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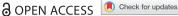
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'The culture of China is broad and profound, with all rivers flowing into the sea': Plurilingual and pluricultural competence and identity among university students in China

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ABSTRACT

As part of its ambitious Belt and Road initiative, the Chinese government, cognizant of the fact that establishing strong people-to-people bonds locally, regionally, and internationally will be key to the initiative's success and that languages will play a pivotal role in facilitating this, has called for the diversification of language programmes beyond English at the tertiary and pre-tertiary levels. The aim is to boost the plurilingual and pluricultural competence (PPC) of Chinese citizens, who are often already multilingual because of their knowledge of Chinese dialects and minority languages. This article reports on a study involving 248 university students from over 20 provinces in China that explored the interactions between their reported PPC, translingual dispositions, interculturalism, orientations toward cultural differences, and identity-related views. The results revealed that the participants' translingual dispositions entailed engaging in language negotiation practices to a greater extent than in resisting linguistic norms or exploring language. Moreover, the more multilingual the participants were, the more fluidly they reported moving between languages and the greater was their PPC, which was also positively and statistically significantly predicted by their age, ethnic background, acceptance of cultural differences, and views about their personal identity.

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Introduction

In mainland China, where this study was conducted, the government, as part of their expansion of multilingual education to support the Belt and Road Initiative (B&R), has called on universities to broaden their offering of languages to students (Gao and Zheng 2019). It has also increased the foreign languages (FLs) available to students under the national college entrance exam (高考; gaokao in Chinese) from three to six (i.e. English, French, German, Japanese, Russian, and Spanish), thereby encouraging them to diversify their multilingual repertoires already from the pre-tertiary phase. Gao and Zheng (2019, 557) note that such expansion is 'unprecedented' and holds important implications for multilingual and multicultural development in the country. According to Chen et al. (2020, 321), the Chinese government, in implementing these initiatives, 'has begun to realise the importance of multilingual talents who may play an indispensable role in deepening' cooperation between B&R countries. Chinese citizens, it is worth mentioning, are already multilingual: China is home to at least 56 ethnic groups, with the majority Han alone speaking thousands of different Chinese varieties (Shen and Gao 2019). Minority languages number in the hundreds. This culturally, ethnically, and linguistically rich panoply notwithstanding, few studies have explored the multilingual talents of the country's younger generations and what this might mean for initiatives like the B&R.

Instead, studies on multilingualism in China have focused on government language planning and policy documents (e.g. Chen et al. 2020; Shen and Gao 2019), the experiences of mainland Chinese students in Hong Kong (Gu 2011; Gu and Tong 2012), ethnic minority attitudes toward Mandarin Chinese (Wang and Chao 2021), family language policy (Cui and Zheng 2021; Tang and Calafato 2022; Zheng and Mei 2021), and FL motivation (e.g. Huang, Steinkrauss, and Verspoor 2021; Liu 2020; Wang, McConachy, and Ushioda 2021). Seeking to fill the research gap vis-à-vis multilingualism in China, our study investigated Chinese university students' plurilingual and pluricultural competence (PPC), translingual dispositions, orientations toward cultural differences, interculturalism, views about their personal, enacted, and ethnic identities, and beliefs about language use, including how all these elements related to each other. The importance of the study, and its originality, lie in its ability to provide policymakers, researchers, and educational institutions, among others, with multi-layered insights into how younger generations in China use languages, relate to their various identities, and orientate toward cultural differences based on a range of sociobiographical factors like their age and multilingualism, as well as how these various elements affect their PPC.

Exploring multilingualism in China

Chen et al. (2020) report that multilingualism¹ is defined in Chinese political texts as an individual's ability 'to speak one or more foreign languages' (p. 323). Studies on multilingualism in China, however, tend to adopt a more inclusive definition, using it to refer to individuals who speak a combination of standard Mandarin, Chinese dialects, minority languages, and FLs (e.g. Wang and Chao 2021). Continuing this trend, we define multilingualism in this study as the compound sum of an individual's linguistic repertoire, including all the languages (e.g. dialects, standard varieties, FLs, minority languages, etc.) they know and the experiences they acquire through learning and using these languages (Jessner 2008). Studies indicate that defining multilingualism in this way can yield deeper insights into its effects than if we limited the definition to one's knowledge of FLs (Calafato 2021). Research on language behaviour among ethnic groups in China (e.g. Wu 2013; Yang and Curdt-Christiansen 2021) indicate that while older Han citizens become multilingual in standard Mandarin Chinese (普通话; putonghua) and multiple urban and rural Chinese dialects (方言; fangyans) through domestic migration, younger Han migrants can gravitate toward putonghua because they see it, alongside English, as representing modernisation and upward social mobility (Shen, Wang, and Gao 2021).

In contrast to Han-specific studies, those covering ethnic minorities reveal different dynamics (Guo and Gu 2018; Wang and Chao 2021). For example, the Uyghur participants interviewed by Guo and Gu (2018, 487-488) were found to 'mobilise repertoires of multilingual resources and other symbolic capital in a sophisticated manner, so as to facilitate their identity contestation and negotiation across diverse communities', even if their relationship with putonghua was marked by resistance and complicated due to sociopolitical reasons. Yet, despite not always expressing a favourable view of putonghua or Han Chinese, Guo and Gu (2018, 489) observed that their participants invested time and effort in 'improving their putonghua proficiency and enriching their knowledge of literary works in various ways'. As for FLs, they drew on their knowledge of Uyghur to learn English rapidly, especially pronunciation, which they felt they had a better grasp of than did their Han counterparts because of the sophisticated phonology of the Uyghur language. Given their contested and subordinate position in relation to the Han majority, then, members of minority



groups in China may possess PPC and translingual dispositions (i.e. openness to language differences and translanguaging; see Cavazos & Karaman, 2021) that differ from those of the majority group because of the complexity they navigate.

