Title

Raising Bilingual and Biliterate Heritage Speakers of Russian in a Monolingual Context: The Impact of Family and Supplementary Education Language Policies

Author

Ice, Anna

Publication Date

2019

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Raising Bilingual and Biliterate Heritage Speakers of Russian in a Monolingual Context: The Impact of Family and Supplementary Education Language Policies

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in

Slavic, East European and Eurasian Languages and Cultures

by

Anna Ice

2019

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Raising Bilingual and Biliterate Heritage Speakers of Russian in a Monolingual Context: The Impact of Family and Supplementary Education Language Policies

by

Anna Ice

Doctor of Philosophy in Slavic, East European and

Eurasian Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Teresa L. McCarty, Co-Chair

Professor Ronald W. Vroon, Co-Chair

The recent interest in heritage language education reflects an attempt to reverse language shift towards the exclusive use of English in immigrant families. However, most of the research in this area addresses either early childhood language development or postsecondary education and does not explore language acquisition and use during the school years and rarely takes the family environment into consideration.

Framed by Spolsky's (2004) three-part model for language policy, this qualitative case study examines the ways in which supplementary education and family language policies assist in raising bilingual and biliterate speakers of Russian and English. It explores two domains of the children's life: the contexts of family and a Russian Saturday School by investigating specific language beliefs, practices, and language management strategies at the Russian School and the

families of five of its graduates as well as by providing a threefold perspective of parents, teachers and adolescents. Observations, interviews and surveys provide different types of data that helps us understand of how these different contexts impact the adolescents' language development and their attitude towards their heritage language.

In line with previous research, this study confirms the leading role of parents in heritage language preservation. The main components of the parents' language policy that supported bilingualism were (1) dedication to the home language and culture, (2) adherence to strict rules about when each language is used, and (3) support of Russian language development by providing additional opportunities to practice both receptive and reproductive skills in Russian. In the family context, language management was largely implemented through language practices and parental language use was one of the main tactics of such management.

The study demonstrates that the Russian School played an important role in the lives of these families not only as a place of supplementary education but also as a community builder where children socialized in the Russian culture in a pressure-free atmosphere. It played an important role in building a positive attitude towards the Russian language in adolescence.

The analysis also reveals a diminishing role of parents and teaching in affecting language choices and language practices of children in adolescence. At this stage, their choice to use Russian for personal activities was closely related to the opportunities to use the Russian language outside of the home and the Russian School, especially in communication with their peers.

This study has implications for the theory of family language policy, heritage language educators, program planners, and immigrant families interested in raising bilingual-biliterate children.

The dissertation of Anna Ice is approved.

Maria M. Carreira

Vadim Shneyder

Ronald W. Vroon, Committee Co-Chair

Teresa L. McCarty, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother Olga who always believed and instilled a life-long love for learning in me. Although she was my inspiration to pursue my doctoral degree, she was unable to see my graduation. This is for her.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE 1

Prologue 1

Introduction 4

Russian-speaking Immigration to the United States 6

Russian as a Heritage Language in the United States 9

Heritage Language Development Process 10

Learning Opportunities of Heritage Speakers of Less Commonly Taught Languages 11

Family Role in Heritage Language Development 14

The Present Study 16

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW 18

Conceptual Framing 18

Key Concepts 21

Heritage Language Speakers and Learners 21

Bilingualism and Biliteracy in the Context of Heritage Language Studies 24

Literature Review 26

Heritage Language Education Domain 26

Heritage Language Education for K-12 28

Saturday Schools 29

Family Domain 33

Family Characteristics 33

The Role of Family and Family Language Policy 34

Conclusion 40
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY 42
Overview of Research Design 44
Research Settings and Participants 44
Research Settings 44
Participants 46
Teachers and the Principal 46
Families 48
Researcher's Role and Positionality 55
Research Process 56
Data Collection and Research Inventory 56
The School Language Policy Project 56
The Family Language Policy Project 58
Research Methods 59
Participant Observation 59
Interviews 61
Surveys 64
Data Analysis 64
Analysis Strategies for Survey Data 65
Analysis Strategies for Observation Data 66
Analysis Strategies for Interview Data 66
Coding, Categorizing, and Theming 66
Chapter Summary 70
CHAPTER 4
FINDINGS ON THE IMPACT OF FAMILY 71
Participants 73

Language Beliefs 74
Language Management and Practices 78
Early Childhood 80
Elementary and Middle School Years 84
High School Years 90
Conclusion 94
CHAPTER 5
FINDINGS ON THE IMPACT OF SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLING 96
Language Ideology and the School's Goals 97
Academic goals 98
Teacher's Position 98
The School's Position 102
Cultural goals 104
Language Management 106
School Level 106
Class Level 109
Language Practices 112
Language Environment at the School 112
Attitude towards the Use of English 114
Students' Preference for Russian 118
Conclusion 121
CHAPTER 6
ADOLESCENTS AND THEIR PERSPECTIVE 123
Participants 123
Language Learning Experiences 125
Language Preferences and the Russian School 129
Language Preferences and Practices in Adolescence 133

Summary and Conclusion 141
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSIONS 145
Summary of Key Findings 146
Family Contexts 146
The School Context 148
Adolescence 150
Implications of the Study 151
Implications for Families 151
Implications for Heritage Language Educators 152
Implications for Theory and Research 153
Study Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research 154
Final Thoughts 155
APPENDICES 157
REFERENCES 177

LIST OF TABLES

Table

3.1. Teachers and the Principal 54

3.2 Parents 54

3.3. Adolescents 55

3.4. An Overview of Data Sources and Analytic Plan Tied to Research 65

4.1. Short Summary of the Participants 73

6.1. Summary of the Adolescent Participants 124

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

5.1. A Graphic Representation of the School's Language Policy 121

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the guidance, advice, and support of many people. First and foremost, I owe my gratitude to the principal, teachers, parents, and students of the Russian School of Orange County for participating in my study, for welcoming me into their worlds and sharing their stories and experiences with me.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my dissertation committee members, Professors Teresa McCarty, Ronald Vroon, Vadim Shneyder, and Maria Carreira. I deeply appreciate your insightful feedback, guidance, and support. I am especially indebted to Professor Teresa McCarty who readily took me under her wing after the untimely decease of my advisor Professor Olga Kagan, provided me with immeasurable support, and tirelessly accompanied me through the writing process.

I am deeply indebted to the Department of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Languages and Cultures at UCLA for many inspiring years of graduate study and financial support as I worked towards my graduate degree. In addition, I gratefully acknowledge the Dean's Fellowship and the Mellon Fellowships of Distinction, which immensely contributed to my success with this research. I am thankful to all my professors, students and fellow graduate students for their insight, support, and continuous inspiration.

Above all, I am grateful to my family for their unconditional love and unceasing encouragement. Heartfelt thanks goes to my beloved husband for his unfathomable support and unthinkable patience through the years of my studies. Thank you so much for believing in me, being there for me, and encouraging me not to give up. I am intensely indebted to my parents who travelled across the ocean to allow me focus on my research. Finally, I am grateful to my

sons, Alec and Lova, who inspired me to conduct this research by the mere fact of their existence and cheered me on along the way.

Thank you! I could not have reached this point in my life without you!

VITA

2004	B.A. in Slavic Philology, Taurida National Vernadsky University, Ukraine.
2004-2005	Russian Language and Literature High School Teacher, Ukraine.
2005	M.A. in Slavic Philology, Taurida National Vernadsky University, Ukraine.
2005-2009	Copy Editor and Translation Assistant. International Chemical Business. Ukraine-Russia-Germany
2008-2009	Russian as a Foreign Language Instructor. Language School, Ukraine
2009-2013	Russian Teaching Assistant and Teaching Fellow, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, PA.
2013-2014	Graduate Division Fellowship Recipient. University of California, Los Angeles.
2014	Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Recipient. University of California. Los Angeles.
2015-2016	Teaching Assistant. Russian. University of California, Los Angeles.
2016	MA in Slavic, East European and Eurasian Language and Cultures, University of California, Los Angeles
2016-2017	Recipient of a Mellon Fellowship of Distinction.
2017	Instructor. Heritage Russian for High School Students. University of California, Los Angeles.
2017-2018	Teaching Assistant. Literacy in Russian. University of California, Los Angeles.

Conference Presentations:

2018	Language Education Policy in Community-based Language Schools: A Case Study of a Russian Community School in Southern California, Paper presented at American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages (AATSEEL) Conference, Washington, DC
2018	Language Education Policy and Language Choice of Heritage Language Learners, Paper presented at the Third International Conference on Heritage/Community Languages, Los Angeles, CA
2018	Russian Heritage Language Schools as Communities of Practice, Paper presented at the California Slavic Colloquium, San Diego, CA
2019	Raising Bilingual and Biliterate Children in a Monolingual Context: The impact of Family and Supplementary Education Language Policies, Olga Kagan's Memorial Conference, Los Angeles, CA

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

Prologue

My first job in the United States was for a small liberal arts college on the East Coast. I was teaching Russian. It was very similar to the job I had had prior to my immigration to this country in 2009. I was used to working with international students and truly enjoyed working with those who were studying my native language. The vast majority of my students were beginners in Russian. They struggled with Russian pronunciation and grammar, had difficulty making sentences but generally were good in picking up on reading and writing. However, in virtually every classroom I taught, there were a couple of students who were different. Their pronunciation was almost native; they spoke at ease and sometimes even passed for native speakers among other students. Nevertheless, despite some fluency in their speech and much broader vocabulary than that of the rest of the students, they often committed even more grammar mistakes and seemingly refused to master Russian spelling. Another common trait among those students was their names. Yes, most of them had traditional Russian names and last names. They were indeed from Russian-speaking families. Some of them spoke Russian at home. Some mentioned that Russian "used to be" their first language.

At that point, I knew very little about immigrant Russian-speaking communities (there were only a few speakers of Russian in our town) and even less about the issue of heritage languages. In addition to teaching Russian, I was hosting a Slavic cultural club where I later met even more students from Russian-speaking families who used to speak Russian as children but

had forgotten almost all of it by the time of matriculation. I really enjoyed talking to those students, listening to their stories and learning about their experiences.

However, the more I spoke with these students, the more alarmed I became. Some of them had come to the United States at the age of eight or ten and yet they barely could speak in Russian. I began reading articles about immigrant children, bilingualism, and heritage language teaching. I wanted to be prepared for having such students in my classroom but more importantly, I wanted to be prepared to raise my own children in this country. Even though I did not have any children at that point, the thought of not being able to communicate with my future children in my native language was terrifying to such a degree that it was one of the main reasons I desired to go back home. Even after all this, however, I stayed. Instead, I was determined to learn what needed to be done to avoid the language patterns that I saw in my students from being replicated in my own children.

