

**Motivational Mechanisms of Ethnic Minorities' Social Media Engagement with
Mainstream Culture**

Chun Lai*

The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

Mingyue Gu

Fang Gao

Education University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

JoJo Wan Shan Yung

The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

* Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Chun Lai, 623 Meng Wah Complex, Faculty of Education, the University of Hong Kong; Email: laichun@hku.hk; Phone: (852)39177087

Dr. Chun Lai is an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Education, the University of Hong Kong. Her research interest is in technology-enhanced language learning. Her recent research focuses on learner self-directed language learning with technology beyond the classroom.

Motivational Mechanisms of Ethnic Minorities' Social Media Engagement with Mainstream Culture

Abstract

Despite evidence of the acculturation benefits of social media engagement with mainstream culture, there is limited understanding of what motivates or demotivates ethnic minorities' social media engagement with mainstream culture. Adopting the theoretical construct of investment, this study interviewed 31 ethnic minority secondary school students in Hong Kong to examine their engagement with mainstream culture via everyday social media use and their concomitant investment in learning the language of the mainstream culture. Interview responses revealed that perceived ideologies of social media and the living environments, validation of and expectations regarding linguistic, cultural and social capital, and the representation and construction of desired identities were the motivational forces behind the ethnic minorities' multilingual social media engagement with mainstream culture. Multilingual social media engagement with mainstream culture was associated with changes in acculturation expectations, attitudes and resources, which motivated or constrained the ethnic minority students' investment in Chinese language learning and use on social media and in daily life. Multilingual social media use also reshaped their perceived ideologies, capital and identities. The findings call for a dialectic approach to understanding the motivational mechanisms behind ethnic minorities' use of social media, and for classroom interventions to turn the interactions into a positive cycle.

Keywords: Social media; motivation; ethnic minorities

Introduction

Language use and learning are intertwined with power, social participation and (re)construction of selves (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000; Norton, 2013). This is particularly true for ethnic minority students, for whom language learning and socialization are intricately connected. Engagement with mainstream culture and language is essential to ethnic minorities' acculturation and adaptation in immigration contexts (van de Vijver, 2018). However, ethnic minorities, to varying degrees, face the challenges of geographic and social exclusion, which constrain their opportunities and motivation for socialization with the mainstream culture and engagement in mainstream language practices. Social media may help ameliorate these challenges. Social media refer to "a group of Internet-based applications that build on the ideological and technological foundations of Web 2.0, and allow the creation and exchange of user generated content" (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010, p. 61). Communication via social media has some special characteristics; for example, it is community-based, socialization-oriented and identity-masking, and contains reduced social cues (Reinhardt, 2019). These characteristics afford low-risk and nonthreatening language use and social practices, capital-enhancing social connections, and transcultural and plurilingual identity construction and performance (Luo, 2013; Reinhardt, 2019; Sykes, Oskoz & Throne, 2008; Wang & Vásquez, 2012). The affective advantage of social media and its interactive relationship with social capital and identity suggest a potential affinity between ethnic minorities' social media use and their motivated efforts to engage with the mainstream culture and language. Meta-analyses of technology and language learning have found positive evidence in support of the strong motivational potential of technology for both learners' immediate situated engagement on specific technological platforms and their long-term language learning motivation (Golonka, Bowles, Frank, Richardson & Freynik, 2014; Macaro, Handley & Walter, 2012).

Despite the positive findings, however, scholars argue that there is still a limited understanding of the motivational mechanisms of different technological contexts that influence learners' immediate engagement in the digital experience and their long-term language learning (Bodnar, Cucchiarini, Strik & van Hout, 2016; Henry, 2019; Lamb & Arisandy, 2019). The present study examined the driving forces behind a group of ethnic minority students' extramural social media engagement with the mainstream culture (i.e., their efforts to interact with people from, and the artefacts related to, the mainstream culture on social media) and their efforts to learn the language of the mainstream culture. Examining this link could fill two research gaps: 1) the limited research on the language learning potential of everyday social media use, especially for ethnic minority students (Croucher, 2011; Guo, Li & Ito, 2014; Nightingale, 2016; Reinhardt, 2019); and 2) the limited understanding of the motivational processes in digital environments (Henry, 2019; Lamb, 2017). An understanding of the language learning potential of, and the motivational forces that drive, everyday social media use would provide insights into how the affordances of digital technologies in informal learning contexts could be better capitalized on and supported.

Literature Review

It has been argued that social media afford community-based identity-masking interpersonal interaction environments where ethnic minorities can immerse themselves in low-risk language use and social practices and equal social interaction, and develop capital-enhancing social connections (Greenhow, 2011; Ju et al., 2016; Luo, 2013). Social media also provide comfortable and nonthreatening social interaction venues that constitute optimal contexts for transcultural and plurilingual identity construction and performance (Reinhardt & Zander, 2011; Reinhardt, 2019; Wang & Vásquez, 2012). The language, social and cultural knowledge, skills, mindset and attitudes acquired via social media interactions are thought to be transferrable to people's non-mediated social interactions (Sykes et al., 2008). Research has shown that immigrants' use of social media to engage with mainstream culture enhances their opportunities to build new social relationships and acquire the necessary cultural knowledge and mindset to engage in effective interaction with the mainstream culture, and strengthens their orientation towards the mainstream culture (Croucher, 2011; Li & Tsai, 2015; Mao & Qian, 2015; Rui & Wang, 2015). Such use also helps immigrants to build quality social ties and social relationships in the mainstream society, and subsequently reduces acculturative stress (Alencar, 2018; Dayani, 2017; Forbush & Foucault-Welles, 2016).

Social media use has also been found to be associated with immigrants' civic and political participation (Boulianne, 2015; Kizgin, Jamal, Dey & Rana, 2018). Based on her studies with immigrant teenagers, Lam (2009, 2012) found that networking with diverse geographical communities was associated with the acquisition of "digital cultural capital" (2012, p. 64), that is, multiple linguistic and social resources and diverse perspectives. Positive experiences on social media have been found to be linked to immigrants' efforts to learn the mainstream language. For instance, Lai (2019) found that social media engagement with mainstream culture among ethnic minority secondary school students was associated with positive acculturation orientation, which predicted their language learning motivation. The link between social media engagement with mainstream culture and language learning motivation has also been evidenced in the higher education context. Studies have found that self-initiated extramural social media use among international university students or heritage language learners is associated with instances of empowerment; learner voice; and identity performance, elements that are closely connected to language learning motivation (Chen, 2013; Pasfield-Neofitou, 2011; Noels, Chaffee, Lou & Dincer, 2016).