For China and other countries that seek to boost multilateral cooperation by promoting multilingualism in education and encouraging stronger people-to-people bonds, exploring the intertwined trifecta of language, culture, and identity may prove useful since these can influence people's ability to establish and sustain such bonds. Viewed through sociocultural and ethnolinguistic perspectives (Giles & Johnson, 1987; Hecht et al., 2005; Noels et al., 2011; Zuengler & Miller, 2006), languages are used for diverse psychological and social purposes, including to enact and modify one's identities and as a marker of culture, allowing individuals to convey distinctiveness, resemblance, intimacy, or distance vis-à-vis others. This trifecta has rarely been comprehensively (and quantitively) explored in multilingualism-focused studies on China, a gap that this study sought to fill by investigating the relationship that younger generations in China had with their languages, cultures, and identities from multiple angles.

Competences in multilinguals

In this study, we use multilingualism as an umbrella term for how individuals draw on their whole linguistic repertoire in their daily lives, regardless of variations in language proficiency, preferences, or ideologies. We also use multilingualism to refer to plurilingualism (European Council, 2019), polylingualism (Jørgensen & Møller, 2014), hyperlingualism (Block, 2007), translingualism (Lee, 2017), and other terms that describe different aspects of what is essentially the same phenomenon. We do this to avoid conceptual clutter. An important component of being multilingual is possessing some level of plurilingual and pluricultural competence (compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle in French), seeing as these, like language and culture (and identity), develop together and dynamically (Galante, 2018; 2020). PPC can be defined as 'the ability to use languages for the purposes of communication and to take part in intercultural interaction, where a person, viewed as a social actor has proficiency, of varying degrees, in several languages and experience of several cultures' (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 168). Having advanced PPC is desirable in several ways, not least because it refines one's 'knowledge of how to learn and the capacity to enter into relations with others and new situations' and accelerates 'subsequent learning in the linguistic and cultural areas' (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 31).

PPC can also enhance one's capacity 'to deal with 'otherness' to identify similarities and differences', 'act as an intercultural mediator', and 'expand linguistic/plurilinguistic and cultural/pluricultural awareness through an attitude of openness and curiosity' (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 124). As a construct, few studies have explored PPC (Galante & de la Cruz, 2021; Polyakova & Galstyan-Sargsyan, 2021) and only one measure appears to do so quantitatively, namely, the one created by Galante (2020). Galante's PPC measure, which has been used in a handful of studies, was 'developed to gather information about language users in multilingual settings, with no particular language or context in mind' (Galante, 2020). In Canada, Galante and de la Cruz (2021), using the PPC measure, found statistically significant, positive correlations between the number of languages their 250 participants knew, their age, the duration of their residence in the country, and their PPC. In other words, participants who spoke more languages, were older, or had resided in Canada for longer also reported higher PPC. Linked to PPC are one's translingual dispositions: the extent to which individuals are open to language differences and how they approach translanguaging, including its enactment through various modes (e.g. writing or speaking) (Cavazos & Karaman, 2021).

Translanguaging is 'blending and alternating between languages where necessary' (Council of Europe, 2020, p. 127) to access 'different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages in order to maximise communicative potential' (García, 2009, p. 140). By exploring multilinguals' translingual dispositions, researchers can better understand how they

index their identities by negotiating between languages depending on the context, resisting standards and expectations for what languages should be used, and adopting an inquisitive approach to language use that emphasises exploration (Cavazos & Karaman, 2021). When examining their translingual dispositions alongside their PPC (since both complement each other; see Council of Europe, 2020), we can gain multifaceted insights into multilinguals' PPC and their enactment of this competence. Of course, multilingualism leads to effects that surpass the linguistic (Jessner, 2008; Larsen-Freeman, 2002), for instance, feeling like different people from language to language or developing hybrid identities (Galante & de la Cruz, 2021; Pavlenko, 2006; Tang and Calafato 2022). This latter phenomenon is referred to as 'interculturalism', where individuals 'develop intergroup dialogue, stimulate identity flexibility and allow for the formation of new mixed identities', and cultivate a sense of unity across cultural differences (Verkuyten et al., 2020, p. 506).

According to the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Bennett, 2017), which is based on communication theory, individuals move through several orientations toward cultural differences when developing their appreciation of these, with this appreciation positively correlating with the sophistication of their experiences in diverse cultural contexts. People with ethnocentric worldviews (and mostly monocultural experiences) tend to possess orientations that have them denying or rejecting cultural differences or minimising their importance (Bennett, 2017). They may, likewise, be less willing to learn or use multiple languages to interact with people from other cultures, sometimes making it difficult for them to forge strong people-to-people bonds with people from cultural backgrounds unlike their own (i.e. they possess limited PPC). Individuals with ethnorelative worldviews, in contrast, adopt orientations that are more accepting of cultural differences while treating others as 'equally human', and not in vague ways that deprive them of their individuality (Hammer et al., 2003). These individuals may possess advanced PPC and be more open to language differences and translanguaging (Cavazos & Karaman, 2021). Beyond an appreciation of cultural differences, mixed identities, and translingual dispositions, multilinguals' PPC can also relate to how they view themselves and their beliefs about language use.

Beliefs about language use and identity

In China, the government's promotion of multilingualism in schools and universities to support the B&R and its efforts to ensure interethnic harmony can sometimes be at odds with the dominant position that Mandarin Chinese and English occupy vis-à-vis fangyans and minority languages (see Chen et al., 2020). Such a contradiction results in some Chinese citizens developing identities marked by resistance, for example, the multilingual Uyghur students interviewed by Guo and Gu (2018). According to identity theory, people develop a sense of self that is intricately tied to their expectations and self-motives, as well as to society. In striving for meaning, coherence, and understanding of oneself, they create identities, some of which more accurately and consistently reflect their 'inner thoughts and feelings' (Harter 2002, p. 382), such as their personal identity (Erickson 1995). Language constitutes an integral part of this identity, with it being the place where 'actual and possible forms of social organisation and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested', and where people's sense of themselves and their subjectivity is constructed (Weedon, 1987, p. 21). Besides personal identity, there is one's social or enacted identity, which is what individuals showcase in interactions with others.

