding of acculturation in our contemporary multicultural societies.

3.6.3. The Importance of Cultural Distance Hypothesis

One of the critical assumptions in the literature is that people experience acculturation in similar ways irrespective of their biographies and contextual differences. To prove their hypothesis, researchers often test various models mainly developed in liberal democracies and verify them even in non-liberal contexts. They study the relationship between variables such as acculturation strategies and adaptation outcomes. For instance, using Berry's acculturation framework, studies have identified integration as a preferred acculturating strategy (Berry et al., 2006a), which is positively associated with better adaption outcomes (Sam & Berry, 2010). By categorizing acculturating people into fixed groups, these findings undermine the multidimensional and dynamic character of acculturation and the critical role of contextual realities on the one hand and the variations in the ways of experiencing acculturation on the other. Studies have already identified qualitative differences in the ways immigrants make sense of their acculturative experiences even in the western contexts (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007; Goldblatt & Rosenblum, 2007; Li, 2009; Mendez et al., 2012; Skuza, 2007; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2009; Ward et al., 2010; Williams et al., 2002).

Hofstede (2001) has identified five cultural dimensions that differentiate the East from the West. The most frequently referred one is individualism versus collectivism. According to Triandis (1994), "people in collectivist cultures are more likely to change themselves to adjust to the environment, and people in individualistic cultures are more likely to try to change the environment" (p. 111-112). Similarly, Western societies adhere to the political ideologies that

are absent in many cultures of the East. Since the societies of settlement differ tremendously from each other in terms of both political ideologies (Kennedy & Lee, 2018; Kymlicka & He, 2005) and the cultural values (Hofstede, 2001), research conclusions made in the West cannot be applicable in the East (Chirkov, 2009b; Rudmin, 2009; Rudmin et al., 2017). Therefore, it can be argued that social and educational practices construed through specific cultural values coupled with different political ideologies in the West may not be similar to the ones that prevail in the East (Phillipson, 2007). Such differences suggest people may experience acculturation differently across the political contexts, both in liberal and in the non-liberal ones.

Immigrants across the societies of the settlement, make a highly heterogeneous population. Guest workers, refugees, asylum seekers, sojourners, tourists have contributed magnificently towards 'super-diversity' (Vertovec, 2007) across the multicultural societies. In addition to their subjective immigration status and cultural differences, these populations exhibit diverse racial, linguistics, religious, and ethnic identities. Despite a strong emphasis on differing psychologies of people by cultural psychologists (Heine, 2012; Ratner, 1997), current findings report similar patterns of acculturation across the age groups, genders, ethnicities, and cultures throughout the world by making the existing research findings problematic. Some acculturation theorists have revisited their previous conclusions and acknowledged that acculturation is a complex, multidimensional, and sophisticated process (Schwartz & Unger, 2017) and that research findings from one part of the world cannot be generalized to other societies (Berry, 2017).

The above-discussed considerations highlight the importance of demographic realities in experiencing acculturation across the contexts. Moreover, the cultural patterns that distinguish the East from the West may have potential implications for acculturating people across the non-liberal societies in Asia. Thus, it is inevitable to enrich the existing acculturation models along the above-highlighted lines for a more profound and holistic understanding of acculturation across the Asian contexts. Research endeavors with substantial awareness of emerging social realities may help better understand the acculturative experiences of ethnic minority young people in Hong Kong - the 'Asia's World City.' With a considerable number of non-Chinese residents with diverse ethnic, religious, racial, and linguistic backgrounds, Hong Kong offers a unique opportunity to study acculturation among the first and second generation of ethnic minority young people who consider Hong Kong their home.

3.7. Ethnic Minority Young People in Hong Kong

With the predominantly ethnic Chinese population, Hong Kong is home to a considerable number of non-Chinese people with diverse cultural, racial, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. They contribute to almost 8 % of the its total population comprised of Filipino (31.5 %), Indonesian (26.2 %), White (9.9 %), Indian (6.2 %), Nepalese (4.3 %), Pakistani (3.0 %), Thai (1.7 %), Japanese (1.7 %), Other Asians (3.3 %), and Others (11.8 %) (Census and Statistics Department, 2017a). South Asians account for 29.7% of the total non-Chinese. The officially recognized South Asians include Indians (45.30 %), Pakistanis (28.54 %), and Nepalese (26.62 %), who make 14% of the total non-Chinese population (Census and Statistics

Department, 2017b). Out of 1.6 million young people under 24 years, 5.55 percent are non-Chinese. Their increasing number also suggests a culturally diverse composition of the student body in public schools (Legislative Council, 2017). From a demographic point of view, thus Hong Kong fairly presents a multicultural society.

The current educational policy rhetoric places greater emphasis on the integration of these Non-Chinese speaking (NCS) ethnic minority young people (Annual Policy Address 2013; 2014). Public reports claim that the "government is committed to encouraging and supporting the integration of NCS students into the community, including facilitating their early adaptation to the local education system and mastery of Chinese language" (Education Bureau, 2016, p. 4). The political leadership aims to "nurture a new generation of people who call Hong Kong their home regardless of origin, race, and religion (Annual Policy Address, 2013, p. 45, Para 130). However, the political leadership is of the view that "many ethnic minorities in Hong Kong were born and brought up here. Some of them are less successful in integrating into the community because they are unable to read and write Chinese" (Annual Policy Address, 2013, p. 45, Para 130).

The remarks mentioned above by the then Chief Executive of Hong Kong, Mr. Leung Chun-yin in his annual policy address in 2013, suggest that integration of ethnic minority (EM) youth is of great concern for the government. Nevertheless, authorities oversimplify the task and reduce it to Chinese language acquisition as if the latter may guarantee EM students' successful integration into the mainstream society. Such a narrative may hardly translate the experiences of those

young people who can read, write, and speak Cantonese fluently but still struggling to find an accommodating place in society.

Although language competency plays an instrumental role in acculturating to the receiving-culture, the sole focus on Chinese language and its teaching and learning practices in Hong Kong schools have already been questioned (Lai et al., 2015; Shum et al., 2011; Tsung, 2012; Ullah, 2012). Indeed, language issues are not limited to the non-Chinese young people in Hong Kong. Despite sharing the ethnic or racial identity and cultural heritage, lack of proficiency in Cantonese has been one of the significant acculturative challenges and acculturative stressors among postgraduate Mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong (Bhowmik et al., 2018; Vyas & Yu, 2018). It is entirely possible to interpret the Chief Executive's statement and argue that the schools, as well as the larger society, have been less successful in facilitating the adaptation and integration of EMs in Hong Kong.

Learning a new language is not as simple and straightforward as many government officials believe in Hong Kong. According to Holm and Zilliacus (2009), "the teaching and learning of languages is more than plain language learning. It also includes learning a culture" (p. 22). If language learning involves learning about the culture, then conditioning integration to Chinese language learning may hardly help explain the 'out of school' phenomenon or maladaptation of ethnic minority young people who secure good grades in Chinese subject (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016b; Bhowmik et al., 2017). The over-reliance on language may limit a more in-depth analysis and the critical role of socialization contexts.

Furthermore, differences in cultural patterns (Triandis, 1994) such as cultural values, practices, norms, and identities (racial, religious, and ethnic) (Schwartz et al., 2010) coupled with the socioeconomic background may potentially influence the acculturative adaptation of ethnic minority young people. Since language proficiency and communication competence is central to the cultural awareness or culture acquisition perspective of acculturation (Masgoret & Ward, 2006; Ward & Geeraert, 2016), it is critical to analyze what languages they learn, how they learn, and how their language learning experiences shape their acculturative adaptation in the multicultural context of Hong Kong.

Studies have already identified a range of variables that influence acculturation and its adaptation outcomes (Sam & Berry, 2016a; Ward et al., 2001). However, we do not know if the lack of proficiency in the Chinese language is the only reason that constrained the so-called 'successful integration' of ethnic minority young people in Hong Kong. Given their ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity, it is less obvious who these 'less successful' ethnic minorities are; how do they make sense of their life in Hong Kong and what are their acculturative experiences? If language competency is the best predictor of adaptation or integration, then how young people who can read, write, and speak Cantonese experience acculturation than those who cannot do so? Do they all experience it in qualitatively similar ways?

The multidimensional character of acculturation (Ward & Geeraert, 2016) and the variation in peoples' psychologies across cultures (Heine, 2012; Ratner, 1997) suggest that people may hardly experience it in similar ways. In the context of Hong Kong, however, there is a dearth of

literature on the various ways in which the phenomenon of acculturation can be experienced by ethnic minorities with different cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds. We know little about how young people acquire, retain, and modify cultural values, attitudes, behaviors, and identities while growing up in a Chinese ethnic majority society. Nor we are aware of their voices of struggle and challenges while acculturating to the mainstream culture. Since acculturation depends no more on firsthand intercultural contact, stress and coping perspective may hardly facilitate a deeper understanding of their acculturative experiences. Thus, an alternative research approach to culture learning seems promising that can help address issues in existing models and methodologies and may facilitate a better understanding of the acculturative experiences of ethnic minority young people in Hong Kong.

3.7.1. Existing Research on Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong

Although there is a dearth of research on ethnic minority young people's acculturative adaptation in Hong Kong, several studies have already identified a range of factors that directly affect their educational performance as well as academic acculturation. For example, the parental involvement in education (Shum et al., 2011; Tsung, 2012); the home-school collaboration and parents' educational aspirations (Phillion et al., 2011); the Chinese language learning practices (Fang, 2011; Shum et al., 2011; Tsung, 2012; Ullah, 2012); the support mechanism in schools and in communities (Hong Kong Unison, 2012b; Tsung, 2012); the teachers' cultural sensitiveness and school engagement (Hue & Kennedy, 2014b; Hue & Kennedy, 2015; Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Yuen, 2010); the examination driven schooling system (Hue et al., 2015); the

different schooling cultures (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016b); the incidents of prejudice and discrimination (Cheung & Chou, 2017; Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Ku, 2006; Loper, 2004); and the lack of an overall policy framework towards managing diversity and ensuring equity and quality in education (Kennedy, 2011; Kennedy & Hue, 2011; Law & Lee, 2012; Lee & Manzon, 2014) have been identified as potential factors they may influence the educational adaptation of ethnic minority young people.

Despite its good quality and rigor, the existing body of knowledge on ethnic minority young people is not without criticism. A meta-analysis of 36 journal articles on ethnic minority youth suggests that, while investigating the educational plight of these young people, researchers have mainly focused on micro-level 'risk factors' with little or no consideration given to the 'protective factors' at multiple levels of the ecology (Arat et al., 2016). The researchers identified several risk factors, including lower parental involvement, low levels of Chinese language proficiency and use, culturally insensitive teachers, traditional beliefs on women's role as mother and wife, lower social support, strong religious beliefs on schooling, culturally irresponsive teachers, cultural and religious insensitivity of teachers, lower school engagement, lack of multicultural school settings, lack of multiculturalism, and lower awareness of racial-ethnic discrimination as risk factors. However, little focus was found on protective factors such as higher civic engagement, higher school engagement, bilingual teaching assistants, academic aspirations, higher co-ethnic peers, higher bicultural identity, higher levels of Chinese language proficiency and use, higher levels of religious beliefs, and positive cultural aspects of religious practices (Arat et al., 2016).

Furthermore, critics argue that an ecological framework with particular considerations to both the risk and protective factors are critical for an objective analysis of youth development in Hong Kong (Arat et al., 2016). Since the available findings offer little support for the Chinese language being the only cause of maladaptation, an exploration of numerous ecological factors is critical for investigating the acculturative adaptation of ethnic minority young people who are often held responsible for their failure in integrating into the 'Asia's World City.'

Following the dominant research approach with stress and coping perspective mainly with positivist research paradigm, few studies have investigated acculturation of both Chinese and non-Chinese samples in Hong Kong (Hui et al., 2015; Pan et al., 2007; Pan, 2011; Tonsing, 2014; Tonsing et al., 2016; Tonsing, 2013). Nevertheless, recently, few studies have investigated the experiences of postgraduate students from Mainland China (Bhowmik et al., 2018; Vyas & Yu, 2018). However, these studies could not avoid adopting the dominant theoretical approach that foregrounds on stress and coping perspective. Since the studies mainly document the experiences of Mainland Chinese adult postgraduate students, research findings cannot be generalized to populations with different age groups and ethnicities. Moreover, the available results may be of little help in the understanding acculturation of students who were born and raised in Hong Kong or the first generation of immigrants who may not be willing to return to the countries of origin in the future. Since most of these young people can speak Cantonese fluently, the language may not be a stressor for them, or even they may not experience stress at all.

Thus, there is a genuine need to investigate acculturation beyond stress and coping perspective. So far, no research has been carried out to investigate acculturative experiences of ethnic minority young people beyond stress and coping perspective in Hong Kong. Acculturation as a phenomenon of change, adoption, and maintenance of; or as a confluence of values, identities, and practices of multiple culture (Schwartz et al., 2010; Ward & Geeraert, 2016); or as a process of acquiring the skills and knowledge to function in multiple cultures - both proximate or remote cultures (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016) has never been operationalized in Hong Kong. Qualitative studies with special consideration to the complex, multidimensional, and dynamic nature of acculturation not only may facilitate a deeper understanding of acculturative experiences but also may help address the methodological and conceptual gaps identified in the literature (Chirkov, 2009b; Rudmin et al., 2017).

3.7.2. Acculturation Research in Hong Kong

The study of acculturation is an emerging field of inquiry in Hong Kong. A handful of studies have examined acculturation with both Chinese and non-Chinese samples, and the research has approached acculturation mainly from stress and coping perspective. However, we know little about the acculturative experiences of young people in general and of ethnic minorities in particular beyond a psychological phenomenon. With few exceptions, most of the studies have investigated the relationship between various individual-level variables and adaptation outcomes, particularly the psychological adjustment (Chan, 2001; Fung, 2005; Lian & Tsang, 2010; Pan, 2011; Tonsing, 2014; Tonsing et al., 2016). The available research findings support the

positivistic approach and undermine the possibility of variations in experiencing acculturation across ethnic and age groups and gender. Researchers with a non-positivistic paradigm argue that "universal models of acculturation erase the social situatedness and culturally constructed nature of hybrid identities and fail to recognize the diversity and variability involved as immigrants and their children struggle to come to terms with their multiple voices and worlds" (Bhatia & Ram, 2004, p. 237-238).

Following an interpretive research approach but with stress and coping perspective, recently, a couple of studies have examined acculturation with adult samples (Bhowmik et al., 2018; Vyas & Yu, 2018). In a qualitative study, Vyas and Yu (2018) have investigated the acculturative experiences of postgraduate students from Mainland China attending various public universities in Hong Kong. The researchers report how the participants' experiences of discrimination and lack of language competency made their adjustment difficult and cumbersome. Despite sharing the ethnic identity and cultural heritage coupled with having a higher level of maturity and experience to deal with the adjustment problems than younger and immature students, the culture of education and learning, language, and perceived discrimination or labeling were identified as the significant acculturative stressors. Language and discrimination made their acculturation more stressful and challenging. Notably, the lack of language skills in both Cantonese and English put students from non-Cantonese speaking regions of Mainland China into socially and academically disadvantaged positions. Even some of them found social segregation at its extremes in Hong Kong.

Similarly, using the same stress and coping perspective, Bhowmik and colleagues (2018) found language, prejudice, and differences in culture, food, transport, and accommodation as the primary sources of stressors among a similar group of research samples from Mainland China. Since the participants were sojourners from Mainland China, their experiences may not be similar to those of ethnic minority young people who were born or migrated to Hong Kong and want to make it their home in the future. Although the study findings underscore the critical role of language and discrimination in acculturation, they cannot be generalized to children and adolescents, particularly with the non-Chinese background. Nevertheless, these findings certainly highlight the possible acculturative challenges for ethnic minority young people who do not share any cultural, racial, religious, or linguistic identities, values, and practices with the mainstream Chinese population.

With a sample of the first and second generation of adult immigrant Pakistanis and Nepalese, Tonsing (2014) found higher levels of marginalization and perceived discrimination resulting in higher psychological distress, lower self-esteem, and low level of competence towards sociocultural adaptation. A higher level of separation attitude resulted in the lowest level of psychological well-being and higher degrees of acculturation stress among a sample of immigrant women from the Mainland (Fung, 2005). It was surprising to note that despite having more language skills among the second generation of Pakistanis and Nepalese, assimilation was associated with higher psychological distress compared with the first generation of immigrants (Tonsing, 2014). Contrary to the research findings in a cross-cultural study (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006b), the same group exhibited marginalization as the most preferred way of

acculturation over assimilation and separation. Recently, Tonsing and associates (2016) have reported that perceived discrimination was negatively associated with acculturation orientation and psychological distress whereas; acculturation orientation mediated the relationship between perceived discrimination and acculturative stress with psychological distress.

The above variations in acculturation orientations and outcomes suggest that experiences of acculturation may hardly be similar across the genders and ethnicities. Since Berry's (1997) acculturation framework divides acculturating people into different categories, the available findings do not help explain why adult Pakistanis and Nepalese adopt the marginalization strategy even if it is a strategy at all. Since acculturation is a dynamic, multidimensional, and pervasive process (Kennedy & MacNeela, 2014; Schwartz et al., 2010), the available findings offer little help in explaining the complexities inherent in acculturation and variations across the dimensions, age groups, and ethnicities. Above all, these findings are silent over the questions of the factors that resulted in such an orientation. For instance, what accounted for the negative relationship between assimilation orientation among the second generation of Pakistanis and Nepalese? What were the reasons behind differing orientations between the first and the second generation of Pakistanis and Nepalese? Were the causes internal or external to the group?

Hui and colleagues (2015) investigated if an integration attitude and multicultural ideology among acculturating people facilitate adaptation and intercultural contact in Hong Kong. Among the immigrants from Mainland China, integration attitude and multicultural ideology were positively associated with intercultural contact with local Chinese. However, perceived

discrimination mediated the relationship negatively, whereas integration expectation and multicultural ideology among local Chinese significantly increased the level of tolerance and was positively related to intercultural contact with immigrants from Mainland China. Local Chinese endorsed multicultural ideology more strongly than did the Chinese from the Mainland. These findings underscore the importance of attitude among both immigrants and hosts and their multicultural ideology on their intercultural contact and adaptation. Since, the study participants were sharing their racial, ethnic, and cultural heritage; the research conclusions cannot apply to other ethnic groups. For instance, the reciprocal acculturation expectation between Chinese and non-Chinese such as South Asians may yield different conclusions.

In another study with a sample of new arrivals from Mainland Chan (2001) highlighted various structural factors that influenced the acculturation of young new arrivals from the Mainland. The nature of their residence before immigration and their academic grades, housing type, family structure, time laps for admission to the school, and social anxiety and loneliness in Hong Kong had potentially shaped their acculturative experiences. Like other studies, the findings suggest that acculturative adaptation depends on the past and present social and structural conditions where the socialization of young people takes place (Grusec & Hastings, 2014; van de Vijver et al., 2016). With reference to the integration and adaptation of ethnic minority young people in Hong Kong, these findings certainly help predict the acculturation outcomes but cannot explain as to how they experience acculturation; what structural conditions and individual circumstances facilitate their learning about cultures and help them acquire the knowledge and skills to function effectively in the host society. Thus, it is vital to understand the variations in ways in which

young people experience acculturation in Hong Kong. Research endeavors beyond stress and coping perspective can help better understand the acculturation of ethnic minority young people and take appropriate steps towards their 'successful' adaption and integration into the mainstream society.

If acculturation studies need to be "culturally specific, dynamic, and historically and politically situated" (Bhatia & Ram, 2004, p. 229), then the question as to how non-Chinese populations experience such a phenomenon in a Confucian Heritage Cultural milieu is of great importance and worth researching. It is essential to go beyond the existing frameworks and take into account further considerations in the research paradigm and methodologies to understand how people experience acculturation. Quantitative methodologies may not help understand the variability of acculturation across the age groups with diverse racial, religious, linguistic, ethnic, and economic backgrounds. While quantitative researchers aim to study acculturation through scales, surveys, and predictions, scholars with an interpretive research paradigm seek to understand its meaning through participants' words as the windows into their lived experiences. They dig out the meaning of a social phenomenon buried in the narratives of the participants who experience it. The culture learning approach to acculturation demands researchers to employ research methodologies that are rooted in the theories of learning and study human experiences from a 'non-dualistic,' 'relational,' and 'second-order' perspective (Marton, 1986; Marton & Booth, 1997) as it is believed that:

[Acculturation] is not a neat package of life events that occurs at the onset of immigration. Instead, it is a fluid process of being into two [or more than two] cultures at the same time and moving between them … it is lived, as a pervasive and complex experience that accompanies all other life events (Skuza, 2007, p. 463-464).

3.8. The Conceptual Framework

As discussed above, a culture learning perspective is one of the three theoretical approaches to the study of acculturation (Masgoret & Ward, 2006; Ward et al. 2001). Accordingly, acculturation is a dual and multidimensional process that involves the acquisition, maintenance, and change of cultural practices, values, attitudes, and identities related to both the heritage culture and the culture of mainstream society (Schwartz et al., 2010). Moreover, acculturation is a dynamic process that unfolds in an ecological context whereby individuals learn about multiple interacting cultures in plural societies (Oppedal & Toppelberg, 2016; Ward & Geeraert, 2016).

Unlike the traditional positivistic research approaches (Chirkov, 2009a) and deficit-based stress and coping perspective (Motti-Stefanidi & Coll, 2018), the present study adopted a strengths-based approach and conceptualized the phenomenon of acculturation as a dynamic process of learning about multiple encountering cultures. By considering the contemporary sociocultural realities, the study assumed acculturation as being a multidimensional phenomenon of learning about different interacting cultures stemming from everyday experiences of intra- and inter-cultural encounters. However, to outline the processes of learning about heritage culture and

other cultures, a distinction was made between enculturation and acculturation, respectively.

Figure 3.5 elaborates the conceptual framework of the study.

Figure 3.5 Conceptual Framework of the Study

Conceptual Framework
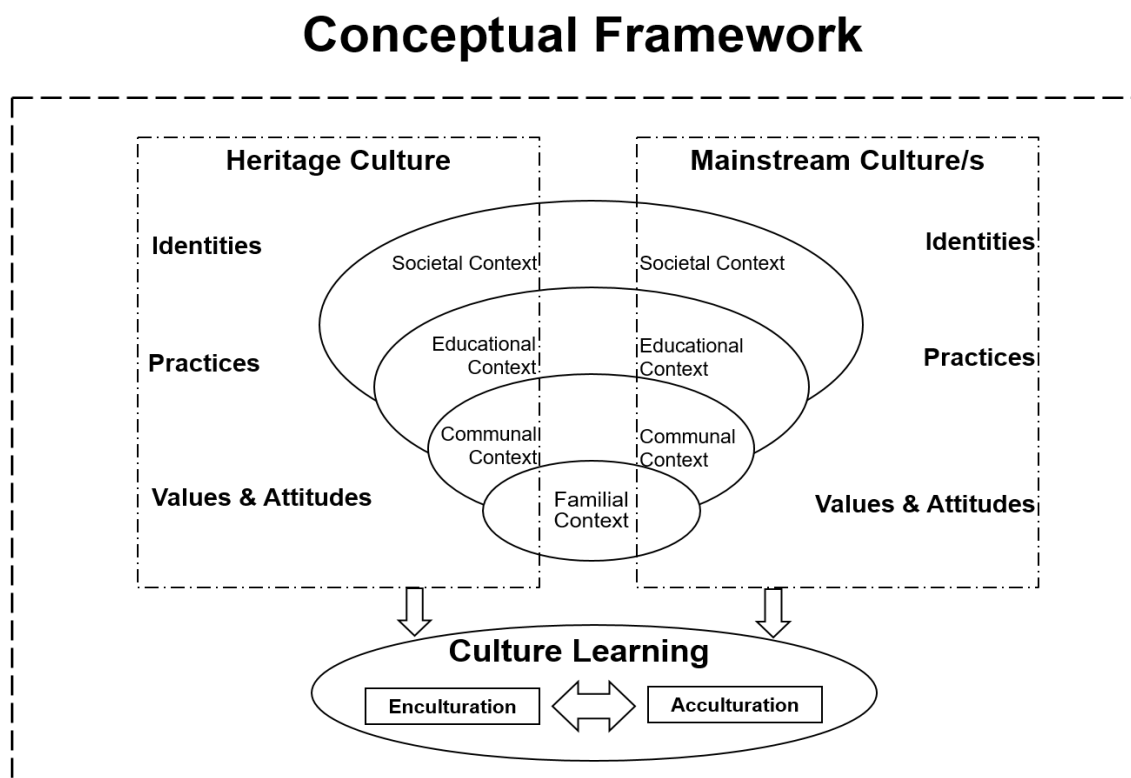
Furthermore, since learning about heritage culture and other cultures is pervasive to the life of immigrant and ethnic minority young people, the process of enculturation and acculturation unfold across the socialization contexts, including home/family, community, schools, and the larger society. The conceptual framework of the study is not only sensitive to the confluence of heritage and mainstream culture but also takes into account how acculturating people learn about

different cultures across the contexts of socialization such as family, community, school, and the larger society.

3.9. Conclusion

This chapter began with elaborating the phenomena of cultural diversity and intercultural contact in contemporary multicultural societies. It then discussed the evolution of acculturation theory and offered a critique of Berry's fourfold model, followed by a detailed discussion on potential approaches to the study of acculturation and emerging trends of 'remote enculturation' and 'remote acculturation.' By highlighting some ambiguities in the literature, this chapter also proposed an extension to the existing frameworks. Towards the end, the offered a brief review of available research findings on acculturation in Hong Kong and elaborated the conceptual framework of the present study by advocating a culture learning approach to explore the acculturative experiences of Pakistani secondary school students in Hong Kong.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology & Methods

The Focus of the Chapter

This chapter elaborates the various aspects of the research methodology and methods. Section 4.1 introduces the content of the chapter. Section 4.2 discusses the questions related to the research paradigm, interpretive research, methodology, and methods. It also explains why phenomenography was preferred over phenomenology to understand the various ways in which the research participants can experience acculturation. Section 4.3 offers a detail discussion on phenomenography, its ontological and epistemological assumptions, and the essential facets that differentiate it from phenomenology. Section 4.4 details the different aspects of the research method, including participants' recruitment, research sites, data collection, transcription, and translation, and data analysis. This section also briefs about reporting the study findings.

4.1. Introduction

Central to the discussion of a research methodology are the questions related to the nature of reality and how it can be known. In other words, methodology concerns the assumptions about the social phenomenon and how a researcher can know about it (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The study adopted the interpretive research paradigm, commonly known as a qualitative inquiry, for understanding the acculturative experiences. Qualitative researchers aim to understand how people make sense of their subjective experiences of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). Therefore, getting closer to and developing an honest relationship with the research participants becomes fundamental for knowledge production in the interpretative tradition of the research. However,

differences exist among researchers in terms of their ontological and epistemological beliefs that often lead to various stances towards the nature of the research object and the methods of conducting a study (Creswell, 2013).

Some focus merely on the description and essential structure of participants' experiences and their universal and invariable meaning (Moustakas, 1994). For them, the 'experiencer' becomes of critical importance. For others, identification and description of how humans experience a phenomenon, or an aspect of it become the research interest (Bowden & Walsh, 2000; Marton, 1981). Neither they focus on the collective and invariable meaning of experiencing something through specific methods, nor do they take both the subject and the object of human experience for granted. Instead, their research interest seeks to identify and describe the various ways in which the research participants experience a phenomenon and the variation between them (Marton, 1986; 2005). They believe that human experience is *relational*. Accordingly, the experience of undergoing a social phenomenon resides neither in the subject (experiencer) nor in the object (experienced) – in this case, the phenomenon of acculturation. Instead, an experience is an internal relation between a research participant and the phenomenon of the research interest. It describes the former as much as the latter (Marton & Booth, 1997).

Given that acculturation is a multifaceted, complex, and dynamic social phenomenon; acculturating people with unique biographies may experience it differently. The 'anatomy of awareness' (Marton, 2000) suggests that people experience the social world in a limited number of qualitatively different ways, and it is possible to identify and describe the various ways in

which they experience it and the essence of the variation between them. Moreover, one cannot be aware of everything in the same way at a given point in time; instead can be aware of everything but in different ways. Since phenomenology aims to describe the essential and invariable meaning of a phenomenon (Van Manen, 1997), it may not be aligned with the purpose of the study. Keeping in view both the culture learning approach to acculturation and the purpose of identifying the various ways of experiencing acculturation, the present study employed phenomenography, a research methodology that shares a lot with phenomenology yet differs from it in several ways.

4.2. The Research Methodology

There is a common understanding that every research endeavor underpins a philosophy that informs or guides the whole research process. As a set of abstract ideas and beliefs, a research philosophy guides as to how a researcher approaches a problem, 'formulate' research questions, and gather information to answer them (Creswell, 2013). A researcher's worldview, beliefs, assumptions, and values together constitute a research paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Since there exist differences in worldviews, beliefs, assumptions, and values among researchers, they follow different philosophical paradigms in their research that result in various research methodologies.

Researchers operating in interpretive research paradigm aim to know how individuals experience, perceive and make sense of a phenomenon, or what happens to them, and how their

understanding of the same informs their actions (Maxwell, 2013; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014). At the same time, they remain sensitive to their subjective experiences. Creswell (2013) notes that:

> [They] recognize that their background shapes their interpretation, and they 'position themselves' in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their own personal, cultural, and historical experiences. Thus researchers make an interpretation of what they find, an interpretation shaped by their own experiences and background. The researcher's intent, then, is to make sense of (interpret) the meanings others have about the world. This is why qualitative research is often called "interpretive" research (p. 38).

With an epistemological assumption, researchers having an interpretive research paradigm always aim to produce knowledge while getting closer to the participant and analyzing their subjective experiences (Creswell, 2013). Central to them is their focus on various factors that shape social realities and their implications. They believe that a "social reality is shaped by a whole range of human values and biases which sediment over time. These include social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gendered aspect of reality" (Waller et al., 2016, p. 10). Therefore, an interpretivist brings the lived experiences of the research participants and their voices of struggle to the center of their research analysis (Cole, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 2005; Rector-Aranda, 2016).

Several qualitative research specializations investigate human experiences; however, they differ from each other in terms of their focus, interest, methods, and the role of the researchers. The

potential research approaches to investigate the acculturative experiences of the participants included ethnography, action research, grounded theory, phenomenology, and phenomenography. Since the purpose of the study was not to understand what acculturation was meant but to explore the various ways of experiencing acculturation, the research approaches that aim at learning about a group's culture (ethnography), or improving certain educational practices they are involved (action research), or building a specific theory (grounded theory) could hardly help achieve the research objective. The methodologies left with for further consideration included phenomenology and phenomenography, which takes human experiences as the object of the study.

Although participants' subjective experiences of everyday life are the starting point in phenomenology; "a phenomenological study describes the common meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon" (Creswell, 2013, p. 36). Given that phenomenologists aim to reveal the meaning of human experiences of being in their lifeworld (Van Manen, 1997) and focus on the shared experiences of people about a particular phenomenon or a concept; phenomenology could not help achieve the research purpose either. Phenomenology might be the right choice if the study aimed at knowing the essence and common meaning of acculturation. Since the main object of the study was to explore the various ways of experiencing acculturation through the cultural learning approach, phenomenography was found as the most appropriate methodology for the present study. It is a research approach that aims to understand the various ways in which the research participants experience something (here acculturation) (Marton, 1986; Marton & Booth, 1997).

4.3.Phenomenography: Exploring the Ways of Experiencing Something

The present study sought to understand how Pakistani secondary school students experience acculturation across the various socialization contexts in Hong Kong. The primary purpose of the study was not to describe the participants' experiences and reach to a single essence of their acculturative experiences and their collective meaning. Neither the study aimed at knowing what acculturation is. Instead, it sought to describe the various ways in which the research participants experience, make sense of, perceive, or understand acculturation and what meanings they ascribe to those different ways. The purpose of the study required a methodology that takes human experiences as the object of the research and acknowledges the importance of the context (situation), where the research participants experience a particular phenomenon. The theoretical framework of the study that sought to investigate acculturation from learning and awareness perspective also required a methodology that assumes human experiences as the source of knowledge and learning.

4.3.1.   Definition

Phenomenography is a qualitative research approach that investigates lived experiences empirically with a non-dualist, relational, and second-order perspective (Barnard, Mccosker, & Gerber, 1999; Marton, 1986; Marton & Booth, 1997; Sin, 2010; Sjöström & Dahlgren, 2002). Although the term phenomenography was used for the first time by Sonnemann in 1954, it never attracted much attention until 1970s when a group of researchers at the University of Gothenburg Sweden started thinking about considering it as one of the qualitative research approaches (Abdolghader & Abbas, 2016; Barnard, Mccosker, & Gerber, 1999; Cibangu & Hepworth, 2016;

Marton, 1986). Unlike the established philosophical tradition of phenomenology, phenomenography emerged out of empirical studies within the educational contexts related to learning (Sjöström & Dahlgren, 2002). Nevertheless, its application is not limited to education (Bowden & Walsh, 2000). Today phenomenography is adopted across the fields of inquiry as one of the potential qualitative research approaches to study human experiences (Marton & Booth, 1997).

According to Marton & Pong (2005), "phenomenographic research aims to investigate the qualitatively different ways in which people understand a particular phenomenon or an aspect of the world around them" (p. 335). In other words, it is "a research method adopted for mapping the qualitatively different ways in which people experience, conceptualize, perceive, and understand various aspects of, and phenomena in, the world around them" (Marton, 1986, p. 31). Phenomenographic studies explore, analyze, and understand the various ways in which people make sense of the world around them (Abdolghader & Abbas, 2016). Phenomenographers seek to "find out the different ways in which people experience, interpret, understand, apprehend, perceive or conceptualize various aspects of reality" (Marton, 1981, p. 178). They argue that any phenomenon of research interest can be experienced, understood, comprehended, and perceived in a limited number of qualitatively different ways (Marton, 1986). Thus, in phenomenographic studies, 'a way of experiencing' something is the unit of the research and the 'variation in ways of experiencing' something is the object of the research (Marton & Booth, 1997).

Central to the phenomenographic studies is the identification and description of the various ways of experiencing something and the variation between them. Such depictions of the multiple ways of experiencing any phenomena are called conceptions. Conception is a basic unit of phenomenographic description and refers to "a way of seeing or understanding something, or the meaning of something to a person. A person's conception of something is assumed to be relational as it is internally constituted between the person and the world" (Sin, 2010, p. 305). Conception is also synonymously used with the 'ways of conceptualizing'; 'ways of experiencing'; 'ways of seeing'; 'ways of apprehending'; and 'ways of understanding' (Marton & Pong, 2005). So 'a way of experiencing' something is a fundamental unit of phenomenographic analysis and description (Marton & Booth, 1997).

Bowden (2000) makes a distinction between 'pure' and 'developmental' phenomenography. Accordingly, the former mainly focuses on describing everyday phenomena experienced by the research participants and the latter "seeks to find out how people experience some aspect of their world, and then to enable them or others to change the ways their world operates, and it usually takes place in a formal educational settings" (Bowden, 2000, p. 3). While Bowden's (2000) division is based on the research focus and outcomes, Cibangu and colleagues (2016) list three types of phenomenographic studies based on the nature of the data, the research intention, and the role of the researcher. These include 'naturalistic phenomenography,' 'hermeneutic phenomenography,' and 'phenomenological phenomenography' (p. 152-153).

Similarly, Marton (1986) identifies three lines of research in phenomenographic investigations based on the context and content of the inquiry.

> The first line of inquiry has continued to concentrate on general aspects of learning. The second line of inquiry concerns the learning of concepts in domains such as economics, mathematics, or health care. The third line of inquiry is characterized as 'pure' phenomenographic interest, and it is concerned with describing the way in which people conceive of various aspects of their world (Marton, 1986, p. 38).

Given the thin line between phenomenology and phenomenography, the identification of multiple traditions within a single approach creates misunderstanding and confusion than clarity and the research focus. Since acculturation is an everyday social phenomenon, nevertheless, the present study falls within the third line of inquiry, whereby it aims to describe the various ways the research participants make sense of their everyday life in the multicultural context of Hong Kong.

4.3.2. Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions

Like phenomenology, phenomenography also holds a set of assumptions about human experiences and about how we can get to know how people experience the world or an aspect of it around them. Central to the phenomenography is the notion of experience. Although phenomenographers do not claim to have any theory about the experience, they still differentiate it from the phenomenological conception of human experience as mental or psychological

entities. Accordingly, people live in a world, which is experienced by both the researcher and the researched (participants). However, they experience the physical, social, and cultural world differently, and their experiences are not independent of their 'inner' and 'outer' world.

By taking a second-order perspective, phenomenographers aim to know about the world or an aspect of it as experienced by the people (experiencer) or how it appears to them. In this sense, human experience is *relational*. It is the experience of the experiencer (research participant) that helps understand the nature of the experienced (acculturation). Phenomenographers believe that "we are all different, and we do experience the world differently because our experience is always partial. Gaining the most fundamental knowledge about the world is tantamount to coming to experience the world in a different way (Marton and Booth, 1997, p. 13).

Phenomenographers believe that there is only one world that we experience, and we can report about that world to others. However, people experience the same world differently, which is both 'subjective' and 'objective' simultaneously (Richardson, 1999). They explicitly reject both the individual constructivism and social constructivism and take a 'nondualist' ontology. Accordingly, the experience is the internal relationship between subject and object that encompasses and accounts for learning - the variation in human experience (Marton & Booth, 1997).

Figure 4. 1 Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions of Phenomenographic Studies
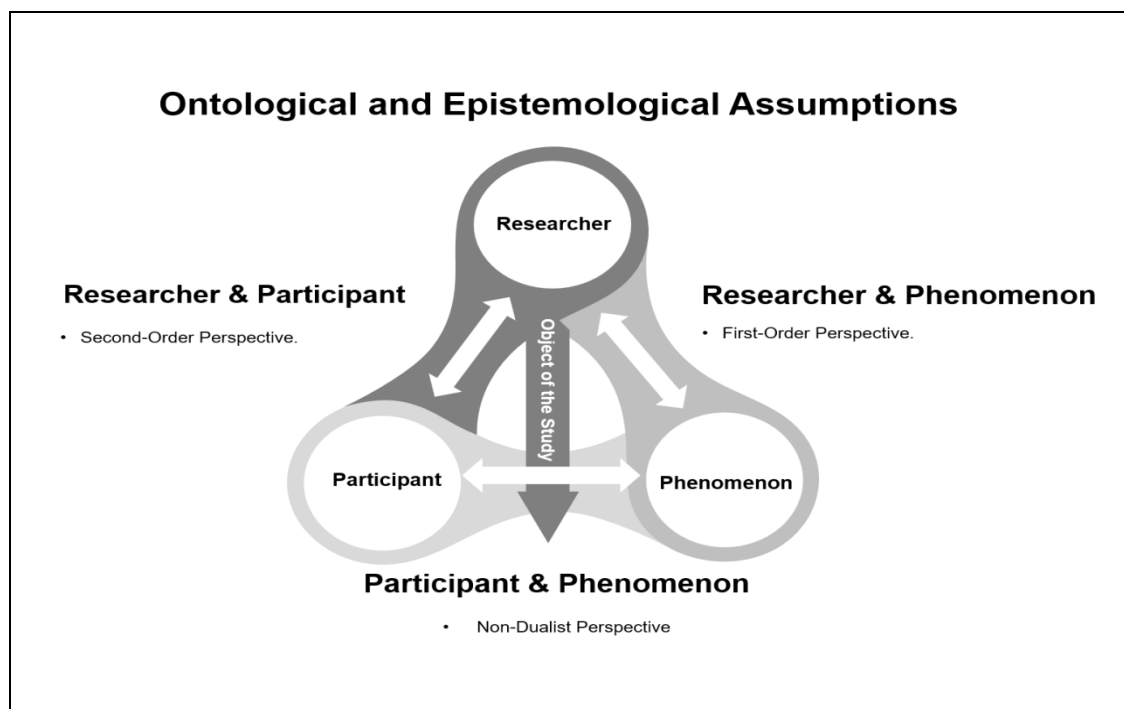
Source: Bowden, 2000; Marton, 1986; Trigwell, 2000; Marton & Booth, 1997

As far, its epistemology is concerned, it assumes that people differ in terms of the ways they experience the world, and the researcher can understand these differences in the ways the world appears to them. Since human experience is the internal relation between the subject (participant) and the object (phenomenon), it resides neither in the former nor in the latter. Instead, it explains the former as much as the latter.

Phenomenography thus rests on a nondualistic ontology, as the assumption is that the only world that we can communicate about is the world as experienced. The epistemological assumption is that humans differ as to how the world is experienced, but

these differences can be described, communicated and understood by others. Such descriptions of differences and similarities in how the world is conceived constitute the most essential outcomes of phenomenographic research (Sjöström & Dahlgren, 2002, p. 340).