Despite the close affinities between social media use and immigrants' engagement with mainstream culture and language, social media interaction has also been reported to pose challenges. Research has shown that social media interactions may lack the contextual cues necessary to aid the successful transmission and translation of complex cultural meanings and may therefore lead to inter-cultural misunderstanding (Veronis et al., 2018). Social media interactions may also amplify cultural differences and induce unrealistic acculturation expectations, which may arouse disappointment and other negative emotions among immigrants (Dayani, 2017; Forbush & Foucault-Welles, 2016). The challenges involved in social media interactions have resulted in some immigrants shunning the use of social media for intercultural engagement (Sin et al., 2011). Moreover, individuals may interpret their social media experiences differently, which is reflected in their subsequent practices on the platforms. For instance, Pasfield-Neofitou (2011) examined self-initiated social media use among a group of Australian university learners of Japanese and found that the learners perceived some platforms as English language domains and others as Japanese language domains, and projected themselves differently on these social media platforms through varied language choice and virtual profile construction. Chen (2013) compared the everyday engagement on Facebook of two university Chinese students in the U.S. The researcher found that, despite their biographical similarities, the two sojourners' engagement via this social media platform differed in the types of literacy practices, the quantity and quality of participation, and the appropriation of different language and cultural symbolic resources. The two students' differing engagement on social media indexed different projections and constructions of identities over time. The researcher attributed the observed differences to differences in the students' conceptualizations of the social roles of Facebook: either as a predominantly English language space or as a multilingual, multicultural international community.

Thus, learners' use of social media may either induce their positive engagement with mainstream culture and language or reduce their motivation, depending on the nature of learners' experience and how they make sense of the experience. There is a need to adopt a learner perspective in order to gain a nuanced, situated understanding of learner engagement with mainstream culture via social media. The present study explored the motivational forces behind the extramural social media use of a group of adolescent ethnic minority students. This is a relatively less explored research issue as previous research has focused primarily on documenting immigrants' use of social media, and how this use is associated with their acculturation. Determining the motivational forces that drive ethnic minority students' daily social media engagement with mainstream culture can shed light on the degree to which engagement could be better supported.

In the present study, we adopted Norton's (2000) concept of investment to examine a group of ethnic minority students' motivation to engage with mainstream culture via social media and their concomitant efforts to learn the dominant language. Norton (2000) highlighted the social and power issues involved in language learning, especially in immigration contexts. According to Norton, language learning motivation is closely intertwined with learners' changing identities and power negotiations in language learning and use. Learners exercise their agency to invest in a certain practice with the expectation that the investment will expand their symbolic and material resources, extend their existing and imagined identities and futures, and increase their social power (Darvin & Norton, 2017). Learners' investment in a practice lies at the intersection of identity, capital and ideology (Darvin & Norton, 2015). Identity refers to learners' agentic positioning or social positioning of themselves in relation to others and in relation to possibilities for the future (Norton, 2013). Learners' identity positioning is shaped by ideologies, which are the dominant ways of thinking that govern the rights of entry into, and action in communities, and that privilege or

marginalize certain ideas, people and relations. Ideologies also determine the forms of capital that are valued in particular contexts. Capital may take the form of material/economic capital (e.g., wealth, income, property), cultural capital (e.g., knowledge, credentials, understanding of cultural forms) and social capital (e.g., connections to networks of power). According to Darvin and Norton (2015), learners invest in particular practices for both desired material or symbolic resources and the perceived likelihood of utilizing their existent capital as the affordance of learning. However, whether the desired capital can be acquired, or whether the existing capital will be accorded symbolic values are determined by ideologies and the associated identity positioning of the learners. Learners' future aspirations induce them to exercise their agency to assert their identities, challenge ideologies and negotiate symbolic capital. Thus, learner investment in particular practices involves the intricate interactions between identity, capital and ideology.

The study

This study examined the motivational forces behind a group of Hong Kong secondary school ethnic minority students' everyday social media engagement with mainstream culture and the association between this engagement and their motivation to learn the language of the mainstream culture. In response to the call for nuanced investigations into motivational drivers in specific digital contexts (Bodnar et al., 2016; Henry, 2019) and building on the existent theorization of investment (Darvin & Norton, 2015), this study aimed at addressing the following research question:

What shapes the ethnic minority students' social media engagement with mainstream culture, and how are their social media practices related to their investment in learning the mainstream language?

Research Method

Research context and participants

This study was conducted in Hong Kong, a multilingual and multicultural city. Although Hong Kong is a biliterate (English and Chinese) trilingual (English, Cantonese and Mandarin) society. 89.5% of Hong Kong's population habitually use Cantonese as their daily language of communication (Kapai, 2015). According to a survey in 2015, the most common language on social media in Hong Kong was traditional Chinese script (62%), followed by English (29%). Ethnic minorities constitute 8% of the population in Hong Kong, with the majority coming from South or Southeast Asia, including the Philippines, Pakistan, Indonesia, Nepal and India (Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department, 2017). South and Southeast Asian Ethnic minorities in Hong Kong are usually of low socio-economic status and have reported encountering acculturative stress and social discrimination, which persist beyond the first generation of immigrants (Lai, 2019; Tonsing, Tse & Tonsing, 2016). These ethnic minorities in Hong Kong most often reside in geographically segregated areas in Hong Kong, and a large number of them attend schools with a high concentration of ethnic minority students. Ethnic minority students tend to mix mostly with peers from the same or similar cultural background rather than with their Chinese peers due to the social exclusion and discrimination they perceive and their humiliating inter-ethnic communication experience as a result of cultural and language barriers (Shum et al., 2011). As a means of self-protection against exclusionary practices, South and Southeast Asian ethnic minority communities have strong intragroup cohesion and preserve their ethnic cultural norms. According to Kapai (2015), ethnic minorities are living in a 'parallel universe' to that of the other Hong Kong residents (p. 9). Ethnic minority students often report using three languages – English, Chinese and their heritage language – and that English is their strongest language (Gu, Kou & Guo, 2019; Kapai, 2015; Lai, Gao & Wang, 2015).

The participants were recruited from 11 local secondary schools with different proportions of South and Southeast Asian ethnic minority student populations. With the help of the school principals and teachers, South and Southeast Asian students who reported themselves as being frequent users of social media in their daily lives were invited to participate in the study on a voluntary basis. The 31 ethnic minority adolescent participants involved in this study were from a variety of ethnic backgrounds: Pakistani (68% of the participants), Indian (13%), Filipino (10%), Nepalese (6%) and Indonesian (3%). The majority of them were in the first or second year of senior high school, with an average age of 16. Nineteen participants were second or third generation immigrants, and the rest had immigrated to Hong Kong when they were very young, before primary school. All of them had been living in Hong Kong for more than ten years, with the majority of them having been in Hong Kong since birth. Most of the participants had been learning the Chinese language for more than ten years. Participants in schools with a low density of ethnic minority student populations reported using Cantonese (the spoken Chinese dialect in Hong Kong) or a mixture of Cantonese and English to communicate with schoolmates, and participants in schools with a high density of ethnic minority students reported using English with their classmates. They also reported using Cantonese to communicate with local Chinese and English to communicate with non-local Chinese on the street. Their home languages were often their heritage languages, with a few participants using Cantonese with their siblings at home. Despite their fluent Cantonese, the majority of the participants reported limited written Chinese proficiency.