According to communication identity theory (Hecht et al., 2005), individuals cannot always enact their personal identity with others due to fear, shyness, impression management, or other dynamics. For example, multilinguals may use multiple languages at home but may refrain from doing so in public due to fears that they might be othered by monolinguals (Colombo et al., 2020), especially if the latter has a dominant position in society. Consequently, their ability to enact their multilingualism in society becomes hampered and they experience gaps between their personal and enacted identities (i.e. an identity gap). Individuals also have ethnic identities, which they share with other people from the same ethnic group(s) and continue to develop via

exploration, commitment, and affirmation (Phinney & Ong, 2007). These identities have a strong impact on their language behaviour (Guo & Gu, 2018; Wang & Chao, 2021). Beyond identities, people's beliefs about the use of ethnic or minority languages constitute an important marker of their PPC. As Mbakop and Ndada (2021) contend, the beliefs that individuals have about an ethnic language contribute 'to its maintenance or loss (and ultimately the dynamics of multilingualism in the country)'. At present, research into people's beliefs about language use in China has been mostly qualitative and concerned with family settings (Cui & Zheng, 2021; Shen et al., 2021).

Research questions

Given the gaps identified regarding studies on multilingualism in China, this study investigated the following research questions:

- 1. What is the nature of the participants' PPC and translingual dispositions?
- 2. How do they orient themselves toward cultural differences? To what extent do they endorse interculturalism?
- 3. How do the participants view their personal, enacted, and ethnic identities?
- 4. To what extent do they believe in the importance of using fangyans/minority languages alongside the official language?
- 5. What is the relationship between their PPC, translingual dispositions, orientations toward cultural differences, interculturalism, beliefs about language use, and views about their personal, enacted, and ethnic identities?

In seeking to answer the above questions, we also explored what the participants felt were important aspects of their personal identity.

Methods and instruments

Data collection

We recruited participants for the study via contacts among teaching staff at universities in several Chinese provinces. These contacts were emailed an overview of the study, details about the data collection process, a link to an online questionnaire, and information on ethical guidelines like ensuring participant anonymity and data confidentiality. The contacts subsequently sent the questionnaire link and our contact details to their students and encouraged them to participate in the study. The data collection period lasted six weeks, after which access to the questionnaire was disabled. The questionnaire was made available to the participants in English and putonghua, and the participants had the option to switch between the languages at any point (widgets for English and putonghua were embedded on each page) when completing it. Table 1 provides an overview of the sections and the measures used (some measures had several subscales while others did not). Note that a 5-point agree-disagree Likert format was used for all measures and that several were modified from their original n-point formats in this respect for greater clarity and uniformity (see Table 1; all measures already used agree-disagree values). As Cohen et al. (2000) point out, it is wrong to assume equivalence between measures employing different n-point Likert formats. Reliability testing (McDonald's ω using confirmatory factor analysis estimation) indicated that the modified measures (in instances where the measures had subscales, ω was calculated per subscale) possessed sufficient internal consistency (see Table 1).

Overall, the questionnaire consisted of 131 items (8 sections) that investigated the participants' PPC (example item: The more languages I know, the better I can understand the global community), their translingual dispositions (example item: I create meaning through my knowledge of different languages), interculturalism (example item: In our diverse society, new border-crossing

Table 1. Overview of questionnaire sections, measures used, and reliability.

S	Content	Measure	Items	Subscales	Original Likert scale	ω
1	Plurilingual and pluricultural competence	PPC (Galante, 2020)	22	-	4-point (modified to 5- point)	.81
2	Translingual dispositions	TD (Cavazos & Karaman, 2021)	27	Negotiation Resistance Exploration	6-point (modified to 5- point)	.92 .89 .89
3	Interculturalism	Interculturalism (Verkuyten et al., 2020)	12	Sense of Unity IF Dialogue	7-point (modified to 5- point)	.93 .79 .90
4	Orientations toward cultural differences	IDI (Hammer et al., 2003)	15	Defense Reversal Minimisation Acceptance Alienation	5-point	.76 .78 .62 .75
5 6- 7	Beliefs about language use Identities	BALLI (Mbakop & Ndada, 2021) Authenticity (Burke & Harrod, 2021) Identity gap (Jung, 2011) MEIM (Phinney & Ong, 2007)	12 13 6 12	- - Exploration Commitment	5-point 4-point (modified to 5-point) 5-point 4-point (modified to 5-point)	.80 .78 .71 .78 .88
8	Sociobiographical information	-	12	_		_

Note. S: Section; PPC: Plurilingual and pluricultural competence; TD: Translingual dispositions; IDI: Intercultural development inventory; BALLI: Beliefs about language learning inventory; MEIM: Multigroup ethnic identity measure; IF: Identity flexibility

identities are needed), their orientations toward cultural differences via a shortened Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (example item: People should avoid individuals from other cultures who behave differently), their beliefs about language use (the importance of using <code>fangyans/min-ority</code> languages alongside <code>putonghua</code>) via a modified Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) (Mbakop & Ndada, 2021) (example item: A child to whom their <code>fangyan/minority</code> language is spoken in the family runs the risk of being less intelligent than one to whom <code>putonghua</code> is spoken), their views about their personal identity (using the authenticity scale by Burke & Harrod, 2021) (example item: I often do not feel I am myself), identity gap (i.e. the gap between their personal and enacted identities; see Jung, 2011) (example item: I freely express the 'real me' in communication with my communication partners), and their commitment to, and exploration of, their ethnic identity (utilising the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure) (example item: I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background). We also collected sociobiographical data from the participants (e.g. age, gender, languages spoken, etc.), elicited their thoughts about their personal identity via an open-ended question (How would you define your identity? What are its most important aspects in your view?), and requested feedback about the questionnaire.