Phenomenographers seek to identify the qualitatively different ways in which the research participants may experience certain phenomena rather than the phenomenon itself. They try to understand a phenomenon through the participants' perspectives. Contrary to the traditional conceptualization and description of various phenomena from an outsider perspective, within the educational context, Marton (1981; 1986) sought to understand, conceptualize, and describe them from learners or insider perspective. As Richardson (1999) writes:

> Conventional research on student learning adopted a 'first-order' or 'from-the-outside' perspective that sought to describe the learner and the learner's world in broadly the same terms. He characterized his own approach as adopting instead a 'second-order' or 'from-the-inside' perspective that sought to describe the world as the learner experienced it (p. 57).

Thus, phenomenographic studies aim to access the reality of a phenomenon through the experiences of the research participants as opposed to the direct access to the phenomenon in the phenomenological investigations (Cibangu & Hepworth, 2016). For this purpose,

phenomenographers assume nondualist ontology and a relational epistemology and seek to understand a social phenomenon from a second-order perspective.

4.3.3. Difference between Phenomenography and Phenomenology

As a research methodology within the interpretative paradigm, phenomenography is similar to phenomenology in some respects and differs in others. Some researchers even consider phenomenography a 'subset' of phenomenology (Cibangu & Hepworth, 2016), whereas phenomenographers seem reluctant to subsume the former into the latter. They believe that phenomenography shares only the object of the research that makes it "no more than a cousin-by-marriage" of phenomenology (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 117).

Those who consider phenomenography a branch of phenomenology even trace the origin and the meaning of the term in the Husserlian writings and philosophy respectively and view it as the search for "real things experienced by humans as opposed to mere abstractionism, representationism, psychologism, or subjectivism" (Cibangu & Hepworth, 2016, p. 151). However, Sjostrom and colleagues (2002) see a clear distinction between the two research approaches.

> Although phenomenography shares many similarities with phenomenology – in both, the object of research is human experience and awareness – it differs in purpose. In phenomenology, the search for essences or the most invariant meaning of phenomena is central, while in phenomenography the aim is not to find the singular essence, but the

variation of the world as experienced. The focus of phenomenography on differences makes it basically different from phenomenology (p. 340).

Marton & Booth (1997) make a similar distinction.

Phenomenography is focused on the ways of experiencing different phenomena, ways of seeing them, knowing about them, and having skills related to them. The aim is, however, no to find the singular essence, but the variation and the architecture of this variation in terms of the different aspects that define the phenomena. The simultaneous awareness of all the critical aspects comes close to the phenomenological notion of essence … [which] is temporary and transitional [in Phenomenography] … To the extent that phenomenology is defined through its object of research – human experience and awareness – phenomenography could legitimately be seen as a child of the phenomenology family. To the extent, however, the phenomenology is grounded in a set of particular theories and methods that phenomenography shares partly, if at all, phenomenography has to be seen as no more than a cousin-by-marriage of phenomenology (p. 117).

Phenomenographers also differentiate their work from researchers who study experiences. Although anthropologists like phenomenographers are interested in understanding human experiences, they differ in their research foci. While studying the culture of a group, anthropologists aim to describe, interpret, and explain the social behavior and patterns of

thinking (Dunkin, 2000). Phenomenographers agree that they share their assumptions about studying human experiences with ethnographers, yet the differences in their research focus and purpose make it difficult to assimilate the two approaches (Richardson, 1999). Neither phenomenographers relate their work with psychologists.

In investigating human experiences, psychologists are more interested in the subject of the experience, whereas the phenomenographic interest is the object or content of the experience and the relationship between the subject and the object. For instance, psychologists might be interested in how people learn about political power, whereas phenomenographers might be interested in learning about how people experience political power or people's experiences of political power (Marton, 1981). Marton & Booth (1997) argue that "in psychology different classes of functions and acts such as learning, remembering, solving problems, making decisions, and thinking make up the system of classification and the object of study. In psychology, what is learned, or remembered, or thought about is subordinate to his classification" (p. 114). In this sense, psychologists are more concerned about the experiencer, not the experienced. In that phenomenography follows alternative epistemological assumptions compared to the ones adopted in mainstream psychology (Marton, 1986). Barnard and colleagues (1999), note that:

> Phenomenography is less interested in individual experience than it is in emphasizing collective meaning. The research approach emphasizes reflective rather than prereflective experience and is a second-order research approach, which does not engage in the psychological reduction of data. Rather than a noumenal first-order perspective in which

the world is described as it is, phenomenography is phenomenal or experiential and aims

to describe the world as it is understood (p. 213).

Since phenomenographers' point of departure is the Husserlian phenomenology, they hardly

consider further developments in the research tradition of phenomenology. Besides the major

differences between the two research approaches, phenomenography still borrows several

methodical aspects from phenomenology. In this sense, hermeneutic phenomenology and

American phenomenology share several methodical aspects with phenomenography, particularly

related to the participants' selection criteria and data collection through interviewing (Barnard et

al., 1999). Phenomenographers can benefit from these research traditions as long as they can

help improve the quality of their work.

4.4. Research Methods

4.4.1.   Research Site and the Participants

Like in phenomenology, phenomenographic studies follow specific criteria for the selection of

the participants. Researcher recruits the participants those who have experienced the

phenomenon (here, acculturation) and willing to share their experiences (Creswell, 2013;

Laverty, 2003; Starks & Brown, 2007). Experienced researchers suggest developing the

participant selection strategy around the concept of purpose and maximal variation (Flick, 2007).

Since the difference in experiencing a phenomenon is critical to phenomenographic studies,

phenomenographers recruit participants purposefully (Abdolghader & Abbas, 2016).

Marton & Booth (1997) advocate optimal variation in the participants' conceptions about the phenomenon of the research interest. This can be achieved through a wide range of participants' characteristics. Nonetheless, data collection in a large amount may cause problems in data management and may result in 'superficial' data analysis (Sin, 2010, p. 312-313). Moustakas (1994) summarizes the criteria for selecting participants who have experienced a phenomenon.

> [The] essential criteria include: the research participant has experienced the phenomenon, is intensely interested in understanding its nature and meanings, is willing to participate in a lengthy interview and (perhaps a follow-up interview), grants the investigator the right to tape-record, possibly videotape the interview, and publish the data in a dissertation and other publications (Moustakas, 1994, p .108).

Unlike in phenomenology, where a researcher can study a phenomenon based on only single participants, phenomenographic studies, however, demand a sufficient number of participants. Since phenomenography aims to describe the various ways in which a phenomenon can be experienced, this cannot be accomplished only with a single participant. Marton & Booth (1997) recommend 15 – 20 participants for a phenomenographic investigation.

The present study recruited the potential participants in multiple ways to achieve variation in participants' backgrounds and characteristics. The researcher adopted various possible means for the identification of potential schools and the research participants. Based on learning during the pilot study, complete reliance on potential schools for participants' recruitment was avoided.

Potential participants were also recruited through personal contacts with families, through the support of different student associations (such as Pakistani Student Association Hong Kong)[2] and social networking groups. A criterion was set for the selection of potential participants to achieve the purpose. The research participants were recruited based on the following criteria:

1. Identifies himself or herself as a Pakistani or holds Pakistani background;

2. Born either in Hong Kong or in Pakistan;

3. Currently studying in a mainstream secondary school in Hong Kong; and

4. Willing to share the experiences of life in Hong Kong.

Following the receipt of the proposal defense result from the Graduate School, a formal application was submitted to the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) for data collection approval. Meanwhile, potential schools and interview participants were identified and approached if they would be willing to facilitate and participate in the study. Secondary schools that accommodate or serve students with low socio-economic backgrounds were purposefully identified and requested for facilitation. The data collection process was started formally after the receipt of HREC approval.

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[2] http://www.psa.org.hk/

4.4.1.1.   Participants Recruitment through Schools

Research participants were recruited from different types of secondary schools operating under the Hong Kong Education Bureau (EDB) rules and regulations, excluding international schools to grasp a holistic understanding of acculturative experiences. A list of nine secondary schools with a significant number of Pakistani students was developed. Reportedly, these schools have been serving both Chinese and non-Chinese students with a low socio-economic background. After the identification of potential schools located in three regions of Hong Kong, including Kowloon, Hong Kong Island, and New Territories, letters of request (Appendix I) along with the research information sheet (Appendix II) explaining the study and required support were submitted to five schools in person. Upon request, a sample of participants' consent form (Appendix III), participants' information sheet (Appendix IV), and an interview protocol (Appendix V) was also provided to the schools.

Three of the school contacted agreed to facilitate the data collection process, and the respective principals asked the researcher to coordinate with the designated school staff. The designated teacher or a staff member from each school facilitated both the participants' selection and data collection processes. The other two schools apologized for being unable to cooperate due to students' over engagement with academic activities. Part of the reason was also the teacher's non-availability to facilitate the researcher during the data collection process. In addition to the schools that facilitated the data collection process, participants were also recruited through

personal attending various types of secondary schools. Table 4.1 gives a brief profile of six

secondary schools where the research participants were enrolled.

Table 4. 1 Schools' Profile: Location, Percentage of Teachers and Students (Estimated)

School	Type	Ranking @2019/ 456 [3]	Teachers %		Students %		
			Chinese	Non-Chinese	Chinese	Non-Chinese	Pakistani
A	Aided	435	97.6	2.4	50	50	30
B	Aided	339	97.7	2.3	40	60	35
C	Aided	331	77.5	22.5	10	90	50
D	DSS	149	88.9	11.1	60	40	20
E	Aided	426	97.7	2.3	50	50	15
F	Aided	416	97.8	2.2	70	30	30

4.4.1.2.　　　Participants Recruitment through Personal Contacts

In addition to the students selected from three schools, potential participants through personal

contacts were also approached. A pre-interview meeting was held with each participant. In this

meeting, the participants were briefed about the study and explained the possible time

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[3] Book of School online ranking

commitment on their part. An interview schedule was also decided in this meeting. Table 4.2 summarizes the demographic information of the participants.

4.4.1.3. Pre-Interview Meeting with Participants

With all the research participants, a pre-interview meeting was scheduled either with the help of the school authorities or through personal contacts before interviewing them formally. In this meeting, the participants were briefed about the study and requested them to seek the permission of their parents if they were younger seventeen aged. A parent's consent form was given to them and asked them to return it to the researcher on the interview day. Subsequently, with the consent of school authorities as well as the participants, a schedule was finalized for interviewing them formally. While developing the interview schedule, special consideration was given to allow enough time between the two consecutive interviews so that the researcher could reflect upon the last interview before conducting the next. The pre-interview meeting with the participants proved to be very helpful in developing a report with the participants.

Table 4. 2 Participants' Information

S. #	Place of Birth	Participant's Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Years in HK	Sec. Schools Attended in HK	No. of siblings	First Language	Father		Mother		Reasons for Parents Migration
									Education	Occupation	Education	Occupation	
1	Hong Kong	Ambreen	Girl	15	15	1	5	Punjabi	Graduate	Business	Primary	House Wife	Business
2		Kiran	Girl	16	16	2	6	Pashto	Graduate	Business	Primary	House Wife	Business
3		Insha	Girl	17	17	1	5	Punjabi	Intermediate	Employment	Primary	House Wife	Better living environment
4		Mehreen	Girl	17	17	1	5	Punjabi	Intermediate	Self Employed	Primary	House Wife	Employment + Better Education
5		Danish	Boy	15	15	1	4	Punjabi	Intermediate	Construction Worker	No Education	House Wife	Employment
6		Javed	Boy	15	15	3	3	Punjabi	Intermediate	Construction Worker	Graduate	House Wife	Employment
7		Rehaan	Boy	18	18	2	2	Punjabi	Graduate	Employment	Intermediate	House Wife	Employment
8		Zuhaib	Boy	15	15	1	5	Hindko	Matric	Retired	No Education	House Wife	Employment
9	Pakistan	Lubna	Girl	17	3	1	3	Pashto	Masters	Business	Intermediate	House Wife	Business + Better Education
10		Sobia	Girl	18	15	1	5	Hindko	Primary	Retired	No Education	House Wife	Employment
11		Adeel	Boy	20	4	1	5	Punjabi	Intermediate	Customer Attendant	No Education	House Wife	Employment
12		Asif	Boy	15	13	1	4	Punjabi	Matric	Business	Primary	House Wife	Employment
13		Mohsin	Boy	19	5	1	4	Pashto	Primary	Construction Worker	Masters	Teacher	Employment
14		Umair	Boy	17	10	1	2	Mirpuri	Primary	Construction Worker	Matric	House Wife	Employment
15		Seraaj	Boy	16	3	1	3	Punjabi	Intermediate	Construction Worker	Intermediate	House Wife	Employment
16		Zahid	Boy	17	3	2	2	Punjabi	Matric	Construction Worker	Middle	House Wife	Employment

4.4.2. Data Collection

The standard data collection method in phenomenographic studies is interviewing (Marton, 1986; Sjostrom et al., 2002; Sin, 2010; Richardson et al., 1999; Barnard et al., 1999). However, phenomenographers deal with other types of data as long as it reflects a way of experiencing something (Marton & Booth, 1997). Interviewing individuals who have experienced a phenomenon or a concept is quite common in qualitative studies (Barbour, 2008; Creswell, 2013; Moustakas, 1994). Phenomenographers assume an interview as an internal relationship between the interviewee and the interviewer in which 'meta-awareness' about the phenomenon of the research interest is sought (Marton & Booth, 1997). Following the established and standard data collection method in phenomenography, the primary means of data collection was in-depth semi-structured interviews. Interviews provided an opportunity for the participants to reflect upon the questions of the research interest. As Barbour (2008) writes:

> The hallmark of interviewing in qualitative research is the use of questions, which allow respondents to focus on the issue of greatest importance to them, rather than the agenda being determining entirely by the researcher's interest. Most qualitative researchers use semi-structured interviews, which allow for the ordering of questions to be employed flexibly to take account of the priority accorded each topic by the interviewee (Barbour, 2008, p. 10-11).

The semi-structured and open-ended questions allowed the research participants to share their experiences (Barnard et al., 1999; Richardson, 1999), and the researcher wished the participants to reflect on their acculturative experiences. However, conducting a phenomenographic interviews was not without challenges as it demands both the interviewee and the interviewer to engage in a dialogue whereby the latter focuses on reflection of what the former said and offers interpretations simultaneously without losing the interview focus (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 130).

Sjostrom and colleagues (2002) identify two significant challenges in conducting a phenomenographic interview. The first relates to the willingness on the part of the participants, and the second is related to the understanding of what the participant is saying on the part of the researcher. They suggest that "there is a need, on the part of the interviewer, to interpret immediately what the respondent is saying in order to be able to decide about further questioning or probing" (Sjostrom et al., 2002, p. 341). In this sense, phenomenographic interviews are similar to hermeneutic interviews that demand excellent interviewing skills on the part of the researcher.

Hermeneutic interviews are dialogic, conversational, and intersubjective (Geanellos, 1999; Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2014; Walker, 2011). It becomes a dialogue between the researcher and the participants in which "interpretation permeates every activity, with the researcher considering social, cultural and gender implications" (Dowling, 2007, p. 134). It seeks to co-construct knowledge (Sloan & Bowe, 2014) whereby the researcher "strives to understand the content of

the interview rather than the interviewee" (Geanellos, 1999, p .41). Therefore, both the researcher and the participants jointly explored the phenomenon of acculturation without asking leading questions by the former (Sin, 2010). They contributed equally in developing an understanding in which the latter instead took a leading role, and the former only guided the interview track (Lindseth & Norberg, 2004; Vandermause & Fleming, 2011; Walker, 2011).

While conducting an interview, phenomenographers propose an 'intentional expressive' (Sin, 2010) approach. Such an orientation towards data collection helps gather valid data where a researcher clarifies and confirms the interviewee's intended meaning. It encourages the participants to reflect and confirm what they have said. Walker's (2011) suggestions to focus on various dimensions of a researcher's skills in conducting an interview facilitated the process of interviewing. Accordingly, selecting meaningful pseudonyms, the art of listening, making interview questions easier to the participants, setting an appropriate tone of the conversation, completing the incomplete sentences of the interviewee, looking for participant's assent, and helping participants remain focused remained helpful.

4.4.2.1.   Interviewing the Participants

By taking into consideration the various aspects of phenomenographic interviews, the researcher encouraged the participants to share their lived experiences of living in the multicultural context of Hong Kong. The ecological dimensions acculturation guided the whole interviewing process. The primary interview foci included participants' acculturative experiences in their families, in

the school, in the community, and society. During the interviews, the researcher aimed to understand what the participants experienced and how they experienced concerning their acculturation in Hong Kong.

On the day of the interview, the participants younger than 17 years were asked to return the parents' consent form first. After ensuring the parents' approval, the participant's information form was filled out. The primary purpose of collecting participant information was to facilitate the data analysis stage at the later stage. The researcher remained stick to the participants' views and remained dialogical without asking leading questions and introducing new vocabulary.

Interviews with participants selected through schools were conducted in the respective school premises, whereas interviews with other participants were held at a convenient place as per their preferences. Most of such interviews took place either at the participant's home or at the local community center. One of the participants, however, requested the researcher to interview him at a religious education center where he was enrolled for religious education. Except for one, all the participants were interviewed only once. Each interview lasted 40 - 70 minutes. Initially, the researcher planned to interview about 24 participants; however, after interviewing 16 participants, no further meetings were conducted when the data reached the point of 'saturation' (Laverty, 2003).

The interviews were held either in English or Urdu as per participants' convenience and choice. While interviewing, the participants were encouraged to share their experiences as openly as

possible. They were assured that their identity would remain confidential throughout the process, and their real names will be replaced by fictional names or pseudonyms.

4.4.3. Transcribing the Interviews

It is a common practice in qualitative studies to transcribe audio-recorded interviews. According to Sin (2010), "transcription is the interface between oral and written data. It is also a juncture of the research process where the reliability and validity of the data may be questioned" (p. 314). Given that the purpose of phenomenographic studies to describe and understand the intended meaning of the participants' expressions, verbatim transcription was considered to be the appropriate way. Since the meaning of some expressions could be context bond and the transformation of oral language into written form might pose a potential challenge in preserving the meaning, the participants' expressions and the language of the interviewee was preserved (Barnard et al., 1999). Moreover, to mitigate the possible challenges, the researcher reflected shortly after the interview and developed a summary of notes for each interview.

During the process of data transcription, assistance was sought from two student helpers. However, to achieve the reliability of the transcription, written instructions were given to them with clarity. Transcription guidelines and instructions were given to them before assigning the actual task. The researcher also checked the transcripts completed by the student helpers. Since the interviews were conducted both in English and in Urdu, all the interviews were transcribed

verbatim. Consequently, two sets of transcripts were developed before the formal analysis stage; one in English and other in Urdu.

4.4.4. Translating the Transcripts

All the interviews, either monolingual or bilingual, were transcribed verbatim initially. To avoid the direct translation from Urdu to English, interviews conducted in Urdu were transcribed in the same language. Although this can be avoided by translating the interviews conducted in Urdu into English, there was the potential of losing the intended meaning of the expressions given in Urdu. To retain and preserve the expressive meaning, the researcher translated the transcripts developed in Urdu. It indeed required additional time and energy.

4.4.5. Data Analysis

Generally, in qualitative research, the data analysis process begins immediately after collecting the data (Maxwell, 2013). In this sense, data collection and data analysis go hand in hand (Graham, 2007). Reading the interview transcripts and listening to the recorded interviews is a common practice. Like in other qualitative studies, data collection and data analysis are inseparable in phenomenographic studies (Marton & Booth, 1997). Data collection and data analysis go hand in hand, suggesting that the early phase of analysis may potentially influence the later data collection process. Sin (2010) summarizes phenomenographic analysis in the following words:

Phenomenography systematically explores participants' experiences and identifies their conceptual meanings of the phenomenon of interest. These are classified into categories according to their similarities and differences. Finally, phenomenographic findings describe the different categories of conceptions of the phenomenon from the perspective of participants (p. 306).

The primary purpose of the phenomenographic analysis is to identify the various ways in which the participants experience the phenomenon. Therefore, 'a way of experiencing' acculturation was the unit of phenomenographic analysis. The 'ways of experiencing' something has also been used synonymously with 'categories of description,' (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 124), 'ways of conceptualizing,' 'ways of seeing,' 'ways of apprehending', 'ways of understanding', and a 'conception' (Marton & Pong, 2005, p. 336). In phenomenographic studies, the identification of various ways of experiencing "involves reading and rereading the transcripts throughout the process. The aim is to look for qualitatively different conceptions [ways of experiencing] of the phenomenon of interest collectively rather than the conceptions of individual participants" (Sin, 2010, p. 315).

Marton & Booth (1997) identify two fundamental aspects of a way of experiencing something. These include *referential* and *structural* aspects, which are intertwined in nature (Marton & Pong, 2005). These are like the two sides of a coin. The former refers to the meaning of experiencing something attributed to a particular way of experiencing a phenomenon (Marton & Pong, 2005). The latter refers to how that experience can be discerned as a whole from the

context and how its parts can be discerned from the whole and their internal relationship. It has two additional dimensions, including an *internal horizon* and an *external horizon*. In other words, "the structural aspect of a way of experiencing something thus twofold: discernment of the whole from the context on the one hand and discernment of the parts and their relationships within the whole on the other (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 87).

Figure 4. 2 Theoretical Framework for Phenomenographic Data Analysis
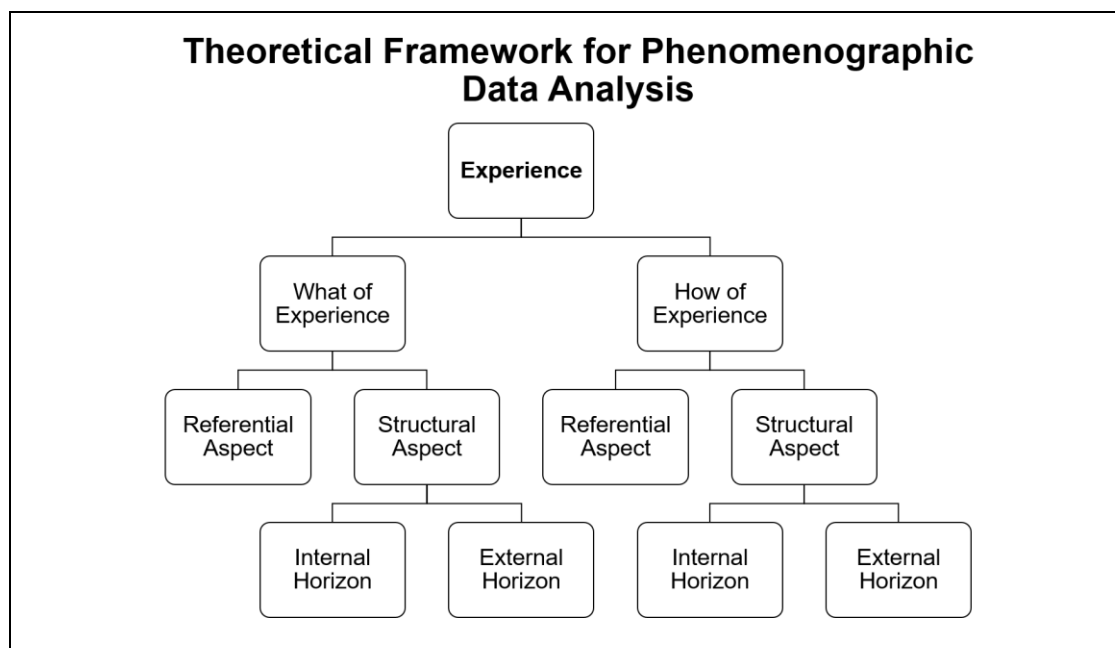
Source: Marton & Booth (1997, p. 91)

Barnard and colleagues further explain that:

> Referential (meaning) aspects refer to the global meaning that is attributed to a phenomenon: Of what is the conception formed? Structural aspects refer to the way in which the phenomenon and its component parts are delimited and related to each other in

the form of external and internal horizon of the phenomenon. Internal horizon refers to how component parts of the phenomenon are understood and are related to each other. External horizon refers to the way in which the phenomenon is delimited from and related to its context (Barnard et al., 1999, p. 216).

Thus, throughout the analysis process, the identification of various ways of experiencing acculturation in participants' responses remained the main object. Notably, during the process of coding and re-coding, particular attention was given to the referential and structural aspects of experiencing acculturation. The internal and external horizons within the structural aspect of experiencing the phenomenon were conceptualized in terms of participants' experiences across the socialization contexts of acculturation and their focus on the various dimensions of acculturation including the acquisition, maintenance, change, and the confluence of cultural attitudes, behaviours, values and identities related to interacting cultures.

4.4.5.1.   The Process of Phenomenographic Analysis

Generally, the phenomenographic analysis is an iterative process that lacks any specific technique and takes the path of discovery (Marton & Booth, 1997). As Marton (1986) maintains that, "we cannot specify exact techniques for phenomenographic research. It takes some discovery to find out the qualitatively different ways in which people experience or conceptualize specific phenomena. There are no algorithms for such discoveries. However, there is a way of proceeding with the task which can be described, even if it cannot be specified in detail" (p. 42). As Marton (1986) writes:

In concrete terms, the process looks like this: quotes are sorted into piles, borderline cases are examined, and eventually the criterion attributes for each group are made explicit. In this way, the groups of quotes are arranged and rearranged, are narrowed into categories, and finally are defined in terms of core meanings, on the one hand, and borderline cases on the other. Each category is illustrated by quotes from the data (p. 43).

The above process of analysis proposed by Marton (1986) is not that straightforward as it seems. Therefore, the present study borrowed the comprehensive steps proposed by Dahlgren & Fallsberg (1991) and recommended by Sjostrom and Dahlgren (2002). The qualitative data analysis software called Nvivo was used to manage the data throughout the process of analysis as well as for structuring and writing the findings. Figure 4.3 elaborates the iterative data analysis process adopted in the present study.

Figure 4. 3 Phenomenographic Data Analysis Process
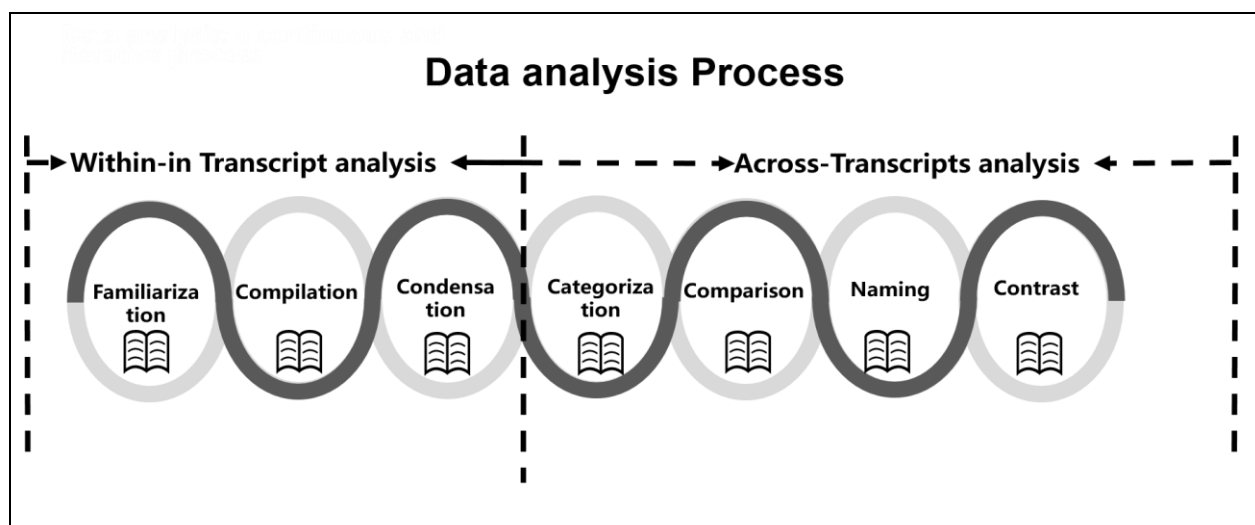
Source: Dahlgren & Fallsberg (1991); Sjostrom & Dahlgren, 2002

The seven steps followed during the data analysis process are described below.

1. *Familiarization*: After transcribing the interviews, each transcript was read and re-read several times. The primary purpose was to familiarize with the data optimally (Sin, 2010). However, during the process of reading and re-reading, typographical corrections in the transcripts were also made. Before reading each transcript, the summary notes developed on the day of the interview were also consulted. This helped develop a holistic understanding of each transcript.

2. *Compilation:* This phase of analysis was based on the criteria of relevance (Marton, 1986). After having a closer look at each transcript individually and the whole data holistically, all the transcripts were imported to the Nvivo software. Three mother nodes corresponding to three research questions were developed and labeled them with a question number. Relevant sections and parts from each transcript related to a research question were placed under one of the three mother nodes. Figure 4.4 elaborates the data analysis flow chart.

3. *Condensation*: In the condensation phase of analysis, significant parts of the transcripts under each mother node were further condensed in the form of child-nodes as per the core meaning of the conversation. The researcher's utterances from the conversation were also removed. Consequently, several child-nodes made up of participants' quotes were developed. A preliminary label was given to each child-node under each question. Quotes

with similar meanings were kept under the same child-node. The process was repeated
for each research question, and each transcript until coding was done for all the
transcripts. At this stage of coding, the focus was on the meanings derived from
individual quotes. The development of several child-nodes resulted in a 'pool of
meanings' (Marton, 1986, p. 43).

4. *Preliminary Grouping:* At this stage, the child-nodes or pool of meanings under each
   mother nodes corresponding to the three research questions become the focus of analysis.
   Codes with similar meanings were put into groups. A preliminary label was given to each
   group or category representing all the child nodes. Quotes under each group were
   interpreted concerning two meaning contexts. First, concerning the interview transcript
   from which it was taken and second, concerning the meaning group it belongs to.

5. *Preliminary Comparison of Categories*: This involved the comparison of the initial
   categories developed in the earlier stage. Similar groups were merged, and where needed,
   a new label was assigned to the category after merging two or more than two related
   categories. At times, the merger of similar categories required the reallocation of meaning
   codes from one category to another. At other times, it demanded revision in existing
   groups or categories. Different categories were developed based on similarities and their
   relatedness to the phenomenon of acculturation. The comparison process was iterative
   and required constant reflection.

6. ***Naming the Categories***: Once the categories were finalized, all the quotes under each category were re-read to ensure its collectivized global meaning. An appropriate label was given to each category that captured its meaning.

7. ***Contrastive Comparison of Categories***: After finalizing the name for each category of a 'way of experiencing' acculturation, the categories were contrasted with each other. The primary purpose of contrastive comparison was to ensure as to how each category was different from others and objective to enough in describing and explaining the phenomenon of acculturation or an aspect of it.

Figure 4. 4 Phenomenographic Data Analysis Process Flow Chart (Example)
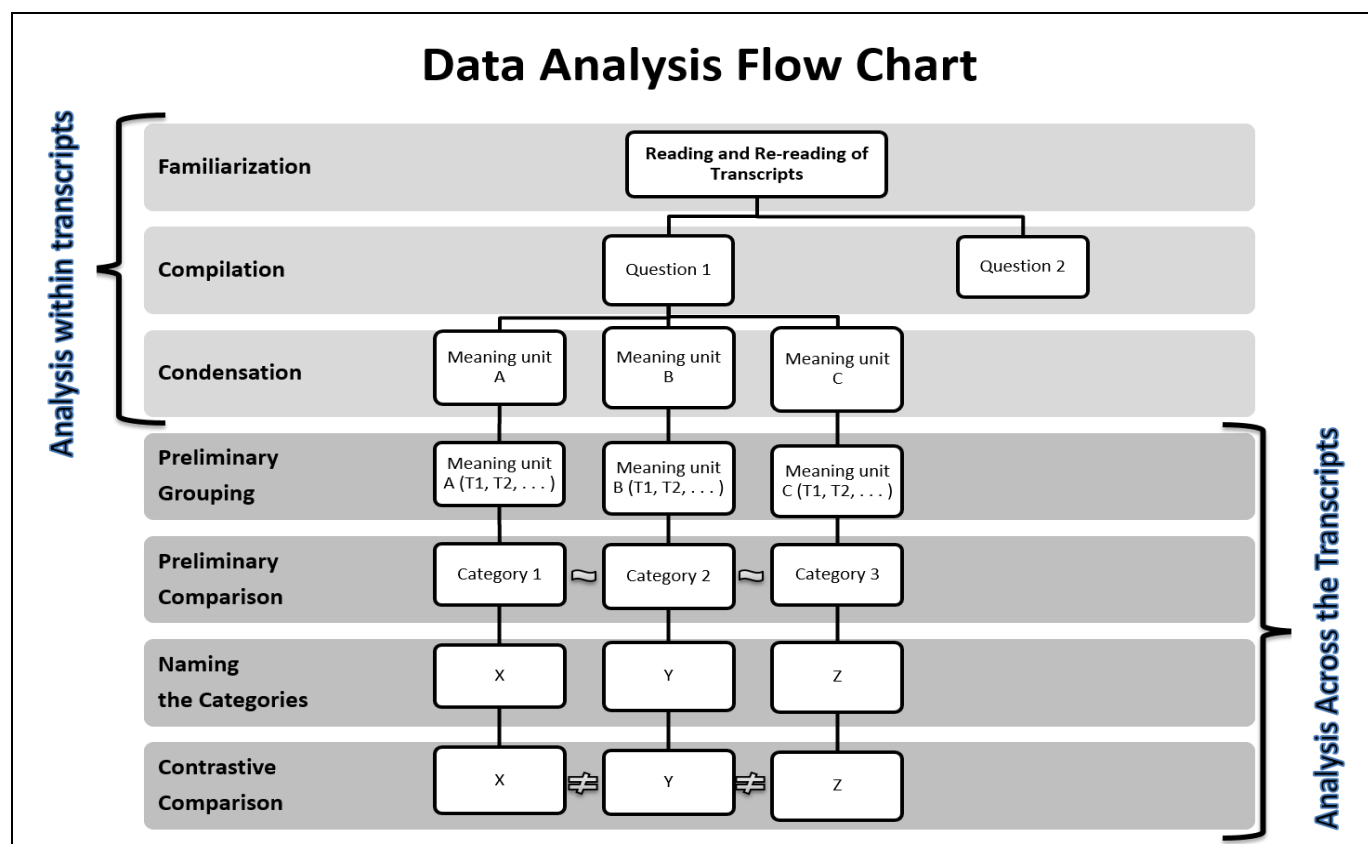
4.4.6. Reporting the Findings

The outcome of a phenomenographic analysis is the identification of the various ways of experiencing the phenomenon of research interest. The set of these different ways of experiencing the phenomenon is called the 'outcome space' (Marton, 1986; Sjostrom et al., 2002). Outcome space can be presented in a variety of ways, such as tables and figures. The different ways of experiencing or understanding or conceptions are typically represented in terms of the categories of description (Marton & Pong, 2005). These categories may not necessarily form the phenomenon under investigation rather represent the various ways in which the research participants experience it or make sense of it (Sjostrom et al., 2002). These are "the units of meaning with which the researcher groups the data concerning the experiences under study" (Cibangu et al., 2016, p. 152).

The categories of description are descriptive, whereby the researcher describes them from a second-order or participants perceptive (Sin, 2010; Barnard et al., 1999). The researcher aims to describe how the research participants experience the phenomenon and "seeks to retain the participants' language in a descriptive form, with an emphasis that presents to the reader the meaning of the interviewees" (Barnard et al., p. 223). The notion of reliability is understood differently in phenomenographic studies. Sandberg (1997) conceptualizes reliability as 'interpretative awareness' that can be maintained through phenomenological reduction, and that can help achieve reliability of phenomenographic results, whereas Sin (2010) uses reflexivity synonymous with interpretative awareness. Accordingly, reflexivity is achieved:

When the researcher acknowledges and explicitly deals with his or her own preconceptions throughout the research process … That the researchers must deliberately set their presuppositions and biases aside to engage fully with participants' lived experiences to understand their conceptual meanings (p. 311).

However, for Sin (2010), the "concept of reliability cannot be readily applied to qualitative research because the social world is unstable and that a particular research setting may change from the experience of being studied" (p. 310). Instead, "the consideration of quality in phenomenographic research begins at the outset of the study, from stating the research question(s) and justifying the appropriateness of the phenomenographic method, and at each stage of the research process through to the reporting of findings" (p. 312).

Nevertheless, Marton & Booth (1997, p. 125) identify a set of criteria for the quality of the categories of description or ways of experiencing a phenomenon.

1. The individual categories should each stand in clear relation to the phenomenon of the investigation so that each category tells us something distinct about a particular way of experiencing the phenomenon.
2. The categories have to stand in a logical relationship with one another, a relationship that is frequently hierarchical.
3. The system should be parsimonious, which is to say that as few categories should be

explicated as is feasible and reasonable, for capturing the critical variation in the data.

Thus, following the above criteria, the ways of experiencing acculturation have been described in the form of categories of descriptions. Accordingly, Table 5.1 presents the outcome of a phenomenographic study, also called the 'Outcome Space.' The findings of the study have been presented in three chapters. Inlined with the two fundamental elements of human experience, Chapter five describes *what* the participants experience and chapter six details *how* the participants experience acculturation in the multicultural context of Hong Kong. Chapter Seven identifies the factors or challenges that hinder acculturation to mainstream culture. In other words, the findings chapters describe what and how the research participants learn about their heritage culture and other cultures and what factors affect their acculturation to the local culture.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter started with introducing its content related to the research methodology. By highlighting the essential aspects of a research methodology, then it explained the reasons for choosing phenomenography, its definition, its philosophical assumptions, and its similarities and differences with phenomenology. The last section of the chapter elaborated the research method and discussed the participants' recruitment, data collection, data processing, and the strategy for reporting the study findings.

Chapter 5: Acculturative Experiences

The focus of the Chapter

This chapter reports the study findings related to the first research question; i.e., "how do Pakistani secondary school students experience acculturation in Hong Kong"? Although Table 5.1 summarizes the study findings in terms of *what* and *how* the research participants learn about heritage culture and other cultures and what factors hinder their acculturation (second research Question) termed as acculturative challenges, it mainly focuses on the *what* aspect of the participants' acculturative experiences and describe them in four categories. These include (1) Learning about social Identities; (2) Learning to speak multiple languages; (3) Learning about Heritage Culture (Enculturation); and (4) Learning about other cultures (Acculturation). Each category of description explains one of the several facets of acculturation and not necessarily classify and divide the participants into groups. Instead, they describe the participants' experiences of learning either related to their heritage cultures or the culture of different ethnic groups. Section 5.1 reports the participants' acculturative experiences related to their social identities and how they make sense of it differently from each other. Section 5.2 reports their acculturative experiences related to language learning and practices in the familial, communal, educational, and societal contexts. While section 5.3 describes the participants' learning about their heritage cultures, section 5.4 focuses on their learning about second or other cultures. Finally, section 5.5 concludes the chapter.

Table 5. 1 Phenomenographic Research Findings: Outcomes Space

Research Questions		Familial Context	Community Context	School Context	Societal Context
Question 1	What Aspect of Acculturation	Learning about Social Identities			
		Learning to Speak Multiple Languages			
		Learning about Heritage Culture or Ethnic Culture (Enculturation)			
		Learning about Mainstream Cultures or Host Cultures (Acculturation)			
	How Aspect of Acculturation	• Intra-Family Language preferences • Dietary Practices and Ethnic Cuisine • Parenting Style and Family Relationships • Media Consumption and Domestic Engagement	• Religious Education and Obligations • Celebration of Religious/Cultural Festivals	• Students' Diversity and Intercultural Learning • Teaching Practices and Teachers' Expectations • Academic Performance and Satisfaction	• Intercultural Contact and Socialization • Intercultural Learning and Ethnic Needs • Intercultural Learning and Media
Question 2	Factors Hindering Acculturation	• Family Practices and Preferences • Familial Support and Expectations • Familial Roles and Gender differences	• Ethnic Socialization and Neighborhoods • Co-ethnic and Non-Chinese Friendships	• Ethnic Socialization and Segregated Schools • Education System and Teachers' Role • Chinese Teaching and Learning • Social Support and Facilitation	• Incidents of Prejudice and Discrimination • Lack of intercultural or inter-ethnic Understanding • Lack of Accommodation to religious differences and ethnic preferences

5.1. Learning about Social Identities

The phenomenographic analysis of the participants' interviews reveals that the main feature of life that distinguishes them from others is their religious affiliation. Since adherence to any faith presupposes the acceptance of a particular way of life, the participants understand their unique way of life as a fundamental identity marker that differentiates them from others. They see the striking differences in the ways they deal with their mundane affairs in multicultural Hong Kong. For instance, the way they cherish social relations, the way they dress-up, the way they learn and practice their faith, and the way they fulfill their religious obligations make them different from others. Based on their everyday socialization experiences, the participants construct their identity or identities. Although the participants' understanding of identity differs from each other, they still consider their religious and national background as the defining aspect of who they are.