Data collection and analysis

The data were collected through individual semi-structured interviews in either English or Cantonese according to participants' preference. Each interview lasted between 30 and 45 minutes, and the interview sessions were recorded for transcription purposes. The interviews elicited the participants' perceptions of Hong Kong culture and heritage cultures, their affiliations and self-positioning in relation to different cultures and envisioned future possibilities, the nature of their everyday multilingual social media use that gave them access to the mainstream culture and people, their perceptions of their social media experience and what they gained from the experience, and their perceptions of the connection between their social media engagement and their motivation for Chinese language learning. The interviews were structured in such a way as to allow participants to reflect freely on the research issue, and only elaboration and clarification questions were asked when necessary to elicit in-depth reflection and clarification on interview responses.

The interview responses were transcribed word for word in either English or Chinese, and the transcripts were double checked by two research assistants for accuracy. Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data as it is a qualitative analytic technique that is advantageous in identifying patterns across the perspectives of different participants and generating unanticipated insights (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The coding was done manually. The researcher first read and re-read the interview transcripts, recording interesting features of the data and initial analytic ideas relevant to the research question along the way. The data were then analyzed through an iterative, evolving process of coding and recoding. Similar codes with shared meaning or concept were then clustered into provisional themes and checked across interviewees. Hierarchies of themes and subthemes were formed to capture distinct but related aspects of the data. These themes/subthemes were then examined in reference to the theoretical framework to form the overarching themes that helped construct the analytic narrative of the data. Pseudonyms were used when presenting the results.

Findings

The interaction of linguistic capital and perceived ideologies of social media

The interview responses revealed that linguistic capital was a gatekeeping force that shaped the participants' selective engagement with the mainstream culture via social media. Some participants reported that being able to understand others' Chinese posts and having their Chinese posts understood by others made them feel "proud and happy" and boosted their self-efficacy in using Chinese to communicate with others (e.g., "you know that you can do it"). Validation of the legitimacy of the Chinese linguistic resources the participants brought to the interactions enhanced their long-term commitment to Chinese language learning (e.g., "you want to do it better and you want to take steps ahead. You want to improve [Chinese]"). Other participants also commented that viewing peers' posts on social media boosted their desire to acquire the relevant linguistic capital. One participant, Aneesa, said that viewing the captions of some of her Chinese classmates' Instagram posts about natural sceneries made her desire similar linguistic capital: "I feel their captions were beautifully crafted, which I couldn't do if I were to compose. When I saw those well-versed captions, I wanted myself to be able to compose such beautiful texts too. Thus I want to learn more". Similarly, another participant, Maryam, was very interested in understanding the Chinese news she came across on Facebook, and the difficulties she encountered in comprehending the information due to her limited Chinese linguistic capital motivated her to study hard in learning Chinese. At the same time, her limited Chinese linguistic capital also made her decide to avoid interacting with local Chinese on social media to minimize miscommunication (e.g., "it's hard to communicate with them since they don't know what we are actually talking about"). Thus, her linguistic capital shaped her selective social media engagement with mainstream culture and her subsequent efforts to learn Chinese: "For Facebook, I'll say it motivates my Chinese learning, but not other apps". Likewise, Sahejpreet, an Indian participant, chose to read English rather than Chinese public memes on Instagram because she couldn't "understand the jokes", and only read the Chinese memes from her friends from whom she could seek help and explanations. For Soneya, a Nepalese participant, it was the imagined communication difficulties that kept her away from social media engagement with mainstream culture: "I am afraid and nervous that I would make a mistake when I talk to them, and they might think my Chinese was not that good and might not talk to me".

The language use norms on social media interacted with the participants' perceived linguistic capital and were associated with the social media practices of some participants. Textual exchanges were the default communication mode on quite a few social media platforms (e.g., captions on Instagram; Twitter and Facebook status; posts on discussion forums; etc.), which restricted some participants' right to 'speak' on these platforms due to their limited written Chinese proficiency. For instance, Asbah, a Pakistani participant, expressed a preference for face-to-face communication over social media interaction because in face-to-face communication she would "just speak Cantonese, and it's much more convenient", but communication via social media was not very smooth due to her limited ability to read and write Chinese. Thus, her interactions with local Chinese were limited to her circle of school friends and only took place through instant messengers like Snapchat and WhatsApp, and the language she used was a mixture of Chinese and English. In contrast, a Filipino participant, Gillianne, chose to challenge this ideological constraint by actively taking advantage of the audio input features on some social media platforms to negotiate her oral Chinese proficiency as legitimate cultural capital to engage freely in interactions with local Chinese friends on WhatsApp. The desire to understand her Chinese friends' written posts on social media further motivated her to invest more in learning Chinese. Thus, the normative communication mode on social media had differential effects on learner investment depending on the participants' agency.

In addition, diversified language choices on social media also helped sustain some participants' social media engagement with mainstream culture via multilingual practices. These participants reported that their English linguistic resources were not accepted as legitimate capital when interacting with local Chinese on the street (e.g., "Like when you go buy food, you obviously have to speak Chinese. Or else they [the local Chinese] would get irritated. If I speak English, they might act badly to me, not badly but kind of not in a polite way"). However, on social media they found that English became a valuable symbolic resource. For instance, the local Chinese friends of Bismah, a Pakistani participant, sought her help with English vocabulary when they had difficulties in learning English. Seeing her English linguistic resources validated on social media gave her a sense of empowerment and legitimated her Chinese language learner identity on social media: "If I have any difficulties in learning Chinese, they will help me with my Chinese vocabularies too". Calvin, a Filipino participant, also perceived that English was not perceived as validated linguistic capital in some daily life experiences: "When I'm trying to order in a restaurant, if I try to speak in English, they are like, 'oh, this is Hong Kong, you need to speak Chinese, stuff like that'". However, he was pleased to find that English was symbolic capital on social media: "because English is the most spoken language in the world, I can communicate with more people in English than in Chinese or in my mother tongue". The perception of English as validated linguistic capital and his exposure to diversified resources concerning Chinese culture, Filipino heritage and basically anything on social media made him feel happy as he could perform his identity as a global citizen on social media rather than his constrained identity as a Filipino-in-Hong Kong in daily life. This revelation boosted his investment in multilingual social media use. In the case of Sahejpreet, the diversified language choices on social media led her to limit her social media interactions primarily to English as she could better "understand what everything means" in English. This narrow language choice on social media limited the potential association between her mainstream culture social media use and her long-term investment in Chinese.