Participants

Two hundred and forty-eight university students, having a mean age of 21.22 (Mdn = 20, SD = 4.54), participated in the study. Sixty-one participants (24.60%) identified as male, whereas 186 (75.00%) identified as female (one participant chose not to state their gender). The participants were completing various programmes at their respective universities, such as Social Work (n = 40, 16.13%), Environmental Design (n = 26, 10.48%), Russian Language and Literature (n = 19, 7.66%), History (n = 18, 7.26%), Chinese Language and Literature (n = 15, 6.05%), Education (n = 13, 5.24%), Economics (n = 10, 4.03%), Sociology (n = 10, 4.03%), Psychology (n = 9, 3.63%), Fine Arts (n = 8, 3.23%), Ethnology (n = 7, 2.82%), and Visual Communication (n = 7, 2.82%). Smaller numbers of participants were studying for degrees in Musicology, Digital Media Arts, Accounting, Logistics Management, and Pharmaceutical Engineering, among other disciplines. Twenty-four (9.68%) participants were from multi-ethnic families (e.g. the father was Hui while

the mother was Yi, etc.), whereas 217 had parents of the same ethnicity (e.g. both parents were Bai, Deang, Han, Hmong, Hui, Lisu, or Manchu). Ninety-five (38.31%) participants from the latter group were from fully Han households.

All the participants spoke more than one language (i.e. a mix of putonghua, fangyans, FLs, and/or minority languages), with 66 (26.61%) participants speaking two languages, 117 (47.18%) speaking three languages, and 56 (22.58%) speaking four languages (nine participants did not list their languages). As for their knowledge of specifically fangyans/minority languages, the participants mentioned Anhui, Bai, Chongqing, Guilin, Haimen, Hangzhou, Henan, Hokkien, Korean, Lisu, Mongolian, Naxi, Shanxi, Sichuan, Suzhou, Tibetan, Uyghur, Yantai, and others. The FLs they reported learning included Arabic, English, French, German, Japanese, Russian, Thai, and Turkish. Figure 1 provides an overview of where the participants were from in China. Many of the participants reported living in multiple Chinese provinces: 62 (25.00%) participants had lived in four or more provinces, 64 (25.81%) had lived in three, 74 (29.84%) had lived in two, and 42 (16.94%) participants had lived in only one Chinese province (six participants did not indicate how many provinces they had resided in).

Analysis

The quantitative data associated with the various measures (see Table 1) were analyzed using JASP (reliability testing) and SPSS 28. We set an alpha level of .05 for all tests and have reported effect size (Hedge's g) and achieved power $(1-\beta)$ wherever possible (Fan, 2001). Paired sample t-tests were conducted to ascertain differences in the participants' translingual dispositions (e.g. whether they reported engaging in language negotiation practices more so than in resistance and exploration; see Section 2/Table 1) and orientations toward cultural differences (e.g. if they gravitated more toward acceptance than minimisation; see Section 4/Table 1). Kruskal–Wallis, followed by the Bonferroni correction, and Mann–Whitney U tests were performed to check for differences in the participants' PPC (see Section 1/Table 1) and translingual dispositions based on their level of multilingualism and ethnic background (see Section 8/Table 1). A Pearson correlation (r) test was done to establish the strength and direction of correlations between the participants' views regarding their identities (see Sections 6-7/Table 1) and their PPC, translingual dispositions, and interculturalism (see Section 3/Table 1).

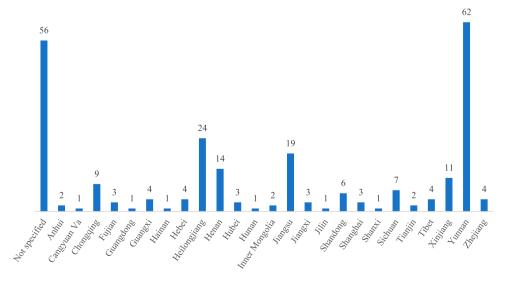


Figure 1. Home provinces of the participants.

Regression analysis was performed to determine the extent to which the participants' level of multilingualism, age, gender, ethnic background (e.g. multiethnic/monoethnic, Han/minority), residence in Chinese provinces (see Section 8/Table 1), interculturalism, translingual dispositions, orientations toward cultural differences, beliefs about language use (i.e. using fangyans/minority languages alongside putonghua; see Section 5/Table 1), and views regarding their identities were predictive of their PPC. As for the open-ended question on personal identity ('How would you define your identity? What are its most important aspects in your view?'), the raw data were analyzed in Atlas.ti using an inductive, thematic approach (Braun & Clarke, 2006). A total of 215 participants responded to the open-ended question, all in putonghua. Their responses ranged from the very brief (e.g. '大', meaning 'big' or 'profound' in *putonghua*) to a sentence or two in length. Each response was read, cross-referenced, and coded multiple times in English (their responses, however, were not translated into English prior to coding), with the codes refined and condensed during subsequent readings. These codes were then grouped into themes, which were checked against all the responses and developed into their final iterations.

Results

Figure 2 contains the descriptive statistics for the participants' PPC (see Section 1/Table 1) and translingual dispositions (see Section 2/Table 1). The data indicated that the participants' translingual dispositions saw them engaging in language negotiation practices (i.e. using languages fluidly and with an awareness of context) to a greater extent than in resisting linguistic norms and exploring language. Their reported PPC, meanwhile, was moderately high.