After my matriculation to the doctorate program at the University of California, Los Angeles, I continued studying this topic. In addition, I was also teaching a special course on "Literacy in Russian" designed for heritage speakers of this language. My students were amazing and taught me a lot about their experiences of growing up as bilinguals. Some of them were more proficient than others. Almost all such students received prior formal instruction in Russian. In addition, I learned that the parents' approach to the preservation of the Russian language also might have affected their ability to use Russian. Some students mentioned that their parents had never insisted on using the Russian language at home, others had been much stricter and forced their children to speak it. The latter strategy, especially in combination with formal instruction in Russian prior to matriculation to UCLA, usually resulted in better language proficiency levels.

Such were my observations, which were also confirmed by the body of research from different countries I was studying at the time.г

In the meantime, the topic of heritage language education and raising bilingual children became more relevant to me as my first son was born. Although I loved my students, their level of Russian, in most cases, was not encouraging and did not help to get rid of my fear that my children would one day say that "Russian used to be" their first language. I was looking for stories of success. I was eager to talk to those parents who managed to raise bilingual children who did not need to take classes like those that I was teaching. I even started a blog for Russian-speaking parents raising their children abroad and talked to parents online. I learned about a number of success stories (based on parental evaluation) in Europe but virtually none in the United States. I visited a number of Russian weekend schools in the area in the attempt to talk to parents of adolescents and teachers. However, most of the students I saw there were no older than ten. I was almost desperate when a colleague from my department introduced me to the principal of a Russian School that would soon become a research site for the present study. I had visited a few Russian weekend schools early on and had done enough research on community based schools to notice that this one was different. I was deeply impressed with the size of the School, the variety of classes it offered for children of different ages, the amount of extra-curricular activities, the complexity of the educational programs as well as the level of dedication the principal and the teachers demonstrated. Most importantly, I was impressed with the level of Russian of the adolescents at the school. I was eager to learn more about that place, the people who ran it, and families who were a part of the School community.

Introduction

Research on immigrant languages in the USA reveals that the complete loss of an immigrant language and shift into exclusive use of English by the third generation of immigration is a typical situation for many families (Fishman, 1991; Valdés, 2000). The growing interest in heritage language education often represents an attempt to reverse such language shift. It is especially significant for so called critical languages: less commonly taught languages in which the demand for proficient speakers exceeds supply. Russian is one such language. In spite of that, most research on heritage speakers of Russian addresses either early childhood language development or postsecondary education and does not explore language acquisition and use during the school years of the learners' life and rarely takes the family environment into consideration. Provided that heritage languages are recognized as a national resource (see, e.g., Brecht and Rivers; 2000; Wesche, 2004), it is important to know more about heritage language learners and their experiences prior to their matriculation into college, during the formative years of language acquisition. At this point there is virtually no research on language environments and language policies that affect the lives of immigrant children who receive supplementary education in their heritage language. Such policies affect not only the learners' level of language acquisition but also their attitudes towards language development and language preservation for the next generation.

This study of language policy, both in the family and in a Russian community-based language school, will contribute to an understanding of the language experiences of Russian-speaking immigrant children as well as the factors that affect their perception of their heritage language and culture. Such understanding, in turn, can give insight to heritage language program

planners and curriculum developers on how to better serve the needs of such students; it can also benefit immigrant parents who would like to raise competent speakers of their native language.

This study recognizes the need to investigate the support systems immigrant children receive in developing language proficiency in their heritage language and explores the ways in which family and supplementary education language policies assist in raising bilingual and biliterate speakers of Russian. It offers a look into two domains of the children's life: the contexts of family and supplementary education. In this work, heritage language speakers of Russian are adolescents born in the United States to at least one first generation immigrant parent from a Russian-speaking country and attended a Russian Saturday School for at least seven years. The goal of this work is to explore specific language beliefs, practices, and management strategies that support a bilingual and biliterate upbringing at the Russian Saturday School and within the families of its graduates. This objective was accomplished by learning about the experiences of second generation immigrants from Russian-speaking families, who desired to raise their children bilingual and biliterate in English and Russian.

The following research questions guide this research:

1. What are the family language policies that support bilingual-biliterate upbringing?
2. How do language policies in supplementary schooling support bilingual-biliterate upbringing?
3. What is the legacy of the school and family language policies in the adolescents' lives?

The premises underlying this study are that: (1) heritage language learners need additional support to develop proficiency in their home language; (2) the majority of educational opportunities for heritage speakers of less commonly taught languages to support their HL

development lie outside of public schooling; and (3) the family is "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilization" (Fishman 1991, p. 94). Therefore, studying family contexts is crucial for understanding heritage language development. This chapter provides information on Russian-speaking immigrants to the United States, elaborates on the abovementioned premises, and presents an overview of this study.

Russian-Speaking Immigration to the United States

To better understand of the context for this study, it is important to consider the changes in Russian immigration to the United States and the characteristics of the latest waves of immigration, to which the participants of this study belong. Although people emigrated from the prerevolutionary Russian Empire, the consensus of most scholars on Russian emigration identifies three waves of emigration from the Soviet Union in the twentieth century. In addition, some authors talk about fourth and fifth emigration waves from post-Soviet countries. Andrews (1999) points out that the term "wave" in this sense conventionally refers only to Russian-speakers, whether ethnic Russian or not.

The First Wave refers to so called "White emigration" of Russian intelligentsia and aristocracy who did not support the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the new Soviet regime and escaped the country during or directly after the Civil War (early 1920s). Many Russians in this wave settled in France and Germany. There was also a significant diaspora in China. However, with the rise of Nazism in Germany and later with the outbreak of World War II as well as a change of regime in China, many émigrés ended up in the USA, Canada and Australia.

Many Russians from this wave were highly educated people and held close ties to Russian culture. They established Russian newspapers and schools. The Orthodox Church

played an important role in their cultural life. Many of them saw the Soviet regime as something temporary and hoped to return home; therefore, they strived to retain their culture, traditions, and language and transmit it to subsequent generations. There are cases described by Zemskaya (2001) where grand- and even great grandchildren of Russian émigrés demonstrated high levels of proficiency in Russian. In addition, they also tried to preserve "prerevolutionary Russian"; therefore, their language was significantly different from that of Soviet Russia, where it underwent significant changes.

Andrews (1999) notes that there is disagreement over the correct use of the term "Second Wave." Some scholars apply it to two sociologically distinct groups: 1) members of the First Wave or their descendants, who had originally settled elsewhere and subsequently emigrated from their original country of emigration; and 2) Soviet citizens who had been displaced during World War II and later emigrated to the West, often via the displaced persons' camps of Europe. Much of the first group continued to identify with the First Wave for historical and cultural reasons. The second group, however, consisted mostly of ordinary Soviet citizens who chose not to return to the motherland in fear of political persecution for the connection with the West. This group of people is usually hard to identify because many preferred to keep their Soviet identity secret. Andrews (1999) points out that the Second Wave benefited from institutions established by the first emigration, such as Saturday schools and summer children's camps affiliated with the Church. Yet, they assimilated with American society much faster than the emigrants of the First Wave.

The Third Wave can also refer to different groups. Some only include in it the so called Jewish emigration that began in the 1970s. Others, like Andrews and Isurin (2011), claim that all emigrants who left the Soviet Union and post-Soviet countries after 1970s belong to the

Third Wave. Although there are some claims about fourth and fifth emigration waves in the media, I did not find any sociolinguistic description of these waves in academic literature. Nonetheless, the overall demographic characteristics of Russian speakers who left Russia in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s as well as reasons for emigration differ significantly.

Andrews (1999) writes that the Third Wave dates from the early 1970s, when the Brezhnev regime eased emigration restrictions for Soviet Jews, many of them migrated to Israel, although numerous others made their way to the United States. However, this emigration was not exclusively Jewish since non-Jews were allowed to accompany their Jewish spouses. In addition, Soviet citizens of only partly Jewish heritage were also granted exit visas. In more exceptional circumstances, various cultural luminaries were allowed to emigrate, were forced to do so or defected while abroad. Isurin (2011) ascribes to the Third Wave the immigrants who left Russia before and immediately following the collapse of the USSR (late 1980s and early 1990s) and includes in her research study Jewish and non-Jewish participants.

Despite the variety in ethnic backgrounds, this wave is linguistically Russian. Polinsky (2000) reaffirms this in her study of third-wave speech by remarking that the majority of her informants had spoken no language other than Russian before their emigration to the United States. Isurin's (2011) research demonstrates that despite many immigrants having close ties with the Russian language, about half of her respondents did not "provide much encouragement for their children to speak Russian" (p. 216). According to her data, Russian participants of non-Jewish origin showed a stronger need for the Russian language and placed a higher value on its importance for their children. This finding is consistent with Andrews' (1999) data indicating that many emigrants from the Third Wave did not find the Russian language relevant to their lives abroad.

The emigration of the 1990s is sometimes called the Fourth Wave because in addition to the people with profiles similar to those who left in 1970s and 1980s, this wave includes so-called economic emigration from Russia and other post-Soviet countries which underwent severe economic and political crisis in the 1990s. People were leaving their countries in search of better economic opportunities but unlike the émigrés of the 1970s and 1980s often kept their Russian citizenship and close ties with their country of origin. This emigration also includes many professionals who did not see professional opportunities in Russia. The majority of students attending the Russian School described in this study are children of the immigrants of this wave. Linguistically, their parents are close to the Third Wave but their desire to preserve the Russian language can be stronger due to the fact that many of them have relatives in Russia with whom they keep in contact and visit regularly.

Russian as a Heritage Language in the Unites States

Russian is a native language for over 70 million people who currently reside outside of Russia (Verbitskaya, 2010). The American Community Survey of 2017 reported that the Russian-American community consists of around 2.6 million people who claim Russian as their first or second ancestry. Approximately 90% of this population lives in and around major urban centers. Many Russian Americans do not speak Russian, having been born in the U.S. and brought up in English-speaking homes. According to the 2010 U.S. Census, only around 850,000 Americans use Russian as the primary spoken language in their homes. Over 50% of Russian-language households are in two states – New York and California[1] – and have average annual

[1] Among other states, which serve as a popular destination for Russian-speaking immigrants, are Washington, New Jersey, Florida, Massachusetts, and Texas.

incomes of over $55,000. The majority of Russian-speaking immigrants are urban middle-class people with high expectations regarding educational and professional attainment for their children (Friedman & Kagan, 2001). Andrews (1999) notes that recent Russian immigrants are a "sophisticated and cosmopolitan group… appreciative of their rich cultural heritage and aware of their unique background" (p. 55). Among this group are people of different nationalities such as Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and Kazakhs, who consider Russian their native language. Therefore, in this study the term "Russian" refers to language background and not necessarily ethnicity.