The contested nature of cultural capital

The interview responses also suggested that the opportunity to acquire cultural capital boosted some participants' social media engagement with mainstream culture. The participants remarked that social media use helped them acquire knowledge about Chinese culture and Chinese people, knowledge that was essential for integration into Hong Kong society but often inaccessible in daily life. One participant, Amnanoor, talked about how watching local news and Chinese documentaries on social media enabled her to gain access to the perspectives and viewpoints of Chinese people, thereby acquiring the critical cultural knowledge of how to avoid offensive behaviors and miscommunication when interacting with them. Singh, an Indian participant, found that his local Chinese friends shared cultural artefacts and activities they did not normally share in daily life interactions. Interest in learning more about these artefacts increased his motivation to learn Chinese. Some participants further said that seeing success stories on social media changed their acculturation expectations, which boosted their investment in Chinese language learning. For instance, Aisha, an Indian participant, recounted coming across videos on social media that showcased ethnic minorities speaking fluent Chinese, which motivated her to invest more in improving her Chinese proficiency. A similar experience was shared by Faraz, who spoke about how she occasionally followed a Pakistani person's Instagram post about his life story of overcoming challenges to acquire Chinese and achieve success in Hong Kong, and how the positive comments from local Chinese helped him get over a moment of depression and motivated him to persist in learning Chinese. In Amnanoor's case, it was her knowledge of

the sociocultural realities in Hong Kong gained from watching YouTube documentaries that motivated her long-term investment in Chinese language learning:

The YouTube videos talked about the problems ethnic minorities were facing. In Hong Kong, if you don't know Chinese, it is very difficult for you to get a job. So it motivated me because I am gonna stay in Hong Kong to work.

For some participants, like Bismah and Sarah, it was their changed perceptions of local Chinese people resulting from social media interactions over time that sustained their investment in Chinese language learning. Bismah and her family had previously believed that Chinese people were mean and prejudiced against ethnic minorities, but obtaining help from the local Chinese on social media over time made her feel that local people were actually nice and friendly. Similarly, following the posts of local Chinese YouTubers and Instagram memes of local Chinese strangers made Sarah like Chinese people more: "Now I know they are people I actually like. I feel they are very open and friendly". The renewed understanding of Chinese people motivated her to study Chinese to learn more about Hong Kong people: "I would want to learn more Chinese vocab so that I could be able to share my opinions in the comment areas". However, for another participant, Bibi, her changed perception was rather negative. Bibi recounted seeing both positive and negative images of local Chinese on YouTube, and how viewing the contested images helped her set up balanced and more realistic expectations about local Chinese: "Sometimes I am trying to be positive and think Hong Kong people are really good and kind. And I see some YouTube videos of taxi drivers being rude and saying bad words to passengers. I think that maybe Chinese people are not really that nice. They are sometimes aggressive".

In addition to acquiring cultural capital, some participants like Bibi and Faraz, talked about their contributing cultural capital. Being able to contribute cultural capital enabled them to perform the desired identities that they were denied in daily life and to project these empowered identities as contributors of cultural capital, the potential of which motivated their use of social media to engage with mainstream culture. Bibi remarked that sharing her knowledge about Hong Kong and commenting on Hong Kong news on Instagram and Twitter made her feel that her Hongkonger identity was validated and recognized by the international community, although she still felt excluded by local Chinese in her daily life. The possibility of projecting identities that were denied in their daily lives brought a sense of empowerment and sustained the participants' investment in social media practice and long-term interest as L2 Chinese users. Faraz gave a telling account of how posting Instagram pictures and vibes about activities he engaged in with both foreigners and local Chinese earned him respect from his fellow nationals: "It made me kind of a superman. Whenever I posted on Instagram, you know, people started commenting and praising me, you know, saying things like 'how do you do this?' 'how do you communicate with the locals?' 'how do you get on so well with them?' You know. Yeah." The validated projection of his bicultural identities on social media and his concomitant boosted self-esteem helped sustain his investment as a multilingual user of social media and his interactions with local Chinese.

At the same time, however, the participants reported instances of seeing their ethnic cultures misrepresented and stereotyped on social media. Madeeha and Faraz both remarked on how they encountered social media sources which depicted their native country, Pakistan, negatively. Madeeha recounted that social media news on Pakistan depicted her native country as unsafe: "I feel social media is presenting fake information and I feel very angry when seeing such news". Faraz found that some local Chinese were brainwashed by media in that ethnic minorities were often given a negative image: "the first image [some local Chinese] had of me is that I am a bad person because I am from this religious background

and am from this country”. Encountering the misrepresentation of their ethnic cultures on social media made them develop a critical mindset towards interaction and information on social media. Madeeha felt that the remarks of local Chinese on social media were not trustworthy. So she retreated from approaching them on social media. Faraz also chose not to trust social media as an information source: “I do not trust the media. It can be a lie, it can be hooks, and it can be fake. So, I don’t believe until I see it with my own eyes”. Singh, an Indian participant, also came across online posts where local Chinese people blindly suspected ethnic minority people of criminal cases in Hong Kong, which made him “feel sad and worry about Hong Kong society”. However, he chose to speak up to change people’s stereotypical view: “I commented back and told them that they should delve into the details of the story and should not pick names without any proof or something”. Thus, for him, social media enhanced social capital by providing opportunities for social action. Similarly, another Pakistani participant, Nayab, took advantage of the power accorded by social media to reach out to local Chinese to enhance their understanding of ethnic minorities: “I can openly share my feelings with my friends and let them know how I feel about myself and about them. So they can have a better understanding about me and my people”.

Exposure to contested cultural capital were associated with reshaped aspired future selves among some participants. Viewing the negative news about her native country, Pakistan, on social media made one participant, Madeeha, aspire to dedicate herself to the development of Pakistan in the future:

I don’t want others to look down upon Pakistanis because my parents and grandparents are all Pakistanis. So I want to study hard in Hong Kong, learning Cantonese, learning Mandarin, learning English and learning knowledge so that I can go back to Pakistan to educate the next generation. I want Pakistan to be a developed country in the future.

An Indonesian participant, Kanwal, spoke about how viewing issues “that’s not mentioned in the [official] news” and being exposed to “hidden secrets about Hong Kong, such as the problems of the government and the poverty level in Hong Kong” made her realize that Hong Kong was not perfect as she used to think. This realization made her aspire a future self as one who could render help to people in poverty: “It made me feel more concerned about Hong Kong ... I hope I can do something about it although I don’t think I can do something right now”. This future self-concept drove her desire to improve her Chinese language proficiency: “I think if my Chinese were better, I would be able to communicate with them and help them with the problems”. For others, social media interaction strengthened their ought-to L2 selves for Chinese language learning. For instance, a Pakistani participant, Amnanoor, recounted coming across YouTube documentaries on sociocultural realities in Hong Kong, which motivated her long-term investment in Chinese language learning:

The YouTube videos talked about the problems ethnic minorities were facing. In Hong Kong if you don’t know Chinese, it is very difficult for you to get a job. So it motivated me because I am gonna stay in Hong Kong to work.