While explaining what makes him different, Rehaan states, "First of all it is our religion. It's like all different… Umm, things we do uh like in our culture. Things we wear. Things we eat. It's totally different from the Chinese people". Danish is a Hong Kong-born Pakistani and for him, his religious affiliation and parental background define who he is. He explains how he finds himself different from others.

> Danish: I always think that I am a Muslim and a Pakistani, but I was born in Hong Kong and live here. I call myself Pakistani. Our background is from Pakistan, and all of our

relatives are there. That is why I call myself Pakistani although I was born here but do not call myself Hongkonger because people eat pork here.

Unlike Danish, Zuhaib constructs his identity differently. He was born and brought up here. He identifies himself more with Hong Kong than Pakistan. He says, "I think more of a Hongkonger because I was raised in Hong Kong that most of my life was in Hong Kong. So I think I am more of a Hongkonger. For the Pakistani side, I am like 40%, but for Hong Kong side, I am 60%". Similarly, Mehreen makes sense of her identity as a mixture of different identities. She has constructed a hyphenated identity and cannot decide if she is a Hongkonger-Pakistani or a Pakistani-Hongkonger.

> Mehreen: The people here are different, the culture is different, and the food is different. So we don't feel at home despite Hong Kong being my home I feel more at home in Pakistan. But obviously, I like Hong Kong more than Pakistan. Therefore I call myself Pakistani Hongkonger. Because I was born Pakistani … I think it should be Hongkonger Pakistani. But I prefer Pakistani Hongkonger … I feel Pakistani because of my culture, and I feel Hongkonger because I was born here and I studied here.

In addition to religion and place of birth, some participants emphasize linguistic and cultural differences that distinguish them from others. Lubna recalls the time when she landed in Hong Kong for the first time.

Lubna: I was having a really different image of Hong Kong. As I knew that it was under British rule, so I was having you know the UK feelings or like you know those Western feelings. But when I came here, when I entered the airport everyone was speaking in Cantonese, and I am like 'Wait, what are you saying?' And when I spoke to them in English, their English was so miserable honestly. I just had that bad image. So Chinese are like not into Western culture.

One of the significant differences the research participants find with the majority society is their treatment of relationships in their social life. Accordingly, the very nature of their relationships with parents, siblings, and relatives differentiate them from others; as one of the participants explains how her cultural practices are different from others.

Ambreen: I think, our culture – its more, it teaches us closeness and the strong relationship between like people around us, our family members. But in Hong Kong, I feel like, for example, the children, they don't really like value their parents as much as we do.

Although most of the participants acknowledge their lack of knowledge about others and particularly Chinese culture, at the same time, they also complain about being misunderstood in Hong Kong. Insha, who identifies herself as Pakistani- Hongkonger believes that "as a Pakistani, mostly a lot of people are like being misunderstood or stereotyped by the Chinese because they see, some of the Pakistani doing something wrong, they automatically think that all of us are like

them." Ambreen also believes that most of the time, Pakistani parents are thought to be more strict and rigid with their kids. While commenting on one of her experiences of being misunderstood, Ambreen explains why some Chinese behave in the way they treat non-Chinese.

> Ambreen: If a person from one group is bad, they will consider the whole group bad. And I am just pointing out that some ethnic minorities in the society may be doing some fighting, wrong stuff, or maybe they are not clean or like they are smelly or maybe like that. But the Chinese people, they may consider the whole like nation as that, and whenever they see you, they will just close their noses and then just like stay away from you.

Unlike others, Kiran is straightforward in identifying herself as a Hongkonger. Although she is not happy about being misunderstood by local Chinese, she hardly finds herself different from local Hongkongers. She explains how she responds when someone inquires about who she is:

> Kiran: I just tell them that I am a Hong Kong citizen, you shouldn't say that to me because we are the same person like we are same having the same passport and stuff (Laughs), So they would just after they hear this response they would just umm calm down a bit. And then they won't really say much after this … I would say Hong Kong because I was born here, call myself Hongkonger because I don't know that much about Pakistani culture.

The above quotes from the interviews reveal that the participants are quite aware of the fact that they are different from others due to their religious affiliation, culture, food, language, and ethnicity. These accounts show as to how young people construct their identity and make sense of it differently. Some identify themselves with their heritage culture due to their family background, whereas others value their place of birth in constructing their identity. Their everyday socialization facilitates the construction of their identity, and everyone makes sense of it differently based on different identity markers.

5.2. Learning to Speak Multiple Languages

The phenomenographic analysis of the participants' interviews revealed language learning as an integral aspect of acculturation. All the research participants share their learning and practicing multiple languages across the contexts of their socialization. They claim that they can speak multiple languages. Some of the participants even admired their experiences of learning up to six different languages. The various languages they mention in their interviews include Punjabi, Pashto, Hindko, Mirpuri, Urdu, English, Arabic, Farsi, Cantonese, and Putonghua.

Nevertheless, the level of literacy in each language varies across the biographies of the participants. Those who were born in Hong Kong have better literacy skills in English and Cantonese than their counterparts who were born in Pakistan. They have command over the spoken language but cannot read and write their mother tongue and Urdu. Contrarily, the research participants who were born and have had their primary education in Pakistan can read

and write Urdu. However, they find reading and writing Chinese difficult. All of the participants also claimed to be capable of reading Arabic. In general, with few exceptions, the majority of them are fluent in Cantonese. The following sections describe the participants' everyday learning experiences of multiple languages across the contexts of their socialization in Hong Kong.

5.2.1. Language Learning in the Familial Context

In their interviews, all the participants spoke about their language preferences in their familial context. Ambreen was born in Hong Kong and can speak at least four different languages. Although her mother tongue is Punjabi, her parents also encouraged her to learn Urdu. She has grown up in a bilingual home environment. Whenever she visits her relatives occasionally, she mainly communicates in her mother tongue. She was also able to practice Urdu with co-ethnic peers in school and madrasa (religious education center), whereas she learned both English and Chinese in her schools. She can read, write, and speak Cantonese fluently. Indeed, her Cantonese speaking ability enabled her to make a Chinese friend ever in her school life. Except for her Chinese friend, all of her current peers are non-Chinese with diverse ethnic minority backgrounds. She seems happy about her language abilities. As she remarks, "I think that's one of the reasons why I don't find living in Hong Kong difficult." She explains how she practices multiple languages with her parents and siblings. "We mainly speak in Urdu. Ah, but, of course, like when, like, I teach my younger sister homework, we use the language required in the book. But mainly Urdu".

Similarly, Insha is another Hong Kong-born Pakistani, and she can speak at least four languages. She reports how she converses with her parents and siblings.

> Insha: At home, it's like some—mostly I am speaking Punjabi and but sometimes with siblings some of the words, if we don't understand, we will say in English or Chinese like use English and Chinese. I also speak Urdu just because my parents were saying when I was born, they kept on communicating with me in Urdu, so it was like automatic, but I do not know how to read and write.

Asif and Zahid echo the experiences of Insha. Asif even seems reluctant to accept one language as the mother tongue instead claims to have two, namely Urdu and Punjabi. Although Kiran speaks Pashto with her parents, she practices Chinese and English with her siblings. While responding to a question, if her siblings have also learned Pashto Kiran says: "Yes, all of us but me and sister purposely speak in Chinese (Laugh). We are used to it when we were young … With my sisters, I speak in Chinese and English, and with my mum, I speak Pashto. I can speak Pashto, Urdu, Chinese, English, and a bit of Putonghua but not fluent (laugh) but no writing".

Besides learning and practicing different languages with parents and siblings, the participants also share the experiences of watching various TV programs, drama serials, and movies in Urdu, English, Cantonese, and Putonghua. Most of the participants report the experiences of watching ethnic news and entertainment channels, mainly operating in the South Asian contexts. These include Pakistani news channels and both Pakistani and Indian entertainment programs. Zuhaib

often watches movies if he finds some free time, especially on weekends. As he reports, "if everyone is like free or my sisters are free from university projects and like that, we usually sit together and watch the movie on Pearl. And then ahh also I watch YouTube on TV". Zuhaib also reports his parents preferred TV channels and programs.

> Zuhaib: My mother likes to watch Pakistani drama and my father usually he is watching with my mother also. They are watching together. They both like Pakistani drama. They really enjoy. My father watches ahh ARY (Pakistani News Channel).

Like Zuhaib's parents, Zahid's parents also like watching TV programs in Urdu. Whereas his father likes Pakistani news Channels, his mother always prefers watching Pakistani drama serials. Whenever they happened to talk to the relatives and friends in Pakistan and elsewhere through telephone or internet, they speak either in their ethnic language, Urdu, or English. The participants' reports suggest that within their familial context, they learn and practice multiple languages while growing up in Hong Kong.

5.2.2. Language Learning in the Communal Context

The other socialization context next to the home is the communal context. Considering the need for religious education and the fulfillment of religious obligations, kids in Muslim families are encouraged and directed to participate in various communal activities from a very young age. Although all the Muslim prayers, as well as the sacred book, are in Arabic, in religious education centers, the medium of instruction always remains in Urdu with few exceptions. Perhaps, this is

one of the reasons the young participants can speak Urdu despite having different language preferences and practices in their familial context. Besides learning Urdu, the participants also learn other languages as a result of peer socialization at their religious education centers.

Sobia was born in Pakistan but came to Hong Kong when she was very young. She has had all her education in Hong Kong. She is one of those participants who can speak at least five different languages. Although Sobia's mother tongue is Hindko, she is also fluent in Urdu and Pashto. Sobia elaborates how she was able to learn multiple languages.

> Sobia: My mother tongue is not Pushto. My mother tongue is Hindko … I learned when I came to Hong Kong. I learned from the people around me. I don't know how like–it's like–you know where I started learning the Quran. There were also people who were Pathan [one of the five major ethnic groups in Pakistan]. So they spoke Pushto. So I–I slowly slowly started learning from them, and I really learned a lot from them … So that's the way I think I learned Pushto. And many people in my society they also speak Pushto.

Similarly, Umair's mother tongue is Mirpuri. It is a blend of both Punjabi and Urdu. Umair studies Arabic in the madrasa and has already attained the title of Hafiz (one who memorizes the Muslim Holy book – Quran, by heart) and can read Arabic but cannot speak fluently. Since there are Punjabi speaking students among his peers in the madrasa, he practices Punjabi with them too.

Zuhaib is another Hong Kong-born Pakistani and can speak Hindko, Urdu, English, Cantonese, and Arabic. He speaks highly of his language skills, particularly of the Arabic language.

> Zuhaib: At home, I speak my native language ahh Hindko. Hindko is my mother tongue … I can speak Urdu, ahh English, Chinese, and Arabic … Arabic for me is easy because the Quran we need to learn how to read it in the first place so for me it gets really easier. Like you will just, for example, Chinese you need to know how to read how to understand but for Arabic, because I study the Quran so I know how to read it, so it's much easier for me.

Unlike Zuhaib, most of the participants can read the Quran only. They cannot speak or understand it. Like Umair, Mohsin is also attending the course of becoming Hafiz in a madrasa, but they cannot speak or understand Arabic. This is one of the unique language skills among Muslim youth that distinguishes them from their peers belonging to different faiths. It is clear from the above reports the research participants learn and practice several languages in their communal context.

5.2.3. Language Learning in the Educational Context

One of the essential contexts of the participants' intercultural contact and socialization is their schools. Perhaps it is the only site of their socialization where they learn and practice a maximum number of languages. Given that their respective schools serve non-Chinese students, there exists a great deal of students' diversity. They come from diverse ethnic minority

backgrounds, including Indonesian Filipino, Thai, Nepali, Indian, and Pakistani. Besides the linguistic diversity in the student body, the process of teaching and learning takes place in English and Chinese. Since the education system in Hong Kong follows the policy of bi-literacy (English and Chinese) and trilingualism (English, Chinese, Putonghua), schools offer courses both in English and Chinese. Consequently, students can have opportunities for learning and practicing multiple languages in their school context.

The mother tongue of Luban is Pashto, but she can speak Urdu, Farsi, and English. She was born and has received her primary education in Pakistan. Although she cannot speak Cantonese fluently, she enjoys interacting with her non-Chinese peers. Since all the students in her class are non-Chinese, she frequently uses English and Urdu in her class, whereas all the conversations at home take place in Pashto. She speaks either Farsi or Pashto while communicating with friends and relatives in Pakistan over the telephone or the internet.

Rehaan also admires his language abilities and enjoys interactions with peers in his current school. Despite being proficient in Cantonese, he used to remain quiet and feel lonely in his last school because he was the only non-Chinese student in his class. He describes how he practices different languages now.

> Rehaan: There are Chinese; there are Filipino, Nepali, Pakistani, and Indian. And like right now in the whole Form I can talk to everyone any of their friends. Like whenever I see anyone I can say 'Hi, what are you doing?' … When I am talking to people from

India or Pakistan, I use Urdu, but uh for other Nepali or Chinese, I usually use Cantonese cuz they also feel comfortable when the other person is also speaking Cantonese, so for Nepali or Filipino, I use English.

Like Lubna, Adeel came to Hong Kong four years ago. He lives with his father and the other two brothers. In Pakistan, he used to attend an Urdu medium school that is way his English was not so good. He could not speak Cantonese either. However, after living for four years in Hong Kong, he is now happy because he has learned English and Cantonese. He is quite optimistic about pursuing his university degree in Hong Kong. Adeel reports how he practices different languages in his everyday life.

Adeel: Among friends, we use either Punjabi or Urdu. Besides these two languages, we also get opportunities to learn other languages. In our school, there are students from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines. The majority of the students are from Thailand, Nepal, and the Philippines; and it is good to learn their languages. We understand their language a little bit and can speak with them. It is good that we are multilingual.

These accounts suggest that given the demographic diversity among students and the teaching and learning practices both in English and Chinese, the research participants learn and practice a variety of languages in their schools. They not only acquire literacy skills in English and Chinese

but also practice speaking other languages with their teachers and peers with diverse linguistic backgrounds.

5.2.4. Language Learning in the Societal Context

The forth socialization context where the research participants learn or practice different languages is the larger society. They often engage and participate in various curricular and non-curricular activities and spend their free time with both Chinese and non-Chinese friends. Although most of the participants report spending their free time with non-Chinese and co-ethnic friends, some also engage in various sports-related activities with Chinese friends. Unlike other Pakistanis who love playing cricket, Danish and Zuhaib like playing football. Danish spends his off days playing football with non-Chinese friends. Although most of his friends are Pakistani, his football team is consists of his Nepali and Filipino friends. As he explains:

> Danish: Pakistani students mostly play cricket, but I like football. I always play football with Nepali students, and we speak English. In my team, most of the players are Nepalese and Filipino. Some of the Nepalese are my friends from primary school. But they are non-Muslims.

Similarly, Zuhaib also spends his free time playing football. However, unlike Danish, his football teammates are Chinese. Although he got Pakistani friends with whom he practices Urdu, he enjoys playing football with Chinese friends. He reports, "When I have free time I go to play football then mostly Chinese people also play football with me. So usually they speak Chinese

with me".

Besides engaging in sports-related activities, cultural festivities also provide an opportunity to practice different languages. The participants share their experiences of celebrating religious festivals with co-ethnic peers. Umair reports how he, along with his co-ethnic friends, celebrates Eid in Hong Kong.

> Umair: We take 2-3 days off on Eid. We can take leave from school. Rests of the students attend school as usual. We do not have any tension about the lessons because all the Pakistani students are in one class. There are only two Indians in our class. Chinese students have separate classes. We make a party and plan visits to various places.

Like Umair, Asif and Zuhaib also celebrate Eid with their friends and fellows in various outdoor activities. Asif either plays cricket or watch a movie in the cinema along with friends whereas Zuhaib enjoys spending time in outdoor activities. Since his school announces holidays on Muslim festivals, he plans something to do on Eid. As he reports, "on Eid days we usually all of my friends we organize something to do on Eid. We plan to do something such as we go to the beach to enjoy or like that or we usually go to the beach or go to Ocean Park".

Although the research participants underscore the limited interaction with ethnic Chinese, they often engage in co-ethnic social activities in their neighborhoods. Insha reports how she and her family members interact with co-ethnic people near her residence.

Insha: Actually, you know, with the neighbors, we have like a lot of Pakistani neighbors. We actually share food like we cook, and then we share a lot of things, like, go and pray in the masjid. My *parents*–my Dad and brothers would go to the masjid and pray and all those stuff.

The participants' accounts suggest that various social activities beyond home, community, and school provide them with opportunities to learn and practice multiple languages. Their socialization across the contexts facilitates the acquisition of language skills and promotes their enculturation as well as acculturation.

5.3. Learning about Heritage Culture (Enculturation)

Considering the fact that all the participants were born to Muslim parents, irrespective of their place of birth, they have grown up in a religious family environment. Besides learning and practicing different languages, including their mother tongue or any other preferred ethnic language, the research participants share the experiences of learning about their heritage culture across the contexts of socialization in general and in their familial context in particular. The process of learning about one's heritage culture or the culture of the parents and ancestors has been conceptualized as enculturation. Accordingly, the research participants learn who they are; how similar or different they are compared to others; what and how they think and act; what they do; and why they do what they do. In other words, they acquire knowledge and skills about their practices and values related to their heritage culture across the contexts of socialization.

5.3.1. Enculturation in the Familial Context

The phenomenographic analysis of in-depth interviews with the participants suggests that they engage in the process of enculturation in the familial contexts in a variety of ways. Since one's home is considered to be the first place of socialization, the participants' enculturation mainly takes place in their home or familial context. They grow up in an environment where they observe their parents and elders and learn how to be like them in every aspect of life. They learn what to eat and how to dress up, interact, and behave in their familial context. Their accounts suggest that their religious affiliation significantly shape different socialization trajectories even beyond their immediate family context. Ambreen shares how her parent's education helped her become a true Muslim.

> Ambreen: Sometimes, I focus too much on the study and forget about like my religion side. My mother would remind me constantly that 'oh its time for your prayer.' I think it's like a natural thing, maybe the way, like, when I was young the things my parents told me the way they nurture me and like yeah all that. I think all those worked.

Besides the ethnic language preferences, cultural practices of food and ethnic cuisine are the primary means of enculturation. The research participants report their everyday dietary practices and preferences at home. Some participants mainly like to have their traditional homemade food, but some of them also enjoy having Chinese Cuisine as long as it is halal. Although some of the participants enjoy having halal food at a couple of restaurants where they occasionally visit with

friends and families, they always prefer to eat at home. Zuhaib explains why he prefers having food at home.

> Zuhaib: My mother would cook traditional food such as Biryani, Roti like that. And then ahh, I really like homemade food. I would eat outside food also but not much as homemade food. So I usually like to eat at home. My mother doesn't cook Chinese dishes at home … The homemade food is usually more hygienic, and I would not have the fear of haram if it is haram. But outside, if I don't know it is halal or haram, then I can't eat it so usually at home I have more choices, yeah.

Kiran also echoes the food preferences of Zuhaib. She seldom eats out of home because of the fear of haram food. Although she has tried Chinese food once, she likes her ethnic food the most. Besides everyday practices of eating, religious traditions, festivities, the consumption of ethnic media also facilitates the participants' enculturation. Although the participants often complain about the busy life in Hong Kong, they enjoy watching Pakistani TV programs and drama serials. All of the participants report spending their free time watching various types of videos related to their heritage culture either on television or on mobile. They also learn about family norms and gendered biased practices and work division by taking part in everyday house chores.

Girls report how they help their mothers at home and replace their role during their absence. At the time of the interview with Ambreen, her parents were out of town, and she was also taking

care of her domestic responsibilities. Ambreen is grateful to her relatives in Pakistan for showing concern during the absence of her parents.

> Ambreen: Nowadays, I really receive a lot of phone calls from Pakistan because they are like worried about how me and my sibling my younger sister, my two brothers are living in Hong Kong. And I think like this shows that they care about us and that is really like a good feeling.

The above accounts reveal how the research participants acquire knowledge and skills related to their heritage culture. Their reports suggest that they engage in the process of their enculturation in a variety of ways within their familial context while living in Hong Kong.

5.3.2. Enculturation in the Communal Context

The participants' socialization in their community is the next context of their enculturation. They learn about their heritage culture through various religious and cultural activities that take place at the community level. Young people in Muslim families are taught to participate in religious activities from the early stages of development. Offering prayers five times a day is one of the five pillars of the Islamic faith. It is an obligatory duty for every Muslim that distinguishes them from others. It is offered, preferably in the congregation in the mosque. Nevertheless, prayers can be performed anywhere if one cannot attend the Mosque every time. Danish reports how he fulfills his religious duty of prayers.

Danish: I get up at 5 in the morning and offer prayers. I take a bath and then press cloths. After that, I take my breakfast and leave for school at 7:15. I reach school by 8:15. I attend classes until 3:55 and return home by 5 or 5:15. I change my dress and eat something. Then I go to the mosque and perform prayers. I come back home by 7:30 and start doing my homework. I watch TV for some time after completing my homework and then go to bed by 10:30. This is how I spend my weekdays.

Besides being the place of worship, the mosque is an essential context of community socialization as well as religious education. Muslims, irrespective of their ethnic, racial, and linguistic backgrounds, come together and perform their daily prayers. Through interaction and participation in various religious activities and rituals, young people learn about different people with diverse ethnic backgrounds. Religious scholars and clerics educate the faithful through lectures, speeches, and individual consultations. Religious education classes and sessions are organized for young people so that they can learn and practice their faith. Muslim parents encourage their kids to attend these classes regularly, particularly during their youth. Ambreen reports how her parents thought of her religious education until she started secondary school.

Ambreen: My parents think that society expects you to go to the *mosque* when you are three or four or like able to learn something. So I went to the mosque when I was, like, five years old. And until twelve or thirteen, I studied the *Quran*. And then ah I finished it thrice, and I also started memorizing. Yeah. Aah, I also like memorized some of those but later on since I wanted to study so like I now study at home.

Unlike boys, girls usually do not continue attending madrasa once they entered into their teenage period. Although Ambreen does not go to madrasa now, she still studies the Quran at home. Most of the participants share their experiences of attending their religious classes with co-ethnic peers. Besides being the places of religious education, mosques and religious education centers become the essential sites of their ethnic socialization.

Like others, Mohsin spends at least two to three hours after school in madrasa. He studies the Quran and aims to earn the title of Hafiz. Rehaan also shares similar experiences of attending religious education center in Hong Kong. He used to practice reading the Quran for two-three hours. However, he no more attends madrasa now. He explains why he could not continue it. "I used to but then in the old school after the study got difficult, so I had to focus a bit on the study also. So I had to leave madrasa" [religious education center]. Likewise, Seraaj also used to attend madrasa in Pakistan, but he cannot continue it in Hong Kong due to long hours in school. Now he visits only once a week.

Given girls, unlike boys, cannot attend religious centers after reaching a certain age, they continue practicing their faith at home. However, contrary to other girls, Kiran still goes to madrasa. Kiran is very happy about being able to attend religious classes every day after school, where most of the students are Pakistani. Thus, the participants' communal activities, particularly their engagement at religious education centers, significantly facilitate their enculturation in Hong Kong.

5.3.3. Enculturation in the Educational Context

Although the majority of the participants can hardly extend their religious knowledge in the educational context, they attend schools with a significant number of non-Chinese and co-ethnic students. In some cases, the number of Pakistani students often exceeds both Chinese and non-Chinese students. Nevertheless, a couple of participants also share their experiences of learning about Islam and practicing it during school hours.

Given the demographic picture of schools with a clear majority or a significant number of non-Chinese students, the participants spend most of their school time with co-ethnic peers. Some even admire for being in the majority compared to other non-Chinese students in their class or school. For instance, in Umair's class, the majority of the students are Pakistani. On major Muslim festivals, they take advantage of it and remain absent from school together. Umair reports what he and his co-ethnic peers do on Eid in Hong Kong.

> Umair: We take 2-3 days off on Eid. We can take leave from school. Rests of the students attend school as usual. We do not have any tension about the lessons because all the Pakistani students are in one class. There are only two Indians in our class. Chinese students have separate classes. We make a party and plan visits to various places.

Similarly, there are altogether six students in Seraaj's current grade, and five of them are Pakistanis. However, the situation in Adeel's school is a bit different. In his school, as well as in

his class, there are both Chinese and non-Chinese students. However, during various class activities, his teachers encourage them to make groups of co-ethnic peers. He reports

> Adeel: Sometimes, students do different activities and make groups according to their nationality. Pakistani students would do a different activity than other students. Sometimes teachers also make groups according to students' nationality. So, all the Pakistani students make a single group. Sometimes students also make groups according to their friendships. At the school level, my friendships are always with Pakistanis.

Unlike others, Insha and Zuhaib appreciate their school for being able to know more about Islam. Insha considers herself fortunate enough to learn about her religion in her school. During her primary education, she could not attend a religious education center due to the shortage of time. Therefore, her parents were concerned about her religious upbringing and wanted her to go to a school where she could extend her religious knowledge. Insha reports her experiences of learning and practicing her religion in her current school.

> Insha: Actually, I learned a lot of things like basic things—What is good, right, and wrong. So it's—as a Muslim, this school actually helped me, and I actually can communicate how—explain why I am doing what I am doing to non-Chinese students. Like why I am wearing like scarf these things.

Similarly, Zuhaib also enjoys attending his current school. He can offer his prayers during the lunch break and can easily have halal food from the school canteen. These accounts reveal that the research participants spend most of their school time with co-ethnic peers. Some of the participants even learn about their religion in school. Thus their co-ethnic socialization and learning about religion in schools facilitate their enculturation or learning about their heritage culture.

5.3.4. Enculturation in the Societal Context

Another context of the participants' enculturation is the larger society. The research participants spend a substantial amount of their free time with co-ethnic peers and friends beyond their homes, community, and schools. Boys often enjoy playing cricket with their co-ethnic friends and visit halal food restaurants. Whereas, girls may hang out with co-ethnic friends, visit parks, or go shopping. Although Zahid has some Nepali and Filipino friends from his previous school, he hangs out most of the time with Pakistani friends. In his current school, the majority of the students are Pakistani. He reports how he plans a day out with his Pakistani friends.

> Zahid: Like the basic plan is to go to Tsim Sha Tsui. Like uh uhm first, we go to Tsim Sha Tsui Masjid. Pray there. After that, we go to uh Tsim Sha Tsui plaza, and you know have lunch there. And after that, maybe we will hang out for some time and then go back home.

Given the easy access to the internet, the participants spend much of their free time going online. Among other things, they consume a substantial amount of information and literature related to Islam and the country of origin. They also listen to Urdu songs, Watch movies and TV programs, and read the electronic version of the Quran on mobile. Thus, they engage in learning activities related to their heritage culture virtually. Such a phenomenon has been conceptualized as "remote enculturation" in the literature. For instance, Lubna can no more attend any madrasa in Hong Kong, but she tries her best to learn more about her religion by watching YouTube video clips on her mobile. She reports how her mother appreciates her efforts fulfilling her religious "curiosity" through watching videos online.

> Lubna: I just basically spend my YouTube time on searching these religious things and–Religious Videos. If *my* Mom checks my phone–she don't [sic] usually–but if I show her something on YouTube or something like that it's just all the like–you know all the Islamic things and all that, and she is like 'I am proud of you.'

Similarly, Insha spends most of her free time watching movies and drama serials online. She often watches Pakistani dramas on her mobile if she finds some free time. If she misses an episode, she takes updates from her friends and often discusses the drama characters with them. Insha reports why she likes watching Pakistani drama regularly.

> Insha: I don't know much about Pakistani dramas, but I actually was searching, and then I found one. It was actually good. I don't know why I started watching it. Its quite have

[sic] a meaningful. The theme was actually good—about girls' power like what is happening to women in society, the women in society, which is really good.

It is clear from these reports that the research participants often spend their free time with co-ethnic friends either in sports and entertainment-related activities beyond the familial, communal, and educational socialization contexts. They also engage a variety of online activities that may potentially help them acquire the knowledge, attitude, and skills related to their heritage culture. They certainly seem engaged in the phenomenon of remote enculturation.

5.4.Learning about Second Cultures (Acculturation)

The phenomenographic analysis of the participants' interviews reveals that besides learning about their heritage culture, they also acquire knowledge, skills, and awareness about other cultural groups in Hong Kong. While growing up in the multicultural context of Hong Kong, they engage in a variety of processes and socialization activities that facilitate and shape their learning about other interacting cultural groups. Although they spend most of their time in co-ethnic socialization, they acquire the language skills, build knowledge about different cultural groups, and learn about their values and practices. The acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and identities related to different cultures has been conceptualized as acculturation. Thus the participants learn about different cultural groups in Hong Kong in a variety of ways across the contexts of socialization, including their familial, communal, educational, and societal context.

5.4.1. Acculturation in the Familial Context

Although the participants mainly engage in enculturation related activities in their familial context, they also undertake activities that directly or indirectly facilitate or influence their acculturation. One of the significant aspects of their adaptation to the objective culture in Hong Kong is the adjustment to the housing culture. Despite complaining about the small sizes of houses, the participants still cherish the better quality of life in Hong Kong. Contrary to the spacious houses in their home towns, living in small and congested flats suggests their adaptation to the local housing culture. This is particularly relevant to the first generation of migrants.

Furthermore, the participants' reports also suggest that besides acquiring the language skills in their mother tongue or Urdu, they also practice English and Chinese with their siblings at home. Although their conversations within the familial context mainly take place either in their mother tongue or Urdu, the participants often engage in learning and practicing other languages while supporting their siblings in school-related assignments and activities. Insha is a Hong Kong-born Pakistani, and her mother tongue is Panjabi. She reports what other languages she often use while conversing with her parents and siblings.

> Insha: At home, it's like some—mostly I am speaking Punjabi and but sometimes with siblings some of the words, if we don't understand, we will say in English or Chinese like use English and Chinese. I also speak Urdu just because my parents were saying when I was born, they kept on communicating with me in Urdu, so it was like automatic, but I do not know how to read and write.

Similarly, Kiran speaks Pashto with her parents but practices Chinese and English with her siblings. While responding to a question if her siblings can speak Pashto too, Kiran says:

> Kiran: Yes, all of us but me and sister purposely speak in Chinese (Laugh). We are used to it when we were young … With my sisters, I speak in Chinese and English, and with my mum, I speak Pashto. I can speak Pashto, Urdu, Chinese, English, and a bit of Putonghua but not fluent (laugh) but no writing.

Although Mehreen's mother tongue is Punjabi, she reports what other languages she uses at home: "We speak Punjabi at home, but we also speak English half of the time." Moreover, watching TV programs in Chinese and English is another way in which the participants engage in the culture learning process. They not only provide them with the opportunities for improving their language skills but also help them extend their knowledge about local culture. Some of the participants, especially those who were born in Hong Kong, report several such instances of intercultural learning. Insha and Sobia often recall the time when they used to watch a Chinese drama. Insha reports how she was able to improve her Chinese:

> Insha: Actually, news channels—sometimes if I go home early—six-thirty, there is news like what's happening in Hong Kong, it's in Chinese. I don't watch the Pearl channel that much, but the Chinese channel is easier to understand, and they have subtitles, right? So, if you don't—like you can also learn Chinese together looking at the subtitles and guess

the meaning that was—that I did when I was in Primary school … Nowadays, they are having a drama about World War II.

The above reports suggest that despite being the primary context of enculturation, the participants' home and the family environment remains a vital context of acculturation. They not only practice English and Cantonese but also learn about Chinese culture through Chinese TV programs, drama, and news. Nevertheless, there exists a significant variation in terms of the participants' familial conditions and parental preferences toward facilitating their acculturation to mainstream society.

5.4.2. Acculturation in the Communal Context

Although the participants' communal activities are mainly related to their religious practices and education, they also participate in various social activities involving both Chinese and non-Chinese people. Their participation in such events helps them acquire social skills that are necessary for effective functioning in mainstream society. They develop specific attitudes towards other interacting culture groups and become aware of what others think about their ethnic group. Some of the participants report their experiences of participation in various types of communal activities with both Chinese and non-Chinese people.

Sobia lives in a mixed neighborhood. She enjoys socializing with her both Chinese and non-Chinese friends in the park near her residence. She appreciates local Chinese for being accommodating and tolerant towards non-Chinese people in the city. She reports her experiences

of participation in various cultural activities organized by local Chinese and praises their open-mindedness towards non-Chinese ethnic minority people in Hong Kong.

> Sobia: We have some volunteer work where they want us to help them. So we do participate in helping them because if–I feel if they give respect to our culture, we can give respect to their culture. Sometimes–uh we have some Eid celebration–I can see some Chinese people dressing up as us. Like in Desi clothes and all this and celebrating together with us . . . So we also uh like try to participate the way they participate with us. And they feel happy! I've seen many of them actually feel happy, and they–they feel interested in learning how our culture is. There are many people who would come to us and ask us, "What is Ramadan? What is Eid? How do you celebrate and all?"

Similarly, Zuhaib often celebrates various festivals with his Chinese friends. He not only educates his friends about Ramadan and Muslim festivals but also learns about Chinese festivals. As he says, "my Chinese friends usually tell me how they celebrate their festival." He participates in various Chinese festivals and especially enjoys the Mid-Autumn Festival.

> Zuhaib: I really like the Mid-Autumn festival, when ah most of the Chinese people are dressed in red clothes, and they are giving red packets which include the money they are giving to people. I think it's really good because they are wishing ah others and they are dressing up in their own costumes their own dress, so I think it's really interesting, quite good . . . I like the when they are giving red packets to ah relatives because I think it's a

good thing to show good gesture to your relatives and show that you are ─ you love

them, and that's why I think that's also really good … For Chinese New Year, I would go

to watch fireworks with my father. Yah, my father enjoys it with me.

Besides learning about Chinese festivals, the participants also report their acculturative

experience with non-Chinese in their community. Danish and Zuhaib like playing football.

Danish spends most of his weekends playing football with non-Chinese friends. He enjoys

playing football with his Nepali and Filipino friends. As he explains:

> Danish: Pakistani students mostly play cricket, but I like football. I always play football
>
> with Nepali students, and we speak English. In my team, most of the players are Nepalese
>
> and Filipino. Some of the Nepalese are my friends from my primary school. But they are
>
> non-Muslims … My Nepali friends do not know much about Muslims. They only ask me
>
> about fasting. I tell them that it starts from early morning to the evening, and we do not
>
> eat and drink the whole day until we break our fast around 7 pm.

Unlike Danish, Zuhaib's football teammates are Chinese. He enjoys playing football with them

and appreciates learning about their festivals.

> Zuhaib: When I have free time I go to play football then mostly Chinese people also play
>
> football with me. So usually they speak Chinese with me … My Chinese friends usually

tell me how they celebrate their festival … I quite enjoy it because I learn a lot of new

things which is ah really good opportunity and I think I can benefit from this.

These reports suggest that the participants have varied experiences of intercultural participation and socialization at the community level. They enjoy their cross-cultural engagement and socialization with local Chinese. They not only learn about Chinese festivals from their friends but also acquire knowledge about other non-Chinese ethnic minority people. Although most of the participants socialize with co-ethnic people in the community, they also engage in various activities with both Chinese and non-Chinese. Their everyday interactions with them help the research participants learn about their festivals and celebrations.

5.4.3.   Acculturation in the Educational Context

Perhaps, the critical social context where the research participants are exposed to different cultures and encounter diversity is their schools. They attend schools that mainly serve young people from diverse ethnic groups or nationalities. They not only learn about their racial, ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic differences but also develop different attitudes towards others. Although most of the students complain about the lack of sensitivity towards their dietary and religious needs in their respective schools, they admire the better quality of education in Hong Kong. Compared with the local-born ones, the first generation of participants seems grateful to their parents for providing them with proper education. Lubna and Adeel are happy about their educational experiences in Hong Kong.

Despite having her education up to lower secondary level from an international school in Pakistan, Lubna appreciates her teachers and the education system in Hong Kong.

> Lubna: For me, like, Hong Kong education is one of the best things I am receiving right now. I will be forever thankful to my Dad for this because there are *many* opportunities. Many many opportunities. You can just go to your dreams and fulfill them. So like the extra activities or *anything* like that. They do just so much for you so you can make yourself something in the future. So I just like *love* here to study or that's why I wanna go higher and higher like a good university. Because they are just so concerned about us, it is so–want good for us. That's what I love about Hong Kong's education.

Besides cherishing a better quality of education in Hong Kong, the participants also appreciate the opportunities of learning about different people. Adeel attends a DSS school, where half of the students are non-Chinese. He reports how he benefits from his non-Chinese peers with different cultural backgrounds.

> Adeel: In our school, there are students from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Most of the students are from Thailand, Nepal, and the Philippines, and it is good to learn their languages. We understand their language a little bit and can speak with them. It is good here that we become multilingual … We also know about different cultures and the culture of their country.

Insha explains how her interaction with Chinese peers in her primary school made her curious to learn about identity. She was the only non-Chinese student among her peers in her primary school. Although she enjoyed learning with her Chinese peers, their questions about her "skin colure" and headscarf made her interested to learn more about herself. Indeed, her intercultural learning experiences in primary school shaped her later educational trajectory. She decided to attend a secondary school where she could learn about her religion. She reports how her experiences of attending two different types of schools helped her learn about different people and their cultures.

> Insha: when I was in a Chinese school in primary school, that time, I didn't know much about my own and others' culture, I was learning about Chinese culture. That time I learned really good. Now I still remember how their culture works. When I came to this school I get to know about other cultures—I didn't know that there were Nepalese, Indonesians in HK … Mostly the Indonesian, Iranian, and Indian are Muslim. Only the Nepali one was not. Even the Filipino one was in–Muslim. So they respect our culture. They don't say anything bad about it, but they–they know all the things we know theirs. Like we know their festival how they celebrate it. Like they have a Tihar festival. They actually talk about it how they celebrate it. It's really similar to India's like Holi thing.

Similarly, Umair attends a Chinese school where a majority of the students are non-Chinese. He is happy to learn about the religious background of his peers. He reports how he finds himself different from them.

Umair: They have a different religion, and we learn about it. We also talk about our religion. For example, they have also fasting in their religion, but it's optional for them. Whereas for us it's compulsory. We also talk about our culture a little bit. They know about our fasting. They do not disturb us during the month of fasting and do not play songs.

Unlike others, Kiran's experience underscores a different way of experiencing intercultural encounters in Hong Kong schools. She used to attend a Christian faith-based secondary school. She explains why she was feeling uncomfortable while attending morning assembly in her last school.

Kiran: There is something called morning assembly, we take out a religious book and read it out, and umm, it was something about Jesus. We Muslims do not believe in it. So it was hard to talk to them cause while they are reading books we are just standing there and waiting for that section to finish. There is also, umm, what they call sisters for their Christian, where the girls wear grey clothes, and it's so different. I feel so weird because our religions are so different, so I feel so hard to greet them (Laugh).

The above accounts reveal that the research participants always engage in intercultural learning processes in their schools. They experience their educational acculturation differently. They not only learn about different education practices but also acquire knowledge about their peers with diverse cultural backgrounds. Their socialization within their educational context facilitates their

learning about multiple cultures. Their intercultural learning in the educational context suggests their acculturation to different cultures rather than a single culture.

5.4.4. Acculturation in the Societal Context

Despite differences in their biographies, all the participants admire the better quality of life in Hong Kong. Based on their subjective experiences of life conditions both in Hong Kong and Pakistan, all of the participants admire Hong Kong as a better place to live. Among other things, the participants cherish safety, security, better infrastructure, efficient transportation, and the clean environment of the city.

Zahid is of the view that "The quality of life in Hong Kong is like much better compared to Pakistan. Like the people and the way they live, like the environment that the Hong Kong government provides to all the citizens is much better than Pakistan". Ambreen also admires the safe environment in Hong Kong. As she says, "I feel like Hong Kong is better in terms of safety and everything." Rehaan makes a similar remark. Compare to Pakistan; he says, "Uh, you can feel more safe here because of the tight security. And the environment is better in the small green place". Indeed, most of the participants acknowledge that they have got accustomed to the way of life and that they find everything "normal." As Ambreen believes, "since I was born in Hong Kong, I don't really feel, like, unfamiliar with anything here." However, this does not mean that they do not encounter challenges in everyday life. Instead, they have accustomed to everything inherent to daily life in the city.

Kiran was born in Hong Kong, and she can speak Cantonese fluently. Based on her experiences of intercultural encounters, she has come to know that she can hardly do anything for the lack of sensitivity towards her religious needs among non-Muslims. Nevertheless, despite differences and challenges of mutual understanding and accommodation, Kiran finds herself adapted to the local culture.

> Kiran: Muslims believe in God, and they [Chinese] might not believe the same way. Therefore, they might start to discriminate us, like teasing us in the wrong way ... I did [experience discrimination] quite a lot, but ah I am used to it now … They eat right in front of you (laugh), and it's hard to explain to them. I can't explain to the whole school, and some of them don't really care its Ramadan, it might be a bit hard, but I get used to it.