According to the US Census data, California, where the present study was conducted, is the second largest host state for recent Russian-speaking immigrants, with over 150,000 speakers, located primarily in Los Angeles, San-Francisco and Sacramento metropolitan areas. Despite the fact that some local universities offer Russian courses designed for heritage learners of Russian, primary and secondary education in Russian in California largely relies on community support and weekend schools. This is the primary reason why a Saturday school was chosen for this study to learn about the experiences of adolescent heritage speakers of Russian. These schools provide a supplementary education for heritage language speakers to help them support the development of their heritage language.

Heritage Language Development Process

As described by Lyutykh (2011), in many cases young heritage language speakers (HLSs)[2] are exposed to the heritage Russian language first because this is the language that they hear and learn to speak at home. When an appropriate level of interaction with caregivers in Russian is provided, many of these children acquire near-native aural and speaking abilities

[2] The terms Heritage language speaker, Heritage language learner, etc. are more fully discussed in Chapter 2

without explicit teaching (Tomasello, 2005). However, once the children enter the mainstream educational system in the United States, they receive their reading and writing instruction solely in English. As a result, acquisition of the first (i.e., heritage) language by these immigrant children is interrupted because of the switch to another dominant language; the children do not generally develop the literacy in their heritage language necessary to perform in an adult-like setting (Polinsky, 2006). Thus, HLSs usually do not receive sufficient input in their heritage language due to the fact that it is not a dominant language of the country, in which they live and are schooled (Polinsky, 2007). A number of studies (described in Montrul, 2008) demonstrate that even for simultaneous bilinguals with a balanced language proficiency in the two languages at the beginning of their schooling, the outcome results in host country language dominance by middle childhood. Yet, the research shows that the older the children are at the time of immigration, the less likely they are to lose skill in their first language (L1) while they gain proficiency in their second (L2).

Diverged L1 acquisition occurs in childhood, when for different reasons, some specific properties of the language do not reach age-appropriate levels of proficiency after intense exposure to the L2 begins. This incomplete acquisition, according to Montrul (2008), often persists into adulthood and is an important characteristic of the language of adolescent and adult heritage language learners (HLLs).

Learning Opportunities for Heritage Speakers of Less Commonly Taught Languages

As mentioned above, the language of HLSs is often characterized by the lack of certain language competences due to the insufficient education in HL. Polinsky (2007) notes that HLSs

do not get an opportunity to develop competences that are usually acquired in the later stages of life because they receive their education in the dominant language. Particularly in the United States, there are very few programs in public schools that support the development of language skills in heritage languages for young learners. Kagan (2017), in her article "Multilingual LA: Impact on Schools," demonstrates that in Los Angeles County, despite the variety of languages other than English (LOTEs) and large numbers of their speakers, very few programs are offered in public schools; therefore, additional supplementary schooling is necessary. The overview of the articles in *The Routledge Handbook of Heritage Language Education* (Eds. Kagan, Carreira & Chik, 2017) shows that supplementary schooling in HLs across the world is often the result of community initiatives.

Many supplementary HL education programs are after-school programs such as faith-based (Sunday) schools, culture-based weekend and evening schools, language courses, and summer camps.

The primary goal of faith-based (Sunday) schools often is to introduce children not so much to the language but to the religion and culture of a certain community. Moore's (2012) dissertation exploring language practices in a Russian Orthodox school makes this point, demonstrating a strong emphasis on raising a "good Orthodox Christian." Such schools often offer not only language classes but also religious education in the HL. The last component can be optional but as research demonstrates, is an essential part of language classes in schools of this type. In the USA, such supplementary schooling is common for heritage speakers of Korean and Hebrew. It is also quite common for HLLs of Russian. In Southern California, for example, there are at least two Orthodox Sunday schools (one in Los Angeles and one in Irvine). Sunday

schools often offer classes for learners from preschool through elementary and sometimes middle school.

Weekend schools can provide a variety of types of education. Their main difference from Sunday religious schools is that they do not have a religious component. Nevertheless, many include cultural components. Some weekend and evening schools offer classes not only on the HL but on HL literature, art and history. Their main goal is to teach students literacy in the HL and introduce them to the "heritage culture." These schools may also offer other subjects. For example, the Russian school where the data for the present study was collected offers classes in math, geography, and physics. Schools of this type usually offer classes to elementary school students and sometimes to middle- and high-school students. Often, they use textbooks designed for schools in the country of the language. Weekend schools are a common and established model of supplementary education in such languages as Russian, Czech (McCabe, 2017), and Japanese (Douglas & Uriu, 2017). In Southern California, where data for the present study was collected, the most common option for heritage learners of Russian was weekend schools.

There are also a variety of small schools that only offer language classes for those who study the language as a heritage or foreign language. For HLLs, such schools usually offer literacy instruction exclusively in the language.

Summer camps are frequently part of weekend or religious schools. However, they often are open to children who do not attend the school on regular basis. They offer a variety of cultural events and immersion programs for the students.

In addition, some parents choose to hire a private tutor for their children. Hornberger (2008) suggests that this option is common for small HL communities where there are no language schools.

Supplementary schooling in HL sometimes is a part of all-day education. There are also some private schools that offer additional classes in HL and heritage culture and history (usually taught in heritage language). For example, Karapetian (2017) describes such schools for the Armenian population. According to her data, there are 24 private schools in the US that offer Armenian classes and content based courses in Armenian.

Family Role in Heritage Language Development

Fishman (1991) stated that the family is "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilization" (p. 94). Previous research (e.g., Dagenais & Day, 1999, Kennedy & Romo, 2013; Schwartz &Verschik, 2013) has revealed that parents play crucial roles in heritage language maintenance. Shibata (2000) argues that "whether the children become bilingual or not is primarily dependent on the parents' decision and enthusiasm." (p. 467). It is within the family that children receive their initial language input. Parents and close family members are usually the first people with whom a child interacts. It is their way of life, traditions, and values as well as their language beliefs and attitudes towards intergenerational language transmission and bilingualism that affect a child's initial language development. Although language transmission, according to Schwartz and Verschnik (2013), is an "emotionally loaded process" which is "a part of the macro-level social process and state language policy" (p. 17), the role of the family in it is extremely important. Okita (2002) suggests a metaphor for the "invisible work" a family plays in heritage language preservation. One of the goals of this study is to identify this "invisible work" and to analyze the factors that

may have helped parents in raising bilingual and biliterate adolescents as well as those that may impede this process.

The Present Study

The goal of this study is to understand how teachers' and parents' language beliefs, practices, and management strategies affected heritage language development and attitude towards their heritage language in adolescents from Russian-speaking families who were born in the United States. More specifically, I examine: (1) the family characteristics of five adolescents who received supplementary education in Russian and are bilingual and biliterate in English and Russian; (2) family language policy in their families; (3) language beliefs and practices at the Russian School where they received their supplementary education; (4) the educational goals and language management strategies of teachers of the Russian language and literature at the School; and (5) the adolescent's attitudes towards their bilingualism and their heritage language as well as their language practices.

This knowledge will contribute to an understanding of the language experiences of Russian-speaking immigrant children as well as the factors that affect their attitude towards their heritage language and culture. Such understanding, in turn, can give heritage language program planners and curriculum developers insights on how better to serve the needs of such students; it can also benefit immigrant parents who would like to raise competent speakers of their native language.

This dissertation is organized as follows: Chapter 2 outlines the study's conceptual frame and provides an extensive review of previous research on heritage language education and family language policies with a special attention to Russian as a heritage language. Chapter 3 describes the methodology of this study. It introduces the settings and participants, gives an overview of the research methods and data collection processes as well as explains how the data was analyzed. Chapter 4 investigates language policies within the families of five adolescents who

received supplementary education at the Russian School and describes how parents' language beliefs affected their language management and language practices in family context. Chapter 5 provides an overview of the School's language policy and explores language beliefs and language management strategies of the Russian language and literature teachers who teach Russian to heritage speakers of the language. Chapter 6 explores the legacies of educational and family language policies in the lives of bilingual adolescents by exploring the meaning their bilingualism has for them and its impact on their language practices. Finally, Chapter 7 summarizes the findings of this study described in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 as well as considers the limitations, directions for future research, and the implications of this study for language program planners, teachers and parents of heritage language speakers.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I introduce the conceptual framework and review the key concepts relevant to this study. I also present available empirical work to consider while discussing the importance of family language policy and language instruction policies for raising children who are bilingual and biliterate in Russian and English. In addition, I discuss the role of family and community-based language schools in supporting and promoting bilingual and biliterate upbringing in immigrant families. The chapter concludes with a summary of the research in these areas and a description of the research gaps this study aims to satisfy.

Conceptual Framing

This study explores language policies as support systems for bilingual development of second generation Russian immigrants in the Unites States. It focuses on describing and analyzing language policies in two primary domains where the participants use their heritage language: their families and the Russian Saturday school, where they received supplementary education in Russian.

Unlike a classical approach to language policy and planning, which concentrates on national language planning and state imposed overt policies, this study adopts Spolsky's belief that "each domain within sociolinguistic ecology has its own variety of language policy" (2012, p. 3) that "exists even where it has not been made explicit or established by authority" (2004, p. 8). Furthermore, the study investigates "language policy as processual, dynamic and in motion"

(McCarty, 2011, p. 2) a concept that it is constantly constructed and modified in everyday practices by the language community members. Within the scope of this study, I explore overt and covert language policies created by the Russian School administration and its teachers in the context of supplementary education as well as by the parents and their children in the family context using the language policy framework suggested by Spolsky (2004).

Spolsky (2004) describes language policy as a combination of language ideologies or beliefs, language practices and language management in a given speech community (p. 5). He defines language practices as the habitual pattern of selection among the varieties that make up an individual's linguistic repertoire; language beliefs or ideology are beliefs about language and language use; and language management involves any specific efforts to modify or influence language practices and/or beliefs by some kind of language intervention. In the current study, I use this framework to explore educational and family language policies.

Spolsky (2004) claims that language education policy exists (whether described in written form or not) in every school. He points out that even in a monolingual educational environment, there is a "gap between the language of the home and the language that the school wants everyone to acquire" because "most commonly, children learn at home one (or more) of a number of local vernacular varieties or dialect, and are expected to acquire during their school years, mastery of selected official, national, religious or classical, standardized language" (p. 46). This gap can be even more pronounced in a heritage language classroom where students come from immigrant families, thus, from a large number of backgrounds. For example, Russian speaking immigrants "comprise a religiously, ethnically and racially diverse group, emigrating from 14 different countries" (Kleyn & Vayshenker, 2013, p. 263). It is predictable that the language spoken by the students of Russian in a heritage language classroom will vary

significantly. The situation with other languages can be even more complex. Exploring teachers' beliefs about language, their teaching goals as well as language management strategies in the classroom would shed light on the language education policy in heritage language education programs.