The intertwining of social capital and perceived contrastive ideologies of social media and daily life

Acquiring social capital to interact with local Chinese was a theme constantly brought up by the participants. For instance, a Filipino participant, Calvin, remarked how social media interactions enhanced his social capital to interact with local Chinese: He discussed school matters and shared personal lives and feelings on WhatsApp with his classmates. This experience made him feel closer to the local Chinese and strengthened his emotional bonding

with them: “I felt closer to my friends, because through WhatsApp it’s a way for us to share our feelings and to be more connected”. The emotional bonding increased his capital to connect with Chinese classmates at school: “So when we see each other at school, we would start talking and be friends”. Quite a few participants commented that the enhanced social capital had a lot to do with the open and inviting nature of discourse on social media due to its public disclosure and sharing culture. Quite a few participants observed that local Chinese people were quite reserved and distant in daily life but acted more freely and voiced whatever they wanted on social media. The participants remarked that people’s openness to share personal feelings on social media helped them acquire the social capital they were often denied in daily life. For instance, Singh mentioned that ethnic minorities, including his ethnic community – the Indian community, were often depicted negatively in local news, and these negative social images often made local Chinese people refrain from interacting with them. However, he felt that the more intimate nature of the discourse on social media made personal information such as feelings accessible, which facilitated close interaction with local Chinese:

I feel there are Chinese people who don’t like us and are not willing to share their feelings with us because we are not local, or we are not their good friends. But in this Hong Kong society, people usually take social media as a platform to post their happiness and sadness. So we [ethnic minorities] can get close to them [local Chinese] using social media.

He further described how the disclosed personal information increased his interaction with local Chinese schoolmates at school: “I approached them and talked to them about what happened”. For yet another participant, Sarah, social media provided her with opportunities for in-depth conversations with local Chinese beyond her immediate circle: “On social media, I can comment. I can talk to strangers and get to know more about them. But then in daily life I can’t”. Calvin perceived different social media platforms/experiences as enabling different cultural and social capitals. He used WhatsApp to chat with school friends and teachers, and felt that WhatsApp interactions helped him to “get a stronger sense of closeness to [his friends] ... and be more connected”. Thus, he perceived WhatsApp as bringing him the desired social capital. However, he did not accord exposure to Chinese strangers on Instagram the same emotional bonding power because he felt that people might share false information on social media and interaction with these strangers did not change his perception of Hong Kong people because the disclosed information did not define who they really were. Instead, he regarded social media interaction with Chinese strangers as a way to increase his cultural capital, such as Chinese cultures and customs, essential knowledge that helped him to “adapt to the environment of Hong Kong more easily” and have more common topics to communicate with local Chinese people. With this perception of differentiated validated capital via different social media tools, his practices on these social media platform consequently differed: He used WhatsApp for personal interaction and emotional bonding, and Instagram for keeping himself updated with people’s lives.

Some participants felt that social media was a more equalizing social space due to the reduced social cues. For instance, Aimen, a Pakistani participant, reported feeling relieved of the social constraint of her physical appearance and accorded more power in social interaction:

On social media, you don’t really have to mask how you feel because nobody would really know who this is. So you can say anything you want to. So in some parts of the social media, people would comment more about how they think and not how they feel.

But then in daily life, people would actually pick on certain things. Like when I wear a veil, they would ask me why I am wearing it and some would want me to take it off.

The identity-masking and more reflective nature of social media discourses enabled Aimen to free herself from the disadvantaged position she was often placed in in daily life interactions. Similarly, another participant, Aneesa, reported that not seeing the facial expressions and reactions of the interlocutors during social media interactions made her feel more empowered to initiate conversations with local Chinese strangers. She further observed that people wouldn't pay as much attention to her Pakistani identity during Instagram interaction as they did in daily life interactions. The more harmonious interaction with local Chinese on social media made her become more willing to interact with them in daily life: "I feel that these people are actually not that bad. Then in daily life, I incline towards giving each other a chance to have some contact". Singh felt that the public and permanent nature of the interaction on social media made people more self-conscious and behave more fairly towards each other. Singh observed that local Chinese behaved less stereotypically on social media: "In daily life, there are still people judging others by skin colours. But on Facebook and other social media, they don't do that, because they want to keep a good image of themselves".

The dialectic interaction between ideology, identities and capitals and learners' investments in social media use

The interview responses revealed a two-way dialectic interaction between learners' investment and the influencing factors: on the one hand, perceived ideologies, identities and capitals interacted with one another to shape differentiated investment in social media engagement with mainstream culture and language; on the other hand, learners' investments in social media use brought new perceptions of ideologies, identity presentations and capital.

Different future self-concepts and different perceptions of the ideology of social media interacted with each other to shape some participants' differentiated engagement in social media use. One participant, Anshuman, was born in Nepal and immigrated to Hong Kong right after birth. He perceived Hong Kong as a "multi-cultural place": "Because it is not limited to only local Chinese people. It's more like whoever lives here and whoever studies here can consider themselves as a Hongkonger." Thus, English was the language he used on the street and at home. He positioned himself as an 'ordinary guy' who lived in Hong Kong, and aspired to be an engineer in America. He also perceived social media as a venue for light conversation rather than in-depth social interactions. His future self-guide as an English user and his perceptions of the ideology of social media were reflected in his use of social media. He interacted with classmates and teachers on WhatsApp about school-related matters, an experience he regarded as relaxing and enjoyable. Other than WhatsApp, he used YouTube to access English resources for entertainment and self-study of topics of interest, and accessed English discussion forums for information related to topics of interest. Thus, his engagement on social media centered more on information seeking in English than on social interaction. In contrast, Amnanoor was a Hong Kong-born Pakistani. Similar to Anshuman, she perceived Hong Kong as a multicultural city ("Hong Kong culture is not just based on one certain country or culture, like Chinese. It has different cultures"), and thus she felt less pressure to adapt to Chinese culture ("In Hong Kong there is no such thing as we have to adapt to Chinese culture"). Accordingly, she viewed herself as both a Pakistani and a Hongkonger. Unlike Anshuman who envisioned his future in America, Amnanoor saw her future in Hong Kong. She also perceived social media differently and felt that social media was a better venue to get to know others than face-to-face interaction: "When you meet people, you are nervous. When you're talking online, you can be confident because you are not communicating face-to-face". With her Hong Kong-related future self-concept and this

perception of social media as ideal venues for in-depth social interaction, her social media use was more diversified and characterized by more communication tools and attention to Hong Kong news and issues. She reported using audio chat functions on Snapchat and Instagram to circumvent her written Chinese language deficiency so as to connect with local Chinese people, accessing English language news feeds about events happening around the world and reading Chinese news on Facebook with the help of Google Translate, and watching YouTube Pakistani and Chinese videos and documentaries about Hong Kong.