Besides the participants' firsthand intercultural contact and learning in the educational contexts, they construct specific images of others based on their everyday encounters in the larger society. Their lived experiences often shape their attitudes towards different ethnic groups. Although Zuhaib spends a considerable amount of time in everyday learning and practicing his faith, he appreciates the benefits of living among people with different cultures.

> Zuhaib: Hong Kong is multi─multicultural. So a lot of people from different backgrounds are in Hong Kong, such as Indians, Pakistanis, and Nepalese. Different people live in Hong Kong, so I think I can experience different cultures and try different

foods, and I also like that about Hong Kong. I especially want to learn about Indians culture.

However, the participants' views and perceptions of others vary from one another. Adeel comments on how he finds himself different from others. He adds, "In terms of food, Chinese are very different from us. They don't eat oily and spicy food … They eat different kinds of food which is different from ours". Kiran narrates how she finds herself different from the majority of people around her.

> Kiran: Well, the first or biggest difference is religion. The Chinese I think they believe in Buddha and for Paki or Muslim people they believe in Islam. And ah the other, there may be traditions and customs. They might be different, like they look different. Ah, like Pakistani, they have a different culture … Pakistani people are really like strong at traditions; meanwhile, Chinese are a bit of mixed of Western and not too strong.

Besides religious differences, the participants also highlighted the social norms that make them different from others. Ambreen explains how the standards of social behavior in her culture are different from others.

> Ambreen: I think our culture – its more, it teaches us closeness and the strong relationship between like people around us, our family members. But in Hong Kong, I feel like, for example, the children, they don't really like value their parents as much as

we do … they have cousins they wouldn't really be close, like that close, they just be like, 'Oh, it's my cousin, yeah.' Only at school, and then but only when going home, 'You are your way, and I am mine.'

Another aspect of their intercultural learning, which makes most of the participants concerned, is how others view their culture and ethnic groups. Some of them complain about being misunderstood in Hong Kong. Insha believes that "as a Pakistani, mostly a lot of people are like being misunderstood or stereotyped by the Chinese because they see, some of the Pakistani doing something wrong, they automatically think that all of us are like them." Ambreen also believes that most of the time, Pakistani parents are thought to be more strict and rigid with their kids. While commenting on one of her experiences of being misunderstood, Ambreen highlights what Chinese think about her co-ethnic people.

> Ambreen: I am just pointing out that some ethnic minorities in the society might be doing some fighting, wrong stuff. Or maybe they are not clean or like they are smelly or maybe like that. But the Chinese people, they may consider the whole like nation is that. And whenever they see you, they will just close their noses and then just like stay away from you.

Mehreen believes that such an attitude about Pakistanis makes her life difficult in Hong Kong. Because she cannot make friendships with local Chinese, she thinks that the Chinese develop negative stereotypes about Pakistanis. She explains why she cannot make Chinese friends.

Mehreen: You can't really get many friends, Chinese friends. You can't get along with them. And also, you might face racism from other umm local Chinese. Because they ahh have a stereotype that we are like uneducated and illiterate like these umm con- conception towards us, so it's difficult to live in Hong Kong ... They think that we ahh are like loafers like we don't work, all we do is like you know get into crimes and do these things.

Sobia also echoes the experiences of Insha and Ambreen. She also complains about the rude behavior of some of the Chinese people. According to Zahid, some Chinese do not even bother to talk to Pakistani people. If they happen to speak, they "start speaking in a loud voice."

The above quotes from the interviews reveal that the participants are quite aware of the fact that they are different from others due to their culture, religion, race, language, and ethnicity. They hold a mixed attitude towards others and are develop perceptions about how Chinese people view Pakistanis. Based on their subjective experience and everyday intercultural encounters, the participants have constructed knowledge and opinions about other ethnic groups in general and Chinese in particular. While growing up in the multicultural context of Hong Kong, they not only learn to speak multiple languages but also acquire knowledge, behavior, and identities related to both their heritage culture and other cultural groups they encounter. Their lived experiences of socialization across the contexts facilitate their enculturation and acculturation simultaneously. Nevertheless, how the participants experience intercultural learning varies significantly from one another.

5.5. Conclusion

This chapter reported the research findings related to the first research questions. However, it mainly focused the what aspect of the participants' acculturative experiences. A summary of all the research findings presented in table 5.1. The participants' acculturative experiences in terms of their learning related to social identities and multiple languages reported, followed by the detailed accounts of their experiences of learning about heritage cultures or other cultures across the contexts of socialization including the familial context, communal contexts, educational context, and the societal context.

Chapter 6: Enculturative or Acculturative Experiences and the Socialization Contexts

The Focus of the Chapter

This chapter reports the research findings related to the *how* aspect of acculturative experiences that answer the first research question; i.e., "how do Pakistani secondary school students experience acculturation in Hong Kong?" and explicates as to how the research participants learn about their heritage cultures and other cultures across the contexts of socialization. Section 6.1 reports the participants' experiences of culture learning in the familial context. Section 6.2 focuses on their enculturation in the communal context. Whereas section 6.3 reports the participants' intercultural learning in the educational context, section 6.4 explains their everyday intercultural encounters that shape the learning trajectories either related to their heritage culture, other cultures, or local culture. Each section elaborates the various factors that facilitate either their enculturation or acculturation. Lastly, section 6.5 concludes the chapter.

6.1. Culture Learning in the Familial Context

The phenomenographic analysis of the interviews resulted in different ways of learning about heritage cultures (enculturation) and other cultures (acculturation) within their familial context. These include the intra-family language preferences, dietary practices, and ethnic cuisine, parenting styles, and family relationships, and ethnic media consumption and domestic engagement.

6.1.1. Intra-Family Language Preferences

All of the participants shared their experiences of learning and practicing multiple languages within their familial context. These languages include Punjabi, Pashto, Hindko, Mirpuri, Urdu, Farsi, English, and Cantonese. In all cases, the young people always converse with their parents either in their mother tongue or in Urdu - the national language of Pakistan. However, code-switching is a common practice at home and beyond. The participants also speak English or Cantonese with their siblings occasionally when it is required while completing their school assignments.

Although Ambreen's mother tongue is Pashto, she mainly speaks Urdu with her parents. She explains how she handles multiple languages with her parents and siblings. "We mainly speak in Urdu … but, of course, like when, like, I teach my younger sister homework, we use the language required in the book. But mainly Urdu". When Sobia was asked what languages she often speaks at home, she replied, "Our Hindko, our mother tongue. Or I speak Chinese or English with my sisters and brothers". Sobia is one of those participants who can speak at least five different languages. Although Sobia's mother tongue is Hindko, she can also speak Pashto.

Insha is a Hong Kong-born Pakistani, and she is fluent in four languages. She reports what languages she use while conversing with her parents and siblings.

Insha: At home, it's like some—mostly I am speaking Punjabi and but sometimes with siblings some of the words, if we don't understand, we will say in English or Chinese like use English and Chinese. I also speak Urdu just because my parents were saying when I was born, they keep on communicating with me in Urdu, so it was like automatic, but I do not know how to read and write.

Asif and Zahid echo the experiences of Insha. Asif even seems reluctant to accept one language as the mother tongue instead claims to have two, namely Urdu and Punjabi. Although Kiran speaks Pashto with her parents, she practices Chinese and English with her siblings. She replies if her siblings can also speak Pashto: "Yes, all of us but me and sister purposely speak in Chinese (Laugh). We are used to it when we were young … with my sisters, I speak in Chinese and English, and with my mum, I speak Pashto. I can speak Pashto, Urdu, Chinese, English, and a bit of Putonghua but not fluent (laugh) but no writing".

Zuhaib is another Hong Kong-born Pakistani and can speak multiple languages, including Hindko, Urdu, English, Cantonese, and Arabic. He speaks highly of his language skills, particularly of the Arabic language.

Zuhaib: At home, I speak my native language ahh Hindko. Hindko is my mother tongue … I can speak Urdu, ahh English, Chinese, and Arabic. I am learning still. I have classes in school … Arabic, for me, is easy because the Quran we need to learn how to read it at first place so for me it gets really easier. Like you will just — for example, in

Chinese, you need to know how to read how to understand but for Arabic, because I study Quran so I know how to read it, so it's much easier for me.

Although Mehreen was born in Hong Kong, she can speak Punjabi, Urdu, English and Chinese fluently. She reports how she learned Urdu: "It is very similar to our language and ahh my dad also uses this language as well and growing up with other Pakistani people I learned it . . . We speak Punjabi at home, but we also speak English half of the time".

Unlike others, who were born in Hong Kong and can speak Cantonese fluently, Adeel comes with a different language learning experience. He admires his hardworking habits and happy for improvement in his English and Chinese. Adeel reports his Chinese and English learning experiences in Hong Kong.

> I used to attend a private school for primary, then I went to a government school. In a government school, my English was not good. After completing matric, we came here. It was very difficult in the beginning, and I could not speak English. Because in Pakistan, I was in an Urdu medium school. So here I could not even talk to teachers in class discussions, and I used to feel hesitation. But now my English is improving. I can understand Chinese a little bit but cannot speak because it is not our everyday language. We speak Urdu most of the time.

These accounts of learning and practicing multiple languages suggest that learning different languages is one of the ways in which they experience acculturation. Their language learning practices also suggest that they are capable of experiencing acculturation differently than their peers from mainstream society. However, language competencies differ from each other. Some of them are capable of speaking multiple languages but cannot read or write. Whereas in some cases they can read but cannot speak, such as reading the Quran. Moreover, they practice multiple languages in addition to their mother tongue. Through learning and practicing different languages, they not only enculturate but also acculturate in their familial context.

6.1.2. Dietary Practices and Ethnic Cuisine

One of the ways in which one learns about culture is the practices and the preference of food and cuisine. The research participants report their everyday dietary practices and preferences at home. Some participants mainly like to have their traditional homemade food, but some of them also enjoy having Chinese Cuisine as long as it is halal. At times, the limited halal food options restrict their families to plan family socialization activities beyond the family to places where they can easily get halal food. Zuhaib reports his daily dietary practices and preferences.

> Zuhaib: My mother would cook traditional food such as Biryani, Roti like that. And then ahh, I really like homemade food. I would eat outside food also but not much as homemade food. So I usually like to eat at home. My mother doesn't cook Chinese dishes at home … The homemade food is usually more hygienic, and I would not have the fear

of haram; if it is haram. But outside, if I don't know it is halal or haram, then I can't eat it so usually at home I have more choices.

Kiran also echoes the food preferences of Zuhaib. She seldom eats outside because of the fear of haram food. Although she has tried Chinese food once, she likes her ethnic food the most. In response to a question, if she has ever tried Chinese food, Kiran says, "I did try instant noodles and also from a restaurant with my neighbor, and it was nice but not my favorite (Laugh). I did try halal street food, fish ball and it was nice". Kiran reports her family preferences of food:

> Kiran: My family is against junk food. So, we don't go outside; we eat at home cause we know it's halal, and it's safe. And we don't have that much of time, so we prefer to eat at home. Mostly our own Pakistani food, not Chinese for sure. Our preferences are different. They have a different definition of how they take good food, and we have a different definition of good food.

Although Insha prefers to have traditional food in her breakfast, unlike Zuhaib and Kiran, she tries Chinese food if she is hungry. She says, "I don't like Chinese or those some of the stuff. When my mom makes it in a different style, I would eat it if I am hungry". Insha reports what she takes in her breakfast and what types of food her mother cooks at home.

> Insha: In the morning, for sure I can't eat bread, I need paratha … we eat different things and sometimes I – lunch mostly weekend I will make it. I will make noodles, pizza even

some of those stuff, not like combined, different culture stuff we also make it. Chinese, Chinese is really preferred in our home.

Mehreen and Sobia like other cultural food too. Although Mehreen eats at home most of the time, she also eats fish-burger from McDonald's. Sobia also likes Chinese food despite different food preferences at home.

Sobia: Biryani or you know just kebab Samosa and all this. [Laughing]. I do like Pakistani food, obviously. But I also like to try different cultural food like spaghetti of different places. But spaghetti is also cooked in our way most of the time.

Like Sobia, Asif also likes both Pakistani and Chinese food. He loves Biryani. While responding to a question if he likes any Chinese dish, Asif says, "I like both Pakistani and Chinese food. I like the Biryani in Pakistani food, and in Chinese, I like Lo Mein noodles".

These accounts suggest that the research participants' experiences of food preferences and practices vary from each other. They have learned about their dietary needs that distinguish them from others. They have also come to know what they can/not eat. Although all the participants prefer their ethnic food at home, some also like Chinese cuisine as long as it is halal. Thus their everyday dietary experiences suggest their orientation of enculturation than acculturation. The participants' sensitivity towards religious obligations of food also depicts their preferences of heritage cultural practices.

6.1.3. Parenting Styles and Family Relationships

The participants' biographic details reveal that most of the participants come from a low socio-economic background. Their fathers are engaged mainly in low-paid jobs, and with one exception, all of the participants' mothers are homemakers. Through the particular ways of parenting, the participants learn what their parents want them to do. Their everyday interactions with parents teach them about the norms, values, and practices of their heritage culture. They experience how girls and boys are treated in their families and develop awareness about the acceptable ways of acting and behaving in the family and beyond.

While commenting on how her experiences are different from other children, Ambreen notes, "mostly Pakistani mothers are housewives, and I think that's one of the difference, like, between our life and the Chinese children's life." She goes on and explains how she finds her parents different from the parents of her Chinese peers: "maybe their parents might urge them to study hard whereas my parents, they are like, 'Ok, you are good at studies, you should concentrate on your studies.' They are not like discouraging or anything, they encourage like your point of view". Ambreen reports how her mother helps her keep a balance between "religious" and "life stuff." She says, "Sometimes I focus too much on the study and forget about like my religion side. My mother would remind me constantly that 'oh its time for your prayer'". She admires her parents for treating her similar to her brothers and for being supportive and accommodating. Like Ambreen, Insha also seems appreciative of her parents for being able to enjoy the "freedom."

Insha: My parents are really understanding, I think. Because they allow freedom, it's not like some of the families only allow boys—females are like go to school, come back—you don't allow so late. But my parents understand—it's the same for my brother, if you want to go out late you have to take permission.

Despite being boys, Zuhaib and Rehaan experience strict rules for hanging out with friends. Zuhaib reports, "Usually ah, my mom only lets me out until 10 o'clock only. After that, I can't be out. I must get home". Rehaan can hardly think of handing out with his friends. He can only interact with co-ethnic friends near his residence during the daytime. While responding to a question on how he spends his free time at home, Rehaan makes the following remarks.

Rahaan: Ah, only the people living nearby cuz my dad also does not allow me to go out that much. Ah, so he does not cuz if–he thinks that if the parents do not put a better eye on their kids, they usually become bad like the kids staying out late at night like those. So he doesn't really let me go out that much.

The participants' accounts suggest that religion is critical to their everyday life in Hong Kong. However, the degree of religiosity in terms of religious education and obligations varies across the parents and gender. For some, religion is above all matters of life, as Lubna affirms the importance of religion in her family. She says, "Because I belong from a Pathan family, and then you just *know* about us like how strict we are about our religion, and you know about our religious concerns and everything." Although she does not have many opportunities to get

religious education in Hong Kong, she reports how her mother encourages her to learn about Islam.

> Lubna: If my Mom checks my phone–she doesn't usually–but if I show her something on YouTube or something like that, it's just all the like–you know all the Islamic things and all that, and she is like 'I am proud of you.' And I am like 'Mom, are you sarcastic?' She is like 'No. I am actually proud of you.' Because my elder brother and my younger brother–they are not into the religion that much.

Although Lubna is different from her two brothers concerning religion, she finds stark differences in her parents' attitude about her clothing preferences. She recalls a conversation with her father during her early days in Hong Kong.

> Lubna: When we came to Hong Kong, my dad was like 'Oh, so you are going to change your dress-up.' And I am like 'What do you mean by 'Going to change my dress-up'?' And he is like 'You might convert into jeans or you know the girls anything like that?' and even I am from a *Pathaan* family it was very shocking for me to see my dad like this because as I have said that I have never spent much time with my Dad, so it was like a shock for me, but I was like 'No. I don't wanna change it.' Even if I change my dressing, I just won't change my scarf.

Just like Lubna, Rehaan also finds differences in the way his parents interact with him. He is

very close to his mother because his father is very strict. He always keeps his mother updated about his activities, and he never hides anything from her. As he says, "If I do some mistakes, uh dad is more strict, so I usually prefer Mom."

Since most of the participants' mothers are housewives; they spend most of their home time with mothers more than fathers. Kiran reports a similar experience. As she says, "Umm, my father always goes to work, make a living, so we don't really have contact, don't really spend much time with our father due to the job but other than that we are quite close, very close to each other." These reports suggest that the research participants experience different parenting styles, which could be quite different from those of Chinese parents. Particularly concerning parental practices related to the role of mothers and the religious upbringing of their children. Through these parenting practices, the participants learn about the familial norms and expectations, which are critical to their enculturative experiences.

6.1.4. Media Consumption and Domestic engagement

Besides acquiring skills and learning about the values, norms, practices related to heritage culture through language learning, dietary preferences, and parenting styles, the research participants also acquire knowledge through other family socialization practices. These may include the use of ethnic media and the participants' engagement in various domestic activities. The research participants report what they do when they are free at home. They share the

experiences of spending their family time in activities such as watching TV programs, movies, and going online.

Most of the participants report the experiences of watching ethnic news and entertainment channels. These include Pakistani news channels and both Pakistani and Indian entertainment programs. Very few seem less interested in ethnic TV and Drama serial programs and use the phone instead. Zuhaib often watches movies if he finds some free time, especially on weekends. As he reports, "if everyone is like free or my sisters are free from university projects and like that, we usually sit together and watch the movie on Pearl. And then ahh also I watch YouTube on TV". Whereas, his parents like watching Pakistani news channels and drama serials.

> Zuhaib: My mother likes to watch Pakistani drama and my father usually he is watching with my mother also. They are watching together. They both like Pakistani drama. They really enjoy … My father watches ahh ARY [Pakistani News Channel].

Like Zuhaib's parents, Zahid's father likes watching Pakistani news, whereas his mother likes watching Pakistani drama serials. However, Zahid himself seldom watches the news; instead, he prefers sports highlights only. He hardly finds enough time to join his father or mother. Like Zahid, Umair occasionally watches TV news or programs with his parents. Instead, he prefers watching sports. Umair report what programs his parents usually watch on TV.

Umair: My parents watch comedy programs on TV either in Punjabi or in Urdu. I can speak Punjabi a little bit. I learned it from my friends and watching Punjabi TV programs. However, I prefer watching cricket than any other thing. My mother likes watching cooking-related TV shows and channels.

Ambreen and Sobia also join their mothers in watching ethnic news and drama serials on TV. Although all the participants describe life in Hong Kong as "busy," their accounts reveal a variety of ways in which they spend their free time, particularly over the weekends. Their biographies significantly shape their socialization within their family context and beyond. According to their interview reports, they spend their free time either completing their homework or staying home (girls) and participating in outdoor sports activities. There are differences in the way boys and girls spend their free time. Nevertheless, differences also exist among the boys in terms of their preferences and the nature of activities over the weekends.

In most of the cases, the girls' participants spend most of their time in indoor domestic activities with little chances of participating in outdoor activities. Whereas, boys spend their free time either in religious education centers, sports, and recreation activities with co-ethnic friends. Rehaan spends most of his free time either staying home or playing cricket and football with his co-ethnic friends. If possible, he also participates in religious gatherings on Friday. He says, "If I am free on Fridays, so we go on Friday prayer in the mosque." Rehaan reports how he spends the weekends usually.

Rehaan: Weekends are–like set–these days I am staying at home, like, the exams also just finished so maybe holidays I will go out with friends. Play on weekends. And like we usually just do sports. Uh, football and cricket. We do play sports in the evening though … Sometimes reading books or use the phone. Talk with family or just sit around. Take a rest.

Adeel spends his time after school quite differently from others. He lives with his father and two brothers. His mother, sister, and one brother live in Pakistan. His father used to live like him with his grandfather in Hong Kong. He needs to undertake several domestic chores when he returns home from school. He reports how he spends time after school at home.

Adeel: After school, we go home and engage in domestic work. We prepare our dinner. As I mentioned, our mother is in Pakistan, and we need to do everything by ourselves. Then we take some rest and then offer prayer. After dinner, we have to do our assignments and stay late some till 1 or 2 am. Because we need to search online for material for our assignments, it takes time.

Within the familial context, the research participants spend their free time differently. Most of the time, girls stay home and hardly participate in outdoor sports-related activities. Most of the time, they join their parents watching TV news, drama serials, and movies in Urdu. Although boys have more options than girls do, they spend most of their free time with co-ethnic friends when possible. Otherwise, they stay home and complete their school assignments or undertake

other domestic activities. Thus, the use of ethnic media becomes not only a source of entertainment but also a potential means of their enculturation.

6.2. Culture Learning in the Communal Context

The other crucial acculturative context next to family is the community. The participants' experiences of communal life reveal more about their enculturation than acculturation in its limited sense. Their interactions beyond their immediate family are limited either to relatives or the co-ethnic friends at religious education centers. Compared to girls, boys seem to engage more often in communal activities and mainly related to the fulfillment of their religious obligations. Nevertheless, individual differences in personalities also account for their engagement in communal life. Since they live mainly in co-ethnic neighborhoods, their socialization takes place only with co-ethnic friends. Religious education centers and mosques become the significant socialization context for community-related activities. Religious festivals and rituals also provide them with opportunities to interact with their co-ethnic friends and people. The different ways in which the participants experience their communal life include religious education and obligations; and celebration of religious or cultural festivities.

6.2.1.   Religious Education and Obligations

The three significant ways of socialization that differentiate Muslim youth from their peers include religious education, dietary and prayer obligations, and month-long fasting during the daylight time. These religious aspects not only shape their socialization within their familial

context but also determine their socio-cultural encounters across the communal, educational, and societal contexts. The young people learn about these religious activities both in informal and formal ways of education. Within the family context, they become aware of their religious obligations and duties through observing, imitating, and following their parents and elders. However, beyond the familial context, the experiences of religious education and practices differ across the genders. Compared to boys, girls have limited opportunities for participation in communal life.

Most of the participants report about attending religious education centers (madrasa) after school. Some male participants even spend at least up to three hours every day in religious education centers. Others can participate in religious classes and prayer congregations only on weekends. Kiran spends at least three hours at her religious center every day after school. She reports what she does during this time and for how long she has been attending the center.

> Kiran: First, I will read the Quran, our holy book. Then afterward, there is some part I have to memories for our own benefits, and then afterward, our teacher will start teaching us about other stuff we might not know about Islam … It's not that long; it's only for three years. Because I move to my new home and my previous home, we didn't have a place to practice our religion. So, when I come to this home, then people nearby teach us, and I get an opportunity to learn my religion.

For girls, religious centers also offer opportunities for social interaction with the same gender friends. They can interact and socialize with friends until they reach their adolescence. Unlike their male counterparts, neither they participate in communal prayer congregations, nor can they continue attending madrasa after reaching their teenage. Ambreen recalls the time when she used to attend a madrasa.

> Ambreen: My parents think that the society expects you to go to the *mosque* when you are three or four or like able to learn something. So I went to the mosque when I was like I was five years old and until like thirt– eleven twelve-thirteen I studied the Quran.

Lubna reports a similar experience of attending her religious education center during her childhood when she was in Pakistan. Although Lubna cannot attend madrasa due to her age, she is still curious to learn about her religion. During her free time, she watches videos on Youtube for improving her religious knowledge. Mehreen also reports that she used to get religious education until the end of her primary education.

Contrary to girls, boys can participate in various community activities and continue getting religious education. However, due to the shortage of time, neither they can attend religious centers, nor they can participate in collective prayer gathering regularly. Particularly even it becomes challenging for them to attend the mosque or join congregations during the month of Ramadan (the month of fasting).

Umair attends religious center every day from 6 pm and 8 pm and spends most of his time on weekends. After six years of continued practice, he has recently attained the title of *Hafiz* – one who memorizes some parts or the whole of the holy book. To maintain his title, he needs to practice it regularly. He complains about the long school hours that make it difficult for him to maintain a balance between religious and secular education.

> Umair: Here, we have longer hours in school. This leaves us with little time for the madrasa. We cannot give equal time to madrasa here. Sometimes we also attend school on Saturday if teachers arrange extra classes. This was not the case in Pakistan. Schools dismiss students at 1 pm. Then they go to a madrasa, study there for enough time, return home and go to bed. It does not happen here. We are released from school at 3:45 pm. Sometimes, we need to remain in school till 6 pm for extra classes. So we cannot spare enough time for the madrasa.

Rehaan used to attend a madrasa, but he could not continue due to difficulties in his studies. As he says, "I used to but then in the old school after the study got difficult so I had to focus a bit on the study also. So I had to leave madrasa". Nevertheless, Rehaan still attends the mosque occasionally on Friday if he is home. Although boys compared to girls have more options to interact with friends, they have hardly any opportunities for interethnic interaction beyond the context of school.

These accounts suggest that young people hardly have opportunities for interethnic interactions in their communal life. Girls continue to practice their faith at home once they become adolescents, whereas boys' interactions take place only with co-ethnic peers and friends. They attend religious centers mainly with co-ethnic peers and friends. Their socialization in the communal context facilitates their enculturation than acculturation.

6.2.2. Celebration of Religious/Cultural Festivals

Among many others, two major religious festivities differentiate the communal experiences of the participants from their Chinese and non-Muslim peers. These include *Eid-ul-Fitr* and *Eid-ul-Adha*. The former marks the successful completion of the month of fasting (Ramadan). It is celebrated at least for three days across many Muslim majority countries. During these days, Muslims greet each other, participate in congregations, visit relatives and friends, eat, and celebrate together. The latter is celebrated following the annual Muslim pilgrimage, and its only purpose is to commemorate the devotion of sacrifice. Therefore, it is also called the 'Eid of Sacrifice.' An animal is sacrificed after the Eid congregation, and its meat is distributed among the deserved fellow Muslims. By participating and celebrating in these events, they not only learn about their religion but also develop a unique cultural identity. Zahid reports how he celebrates Islamic festivals in Hong Kong and what he likes about it.

> Zahid: On Eid days like we wake up early as you know its a tradition. So after we pray
> Eid, we go to our uncle's home. Our whole family gathers at one place, and you know we

chat. Its good to you know meet them on special occasions … Um, the thing that I like about my culture is there are a lot of festivals. So it like enables all the community to get together like on Eid. All the people you know hugging you and you know it's like an amazing feeling. Like people that you don't even know will hug you.

The research participants attend different schools in Hong Kong. Some schools sponsored by the Muslim community incorporate such religious festivals in their academic and non-academic plans and celebrate them accordingly. However, policies in other schools vary in terms of the flexibility and accommodation of different religious festivals. Umair attends a mainstream Chinese school and shares his experience of celebrating Eid in Hong Kong.

> Umari: We take 2-3 days off on Eid. We can take leave from school. Rests of the students attend school as usual. We do not have any tension about the lessons because all the Pakistani students are in one class. There are only two Indians in our class. Chinese students have separate classes. We make a party and plan visits to various places.

Like Zahid and Umair, Asif and Zuhaib also celebrate Eid with their friends and fellows in various outdoor activities. Asif either plays cricket or watch a movie in the cinema along with friends. Similarly, Zuhaib plans something to do on Eid. As he reports, "on Eid days we usually all of my friends we organize something to do on Eid. We plan to do something such as we go to the beach to enjoy or like that or we usually go to the beach or go to Ocean Park".

Unlike boys, girls mostly remain busy in indoor activities on Eid. For instance, Mehreen reports, "we invite our relatives over, and then we have dinner together. And then after that, they go home we don't do much". Similarly, Insha says, "for the *Eid*, we would actually celebrate with the cousins we have in Hong Kong. Uh, so we celebrate together like dress up or sometimes go out and eat. We go to their place, they cook, and we eat together".

It can be concluded from the above reports that the research participants engage in various social activities on Eid days in Hong Kong. They celebrate religious festivals with great zeal and participate in multiple communal activities and socialization. Boys prefer to spend their time in outdoor activities, whereas girls remain limited to indoor activities. Nevertheless, they try to celebrate their religious festivals within limited spaces. Despite the lack of structural facilitation, the participants still seem to determine to perform the traditions and value religious practices sometimes with compromises and negotiations.

6.3. Culture Learning in the Educational Context

As per the interview data, the research participants are attending those secondary schools where the majority of the students come from an ethnic minority background. In some cases, the student body is comprised of merely non-Chinese young people. Indeed, students with an ethnic minority background make the majority of the student body either at the school level or at the classroom level. The research participants acknowledge their learning experiences with peers with diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The following categories identify the various ways

in which the research participants experience learning and intercultural encounters in their school context.

6.3.1. Students' Diversity and Intercultural Learning

As discussed above, the research participants attend schools with students from diverse ethnic groups or nationalities. They not only learn about their racial, ethnic, religious, cultural, and linguistic differences but also negotiate with these differences and develop an understanding of diversity. Adeel attends a school with non-Chinese students, but he complains about the lack of interaction and communication with Chinese peers. He reports how he benefits from his non-Chinese peers with different cultural backgrounds.

> Adeel: In our school, there are students from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Most of the students are from Thailand, Nepal, and the Philippines, and it is good to learn their languages. We understand their language a little bit and can speak with them. It is good here that we become multilingual ... We also know about different cultures and the culture of their country.

Umair echoes the experiences of Adeel. Although there are Chinese students in his grade, they attend their classes separately. As he reports:

> Umair: There are both Chinese and non-Chinese students in our school. But they attend classes in different sections. We only interact during recess time. When we interact, I

speak Chinese with Chinese friends and Urdu with Pakistani friends. During our class discussion, we always use English. Among non-Chinese, there are Indian, Pakistani, and Filipino in our school. I speak Urdu with Indian and Pakistani and English with Filipino.

Insha attended a Chinese primary school where she was the only non-Chinese student in the school. Although she enjoyed a lot learning with her Chinese peers, their questions about her "skin colure" and headscarf made her inquisitive and curious to learn more about herself. This led her to get admission into a school where she can learn about her religion. She reports how her experiences of attending two different types of schools helped her learn about different people and their cultures.

> Insha: when I was in a Chinese school in primary school, that time, I didn't know much about my own and other culture, I was learning about Chinese culture. That time I learnt really good. Now I still remember how their culture works. When I came to this school I get to know about other cultures—I didn't know that there were Nepalese, Indonesians in HK. Then I—when I get to know them, I know their culture, why they are like—they also have festivals. We only have like—we have festivals, we explain to them, and they explain to us, we try their food.

Similarly, Umair attends a Chinese school where the majority of the students are non-Chinese. He is happy to learn about the religious background of his peers. He reports how he is different from his classmates and what he discusses with them.

Umair: They have a different religion, and we learn about it. We also talk about our religion. For example, they have also fasting in their religion, but it's optional for them. Whereas for us it's compulsory. We also talk about our culture a little bit. They know about our fasting. They do not disturb us during the month of fasting and do not play songs.

Rehaan also appreciates his experiences of learning in a multicultural and multiethnic environment. Indeed, these experiences make him different from his cousins in Pakistan. When he was asked why he is different from them, Rehaan made the following remarks.

Rehaan: Cuz they never have a chance to, not never but not really have a chance to interact with people from different nationalities. But here, like, you can see every nationality here ... Like when I was in the previous school, so everyone around whenever I see people its usually Chinese people. So I feel like I am one of them.

Unlike others, Kiran's experience underscores a different way of experiencing diversity in Hong Kong schools. She used to attend the Christian faith-based secondary school. She explains why she was feeling uncomfortable while attending morning assembly in her last school.

Kiran: There is something called morning assembly, we take out a religious book and read it out, and umm, it was something about Jesus. We Muslims do not believe in it. So it was hard to talk to them cause while they are reading books we are just standing there

and waiting for that section to finish. There is also, umm, what they call it sisters for their Christian, where the girls wear grey clothes, and it's so different. I feel so weird because our religions are so different, so I feel so hard to greet them (Laugh).

It can be inferred from the above quotations that the research participants experience acculturation differently and learn about diversity and different cultures. It is also clear that their teaching and learning experiences with non-Chinese peers help them develop a positive attitude about diversity. Since their interactions remain limited to non-Chinese peers, they acculturate to the cultural groups other than Chinese.

6.3.2. Teaching Practices and Teachers' Expectations

The participants' experiences of interaction with teachers in their class context differ significantly from one another. Those who were born in Pakistan experience schooling differently than those who were born and brought up in Hong Kong. However, within the former group of students, variations prevail. Some of the participants admire the quality of education in Hong Kong, but others, irrespective of their place of birth, do not like it at all. Even those who like it find some norms of student-teacher relationships quite odd to the practices they have been valuing since their childhood. A couple of these values include teachers' respect and undue students' freedom. Variations also exist in the ways the research participants make sense of teachers' expectations and treatment towards Pakistani young people in their respective schools.

Some of the participants are quite appreciative of their teachers' politeness. Adeel, Asif, Zahid, Danish, Zuhaib, Insha, and Sobia admire their teachers for being friendly, supportive, and kind. Zahid has to say this about teachers in his current school.

> Zahid: If you ask me about the school, the teachers are much more politer than the teachers back in Pakistan. And another thing is their way of teaching is so special, you know. You can't say that I–I don't want to learn. Like they are so polite to you that you will you know–at least one time you will think, 'Okay, I will focus this time' and then its–it's easy for you.

Although Lubna likes education in Hong Kong except for the long school hours, she finds students' attitudes towards teachers quite astonishing.

> Lubna: In Hong Kong, the schools are very good. I am not complaining about education or anything, but what I found too bad about this, like, students don't respect teachers. They don't respect the teachers ... Like in Pakistan respecting the teachers like one of your main goals. So in Hong Kong students just don't do that. So it's like a very big change for me.

Like Lubna, Adeel has also learned that students' behavior with teachers in his school is quite the opposite of his expectations. He criticizes the way his co-ethnic peers behave in his class. He argues that although teachers do not treat students equally, all the time, students perceive their

disciplinary actions as a kind of discrimination. As he says, "Teachers do not discriminate. It is their duty to teach. Whatever teachers say they do so for our betterment. But students perceive it as a kind of discrimination". Nevertheless, for Adeel, teachers' flexibility towards students' behavioral problems is not a good sign. He explains why his co-ethnic peers lack behavioral norms and what would have been the case in Pakistan if students had misbehaved with teachers.

> Adeel: I can tell you about school because we spend most of the time in school and I don't know much about the reasons in society. In school, Pakistani students do not behave properly. They always use bad language because they lack parental teaching. If they behave like this in Pakistan, their parents will be called to the school. But this does not happen here.

Umair also highlights the consequences of disciplinary issues among students, particularly in the case of boys. Teachers show a great deal of flexibility toward disciplining the students in class while teaching. However, the experiences of student-teacher relations of Kiran, Javed, Mehreen are quite different from others. They have come to know that some teachers are less sensitive to students' diverse needs. Their treatment and expectations of students are not encouraging. Indeed Kiran's one year experience in her previous school changed her views about teachers in Chinese ethnic majority secondary schools in Hong Kong. She attributes the causes of changing her school to teachers. She believes that teachers lacked knowledge about her culture and religion, and they often looked down upon her ethnicity, for which she always felt bad. Now she feels "relieved" and "accepted" by teachers and students. Although she has experienced unequal

treatment on several occasions, she always recalls the time when her teachers discouraged her from participating in swimming.

Similarly, for Mehreen, her teachers do not treat students equally. She has learned that her teachers are "nicer" to her Filipino peers than Pakistanis are. As she says, "towards Filipino, they are a bit like nicer, and towards Pakistani, they are not as nice." While responding to a question about her teachers' expectations towards her co-ethnic peers, Mehreen said, "Construction workers. Because that is like what most of the guys are doing". Javed's attitude about some teachers is similar to that of Kiran. He is a Form III student, and so far, he has changed school twice. Since his parents wanted him to attend a mainstream school, he went to a Chinese majority school after completing Primary 6. However, he had to change his school in Form II. He reports what made him change his first school.

> Javed: I changed that school because I did not have friends there. All the students were racists. They always used to do bad things in the class and make fun of each other but blame me for everything they did. The teacher would also take their side and thought of me as a trouble maker. Once they broke the teacher's pen and told her that I was the one who had broken her pen. Then they called my mother to school and punished me for doing nothing. I thought it was better to change the school. When my mother asked for school change, the teachers were very happy. Then my mother changed my school, and I went to another school. But my father did not like that school. Therefore, I again changed my school. This is my third school in secondary so far.

Unlike Kiran, Mehreen, and Javed, some of the participants are appreciative of their schools for having Pakistani teachers in schools. They seem quite happy about being able to have good teachers who can understand their religious and cultural needs better than their Chinese teachers. As Zuhaib reports, "I think it's quite good for us because they can understand us much better than the non-Muslims teachers."

These reports suggest that the participants' experiences of interaction with teachers are mixed. They have learned about the teaching practices and norms of behavior in schools. Some find classroom practices at odds with their values, whereas others criticize the discouraging behaviors among co-ethnic peers. It is important to note that these differences in student-teachers interaction norms often make the recently migrated students concerned. Some appreciate the efforts of their teachers, whereas others underscore the lack of teachers' sensitivity towards cultural differences and low expectations. The participants' reports also suggest that differences prevail in terms of student-teacher interaction and teachers' expectations across the group of students, gender, teachers, and schools.

6.3.3. Academic Performance and Satisfaction

The interview data suggest that the participants make sense of their educational performance differently from each other. Some are happy with their grades and school life, whereas others complain about their everyday challenges. However, the majority of the students are delighted with their academic performance. They are fluent in Cantonese and admire their literacy skills in

Chinese. Although the first generation of immigrants acknowledged their low level of literacy skills compared to the second generation of co-ethnic peers, they are optimistic about academic aspirations.

For most of the Hong Kong-born young people, Chinese is not an educational problem. Their Chinese literacy skills are good enough, and they are happy for their academic performance. For Ambreen, education is not challenging in Hong Kong. Since she can read and write Chinese, she scores good grades in her class. Similarly, Insha, Sobia, Asif, Zuhaib, Danish, Javed, Rehaan, and Kiran are satisfied with their grades. Umair reports, "My Chinese level is neither best nor worst. Its medium and I am happy with my performance in Chinese subject," and Zuhaib reports, "My academic performance is quite good. In class, I get number one and in Form number five. So I think it's quite satisfying, with the help of teachers and everyone".

Similarly, Danish is also doing well in Chinese. He finds Maths difficult instead. As he reports:

> Danish: We have three groups in Chinese. Group 3 studies easy Chinese. For group 2, there is a medium level of Chinese. Group 1 students study the highest level of Chinese. I am with group 1 … My academic performance is good except in Maths. I find Maths difficult. In our last exam, I have scored the seventh position in the class of 26. I score the highest marks in all subjects except in Maths. Sometimes, I cannot catch up.

Despite having good academic grades, some of the students are concerned about their reading and writing skills in Chinese. Although they are happy with their academic performance, their literacy skills are not as better as their Cantonese speaking skills.

> Sobia: For me, Chinese speaking and listening, it's okay. It's good. Writing and reading, I am not good. I just know how to write easy things but then for the hard one higher-level ones, not easy … But thankfully, in Hong Kong nowadays, the government is giving us easier opportunities to do Chinese DSEs. So we don't have to give the hard one which the local students have to give. So we give GCE or GCSE, which is the easiest level.

Unlike Sobia, Kiran is concerned about having two different systems for assessing language skills in Chinese. As she reports:

> Kiran: A bit of things I don't like. For example, DSE, the highest for us. Non-Chinese can only get level II in DSE. I don't really agree with it … we take GCSE; I don't really like it, it can be unfair to us … My speaking is really better than reading and writing because I did my test one year ago. And they said that my reading and writing skills are the same as the primary four local students. While I think it's not only me but also my friends and this shows that our Pakistani people Chinese Writing and Reading is not so good.

Although the majority of the participants are satisfied with their academic performance, they complain about the long school hours. Those who had their primary schooling in Pakistan find education in Hong Kong more demanding and challenging. For instance, Lubna, who does not like long school hours in Hong Kong, often recalls her school days in Pakistan.

> Lubna: The longest was two. But in Hong Kong, which I find very annoying and I don't like about it is that you leave at four. The school ends at four, so– you spend your entire day in school. You just cannot do anything.

Similarly, Rehaan, a Hong Kong-born young boy, who describes his life in Hong Kong as a "machine," find the education system difficult. Despite having a good command of spoken Cantonese, he believes that "education is not good in Hong Kong … It's difficult. Like, school times [sic] are long. Stuff like that. A lot of homework. Busy life". He has never been satisfied with his Chinese learning, particularly in his last school, where he was the only non-Chinese student. Nevertheless, the only subject he used to enjoy was English. He explains why he was enjoying English lessons.

> Rehaan: For English subject, Chinese students are a lot weaker, but we are a lot weaker in Chinese. So in English, I feel better because the teachers know that he is good in English, so I am–I am feeling ease– I am feeling easy there in English subject only.