Even before heritage speakers enter a language classroom and become the subject of educational language policies, they are exposed to language beliefs and management strategies within the family context. Language beliefs, management and practices of their family members affect their language learning process as well as their language practices and constitute their family language policies defined by King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008) as "explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (p. 907). However, while describing the research on family language practices, Lanza (2004) argues that most of the parents do not have a specific clearly stated language policy. On the other hand, Spolsky (2004) claims that language policy explicitly or implicitly exists in every domain and can be described using his triangular paradigm of language beliefs, management and practices. In this study, I adopt the latter approach and describe language policies in families of adolescent heritage speakers of Russian based on the exploration of language beliefs, practices and management strategies of parents and children.

Prior to discussing the existing research on language policies in heritage language education and families of heritage language speakers, I would like to introduce the concepts necessary to understand the specific character of heritage language learning and bilingualism in the context of heritage language acquisition.

Key Concepts

Heritage Language Speakers and Learners

The current study explores the experiences of heritage learners and speakers of Russian who were born and raised in the United States. The terms "Heritage Speaker" (HS) and "Heritage Language Learner" (HLL) are widely used in contemporary scholarly literature. However, there has been no unity in their understanding. I believe it is important to bring clarity here prior to proceeding.

The main difference between these two terms is that the latter applies to individuals in a classroom setting while the first one is not necessarily related to a formal learning environment. There are different approaches to defining HLLs. Carreira (2004) notes that overall, definitions of HLL fall into one of three categories, according to the relative importance they assign to the following criteria: 1) the learner's place in the heritage language (HL) community; 2) the learner's personal connection to the heritage language and heritage culture (HC); and 3) the learner's proficiency in the heritage language.

More generally, the definitions can be divided into those that describe social and cultural background of HLLs and those that address their proficiency level in HL. Valdés (2000), for example, provides two definitions:

1) Individuals having a historical or personal connection to a language such as an endangered indigenous language or immigrant language that is not normally taught in school;

2) Individuals who appear in a foreign language classroom, who are raised in homes where a non-English language is spoken, speak or merely understand the HL, and are to some degree bilingual in English and the HL.

The first definition addresses the socio-historical and cultural background of HLLs and the second definition is concerned not only with their cultural background but also their proficiency level. Valdés' second definition only applies to HLLs in English-speaking countries. In order to apply it to other situations, it can be modified as follows: "a 'heritage speaker' is a person who is raised in a home where a non-dominant language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in the dominant and the heritage language."

Fishman also provides a socio-historical definition of HLLs as people having a connection with one of three groups of languages:

1) Indigenous languages
2) Colonial languages
3) Immigrant languages

His definition is useful for understanding what HLs are but does not provide an understanding of either the identity of HLLs or their linguistic abilities.

In the first full-length volume about HLLs, published in 2000 – *Teaching Heritage Language Learners: Voices from the Classroom* – Draper and Hicks define a HLL as "someone who has had exposure to a non-English language outside the formal education system. It most often refers to someone with a home background in the language, but may refer to anyone who has had in-depth exposure to another language" (p. 19). Hornberger and Wang (2008) note that this definition is both too narrow as it favors those with a high level of proficiency, and too broad as it includes those who have home exposure to the language as well as those who do not.

Insofar as having a connection with the community, the HS can be defined as individuals who are members of a community with linguistic roots in languages other than English (LOTE)

(Carreira, 2004). Proficiency does not matter here. According to Carreira, this approach is well suited to studies of Native American communities. The primary motivation in studying HL for these learners is to get closer to the communities that they already are a part of.

Students who want to develop a better understanding of their heritage can also be labeled as heritage language learners. They might not be a part of heritage-language speech communities. Van Deusen-Scholl (2003) made a distinction between *heritage learners* and *learners with a heritage motivation*. The latter are students who "perceive a cultural connection that is more distant than that of, for example, first- or second-generation immigrants" (p. 222). She reserves the term "heritage learner" for the students who either have some degree of bilingual proficiency or have a strong cultural connection to the language through family interaction.

Most of the definitions, however, are not relevant to the classroom setting. The definition of Hornberger and Wang (2008) further illuminates the understanding of HSs' and HLLs' identity but does not speak to their proficiency. They define HLLs as "individuals who have familial or ancestral ties to a particular language that is not English and who exert their agency in determining whether or not they are HLLs of the HL and HC" (p. 6).

The proficiency-based definitions of HSs and HLLs are more restrictive but are more relevant to classroom settings. I believe Valdés's (2000) second definition is the most relevant for this purpose. Among other definitions that are relevant to the classroom setting and address functional proficiency of HLLs are Polinsky and Kagan's (2007) and Carreira's (2004) definitions. Polinsky and Kagan (2007) provide both narrow and broad definitions of HSs. The narrow definition includes those who have been exposed to a particular language in childhood but did not learn it to full capacity because another language became dominant. The broad

definition includes those who have been raised with a *strong cultural connection* to a particular language, usually through family interaction. The second definition is concerned with cultural affinity and the first one with functional proficiency. Carreira (2004) describes HLLs as "not a homogeneous cluster of learners, but a collection of different types of learners who share the characteristic of having identity and linguistic needs that relate to their family background. These needs arise from having had insufficient exposure to their HL and HC during their formative years" (p. 21).

In the present study, I adhere to the latter definition suggested by Carreira. Referring to heritage language learners, I discuss children and adolescents from Russian-speaking families with different levels of proficiency in Russian who study or studied the Russian language in the environs of their families and at a Russian Saturday school. All of these children are to some degree bilingual and biliterate in English and Russian.

Bilingualism and Biliteracy in the Context of Heritage Language Studies

Broadly defined, bilingualism refers to knowledge and command of two or more languages, albeit to different degrees. Two common parameters that distinguish bilingualism are: 1) age of acquisition, and 2) order or sequence of acquisition in childhood (two languages being acquired simultaneously versus one language being acquired successively).

Simultaneous bilingualism, according to Montrul (2008), occurs in early childhood, before the linguistic foundations of the languages are in place. Sequential bilingualism, on the other hand, happens after the individual has acquired the basic command of the first language, which for monolingual acquisition is typically given to be roughly the age of three or four.

Montrul (2015) separates early child, late child and late adult sequential acquisition. In the case of late sequential bilingualism, we are talking about L2 acquisition.

Two other parameters, along which bilinguals vary greatly and which are relevant for HL development, are proficiency and relative balance in the two languages. Proficiency and balance are related to the degree of ultimate attainment in the two languages. Current research reveals that most bilinguals are linguistically unbalanced, both functionally and representationally (see e.g., Caldas 2006; Kopelovich, 2011; Lanza 2004; Montrul, 2015). The relative strength of the two languages fluctuates along the lifespan depending on a variety of factors, including language usage and preference in the community and the context for use of each language. Regardless of simultaneous or early childhood sequential acquisition, the language balance depends largely on the language input. Insufficient input affects structural knowledge in young bilingual children, in particular the syntax and morphology, which are largely unaffected in adult attrition.

Furthermore, bilingual speakers do not necessarily master the written system of two languages. Friedman and Kagan (2008) note that many heritage speakers of Russian in American universities are not biliterate; that is, they do not know the written system of their heritage language. The term "biliteracy" has been used to describe an individual's competencies in two written languages, developed to varying degrees (Dworin, 2003; Hornberger, 2008).

According to the abovementioned study by Friedman and Kagan (2008), many Russian immigrants use Russian mostly for oral communication. Their use of written language is limited. As a result, many children and adolescents from such families demonstrate a lack of literacy skills in their heritage language. Later, it impedes the development of academic reading and writing, preventing them from becoming fully proficient in two languages. This situation is common not only for heritage speakers of Russian. The lack of literacy in the heritage language

has been identified as a common denominator shared by very diverse heritage speakers of various languages (Benmamoun, Montrul & Polinsky, 2010). Lyutykh (2011) claims that "due to mainstream English-only education, English typically is the 'literacy' language, which quickly becomes primary and displaces their 'native' Russian in mediating cognitive development" (p. 7). Accordingly, biliteracy supports the development of oral communication in heritage language and leads to a higher level of proficiency. The present study explores families who placed a high value on Russian literacy skill development and enrolled their children in a Russian Saturday school, which provided literacy instruction in Russian throughout the children's primary and secondary schooling. Despite the fact that such schools provide a significant portion of HL education in the United States, they have not received a warranted amount of attention in academic literature.

Literature Review

Heritage Language Education Domain

The field of Heritage Language Teaching has been rapidly developing in the US and Canada since the 1970s. Its emergence has been related primarily to the growing number of students with other cultural relations and partial knowledge of languages other than English in foreign language classrooms in American universities. Furthermore, heritage language has received recognition as a national resource (Fishman, 1966, 2014).

College and university students have been the main focus of the research on heritage language education. Within the last couple of decades, a significant number of articles, collections and monographs related to this field have appeared. Among other topics, researchers have addressed such issues as defining speakers and learners of heritage languages (Hornberger,

2008; Van Deusen-Scholl, 2014; Zyzik, 2016), understanding the identities of such students (He 2006; Kagan, 2010) as well as goals and peculiarities of heritage language education (Beaudrie, 2016; Beadrie, Ducar & Potowski 2015; Martinez, 2016; Wiley, 2005).

Researchers have also provided guidance for teachers of heritage languages. The growth of these programs and individual classes for heritage language learners disclosed the necessity of teachers' preparation for such work with these students and also triggered the publication of practical guidance for language instructors. As Valdés (2014) notes, "most [foreign language] teachers have not been trained to work with students who already speak or understand the target language or who have a strong connection with it. Similarly, language teachers brought in from countries in which the languages are spoken have little or no idea about bilingualism or about the language competencies of heritage students who have been raised in this country" (p. 33). Researchers point out that among other issues in a Heritage Language classroom, the teachers should consider sociolinguistic aspects (Beaudrie, Ducar & Potowski, 2015; Field, 2011), in particular being sensitive to differences in dialects and language varieties of students' heritage language as well as having an understanding of peculiarities of bilingual communication. The latter implies the use of code switching, lexical and grammatical borrowings and extensions. There is also an ongoing discussion on the necessity to abstain from the use of English in such classrooms (see, e.g.: Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Leiva, 2014; Hornberger, 2012) However, research pertaining to teachers' beliefs about what constitutes the appropriate language of their students is meager, and I am not familiar with any publications exploring how teachers implement such recommendations. These issues fall under the umbrella of the field of language education policy and are addressed in the present study in the context of supplementary education for young heritage speakers of Russian.

Heritage Language Education for K-12

Despite a large volume of research related to heritage language teaching and learning, most studies in this area concentrate on postsecondary education or on young children. However, students acquire a certain level of their heritage language during their primary and secondary schooling years. Fishman (1991) points out that language maintenance "depends in large part on the communities where the languages are spoken. The work of policymakers and educators will have little impact unless it is matched by the community's commitment to make the language a vital part of life" (p. 4). A small number of K-12 based programs designed for heritage language speakers yields the task of transferring the heritage language to the parents and teachers in community-based language schools, which in 1985 (when the last survey of heritage language schools was conducted), amounted to, according to Fishman (2014), at least 6,553. However, despite the growing academic interest in such institutions, the present research regarding community-based language schools is very limited.