Moreover, desired future selves interacted with some participants' current social identities to shape their social media practices and the perceived capital they gained from the digital experience. Faraz and Bibi, both Pakistani, saw their future in Hong Kong: Bibi envisioned herself as a history teacher in Hong Kong, while Faraz aspired to be a policeman. Despite holding the same ideal L2 selves, the two of them had rather different perceptions of Hong Kong society: Bibi compared Hong Kong to a globe with many races circling around it and described Hong Kong as an international city. She identified herself as a Hongkonger from Pakistan and felt emotionally attached to Hong Kong culture. She expressed a strong wish to become a Hongkonger despite encountering discrimination. In contrast, Faraz held a slightly negative impression of Hong Kong, comparing it to a beehive and characterizing local Chinese as busy and hardworking. He felt that, unlike Pakistanis, Hong Kongers were distant and treated one another as strangers. He also felt some local Chinese were brainwashed by the media and did not accept ethnic minorities. Against this backdrop, he identified himself as "a multicultural person" but feeling more comfortable with Pakistani culture. With the same positive ideal L2 selves but different cultural identities, they exhibited rather different social media use profiles: Faraz mainly used YouTube for entertainment, watching English, Hong Kong and Pakistan drama. He used Instagram to follow and communicate with his Chinese and ethnic minority friends from school, and found that, unlike his ethnic minority friends, his Chinese friends were obsessed with material gains and academic achievements. He used WhatsApp to connect with his family members. He felt that the pictures and vibes of himself he shared with both locals and ethnic minorities on social media helped him to present an image of being multi-cultural. In contrast, Bibi used YouTube to watch the world news and documentaries about Hong Kong. She connected with both friends and strangers on Instagram to seek their help with her homework, share good memories and see what was happening around the world and in Hong Kong. Viewing the social news about local Chinese treating ethnic minorities nicely reinforced her hope for diminished social discrimination in Hong Kong society. She used WhatsApp to connect with her grandmother in Pakistan and her teacher, with whom she was too shy to talk to in person. She used Snapchat to connect with Chinese friends from school and from outside. She also used Twitter to learn more about people's views on world and Hong Kong issues. Thus, with a strong sense of belonging and wish to be accepted as a Hongkonger, Bibi's investment in social media was much broader and characterized by a strong interest in what was happening in Hong Kong. She felt that knowing more about the current news made her more like a Hongkonger. With their different reasons for social media engagement, Faraz and Bibi had different perceptions of the capital they gained from the experience: Faraz reported primarily gaining knowledge about Hong Kong history and culture and his Chinese friends' ways of thinking from his digital experience, whereas Bibi reported gaining not only cultural capital but also social capital, including connection with strangers she would not have interacted with in daily life and a greater emotional attachment and sense of belonging to Hong Kong society.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to determine the motivational mechanisms behind a group of ethnic minority secondary school students' everyday social media engagement with

mainstream culture and its association with their investment in learning the language of the culture. These ethnic minority students were found to utilize multilingual, multisemiotic and multimodal resources on social media actively to engage in multilingual social practices in order to acquire new capital and validate existing capital, and to perform desired and imagined identities (Li, 2018). Changed acculturation expectations, attitudes and resources derived from their multilingual and multimodal social practices on social media were found to play an important role in shaping the students' investment in learning the language of the dominant culture. Thus, in addition to the documented motivational drivers reported in the current literature, such as audience validation; personal visibility and recognition; and self-expression (Blake, 2016; Chen, 2013; Henry, 2019; Pasfield-Neofitou, 2011), the ethnic minority students' day-to-day social media engagement with mainstream culture and their concomitant investment in language learning were found to be closely intertwined with their acculturation to the mainstream culture and society.

This study adopted Darvin and Norton's (2015; 2017) expanded model of investment to illustrate the motivational forces behind the ethnic minority students' social media engagement with mainstream culture and their motivation to learn the language. The study revealed a two-way dialectic relationship between motivational forces and the students' social media practices. On the one hand, the three motivational forces (ideology, identity and capital) interacted with one another to shape the students' selective use of social media. In specific, the students' perceptions of the ideologies online and offline shaped their identities and capital: the students' perceptions of the ideologies of their living environments shaped their cultural identities, and their perceptions of the ideologies of social media shaped their assessment of the validated capital they brought to the online interactions, the expected capital to be acquired through the online interactions, and the prospect of performing desired identities that were not recognized in daily lives during the online interactions. Their cultural identities, aspired future selves, and the capital expected to be validated and acquired on social media then interacted with one another to shape the differential intensity and nature of the students' social media engagement with mainstream culture. On the other hand, the students' social media use enabled the students to present multiple identities and imagined new identities, reshape their perceptions of the ideologies of the living environments, and acquire new linguistic, cultural and social capital that stimulated and supported their online and offline interaction with the mainstream culture and people (Sykes et al., 2008). The cyclical interaction between social media engagement and the three motivational forces was associated with the ethnic minority students' investment in Chinese language use both on social media and in their daily lives, which further shaped the nature of their multilingual practices on social media. Thus, in addition to confirming Darvin and Norton's (2015; 2017) conceptualization that investment lies at the intersection of ideology, identity and capital, the findings highlight a two-way relationship between the motivational sources and the ethnic minority students' investment in social media engagement with mainstream culture and concomitant motivation in language learning.

More importantly, this study revealed the specific manifestation of ideology, identity and capital in this context. The ideological forces associated with the ethnic minority students' social media engagement included their perceptions of the ideologies of both the social media and the offline living environments, and these associations were found to be relative and relational: only when the students perceived that the norms of practice on social media accorded them the right to speak and the power to perform that were not accessible in their everyday interactions in Hong Kong society would the motivational potential of social media be capitalized on by the students. This finding aligned with previous research findings showing that the same social media tools might be perceived differently and impose different social meanings in contexts of different socio-political realities (Chen, 2013; Norton &

Williams, 2012). The identity factors that shaped the students' social media engagement included both their self-positioning in relation to Hong Kong society and their envisioning of future possible selves. The present study found that, despite sharing similar ideal L2 selves, differences in attitudinal links with the Hong Kong society were associated with the differentiated intensity and nature of some students' social media engagement and their concomitant investment in Chinese language learning. This finding supports Dörnyei and Al-Hoorie's (2017) arguments that, to understand the motivational forces behind learning languages other than Global English, it is important to consider both learners' attitudinal links with the target community and their desired future identities in relation to the community. As for the capital forces that shaped this group of ethnic minority students' investment in mainstream social media, linguistic, cultural and social capital were found to be the major forces. Linguistic capital both encouraged and posed a challenge to their social media engagement but was re-negotiated by some of the students through their active utilization of the multilingual and multimodal affordances of social media. Concurring with previous findings (Croucher, 2011; Li & Tsai, 2015; Mao & Qian, 2015; Rui & Wang, 2015), social media engagement brought with it mainstream cultural capital (e.g., enhanced understanding of culture and appropriate communication behaviours, changed views about the mainstream culture and people, and adjusted acculturation expectations) and social capital (e.g., accessibility to and emotional bonding with local Chinese), which the students perceived as facilitating their acculturation in Hong Kong. However, in their social media engagement, the students were also confronted with societal stereotypes about their ethnic culture and people, as other research has observed (Dayani, 2017; Veronis et al., 2018). This negative experience was found to make the students either critical of the value of interaction and information on social media or engage in prosocial behaviours to change the status quo.