The above reports of the participants suggest that they make sense of their educational experiences in their respective schools differently. The participants' reports about long school hours indicate a different orientation of time, suggesting a critical difference in their heritage culture and the mainstream culture. Although the research participants are happy about their academic performance, particularly their Chinese literacy skills, they consider the examination system as "unfair" and "difficult." Their reports also suggest that some students find some subjects difficult than Chinese.

6.4. Cultural Learning in the Societal Context

One of the significant contexts of intercultural learning is the larger society. The participants' experience intercultural encounters across the occasions of everyday life in public places such as transportation, leisure, health care, sports, markets and grocery shops, and the places of worship. These encounters both positive and negative shape an understanding of self and others. However, the participants' awareness of cultural differences varies from each other. They make sense of their culture and the culture of others from different dimensions of life. Besides differences in objective culture, young people mainly differentiate themselves from others based on their cultural values, practices, norms, and identities. Their experiences of intercultural encounters in the larger society not only shape their knowledge and attitudes about others but also help ascertain how different they are from others. The various ways in which the research participants experience intercultural learning in the larger society are described in the following categories.

6.4.1. Intercultural Contact and Socialization

Given that most of the participants live in the co-ethnic neighborhood and attend ethnically segregated schools, they lack the potential opportunities for intercultural participation and socialization. They spend most of their free time with co-ethnic friends and relatives and at maximum with non-Chinese school friends. Nevertheless, a small number of participants report their experiences of intercultural contact and participation in various mainstream cultural festivities.

Insha attends a school where the majority of the students come from non-Chinese ethnic backgrounds. She often visits her non-Chinese friends. As she reports, "The Iranian girl actually invite us to her house to study. And the food actually is really uh — our food is really spicy. A lot of spices. But they are actually blended. Like the cooking method is for–when we eat, we feel like really healthy". However, despite being proficient in Chinese, she lacks any Chinese friends. She responds if she participates in Chinese festivals:

> Insha: Before, I did, now I don't have time. I don't feel–I don't think it's necessary to celebrate. With neighbors, I was just like say the wordings to them like "Happy New Year" and if they have–if I see them then I say the greetings to them.

Mehreen's experiences of intercultural participation and socialization with Chinese peers are not different from Insha. Her first response to the question of life in Hong Kong was:

Mehreen: Well, it's good, but you can't really get many friends, Chinese friends. You can't get along with them and also you might face racism from other umm local Chinese because they ahh have a stereotype that we are like uneducated and illiterate like these umm con-conception towards us, so it's difficult to live in Hong Kong. They think that we ahh are like loafers like we don't work, all we do is like you know get into crimes and do these things.

Umair and Zahid also lack any positive intercultural encounters. Nevertheless, they seem reluctant to generalize their attitude towards all ethnic Chinese people. Zahid often recalls his first interaction with a local Chinese during a visit to Ocean Park. As he says, "this was our first time, and we asked for like–we asked like how to get a ticket. We didn't know where the counter was, and the whole people got angry". He is still struggling to make sense of that experience. Umair reports his perception of Chinese people and what happened to him while traveling on MTR.

Umair: Some of the Chinese are not good people. They turn their face when we pass by. Some of them are good people they talk to us, but some don't. They think that we are bad people. I don't know why they think so. Once it happened to us on MTR. We were standing beside an old lady she put her hand on her nose and said that we smelt bad. She also said something bad. When we also put a tissue on our nose, then she removed her hand from her nose.

Unlike others, Sobia, Zuhaib, and Danish describe a positive picture of their intercultural contact with local Chinese. Sobia often participates in various voluntary services along with her Chinese friends. Zuhaib and Danish enjoy spending their free time playing football with Chinese friends. Sobia lives in a mixed neighborhood. She enjoys socializing with her both Chinese and non-Chinese friends in the park near her residence. She appreciates local Chinese for being accommodating and tolerant towards non-Chinese.

Similarly, Zuhaib enjoys discussing various festivals with his Chinese friends. He tells them about Ramadan and Eid and also asks about Chinese festivals. As he says, "my Chinese friends usually tell me how they celebrate their festival". He participates in various Chinese festivals and specially enjoys Mid-Autumn Festival. He reports:

> Zuhaib: I really like the Mid-Autumn festival, when ah most of the Chinese people are dressed in red clothes and they are giving red packets which include money they are giving to people. I think it's really good because they are wishing ah others and they are dressing up in their own costumes their own dress so I think it's really interesting, quite good . . . I like them when they are giving red packets to ah relatives because I think it's a good thing to show good gesture to your relatives and show that you are you love them and that's why I think that's also really good. . . For Chinese New Year I would go to watch fireworks with my father. Yah, my father enjoys with me.

These reports suggest that young people have varied experiences of intercultural participation and socialization. Despite being proficient in Chinese, some of the students socialize mainly with non-Chinese as well as co-ethnic friends. However, others not only interact with Chinese friends and learn about their culture but also participate in various cultural festivities. They enjoy their intercultural participation and socialization with local Chinese. Nevertheless, most of the participants find it difficult to make friendships with local Chinese due to negative stereotypes and misunderstandings. Consequently, they lack the opportunities to socialize with local Chinse and hence their acculturation to the mainstream society. Since the participants' socialization and cultural encounters are limited to co-ethnic and non-Chinese friends, they engage in the phenomenon of enculturation as well as acculturation to non-Chinese ethnic minority cultures.

6.4.2. Intercultural Learning and Ethnic Needs

The research participants differ from each other in terms of how they experience their presence in public life and how the larger society accommodates their needs. As one of the participants does not see any significant difference between Chinese and non-Chinese people in terms of their access to public facilities but hardly find equal treatment about professional opportunities and employment. Insha admires the multicultural nature of Hong Kong but complains about the lack of sensitivity about the diverse linguistic needs of the population. As she remarks:

Insha: I like the thing that there are a lot of people. But the thing is they are not

promoting enough. Like not *all* of them know about ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. The

promotion is not enough. Like most of the posters are also in Chinese. People have difficulties like *us*.

Although the participants highlight the lack of appropriate food-related facilities for Muslims in Hong Kong, some of them seem more sensitive to their dietary needs and hardly visit the well-known food chains and restaurants. Whereas others report how they manage to find halal food. They often visit McDonald's, where they can only order a fish burger. When one of the participants was asked if he has ever tried Chinese food in Hong Kong, he responds:

> Rehaan: No. Cuz in Chinese restaurants it's really hard to make sure if it's halal or not ... We usually eat at home. Like if we–if we go out we are also eating in Indian restaurants or some Pakistani restaurant and have Pakistani food. But then like sometimes if we are in the mood we just order pizza or eat McDonald's.

Zuhaib also complains about the limited halal food options for Muslims in Hong Kong. He can only buy fish balls or can have a fish burger and French fries from the local McDonalds.

> Zuhaib: In Hong Kong, most of the food is not Halal, but in Pakistan, everything is Halal. Just like McDonald's, everything on the menu is Halal. Not like Hong Kong, only one or two things from the McDonald's are Halal ... I think Chinese food is also quite yummy, but sometimes we have like fear if it's halal or haram.

Besides the lack of halal food options, Seraaj, Rehaan, Umair, and Zahid complain about the lack of opportunities for practicing their favorite sports – cricket. They like playing cricket but hardly find any proper playground around their residence to practice their favorite sport. Seraaj sometimes can play cricket in school but cannot do so if he finds some time during weekends. Therefore, he stays home.

Similarly, Rehaan does not find appropriate ground for playing cricket in his neighborhood. He often plays cricket along with his co-ethnic friends on a football ground. However, to play cricket, they need to request for booking at least 3-4 weeks in advance. They can play there only during the day time until 6 pm. Umair also plays cricket with his friends on a basketball ground near his residence. At times they need to encounter police because nearby residents sometimes make complaints. Zahid reports how they deal with the issue of cricket playground.

> Zahid: A lot of Pakistani people like above 30 they also like to spend their time with their friends. The only way is cricket. So they find someplace where the police can't come. If you play in a football pitch, the Chinese people will call the police ... They have found one ground in [district]. So they go there–because it is far away from the city. So it's easy for them to you know–no one will disturb them.

In addition to the lack of cricket grounds, another thing Zahid doesn't like in Hong Kong is the limited usage of English in everyday communication. He has learned that many local people do speak English. He wishes if at least 30-40 percent of them could speak English so that the non-

Chinese could easily communicate with them. He also hopes the authorities to provide maximum sports opportunities so that they can play cricket.

It can be inferred from these accounts that the research participants make sense of their presence in the public sphere quite differently than others with a different religious background in general and Chinese people in particular. Neither they can easily find halal food, nor can they practice their cherished sports. Thus the lack of intercultural accommodation and facilitation hardly facilitate the development of positive attitudes towards mainstream society, making the process of acculturation less promising.

6.4.3. Intercultural Learning and Media

All the participants, irrespective of their place of birth and gender, frequently mention spending their free time over the internet or online. Thus, social media emerges as a potential space of intercultural learning for young people. The easy access to information and the various tools of communication not only shape their learning about heritage culture but also help learn about other foreign cultures. The research participants highlight the multiple ways in which they build their social networking and remain connected with their relatives and friends living in different parts of the world. Their accounts of socialization through media and technology suggests that they not only get exposure to the material related to their heritage culture but also get access to various cultural artifacts related to different cultures around them in the society of settlement and beyond.

All the participants report their interaction and communication with their relatives not only in the country of their origin but also in other parts of the world. However, the first generation of migrants reports frequent communication with relatives and friends in Pakistan than the second generation of Pakistani young people. Through various means of communication such as mobile, WhatsApp, Instagram, Skype, Facebook, and many others, the research participants keep their connections active with their relatives throughout the world. However, the frequency of their virtual interaction varies from person to person. Adeel and his twines brother talk to their mother, younger brother, and sister almost every other day. They also keep contacting their relatives in the UK.

> Adeel: When we talk to relatives in the UK we just ask about each other's health ... I talk to mother at least two to three times a week. Because we cannot get enough time, there is the issue of time difference also, and due to this reason, we cannot frequently talk with our mother.

Zuhaib and Kiran share similar experiences of communication with their relatives living in various countries. Sobia often talks to her cousins in the UK and tell them about things in Hong Kong. She also learns how her cousins enjoy freedom more than she can think of in Hong Kong. Insha often talks to her cousins in Pakistan and share her experiences of schools and education in Hong Kong. She reports what she and siblings often discuss with their cousins in Pakistan.

Insha: We talk to our cousins, how their school life is going there and like that. We know everything. Actually, they even know that how exams— actually, the exams here and there is different, right? So, we actually have to explain how is this exam is different from that exam.

Some participants use most of their free time reading religious literature online and watching videos made by scholars and religious clerics. Indeed, a significant number of participants utilize their travel time surfing religious material on the internet every day. Since their schools are located far away from their homes and on average, they spend more than two hours traveling every day they prefer to learn about their religion while they are traveling. They appreciate Youtube for making it possible for them to learn about Islam and their culture. For instance, Lubna spends most of her free time while searching and exploring religious material on Youtube every day.

Lubna: If my Mom checks my phone–she doesn't usually–but if I show her something on YouTube or something like that its just all the like–you know all the Islamic things and all that and she is like 'I am proud of you.'

Unlike girls who spend most of their free time watching movies and drama serials, boys often engage in social networking and chatting with friends. Asif prefers listening to Hindi and English songs while traveling to school. Zuhaib watches his favorite Pakistani YouTube blogger, whereas Mohsin tries to memorize Quranic verses through listening recordings on YouTube.

Others report spending a considerable amount of time online while chatting and exchanging views with friends. They often share both educational and entertainment-related material. Since they do not have enough time for social activities with friends, all the participants make use of technology to keep their social networking alive online. Rehaan reports how he makes use of his one-hour time after dinner with friends online.

> Rehaan: [I] chat with friends or check others daily feeds or go through some information. Like uh, sometimes like, for example, online shopping. Uh, like for Instagram, there are a lot of different posts. It depends on who you follow.

Asif also does chatting with his friends and play online games with them. His favorite online is PUBG. Despite his parent's disapproval of using phone excessively, he keeps contacting his friends both in Hong Kong and Pakistan through Facebook and WhatsApp. Kiran sometimes reaches her school friends through WhatsApp and Skype to discuss assignments and projects. Kiran reports:

> Kiran: I talk to some friends and sometimes about homework or other assignments like a project assignment, and I go online to watch videos. Sometimes it's for entertainment or make up for girls, or watch the documentary because I am now working on my IES. Ahh, so I watch education-related videos.

It can be inferred from these accounts that the research participants learn and maintain the norms of social interaction with their relatives living in various parts of the world. They are aware that

they are connected with their close relatives who are living in different cultural contexts and learn about them. Their interaction and communication through social media serve as a potential vehicle for socialization. The participants also utilize popular media for learning about their heritage, culture, language, and religion. They often engage in intra or interethnic virtual socialization through social media and communication. Their interactions with relatives, co-ethnic friends, and peers facilitate their enculturation. Similarly, their social networking and communication with peers and friends from diverse cultural backgrounds facilitate their acculturation.

6.5. Conclusion

This chapter reported the participants' enculturative as well as acculturative experiences across the social contexts. It primarily focused on as to how their socialization in the familial, communal, educational, and societal contexts facilitate the processes of both the heritage cultures learning and the other cultures or local culture learning in Hong Kong. It underscored the pivotal role of language and dietary preferences, parenting styles, and the digital media consumption in the familial context and the conventional norms of religious education, obligations, and practices in the communal context in influencing the participants' enculturation. It then reported the participants' accounts of intercultural encounters and awareness in the educational as well as in the societal contexts that shaped diverse enculturation and acculturation trajectories. It specifically highlighted the critical role of students' diversity, teaching practices, academic

performance, and intercultural contact, learning, understanding in shaping the participants' both enculturative and acculturative experiences in Hong Kong.

Chapter 7: Acculturative Challenges

The Focus of the Chapter

This chapter reports the research findings related to the second research question; i.e. "what factors facilitate or hinder their acculturation to mainstream society"? Section 7.1 introduces the chapter at the backdrop of preceding findings chapters. Section 7.2 through 7.5 describe the various ways in which the research participants make sense of potential challenges related to other cultures learning in their everyday life in Hong Kong. Section 7.2 reports the participants' accounts related to potential acculturative challenges in their familial context. While section 7.3 underscores the factors that hinder the participants' acculturation in the communal context, section 7.4 elaborates the acculturative challenges that the research participants experience in their educational context. Section 7.5 explains the various factors that hamper the participants' acculturation to local culture in the larger society. Lastly, section 7.6 concludes the chapter.

7.1. Introduction

Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 described and categorized the acculturative experiences in terms of what they learn and how they learn about their heritage culture and other cultures. These chapters explicitly underscored how the research participants enculturate or acculturate across the contexts of socialization. Their acculturative experiences across the socialization contexts not only differentiate them from their local counterparts but also pose challenges for intercultural socialization and learning. The following four sections describe as to how the research

participants' lived experiences of socialization in the familial context, educational context, and societal context hinder their acculturation to the mainstream society.

7.2. Acculturative Challenges in the Familial Context

The first socialization experiences that differentiate the participants from their local counterparts are their enculturation in the familial context. Unlike the majority of households in Hong Kong, these young people come from the low socio-economic family background. In most of the cases, their parents are less educated and engage in irregular and low-paid jobs. Fathers assume the sole responsibility of breadwinners and spend most of the places of work. With one exception, the participants' mothers are housewives with some or no formal education. The research participants grow up with 2-6 siblings. These family conditions depict a different socio-economic picture of the participants than their Chinese counterparts. Under such family circumstances, their socialization in the familial context or enculturation may pose several challenges for these young people. The various ways of enculturation that potentially create acculturative challenges for the participants are described in the following categories.

7.2.1. Family Practices and Preferences

The participants' accounts of everyday life in the familial context suggest that they grow up within an imagined ethnic culture. The practices of using ethnic language and code of dressing, norms of behavior, and the preferences of ethnic food and media consumption depict an

imagined ethnic culture within the family context. As some of the participants report how they experience ethnic culture in their familial context.

> Javed: We use Urdu in our conversation at home. My father and mother talk to each other in Punjabi, but they speak Urdu with us. I can speak Punjabi, but it is my habit to speak with them in Urdu … My father always watches the news on Pakistani channels, whereas my mother loves watching Pakistani and Indian drama serials.

> Zuhaib: My mother would cook traditional food such as Biryani, Roti like that, and then ahh I I really like home-made food, and there I would eat outside food also but not much as home-made food. So I usually like to eat at home.

Although these family practices and preferences certainly help the young people learning about their heritage culture, they lack the conditions they may facilitate the acquisition of skills and knowledge to function effectively in the mainstream multicultural context. Furthermore, the participants' religious practices and obligations sometimes put them into a disadvantaged position as one of the participants explains how the fulfillment of his religious commitments affects his school life.

> Adeel: During Ramazan, we cannot complete our sleep. We could have a better sleep before. Now we need to do a lot of work. We need to get up very early for preparing *sehri* [pre-dawn meal during the month of fasting] and then coming to school. We are

also approaching exams which are going to be held during Eid this time. Last year our exams were held during Ramadan. And we also need to attend mosque for Taraweeh [additional prayers performed during the month of Ramadan] in the evening.

These participants' accounts suggest that the participants' everyday experiences in their familial context mainly facilitate their enculturation and hardly help them strengthen their knowledge and skills about the mainstream society or other cultural groups in the multicultural context of Hong Kong. Indeed, at times, the fulfillment of religious practices affects their time commitment to school-related activities and influences their academic performance.

7.2.2. Familial Support and Expectations

One of the critical aspects of acculturation among young people in the societies of settlement is the type of parental support and relationship in the familial context. The lack of proper parental support put some of the research participants in a disadvantaged position. Since fathers are the only breadwinners, they spend most of the time out of the home; their kids hardly seek any academic help. Neither can they afford to hire private tutors. Although mothers are homemakers and remain home all the time in many cases, they lack sufficient education to support their children. They can only be a source of moral and emotional support. As a matter of consequence, young people do not get proper support from home for their educational adaptation or acculturation.

Kiran was born in Hong Kong; she has got six siblings. Her father is running a small business,

and her mother is a housewife with little education. Although she is very close to her father, she could not see him regularly. As she reports, "My father always goes to work, make a living, so we don't really have contact, don't really spend much time with our father due to the job." Zuhaib is lucky enough to have support from his elder sister. Although Zuhaib's mother is illiterate, he admires her for her continuous emotional support and encouragement for hardworking.

> Zuhaib: She [elder sister] helps me a lot. She motivates me to study more because she like explains to me how your life will be much better if you study … And also my mother, she supports me a lot because she actually she didn't study anything and she didn't have any education, so she says to me that 'if you don't study you will be like me so work hard.'

Unlike Zuhaib, Ambreen and Lubna wish if they could have any academic support from their siblings. Instead, their mothers have always been the primary source of their motivation for education. Since their brothers didn't come up with their parents' expectations, they are always encouraged to pursue higher education. Lubna is the only sister of two brothers. Her younger brother is in P5, and her elder brother didn't study after S4 "because he doesn't think that education is the source of income." Similarly, Ambreen wishes if she could have any help in her primary when she was learning Chinese. However, now she is happy because she can help her younger sisters in her Chinese.

Ambreen: My sister often asks help for her homework, for example like Chinese, since I said I know Chinese, she doesn't find it difficult. Cuz you know when I was in my primary school, my brothers don't, didn't really concentrate. That is why their Chinese is kind of weak, particularly reading and writing. So I didn't have any help for like at home.

Besides the parent-child relationship and academic support, sometimes, parents' lack of awareness about education and schooling system in Hong Kong also results in difficulties for young people. While explaining the reasons behind his recent school change, Rehaan reports how his parents' lack of school information created challenges in educational adaptation.

Rehaan: It's because after kindergarten, they–my parents didn't know that much about primary schools. So my dad's friend suggested him to put me into a school in [name of district], and it was easy English medium school … And then after that when I went to secondary school, first I went to a Chinese school. It was a band one school, so at that school, their Chinese standard was already too high since Form One. So somehow I got into Form until Form Four, but then I couldn't carry any further, so I changed the school.

These participants' experiences in their familial context suggest that the lack of proper support and help in the familial context often creates challenges for school adjustment and adaptation. The lack of parents' awareness about schools and academic support put the research participants into a disadvantaged position resulting in a variety of challenges related to their educational acculturation.

7.2.3. Familial Roles and Gender Differences

Although all the participants are living with their parents or family members, their domestic roles and responsibilities differentiate them from their Chinese peers. The interview data suggest that the research participants spend a considerable amount of time while fulfilling their familial responsibilities. During their free time, girls help their mothers in house chores, whereas boys participant in outdoor activities. However, in some cases, boys also need to fulfill their domestic roles by undertaking cooking and washing related to tasks.

Adeel is living with his father, one elder brother, and his twin brother in Hong Kong. His mother, one of his brothers, and the only sister are living in Pakistan. His father and grandfather used to live in the same way, with half of their family members living in Pakistan. Since there is no one at home to undertake household chores, Adeel always seems concerned about his domestic workload besides his academic assignments. He reports what makes him and his brother concerned after school so often.

> Adeel: We make our dinner every day and breakfast too … While returning from school, we always think about what we should cook for dinner or breakfast. As I said, we need to cook for ourselves. We have made a schedule for the whole week. Since our family is very strict, we need to prepare food on time. My father is very strict. I often wish if our mother would be here with us.

In the absence of a mother, girls in the family assume the responsibilities of a mother. Ambreen

is the younger sister of three brothers. She also has one younger sister. At the time of the interview, her parents and one brother were out of town, and she was taking care of everything at home. While appraising the care and concern of her relatives for her and her siblings, Ambreen reports:

> Ambreen: Like these days, I do housework as well and school work as well cuz my parents are not here ... Nowadays, I really receive a lot of phone calls from Pakistan because they are like worried about how me and my siblings, my younger sister, my two brothers are living in Hong Kong.

Similarly, Zahid also needs to offer a helping hand to his mother when he is home. He is the elder son of his parents with three kids. Since they do not have any sister, Zahid being the elder son, often needs to help his mother in household chores. He reports how he helps his mother on weekends:

> Zahid: I wake up late and–a little late–not that late. After that, I help out my mother with some housework. Its good to learn some you know basic things that uh like people do at home. After that I–I stay at home or go out with my mother to like buy some groceries or something like that. And after that, I come home, and you know we watch some movies together, maybe like you know Pakistani or funny movies.

It is clear from the above accounts that the young participants undertake various types of

domestic roles and responsibilities at home, which may potentially affect their educational activities and commitment to their school work. These family-related roles and responsibilities certainly make them different from their Chinese peers and may pose challenges in their educational adaptation and adjustment.

7.3. Acculturative Challenges in the Communal Context

7.3.1. Ethnic Socialization and Neighborhoods

Most of the participants shared their experiences of socialization in their neighborhoods. They live in localities where most of the people either share the same nationality or ethnicity. The participants' communal activities often take place among co-ethnic people or with diverse non-Chinese ethnic groups. Although there are many Chinese families where Umair lives, he seldom interacts with them. After having dinner every day, he spends some time with his Pakistani friends playing different sports in the nearby playground. Danish used to have many Chinese friends in his last residential place with whom he used to play football. Recently, his family has moved to another district where he got new Pakistani friends. Insha reports how she and her family members interact with co-ethnic people in her neighborhood.

> Insha: Actually, you know, with the neighbors, we have like a lot of Pakistani neighbors. We actually share food like we cook, and then we share a lot of things, like, go and pray in the masjid [mosque]. My *parents*–my Dad and brothers would go to the masjid and pray and all those stuff.

Kiran is pleased about changing her residence recently. Her family has moved to a place where most of the residents are Pakistani and non-Chinese. As she says, "umm mostly Pakistanis, there might there are some they are mixed culture like half Filipino half Pakistani, mostly are Pakistani, majority of people are Pakistani." Similarly, Sobia spends an enormous amount of time with her co-ethnic people and friends. She speaks highly of her language skills as she is capable of speaking multiple languages. As she explains:

> Sobia: Actually, there are people from different continents like not continent but different places. Normally Pashto you can say that. I know how to speak that actually … there are people who don't know how to speak Pashto, so we usually use normally Urdu ... But, then we use Urdu or Pashto or our own mother tongue Hindko language.

Zahid is happy to have many Pakistanis in his neighborhood. When he finds some free time at home, he spends some time with children from two Pakistani families living next to his door who are from the same town in Pakistan. His father describes his neighborhood as a "Pakistani alley." Zahid goes on and says:

> Zahid: As you know, like in Hong Kong the houses are so you know small. And uh we like we got a home in the village side in (district name), and it's not well developed yet ... Next, to our door, they have like so many small kids and its good to be with them all–all the time … we are so lucky that they are from [name of the hometown in Pakistan].

These accounts of the participants suggest that most of the Pakistani families prefer to live in co-ethnic neighborhoods. The participants' communal activities always take place with co-ethnic peers and friends in various social settings. In their neighborhood, they always attend their religious education centers or perform prayers with co-ethnic friends. They communicate in languages other than Chinese. Their co-ethnic socialization in the community and neighborhoods certainly facilitate their enculturation but at the cost of acculturation.

7.3.2. Co-ethnic and Non-Chinese Friendships

Most of the participants report that they attend schools, which mainly serve non-Chinese students. In some cases, the participants claim to have the majority of their peers sharing the same nationality or ethnicity. Therefore, they engage most of the time with either co-ethnic friends or non-Chinese classmates with little interaction with Chinese. Umair spends most of his free time in the evening with his Muslim friends playing sports in a nearby playground. As he reports:

> Umair: I go back home and have my dinner. Then I go down. We go to a nearby playground and play cricket, football, or basketball along with friends. All of my friends are Muslims. We have an Indian friend who is Sikh. He cannot eat beef. We can eat beef but not pork.

Adeel attends a DSS school where the majority of the students are non-Chinese. He likes playing cricket and joined a club where he practices cricket with co-ethnic friends only on weekends, if

possible. Like Adeel, Asif also practices cricket with Pakistani classmates in his school playground.

Unlike Adeel and Asif, Danish and Zuhaib like playing football. Danish spends his off days playing football with non-Chinese friends. Although most of his friends are Pakistani, his football team is consists of his Nepali and Filipino friends. As he explains:

> Danish: Pakistani students mostly play cricket, but I like football. I always play football with Nepali students, and we speak English. In my team, most of the players are Nepalese and Filipino. Some of the Nepalese are my friends from my primary school. But they are non-Muslims.

Like Danish, Zuhaib likes playing football. However, unlike others, his football teammates are Chinese. Although he got Pakistani friends with whom he practices Urdu at the religious education center, he enjoys playing football with Chinese friends and learning about their festivals.

> Danish: When I have free time, I go to play football. Then mostly Chinese people also play football with me. So usually they speak Chinese with me … My Chinese friends usually tell me how they celebrate their festival ... Yes, I quite enjoy it because I learn a lot of new things which is ah really good opportunity and I think I can benefit from this.

Unlike boys, the girl's participants have different experiences of communal life. Ambreen, who calls herself "an introvert" person, responds to a question if she spends her free time with any Chinese friends beyond her home and school: "Not really with my friends but my cousins. Cuz, my cousins are the same age as me. So they are pretty much my friends. Umm, well outside school, not really".

Lubna finds her weekends peaceful. Since she does not have friends, she spends her free time at home as she says, "But on weekends its actually calm. Even though I am all alone, I have very few friends, actually no friends". Similarly, Rehaan also finds his weekends "better" but also spends some time with his co-ethnic friends if his father permits him. He goes on to say, "Only the Saturday Sunday are a bit better. You can rest at home or go out with friends".

Like Lubna, Seraaj does not have relatives in Hong Kong, so he stays home most of the time. If possible, he spends his time with his co-ethnic friends. Although Zahid has some Nepali and Filipino friends from his previous school, he hangs out most of the time with Pakistani friends. In his current school, the majority of the students are Pakistani. He reports what he and his friends do when they plan an outing.

> Zahid: Like the basic plan is to go to Tsim Sha Tsui. Like uh uhm first, we go to Tsim Sha Tsui Masjid. Pray there. After that, we go to uh Tsim Sha Tsui plaza, and you know have lunch there. And after that maybe we will hang out for some time and then go back home.

Although the research participants engage in various activities with co-ethnic and non-Chinese friends, it is apparent in the above reports that boys get some advantage of spending their free time with friends in outdoor activities than girls. The latter either are limited to their homes, or they visit their relatives and have cousin friends only. With few exceptions, both boys and girls socialize mainly with co-ethnic or non-Chinese friends in their communal context suggesting that they enculturate more and their acculturation primarily involves their socialization with non-Chinese friends. Thus the lack of friendships and socialization with locals hinder their acculturation.

7.4. Acculturative Challenges in the Educational Context

Some of the difficulties that the young people experience during their educational acculturation are related to the overall education system and the schools they attend. The interview data about their educational experiences suggest that they need to negotiate with various aspects of education while growing up and attending schools in Hong Kong. For some, it is the ethnic concentration, the examination driven education system, and teachers' behavior that make their educational adaptation difficult. For others, it is the Chinese language learning that hinders their transition from secondary to tertiary education. For still others, the lack of proper structural facilitation and accommodation in their schools often affects their learning processes and educational performance. The different ways in which they negotiate with these challenges have described below.

7.4.1. Ethnic Socialization and Segregated Schools

Schools are considered to be the critical socialization context for acculturating young people. They not only experience firsthand intercultural encounters but also learn about the norms, values, and attitudes of the mainstream culture, which are inherent in or shape the educational practices. However, such assumptions may not be entirely correct in the educational context of Hong Kong. Considering the fact that the participants attend schools with a significant number of non-Chinese young people, they hardly have teaching and learning experiences with ethnic Chinese in their classroom setting.

Nonetheless, the participants share their experiences of interaction and learning with non-Chinese peers. Since schools divide the students based on their Chinese ability, the majority of the non-Chinese students are taught separately with little interaction with local Chinese peers. For some participants, it is even not surprising to have a class with students from a single ethnic background. For instance, there are altogether six students in Seraaj current section, and five of them are Pakistanis. Like Seraaj, Danish and Javed attend schools where the majority of the students are non-Chinese.

> Danish: In my school, most of the students are non-Chinese. Chinese students attend
> separate classes. There is a separate class for smart students and one for those who are
> not good. They are in the C class, and their teachers are stricter. There are 20 Chinese
> students in 3A, and I am in 3B. In my class, there are no Chinese. We are all non-Chinese
> students. The majority of the students in our class are Nepalese. Pakistani and Pilipino are

the same in number.

Similarly, in Ambreen's class, all the students are non-Chinese except only one Chinese girl, and she is her first Chinese friend ever. She reports:

> Ambreen: And then, and you know in this school, I think there is this; they categorize the good students and then, like, the nationality wise. The Chinese are mainly like B, like 4B, 5B, and 6B. I was like 1A, 2A, 3A. So I didn't get a chance to like communicate with Chinese.

Unlike in other schools, the situation in Adeel's school is a bit different. In his school, as well as in his class, there are both Chinese and non-Chinese students. However, despite attending classes together, students prefer to sit together along ethnic lines. During various class activities, his teachers often encourage students to make groups with co-ethnic peers. He reports

> Adeel: Sometimes, the students do different activities and make groups according to their nationality. Pakistani students would do a different activity than other students. Sometimes teachers also make groups according to students' nationality. So, all the Pakistani students make a single group. Sometimes students also make groups according to their friendships. At the school level, my friendships are always with Pakistanis.

Mehreen echoes the experience of Adeel. Although there are Chinese students in her class, their classes are arranged separately. Mehreen responds to a question if her classmates are non-Chinese:

> Mehreen: No, actually we have most of the students in our class are Chinese, but we don't have classes with them. There are two classes 5D-I and 5B-I. So half of 5D-I and half of 5B-II are filled with Chinese, but we don't have lessons with them just the morning period and the class of home period and PE. Those are the only lessons we have with Chinese students ... We have Pakistani, Indian, Filipino, one Thai girl and one half German half Filipino that's it.

While Ambreen and Mehreen complain about the ethnic segregation in schools, Rehaan enjoys his current non-Chinese majority class. Previously he used to attend a school where he was the only non-Chinese student in his class and didn't enjoy his studies. He used to face challenges in Chinese lessons because his Chinese standard was lower than that of his Chinese peers. Whereas, in his current school, the majority of students are non-Chinese, and everyone is on equal footing.

> Rehaan: Uh, in the lesson, everyone's Chinese standard is similar. We can talk to each other freely. The teachers are really good–they support us a lot. And if we are learning uh Chinese are similar to our standards. So it's also fun to learn something new which you feel easy to like learn it. You think you are able to learn it. In the old school I–I am [sic]

always thinking 'It's too hard. I can't do it. But then here is, like, it is just a little hard. If I work hard, I can do it.

Although Insha interacts with Pakistani peers most of the time, she appreciates her schools' environment with students from different nationalities. As she reports, "I have a really close friend from Iran. And we all–I also have like Indian and Nepali and Indonesian". Similarly, Rehaan likes his current school and is happy to have peers with different ethnic backgrounds. He can communicate with everyone and practices different languages, which he could not do in his previous school.

Like Rehaan, Zahid and Kiran are happy in their current schools. In their previous schools, the majority of the students were Chinese. Zahid even travels for three hours every day to attend his current school that mainly accommodates non-Chinese young people. Kiran changed her school because her teachers in her last school were not sensitive to her religion. She would not have changed her school if teachers had helped her properly.

Thus the participants attend schools where they hardly interact with Chinese peers. Consequently, teaching and learning take place among non-Chinese peers coming from a single religious or ethnic background. At times, they emerge as the majority in their schools or class compared with local Chinese students. They seldom have a chance to experience intercultural encounters with Chinese peers suggesting ethnic concentration or segregated schools hider their acculturation to mainstream culture.

7.4.2. Education System and Teachers' Role

Some of the participants irrespective of their place of birth find the overall education system hard and difficult. Despite having a considerable command over Chinese literacy Insha, Sobia and Zuhaib find education in Hong Kong "hard," "tough," and "difficult." According to Insha, "Actually sometimes it's hard. Like in Primary school, there was a lot of homework. It's actually true because people even have to go to Masjid afterschool and then came back". For Sobia, "Hong Kong education is tough actually. It's tough compared to many places". Zuhaib makes the following remarks:

> Zuhaib: In Hong Kong, it's much more difficult because the education system over here is much high standard and you need to study a lot and need to pass your DSE. Yeah, I think it's much more difficult in Hong Kong.

After studying for four years, Adeel has learned that education is "different" and "difficult" in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, Adeel is optimistic about pursuing a university degree. He reports his views about the education system in Hong Kong.

> Adeel: Education in Hong Kong is different and difficult. In Pakistan, we can hire a tutor but here it difficult to hire one due to financial and economic issues. Education in Hong Kong is different from Pakistan, and its standard is high … Once you get admission to a university, then there are no issues with Chinese. It is a big problem at the secondary level. Although I don't know much of university education, some of my friends say that

the Chinese language is not an issue in University. If you know English, you don't need to worry because they teach in English, which is good for us.

Besides the overall education system, the role of the teachers is also worth mentioning. The participants hold mixed views about their teachers' attitudes and expectations towards them. Teachers' responses to the diverse learning needs of their students vary across the schools. Kiran, Javed, and Rehaan report how their relationship with teachers created challenges and discouraging consequences. Initially, they went to mainstream secondary schools, where the majority of the students were ethnic Chinese. However, they ended up studying in schools with ethnic minority students. Kiran had to change her school because of the lack of teachers' support and facilitation. As she reports:

Kiran: There was a lot of stuff I couldn't do like the Chinese could do. For example, they have swimming classes, and I was not allowed to wear full sleeves clothes. What the teachers say it wasn't good. So, in the end, I just gave up swimming and just sitting there and looking at the students swimming there. And the teachers really put their perspective on my side … Instead, one time, the teachers told me to change my school due to my religion, and I felt really bad afterward.

Javed also had to change the school due to the lack of proper support and facilitation from teachers. He explains the reasons for his school change:

Javed: I changed that school because I did not have friends there. All the students were racists. They always used to do bad things in the class and make fun of each other but blame for everything they did. The teacher would also take their side and thought of me as a trouble maker. Once they broke the teacher's pen and told her that I was the one who had broken her pen. Then they called my mother to school and punished me for doing nothing. I thought it was better to change the school. When my mother asked for school change, the teachers were very happy.

Although Ambreen is very happy about her academic performance, she complains about some of her teachers' stereotypes about her Pakistani girls. Her teachers often assume that she will be getting married after her secondary school, like other Pakistani girls who studied in her school. Because she says, "I think like they have this mindset that even I will be like the other girls that graduated. But my parents want me to continue studying. They don't see me less than their sons".

It can be inferred from these accounts that the education system and the lack of teachers' support and facilitation create various types of school adjustment and adaptation challenges. They often need to negotiate with different educational processes that hardly accommodate the diverse educational and learning needs of students from diverse ethnic backgrounds. The lack of conducive conditions for non-Chinese students in Chinese majority schools motivates the former to attend the so-called de facto segregated schools resulting in limited opportunities for acculturation to mainstream culture.

7.4.3. Chinese Language Teaching and Learning

Although learning a new language is not without difficulties, the research participants find mastering Cantonese more difficult than any other language. Part of the reason is undoubtedly the lack of opportunities and support at home, but most of the time, challenges arise out of the Chinese language teaching practices. This was equally a matter of great concern among all the participants irrespective of their place of birth and residential status or gender.

Lubna has been studying Chinese for the last three years and considers it a difficult language. Although her mother tongue is Pashto, she is fluent in Urdu, English, and Farsi. She reports how difficult it is for her to learn Chinese: "*Now* I am struggling with Chinese, but Chinese just *don't* [sic] stick in my *mind*. It's just so hard to pronounce the words and remember the different tones, and it's just so hard". Similarly, Rehaan was born in Hong Kong and is fluent in Cantonese. He recalls his experiences of learning Chinese in his last school from where he transferred to his current school. Although he was given a syllabus in English and allowed to give an exam in English, he had to attend all the classes in Chinese. Since the majority of the students were Chinese his teachers used to avoid teaching in English. He reports his experiences of learning Chinese in his previous school.

> Rehaan: They are all studying the higher standard Chinese, and I cannot even understand
>
> what is on the book, and I am even like–I don't want to ask the teacher what is it.
>
> Because I feel shameful like if other students will say 'Oh you don't even know about

this and that' and then the teacher will also say 'Oh you are wasting time' cuz they say–

or you can come after school, but no one wants to go to after school even if we do we

finish really late. Cuz, when I was there, even my home was close to that school. I

usually went home at around 7 o'clock because of study issues so the other students

could do it but I couldn't.

Like Rehaan, Sobia and Umair also find reading and writing in Chinese difficult. Unlike the first

generation of immigrants, they can speak Cantonese fluently. She empathizes with her co-ethnic

peers who cannot talk in Chinese. As she says, "for me even I–I can speak Chinese. There are

more students who don't know Chinese … But then for reading and writing its really–it's kind of

hard. So it does take time uh a lot of time for us to learn". Adeel seconds her view. His Chinese

proficiency always makes him worried about his further education. He is aware that if he cannot

improve his Chinese literacy skills, he won't be able to enter a University in Hong Kong.

> Adeel: I am better at listening but find reading and writing difficult. I can speak a bit, but
>
> I find writing very difficult. To attend a university, you need to have at least level II of
>
> Chinese. Every university has its entry requirements. To enter a top Hong Kong
>
> University, one needs to have a high command in Chinese.

Umair reports how difficult it is to acquire literacy skills in Chinese, along with other languages.

He speaks Mirpuri at home and communicates with his co-ethnic peers in Urdu. He reports how

challenging it was for him to manage multiple languages when he first came to Hong Kong.

Umair: I couldn't make sense of anything at all at the beginning. I didn't know much about the Chinese. I could only speak English a little bit. Being a Pakistani, I also needed to focus on Urdu. Although English was not that hard, it became difficult when I came to Hong Kong. I found it difficult in reading, writing, and understanding.

These accounts suggest how difficult it is for non-Chinese speaking students to learn Chinese and come along with other students in mainstream schools. In the case of Rehaan, a single curriculum of Chinese for both Chinese and non-Chinese students result in his school change. Such language teaching practices may hardly facilitate young people to acquire the skills and acculturate into mainstream society. It may also affect students' academic performance.

7.4.4. Social Support and Facilitation

The nature of support, structural arrangement, and facilitation for students with diverse ethnic backgrounds vary across the schools. The research participants report various aspects of their schools' life, both academic and non-academic. Although all the participants admire their teachers for academic support, they complain about the long school hours and lack of sensitivity and facilitation towards their non-academic or ethnic needs, which makes it difficult for them to fulfill their religious obligations. Their reports suggest that although they are happy for having the required academic support in their schools, some complaint about the lack of sensitivity toward their religious requirements and obligations.