Paired sample t-tests were conducted to check for differences between the participants' language negotiation, resistance, and exploration practices (within their translingual dispositions). The results indicated that the participants engaged in language negotiation practices statistically significantly more than they resisted linguistic norms [.80, 95%CI(.71, .90), t(247) = 16.22, p < .001, g= .93, $1-\beta$ = 1.00] and explored language [.72, 95%CI(.59, .85), t(247) = 10.89, p < .001, g = .79, 1 $-\beta = 1.00$]. The effect sizes are medium to almost large. No statistically significant differences were found between their resistance to linguistic norms and exploration of language practices $[-.08, 95\%CI(-.22, .05), t(247) = -1.23, p = .220, g = .08, 1-\beta = .24].$

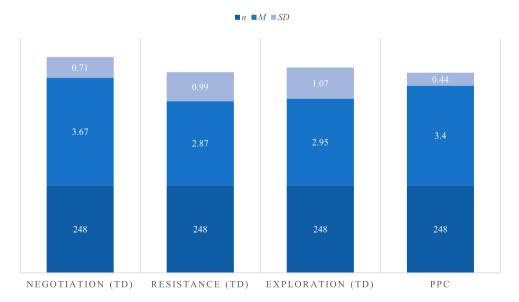


Figure 2. The participants' translingual dispositions and plurilingual and pluricultural competence. Note. TD: Translingual dispositions; PPC: Plurilingual and pluricultural competence.

Kruskal–Wallis tests were performed to ascertain if there were differences in the participants' translingual dispositions (see Section 2/Table 1) and PPC (see Section 1/Table 1) based on their level of multilingualism. The results revealed statistically significant differences in the participants' translingual dispositions (specifically, their language negotiation practices) [H(2) = 10.37, p = .006] and PPC [H(2) = 17.12, p < .001] based on their level of multilingualism. Here, those who knew four languages (n = 56, M = 3.89, SD = .56) engaged in language negotiation practices statistically significantly more $[p = .004, g = .52, 1 - \beta = .81]$ than did those who knew two languages (n = 66, M = 3.54, SD = .75). They (n = 56, M = 3.59, SD = .48) also had statistically significantly higher PPC than did those who knew two $[n = 66, M = 3.24, SD = .33; p < .001, g = .86, 1 - \beta = 1.00]$ or three languages $[n = 117, M = 3.41, SD = .43; p = .037, g = .40, 1 - \beta = .69]$. In other words, participants who were more multilingual reported using languages more fluidly and had higher levels of PPC than those who knew fewer languages. The effect sizes are generally small. No statistically significant differences were found between the participants regarding their resistance to linguistic norms [H(2) = 5.11, p = .078] or exploration of language [H(2) = 1.54, p = .463] based on their level of multilingualism.

Mann–Whitney U test results, meanwhile, indicated that there were statistically significant differences in the participants' translingual dispositions (specifically, their resistance to linguistic norms) $[U(N_{Han} = 95, N_{Non-Han} = 146) = 5768.00, p = .027, g = .32, 1-\beta = .76]$ based on whether they were from a fully Han background (n = 95, M = 2.67, SD = .87), with those who were either partially or completely non-Han (n = 146, M = 2.98, SD = 1.02) resisting linguistic norms to a statistically significantly greater extent. The effect size is small.

Figure 3 contains the descriptive statistics for the participants' orientations toward cultural differences (see Section 4/Table 1). The data indicated that the participants favoured accepting cultural differences and, to a lesser extent, minimising such differences. They also did not feel alienated from all cultures, nor did they support defending or rejecting their own culture. Paired sample t-test results indicated that the participants were statistically significantly more accepting of cultural differences than they felt alienated from all cultures [1.45, 95%CI(1.29, 1.61), t(247) = 17.61, p < .001, g = 1.51, $1-\beta = 1.00$], minimised cultural differences [.43, 95%CI(1.33, .52), t(247) = 8.56, p < .001, g = .53, $1-\beta = 1.00$], rejected their culture [1.31, 95%CI(1.17, 1.45), t(246) = 18.11, p < .001, g = 1.46, $1-\beta = 1.00$], or defended it [1.33, 95%CI(1.19, 1.47), t(247) = 18.55, p < .001, g = 1.53, $1-\beta = 1.00$]. The effect sizes are medium to very large.



Figure 3. The participants' orientations toward cultural differences

Figure 4 contains the descriptive statistics for the participants' responses regarding their commitment to, and exploration of, their ethnic identity (MEIM), views about their personal identity (authenticity), identity gap (higher scores mean a smaller gap) (for all these, see Sections 6-7/ Table 1), interculturalism (see Section 3/Table 1), and beliefs about language use (see Section 5/ Table 1). The data indicated that the participants strongly endorsed interculturalism and were positively committed to (N = 242, M = 3.85, SD = .74) and explored (N = 242, M = 3.53, SD = .80) their ethnic identity. At the same time, they had a limited identity gap.

Table 2 lists the results of the Pearson correlation, with the data indicating that the participants' PPC (see Section 1/Table 1), interculturalism, and translingual dispositions (specifically, their resistance to linguistic norms and language negotiation practices; see Section 2/Table 1) statistically significantly and positively, albeit weakly, correlated with their views about their identities. This meant that the more the participants felt that they could be their authentic selves, had a lower personal-enacted identity gap (i.e. they felt they could be themselves when interacting with others), and committed to and explored their ethnic identity, the more fluidly they used languages and resisted linguistic norms, reported higher levels of PPC, and more strongly endorsed identity flexibility and intergroup dialogue (i.e. interculturalism).

A regression analysis (see Table 3) was conducted to ascertain the extent to which the participants' ethnic backgrounds, level of multilingualism, age, gender, residence in different Chinese provinces, orientations toward cultural differences, translingual dispositions, interculturalism, beliefs about language use, views about their personal identity (authenticity), identity gap, and commitment to, and exploration of, their ethnic identity (MEIM) were predictive of their PPC. Variance Inflation Factor scores for the data indicated that multicollinearity was not a concern while Durban-Watson test results revealed that the data were not autocorrelated (d = 1.93). Likelihoodratio test results showed that the regression model significantly outperformed the null model $[x^2]$ (19, N = 233) = 9.93, Nagelkerke $\rho^2 = .47$, p < .001].