The identification of the motivational mechanisms behind the ethnic minority students' social media engagement with mainstream culture suggests a few implications for supporting ethnic minorities' social media practices and their associated investment in learning the language. First, the students' selective investment in mainstream culture social media in the present study was associated with differential presentation, acquisition and construction of identity, capital and ideology, which shaped their acculturation to mainstream culture and their concomitant long-term investment in learning the language of the mainstream culture. This finding suggests that, in order to support ethnic minorities' motivation to learn the language of the mainstream culture, it is important to manage their perceptions of, and abilities to, utilize the affordance of social media tools to facilitate their acculturation. Second, the ethnic minority students' social media engagement was closely intertwined with the interaction of identity, capital and ideology, elements that are closely related to acculturation. This finding suggests that, in order to encourage and support ethnic minority students' social media engagement with mainstream culture, simply highlighting and providing opportunities for audience validation, personal visibility and recognition, and self-expression—the motivational drivers often discussed in existent literature (Blake, 2016; Chen, 2013; Henry, 2019; Pasfield-Neofitou, 2011)—is not enough. Instructional support needs to pay attention to these acculturation-related factors as well. Specifically, considering that it was the ethnic minority students' perceptions of the ideologies that mattered, it is important to guide ethnic minority students' interpretations of the socio-cultural realities of both social media spaces and living environments to enhance their likelihood of taking positive actions to activate the motivational and power-enhancing potential of social media for their acculturation and language learning. Since capital was a major driving force, alerting the ethnic minority students to the diversified capital that could be acquired in social media interactions and assisting them in curating this capital could help motivate and sustain their extramural social media use. The capital-building potential of social media could be capitalized on in the

classroom through bridging activities that integrate relevant social media resources into classroom learning to help ethnic minority students to acquire mainstream cultural capital and “digital cultural capital” (Lam, 2012, p. 64; Throne & Reinhardt, 2008). Also, given the students’ different reactions to the constraining linguistic capital and the negative experiences they were exposed to on social media, it is important to build up ethnic minority students’ resilience to negative social images and enhance their awareness of and ability to utilize the affordances of social media and their ethnic culture capital to turn the negative experiences into positive forces (Lee, 2005). Moreover, as identity, capital and ideology interacted with one another to shape the students’ investment in social media in the present study, a holistic approach to supporting ethnic minority students should be adopted whereby these motivational aspects are addressed altogether.

Conclusion

This study set out to understand what motivated or demotivated a group of ethnic minority secondary school students’ engagement in mainstream culture social media practices and their concomitant investment in the mainstream language. It found that the students’ engagement in everyday social media practices was closely intertwined with their identity representation and construction, validation and acquisition of capital and perceptions of the ideologies of both the online and the offline contexts. Desired selves and cultural identities, validated and expected linguistic capital, social and cultural capital and perceived ideologies of social media and daily life environments restrained or reinforced one another to shape the students’ selective investment in social media practices. The students’ selective engagement in mainstream culture social media practices in turn brought it new identities, capital and ideologies. The shaping-and-reshaping relationship between the three motivational forces and the students’ social media practices was associated with both their immediate engagement with the language of the mainstream culture on social media and in daily life and their long-term investment in learning the language. The findings highlight the importance of taking these acculturation-related factors into consideration when discussing the motivational forces behind social media engagement. To expand ethnic minorities’ social media practices, it is important to guide and broaden their perceptions of identity projection, capital and ideologies in living environments and on social media spaces. The findings also suggest the importance of supporting ethnic minorities on their perceptions of and abilities to utilize the potential of social media for acculturation.

This study has a few limitations. First, given the exploratory nature of the research inquiry, the study was based solely on a group of ethnic minority students’ self-report data in order to obtain some initial understanding of the issue. Future research may combine interviews with log data that identify patterns of practices that have a motivational impact, interviews contingent to specific practice events and analysis of the actual social media artefacts for data triangulation and more nuanced insights into the issue (Bodnar et al., 2016; Henry, 2019). Second, the study focused on examining the motivational mechanisms behind everyday social media use among a group of ethnic minority students in Hong Kong. The participants were adolescent students of primarily Pakistani ethnic background, who had lived in Hong Kong and been learning the language for a relatively long time. The students’ assumed and desired cultural identities, their existing and expected capital, their perceptions of ideologies, their desire for social connection and their perceptions of social media might have been shaped by their age and associated life experience and expectations, their length of residence in Hong Kong, their Chinese language proficiency level, and their ethnic background. Thus, the specific manifestation of the identities, capitals and ideologies that motivated or demotivated their social media engagement with mainstream culture and how their social media engagement was associated with their changes in identity, capital and

ideology might have been biased by the specific profile of the participating cohort. Thus, some of the research findings need to be interpreted with caution, bearing the participant profile in mind. Moreover, the socio-political and economic realities of the research context and the cultural ideologies of online and offline interaction (e.g., extent of social disclosure) may also have shaped the nature of the motivational mechanisms reported in this study. The manifestation of the motivational forces behind ethnic minorities' everyday social media use and the interactions between these forces might differ in different sociocultural contexts and among different immigrant populations (e.g., adults who face different acculturation challenges from those of adolescents, or immigrants coming from high-status cultures). Further research is needed to gain an in-depth understanding of the motivational mechanisms behind everyday social media use in different immigration contexts. Future research may replicate the present study in different sociocultural contexts and among different immigrant populations to determine how the motivational forces might manifest themselves differently in different socio-cultural contexts and among different ethnic groups.

References:

- Alencar, A. (2018). Refugee integration and social media: a local and experiential perspective. *Information, Communication & Society*, 21(11), 1588-1603.
- Blake, R. (2016). Technology and the four skills. *Language Learning & Technology*, 20(2), 129-142.
- Bodnar, S., Cucchiarini, C., Strik, H., & van Hout, R. (2016). Evaluating the motivational impact of CALL systems: current practices and future directions. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 29(1), 186-212.
- Boulianne, S. (2015). Social media use and participation: A meta-analysis of current research. *Information, communication & society*, 18(5), 524-538.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.
- Chen, H. I. (2013). Identity practices of multilingual writers in social networking spaces. *Language Learning & Technology*, 17(2), 143-170.
- Croucher, S. M. (2011). Social networking and cultural adaptation: A theoretical model. *Journal of International and Intercultural Communication*, 4(4), 259-264.
- Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual review of applied linguistics*, 35, 36-56.
- Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2017). Identity, language learning, and critical pedagogies in digital times. In J. Cenoz, D. Gorter, & S. May. (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Education: Vol. 6, Language awareness and multilingualism*, (3rd ed., pp. 43-54). Boston, MA: Springer.
- Dayani, D. (2017). *The Role of Social Media in the Acculturation of South Asian Immigrants in the United States: A Phenomenological Study*.
- Dörnyei, Z., & Al-Hoorie, A. H. (2017). The motivational foundation of learning languages other than Global English: Theoretical issues and research directions. *The Modern Language Journal*, 101(3), 455-468.
- Forbush, E., & Foucault-Welles, B. (2016). Social media use and adaptation among Chinese students beginning to study in the United States. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 50, 1-12.
- Golonka, E. M., Bowles, A. R., Frank, V. M., Richardson, D. L., & Freynik, S. (2014). Technologies for foreign language learning: a review of technology types and their effectiveness. *Computer assisted language learning*, 27(1), 70-105.
- Greenhow, C. (2011). Youth, learning, and social media. *Journal of Educational Computing Research*, 45(2), 139-146.
- Gu, M., Kou, Z., & Guo, X. (2019). Understanding Chinese language teachers' language ideologies in teaching South Asian students in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 22(8), 1030-1047.
- Guo, Y., Li, Y., & Ito, N. (2014). Exploring the predicted effect of social networking site use on perceived social capital and psychological well-being of Chinese international students in Japan. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 17(1), 52-58.
- Henry, A. (2019). Online Media Creation and L2 Motivation: A Socially Situated Perspective. *TESOL Quarterly*, 53(2), 372-404.
- Hong Kong Census and Statistics Department. (2017). *Thematic Report: Ethnic Minorities*. Retrieved from: <https://www.byccensus2016.gov.hk/data/16bc-ethnic-minorities.pdf>
- Ju, R., Jia, M. Y., & Shoham, M. (2016). Online Social Connection: Exploring International Students' Use of New Media in Their Adaptation Process. *China Media Research*, 12(2), 76-90.