Nevertheless, I believe that community-based language schools present an important part of heritage language education in the US. Until recently, they were the only educational institutions providing instruction for heritage learners of many less commonly taught languages. Even today, they are often the only place where heritage speakers receive formal instruction in the language prior to their matriculation. In Southern California, where data for the present study was collected, they still are the main option for heritage speakers of Russian to receive education in their home language. In addition, such schools work with students of a younger age who are more malleable and adept to language learning. According to Fishman, they play an important role in reversing language shift (Fishman, 1991).

Saturday Schools

As was mentioned above, in Southern California, the location for the present study, there were no mainstream K-12 schools offering the Russian language. When this research was conducted, the most common option to receive supplementary education in Russian for heritage learners was at weekend schools. The role of these schools is not limited to teaching literacy. Lyutykh (2011) refers to such schools as a "communities of practice" (p.25) that bring together the parents, their children, and the instructional team to create contexts where the Russian language and traditions are collectively relevant and practiced in the host culture environment. This understanding is based on Rogoff's (2003) definition of a community as a group of people who have common organization, values, history, and practice. Such communities are very relevant for new immigrants to the United States, who, unlike previous generations of immigrants who settled together in ethnic enclaves, are isolated as they tend to be scattered across large suburban areas (Singer, Hardwick, & Brettell, 2008). According to Klapper (2007), in the beginning of the twentieth century, almost every immigrant group had heritage language schools, usually meets on the weekend and/or in the evening. Then, as now, these schools served as communities of practice, which typically had their roots in the parents' strong desire to pass on their language and culture to the subsequent generations (Compton, 2001). The schools provided opportunities for community members to come together, celebrate ethnic holidays, share stories, and develop a support network (Bradunas & Topping, 1988; Fishman, 1966). These schools also attempt to teach the younger generations their heritage language and culture by offering classes and organizing cultural events.

Contemporary studies support the belief that success in transmitting a heritage language and heritage-language literacy to the next generation depends in large part on the communities where the language is spoken and literacy is collectively practiced (Fishman, 2001; Compton, 2001). The effectiveness of literacy learning is higher when the children participate in different activities in a community that provide meaningful reasons to use printed material and a written system of the heritage language (Reyes, 2006; Rowe, 2003; Whitmore et al., 2004). Without such context, children see learning literacy of their heritage language as a meaningless chore that has no relevance to their everyday lives in the host country. Accordingly, the learning of a heritage language and especially its written system is better supported in a cultural community, such as a heritage school, that places high value on heritage language learning.

Furthermore, community-based language schools often are "suppliers" of students for university heritage language programs. Therefore, this makes them a valuable source of information for studies on heritage language education. The forenamed questions on language education policy pertain to the community-based language schools to the same degree as they pertain to the university programs. Moreover, the role of teachers and their approach to the language is of great importance because their background, language beliefs, and their instructional practices affect students and their possible attitudes towards heritage language learning. However, despite the growing body of research on heritage language schools, until recently, there were virtually no studies that explored language education policy in the community-based schools. In addition, there are very few works that study such schools as communities seeking to describe all the participants: school administration, teachers, students, and parents.

Wu, Palmer and Field (2011) conducted a case study on the teacher's professional identities and beliefs about the curriculum and their instructional practices in a Chinese community school. They discovered that teachers demonstrated weak professional identity in correlation with strong cultural awareness. The study also revealed a high level of parental involvement in the instructional process. However, the study concentrated on the social role of the teachers and their position in comparison with K-12 instructors. It did not consider any linguistic and sociolinguistic aspects of the educational process and did not explore language beliefs and language management strategies at the school.

A number of studies at Saturday schools gave some attention to those questions while dealing with the issue of building ethnic and cultural identity among their students. For instance, Otcu (2009) studied the ways Turkish identity was constructed in a Turkish Saturday school in New York. As a part of her research, she explored language beliefs and practices of the school's teachers and administration as well as the student's attitude towards those beliefs and teaching style. The author came to the conclusion that one of roles of the school was to build a community, in addition to other educational goals.

In her dissertation, Moore (2012) examined issues of language and social identity construction in children attending a Russian Heritage Language Orthodox Christian Saturday School in California. She studied the instructional practices in the classroom from the point of view of the instructors' building an Orthodox Christian identity and teaching moral values. It is an important study that revealed vital aspects of heritage language education. However, it left unclear the issues of language acquisition and language management adopted at the school.

Lyutykh (2011) conducted more complex research on heritage literacy beliefs in a Russian speaking community. She explored the parents', community, and teachers' beliefs about

literacy practices. She focused her attention on formal literacy instruction for elementary-age learners in two Russian weekend schools and described instructional practices and teachers' beliefs associated with those practices. In addition to the teachers' approaches to literacy teaching, Lyutykh explored the parents' beliefs regarding language interaction behaviors. Although she did not use the term "education language policy," Lyutykh presented a complex picture of the language ideology, language practices, and language management, which, according to Spolsky (2004), are three components of the language policy of a speech community. To the best of my knowledge, this is the only study of this type.

One common trait of most of the studies on community-based weekend language schools is that they are largely concerned with instructional practices and policies designed for elementary-school children. I am aware only of one study that involves adolescents enrolled in a Saturday school, conducted by Chinen and Turker in 2005. They studied 31 Japanese-American adolescents enrolled in a Japanese Saturday school in Los Angeles and examined the relationship of the participant's sense of ethnic identity, attitudes toward the Japanese school and self-assessed proficiency in Japanese. The authors came to the conclusion that the strong sense of Japanese identity triggered positive attitude towards the Japanese language learning. In addition, the older students had a stronger sense of identity as Japanese than the younger students. This study addressed only the students and did not provide insights into teachers' beliefs and language practices with adolescent students.

All of the previously mentioned works are an important contribution to the research on community-based language schools and the experiences of students who attend them. However, I am not familiar with any study that aims to describe the experiences of all the members of a weekend school as a community, providing information on language beliefs, language

management strategies, and language practices of school administration, teachers, parents, and students. The present study not only sheds light on the educational process and helps to illuminate the language experience students face in community-based schools but also explores language policies in the families of the school graduates, elevating the perspective of parents and students.

The following section of the chapter describes the previous research regarding family language policy as well as family influence on heritage language maintenance and bilingual development.

Family Domain

Family characteristics

Some studies (Fan & Chen, 2001; Strickland & Shumow, 2008) suggest that immigrant family characteristics, such as socioeconomic status and level of education, serve as predictors of the children's overall success in learning. For example, Strickland and Shumow (2008) used PISA 2008 data to demonstrate that immigrant parents' level of education and employment status predicted the reading achievement of their children in English. Such correspondence was related to the availability of educational resources as well as the educational practices at home. Tse (2001) also argued that the availability and quality of appropriate resources is crucial for heritage literacy development and leads to the overall heritage language proficiency development. She demonstrated that those heritage speakers who developed high levels of proficiency in their HL had access to good quality reading materials in their heritage language at home and most of them read in the HL for pleasure. Other studies demonstrated that the opposite

is also true: lack of quality materials in HL was associated with less interest in heritage language and culture and, as a result, lower levels of proficiency in HL (e.g., Jones, 2004).

Cho and Krashen (2000) also indicated three additional predictors of heritage language competence among second generation immigrants from Korea: the use of the heritage language by the parents, trips to Korea and watching TV. In the present study, family characteristics and all these factors are also explored. Data regarding available resources and the level of interest in using them were collected via surveys and further discussed with the participating parents and adolescents during the interviews.

The Role of Family and Family Language Policy

Although family language policy (FLP) is a relatively new field of research, the role of FLPs in children's language practices has been a topic of studies in different areas, including language policy and second language learning (King, 2016; Schwartz, 2010). The body of research in this area relies on the theoretical framework of sociolinguistics, anthropology, and child language acquisition (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008). Furthermore, this field of inquiry is expanding, including works on language planning in immigrant families and its impact on the maintenance of heritage languages (Caldas, 2006; Schwartz, 2010), parents' language ideologies (Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; King & Fogle, 2013), the impact of external factors in the construction and implementation of FLPs (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018; Xia, 2016) as well as the parents' and children's negotiation of FLPs over time (Fogle & King, 2013).

According to King and colleagues (2008), this field presents "an integrated overview of research on how languages are managed, learned, and negotiated within families" (p. 907). The research on FLP has been conducted in different parts of the world. The overwhelming majority

of studies on family language policy is conducted in an immigrant context exploring how first and second generation immigrant parents manage language use while bringing up their children in the host country.

In the introduction to the volume *Successful Family Language Policy* (2013), the editors Mila Schwartz and Anna Verschik summarize a number of theoretical perspectives adopted by the field:

1. Fishman's Reversing Language Shift model. This approach is based on Fishman's model for Reversing Language Shift (Fishman, 1991) through efforts to retain ethnic languages at the level of the family and the community.
2. Language ecology. This perspective takes into consideration the language environment in which families establish certain language policies. Creese and Martin (2003) noted that the research on language ecology "includes discussion related to cognitive development and human interaction, the maintenance and survival of languages, the promotion of linguistic diversity, and language policy and planning." (p. 2)
3. Group socialization theory, which sees one of the important roles of family as the socialization of the child. This approach is based on Harris' Group Socialization Theory (Harris, 1995) and explores how socialization inside and outside of the home affect the children's language development and language preferences.
4. Family as an intermediate level between individual and community: micro and macro-levels in family language policy. This perspective discerns the family as a micro-community, which affects the language practices in the larger community.

5. Spolsky's language policy model that incorporates analysis of language ideology, practice, and management, which Spolsky (2004) classified as components of the language policy model with respect to a speech community.
6. Models of parent-child language practices, which focus primarily on parent-child conversational interactions and present their detailed analysis.
7. Psychological and emotional aspects of family language policy, which explore connections between family language preservation and cultural values of the ethno-linguistic group. This approach also allows the exploration of how the parent's initial decision on language maintenance or shift may serve as a tool of family cohesion or a means of creating distances within family. (pp. 2-6)

Many studies combine several perspectives and explore different aspects of language situations in the family domain. In this study, the term "family language policy" is understood based on Spolsky's (2004) three-part model for language policy that incorporates language ideology, practice, and management. Spolsky (2004, 2012) argues for recognition of many domains that affect language policy (state, army, business, work, media, education, neighborhood, workplace, religion, and the family). Each domain has its typical participants, and each participant may have their own beliefs about language choice. He points out that just as in any other social unit, language policy in the family may be analyzed as language practice, ideology, and management. In the family, the key participants are parents (with differences sometimes reported between mother and father), children (with differences according to gender, birth order, and age) and significant others (grandparents, domestic servants and close neighbors). Each of these participants will have different language practices, different beliefs

about the values of the varieties that make up the sociolinguistic ecology of the community, and each may attempt to manage or influence the language practices and beliefs of others.