Zuhaib always enjoys his favorite food in his lunch in school. As he reports, "for the food, our canteen is certified with halal food like everything is halal. So I have many choices, and my friends and I usually eat together, we buy Biryani or like that and we eat together". However, for others, they always need to be mindful of whether or not their lunch is halal. According to Rehaan, "like every time when we eat, then we check it. If it's halal or not". Although some schools do provide halal food, students find it very expensive. When Mehreen was asked if she can buy halal food from her school canteen, she replied:

> Mehreen: Yeah, they have, but it's very expensive. Twenty-two dollars for a small lunchbox. Actually, we should get it for Fifteen dollars. I just end up eating uh bread or chips, these things. For some time I eat noodles if I don't have any choice.

As a matter of consequence, most of the students either take their lunch every day from home or explore other options outside the school premises. For some, one of the most preferred places for having lunch in McDonald's, where they can only have a fish burger and French fries. However, for some who are more sensitive to their dietary obligations, any food from McDonald's is not acceptable at all. As Umair reports:

> Umair: I used to go to McDonald's before and buy a fish burger, but now I am not going there anymore. I didn't know before that they are haram. We were told at the mosque that food at McDonald's and KFC is haram.

Concerning the prayer space, some schools facilitate Muslim students to perform their prayers during the lunch break. They provide a specific prayer hall or room for them. So all the Muslim students offer prayers together and convene Friday congregation. Where such facilitation is lacking, students either skip or perform prayers in their classrooms during lunch break. Therefore, the research participants experience social support and facilitation differently across the schools. The participants' reports suggest how important it is for them to uphold their religious teachings and practices making the process of acculturation a challenging task.

One of the differences in participants' experiencing schooling life is their engagement in extra-curricular activities in their respective schools. Compared to boys, girls with few exceptions hardly find themselves into sports or in other co-curricular activities. Nevertheless, differences prevail in terms of their personal preferences. For instance, Ambreen plays badminton only in her physical education class.

> Ambreen: I am not sporty. I only play cuz you know we have physical education class on every Monday and that is the only time the two periods I play badminton with my friends. It's not that I am lazy but like during the normal day I don't think I get enough time or maybe I am not interested in sports.

Sobia and Insha prefer to attend various educational workshops and seminars organized or facilitated by their school. Sobia explains why she prefers such a session than participating in sports.

Sobia: Because this helps us for our future like maybe we have some career talks or some talks where they tell us about–they're usually telling us how to have a good career. Like last year, we had a program called Life Buddies, and for the whole year, they tried to tell us how to have a good life plan. We had mentors mentoring us for our future, and uh, we also had uh some classes where they told us how to save money and use it for our future and everything.

Unlike Sobia and others, Kiran wants to participate in sports, but she cannot due to some personal reasons. For instance, in her last school, Kiran wanted to attend swimming classes but could not do so due to a lack of facilitation and support from her teachers and school. She was not allowed to wear full sleeves clothes for swimming.

These reports suggest that the level of sensitiveness toward the unique needs of ethnic minority students varies across the schools. They often need to negotiate with their religious and cultural requirements. Girls also face challenges while participating in extra-curricular activities in schools. The lack of social support and facilitation in schools shape the participants' attitude towards the majority, affect their educational engagement, and hinder the development of school belongingness.

7.5. Acculturative Challenges in the Societal Context

Given the diversity of individual biographies, the research participants report a variety of challenges while growing up in and acculturating in the multiracial, multiethnic, and multilingual

society of Hong Kong. The various ways in which they experience these challenges are grouped into the following categories. These categories primarily cover their experiences in the context of the larger society. Central to this categorization is the identification of various factors that affect the acquisition of the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required for successful acculturation to mainstream society.

7.5.1. Incidents of Ethnic Prejudice and Discrimination

The participants' accounts suggest that they are happy in Hong Kong. Some are happy because their all-family members are living together. For others, it is the safety and the security of the city, which makes them happy. Some admire the high quality of education, whereas others cherish the possibilities of realizing their career and educational aspirations. Although none of the research participants report any experiences of explicit discrimination, some recount a few incidents of prejudice while encountering the ethnic Chinese people. Since there are limited instances of inter-ethnic direct encounters between Chinese and non-Chinese people, the most frequent contacts take place in the areas of public transportation, local markets, and the sites of recreation. Nevertheless, the participants who have experienced such instances make sense of it differently.

Lubna calls such kind of behavior as an act of racism. She reports how she finds her everyday interethnic encounters and explains why she considers ethnic Chinese as "extremely racist."

Lubna: When I travel on MTR or LRT – they [Chinese] are standing behind me, and even though I am having a good body smell, they just go. They just go and leave. Or they say something bad to me in Chinese and about my *mother*. I face a lot of racism here.

Although Lubna cannot speak Cantonese fluently; she can still make sense of a few words as she claims. This lack of language competency in Cantonese gives a negative connotation to the conversation that, in turn, makes the interethnic encounters discouraging or less likely to occur. Ambreen recalls a similar incident when she was traveling with her mother on the bus. It was an act of discrimination for Ambreen. She believes that ethnic minorities in Hong Kong experience similar occasions quite often in everyday life.

Ambreen: Me and my mother were like traveling through like on the bus and then you know the bus was crowded, and then the bus suddenly stopped so my mother like it was gonna fall. And then there was this schoolgirl like my age schoolgirl and my mother accidentally like touched her or something. It wasn't even a hit like it was not intentional, and it wasn't hard as well, and then I think they just like discriminate you. And you know maybe she didn't know that I do know Chinese and she used like offensive word against my mother … I think that's what mostly ethnic minorities might face, and you know, like even some students, they say that Chinese people may like put their hands to their nose just because you are standing nearby. That's really rude.

Adeel and Insha report similar instances of prejudice. They think that it is because of the reputation and misunderstanding about Pakistanis. Generally speaking, Adeel likes Chinese people because they are "hardworking" and "loyal" to their work. However, he doesn't like the way they treat other ethnic people.

> Adeel: They discriminate you socially because of the reputation. I mean, they do not like us. For example, during transportation, if there is a seat vacant next to you, they do not sit beside you. Our reputation is low. They do not sit beside us unless there is any compulsion.

Unlike others, Insha seems cautious in generalizing such an attitude to all Chinese people. Although she had come across many such instances when some Chinese made a "disgust face," she still finds good people. She is of the view that one should not make false opinions about others, which often hurt their feelings. As she says:

> Insha: This is the way they do it; it's not good. We like—it kind of hurt our feelings, but we learn to accept it. Some of them do, but some of them don't, that's the thing. Not all of them are bad, so we don't just judge all of them by one person's perspective.

Danish and Asif endorse Insha's view. Danish appreciates the quality of life in Hong Kong and finds nothing wrong except prejudice towards non-Chinese people. As he reports "There are some impatient people among Chinese who quickly get angry. I do not know why. I do not like

this type of Chinese. There is nothing wrong in Hong Kong except this. We can have everything here". Asif also dislikes the preferential treatment at grocery shops and markets. He often notices Chinese shopkeepers serve Chinese people first.

These participants' experiences of interethnic encounters suggest that the occasions of prejudice and perceived discrimination may potentially hinder the development of positive interethnic attitudes. It may negatively affect positive attitudinal development among young people and may create challenges for their successful acculturation in Hong Kong.

7.5.2. Lack of Intercultural Understanding

The individual accounts of the participants about their life in Hong Kong reveal that they uphold different views about self and others. They understand others from various aspects of life. For some, it the religion that makes them different from others. For others, it is their food and clothing preferences that differentiate others from them. For still others, it is their physical characteristics that often come in to play in their everyday intercultural encounters. At the heart of these differential understanding appears to be a lack of awareness about the phenomenon of social and cultural diversity that is embedded in their everyday life. The very nature of their lived experiences being Muslim, being Non-Chinese and being Pakistani and the accounts of being prejudiced, being segregated, and being stereotyped reflect a lack of appreciation of differences and understating in the society as a whole.

When the participants were asked if they find any difference between their way of life and the others around them or if they know something important about the Chinese culture, most of the participants with few exceptions acknowledged their ignorance of cultural differences except religion and food. This could be one of the reasons why some participants find their life difficult and challenging in Hong Kong. Ambreen explains why she finds her life difficult in Hong Kong.

> Ambreen: Well, it's good, but you can't really get many friends, Chinese friends. You can't get along with them and also you might face racism from other umm local Chinese because they ahh have a stereotype that we are like uneducated and illiterate like these umm con-conception towards us, so it's difficult to live in Hong Kong.

Insha believes that a lack of understanding between Chinese and non-Chinese often result in prejudice and discrimination. She is of the view that this lack of interethnic understanding is not one-sided. She encourages all to understand why Muslims pray five times a day, why Muslim women wear a scarf, and why they have different clothing. For Insha, since she often interacts with other non-Chinese people, they know her better. She underscores the need for intercultural understanding and mutual respect. As she states:

> Insha: If you have like other non-Chinese with you, when they communicate and spend time with you they understand you better. This is what the other Chinese are lacking, the one who discriminate the other Pakistanis. They don't understand the culture and what are actually Pakistanis and why they do things. So, it's just about the understanding, lack

of understanding between them … I think we should not only want them to know the culture of ours; we also have to know theirs. Because if we don't understand why they are thinking the way they are thinking, we won't understand how to change their point of view ... they haven't seen people like us wearing a scarf, so we have to explain things to them.

It can be inferred from these reports that a lack of interethnic understanding often results in stereotypes about each other. The participants' experiences of prejudice and perceived discrimination suggest that a lack of positive attitudes and a better understanding of others pose potential acculturative challenges for young people living in the multicultural and multiethnic society of Hong Kong.

7.5.3. Lack of Accommodation to Religious Differences and Ethnic Preferences

Being adherent to a particular faith, all the participants complained about the lack of accommodation of their religious differences and ethnic preferences in Hong Kong. Like in the educational context, the most cited challenge was the non-availability of Halal food in the larger society. Although the research participants' experiences of accessing halal food vary, they always need to be careful while choosing food items in the markets. Compared to Pakistan, Adeel finds limited food options for Muslims in Hong Kong. He reports his everyday dietary preferences.

Adeel: If someone is at home to cook, then it is fine, you do not need to go out for food. We cannot find good food outside … I never go to KFC because its food is not halal. It is makruh. If we go to McDonald's, we order fish burgers only. Some Pakistani eat chicken too because they do not have knowledge about their faith. But we can also order for vegetarian pizza.

Like Adeel, Insha, Javed, and Danish also complain about limited food options for Muslims. Javed used to eat at McDonald's and Pizza Hut but has stopped going there after knowing from his religious teacher that its food is haram. Insha does not like eating at McDonald's. If she happens to visit there, she always goes for a fish burger without cheese. She does so because one of her acquaintances who used to work there told her that they cook it with vegetable oil. However, she is quite sensitive about other food items because she is not sure if they are cooked with vegetable oil.

Insha: We don't know which oil they use. If the Non-Chinese speakers don't actually know how to ask the shops and sometimes the shops lie that they don't use pi–uh pork oil. Like uh, some of the pastries. They prefer using those oils, not vegetable oil. Which is not allowed first but they say, 'We use vegetable oil.'

Mehreen complains about Hong Kong people being not "inclusive." Despite the increasing number of Muslims in Hong Kong, she finds limited for options.

Mehreen: I find it very frustrating whenever like the options for Chinese people or no non-Muslim people keep increasing. They keep like introducing new food. But they don't introduce something that we can eat. So I don't think they are being very inclusive … We don't have many places to eat, like for non-Muslim people they just go out and they can eat anything they want, but for us, we have to find something that is actually halal, so we can eat it. And mostly we just end up eating you know something that is in packets or packed.

Besides the halal food issue, participants also report challenges that may make their acculturation a cumbersome task. During the month of Ramadan, Muslims throughout the world observe fasting during the daytime from sunrise to sunset. They abstain from eating and drinking. Unlike in other Muslim majority societies where social structures and arrangements facilitate religious obligations, people in Hong Kong are less empathetic towards Muslim fasting. Witnessing others eating and drinking intensifies their hunger and appetite. To avoid such instance, the participants report spending their time indoors and less exposure to public places. As Kiran reports, "they eat right in front of you, and it's hard to explain to them. I can't explain to the whole school, and some of them don't really care its Ramadan, it might be a bit hard, but I get used to it".

One another challenge that often makes Muslim young people the target of bullying or prejudice is their Muslim dress code. This is particularly relevant to Muslim girls. Although none of the boy's participants highlight any incident of prejudice due to their dressing, a couple of girls report the incidents of bullying and discrimination due to their Muslim dress code. Sobia wears a

scarf all the time. This always keeps her thinking about her future employment challenges. She reports what makes her worried about her career options.

> Sobia: Some places, when you go for a job they do not let you have a headscarf. Sometimes or they would like, 'Take off your headscarf and all this.' So I really think that like now not all many places they do allow us to have one, but then I feel like, uhm, they–the–I feel like that there are some–still some places where we need to–we need to have the challenge. For example, if you want to be a policewoman. You can't have a headscarf. But many Muslim girls want to be. But the only problem is the headscarf.

Despite being appreciative of a better quality of life in Hong Kong, boys find challenges in terms of practicing their favorite sports activities during their free time. Most of the boys interviewed complained about having no proper playgrounds for playing cricket. They often have to travel a long distance to practice it or need to make a booking to play cricket either in a football or a badminton ground. Even if they make an advanced booking, they cannot play beyond 6 pm. Cricket is Adeel's favorite sport. He complains about the limited number of cricket playgrounds in Hong Kong. He often plays cricket in a football ground.

> Adeel: Even to play cricket at a football ground, we need to take permission in advance. They have made a rule that one can play football only in a football ground. But if you seek permission and book it at least one week in advance, then we can play cricket there.

Sometimes if we find the ground empty, start playing cricket, and continue until someone comes over who have already booked the field.

Asif, Zahid, Umair, and Rehaan share similar experiences of playing cricket in different types of playgrounds. They report that sometimes they encounter police if they start playing cricket without prior booking if they find the ground free.

The participants' accounts suggest that there is a lack of accommodation towards religious and ethnic preferences in Hong Kong. There is a need to develop positive attitudes among the people to respect and appreciate racial and ethnic differences. Proper facilitation of their ethnic preferences may help young people consider Hong Kong their home irrespective of their religion, ethnicity, and race. The lack of sensitivity toward ethnic preferences may hardly facilitate positive intercultural encounters and learning, which in turn jeopardize the successful adaptation of these young people. The lack of respect and accommodation towards religious differences and ethnic preferences at the societal level is another acculturative challenge for non-Chinese young people who grow up in the multicultural and cosmopolitan city of Hong Kong.

7.6. Conclusion

This chapter began with an introduction to its content at the backdrop of previous findings chapters. It then highlighted the potential factors in the familial context that hamper the participants' acculturation to mainstream culture, followed by the accounts of communal life that hardly help them learn about second or other cultures. The chapter highlighted the lack of

intercultural contact with locals among the research participants in their communal context. Towards the end, the chapter underscored the various factors in the educational context that negatively influence the participants' acculturation. Lastly, the chapter highlighted the incidents of ethnic prejudice and discrimination and the lack of intercultural understanding and accommodation as the essential factors that hinder the participants' acculturation to the local culture.

Chapter 8: Discussion

The Focus of the Chapter

This chapter discusses the research findings reported in chapters 5 through 7 at the backdrop of earlier research findings in Hong Kong and elsewhere. Section 8.1 discusses the research findings reported in chapter 5 titled *Acculturative Experiences* and argues that acculturation is a complex process of intercultural learning about cultural identities, practices, values, and attitudes related to multiple encountering cultures. Section 8.2 discusses the research findings reported in chapter 6 titled *Enculturative or Acculturative Experiences and Socialization Contexts* and underscores the interrelatedness of enculturation and acculturation. It argues that acculturation is a multidimensional and dynamic process of learning and that every individual in a multicultural society follows a unique trajectory of acculturation. Section 8.3 discusses the research findings reported in chapter 7 titled *Acculturative Challenges* and maintains that the research participants' encounter various challenges in Hong Kong that limit their acculturation to the local culture. Lastly, section 8.4 concludes the chapter.

8.1. Acculturative Experiences and Culture Learning

This section discusses what the research participants learn while living in the multicultural context of Hong Kong. The four categories of their acculturative learning include learning about social identities, learning to speak multiple languages, learning about heritage culture (enculturation), and learning about other cultures (acculturation).

8.1.1. Learning about Social Identities

Although the research participants make sense of their social identities differently from one another, they identify religion, ethnicity, cultural behaviors such as language, food, dressing, and the norms of social interaction that differentiate them from others in the global city of Hong Kong. Their adherence to religious values and learning multiple languages appear to be the essential source of their self-concept and social identification (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015; Gu & Patkin, 2013; Law & Lee, 2013; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). Their strong identification with their heritage culture confirms the importance of both cultural-distance theory and ethnic, national, or religious background in identity construction among ethnic minorities during the process of acculturation (Bourhis et al., 2010; Schachner, Van de Vijver, & Noack, 2014). The various reports of self-identification suggest different ways of acculturation among immigrant youth in the multicultural societies of settlement (Syed & Juang, 2018).

Generally speaking, Hong Kong-born participants tend to develop a hyphenated identity such as Pakistani-Hongkonger, and it is quite prevalent among girls than boys. The former group of participants appears to be more sensitive about their identity than the latter group. While defining themselves, they put a higher value on where they were born and brought up. However, some of the participants prefer not to identify as 'Hongkonger' despite being Hong Kong their birthplace and being proficient in Cantonese. At times, the participants' emphasis on religious values and practices appear to be a critical aspect of their 'reactive identification' (Berry, & Hou, 2016) due to the experiences of discrimination, marginalization, and prejudice (Holtz, Dahinden, &

Wagner, 2013; Ng, Kennedy, & Hue, 2019). Nevertheless, the findings suggest variations across the groups of students related to their sense of identity and belongingness to social groups (Niens et al., 2013).

Boys appear to be less flexible than girls in their identity construction (Qin, 2006). The frequent references of prejudice and an unwelcoming image of Pakistanis by boys confirm such a difference in identity construction across gender. Local born boys participants tend to emphasize more on their ethnicity and religion than their place of birth, such as Pakistani-Muslim. The typical stereotypes about Pakistani women being passive, controlled, and pressurized by Pakistani men (Gu, 2015) may help explain the stark differences between locally born girls and boys. They try to portray a positive image and distance themselves from other Pakistani women by constructing the hyphenated identities. The female participants, through the construction of a 'reactive identification' (Berry & Hou, 2016), invoke a dual identity and show a balance in their orientation towards their heritage culture and the mainstream culture. As for the recent immigrants are concerned, they prefer to call themselves Pakistani.

In addition to the internal factors, the present study also underscores the critical role of external factors that shape one's identity in multi-ethnic and multi-racial societies. The participants' reports suggest a discrepancy or inconsistency between how they see themselves and how they want to be seen or treated by others (Zou & Cheryan, 2015). Their reports reaffirm the long-established misconceptions about ethnic minorities in general and Pakistani women in particular in the mainstream society (Gu & Patkin, 2013; Ku, 2006; Ku et al., 2003). The participants'

awareness of negative stereotypes and misconceptions toward ethnic minorities in general and toward Pakistanis, in particular, reflects the common acculturative orientation in the mainstream society. How they are treated by others potentially influenced their attitudes toward the majority, in turn, shaping the different trajectories of intercultural contact (Ng et al., 2018). Their accounts confirm that acculturation is an interactive and two-way process (Haugen & Kunst, 2017) that potentially shapes the phenomenon of identity construction among acculturating people (Lebedeva, Tatarko, & Berry, 2016).

The present study found, among others, the participants' religious identity as an essential aspect of cultural learning (Schachner et al., 2014). Because Islam is a way of life, most of their lived experiences fall under the behavioral dimension of enculturation (Kim & Omizo, 2006). The participants' everyday practices across the contexts of socialization reinforce their heritage cultural learning and potentially shape their hyphenated identities (Kim & Omizo, 2006; Weinreich, 2009) or dual identities (Sirin et al., 2008). Unlike a prevailing attitude among ethnic minority youth who prefer to be called Hong Konger (Kapai & Singh, 2018), the majority of participants construct dual identities with greater emphasis on their nationality and religious affiliation. The present study finds no evidence of 'identity crisis' (Dominic & Michelle, 2011, p. 50) instead confirms the absence of any sever 'identity conflict' among Pakistani secondary school students in Hong Kong (Fang & Chun, 2018). The present findings suggest that identity construction is an interactive and dynamic process whereby the acculturating young people negotiate with multiple identities in light of their diverse biographies. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to note that social identity preferences in multicultural contexts hardly reveal

whether or not people enculturate or acculturate. Thus greater reliance on social identities for predicting one's adaptation or integration may be misleading.

8.1.2. Learning to Speak Multiple Languages

The second category of acculturative learning among the research participants is the acquisition of knowledge and skills to speak multiple languages. All the participants claim to be capable of speaking at least four languages, including the mother tongue, Urdu, English, and Cantonese. Some even count up to six different languages they can understand. They acquire multiple language skills to function effectively in both the heritage culture and the mainstream culture. Their language practices depict the multilingual contexts of Hong Kong, whereby they learn and practice multiple languages across the contexts of socialization. Their accounts suggest that speaking multiple languages is an integral part of their everyday life in Hong Kong and is intertwined with their enculturation as well as acculturation (Gu & Patkin, 2013; Stuart et al., 2010).

Acculturation studies in various socio-cultural contexts have identified the acquisition of language skills in the society of settlement as the essential aspect of acculturation (Lee & Koro-Ljungberg, 2007; Pan, 2011; Skuza, 2007; Vyas & Yu, 2018; Yeh et al., 2008; Yu & Zhang, 2016). Empirical studies acknowledge the benefits of language capital and multilingualism for the personal, academic, and professional development of people living in multicultural contexts (Diamond, 2010; Kroll & Dussias, 2017; Moskal, 2016). Second, language capital has also been

identified as a source of biculturalism (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2009), life satisfaction, and a sense of belonging (Amit & Bar-Lav, 2014). A study with a group of Pakistan schoolgirls in Hong Kong found the participants' language skills as a vital source of their multilingual identity (Gu, 2015). Fang and Chun (2017) have also found language capital among non-Chinese young people as a pivotal source of identity. Gu and Cheung (2016) observed a strong association between the second language (L2) ideal self and acculturation to the mainstream society. Among a group of South Asian students in Hong Kong L2 ideal self positively contributed to the participants' acculturation (Gu & Cheung, 2016).

Acculturative studies in Hong Kong have identified Cantonese as one of the acculturative stressors among a group of postgraduate students from Mainland China (Bhowmik et al., 2018; Vyas & Yu, 2018). Indeed, despite sharing a common heritage culture, the students found adaptation to Cantonese medium education more challenging than their adaptation to English medium education in Hong Kong (Yu & Zhang, 2016). Contrarily, none of the participants in the present study identify Cantonese as one of their acculturative challenges. Nevertheless, for a small number of the first generation of migrants, Chinese reading and writing is a significant source of concern for university education. The participants' accounts reveal that Cantonese is not the only concern and that language learning can be experienced differently across the groups of acculturating people. Instead, being multilingual confers a unique identity and self-empowerment to the participants (Gu, 2015), and their language capital appears to be a source of pride and self-confidence (Makarova & Birman, 2016).

Moreover, despite having a different cultural, racial, and religious background, the research participants acknowledge the opportunities and the benefits of learning different languages in Hong Kong. Part of the reason could be the age factor (Kuo & Roysircar, 2004). Unlike the postgraduate students from the Mainland, the young participants may have a higher level of motivation to learn Cantonese in addition to other languages. Secondly, unlike postgraduate Mainland students who will return after studies, these young students were either born in or immigrated to Hong Kong with no intention of return after education and would like to build their careers in the city. These differences in Cantonese learning motivation highlight the need to consider the immigration motives for a deeper understanding of Chinese language learning practices among non-Chinese young people in Hong Kong.

Although all the participants claim to speak multiple languages, they are not fully literate in all languages they can speak. Those who were born and grew up in Hong Kong claim higher levels of fluency in Cantonese and a higher level of literacy in both Chinese and English. However, they cannot read or write other languages, including their mother tongue and ethnic language. Contrarily the participants who have received their primary education in Pakistan can read, write, and speak Urdu and English. However, they acknowledged that they are less proficient in Cantonese compared to the local-born counterparts. Unlike other studies in which the Chinese language emerged as the most significant challenge (Kapai & Singh, 2018), the majority of the participants, including the recent immigrants, claim better academic results (Makarova & Birman, 2015; 2016). Nevertheless, they acknowledge lower proficiency in reading and writing compared to their local Chinese counterparts, which may potentially hamper their future

academic aspirations (Li & Chuk, 2015).

The acquisition of multiple language skills among the research participants suggests not only their positive orientation towards learning different languages but also confirm their successful linguistic adaptation to mainstream society. Their varied language skills related to both the heritage culture and the majority culture suggest their behavioral enculturation as well as acculturation, respectively (Kim & Omizo, 2006). If integration orientation among acculturating people results in biculturalism, an ideal acculturation orientation for Chinese learning (Lai et al., 2015), the various linguistic skills, including Cantonese, suggest an integration orientation among the research participants (Ku et al., 2005).

The participants' multiple language learning practices underscore both the importance of multiple socialization contexts (Ward et al., 2010) and the positive behavioral outcomes of language capital (Syed & Juang, 2018). Although the available literature on acculturation underscores the benefits of bilingualism for successful adaptation and integration into the mainstream society (Berry et al., 2006b; Bourhis et al., 2010; Zhang & Zhou, 2010), researchers have paid little attention to the study of multilingualism in acculturation research. Given that acculturation is not independent of their family socialization, it is worthwhile to investigate the relationship between the ethnic minority students' language learning practices and their family acculturation and vice versa (Cort, 2010; Titzmann & Gniewosz, 2018). Future acculturative studies may also explore the benefits of multilingualism among acculturating people in Hong Kong.

8.1.3. Learning about Heritage Culture (Enculturation)

The research findings in various contexts have identified two primary dimensions of enculturation, as well as acculturation, including cultural behaviors and values (Kim & Omizo 2006; Allamila et al. 2016). The former consists of language, food, music, cultural festival, and other cultural artifacts, and the latter refers to the various kinds of beliefs and world views. The participants' everyday experiences suggest that they learn about heritage culture or enculturate through participation in ethnic practices, customs, and socialization (Bacallao et al., 2009). The current findings support the earlier evidence on the ethnic language use (Ku et al. 2005; Lai et al., 2015) coupled with the consumption of ethnic food, and the fulfillment of religious obligations within the familial context and beyond. Similar to various ethnic groups in the societies of settlement (Staurt et al., 2010), the present study finds a strong desire to maintain the heritage culture among Pakistani families in Hong Kong. The study findings also affirm the co-ethnic socialization across the contexts resulting in heritage culture learning or enculturation (Dimitrova, Johnson, & van de Vijver, 2018; Fang & Chun, 2018).

Among many other factors, studies have already acknowledged the critical role of religion in shaping acculturative experiences of immigrant and ethnic minority young people (Chee, 2015; Goldblatt & Rosenblum, 2007; Niens et al., 2013; Yuen, 2013). An international study with youth from thirteen different countries found Muslim youth with strong religious identification compared with Christian, Jews, and other East Asian religions (Berry et al., 2006a). The religious identity of the Muslim minority youth in Europe significantly and positively

contributed to their psychological adaptation (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015; Khan et al., 2017; Mccoy et al., 2016; Phalet et al., 2018). Similarly, non-Chinese students with a strong religious association reported greater life satisfaction than their Chinese counterparts in Hong Kong (Yuen, 2007). The strong influence of religion on the everyday life of the participants suggests a strong orientation towards their heritage cultural values and practices. Their everyday socialization experiences depict a stable orientation of enculturation or learning about their heritage culture.

Contrary to the research findings of Dimitrova and Colleagues (2018), the participants report better academic performance and greater life satisfaction despite their overwhelming co-ethnic socialization in the community, school, and societal contexts. It is worth researching to know how ethnic socialization may yield different outcomes in different contexts. In line with earlier findings, the present study found substantial evidence in support of the literature that proposes enculturation or heritage cultural identification resulting in greater life satisfaction and lesser mental or psychological problems (Agbemenu, 2016; Amit & Bar-Lev, 2015; Dimitrova & Lebedeva, 2016; Motti-Stefanidi & Coll, 2018). The study further supports the strength-based perspective of acculturation instead of looking for the symptoms of stress among acculturating young people. Nevertheless, the participants' socialization, mainly with co-ethnic or non-Chinese peers, warrants the limited opportunities of intercultural communication with ethnic Chinese in everyday life (Fang & Chun, 2018; Lai et al., 2015; Shum et al., 2011; Tsung, 2012).

Furthermore, the extensive consumption of ethnic media, digital information, and internet for

various educational as well as for entertainment purposes among the participants suggests the possibilities of 'remote enculturation' (Ferguson et al., 2016). Their interaction and communication with friends and relatives from their home town through telephone and internet and acquiring religious knowledge through virtual means affirms remote enculturation (Alamilla et al., 2017; Ferguson et al., 2016; Weinreich, 2009). Given the extensive use of the internet and smartphones among young people, it is worthwhile to study the impact of social and digital media on the socio-cultural adaptation of ethnic minority youth in Hong Kong. Although the participants' reports of using digital media tools for distanced-religious education suggest remote enculturation, it is worth researching to explore the extent to which the similar tools facilitate learning about different aspects of heritage culture.

8.1.4. Learning about Second Cultures (Acculturation)

Besides learning about social identities, multiple languages, and the heritage culture, the participants also acquire knowledge, skills, and behaviors related to mainstream culture and other ethnic cultures. However, their acculturative experiences are not homogeneous; instead, they follow different trajectories of acculturation (Syed & Juang, 2018). Their everyday experiences of learning and practicing multiple languages (Gu & Cheung, 2016) suggest their positive orientation towards acculturation and a higher level of sociocultural adaptation (Ng et al., 2018).

Although their parents prefer to communicate with them in their ethnic languages, they also practice both English and Chinese with siblings. They also watch Chinese movies and drama

serials during their free time. These activities in their familial context help acquire knowledge about other cultural groups in Hong Kong in particular and throughout the world in general. The participants' frequent access to diverse cultural material and information confirms their learning about cultures from afar (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2015) and underscores the importance of media and the internet during the process of acculturation. Although media and Internet-based cultural encounters could be a potential source of learning about different cultures, the participants' reports do not confirm their acculturation to any foreign culture.

Within their communal context, they also interact with non-Chinese friends and peers beyond their co-ethnic friends, where they practice their English and learn about their culture. Considering the cultural distance concerning religion between the participants and the mainstream Hong Kong culture and the limited interactions with them, the participants appear to have frequent interactions with non-Chinese and develop positive attitudes about them. Indeed, they consider this lack of intercultural communication with local Chinese responsible for negative stereotypes as well as the prejudice, which is not the case with other non-Chinese ethnic groups with whom they often exchange cultural and religious views.

Given that the participants attend segregated schools that mainly serve non-Chinese youth, they learn more about non-Chinese cultures than the mainstream culture. The participants' endorsement of socialization with non-Chinese suggests their acculturation to cultures other than Chinese. Nevertheless, this does not discount their learning and participation in the mainstream culture through their engagement in various educational activities and interaction with their

teachers. They are aware of the importance of their acculturation to the Chinese culture but lack

opportunities for intercultural contact and socialization (Bourhis et al. 2009).

Although the research participants spend most of their free time with co-ethnic friends, some

also take part in sports and cultural festivals with both Non-Chines and Chinese friends.

Dissimilar to the situation with students in other countries (Yan & Berliner, 2011), their

engagement and participation in various Chinse festivals on public holidays not only give them

an opportunity to learn about Chinese culture and adjust to life in Hong Kong (Nelson & Infante,

2014); but also help them draw various social benefits (Khan et al., 2017). Nevertheless, such

interactions occur with Non-Chinese more than Chinese. They appear to appreciate the

multicultural context of Hong Kong but underscore the absence of a positive attitude toward

multiculturalism in mainstream society. Both local and international studies have already

reported as to how a multicultural ideology among the majority affect intercultural contact,

adaptation and acculturation of ethnic minorities and immigrants (Bhowmik et al., 2018; Hui et

al., 2015; Lebedeva et al., 2016; Vyas & Yu, 2018). The participants' accounts confirm an

assimilationist orientation among the locals towards immigrants.

Although the research participants' interactions are often limited to non-Chinese, their mundane

life experiences in a multicultural society amid the hybrid global city or 'hybridity' shape their

intercultural knowledge about different cultures (Gu, 2015; Ku et al., 2005; O'Connor, 2012a;

2012b). The participants' identification with their heritage culture and Hong Kong depicts their

hybrid and integrated identities (Staurt et al., 2010). Nevertheless, the sole identification with

ethnic culture by new arrivals underscores the importance of immigrants' generation than the

length of stay in the host society in determining the development of social identities among

immigrant youth (Ferguson, Iturbide, & Gordon, 2014). This explains why the first generation of

immigrants emphasizes more on their ethnic identity than the second generation of immigrants

(Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004).

It can be inferred from the language skills of the participants both in Cantonese and English that

they might have fewer challenges in their academic acculturation. Yeh and colleagues (2008)

have reported that English language ability was negatively related to academic problems among

Chinese immigrant high school students in the US. The participants' learning experiences of

different languages other than their mother tongue also confirm their positive orientation to

acculturation (Berry et al., 2006b). They not only seek to learn their ethnicity and heritage

culture languages but also acquire language skills essential to living in the multicultural city of

Hong Kong. Their proficiency in multiple languages confirms the possibility of immigrants'

acculturation to multiple groups in a multi-communal setting (Bourhis et al., 2010).

Furthermore, the varying levels of intercultural encounters across the social settings confirm the

critical role of context in acculturation (Ward et al., 2010). Despite limited opportunities for

intercultural contact or low level of intercultural 'blendedness' (Fang & Chun, 2018), their self-

reported life satisfaction suggests their successful adaptation and adjustment to the mainstream

society. Nevertheless, the actual reasons for life satisfaction are not very obvious. Their

improved quality of life and potential opportunities for self-development, as well as social

benefits (Ng et al. 2018) compared with the country of origin, may explain the situation partially. Moreover, unlike the prevailing trends of Islamophobia and its overt social challenges in many western countries, the relatively conducive public space for religious practices may also account for their life satisfaction in Hong Kong (O'Connor, 2012b; Poynting & Mason, 2007; Saeed, 2007). If one's linguistic capital, knowledge about different cultures, and higher levels of life satisfaction are considered to be the defining characteristics of adaptation and adjustment (Zhang & Zhou, 2010), then the research participants potentially qualify for their acculturation to the mainstream society.

8.2. Culture Learning and Socialization contexts: Enculturation or Acculturation

While section 8.1 discussed the research findings related to what the research participants learn about their heritage culture as well as other cultures, this section discusses the research findings related to how the research participants learn about their heritage culture and other cultures. In other words, it discusses how the research participants enculturate or acculturate across the contexts of their socialization while growing up in the multicultural context of Hong Kong.

8.2.1. Culture Learning in the Familial Context

8.2.1.1. Intra-family Language Preferences is a common thread across the accounts of the participants in the present study that facilitates their heritage culture learning or enculturation. They grow up in a bilingual or multilingual familial environment and acquire linguistic capital. Their parents encourage them to learn and acquire their ethnic languages and culture.

Researchers have already reported the shared language preferences among ethnic minority families in Hong Kong (Gu & Patkin, 2013; Gu & Cheung, 2016; Shum et al., 2011; Tse & Hui, 2012). However, their focus has been on the study of various factors that hinder Chinese learning and its implications. Little attention has been paid to the positive aspects of learning multiple languages as an essential cultural capital beyond Chinese.

The present study found the potential benefits of being multi-lingual related to their enculturation and acculturation. Their ability to speak multiple languages not only helps them socialize with different ethnic and cultural groups but also facilitate their academic performance. Most of the participants acknowledge their relationships with their siblings as a great support network (Goldblatt & Rosenblum, 2007) for academic-related matters. This suggests that despite lacking a supportive environment for learning Chinese and English and in the absence of parents' linguistic acculturation, the young participants manage to learn multiple languages (Bacallao et al., 2009).

The participants' multilingual skills support the earlier findings suggesting that children's bilingualism or multilingualism is independent of family acculturation (Cort, 2010). Although there exists an 'acculturation gap' between the research participants and their parents (Birman et al., 2002), multilingual young people can potentially facilitate the process of family acculturation (Titzmann & Gniewosz, 2018). Despite ethnic languages being the primary intra-family communication preference, the research participants often communicate with siblings either in English or Cantonese, resulting in both their enculturation and acculturation.

8.2.1.2. Dietary Preferences and Ethnic Cuisine is another crucial dimension of the enculturation of the participants in the familial context. The research participants' everyday dietary habits and practices home confirm the importance of their ethnic food and cuisine. Since the participants' mothers are homemakers, they spend most of their time indoor house chores and prepare ethnic food. With few exceptions, none of the participants' mothers try cooking non-ethnic dishes and cuisine. The young participants prefer to enjoy homemade food all the time due to the lack of sensitivity about halal food in the mainstream society (O'Connor, 2012b).

Besides the food preference, studies have also reported the standard clothing practices among Pakistanis, particularly among women (Ku, 2006). Thus their everyday dietary preference and traditional or Muslim clothing practices suggest strong behavioral enculturation in their familial context. The study findings underscore the importance of cultural behaviors and obligations in the study of adaptation among acculturating people in the societies of settlement.

8.2.1.3. Parenting Style & Family Relationships: While parents appear to exhibit a strong desire for practicing both ethnic language and religion (Schachner et al., 2014), there exists a considerable variation in family culture and parenting environment across the group of students (Deater-Deckard et al., 2018). Like other immigrant parents, they expect their children to perform better academically and acquire better social standing (Li, 2009). Although some studies have reported unequal parental treatment towards boys and girls (Gu, 2015; Lee & Li, 2011), the present study found little evidence in support of earlier conclusions. Indeed some parents hold higher educational expectations for their daughters than male children. They find "themselves as

multilingual and multicultural, open-minded, relatively more autonomous, as having more open exchanges and more harmonious relationships with their parents" (Gu, 2015, p. 1944).

Contrary to earlier findings among immigrant families (Qin, 200), the female participants report little parental control in regulating their activities beyond the family. Indeed some boys reported stricter parental control than girls. Nevertheless, differences exist in terms of participants' engagement in domestic activities and the nature of the relationship with their parents. Although parents support their children in realizing their career aspirations, they influence their career choices indirectly in subtle and implicit ways (Cheung et al., 2014). Although the first generation of immigrant participants' enjoys life in Hong Kong (Bacallao et al., 2007), they often miss their old days living in big and spacious houses (Goldblatt & Rosenblum, 2007). Unlike in other studies (Andriessen & Phalet, 2002), the present study found both girls and boys giving greater importance to the maintenance of ethnic culture in their familial context, confirming their maximum orientation toward enculturation than acculturation.

8.2.1.4. Media Consumption and Domestic Engagements: The present study confirms the enculturative as well as the acculturative role of media, particularly the consumption of digital media such as TV programs and shows coupled with online cultural material related to ethnic or heritage culture. The research participants endorsed the common practice of watching Pakistani TV News and Pakistani drama serials and substantial usage of audio and video recorded religious material in their familial context. They also report benefiting from the same opportunities for

learning about the mainstream and other cultures such as watching local TV news, Chinese movies, Hollywood, and Bollywood movies during their free time.

The present study also found both boys and girls using most of their free time reading or listening to religious information, particularly during the month of Ramadan. Some boys' participants also reported attending their religious congregations or religious sermons online via Skype or online streaming. Although the use of media resources can facilitate either enculturation or acculturation, the study found that most of the participants' activities and engagements in their familial contexts facilitate the former more than the latter. Like in other studies, these findings confirm the possibilities of remote enculturation and remote acculturation while living in the multicultural context of Hong Kong (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; 2015; Ferguson et al., 2016; Ferguson et al., 2017). In sum, the participants' everyday practices and behavior in their familial context suggest more of their enculturation than acculturation.

8.2.2. Culture Learning in the Communal Context

8.2.2.1. Religious Education and Obligations*:* Although the ways of transferring religious values to the next generation vary across immigrant groups and families, consistent with other studies (Staurt et al., 2014), the participants' religious education and practices appear to be inextricably connected with the maintenance of heritage culture. Although the level of religiosity in terms of fulfilling religious obligations varies across the groups of students, the present study finds the research participants endorsing the importance of religion in their everyday life

(Schachner et al., 2014). Their engagement in various religious activities confirms the extent to which they value religion, suggesting that they conform to their parents' expectations about cultural maintenance.

The present study does not find any evidence in support of the earlier findings suggesting Muslim students, particularly the girls, feel religious and cultural oppression and pressure from parents (Gu, 2015). Instead, the study findings affirm the conclusion that Islam is supportive of girls' education (Kapai & Lalvani, 2019), and the participants feel empowered in Hong Kong to realize their academic and career dreams.