- Kapai, P. (2015). *Status of Ethnic Minorities in Hong Kong 1997-2014*. Retrieved from the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights website: https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CERD/Shared%20Documents/HKG/INT_CERD_NGO_CHN_31912_E.pdf
- Kaplan, A. M., & Haenlein, M. (2010). Users of the world, unite! The challenges and opportunities of Social Media. *Business horizons*, 53(1), 59-68.
- Kizgin, H., Jamal, A., Dey, B. L., & Rana, N. P. (2018). The impact of social media on consumers' acculturation and purchase intentions. *Information Systems Frontiers*, 20(3), 503-514.
- Lai, C. (2019). The influence of extramural access to mainstream culture social media on ethnic minority students' motivation for language learning. *British Journal of Educational Technology*, 50(4), 1929-1941.
- Lai, C., Gao, F., & Wang, Q. (2015). Bicultural orientation and Chinese language learning among South Asian ethnic minority students in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 18(2), 203-224.
- Lam, W. S. E. (2009). Literacy and learning across transnational online spaces. *E-learning and Digital Media*, 6(4), 303-324.
- Lam, W. S. E. (2012). What immigrant students can teach us about new media literacy. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 94(4), 62-65.
- Lamb, M. (2017). The motivational dimension of language teaching. *Language Teaching*, 50(3), 301-346.
- Lamb, M., & Arisandy, F. E. (2019). The impact of online use of English on motivation to learn. *Computer Assisted Language Learning*, 1-24.
- Lee, R. M. (2005). Resilience Against Discrimination: Ethnic Identity and Other-Group Orientation as Protective Factors for Korean Americans. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(1), 36-44.
- Li, C., & Tsai, W. H. S. (2015). Social media usage and acculturation: A test with Hispanics in the US. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 45, 204-212.
- Li, W. (2018). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(1), 9-30.
- Luo, T. (2013). Web 2.0 for language learning: Benefits and challenges for educators. *International Journal Of Computer-assisted Language Learning and Teaching (Ijcallt)*, 3(3), 1-17.
- Macaro, E., Handley, Z., & Walter, C. (2012). A systematic review of CALL in English as a second language: Focus on primary and secondary education. *Language Teaching*, 45(1), 1-43.
- Mao, Y. Y., & Qian, Y. Y. (2015). Facebook use and acculturation: The case of overseas Chinese professionals in Western countries. *International Journal of Communication*, 9(1), 2467-2486.
- Nightingale, R., (2016). *The effect of out-of-school media contact on language attitudes in multilingual adolescents: A complex psycho-sociolinguistic system*. Doctoral dissertation, Universitat Jaume I.
- Noels, K. A., Chaffee, K., Lou, N. M., & Dincer, A. (2016). Self-Determination, Engagement, and Identity in Learning German: Some Directions in the Psychology of Language Learning Motivation. *Fremdsprachen Lehren und Lernen (FLuL)*, 45(2), 12-29.
- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning: Gender, ethnicity and educational change*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education.
- Norton, B. (2013). *Identity and language learning: Extending the conversation*. Bristol, UK: Multilingual Matters.

- Norton, B., & Williams, C. J. (2012). Digital identities, student investments and eGranary as a placed resource. *Language and Education*, 26(4), 315-329.
- Pasfield-Neofitou, S. (2011). Online domains of language use: Second language learners' experiences of virtual community and foreignness. *Language Learning & Technology*, 15(2), 92-108.
- Pavlenko, A. & Lantolf, J. (2000). Second language learning as participation and the (re) construction of selves. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.) *Sociocultural theory and second language learning* (pp. 155-177). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Reinhardt, J. (2019). Social media in second and foreign language teaching and learning: Blogs, wikis, and social networking. *Language Teaching*, 52(1), 1-39.
- Reinhardt, J., & Zander, V. (2011). Social networking in an intensive English program classroom: A language socialization perspective. *CALICO Journal*, 28(2), 326-344.
- Rui, J. R., & Wang, H. (2015). Social network sites and international students' cross-cultural adaptation. *Computers in Human Behaviour*, 49, 400-411.
- Shum, M. S. K., Gao, F., Tsung, L., & Ki, W. W. (2011). South Asian students' Chinese language learning in Hong Kong: motivations and strategies. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development*, 32(3), 285-297.
- Sin, S. C. J., Kim, K. S., Yang, J., Park, J. A., & Laugheed, Z. T. (2011). International students' acculturation information seeking: Personality, information needs and uses. *Proceedings of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 48(1), 1-4.
- Sykes, J. M., Oskoz, A., & Thorne, S. L. (2008). Web 2.0, synthetic immersive environments, and mobile resources for language education. *CALICO Journal*. 25(3), 528-546.
- Thorne, S. L. & Reinhardt, J. (2008). "Bridging activities," new media literacies, and advanced foreign language proficiency. *CALICO Journal*, 25(3), 558-572.
- Tonsing, K. N., Tse, S., & Tonsing, J. C. (2016). Acculturation, perceived discrimination, and psychological distress: Experiences of South Asians in Hong Kong. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 53(1), 124-144.
- Van de Vijver, F. J. (2018). Challenges in the study of adolescent and acculturative changes. *Journal of adolescence*, 62, 226-229.
- Veronis, L., Tabler, Z., & Ahmed, R. (2018). Syrian refugee youth use social media: Building transcultural spaces and connections for resettlement in Ottawa, Canada. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 50(2), 79-99.
- Wang, S., & Vasquez, C. (2012). Web 2.0 and second language learning: What does the research tell us? *CALICO Journal*, 29(3), 412-430.