The results of the regression analysis indicated that the participants' PPC was statistically significantly and positively predicted by their language negotiation practices, views about their personal identity (authenticity), acceptance of cultural differences, age, level of multilingualism, and non-Han/partly Han background. At the same time, their PPC was statistically significantly and

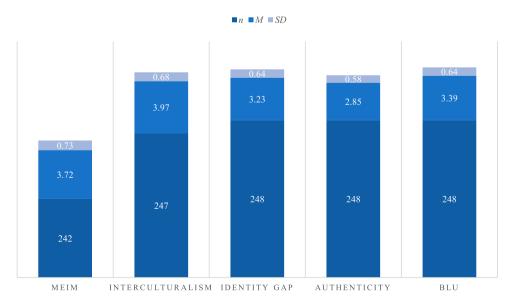


Figure 4. The participants' views about their identities, interculturalism, and beliefs about language use. Note. BLU: Beliefs about language use; MEIM: Multigroup ethnic identity measure.



Table 2. Correlations between the participants' views about their identities, beliefs about language use, translingual dispositions, and PPC.

		Translingual dispositions (see Section 2/Table 1)			PPC (see Section	Interculturalism (see		
		Negotiation	Resistance	Exploration	1/Table 1)	Section 3/Table 1)		
Beliefs about language use	r	.14	.11	.12	07	.37		
(see Section 5/Table 1)	р	.033	.100	.061	.295	<.001		
	n	248	248	248	248	247		
	1	$-\beta$.71	.54	.60	.29		
1.00								
Authenticity*	r	.00	.03	02	.21	12		
	р	.998	.646	.736	<.001	.058		
	n	248	248	248	248	247		
	1	$-\beta$.05	.12	.09	.96		
.60								
ldentity gap*	r	.26	.17	.04	.27	.27		
	р	<.001	.007	.515	<.001	<.001		
	n	248	248	248	248	247		
	1	$-\beta$	1.00	.85	.15	1.00		
1.00								
MEIM*	r	.26	.22	.11	.22	.45		
	р	<.001	<.001	.093	<.001	<.001		
	n	242	242	242	242	241		
	1	$-\beta$	1.00	.97	.53	.97		
1.00								

*See Sections 6-7/Table 1

Note. MEIM: Multigroup ethnic identity measure; PPC: Plurilingual and pluricultural competence scale

negatively predicted by their defense-related orientation toward cultural differences. Put another way, the more the participants accepted cultural differences and the less they saw their culture as the only viable one, the higher was their PPC. Similarly, being older and more multilingual led to more fluid use of languages and greater PPC.

Table 3. Regression analysis results using participants' PPC as the dependent variable.

						95.0%CI		Collinearity	
Model		В	β	t	р	LB	UB	Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)		1.20		3.70	<.001	.56	1.84		
Translingual dispositions (see Section 2/	Negotiation	.19	.29	4.16	<.001	.10	.27	.50	2.01
Table 1)	Resistance	02	05	70	.482	09	.04	.46	2.20
	Exploration	02	05	78	.434	07	.03	.73	1.37
Beliefs about language use (see Section 5/Table 1)		04	06	94	.349	12	.04	.71	1.42
Authenticity*	_	.13	.17	2.60	.010	.03	.22	.60	1.66
Identity gap*	_	.03	.04	.66	.510	06	.12	.55	1.83
MEIM*	_	.06	.10	1.62	.106	01	.13	.67	1.50
Orientations toward cultural differences	Defense	10	22	-2.70	.007	17	03	.38	2.65
(see Section 4/Table 1)	Rejection	02	06	72	.471	09	.04	.39	2.55
	Minimisation	02	05	67	.507	09	.05	.53	1.90
	Acceptance	.10	.18	2.65	.009	.03	.17	.56	1.79
	Alienation	03	06	89	.376	08	.03	.47	2.14
Interculturalism (see Section 3/Table 1)		.03	.04	.60	.552	06	.12	.51	1.97
Sociobiographical (see Section 8/Table	Gender	.02	.02	.41	.682	09	.13	.84	1.19
1)	Age	.02	.17	3.01	.003	.01	.03	.76	1.31
	Residence	.03	.06	1.18	.238	02	.07	.92	1.09
	Multilingualism	.08	.13	2.50	.013	.02	.15	.87	1.15
	Non-Han/partly Han	.15	.17	3.17	.002	.06	.25	.82	1.22
	Multiethnic	.12	.08	1.48	.141	04	.27	.83	1.21

*See Sections 6-7/Table 1

Note. MEIM: Multigroup ethnic identity measure; VIF: Variance inflation factor; LB: Lower bound; UB: Upper bound

The themes developed from the participants' coded responses (n = 215) to the open-ended question about what they felt were important aspects of their personal identity are listed in Figure 5 based on their frequency of occurrence in the data across participants.

As Figure 5 shows, several participants linked their identity to themes like the Chinese nation (14.42%), the Chinese state (11.63%), ethnicity (14.42%; e.g. Han, Uyghur, Mongolian, etc.), and their locality (10.70%; i.e. being from a particular province or city). A significant minority, meanwhile, felt that their identity was complex or hard to discuss (profundity; 16.74%). Responses that were coded into this theme included that of one participant who observed about his identity, '按照 不同方向分类' (Sorted in many ways). The Chinese nation theme encompassed responses where participants stated that they were part of a nation or civilisation not necessarily linked to a particular citizenship or ethnicity. For instance, they used terms like 中华 (zhonghua) and 华夏 (huaxia) that have civilizational undertones (e.g. one of the responses read '伟大的中华文化', meaning either great Chinese culture or Chinese civilisation), as opposed to 中国 (zhongguo), which is used for China as a state or polity. Connected to the theme of a Chinese nation, a limited number of participants explicitly mentioned Chinese art (.93%), historical empires (4.65%), and Chinese language and literary texts (4.65%). Meanwhile, a few participants (2.32%) referred to the inclusive and diverse nature of specifically the Chinese state (中国). For example, one participant remarked that '中国文化博大精深,海纳百川' (The culture of China is broad and profound, with all rivers flowing into the sea). Alongside references to 包罗万象 (all-inclusive), the word 博大 (broad; extensive) figured prominently among this group of participants.