Although their religious education takes place within a co-ethnic or co-religious environment, they are happy for being able to learn about their religion and take part in performing daily prayers (Yuen, 2013). The participants' extensive enculturative behaviors in the communal contexts confirm as to how the Pakistani community in Hong Kong is cohesive concerning the preservation of religious and ethnic cultural norms (Lai et al., 2015). The participants' religious activities and education in the communal contexts facilitate their enculturation than acculturation. However, it is worthwhile to investigate if there is any relationship between the degree of religiosity, life satisfaction, and sense of belonging or identity (Amit & Bar-Lev, 2014) among ethnic minority youth in general and Muslim young people in particular in Hong Kong.

8.2.2.2. Celebration of Cultural/Religious Festivals is another factor that facilitates the process of participants' enculturation in the communal context. Despite the lack of structural facilitation,

the present study found the celebration of religious festivals among the participants of immense importance. They take part in religious festivals with great zeal irrespective of their place of birth and gender. The first generation of migrants takes it as an opportunity to refresh memories, whereas local-born young people affirm their heritage cultural association. Their enthusiasm not only strengthens their Muslim identity but also reflects the maintenance of their heritage culture even in unfavorable social conditions. Studies in various contexts have also found religious events as a pivotal means of maintaining heritage cultural identities, values, traditions, and rituals across the immigrants in general (Bacallao et al., 2009) and among Muslim immigrants in particular (Berry et al., 2006; Crist et al., 2013; Holtz et al., 2013; Schachner et al., 2014).

Ascribing immense value to their religious and cultural practices by the study participants in general and by girls, in particular, repudiates a common stereotype about Pakistani women. None of the girl's participants idealize the freedom that the local girls enjoy in daily life. Instead, they identify some of the conventional behavioral norms among the local girls as foreign to their religion or culture. They value their heritage culture and religious practices and report a higher level of life satisfaction (Yuen, 2013). Such an attitude questions the earlier findings of Pakistani schoolgirls portraying them experiencing "tensions between their desire to merge into local society and enjoy the freedom that local girls have, and their tendency to maintain their religious practices to avoid being tempted from their own culture" (Gu, 2015, p. 1948). Instead, the research participants expect the majority to understand their cultural differences and avoid generalizations. Indeed, they not only take part in various religious festivals with great enthusiasm but also enjoy and contribute to the cultural hybridity of Hong Kong (O'Connor,

2012a). Their fear of being misunderstood by the majority underscores the need to construct an alternative understanding of Islam and Muslims in Hong Kong beyond the typical image built after September 11, 2001, across the societies in the West (O'Connor, 2010). Their commitment to religious education and practices suggest their enculturative orientation and heritage culture learning.

8.2.3. Culture Learning in the Educational Context

8.2.3.1. Students' Diversity and Intercultural Learning appears to be an essential aspect of acculturation among the research participants within their educational context. Despite attending the segregated schools for non-Chinese students (Ku et al., 2005), the research participants are still appreciative of their interactions with students from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Indeed some even admire their experiences of intercultural learning in their schools that distinguish them from their cousins in their home country. Perhaps this partly explains why all students, irrespective of their place of birth, report higher levels of life satisfaction in general and with their school life in particular than their Chinese counterparts in Hong Kong (Yuen, 2013; Yuen & Cheung, 2016).

Both local and interactional research has identified the importance of school context for intercultural contact and learning (Andriessen & Phalet, 2002; Hue & Kennedy, 2012; 2013). Socialization demands within the classroom and school put the diverse ethnic minority background students into a multicultural setting (Bacallao et al. 2009), whereby they not only

learn and practice different languages but also acquire knowledge about their peers with diverse cultural backgrounds. Consistent with earlier studies, the present study found that students' diversity in school an essential aspect of intercultural contact and learning (Andriessen & Phalet, 2002).

Their lived experiences of differences in everyday life often allow them to reflect on their identity. Similar to earlier findings "Where the school community included other pupils from diverse religious and/or cultural minority backgrounds, this was generally seen as helpful, and it appeared to enable students to maintain a sense of belonging to their faith community within the school as well as to the wider majority school community" (Niens et al., 2013, p. 915). Their interaction also facilitates their intercultural socialization and the acquisition of new cultural capital (Moskal, 2016). The present study findings on intercultural learning or acculturation in the school contexts, mainly with non-Chinese students, affirm the research conclusion that:

> Acculturation of minority youth in the school context is not sufficiently addressed through a bidimensional understanding of youths' cultural transition along the dimensions of ethnic cultural maintenance and adaptation to the majority culture, which is predominant in the quantitative research on acculturation (Makarova & Birman, 2016, p. 12).

Although the segregated schooling practices hardly encourage the intercultural contact between Chinese and non-Chinese students, cultural diversity within non-Chinese students in these

schools potentially reflect the phenomenon of acculturation. Students learn about the cultural behaviors and values of their peers and speak English during their everyday encounters (Census and Statistics Department, 2015; Gu & Patkin, 2013). Thus, study findings suggest that ethnic minority youth attending schools with students from diverse cultural backgrounds may potentially acculturate to multiple cultures through their interaction with peers resulting in better school adaptation or adjustment and hence, their acculturation (Makarova & Birman, 2015).

8.2.3.2. Student-Teacher Interaction and Expectations is another critical dimension related to the participants' acculturation in their school context. The research participants' interactions and relationships with teachers not only facilitate their intercultural learning (Hue & Kennedy, 2012; 2013; 2014) but also help teachers learn about students whereby "teachers and students should reciprocally and dynamically engage in learning about others' cultures and relearning their own" (Hue & Kennedy, 2013, p. 304).

Contrary to the earlier reports (Ku et al., 2005), the majority of the participants appreciate their teachers' equal treatment, academic support, and assistance (Bartlett et al., 2017). However, the present study confirms a variation in teachers' sensitiveness toward students learning needs across the schools and teachers (Westrick & Yuen, 2007), whereby teachers appear lacking the skills and knowledge to help the students from ethnic minority backgrounds (Shum et al., 2011). Compared to boys, girls report better student-teacher relationships and cherish social and academic support from their teachers (Qin, 2006).

Consistent with earlier research findings, the research participants' reports also suggest ethnic minority teachers in general and teachers with multicultural exposure, in particular, appear to be more capable of handling the issue and challenges related to ethnic minority students than the Hong Kong-born Cantonese speaking teachers (Kapai & Singh, 2018; Yuen, 2010). Similar to other contexts (Moskal, 2016), some also complain about their teachers' low expectations toward their Chinese learning, academic, and professional careers. Teachers' lack of sensitivity and misunderstanding about ethnic minority students suggest a potential mismatch in acculturation orientation between teachers and students (Makarova & Birman, 2015) and the possibility of experiencing enormous challenges in students' identity construction in their school contexts (Niens et al., 2013).

Given the different parental perceptions about teachers' role compared to local parents (Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016), teachers' expectations and stereotypes often put the research participants in challenging situations resulting in changing the school or thinking about who they are (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2009; Chan, 2009). A common belief among teachers that each one of their students can perform well in schools may help schools develop better parent-teacher collaborations and 'connected classroom' or school environment (Hue & Kennedy, 2013; Kim, 2009) for ethnic minority students that will, in turn, facilitate their academic acculturation.

8.2.3.3. Academic Performance and Satisfaction: Despite a great deal of variation in Chinese language skills, all the research participants report a higher level of satisfaction with their academic performance (Cheung et al., 2014). Nevertheless, the study participants' Chinese

proficiency appears to determine their future career aspirations (Gu & Patkin, 2013). The self-reported academic performance and satisfaction suggest their assimilative attitude resulting in their educational adaptation (Makarova & Birman, 2015) and acculturation to the mainstream society (Trickett & Birman, 2005). However, studies have also reported better academic achievement among minority students without assimilating to the mainstream society (Qin, 2006). This underscores the need to know if ethnic socialization in the school context has anything to do with their academic performance. Although all the interviewed students are quite optimistic about getting a university degree in Hong Kong, it is worth researching to explore why there is low educational attainment among Pakistanis in Hong Kong (Census and Statistics Department, 2015).

In a recent study with Roma ethnic minority youth, Dimitrova and colleagues (2018) have reported ethnic socialization being positively related to ethnic identity but negatively related to academic achievement. This is contrary to the self-reported better academic performance of the participants. Since the socio-cultural realities of ethnic minority students in Hong Kong are quite different from Roma ethnic minority youth in the European context, these findings may not be generalizable in other contexts. Although the research participants report various career aspirations different from their parental aspirations, the participants' accounts suggest an acculturative dissonance between them and their parents but with little impact on their academic performance (Kim, Wang, Chen, Shen, & Hou, 2015). Despite their concerns about the assessment system in Hong Kong (Hue et al., 2015), the participants' reports of better academic performance underscores the need of a paradigm shift from a 'deficit-based to strength-based'

approach to acculturation among immigrants and ethnic minority youth in the societies of settlement (Motti-Stefanidi et al., 2018).

Since academic achievement is one of the essences of acculturating students (Lee & Koro-Ljungberg, 2007) and is embedded in the acculturation process (Makarova & Birman, 2015), it is worth investigating if there is any relationship between ethnic socialization, ethnic identity, school life satisfaction, and academic achievement among ethnic minority young people in Hong Kong. In sum, the participants' accounts of their lived experiences in the educational contexts suggest not only their enculturation due to ethnic socialization but also reflect their acculturation to the mainstream culture and other non-Chinese ethnic cultures.

8.2.4. Culture Learning in the Societal Context

8.2.4.1. Intercultural Contact and Socialization appears as an essential aspect of the participants' acculturation in the larger society. Given that the participants attend schools with non-Chinese concentration, their socialization remains limited to co-ethnic and non-Chinese friends beyond their school context. Consequently, they lack friendships with local Chinese (Ku et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the participants' accounts suggest differences in intercultural contact with Chinese and non-Chinese in everyday life. Some of them appear to hold a flexible attitude toward Chinese and appreciate their intercultural learning with Chinese friends suggesting a bicultural orientation and identity. They also draw positive social benefits by participating in various Chinese cultural festivals (Khan et al., 2017). Consistent with recent findings, the

participants' everyday socialization with non-Chinese in general and with co-ethnic friends, in particular, positively influences their ethnic identity construction (Dimitrova et al. 2018) and collective self-esteem (Kim & Omizo, 2006).

The limited intercultural contact and communication have been interpreted as a discrepancy in multicultural ideology by the minority and the majority in multicultural societies (Lebedeva et al., 2016). In a study with local Chinese and immigrants from Mainland, the former group of the participants endorsed multicultural ideology more than the latter group, and intercultural contact was positively related to the acceptance of multicultural ideology (Hui et al., 2015). However, the participants' accounts of limited intercultural contact with local Chinese suggest different acculturative expectations among the majority toward non-Chinese immigrants. Their intercultural contact and friendship networks with non-Chinese (Cheung et al. 2014) suggests the endorsement of multicultural ideology resulting in acculturation to non-Chinese cultures than acculturation to the mainstream society. This may result in stereotypes about each other with the potential consequences of perceived discrimination (Haugen & Kunst, 2017). Considering the demographic realities of the cosmopolitan city, the findings also suggest differing views on multiculturalism or acculturation in mainstream society (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2003).

Although the present study findings indicate different acculturative expectations in mainstream society toward Mainland immigrants and Pakistanis, future studies with local Chinese and ethnic minorities may help explain the differences and ascertain if the mainstream society holds similar acculturative expectations towards all non-Chinese.

8.2.4.2. Intercultural Learning and Ethnic Needs: One of the ways in which the research participants learn about their heritage culture and other cultures is the extent to which diverse ethnic needs and preferences are respected and valued in the larger society. Some of them may include language needs, the availability of halal food, and the facilitation of ethic recreational or sports preferences. Based on their mundane experiences in the larger society, they have learned that they are different from others in many ways and that the mainstream society does not accommodate their diverse socio-cultural needs in the public space. They often negotiate with their dietary and recreational needs in the larger society (O'Connor, 2011; Ku, 2006) that potentially shape their acculturation orientation (Kunst & Sam, 2013; Haugen & Kunst, 2017) resulting in varied outcomes of wellbeing and adaptation to the mainstream society (Tonsing, 2013).

Contrary to earlier findings (Tonsing, 2014), the participants' awareness of ethnic needs and their persistence in maintaining religious and cultural preferences hardly suggests an assimilation or marginalization attitude of acculturation in the public sphere. Instead, the present findings suggest assimilationist acculturation perceptions in the mainstream society resulting in stereotypes or perceived threat about cultural maintenance among ethnic minorities (López-Rodríguez, Zagefka, Navas, & Cuadrado, 2014). There appears to be a dissonance of acculturation orientation between the mainstream society and Pakistani young people in Hong Kong.

Studies in other contexts have already reported welcoming acculturation orientation toward culturally close immigrants and unwelcoming acculturation orientation toward culturally distant immigrants (Safdar, Dupuis, Lewis, El-Geledi, & Bourhis, 2008). Local studies have reported the endorsement of multicultural ideology among the local Chinese towards immigrants from Mainland China, resulting in better adaptation outcomes among the latter (Hui et al., 2015). However, despite the heritage cultural closeness, perceived discrimination and prejudice made acculturation a challenging task among postgraduate students from Mainland China in Hong Kong (Bhowmik et al., 2018; Yu & Zhang, 2016; Vyas & Yu, 2018). These findings help little in understanding the acculturation expectation or orientation of the locals towards non-Chinese ethnic minorities. The lack of sensitiveness about diverse ethnic minority needs in the larger society suggests the absence of multicultural ideology and differing acculturative orientations for different groups of immigrants. The low level of acceptance for multicultural ideology among the majority suggests the degree of tolerance towards immigrants and willingness to integrate them in the mainstream society (Lebedeva et al., 2016).

Given the cultural, religious, racial, linguistic, and ethnic diversity among the residents, the lack of respect for diverse cultural and religious practices and preferences may potentially hamper acculturation and adaptation of ethnic minority young people (Leong, 2013). Public institutions may need to be sensitive about the diverse needs of the populations in the society and take appropriate initiatives facilitating the development of positive acculturative orientations (Bourhis

et al. 2010) and promoting intercultural engagement (Berry & Hou, 2016) among both the local Chinese and ethnic minorities.

8.2.4.3. Intercultural Learning and Media: The participants' reports identify media usage as one of the pivotal means of enculturation and acculturation. Their accounts of acquiring information and knowledge about both the heritage culture and other cultures show how different forms of media, such as print media, digital media, and the internet, can facilitate their learning about heritage culture and other cultures. Given the extensive usage of internet in Hong Kong (Internet World Stats, 2019) modern media including Websites, Emails, Blogs, Apps, Wikis, Ebooks, Smartphones, Social Networks, Streaming Videos, and Streaming Music, in addition to the traditional media play a critical role in learning about heritage culture and other cultures.

The typical stereotypes about non-Chinese and its reinforcement (Jackson & Nesterova, 2017) and the tendency of generalizing the negative perceptions about Pakistanis (Gu, 2015) influence not only their attitudes about the majority but also play a critical role in their identity development. Furthermore, the participants' engagement in various intercultural encounters through media and technology facilitate their acculturation to different immediate cultures and shape the diverse trajectories of enculturation and acculturation to remote cultures (Ferguson & Bornstein, 2012; 2015; Ferguson et al., 2016; 2017). The participants' accounts of media consumption for religious education as well as entertainment suggest a strong trend of enculturation than acculturation.

8.3. Acculturative Challenges in Multicultural Hong Kong

While the research findings related to what and how aspects of culture learning were discussed in section 8.1 and 8.2, the present section discusses the findings related to potential acculturative and culture learning challenges for the research participants in multicultural Hong Kong. Given the issues of adaptation and integration to the mainstream society among various ethnic minority groups, the aim of this discussion is to highlight the factors that hinder the participants learning or acculturation to the mainstream culture.

8.3.1. Acculturative Challenges in the Familial Context

8.3.1.1. Family Practices and Preferences are perhaps some of the fundamental heritage culture learning aspects that differentiate the research participants from their Chinese counterparts as well as Non-Muslim ethnic minority young people in Hong Kong. Although their everyday behaviors in the familial contexts are critical to their enculturation (Agbemenu, 2016), they hardly contribute to their school adaptation as well as integration to the larger society. None of their language preferences at home facilitate learning the mainstream language (Chan, 2009; Shum et al., 2011). The parents' child-rearing practices, family values, food, clothing, and parent-child relationships do not resonate with the standard norms that prevail among the majority (Arend-Toth & van de Vijver, 2004; Bacallao et al., 2007; Ku, 2006; Kapai & Lalvani, 2019).

The research participants' accounts of family life in Hong Kong suggest a strong heritage cultural maintenance resulting in a huge acculturation gap between them and their parents (Kim et al., 2014; Staurt et al., 2010). Several studies have reported differential treatment of girls and boys in acculturating families (Qin, 2006; Williams et al., 2002). Contrarily none of the female participants in the present study report stricter disciplinary rules and prohibition for intercultural socialization than their brothers in the family (Gu, 2015). Indeed, some accounts reiterate the common parental control practices among all parents. However, differences prevail across gender in terms of recreational activities and preferences. Unlike earlier findings (Fang & Chun, 2017), the research participants identify essential differences in cultures, suggesting little resonance between their ethnic culture and that of the mainstream society.

The conflicting evidence (Gu, 2015; Fang & Chun, 2017) suggests the complexity inherent in the phenomenon of acculturation and its multidimensionality. Indeed, girls and boys may have different trajectories of enculturation, interpreting the gender differences as a cultural 'dilemma' for ethnic minority youth (Lee & Li, 2011, p. 49) may hardly help understand the notion of cultural distance. Researchers may need to be open to other cultural perspectives while researching ethnic minorities in 'Asia's Global City.' Moreover, if acculturation is a dual and interactive process (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 2009), researchers may need to delineate the various factors that account for the acculturation orientations among both the immigrants and the majority people instead of looking for essential cultural differences from a deficit perspective.

8.3.1.2. Family Support and Expectations appear to have a pivotal role in the research participants' acculturation in Hong Kong. Studies with immigrant families have also reported the critical role of family support and parental expectations in children's and adolescents' acculturation to mainstream society (Skuza, 2007; Staurt et al., 2010; Chan, 2009). Given the low socio-economic background (Census and Statistics Department, 2015; Cheung & Chou, 2017; Crabtree & Wong, 2013), fathers remain the sole breadwinners for the whole family and have little family time (Bacallao et al., 2007) whereas mothers with little or no education often supervise children at home. The participants' reports of the lack of awareness about schools among their parents and its educational consequences confirm the difficulties related to parental support. It appears that their parents "despite high aspirations for the education of their children, feel that they lack the linguistic and cultural capital valued by the mainstream society in Hong Kong" (Tsung & Fang, 2012, p. 51) and cannot offer the necessary support needed for successful acculturation.

Nevertheless, despite sharing similar socio-economic family conditions, the experiences of parental support and expectations vary significantly among the research participants. Their accounts of family relationships, particularly with parents (Goldblatt & Rosenblum, 2007), suggest a different understanding of heritage cultural values. This diversity of religious understanding cautions about the danger of research generalization on Pakistani parents (Kapai & Lalvani, 2019; Gu, 2015). Although the research participants spend most of their family time under the supervision of mothers, they can hardly seek any academic support from them due to their lack of education. Thus they lack the required parental support for improved academic

performance and school adjustment (Ku et al., 2005; Shum et al., 2011). These family conditions put young people into a disadvantaged position compared to their local counterparts and underscore the need for recognizing their special needs by educational practitioners.

Some participants also report about the difficulties of balancing their career aspirations and their parents' expectation (Li, 2009). However, unlike some earlier findings (Cherng & Liu, 2017), their reports suggest positive parental expectations irrespective of their generation and gender. Although the participant's self-reported academic performance indicates positive parents' educational aspirations, it is less evident if other factors facilitate their school achievement (Fuligni, 2012). Moreover, if parental human capital is one of the essential aspects of acculturation (Cort, 2010), then the study underscores the importance of parental education for successful adaptation of ethnic minority youth in the societies of settlement. The present study findings reiterate earlier recommendations and emphasize the need for higher parental education and mobilization towards equal treatment of girls and boys related to their educational and career aspirations.

8.3.1.3. Familial Roles and Gender Differences: The participants' accounts of everyday life activities in the family suggest differences in terms of their involvement in various familial roles or household chores. Considering the different familial conditions, the research participants report as to how they take part in various domestic activities and spend their free time. Although none of the participants explicitly identify their home environment, causing challenges in their educational adjustment, their accounts suggest potential educational consequences due to their

participation in their familial roles and responsibilities. Assuming the role of a mother in her absence by the female participants significantly affects their time commitment to academic work at home.

The participants' accounts of familial roles and differences across gender underscore a significant variability across the family cultures and parental attitude towards girls and boys. Studies have interpreted generational differences or acculturation gap as if it is inherent to some faiths than others. A study with Pakistani schoolgirls has reported some conflicting findings. Accordingly, the acculturation gap between mothers and daughters and the heritage culture and religious practices resulted in oppression and pressure for school girls (Gu, 2015). However, the same study also identifies religious affiliation as a source of Pakistani schoolgirls' identity construction. These findings make it difficult to explain the higher scores in life satisfaction among religious female non-Chinese students in Hong Kong (Yuen, 2013). It is not possible to have religious practices as the source of oppression and pressure, as well as social identity and life satisfaction.

Furthermore, contrary to the findings in other contexts (Makarova & Birman, 2015), the participants' positive appraisal of life satisfaction (Yuen, 2013) and academic aspirations do not suggest any pressure due to their family obligations. Inconsistent with studies with immigrant families, the girl's participants do not report any stricter gender roles (Qin, 2006) except differences in recreational activities. Neither the participants report the dilemma of language brokering affecting their everyday life (Skuza, 2007).

Nevertheless, the nature of family obligations among ethnic minorities may not be similar to that of the mainstream culture (Willims et al., 2002). Indeed, the present study suggests a great deal of variation the way Pakistani parents treat girls and boys in their families and underscores the critical role of familial space in first culture learning or enculturation. Consistent with other studies (Kim, 2009, the present study proposes maximum consideration of addressing parental deficiencies for educational acculturation among ethnic minority young people in Hong Kong. Higher sensitivity toward cultural differences without implicit biases of cultural superiority may help researchers understand the acculturative experiences of ethnic minorities in general of Muslim youth in particular in Hong Kong.

8.3.2. Acculturative Challenges in the Communal Context

8.3.2.1. Ethnic Socialization and Neighborhoods is another essential aspect of enculturation among the study participants. Their reports of co-ethnic socialization reveal the power of collective ethnic and religious identity that draws the young participants together in their neighborhoods (Shum et al. 2011). The interaction with co-ethnic people not only provides an opportunity to learn and practice heritage cultural behaviors but also limits the possibilities of interaction with other ethnic groups. Such type of socialization might be helpful for enculturation but may hinder the process of acculturation by influencing their intercultural attitudes and perceptions not only among immigrants but also in mainstream society.

The common trends of socialization among ethnic minority young people (Ku et al., 2005) indeed suggest a separation attitude, but it is not entirely apparent if its causes are merely internal or external to them. Studies with other ethnic groups will help examine the causes and facilitate a deeper understanding of external factors such as the expectations of the majority that shape acculturation among ethnic minority young people in Hong Kong. For instance, Kunst and Sam (2013) found the perceptions of assimilation and separation among the majority critical to diverse acculturation trajectories among three Muslim minority groups, including Germen-Turks, French-Maghrebis, and British-Pakistanis. While perceived assimilation expectations by host society resulted in psychological problems, the perceived separation was negatively associated with integration, self-esteem, and sociocultural adaptation and positively related to separation among the minority groups.

Since ethnic and religious socialization facilitate heritage culture maintenance (Schachner et al., 2014) and results in higher life satisfaction (Dimitrova et al., 2018; Yuen, 2013), it is worth researching to know if ethnic socialization shapes the attitudes of ethnic minority youth towards local Chinese. Nevertheless, the accounts of the participants suggest ethnic socialization hamper interethnic understanding and awareness. Therefore, efforts need to be taken promoting interethnic socialization between Chinese and non-Chinese in the communal context for improved intercultural contact, learning, and understanding that may, in turn, facilitate the acculturation of ethnic minorities to the mainstream society.

8.3.2.2. Co-ethnic and Non-Chinese Friendships appear to be instrumental in the participants'

enculturation as well as acculturation, respectively. The present study supports the earlier

findings of co-ethnic and non-Chinese socialization and highlights the importance of friends or

friendships among immigrant youth in the societies of settlement (Nelson & Infante, 2014). The

research participants' socialization with co-ethnic friends in the community context facilitates

their learning about heritage culture, whereas their interactions with non-Chinese friends help

them learn about their cultural behavior and values. The research participants' reports of

difficulties in making friendships with local Chinese at the communal level underscore the

potential challenges toward their acculturation to the mainstream culture. Despite sharing a

common heritage culture, the experiences of social isolation among students from Mainland in

Hong Kong further confirm the challenges of building friendships with locals and its

implications toward immigrants' acculturation (Yu & Zhang, 2016).

In a study conducted in Hong Kong, students identified friendships as the most crucial dimension

of their life satisfaction compared with the living environment, family, school, and self (Yuen,

2013). Similarly, according to a recent study, ethnic socialization is positively related to life

satisfaction but negatively related to school achievement (Dimitrova et al., 2018). Although the

participants' reports confirm the positive relationship between ethnic socialization and life

satisfaction, the present study does not find any evidence in support of the relationship between

ethnic socialization and school achievement. Future studies investigating the relationship

between ethnic socialization, life satisfaction, and academic performance across ethnic groups in

Hong Kong may help explain the situation further. These differences underscore the importance

of the context as well as the heterogeneity of acculturation trajectories across the diverse groups of immigrant youth in the societies of settlement.

Different norms of friendships between girls and boys across cultures ethnic groups may be partially relevant, but they can hardly explain the lack of friendships between non-Chinese and Chinese male young people. Consistent with both international and local research findings (Berry et al., 2006; Ku et al., 2005), the present study confirms the lack of opportunities for interethnic socialization with local Chinese resulting in the participants' enculturation or acculturation to non-Chinese ethnic cultures. Nevertheless, the accounts of the participants also suggest differences in acculturation trends across the generation of immigrants and gender. Maximum intercultural socialization and friendships, especially with Chinese in the communal context, may help address the issues of intercultural misunderstanding and negative stereotypes that often result in perceived discrimination and prejudice.

8.3.3. Acculturative Challenges in the Educational Context

8.3.3.1. Ethnic Socialization and Segregated Schools: Several studies have already reported the discouraging consequences of segregated schools in Hong Kong (Gu, 2015; Kapai & Singh, 2018; Fang & Chun, 2017; Ku et al., 2005). However, some have also reported better life satisfaction outcomes among non-Chinese students (Yuen, 2013; Yuen & Lee, 2016), suggesting the positive aspects of co-ethnic socialization. Contrary to some earlier findings (Mendez et al.,

2012), the present study found no evidence about the incidents of co-ethnic bullying, suggesting a strong sense of co-ethnic harmony and cohesion.

The concentration of ethnic minorities may certainly facilitate intercultural learning (Hue & Kennedy, 2012) but only among non-Chinese students (Yuen & Lee, 2016). Although socialization with co-ethnic or co-national and same-faith peers in an educational context helps strengthen religious identity, belongingness to the religious community (Niens et al., 2013), and school belongingness (Bartlett et al., 2017) it hinders the process of acculturation, particularly to the mainstream culture. Neither it is helpful for better sociocultural adaptation outcomes such as intercultural communication with Chinese peers (Ku et al., 2005) and proficiency in Chinese language (Gu & Cheung, 2016), nor it helps develop bicultural Identity (Fang & Chun, 2017).

For immigrant students, ethnic segregation in schools may hamper the development of an assimilative orientation in harmony with the overall educational assimilationist system for positive school adjustment outcomes (Makarova & Birman, 2015). Studies have also found segregated classroom settings ineffective for language learning outcomes among minority youth (Makarova & Birman, 2016). Under the current practices of ethnic concentration, ethnic minority students cannot improve their intercultural learning even if their parents support and encourage them to learn Chinese (Moskal, 2016). Thus, consistent with earlier studies, the present study proposes an end to the culture of segregated schools in Hong Kong for better acculturative outcomes among the students from an ethnic minority background (Fang & Chun, 2017; Kapai & Singh, 2018).

8.3.3.2. Education System and Teachers' Role: Despite cherishing the better quality of education in Hong Kong, some of the participants underscore the challenges they experience in schools. These challenges stem from the overall educational system and the lack of teachers' sensitivity to ethnic minority students' needs in schools (Westrick & Yuen, 2007). Both local and international studies have also identified similar challenges among immigrants and ethnic minority youth across the societies of settlement (Bacallao et al., 2009; Bartlett et al., 2017; Bhowmik et al., 2018; Vyas & Yu, 2018; Yuen et al., 2010).

Recent studies of acculturation have described such issues as 'discrepancies in the educational system and culture' (Makarova & Birman, 2016, p. 6). Despite the significant presence of the non-Chinese population in the territory, Hong Kong mainstream education lacks the representation of diverse religions and cultures (Tsung & Fang, 2012). The language policy in education, the monocultural and assimilationist education system, has long been identified as critical to the integration of ethnic minority youth in Hong Kong (Heung, 2006; O'Connor, 2010; Tong, 2008).

Unlike in various studies with immigrants in which lack of fluency in the host language has been reported as a significant acculturative challenge (Yan & Berliner, 2011; Zhang & Zhou, 2010), the present study reiterates the challenges related to the Chinese literacy (Li & Chuk, 2015) in addition to long school hours, and teachers perceptions about ethnic minority students and their parents. Although none of the participants reported any explicit unequal treatment or

discrimination by their teachers, their accounts suggest a lack of intercultural sensitivity among teachers (Chan, 2009; Westrick & Yuen, 2007; Goldblatt & Rosenblum, 2007; Moskal, 2016).

In light of the participants' experiences in their schools, teachers appear to be less aware of diverse needs of ethnic minority students and their stereotypes often account for school change and students' loss of motivation and intercultural learning (Kim, 2009; Lai et al., 2015; Makarova & Birman, 2015). Recognizing the diverse educational needs (Heung, 2007) and making school environment inclusive, responsive, and connected appears to be inevitable for helping ethnic minority young people adapt to the education system in particular and integrate to the mainstream society in general (Kennedy, 2012; Hue & Kennedy, 2012; 2013; 2014).

8.3.3.3. Chinese Language Teaching & Learning*: With few exceptions, a majority of the participants view acquiring Chinese literacy skills comparatively hard. Even a couple of Hong Kong-born participants also recognize Chinese reading and writing harder than speaking. Nevertheless, the greater satisfaction with both reading and writing among local-born students makes it difficult to assume Chinese language learning a common problem among all non-Chinese young people. Various studies with immigrant youth have already reported the critical role of learning a mainstream language particularly the oral communication in the societies of settlement (Zhang & Zhou, 2010; Yan & Berliner, 2011; Moskal, 2016; Mendez et al., 2012; Bacallao et al., 2009).

Recent studies have also highlighted Cantonese as an essential problem of acculturation and adaptation even among postgraduate students from Mainland China in Hong Kong (Vyas & Yu, 2018; Bhowmik et al., 2018; Yu & Zhang, 2016). Although earlier studies have already highlighted Chinese literacy problem among ethnic minority youth (Li & Chuk, 2015; Yuen et al., 2010; Ku et al., 2005; Cheung et al., 2014), the depiction of Chinese as the only problem undermines the highly variable Chinese language skills across the groups of students. Consistent with earlier findings, the present study found the Chinese language one of the several other factors responsible for the participants' educational acculturation. Despite having good Cantonese skills and life satisfaction (Yuen & Lee, 2016), the lack of intercultural contact opportunities (Ng et al., 2018) underscores the need for effective teaching strategies for improved literacy skills and educational adaptation in schools.

Furthermore, consistent with other studies, the present study also highlights the need of separate Chinese language curriculum for second language learners (Fang & Chun, 2017) and maximum consideration on the part of teachers in supporting the ethnic minorities in learning Chinese (Shum et al., 2015; Heung, 2006). A single language teaching curriculum for all may hardly facilitate the non-Chinese mastering the language and compete with their Chinese counterparts. International studies have also emphasized language teaching strategies and teachers' competencies for catering ethnically and linguistically diverse classroom needs (Makarova & Birman, 2016; Kim, 2009). Although the Chinese language is not the only challenge for non-Chinese students' acculturation to the mainstream society, teachers and schools may need to

recognize the special language needs and uphold the principle of equity rather than the equal treatment of all.

8.3.3.4. Social Support and Facilitation: Consistent with earlier studies (Ku et al., 2005), the majority of the participants report that their schools value and respect their cultural practices and religious values and norms. Their self-reported academic performance and satisfaction reflect the positive academic support they receive from their teachers (Bacallao et al., 2009). All of them, particularly the recently migrated students, are appreciative of the quality of education as well as the cultural diversity in their school (Bartlett et al., 2017). However, further probing of their accounts reveals that they often need to negotiate with their socio-cultural needs in their school environment (O'Connor, 2011).

During the month of Ramadan, they often need to skip the classes in the afternoon due to the long school hours. The lack of facilitation for having halal food in the school canteen and the provision of dedicated space for Muslim prayers make the participants concerned about fulfilling their religious requirements and obligations (Ku et al., 2005). Furthermore, on religious festivals, they need to remain absent from school resulting in difficulties in the catch up of their missed lessons.

Moreover, academic streaming, coupled with the lack of structural challenges, may hardly facilitate the process of embracing ethnic minority students and making secondary school inclusive (Kapai & Singh, 2018). Better social support mechanisms in schools for ethnic

minority students may improve their academic performance (Neseth, Savage, & Navarro, 2009). The accounts of the participants suggest that their schools exercise an assimilationist approach and do not facilitate students with an ethnic minority background to maintain their heritage culture and develop bicultural orientation. The present study reiterates the findings of a meta-analysis that "schools of receiving societies do not provide sufficient support for ethnic minority students' heritage culture maintenance or their bicultural development" (Makarova & Birman, 2015, p. 322).

Besides structural challenges, some female participants highlight the lack of facilitation and encouragement for participation in sports activities in schools. Nevertheless, variations prevail among girls concerning their desire to participate in sports-related activities in schools. Although the Muslim identity and religious requirements of dress code often restrict the girl's participants, greater facilitation towards Muslim girls in their participation in non-academic activities by the schools may facilitate their adaptation and integration (Makarova & Herzog, 2014; Walseth & Fasting, 2004). The lack of sensitivity on the part of schools and teachers toward ethnic minority students' sports preferences and religious restrictions may result in their minimum engagement in cross-cultural or intercultural encounters and communication.

The boys' participants' maximum participation in various sports events suggests a positive impact on their well-being in schools (Dagkas & Benn, 2006) compared with girls. Given that sports facilitate intercultural contact and cross-ethnic friendships, studies in various contexts have already highlighted the importance of non-academic activities in efforts to integrate ethnic

minority youth into the school context (Uptin, Wright, & Harwood, 2013). Secondary schools can use sports as a potential means for developing a sense of school belongingness and intercultural learning for both the ethnic Chinese and ethnic minority students. In Hong Kong, however, the state of ethnic segregation in schools questions the potential role of sports in minority youth's adaptation.

8.3.4. Acculturative Challenges in the Societal Context

8.3.4.1. Incidents of Prejudice and Discrimination: Consistent with earlier studies, the accounts of the participants suggest that prejudice and perceived discrimination appear to be an integral part of life in Hong Kong. They have learned to accept it as part of everyday life (O'Connor, 2010; Carbtree & Wong, 2013; Kapai & Lalvani, 2019) that potentially affects their acculturation to the mainstream society (Jackson & Nesterova, 2017; Law & Lee, 2013; Lee et al., 2007). Acculturation studies across the societies of the settlement have identified prejudice and discrimination negatively related to both psychological and sociocultural wellbeing among immigrant and ethnic minority young people (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2004; Bhowmik et al., 2018; Vyas & Yu, 2018; Yu & Zhang, 2016; Berry et al., 2006). The higher level of prejudice among the majority group is strongly related to heritage cultural maintenance among the immigrants (Christ et al., 2013). It not only affects their identity construction (Gu, 2015; Ng et al., 2018) but also influences their behavior and values acculturation to the mainstream society (Kim & Omizo, 2006).

In addition to being a strong predictor of both psychological and sociocultural adaptation, perceived discrimination is positively related to ethnic orientation and strengthens heritage cultural identity (Berry et al., 2006). Experiences of prejudice resulted in increased religious practices among Muslim immigrants in Germany, particularly among the second and third generations of immigrants (Schachner et al., 2014). Studies have also reported the experiences of discrimination as the strongest predictor of life satisfaction (Berry & Hou, 2016), whereas perceived racism is negatively associated with psychological wellbeing (Allamila et al., 216).

The depiction of Muslims being terrorists and fanatics often makes the Muslim immigrants uncomfortable, and the visible elements of Muslim culture often result in frequent experiences of discrimination (Holtz et al., 2013; Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Bun, 2006). Some recent studies have also reported discrimination being negatively related to belongingness (Mccoy et al., 2016). Although the available findings suggest prejudice and discrimination are negatively related to life satisfaction, consistent with earlier findings (Yuen et al., 2016), the participants' self-reports of higher life satisfaction depict a different picture. Maybe in the face of greater social benefits of life in Hong Kong, prejudice and discrimination are of little concern for the participants. Nevertheless, it negatively affects acculturation orientation and adaptation outcomes among young people. The participants' diverse reports of experiencing prejudice and discrimination also underscore the critical role of individual biographies, immigration motives, and acculturation context. Studies with other ethnic minority youth will help ascertain if there are any similarities and differences.

8.3.4.2. Lack of Intercultural Understanding: Central to the acculturative challenges among the research participants appears to be the lack of knowledge and awareness of differences between various ethnic or cultural groups in Hong Kong. Consistent with earlier studies, the research findings confirm the negative stereotypes and perceptions about Muslims in general and Pakistanis in particular (Ku, 2006; O'Connor, 2010; Crabtree & Wong, 2013; Law & Lee, 2012; 2013) that negatively affect acculturative perceptions and preferences (López-Rodríguez et al., 2014). One of the significant causes of intercultural misunderstanding appears to be the lack of positive intercultural encounters that curtail not only intercultural contact but also shapes acculturative orientations among various cultural groups (Kunsta & Sam, 2013).

According to some studies, the lack of understanding about cultural differences potentially results in adaptation-related difficulties across the domains of life (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2004) and causes distancing from each other due to fear of any potential discriminatory behavior (Bhowmik et al., 2018). Despite having a welcoming attitude compared to non-Chinese, the postgraduate students from Mainland reported tremendous challenges of adaptation in Hong Kong due to stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination in Hong Kong (Vyas & Yu, 2018; Bhowmik et al., 2018; Yu & Zhang, 2016).

Studies have also reported how the mainstream society racialize and marginalize Pakistanis in general and the Pakistani women in particular (Gu, 2015) resulting in the limited opportunities to learn about the mainstream society and to socialize with the locals (Gu & Patkin, 2013). Misconceptions about Muslims in general and Pakistanis in particular (Bun, 2006; O'Connor,

2010; Crabtree & Wong, 2013) may compel the Pakistani young people to distance themselves from Chinese and prefer to maintain interactions with various non-Chinese ethnic minority groups (Bourhis et al., 2009). Consequently, the research participants' appear to segregate themselves socially from Chinese voluntarily (Yan & Berliner, 2011). The participants' limited participation in Chinese cultural festivals confirms the discouraging social consequences stemming from the lack of intercultural understanding (Khan et al., 2017).

Acculturative studies in various contexts have reported a positive association between intercultural contact and multicultural ideology (Lebedeva et al., 2016). Although the limited intercultural contact between Chinese and non-Chinese suggests the lack of endorsement to the multicultural ideology, the maximum opportunities of intercultural encounters between various non-Chinese ethnic minorities underscore the values of multicultural ideology among the latter. If this analysis deems correct, then it can be concluded that the local Chinese hold different acculturation orientations towards Chinese immigrants from Mainland and non-Chinese people in Hong Kong (Hui et al., 2015). They appear to hold different attitudes toward culturally close Mainland immigrants and cultural distant non-Chinese ethnic minorities (Safdar et al., 2008).

Thus, the present findings support the view that successful adaptation and integration of ethnic minorities would demand maximum intercultural contact and understanding through various educational initiatives for teachers, parents, and the general public. The role of the media is critical in this regard (Kapai & Singh, 2018; Jackson & Nesterova, 2017). Maximum opportunities for intercultural contact and socialization may help address the issues of

misunderstanding and stereotypes about different ethnic groups that, in turn, will facilitate the acculturation of non-Chinese into mainstream society in Hong Kong.