Spolsky claims that each family has a certain language policy, regardless of how many languages are spoken at home. In many families a monolingual language policy will be the result of the members of the family having proficiency in one language alone. Even here policy will affect the choice of individual items (avoiding obscenity, for instance) and style (not using jargon or youth slang while talking to parents). More complexity will arise when a second language comes into play, as a result of intermarriage or emigration or foreign conquest. Spolsky believes that for the immigrant family, state-controlled education commonly sets up a conflict between heritage languages and the national standard language, but one that is not unlike the normal conflict between standard language favored by schools and the home varieties that they ignore or discourage.

When children enter the educational system of their host country, immigrant families have to make a decision on how to balance the use of two languages at home. Although children can at this point assert agency in responding to their parents' language management efforts (Fogle, 2013; Fogle & King, 2013; He, 2016), parents and other caretakers are the more powerful agents of language policy in the family since they make strategic and deliberate decisions attempting to influence the children's language practices (Caldas, 2006; Hua & Wei, 2016).

Most researchers on family language policies (King et al,. 2008, Schwartz, 2010; Spolsky, 2004) state that FLP is fluid by nature; that is, parents revisit and modify their strategies over time as they see the results of their efforts, learn from other families as well as consider their children's academic achievements in relation to the majority language. Having an explicit

FLP does not guarantee the preservation of the HL in family, but when there is no explicit FLP implemented, the majority language generally takes over children's linguistic repertoire (Fogle & King, 2013).

Studies of parents' language ideologies and family language policies have been conducted all over the world. Many of them are quantitative studies exploring general tendencies in this area. For example, Schwartz (2008) presented a large-scale study that examined the family policy factors affecting heritage language maintenance among second generation Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel in light of Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy. Participants in the study were 70 Russian-Hebrew-speaking children with a mean age of seven years and two months. The results attested to the crucial role of teaching literate heritage language in both family and non-formal educational settings and to the children's positive approach toward home language acquisition. Schwartz claims that a range of non-linguistic factors (demographic, social and cultural) creates a favorable background for the survival of the heritage language among emigrants. At the same time, the data revealed inconsistencies in language policy at the home and a tendency toward the co-existence of the first and second languages.

King and Fogle (2006) studied language ideologies of 24 families of Spanish-English bilingual children by examining the goals these families had set for their children. Their study found that parents form language ideologies based on the popular press, parenting literature, and family networks as well as their experience as language learners and users.

However, there have been a number of in depth studies exploring the experiences of particular families. Thus, Park and Sarkar (2007) presented a study on Korean immigrant parents' attitudes toward heritage language maintenance for their children and their efforts to help their children maintain Korean as their heritage language in Montreal. Data was collected

from nine Korean immigrant parents who had a child (or children) between the ages of 6–18 in 2005, using a questionnaire and interviews. The findings suggest that Korean immigrant parents are very positive toward their children's heritage language maintenance. Korean parents believe that their children's high level of proficiency in Korean would help them retain their cultural identity as Koreans, ensure them better future economic opportunities, and give them more chances to communicate with their grandparents effectively.

An in-depth, small-scale qualitative study of family language policy in a Hebrew-Russian bilingual family with eight children was conducted by Kopelovich (2010) in Israel. Her article presents and compares the parents' perspective on their family language policy with their children's evaluation of it. The study is based on years of observation and multiple interviews with parents and children and demonstrates the differences in family language management strategies of two parents as well as the different attitudes of siblings within the family towards their bilingualism and their parents' efforts to support it. This is one of very few studies that consider two perspectives, those of the parents and the children.

Another work that aimed to explore children's attitudes towards their parents' language policies and the role of the family in HL maintenance was presented in 2015 by Sílvia Melo-Pfeifer. She analyzed the way children and youngsters perceive the role of family in the use and acquisition of the heritage language, through two complementary means: drawings produced by children and students participating in a discussion forum. This study confirmed the important role family plays in heritage language development. It also revealed that the parents' attitudes and involvement in heritage language education can have a positive effect on HL maintenance. The author called for more parental involvement in program building and curriculum development.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined the conceptual framework of the study, which is based on Spolsky's (2004) understanding of language policy; introduced the key concepts as well as reviewed relevant research literature and shown how my study contributes to fill in the gaps in knowledge. I clarified the concepts of heritage language learners in connection with bilingualism and biliteracy and described the issues heritage speakers of less commonly taught languages face to receive primary and secondary education in their heritage language. I demonstrated that community-based weekend language schools are the most common choice for supplementary education. In addition to being educational institutions, they also serve as a second main domain where young speakers are exposed to their heritage language. The first and primary domain is the family, which is believed to be "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilization" (Fishman 1991, p. 94). I reviewed key research in the burgeoning field of family language policy and described existing studies related to family and educational language policies for children and adolescents.

As we can see, the issues of heritage language education and support are widely discussed in studies of bilingual and heritage language education as well as that of family language policy. However, much of this research is limited to showing only one perspective: that of the teachers, or of parents or of students. Very few studies have explored bilingual development in several contexts such as in the school and home domains. In addition, the majority of extant research is concentrated on younger children and does not explore language policies in the lives of adolescents, although many scholars (Caldas, 2006; Kopeliovich, 2010; Lanza, 2004; Montrul, 2015) point out that early childhood bilingualism does not necessarily translate into bilingualism in adolescence and adulthood. The lack of study of this age group

leaves unclear how successful heritage language education and family language policies are. In the present study, I describe the language beliefs of heritage language school teachers, parents and bilingual adolescents to understand the factors that promoted the bilingual and biliterate upbringing of second generation Russian immigrant children. In addition, I explore language management techniques and language practices implemented by the Russian language teachers in a Russian Saturday school and at the homes of five young heritage speakers of Russian.

In the next chapter, I with introduce the research settings and research participants for this study as well as describe in detail the research methods and processes.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I describe the research process, research methods and analytic strategies used for this study. First, I provide the rationale for my research questions. Then, I introduce the research setting and the study participants as well as explain my positionality as the researcher. Further, I describe the process of data collection and research methods used. The chapter ends with an overview of strategies used to analyze the research data.

Overview of Research Design

This dissertation is a case study of language policies in the lives of a group of recent graduates of a Russian community-based school.[3] It is the result of two closely related research projects: the first one conveying the education language policies at the School and the other one on family language policies in the homes of its graduates. To understand and describe the factors that support bilingual and biliterate upbringing of second generation Russian immigrant children, I explored the educational language policies in the largest Russian Saturday school in California as well as the language policies in the families of five of the School's graduates, who were between ages 14 and 17 at the time of data collection.

As we saw from the literature review in Chapter Two, ongoing research in the field of heritage language education and bilingualism as well as family language policies is diverse and extensive. However, most academic literature in the area concentrates on post-secondary heritage education and does not take into consideration community-based language schools where a

[3] Later, it is referred to as "the School"

significant portion of heritage language education in the United States takes place. Existing research on these types of educational institutions often addresses issues of student identities and rarely explores educational practices. However, case studies of the education language policies in community-based language schools provides a valuable source of information about heritage language teaching beliefs and practices to inform further research on effective language policies in heritage language education.

A large portion of research done on family language policies, in turn, concentrates primarily on preschool and elementary school children with only a few studies following their language development into adolescence. At the same time, the researchers point out that the parents' beliefs in regards to bilingual and biliterate upbringing (as well as their strategies to manage language use at home) often change. Studies involving parents of adolescents are very scarce; especially for heritage speakers of Russian. Thus, a study that explores how a parent's approach to raising their children in two languages might change over time as well as what factors would be helpful and those that may impede the learners' progress will help us better understand bilingual upbringing as a whole and may provide scholars as well as immigrant parents who aim to raise competent speakers of their native language, with valuable information.

This work aims to fill the aforesaid research gaps by focusing on language policies that affect the lives of second generation Russian immigrant children. The following research questions guided the study:

1. What are the family language policies that support bilingual-biliterate upbringing?
2. How do language policies in supplementary schooling support bilingual-biliterate upbringing?

3. What is the legacy of the school and family language policies in the adolescents' lives?

I understand the term "language policy" in Spolsky's (2004) terms as a combination of language beliefs or ideologies, language practices and language management in a given speech community; therefore, I sought to discover how language beliefs affect language management and language practices in the home and at the Saturday school settings. This was done using qualitative methods. To collect information regarding language beliefs, I conducted interviews with the School's teachers, its principal, and its graduates and their parents. Language practices were explored via observations within the School's settings and surveys, which were distributed to the School's graduates and their parents. To learn about the School's language management, I used a combination of classroom and school event observations and interviewed the teachers. Interviews with parents and adolescents were beneficial to explore language management within the family settings. Data from these interviews with the adolescents as well as their surveys also were used to answer the third research question. The majority of data was collected in Russian. I discuss the language handling for the study later in this chapter.

Research Settings and Participants

Research Settings

Data collection for this study took place at a community-based Russian Saturday school in Southern California between January 2017 and May 2018. Although there is no official database of the community-based Russian schools, this school claimed to be the largest Russian weekend school on the West Coast. It was located in the suburban area of a county where, according to the US census data, less than 0.4% of the population over the age of 5 speaks

Russian or other Slavic languages at home (the US census does not provide data for the Russian language alone). The School was established in the early 2000s. According to its principal, its concept was founded "on a playground" where a few Russian-speaking mothers of young children met. Because there were neither Russian community centers nor Russian schools in the area at that time, they later decided to organize a small school in order to draw together the Russian-speaking community and to provide a language environment for their own children. At the time of data collection, the School enrolled around 300 children ages 3 to 16 from nearby areas and was also drawing Russian-speaking families from neighboring counties within a 40-50 mile radius. The School had a website with detailed information about its activities and reports from its events as well as an extended email list for weekly updates.

According to the School's website, it was founded for Russian-speaking immigrants "who wish to raise their children bilingual and to enrich their personal lives." Its mission was "to teach Russian language and culture to its students through classroom instructions, special artistic programs and cultural events and to promote a better understanding of Russian cultural heritage, mutual respect, tolerance of diverse cultures in the society, and confidence and self-esteem of the students." The School organized events not only for its members but also for the community "for the rich Russian culture to be retained and celebrated." The various concerts, celebrations, games, competitions, and film screenings were organized weekly. The students also participated in cooking and journalism clubs. The latter published a quarterly school journal in Russian, which was sold to the school and community members. The culmination of the School's extra-curricular program was a yearly summer camp held every June since 2011.