The themes of nature (4.19%) and agriculture (2.32%) contained those responses where the participants discussed their identity in relation to flora strongly associated with China like certain flowers and trees or the cultivation of land to grow rice and other crops. One of the participants, for instance, talked about belonging to a society where mountain farming and animal husbandry were practiced: '传统山民农牧社会' (Traditional society of mountain farming and animal husbandry). At the same time, six (2.79%) participants stated that they had neither a specific identity that they could discuss (their responses were grouped under the alienation theme) nor a sense of belonging to any specific culture. This was somewhat in contrast to all the other participants that responded to the question, including 16 (7.44%) participants who felt they had an identity unique to them alone (their responses were placed under the personal theme). Ten participants (4.65%)

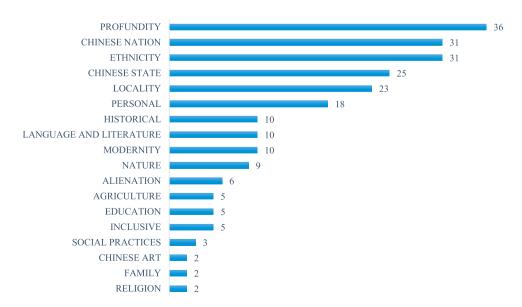


Figure 5. The participants' coded responses regarding important aspects of their personal identity.



connected their identity to modernity and being global citizens, whereas small numbers of participants defined their identity through their academic achievements in mathematics, philosophy, and technology (2.32%; education theme), their family (.93%), religion (.93%), or the social customs in which they participated (1.40%). Overall, most participants considered the complexity of their identity, their belonging to a Chinese nation or civilisation, and their ethnicity as important aspects of their personal identity, whereas few saw family or religion as important in this respect.

Discussion

This study explored the translingual dispositions and PPC of a group of linguistically and ethnically diverse students in China. Specifically, the study investigated (1) their translingual dispositions and PPC, (2) orientations toward cultural differences and interculturalism, (3) views about their personal, enacted, and ethnic identities, (4) beliefs about using fangyans/minority languages alongside putonghua, and (5) the relationship between their PPC and their translingual dispositions, orientations toward cultural differences, interculturalism, beliefs about language use, and views about their personal, enacted, and ethnic identities (alongside sociobiographical variables like age and level of multilingualism). In researching these questions, we also obtained an overview of the aspects they reported as being important to their personal identity. In terms of their translingual dispositions, the findings revealed that the participants engaged statistically significantly more in language negotiation practices than they did in resisting language norms and engaging in language exploration (the latter involves inquisitive inquiry; see Cavazos & Karaman, 2021). Their levels of PPC were moderately high, with those participants who knew more languages (four) found to possess statistically significantly higher levels of PPC than those who knew fewer languages. The former also implemented language negotiation practices statistically significantly more than did the latter.

When viewed through a complex dynamic systems lens (Jessner, 2008; Larsen-Freeman, 2002), the findings can be explained thusly: as the participants acquired additional languages (and the experiences that accompanied these), the increased complexity of interactions available to them (in affective, cognitive, and linguistic terms) contributed to their more fluid use of languages and higher PPC when compared to those who knew fewer languages. These findings also support those from the Galante and de la Cruz (2021) study, where the participants' multilingualism was discovered to positively correlate with their PPC. Moreover, even when not accounting for their level of multilingualism, the profile of the participants painted by the findings is one of individuals who move between their languages fluidly and with attention to context while remaining more conservative in their conformity to linguistic norms and expectations and not strongly questioning their language practices in this respect. It is worth noting that multilingualism in this study covered all the languages the participants knew (not just foreign or official languages but also dialects and minority languages) and we might have obtained different results had we defined multilingualism in another way, for example, by only considering official or foreign languages (as some have done when researching multilingualism in educational settings, see Calafato 2022).

Meanwhile, concerning their resistance to linguistic norms and conformity, as an element of their translingual dispositions, participants with a non-Han or partly Han background were found to engage in such resistance statistically significantly more than did those who were fully Han. While previous studies have not explored the translingual dispositions of individuals in China across multiple ethnic groups and language repertoires (at least not quantitively), researchers (e.g. Guo & Gu, 2018; Wang & Chao, 2021) have found that members of minority groups in the country can have a complicated relationship with putonghua, which can lead some of them to adopt non-conformist language practices as a way to 'resist the asymmetrical relations of power underpinning the dominant social discourses' (Guo & Gu, 2018, p. 2443). As for their orientations toward cultural differences, the findings revealed that the participants gravitated statistically significantly more toward acceptance than any other orientation, indicating that they, regardless of their backgrounds, possessed a mostly ethnorelative worldview (Bennett, 2017). They also strongly

endorsed interculturalism, affirming that they viewed identities as flexible and evolving, similar to how their language negotiation practices emphasised the fluid use of languages. And though these findings cannot find support from other quantitative studies conducted with learners in China (since none seem to exist), studies on teachers (e.g. Liu et al., 2021) report them expressing acceptance and appreciation of the cultural and ethnic diversity in their schools.