8.3.4.3. Lack of Respect for Ethnic Differences and Preferences: One of the significant challenges that influence the participants' acculturation to mainstream society is the lack of sensitivity and respect for ethnic differences and preferences in the global city of Hong Kong. They often encounter challenges while fulfilling their dietary needs and enjoy their recreational preferences. Dietary preferences have been identified as one of the social and behavioral markers of acculturation in the multi-ethnic and multi-racial societies (Leong, 2014).

Research studies with ethnic minority youth in Hong Kong have already highlighted the potential role of various protective social factors that may facilitate their adaptation and integration (Arat et al., 2016; O'Connor, 2012; Bhowmik & Kennedy, 2016). Consistent with earlier findings, the limited access to and the availability of halal food as well as the inadequate opportunities of cricket playgrounds resulted in the experiences of being excluded or marginalized among the research participants (Ku, 2006; Crabtree & Wong, 2013).

The religious obligation of halal food among Muslim youth potentially influences intercultural encounters and socialization. The lack of sensitivity in the mainstream society toward halal food requirements among Muslims certainly curtails the opportunities for participation in various cultural and religious celebrations (Khan et al., 2017). Without due respect for diverse racial and religious practices, it is hardly possible to facilitate the effective acculturative and intercultural

adaptation (Leong, 2014). The perceived lack of respect and accommodation of differences and ethnic preferences shapes the acculturation intentions of acculturating people (Tartakovsky, 2012).

Despite the presence of Muslims in the territory since the British colonial time, the recognition of their diverse needs remained marginal. Although some of the practices of different religious groups may be conflictual (Dominic & Michelle, 2011) a genuine embracement of Muslim needs in everyday life may preserve the unique historical and cultural hybridity of Hong Kong (O'Connor, 2012a; 2019) and may help Muslim residents acculturate to the 'Asia's World City'.

8.3. Conclusion

This chapter began with its contents, including the discussion of the research findings reported in chapters 5 through 7. The first part of the chapter discussed the participants' acculturative experiences particularly as to how they make sense of their social identities, learning multiple languages, and learning about heritage cultures and other cultures. Then it discussed the research findings related to the participants' experiences of both enculturation and acculturation and argued that their everyday lived experiences in the multicultural context of Hong Kong facilitate little in their acculturation to the local culture. It argued that both enculturation and acculturation are pervasive in life in the multicultural societies of the settlement. The last part of the chapter discussed the various factors that account for the research participants' acculturative challenges across the contexts of socialization.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Focus of the Chapter

This chapter concludes the thesis, summarizes the study findings and discusses its implications. Sections 9.1 through 9.3 summarize the research findings. Section 9.4 discusses the study implications related to theory, research, practice, and policy. Section 9.5 underscores the limitations of the study. Lastly, section 9.6 reports the researcher's learning experience of conducting a qualitative inquiry in the unique multicultural context of Hong Kong.

9.1. Acculturative Experiences

Given the multiplicity of research approaches in acculturation science, the present study adopted a cultural learning approach to explore the acculturative experiences of Pakistani secondary school students in Hong Kong. Although acculturation is a dual process of acquiring knowledge about social identities, behaviors, and values related to both the heritage cultures and other cultures, for the sake of clarity, the present study made a distinction between enculturation - the process of heritage cultures learning and acculturation (second cultures, mainstream culture or local culture learning). Accordingly, the socialization of the research participants across the social contexts, including family, community, school, and the larger society shaped and influenced their enculturation as well as acculturation processes. They not only experience acculturation differently from each other but also follow diverse trajectories of intercultural learning. Students born in Hong Kong (second or third generation of Pakistanis) make sense of their multicultural life in different ways than those born in Pakistan and migrated (first

generation of Pakistanis). The former group of participants exhibits higher levels of awareness and understanding of the local culture and people. Although they understand their social identities differently from one another, they associate themselves with both their heritage cultures and the local culture. They are proficient in Cantonese, have acquired multiple language skills, and comparatively have more local friends. Similarly, differences also exist in the ways boys and girls experience acculturation in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, the study findings suggest that the process of enculturation supersede acculturation due to the lack of required conditions for intercultural contact and learning.

While growing up in the 'Asia's World City,' the research participants acquire knowledge about their social identities, speak multiple languages, and learn about their heritage cultures as well as other cultures. They make sense of their social identities in a variety of ways. However, their hyphenated social identification neither reflects their enculturation nor guarantee their acculturation to mainstream society. Whether or not they express multiple identities, their everyday life experiences confirm their biculturalism or multiculturalism in the unique cultural context of Hong Kong. Their socialization across the social contexts shape their views and conceptions about who they are and how different they are from others. Religion, ethnicity, language, and place of birth play a critical role in shaping their social identification. They learn and speak multiple languages across the contexts of socialization that distinguish them from their local counterparts. Their linguistic capital often gives them the confidence and optimism to move forward and materialize their academic and career aspirations in Hong Kong.

Although they live and grow up in a Chinese city with its unique cultural hybridity of both the Eastern and the Western cultures, their everyday practices facilitate and reinforce their enculturation more than acculturation. They speak ethnic languages more often than not, eat ethnic food, socialize with co-ethnic friends in the community and neighborhoods, attend schools with co-ethnic peers, spend their recreational time with co-ethnic friends, and often engage in specific sports activities that are quite common among the co-ethnic people. However, this does not mean that they live entirely in isolation without any interactions with other ethnic groups and learning about others. Indeed, their everyday encounters across the contexts of socialization facilitate their intercultural learning. Given their limited interactions with local Chinese compared to non-Chinese peers and friends, however, there exists an imbalance in their acculturative learning about the mainstream culture and other ethnic minority cultures. Despite facing a variety of challenges in their everyday life in Hong Kong, they report better academic performance and life satisfaction that questions the dominant research perspectives and underscore the theoretical gaps in studying acculturation in non-European contexts in general and among Muslim youth in the societies of settlement in particular. Their higher levels of Chinese language proficiency and use, higher levels of religiosity, higher civic and school engagement, higher academic aspirations, higher levels of co-ethnic socialization, multilingualism, and bi-multicultural identities qualify as the protective factors and underscore the need to explore their acculturative experiences from a strength-based perspective.

9.2. Enculturative or Acculturative Experiences and Socialization Contexts

The study findings suggest that the research participants' learn about their heritage cultures and other cultures through various ways and means of intercultural learning. Their everyday socialization in different social settings facilitates both their enculturation and acculturation processes. The participants' experiences of learning and re-learning about heritage cultures and other cultures questions the notion of static culture. Since the process of change is integral to any culture, so is the case with the process of intercultural learning. Young people living in multicultural contexts not only learn to live in changing times without compromising their heritage cultural identities, practices, and values but also learn about others with whom they interact and share a common social space. In this sense, the research participants always engage in the process of enculturation as well as acculturation simultaneously irrespective of their status of immigration, albeit they follow diverse trajectories of intercultural learning. Within the familial context, the intra-family language preferences, ethnic food and cuisine, parenting styles and family relationships, and the entertainment preferences facilitate their learning about heritage culture. The socio-economic standing of the family and the familial roles and responsibilities shape their attitude toward gender roles and social expectations. The consumption of various ethnic news and entertainment activities not only facilitates their learning about heritage cultures but also plays a critical role in second culture learning. Moreover, the participants' everyday engagement with digital media and Internet-based intercultural encounters suggests both the possibilities of 'remote enculturation' as well as 'remote acculturation.'

Although the familial environment sets a stage for religious identity formation, the research participants strengthen their religious identity in the communal context. They attend religious education centers (madrasa) from a very young age and learn about fundamental beliefs, social norms, and religious practices. They learn about their religious obligations and practices. More often than not, religious education classes are organized in the mosque or in its premises where most of their communal or religious socialization takes place. Some of the participants even spend most of their time after school in religious education centers, whereby they read the sacred text and aim to commit some or whole of it to their memory besides participating in daily prayer congregations where possible. Thus, the communal space of mosques or religious education centers becomes the second important enculturation context in which they learn about Islam, socialize with co-ethnic people, and practice various ethnic languages in addition to their mother tongue. Considering the fact the cultural and linguistic diversity is an essential feature of Pakistan, the research participants not only meet and learn about other Pakistanis with whom they do not share a common mother tongue and home or ethnic culture but also interact with fellow Muslims with diverse national backgrounds. In this sense, they learn about multiple heritage cultures in addition to learning about local culture and other cultures.

Though schools appear to be the most significant intercultural learning context, they often lack the conducive conditions for acculturation. Language and streaming policies constrain their socialization with Chinese peers and hence hinder their intercultural learning. Consequently, the research participants go to segregated schools where they attend classes, mainly with co-ethnic and non-Chinese peers. They seldom have any interaction with Chinese peers. In so-called *de*

facto segregated schools, they communicate with each other in languages other than Cantonese except during the teaching time. In addition to English and Cantonese, they also practice other ethnic languages. They learn more about their non-Chinese peers than their local counterparts. Their interactions with non-Chinese peers in the educational context often result in friendships beyond the school and classroom settings. Their socialization with co-ethnic and non-Chinese peers curtails the possibilities of or opportunities for local culture learning. Thus, they lack the required structural conditions in schools for acculturation to mainstream society.

The research participants' awareness of mainstream culture also comes from their everyday implicit and explicit intercultural encounters in the larger society. Their everyday encounters facilitate their learning about both the objective and subjective aspects of mainstream culture. Based on their lived experiences of how the larger society recognizes their differences, practices, and preferences, they develop an understanding of others that shapes their attitude and behavior. Since they spend most of their free time with co-ethnic and non-Chinese friends, they lack the opportunities for learning about mainstream culture. Their extensive socialization with co-ethnic people strengthens their ethnic bonding resulting in strong ethnic identification and belongingness to ethnic culture. Consequently, they lack the knowledge about the subjective dimension of mainstream culture that, in turn, hinders their acculturation to the mainstream society. Indeed, their everyday lived experiences across the contexts of socialization facilitate their enculturation more than acculturation.

9.3. Acculturative Challenges

The study findings underscore several challenges and unfavorable social conditions that hinder the research participants' acculturation to the local culture. The various factors that potentially hamper their learning about other cultures are related to their socialization in the familial, communal, educational, and societal contexts. Within their familial context, parents always prefer to communicate with children in their mother tongue. During their free time, they watch Pakistani news or entertainment channels and lack a conducive environment for Chinese or English language learning. The socio-economic status of the family also affects the processes of acculturation among the participants. Mostly, fathers bear the whole financial burden of the family, and the majority of them are engaged in low paid and irregular jobs. They cannot spend enough time with their children and hardly support them in school-related matters. Nor their mothers can offer any help due to their lack of required qualifications. Moreover, at times, daughters are expected to give a helping hand and sometimes assume their mothers' role and look after their siblings and take charge of domestic affairs in their absence. However, despite contributing to household chores, they report better academic performance than their brothers. Thus, the participants' familial conditions differentiate them from the local peers and hardly resonate with their acculturation efforts to mainstream society. Educators and schools may need to consider these differences and remain sensitive to their special educational needs while helping them realize their educational and career aspirations in Hong Kong.

Another set of challenges that hamper their acculturation to the local culture arises from their experiences of communal life. While receiving their religious education or fulfilling religious commitments, they socialize mainly with co-ethnic and Muslim people. They spend a substantial portion of time at religious education centers after school or on weekends and cannot devote enough time to their studies compared to their both non-Chinese and Chinese counterparts. Although all the children attend religious centers from a very young age, girls do not continue it after entering into their teenage instead continue to improve religious knowledge at home informally. Nevertheless, differences exist in terms of how these young females continue their religious education during their adolescence. In sum, the study findings suggest that the research participants lack the opportunities for acculturation in their communal context in Hong Kong.

Despite students' self-reports of academic performance and satisfaction, the educational context is not without the potential challenges of acculturation. First and foremost is the practice of segregated schools with non-Chinese students' concentration. Although the term 'designated schools' is no longer in use of public communication, segregation of ethnic minority students is a *de facto* reality in Hong Kong. The participants' school transfer cases suggest that mainstream schools lack the conducive conditions for academic acculturation of non-Chinese young people. They are not sensitive to the unique individual needs of the students with diverse racial, ethnic, religious, and linguistic backgrounds. Notably, some teachers lack professional skills for managing diverse groups of students in mainstream schools.

Furthermore, streaming based on Chinese language skills results in separate classes for Chinese and non-Chinese students with little opportunities for interethnic contact or interactions. Students also find challenges due to the absence of the Chinese language teaching curriculum as second language learning. Although the level of social support and facilitation for non-Chinese students vary from school to school, Muslim students always negotiate with their dietary needs in addition to religious practices and obligations; especially during the month of Ramadan (an Islamic month of fasting) and religious festivals. Moreover, non-flexibility in school policies hardly encourages Muslim girls to participate in sports activities instead ask them to change the school if they wish not to comply with existing practices. Thus, Muslim students lack social support and structural facilitation, which are essential for developing school belongingness and academic adaptation.

The larger society also lacks the supportive conditions required for acculturation to mainstream society. Pakistani young people experience discrimination in their everyday life in Hong Kong. Negative stereotypes about Pakistanis and treating them as backward, traditional, smelly, unclean, and trouble makers potentially affect the participants' acculturative attitudes. Girls often find themselves responding questions such as why they wear a headscarf or why men oppress women in their culture. The research participants are of the view that based on race and religion, the mainstream society holds varied acculturative orientations toward non-Chinese that negatively affect their acculturative orientation. They believe that such attitudes stemming from the lack of inter-ethnic or intercultural understanding result in negative perceptions about each other, facilitate intercultural distancing, and deteriorate interculturalism.

The research findings suggest that despite being multicultural in a demographic sense, Hong Kong lacks both the inclusive policies and practices for successful adaptation and integration of non-Chinese into the mainstream society. Among others, the main challenges lie in the fact that people are not sensitive to the differences. They lack the knowledge and understanding of others. Whether it is the Chinese or non-Chinese population, the incidents of perceived discrimination and prejudice suggest people are self-centered and ignorant about the 'others.' Indeed, acculturative challenges across the contexts of socialization are mainly stemming from the ignorance of differences and diversity. Borrowing the ideas of Huntington (1997) and Said (2001) central to the challenges of acculturation in multicultural societies appears to be the 'clash of ignorance.' Although, the issue of halal food is common for all Muslims in Hong Kong, the absence of facilitation for ethnic preferences such as playgrounds for Pakistani young people who wish to play cricket during their free time further promotes ethnic segregation and lack of belongingness to the mainstream society. Thus, the incidents of perceived discrimination & prejudice, the lack of intercultural understanding, and the lack of accommodation to religious differences & ethnic preferences hinder the process of acculturation to the mainstream society among the research participants in Hong Kong.

9.4. Implications of the Study

The present study findings have several implications related to theory, research, policy, and practice. Considering the fact that acculturation is a multidimensional phenomenon the present study can contribute to the theory on enculturation, acculturation, cross-cultural identity

development, bicultural identity, biculturalism or multiculturalism, bilingualism or multilingualism, intercultural or cross-cultural contact, cross-cultural learning, multicultural education, ethnic studies, religious studies, adolescent studies, and diaspora studies just a few to mention. The study contributes to the emerging body of knowledge that embraces the belief that all people have unique strengths that need to be identified, recognized, and developed for their wellbeing. Moreover, the study supports that theory that acculturation is a dynamic process of intercultural learning.

A word that best describes the existing situation about intercultural learning in multicultural societies and acculturation theory, research, and practices is *ignorance*. Most of the acculturation related issues appear to be the consequences of intercultural ignorance. Indeed, it is the ignorance of cultural, religious, and ideological differences among the general public, theorists, policymakers, and practitioners that accounts for significant acculturative challenges among immigrants and ethnic minorities in the societies of settlement.

Some critics have already identified gaps in the existing body of knowledge on acculturation. Accordingly, the "major problems have included the field's neglect of its historical foundations and empirical studies that are misdirected and distorted by historical shadows of the 1880s acculturation concept and by ideological biases of liberalism" (Rudmin et al., 2017, p. 89). These conceptual and ideological biases have resulted in a body of knowledge that is hardly sensitive to the differences that shape acculturation trajectories among different communities and cultural groups in a variety of socio-political contexts throughout the world. The present study findings

offer some evidence in support of the arguments put forward by the critics of acculturation research and theory.

9.4.1. Theory-related Implications

1. Although the present study was not aimed at what the phenomenon of acculturation is/was like, the study findings certainly help understand the diversity and multiplicity of the ways in which people in multicultural societies experience acculturation. Given the diversity of acculturating people and social groups in multicultural societies such as immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers, sojourners, expatriates, rich and poor, educated and undereducated, men and women, young and old acculturation cannot be understood as a homogenous process which is more or less similar for all types of acculturating people. Acculturation theory needs to be considerate of the unique ways in which people may experience cross-cultural lives and remain sensitive to their special intercultural needs for meaningful educational interventions.

2. Considering the fact that the history of acculturation is rooted in the Judeo-Christian social, political, and cultural milieu, the available knowledge may be less useful in studying acculturative experiences of people in non-European cultures and civilizations such as Islam, Buddhism, and Confucianism. For instance, unlike in Islam, there has been a long history of struggles for the separation of religion from worldly affairs in the Christian world. Contrarily, for Muslims, religion and worldly matters are intertwined and inseparable. Researchers from Western cultures who endorse Western ideologies such

as liberalism expect similar acculturation trends among immigrants from non-Western and non-Judeo-Christian cultures. The ignorance of religio-cultural differences among acculturating people appears to be a critical aspect of theoretical issues in acculturation science. As Rudmin and colleagues (2017, p. 85) state:

> The most exculpatory explanation is that the whole field shares a common ideological framework that facilitates a consensus of findings that seem obviously correct from within the confines of the ideology but are based on faulty methods and wrong rhetoric that the community cannot see and sometimes denies.

Consequently, researching cross-cultural lives and identities among Muslim immigrants with the help of existing frameworks and models that give little space to the role of religion in acculturation may hardly facilitate a deeper understanding of their everyday social realities. Unlike the adherents of other faiths, Muslims live by their religion. They hardly make a distinction between their religious beliefs and everyday life. There is hardly a religious tradition that dictates the behavior of its adherents in every spare of life other than Islam. At the same time, it is also essential to consider differences across Muslim cultures. Greater considerations of religion in various research endeavors with Muslim immigrants may help better understand their realities of acculturation. Otherwise, beyond language learning, acculturation or intercultural learning would be an impossible project for Muslims living in the societies of settlement throughout the world.

3. The ignorance of culturally other, coupled with the lack of sensitivity and respect for

difference, has resulted in understanding that some cultures are superior or civilized (Rudmin et al., 2017). The rejection of cultural integration by the majority of British and Americans in Singapore confirms such a dichotomy of superior and inferior cultures (Ward, 1999). Irrespective of geographic divisions, it is evident in acculturation studies across the societies of settlement whereby the host culture is portrayed as superior to the culture of immigrants of ethnic minorities. The overwhelming research focus on non-Chinese, particularly on non-Europeans in Hong Kong, also suggests such a superior-inferior cultural complex as if some cultural groups are immune to acculturative changes. Researching ethnic minorities by assuming their cultures being backward, traditional, uncivilized, and patriarchal may hardly help understand social realities among acculturating people. Focusing on the positive and protective aspects of acculturation instead of looking for risk factors may create the possibilities of helping the needy without turning the whole humanity into a single and homogeneous cultural group. Researching acculturation without making superior versus inferior cultural dichotomies may address the deficit-based perspective and help build confidence among immigrant and ethnic minorities in the societies of settlement for maintaining their heritage culture and learn about others for collective wellbeing. The present study underscores the need to avoid treating some cultures inferior to others and advocates the advancement of knowledge based on cultural diversity and the core values of pluralism.

4. Globalization has created varied conditions of intercultural contact across the groups of immigrants and non-immigrants, resulting in learning about different cultural groups

even without experiencing stress. People irrespective of their place of birth, nationality, and the country of residence expose to a diverse range of values and behaviors and develop social identities related to different cultures. The common thread that binds all the diverse experiences of intercultural contact and exposure is learning and awareness of different cultures. Thus, the centering of culture learning approach to acculturation research may address the gaps and open up the possibilities of redressing intercultural ignorance for mutual understanding, valuation, recognition, respect, and wellbeing.

5. Despite the tremendous growth in theory and research, the lack of consensus on a single definition confirms the complexity inherent to the phenomenon of acculturation. Describing the complex phenomenon of acculturation from a culture learning approach may help better explain the emerging trends of intercultural contact, 'remote enculturation,' and 'remote acculturation' among immigrants and non-immigrants across the societies of settlement. Building theory of acculturation from a strength-based perspective rather than focusing on their weakness and risk factors may help explore the possibilities of helping acculturating people in the societies of settlement.

9.4.2. Research-related Implications

1. The present study focused on Pakistani secondary school students; future studies can further explore the acculturative experiences of students from other ethnic minority groups in Hong Kong. The knowledge acquired will help analyze the acculturative experiences among different ethnic groups and identify potential areas of improvement

towards making multicultural education possible in Hong Kong.

2. The phenomenon of acculturation is pervasive in everyday life in a multicultural context and is shaped by intercultural learning across the contexts of socialization. The investigation of acculturative experiences among parents, teachers, school administrators, Chinese peers & friends, and their parents, religious teachers, and most importantly general public in the mainstream society will help develop a comprehensive understanding of acculturation from strength-based perspective instead of looking for the causes and the consequences of stress.

3. The existing literature mainly highlights the experiences of South Asians, and little attention has been paid to the study of acculturation among people from western countries as well as non-Chinese from East-Asian countries. Comparative studies of acculturative experiences among ethnic minorities from western and non-western countries will highlight the currency of the existing body of knowledge and extend existing theory and research on acculturation.

4. Given that phenomenographic studies report research findings in a collectivize form; the present study did allow in-depth analysis and comparison of individual cases. Comparative analysis of case studies may help ascertain the diverse trajectories of acculturation across the unique biographies among immigrants and ethnic minority young people.

5. Future research can also explore the acculturative experiences of Muslim young people other than Pakistanis. Learning about acculturative experiences among Muslims with various ethnic and cultural backgrounds will help ascertain any commonalities and differences.

9.4.3. Practice-related Implications

The present study underscores the importance of redressing intercultural ignorance and of replacing it with intercultural learning and understanding. How this could be done is not so simple and straight forward. Nevertheless, the only way to broaden our intercultural horizons is through *education*. Education systems can play a critical role in preparing future generations for living a multicultural life in highly interconnected and interdependent societies, economies, and cultures. It is the educational institutions that can help people become dedicated teachers, better parents, responsible citizens, informed public, and good human beings. The following are some of the recommendations related to educational practices that can facilitate the process of acculturation among ethnic minority young people to the local culture.

1. Most of the parents cannot help their children due to either the lack of education or lack of conducive conditions in schools facilitating coordinated efforts. Schools may create encouraging conditions for parental participation and help them take part in the educational activities of children.

2. Despite socio-economic difficulties and hardships, students' varied experiences of

parental support reveal some good examples of parenting practices. Their experiences can be a potential source of inspiration for others, especially for those who need support from both schools and civil society institutions. Promoting some examples of effective parenting as a role model and providing parental education services will help ethnic minority young people do better in schools.

3. School change or transfer experiences among some students underscore the potential gaps in teachers' professional training for managing diversity in classrooms. They also hold varied expectations from students based on stereotypes and misunderstandings. By helping and encouraging teachers to improve their intercultural learning, schools can better serve ethnic minority students and facilitate their educational acculturation.

4. Experiences of better teachers' support highlight the significance of multicultural teachers. They exhibit skills in managing multicultural classroom settings and committed to helping their students as optimally as possible. They have been teaching students from diverse cultural backgrounds, and their experiences can be better utilized for the education of others. The identification of such championed multicultural teachers and recognizing their services may pave the way for others to follow their footsteps.

5. Although most of the secondary schools in Hong Kong serve students from diverse cultural backgrounds, they lack the recognition of their traditions, customs, and values. They can consider the various cultural festivals and occasions among the students as the potential opportunities for intercultural learning. Structural support and facilitation for

cultural practices and preferences may help create inclusive and multicultural conditions and celebrate cultural diversity in schools.

6. The languages spoken in the familial context do not resonate with the languages of instruction in school. Similarly, they also speak different languages in the communal context. These language practices and preferences both in the family and in the community, put the non-Chinese students into a disadvantaged position. Schools should identify their special language needs and utilize their diverse language skills for improved inter-ethnic communication and intercultural learning.

7. Considering the religious education practices and greater socialization with co-ethnic young people, Pakistani students lack the opportunities for inter-ethnic socialization, especially with Chinese at the community level. Special attention is required for maximum inter-ethnic and intercultural interaction and socialization at the community level so that people from the diverse ethnic background may have a greater awareness of differences and commonalities.

8. The reports of discrimination and prejudice highlight the lack of intercultural understanding and awareness of differences. People in the mainstream society hold different acculturative orientation toward culturally close and cultural distant immigrants stemming from ethnic, religious, and racial stereotypes. There is a greater need for a public education campaign for combating Islamophobia and stereotypes about Pakistanis in particular and non-Chinese and immigrants in general in Hong Kong. It is the only way

to address the issue of intercultural ignorance and to value pluralism in the societies of settlement.

9. Non-Chinese people often find it challenging to fulfill their religious obligations and requirements in the larger society. The common problem for Muslims in Hong Kong is the lack of easy access to halal food. Similarly, Pakistani young people, particularly the boys, also long for the facilities to participate in their preferred sports activities. Maximum social support and accommodation of ethnic preferences may help develop a sense of belongingness among young people and help them actualize their talent in cherished fields of life.

9.4.4. Policy-related Implications

The present study findings suggest that various policies potentially control or influence acculturation. Immigrants and minorities may not be free to adopt cultural practices and preferences due to policies that govern their family relations, parenting styles, and language, food, and dress preferences. In the present study, all the challenges of acculturation across the contexts of socialization are stemming from ignorance about cultural differences and the unique needs of ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. Any sincere attempts addressing the issues would require both policy and practice related initiatives. The study findings have potential implications for educators and institutions serving non-Chinese people in general and Muslims in particular in Hong Kong.

1. Although the majority of residents in Hong Kong are ethnic Chinese, yet it is a multicultural society in its demographic sense. However, Hong Kong lacks a multicultural policy to retain and maintain its unique cultural hybridity and diversity. Developing and promoting a multicultural education policy would be a starting point towards realizing the goals of multiculturalism and preparing future generations for their wellbeing in the ever-changing cultures in the era of globalization.

2. The portrayal of Hong Kong as 'Asia's World City' and highlighting its demographic diversity is not a sufficient condition to maintain its unique cultural hybridity. Recognizing and protecting diverse cultural identities and promoting intercultural understanding will help redress intercultural ignorance and create a multicultural society that values pluralism.

3. There is an urgent need to end the *de facto* practices of segregated schools to ensure maximum intercultural encounters in the educational context. This will also help address the issues of quality education and facilitate intercultural learning among students with diverse cultural backgrounds and their acculturation to the mainstream society.

4. Schools with students from diverse backgrounds often suffer from the lack of capabilities to treat every student fairly. Policies should be in place to ensure fair treatment of children irrespective of their racial, ethnic, and religious background.

5. Despite having multiple language skills in addition to English and Cantonese, non-

Chinese students are always considered lacking Chinese literacy skills compared to their local counterparts. Valuing their language capital will help them develop belongingness and facilitate linguistic acculturation.

6. For young people, Chinese language learning and teaching practices hardly help them compete with locals who can devote more time and have better socio-economic conditions. Lowering the standard of Chinese and teaching them as first language learners hiders their access to tertiary education and realize careers aspirations after the completion of education. Appropriate Chinese language policy and curriculum for non-Chinese will help them integrate into mainstream society.

7. Streaming of students based on their Chinese language skills segregates ethnic minority students and deprives them of interactions with local Chinese peers. Public institutions responsible for educational services should take policy initiatives that encourage interactions among students from diverse cultural backgrounds and facilitate acculturation.

9.5. Limitations of the Study

The present study findings and conclusions should be interpreted in light of several limitations.

1. The present study examined 16 semi-structured interviews, and the interpretation relied mainly on their reports. They were taken as factual without checking its trustworthiness.

For instance, the researcher did not verify or cross-check their accounts of discrimination and prejudice across the contexts of socialization. Their perceptions of social events might be different from everyday realities.

2. Despite many commonalities with Muslim youth in general and Pakistani youth in particular across the societies of settlement, the study findings should be read with great sensitiveness to the context of acculturation. Unlike the overt expressions of Islamophobia in many western countries, Muslims in Hong Kong enjoy comparatively greater freedom of their religious expressions. The study findings may not be entirely relevant to Pakistani youth living in various cultural contexts.

3. The researcher being a Pakistani and a Muslim, share a common national and religious identity with the research participants. Although maximum efforts were taken to remain close to the participants' subjective and experiences and accounts, the researcher's identity might have influenced the interpretation of the data.

4. To analyze the research data with the help of Nvivo – a qualitative data analysis software, the researcher translated the transcripts of the interviews conducted in Urdu into English. However, efforts were made to remain close to the language of the participants in order to avoid any potential biases in translation.

5. Since acculturation is a complex, dynamic, and multidimensional process of change; it is beyond the capability of a young researcher to cover every single aspect within a limited

timeframe. Century-long scientific research on acculturation has resulted in a wealth of literature on various aspects from different theoretical perspectives. Contrary to the dominant discourse of acculturation from stress and coping perspective, the present study was a humble attempt to understand acculturation from a culture learning approach and a strength-based perspective.

9.6. Research Learning: A Personal Experience

Given the dominance of quantitative research methodologies and methods, the journey of conducting a quality inquiry of acculturation in Hong Kong has been a great learning experience. Nevertheless, it was not without difficulties and uncertainties from the early conceptualization of the research topic to the endless efforts of making sense of the data. The entire research process was transformative in many ways and was exploratory in terms of looking for potential conceptual and theoretical frameworks, methodologies, and methods.

Theoretically, it was a challenging task to review countless theories and models coupled with voluminous literature covering a range of acculturating groups across the societies of settlements. The increasing rate of publications on acculturation made the project of literature review even more cumbersome. This exercise, however, taught me the lesson that it is hardly possible for young researchers to go through every empirical study during a limited time. Because acculturation is a complex and multidimensional construct, focused literature reviews related to the research questions may help young researchers utilize their time effectively.

Nevertheless, this does not mean to discount the benefits of maximum exposure to available literature that can be reaped even beyond the course of a postgraduate study.

The personal commitment of conducting a qualitative inquiry of acculturation gave me the opportunity of exploring a range of possible qualitative methodologies. However, the multiplicity and diversity of research traditions within different methodologies proved to be a potential source of confusion and uncertainty. For instance, phenomenology is an established research methodology, and researchers from both positivist and non-positivist research paradigms have adopted in their studies. There are as many traditions of phenomenology as the number of phenomenologists who undertake research studies in various fields of inquiry. They often make methodological decisions even more complicated rather than making it simple. Limiting the choices of research methodology at the early stages of research conceptualization may help young researchers save their valuable time and energy.

Administratively, the process of data collection in schools is a challenging task in Hong Kong. Seeking permission from school administrators is often time-consuming and a potential source of frustration. Without the support of some teachers or school staff members, the data collection in schools would have been impossible. Similarly, the task of recruiting participants beyond schools is not without difficulties. At times participants cannot help due to long school hours and personal commitments after school. It was also challenging to recruit and interview female participants due to cultural sensitivities and differences. Young researchers may need to be proactive and realistic while planning their research studies in similar socio-cultural contexts.

9.7. Conclusion

This chapter concluded the thesis by summarizing the study findings and its implications related to theory, research, practice, and policy. It then endorsed the research findings by advocating acculturation as a multidimensional and dynamic process of intercultural learning (1) that unfolds in a social ecology and can be experienced differently by acculturating people; (2) that involves the simultaneous learning about the heritage cultures as well as other cultures; and (3) that various socio-economic and cultural factors across the contexts of socialization including family, community, schools, and society account for acculturative challenges. Among others, the chapter emphasized upon the importance of redressing intercultural ignorance through educational initiative based on the principle of diversity and the core values of pluralism. The chapter also highlighted the potential limitations followed by a researcher's account of learning while conducting a qualitative study in Hong Kong. It is hoped that the study findings may contribute to the existing body of knowledge on acculturation and may motivate researchers to explore ever-changing cross-cultural lives from a strength-based and culture learning perspective.

This thesis concludes with a long quotation taken from the book written by Professor Ming Fang He (2003) titled *A River Forever Flowing: Cross-Cultural Lives and Identities in the Multicultural Landscape* that best summarizes the everyday realities of acculturating people in the societies of settlement and advocates the research perspective adopted in the present study.

It takes a long time to discover a different world, different people, different things, different languages, different educational systems, different ways of thinking, different ways of knowing, different ways of learning and teaching, and different ways of relating to one another. Yet the difference could be the starting point for our learning. Through the differences, we begin to understand others and ourselves better. We learn to be tolerant of those who are different, and not to judge them through our values but through their own values. We learn to live the differences in our everyday lives, but not only dream about it. Understanding of and accepting the difference of others help us to understand and accept ourselves… we learn about the new culture by putting it alongside our learning of our own culture. It is in this parallel cultural learning experience that we begin to understand who we were, how we become who we are, and who we might be (He, 2003, p. 71-72). (Italics original)

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Appendices

Appendix I: Recruitment of Research Participants: Permission Request Letter

To   Date: _____
The Principal,

_____
_____
_____

Subject: Seeking Permission to Recruit Research Participants

Respected Sir/Madam,

As part of my Ph.D. studies, I am researching students' experiences of growing up in Hong Kong. For this purpose, I would like to seek your permission and assistance to recruit **four research participants** (two boys and two girls; two born in Hong Kong and two born in Pakistan) for the following research study:

Acculturative Experiences of Pakistani Secondary School Students in Hong Kong

The primary purpose of this study is to understand students' acculturative experiences in Hong Kong. The study also aims to examine how students negotiate with and respond to various social and educational practices prevailed across sociocultural settings such as home, community, school, and society.

I will appreciate it if you could allow and help me recruit some students of S3 – S6 as research participants from your school. Participation will be voluntary. The potential students with Pakistani ethnic background who are willing to participate will be given a briefing study orientation. Their personal information will remain confidential throughout the study. Before conducting the individual interviews, participants will be asked to give their consent first. Permission from their parents will be sought if they are aged 17 or below.

Following their agreement, students will be requested to participate in one on one interview/s, and each interview will last for about 40 – 60 minutes. Interviews will be scheduled as per your advice and participants' convenience. I will be grateful for your guidance and assistance. Maximum

efforts will be made to minimize the possibilities of any significant disruptions in students' routine educational activities.

I will be thankful for your permission and support.

Thanks.

Yours sincerely,

Shahid Karim
Ph.D. Student
The Education University of Hong Kong
10 Lo Ping Road, Tai Po, New Territories, Hong Kong

Appendix II: Research Information Sheet

Research Supervisor: Professor Ming-Tak Hue

Researcher: Shahid Karim (Ph.D. Student)

Acculturative Experiences of Pakistani Secondary School Students in Hong Kong

Purpose:

The primary purpose of this study is to know and learn from your personal experiences of growing up in the multicultural context of Hong Kong. It also aims to understand your individual experiences of learning and interaction with people with diverse cultural, religious, ethnic, and racial backgrounds across the sociocultural settings, including your home, families, community, schools, and the larger society. Your unique and valuable experiences can be a potential source of knowledge and may facilitate future initiatives of educational improvement for ethnic minorities in Hong Kong.

Rationale:

Social integration of ethnic minorities is one of the significant public policy directions in Hong Kong. However, despite considerable investment in education, the relevant public authorities are concerned about their educational performance and integration into mainstream society. Existing research reports that some ethnic minorities enrolled in various schools in Hong Kong face numerous challenges concerning their academic achievement and performance. However, little is known about their experiences of intercultural learning in a multicultural context. Their unique experiences of growing up in two different sociocultural settings: their home/heritage culture and that of the culture of the society, and their voices of struggles and challenges can be a potential source of knowledge and improvement.

Both the governmental and non-governmental reports reveal that Pakistani students are more vulnerable to educational challenges than any other ethnic group in Hong Kong. Therefore, the present study aims to understand how Pakistani secondary school students make sense of their lived experiences of intercultural learning in Hong Kong. It is hoped that the present study will produce some potential insights about the challenges and opportunities of social integration among ethnic minority students in general and Pakistani students in particular in Hong Kong.

Participation:

With your assistance, I would like to document your experiences across the domains of life in Hong Kong. I am interested in understanding how you make sense of your everyday experiences and how you respond to various challenges you faced (if any) across the social settings including your home, school, community, and the larger society. For this purpose, I would like to talk to you for about 40-60 minutes and record the interview using a digital audio recorder. If you agree to participate in the study, I would like you to sign the attached consent form and returned it along with the information sheet to me with your proposed interview day, time and location of your preference.

Altogether 24 secondary school students will be interviewed for the present study. In addition to personal contacts, through schools and student associations such as the Pakistani Student Association or Muslim Student Association Hong Kong, potential participants will be identified, approached and requested for participation.

Benefits and Risks:

There are no direct benefits attached to your participation. However, your unique and valuable experiences may help develop a deeper understanding of the issues related to social integration and adaptation among Pakistani youth in Hong Kong. There is no risk involved in this study except for your valuable time. Your participation in the research study is voluntary, and there are no monetary benefits or any other compensation.

Confidentiality:

The information that you share will remain confidential. Nobody except the researcher will have access to it. Your information sheet will be coded, and your identity will not be disclosed at any time. The interview tapes and transcripts will be stored in a password-protected computer and a locked cabinet respectively throughout the study period.

Dissemination of Results:

In addition to conference presentations, the results of the study will be published in various possible forms such as thesis, journal article, book or a chapter. However, your name will not be disclosed at any stage of publication.

The Right of Refusal to Participate and Withdrawal:

You are free to choose to participate in the study. You may refuse to participate or withdraw any time from the study for whatever reason without any prejudice. In the event, you decide to discontinue your participation in the study; please notify the researcher of your decision.

Please feel free to contact me for any queries during the study at   .

If you have additional questions and would like to obtain more information about the study, please do not hesitate to contact the Human Research Ethics Committee by email at hrec@eduhk.hk or by mail to Research and Development Office, The Education University of Hong Kong, 10 Lo Ping Road, Tai Po, New Territories, Hong Kong.

Thank you for your time and participation.

Shahid Karim

Ph.D. Student

The Education University of Hong Kong

10 Lo Ping Road, Tai Po, New Territories,

Hong Kong

Appendix III: Participant Consent Form

I _____ hereby agree to participate in the captioned research supervised by Professor Hue Ming Tak, Head, Department of Special Education and Counselling and conducted by Mr Shahid Karim, who is a postgraduate research student of the Graduate School, the Education University of Hong Kong.

I understand that the information obtained from this study may be used for future research or any scholarly publication. However, my right to privacy will be retained; that is, my details will not be disclosed.

The attached information sheet has been explained, or I have read the information sheet and understand the nature of my involvement in this research study.

I acknowledge that I have the right to withdraw from participation at any stage of the study without negative consequences.

Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

Contact No: _____

Parents' Sign: _____

                              (If your age is below 17)

Appendix IV: Participant Information Sheet

Code: _____

The Education University of Hong Kong
Graduate School

1. Name: _____

2. Gender: Male   ◯   Female   ◯

3. Age: _____

4. Place of Birth: _____

5. Citizenship: _____

6. Length of Stay in Hong Kong: _____

7. Length of Schooling in Hong   _____
    Kong:

8. Length of Schooling in other   _____
    countries (if applicable):

9. Name of Current School: _____

10. Schools attended in Hong Kong   1). _____
    other than the current one (if
    applicable):   2). _____

                                       3). _____

                                       4). _____

11. No. of siblings: _____

12. Parents Education & Occupation: Father: Edu._____ Occ._____

                                       Mother: Edu._____ Occ. _____

13. Reason of Parents immigration: _____

14. Suggested Pseudonym: _____

    Signature: _____   Date: _____

Appendix V: Semi-Structured Face-to-Face Interview Protocol

Leading Question:

I am interested to learn about your everyday life experiences and challenges if any; may I know what your life is like in Hong Kong?

Further Probing Questions

Acculturative Contexts	Questions
Home	o Can you briefly describe your family history, please? o How will you describe your family life in Hong Kong? o What languages do you speak at home, and why? o What are your parents' aspirations for your career in Hong Kong?
Community	o How do you spend your time after school? o Can you share your experiences of attending any religious activities? o How do you spend your free time? o Can you share your experiences of celebrating your cultural or religious festivals?
School	o Can you describe your school life in Hong Kong? o Can you share your experiences of interaction with your teachers and peers? o How do you find education in Hong Kong? o What are your educational aspirations and future goals in Hong Kong?
Society	o How do you describe your interactions with Chinese and non-Chinese in Hong Kong? o What is it like to be a non-Chinese in Hong Kong? o What do you like about Hong Kong and why? o Is there anything else you would like to share?