The focus of the School was not only on teaching Russian language and culture but also on helping its students to succeed in their American weekly schools. For that purpose, it offered

classes in natural science, social sciences, and math as well as enrichment classes in drawing, modeling, chess, music, dance, and theater, all conducted in Russian. The School employed nineteen teachers, all native speakers of Russian, who had previous teaching experience and at least a bachelor's degree in their respective field either from their home country or from an American university. Two Russian language and literature teachers had PhDs in Russian Studies; the history teacher had a PhD in history, the math teacher was a high-school teacher at a local public school. All the teaching positions were paid although many extra-curricular activities were organized by parent-volunteers. The School also had an on-site librarian and accountant. All the teachers and staff members at the School were first generation immigrants from the former Soviet Union and native speakers of Russian.

The School principal held an MBA and was in charge of operations; she did not participate in the teaching process. The School rented several rooms on Saturdays from a local religious center and school and provided classes once per week from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. All the expenses were covered by the tuition. The School did not receive any additional funding. The tuition was a flat rate of $15 per hour and there were no minimum classes required. However, the School required an administration fee and advance payment for the semester at the beginning of each semester. The School also provided hot lunches for the students for an additional charge.

Participants[4]

Teachers and the Principal

At the time of data collection, the School employed five teachers of Russian language and literature. All were asked to participate in the study, and four of the five expressed their interest

[4] All participant names are pseudonyms.

in doing so. All of the teacher participants had been working for the School for at least four years and had a degree in pedagogy and/or in Russian studies from higher-education institutions in post-Soviet countries.

Tanya, the School principal, had been working for the School for 14 years at the time of the interview. She had an MBA and was not a teacher but did all the administrative work. She came to the USA from Russia at the age of 18, and had a 16-year-old daughter, who attended the School. According to Tanya in an interview in 2017, she was an advocate for the School and its mission to "unite likeminded Russian-speaking parents to create a community that helps them to transmit their native language and culture to the next generation." She attended many professional conferences and was constantly looking for ways to improve the School.

Lana was teaching reading to K-1 students and writing to second grade students. She had been working for the School for nine years. She had an MA in teaching English and German from a Russian university and at the time of the interview, was a stay-at-home mother of three children (7, 10, and 12 years old), all of whom attended the School. She said in her interview that the School was a special venue for her: not only a work place but also the place of socialization and education in her native culture for her children. Her children had been attending the School before she was offered a job there. She considered an opportunity to work for the Russian School a privilege.

Olga had a PhD in Russian literature from Kiev National University (the most prestigious higher education institution in Ukraine) and was teaching reading and literature to students of grades two through six. She had been working for the School for four years. She had a 12-year-old son, who attended the School.

Alla had a master's degree in primary education. Prior to immigrating to the United States from Saint Petersburg, she worked as an elementary school teacher in Russia for fifteen years. She had been working for the School for seven years. Her children were adults and lived in Russia. At the School, she was teaching the Russian language in grades 3 through 6. She was the only participant, who, in her own words, was not proficient in English.

Valentina had a PhD in Russian studies from a university in Belarus. She was one of the School's most senior teachers and had been working there since 2002. In the early days of the School, she was the only Russian teacher. At the time of data collection, she was teaching the Russian language and literature to middle and high school students. In addition, she supervised a number of extracurricular activities such as the journalist club and language competitions. Her children were adults at the time of the interview but had previously attended the School.

Families

In June 2017, when I was still collecting data for this study, the School had its first official graduation party. Although the School had previously had students who completed the School program, this was the first group of students who started taking classes at the School as early as their elementary school years. There were 16 students ages 14 through 17 for whom the School had formed a significant part of their education. The participants of this study were among these graduates. All of them come from middle- or upper-middle class families and attended the school for at least six years.

T. Family

Nadya was 41 years old at the time of the interview. She came to the US from Moscow at the age of 23 and earned a Bachelor's degree in Child Development in the United States. She

worked part time for an English speaking preschool and self-assessed her English as excellent. Most of her neighbors and co-workers were native speakers of English but her close friends were mostly Russians. She used Russian primarily at home and with her friends but read, watched TV and browsed the Internet mostly in English. She had enrolled her daughter Sveta in the Russian School at the age of six for "fun and friends"; literacy was not as important to her as communication with their natal family. Nadya was highly satisfied with Sveta's level of comprehension of Russian. In the survey, she rated her speaking and reading skills as 4 out of 5 and her writing as 3 out of 5, based on the Likert scale where 1 meant "highly dissatisfied" and 5 meant "highly satisfied."

Sveta is Nadya's older daughter. She was born in the US and was 17 at the time of the interview. She attended the Russian School for nine years, took various classes, loved the school because her friends were there, went to summer camp six times, and did not have friends in Russia. Sveta had a significant preference for the English language and culture and frequently mixed languages. She did not feel affiliated with the Russian culture. "I like Russian culture, yeah… but there are other things that I am more interested in… I am Russian but I am more an American," she said in the interview answering the question regarding her thoughts about her sense of connection to the Russian culture.

R. Family

Valya was 52 years old at the time of the interview. She came to the US from Russia at the age of 34. She had a master's degree and worked as a real estate agent. She assessed her English as good (4 out 5 for speaking and writing and 5 out 5 for reading and comprehension). She used English exclusively at work. Most of her close friends were Russian. She spoke only

Russian to her children but used both languages for reading, TV and browsing the Internet. She had enrolled her younger daughter Katya in the Russian School to expand her Russian vocabulary and to give her an opportunity to speak in Russian to a variety of people. She was generally satisfied with her daughter's Russian.

Katya is Valya's younger daughter. She was born in the US and was 17 at the time of the interview. She attended the Russian school for nine years taking a variety of classes. She called the Russian School her "second home" and had many friends from there. She had attended Russian summer camp seven times and once went to a Russian camp in Estonia. She used Russian in communication with her family and friends overseas. She listened to music in both Russian and English and read Russian fiction for pleasure. She considered herself fluent in Russian and claimed her knowledge of Russian and English were equal. She felt a strong affiliation with the Russian culture: "I consider myself a Russian. No doubts about it… even though I was born and grew up here, when people look at me and talk to me, they say right away that I am a Russian. And this doesn't bother me. What bothers me, is when in Russia, and they say that I am an American. I guess I'm more American than I am a Russian."

M. Family

Ivan was 49 years old at the time of the interview. He had a Law degree and a private law practice. He came to the US from Belarus at the age of 12. His primary language was English. His wife was a native speaker of Chinese. Most of Ivan's daily communication was conducted in English. He used Russian for communication with his parents and reading fiction. He had enrolled his daughter, Masha, in the Russian school out of the desire to share his cultural heritage with her. He was satisfied with his daughter's level of Russian although he noted that it was

below that of a native speaker of Russian of the same age. Ivan stated that in his family, "the threat of losing the Russian language was, most likely, understood better than in other families from the Russian School." "I was only 12 when my family immigrated to the United States and pretty much lost the language… although I was trying to keep it up, it was not easy. When my daughter went to the Russian School, I had to restore my language again to keep up," added Ivan.

Masha is Ivan's oldest child. She was 14 at the time of the interview and she had already graduated from the Russian School. She attended the School for 11 years taking various classes and participating in various activities. She went to their summer camp seven times and also attended a Russian camp in Estonia three times. She was the only participant in my study who had only one Russian-speaking parent. She used to speak Chinese with her mother in early childhood but at the time of data collection, spoke to her primarily in English though she kept using Russian in conversations with her father. Answering a survey question regarding her reasons for attending the Russian School, Masha stated that she did it because of the friends with whom she socialized there. She read in both Russian and English (although her preference was English) but frequently used Russian for online communication with her friends from the Estonian summer camp. She also used Russian for browsing the Internet and listening to Russian pop-music. She did not feel a close affiliation with the Russian culture: "It is hard for me to say who I am culturally. I don't want to consider myself a Russian American because I have no connections with Russia or any family there… although, I am probably more Russian than Belorussian… I really don't know."

V. Family

Tamara was 47 at the time of the interview. She came to the US from Russia when she was 18 after receiving an associate degree in theater. She rated her English as below average. Most of her communication was in Russian. She preferred it for watching TV and reading as well as for browsing the Internet. She had three sons, all of whom had attended the School. She was highly satisfied with her middle son Dima's level of Russian.

Dima was 16 at the time of the interview and was still taking a couple of classes at the School. He had been attending the School for 11 years taking a variety of classes. He had many friends at the School some of whom also attended his weekly American high school. He went to the Russian School summer camp seven times. Dima preferred Russian music and read in Russian for pleasure. "Yes, I still read in Russian… but not the stuff they assign us at the Russian School… the books I read are easier to read because they… more modern than those that Valentina gives us… You know, the sentences are shorter, vocabulary is more relevant… and when I am enjoying the book, it is much easier to read," said Dima, answering my question about his reading preferences. He also added that he listened exclusively to Russian music. Dima browsed the Internet in both languages but preferred English. He identified himself as Russian and felt a strong affiliation to the Russian culture.

K. Family

Tanya was 47 at the time of the interview and was the principal of the Russian School. She immigrated to the US from Moscow at the age of 18 and received her bachelor's degree and Master of Business Administration degree in the US. Her close friends were mostly Russians and she preferred Russian for communication although used both languages "about the same" for

watching TV, reading, and browsing the Internet. The Russian School was an important part of Tanya's life. She was one of the founders of the School and had enrolled her daughter in the Russian school to preserve her heritage, to ensure she would be able to communicate with her grandparents and to support her identity as a bicultural person. Tanya said that Russian "is the language that we speak in our family, it's our primary language, it's a part of our culture, it's a part of us. I did not want to lose that bond." Referring to her daughter Sofia, Tanya said, "She was trying to use English always all the time. I was trying to stop it. How successful I was, well, I created... I organized the Russian school, so... [laughing] No, seriously.... all kids are different. But in our particular case, if it would not have been for the School, we would have lost it." Tanya was satisfied with her daughter Sofia's Russian language skills, especially her speaking and comprehension.

Sofia was Tanya's only child. She was born in the US and was 17 at the time of the interview. Although she had graduated from the School, she was working as a teacher's assistant and an administrative helper there. She attended the school for 13 years taking a variety of classes and participating in many cultural events. She went to their summer camp seven times. The Russian School had been an important social setting for her. She evaluated her level of Russian as high but preferred English for watching TV, reading, and browsing the Internet as well as for talking to her friends from the Russian School. She did not have a strong sense of affiliation with the Russian culture.