Regarding the participants' views of their personal, enacted, and ethnic identities, the findings revealed that they did not strongly feel that they could be their authentic selves, and they had a limited identity gap (see Figure 4). They also signaled their commitment to their ethnic identities and explored these to a moderate extent, even if not very deeply. The findings hint at hybrid identities, as reflected in the participants' strong endorsement of interculturalism and their language negotiation practices, as well as issues with fully expressing this hybridity in public, something that participants' responses to the open-ended question concerning aspects of their personal identity tend to support (more on this below). Moreover, statistically significant, positive (albeit weak) correlations were observed between the participants' views about their identities (personal, enacted, and ethnic) and their PPC, translingual dispositions, and interculturalism (see Table 2). These findings were similarly reflected, to some extent, in the participants' responses to the openended question on what they considered to be important aspects of their identity. Here, the participants listed several themes, though the most consistently cited theme was that of profundity, followed by the Chinese nation and ethnicity.

Profundity, as a feature of identity among multilinguals, has received limited attention in the Chinese context (exceptions include Gu, 2011; Guo & Gu, 2018), with most studies involving monoethnic participants. And so, the findings from this study provide an insightful snapshot of identity and language dynamics among younger multilingual generations in China, from both monoethnic and multiethnic backgrounds. At the same time, the participants' PPC was statistically significantly and positively predicted by their language negotiation practices (as a component of their translingual dispositions), views about their personal identity (i.e. their authenticity), age, level of multilingualism, acceptance orientation toward cultural differences, and non-Han/partly Han background. It was also negatively predicted by their defense orientation toward cultural differences. If viewed through the lens of sociocultural theories (Zuengler & Miller, 2006), the findings regarding their non-Han/partly Han backgrounds positively predicting their PPC underscore the hybrid nature of possessing certain multiethnic identities, including where one of the parents is Han. In the latter instance, the majority-minority combination meant that the participants were likely exposed to cultural and linguistic diversity from birth and were, consequently, socialised into complex identities and cultural and linguistic practices (Zuengler & Miller, 2006) from a very young age, which enhanced their PPC.

As for the heightened PPC of participants with non-Han backgrounds, some studies (e.g. Guo & Gu, 2018; Wang & Chao, 2021) have documented how individuals who come from minority backgrounds must significantly develop their PPC to navigate Chinese society due to the contested and subordinate position they occupy in relation to the Han majority, and so it is not surprising that the non-Han participants in this study reported higher levels of PPC. Regarding the participants' age and multilingualism positively affecting their PPC, the findings support the evidence from the study by Galante and de la Cruz (2021), where positive correlations were discovered between the participants' age, multilingualism, and PPC. Here, it could be argued that, with age, older individuals have had more time to develop their PPC than those who are younger (Galante & de la Cruz, 2021). The positive relationship between the participants' PPC and multilingualism, meanwhile, can be attributed to how, as already stated, individuals who know more languages have accumulated a greater variety of experiences as a result and may, therefore, draw on a more complex pool of resources when interacting with others than could those who know fewer languages (Jessner, 2008; Larsen-Freeman, 2002), with this being reflected in their comparatively higher levels of PPC.



Conclusion and implications

For policymakers in China, where the B&R serves as a cornerstone of its relations with many countries going forward, as well as for decision-makers in other countries that seek to bolster their citizens' ability to thrive in a globalised world by developing their PPC, the findings hold several important implications. First, policymakers in China should think about viewing multilingualism as more than just the learning of FLs and accord more recognition to Chinese citizens' repertoire of local languages, that is, <code>fangyans/minority</code> languages, alongside <code>putonghua</code> and FLs. In this study, for example, there were statistically significant differences in how fluidly the participants negotiated language practices based on their level of <code>overall</code> multilingualism (not just FLs). In other words, in seeking to boost the PPC of citizens, the state could adopt a more holistic approach toward language education that systematically considers the contributions that <code>fangyans/minority</code> languages make to multilingual talent. Secondly, the findings underscore the need to pay attention to how identities evolve and influence people's language and social behaviour as they acquire additional languages. At present, official institutions, including in China, can sometimes emphasise the instrumental benefits of learning languages, particularly FLs (Chen et al., 2020), without according the same level of importance to how this interfaces with learners' identities.

Given the relationships between PPC and identities found in this study, states keen on boosting the PPC of younger generations would do well to find ways to help them, for instance, ensure that their personal-enacted identity gap stays as low as possible. Accomplishing this might be a complicated venture, but the findings show that personal identity was a prominent variable during both the quantitative and qualitative phases of data analysis. Many participants felt that their personal identity was too complex to define or that it was unique to them (and it positively predicted their PPC; see Table 3). As the multilingual initiatives the Chinese government has implemented in support of the B&R mature, such views about one's personal identity (i.e. it being complex or unique) among younger generations may become more widespread. And so, China's attempts to forge strong and sustainable people-to-people bonds regionally and internationally by developing multilingual talent will likely only be effective in the long run if the government better understands how multilingualism (including PPC) interacts with identities. In this respect, future research projects on multilingualism in China could adopt a more comprehensive approach, one where identity and culture are more explicitly explored alongside language learning behaviour and beliefs.

Researchers may also think about quantitatively examining individuals with non-Han or partly Han backgrounds more systematically in relation to language learning and use, preferably with larger participant samples than that which was available in this study. This would allow us to more accurately ascertain how (and why) certain backgrounds impact PPC in individuals and what could be done to harness any potential benefits thus discovered and apply them to education and social programmes targeted at the general populace. Lastly, it should be remembered that identity, culture, and language are not static concepts, with the findings from this study merely providing a snapshot in time. Here, longitudinal studies in the Chinese context (and others) would be particularly welcome to help us track how PPC and views about personal, enacted, and ethnic identities, translingual dispositions, and interculturalism evolve as new languages (and experiences) are acquired.

Note

1. 多语; duoyu in Mandarin Chinese; literally 'many languages'

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No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).



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