Summary of Participants

Table 3.1. Teachers and the Principal

Pseudonym	**Education Level**	**Years at the School**	**Role at the School**
Tanya	Master's	14	School Principal
Lana	Master's	9	K-2 teacher
Olga	Doctorate	4	Grades 2-6 teacher
Alla	Master's	7	Grades 3-6 teacher
Valentina	Doctorate	14	Grades 7-10 teacher

Table 3.2. Parents

Pseudonym	Education Level	Age	Years in the USA	Self-assessed English proficiency level
Nadya T	Bachelors	41	18	High
Valya R	Masters	52	18	High
Ivan M	Doctorate	49	37	High
Tamara V	Associate	47	29	Low
Tanya K	Masters	47	29	High

Table 3.3. Adolescents

Pseudonym	Grade in week school	Age	Years at the Russian school	Sense of affiliation with the Russian culture
Sveta T	12	17	11	No
Katya R	12	17	9	Yes
Masha M	9	14	11	No
Dima V	10	16	11	Yes
Sofia K	11	17	13	No

Researcher's Role and Positionality

As a researcher, I had to be aware of how my presence at the School and my personal experience and background might have affected my research. During the data collection process for the School Language Policy project, my identity as a Russian-speaking immigrant and a Russian language instructor helped me to develop trusting relationships with the teachers through the sharing of similar background and experiences. My main approach in communicating with the teachers was to demonstrate my desire to learn from them. I truly believe that the community-based language schools are a rich source of information for the university programs, and we need to learn from them rather than teach them. I strived to share this understanding with all my participants.

While collecting data for the Family Language Policy project, I used a similar approach involving my desire to learn from them. The School is a close-knit community and the fact that I was introduced to my participants by other members of this community was extremely helpful in

establishing rapport with parent participants. I had been a regular visitor at the School for about a year at that time and, most likely, was not seen as an outsider to most of the parents and especially to the adolescents. They had seen me in their classrooms, at club meetings, and cultural events, which I believe helped me to build a close relationship and make my participants more open and willing to converse with me and share their experiences.

Research Process

Data Collection and Research Inventory

The School Language Policy Project

This study became possible after a colleague from my department, who had learned about my passion towards heritage language education for children, introduced me to the School principal in the spring of 2016. After a brief email exchange with the principal, I visited the School in May of that year. The principal introduced me to a few teachers and parents, shared curricula for some classes, and told me about the history of the School. She also gave me a tour, which included brief visits to a few classrooms. I had visited a few Russian weekend schools early on and had done enough research on community based schools to notice that this one was different. I was impressed with the size of the School, the variety of classes it offered for children of different ages, the number of extra-curricular activities it offered, the complexity of the educational programs as well as the level of dedication the principal and the teachers demonstrated. I was eager to learn more about the School and the people who ran it.

After receiving an IRB approval for the study of the School's language policy, I visited the School again in December 2016 to recruit participants for my study. Four out of five Russian

language and literature teachers that the School employed at that time kindly agreed to participate in my research. Between January and April of 2017, I visited the School ten times, observing Russian language and literature classes and school extra-curricular events and conducting interviews with the teachers and the principal.

I observed 14 classes and interviewed four teachers and the principal. Due to the fact that the majority of the School teachers of Russian language and literature agreed to participate in my study, I had an opportunity to observe classes of children of different ages and levels of proficiency in the Russian language. This gave me a larger and more detailed perspective of the School in general.

I made transcripts of the interviews and extended field notes for each school visit. I also made audio logs of the recording contents of my class observations. They were in the form of a two-column table – one column showing the time span, and the other column showing the summary of the action occurring within that timeframe. This provided me with an inventory of the data source, and allowed me to transcribe only those portions of the recording that I needed for analysis. In addition, the extended field notes for each school visit contained detailed information from at least one class of each teacher.

I collected 12 data sets: seven extended observational notes and five interview transcripts. In addition, I compiled transcripts of five interviews. The interviews were conducted and transcribed in Russian using a standardized format. The interviews with the teachers lasted between 45 and 75 minutes. The interview protocol is included in Appendix C. My interview with the principal was conducted over the course of a few weeks. She was not able to carve out an entire hour at one time but agreed to answer a couple of questions every Saturday whenever

we both were available. Although fragmented, this interview was very valuable and helped me to learn about the school language ideology and management.

In addition, in fall of 2017, I visited the School three times to observe and audio record Russian language and literature classes of high school students with one of the teachers I had interviewed in spring of that year. Thus, the research inventory for the School Language Policy Project consists of five interview transcripts and ten extensive observation notes augmented by 21 audio logs. All the interviews were transcribed in Russian. Only the portions of the interviews used for quotations in this work were translated into English. All the field notes were also written in English.

The Family Language Policy Project

During the data collection process for the School Language Policy project, it became apparent that the teachers and the School program were not the only factors that made the School a unique place. Every teacher I interviewed, without exception, emphasized that their work would have not been successful without their students' family support. The teacher who worked with middle and high school students stated that only those students whose parents were dedicated to Russian culture and determined to preserve the Russian language in the family reached a high level of proficiency in Russian. Since I was interested in successful cases of bilingual and biliterate upbringing, I decided to talk to parents of children who completed the entire School program and passed the Russian proficiency exam for high school students. This exam was administered by one of the local universities and could be used to satisfy high school language requirements. The exam explored students' literacy skills and passing it served as a confirmation of students' literacy in Russian.

As mentioned above, in June 2017, while I was still collecting data for this study, the School had its first official graduation party. The graduation class consisted of 16 students, ages 14 through 17. I learned from the principal that all of them had been in the School for at least six years and had passed the exam. I had an opportunity to directly contact eight of their parents during my subsequent visits to the School; some of the parents had younger children who were still attending the School, others worked for the School. Six of them agreed to participate in my study. After obtaining permission from the parents, I contacted their adolescent children. Five of the six agreed to fill out a survey and to give me an interview. Thus, I had five participating families whom I interviewed between January and May of 2018. Although parents were given a choice to be present at the interviews with their children, most of them did not consider that necessary. Only in one case did I conduct an interview with a parent and child together, and this was due to their time constraints. Prior to the interviews, all the participants filled out surveys that they received via email. Interview times and places were arranged with each participant individually to accommodate participants' schedules. The interviews took places at the School as well as at local coffee shops.

Research Methods

Participant Observation

In this study, observations served as a tool to explore language practices and language management in the school settings as a part of the School's language policy. For this purpose, I established a "peripheral membership" in the School, positioning myself as a member of the social crowd "accepted as a trustworthy individual" but forbearing to fully participate in the School's practices (Adler & Adler, 1994, p. 380). This approach allowed me to gain access to the

classes and school events in ways similar to those of the participants which encouraged better understanding of the participants' perspectives and the meaning they ascribed to their experiences. However, refraining from full participation allowed me to balance objectivity and subjectivity and facilitated a constant comparison of observed practices and experiences within each event, each classroom and age group as well as a constant comparison to the literature that informed this study.

Two types of observations were used: a naturalistic descriptive observation and structured observations of class settings. The naturalistic descriptive observation served to explore language practices at the School, particularly communication between students as well as student-parent interactions. Structured observations during class sessions helped me to learn more about student-teacher communication as well as to explore how the teachers controlled the students' language use. Initially, I visited three classes of each teacher prior to conducting an interview with them. It was necessary to observe the natural flow of the class when a teacher was not expressly aware of what I was there to observe and was not conscious about correcting the language practices that I was specifically interested in. The following semester, I visited nine additional Russian language and literature classes for high-school students to learn more about the language practices among this age group and to observe the peculiarities of language management for them. For the class observations, a Language Observation Protocol was used (Appendix A).

To compile data that would describe the School in general and provide an understanding of language practices and language management (not only at the class level but also at the school level), I visited three of the School's events: literature competition, Russian Maslenitsa celebration, and a journalist club meeting. In addition, I spent time between classes on the School

premises observing the language practices of students, teachers, and parents outside of the classrooms following General Observation Protocol (Appendix B). The aggregate of these data constitutes a significant portion of my field notes, which were created after each school visit based on jottings and audio recordings. All notes were written in English with the exception of direct quotes from conversations that were conducted in Russian.

Interviews

Interviewing was an essential part of the research. Interviews were conducted with all the participants: teachers, parents, and adolescents. The main objective of the interviews was to understand each participant's language beliefs and the value they attributed to the bilingual upbringing and preservation of the Russian language. Additional reasons for conducting interviews with the teachers were to explore their language management within the classrooms and to discuss certain language episodes I had previously observed in the classrooms. As stated above, the interviews were conducted after observing three classes of each teacher. One of the objectives of the delayed interviews was to help make the teachers more comfortable in my presence. Interviews with the parents and adolescents were used as the main strategy to explore their family language policies. They were conducted during the second stage of my research in the spring of 2018. By that time, I had visited the School multiple times, had conversations, and established rapport with many parents during breaks and cultural events.

I conducted semi-structured interviews based on the model of phenomenological interviews suggested by Seidman (2013), which included three parts: focused life history, the details of experience, and reflections on the meaning. However, contrary to Seidman's model of three separate 90-minute interviews, due to time constraints I conducted one extended interview

with each participant. In some cases, additional clarifying questions were asked via e-mail or during following visits to the School. Using a format of semi-structured interviews implied that many questions were open-ended and dependent on the participants' previous answers. Such an approach helped me to acquire specific knowledge about their background and beliefs while the participants provided their own perspectives and expressed their individual priorities in the language education and bilingual upbringing process (Appendix C).

All the participants were offered a choice to give an interview either in Russian or English. The majority of participants stated that it did not matter to them. In the first part of the study addressing the School's language policy, all the interviews with the teachers and the principal were conducted in Russian and audio recorded. Considering that parent and adolescent participants were bilingual, I attempted to conduct interviews with them in the English language to reduce the amount of translation for the project. However, after interviewing the first family, I came to the understanding that switching the language created a completely different atmosphere from that which I had experienced in previous informal conversations with the prospective participants and brought a feeling of unease. Russian was the most comfortable language for all the participants, even the adolescents, four out five of whom were given a choice to conduct the interview either in Russian or in English. An interview with Sofia was conducted in English on the researcher's initiative. All other adolescent participants chose to start in Russian and to switch to English if necessary (which never happened). They stated that they would prefer to use Russian while talking to a native speaker of Russian, especially within the settings of the Russian School. During this part of the study, my insider status provided the benefit of sharing the language and the native culture with the participants, which gave me with an opportunity to

understand meanings and emotions that outsiders would be likely to miss when conducting interviews in English.

The interviews with the teachers had several distinct parts. First, I asked the teachers to tell me about their educational background and experience in teaching Russian in Russian-speaking countries and in the United States. Then, I offered them to define the language competency of their students and the competency they expected from their students. After that, I asked them what types of language utterances they believed needed to be corrected and how they corrected them. During the last part of the conversation, I invited them to discuss examples of language use I had observed in their classes.

The interviews with parents and the adolescents were based on the surveys they were asked to fill out prior to the interviews. The surveys and the interviews were constructed to solicit information following Seidman's (2013) model of phenomenological interview. The interviews with the parents were broken down as follows:

1. Demographic data and history of immigration
2. Child's language development from early childhood to the present time
3. Language rules and practices at home
4. Role of the Russian School in language development
5. Motivation to raise their children as bilinguals
6. Degree of satisfaction with the results

The interviews with the adolescents largely followed the same outline. In addition, they were asked about their attitudes towards established home rules and their bilingualism.

Prior to the interviews, I told the participants the general topics of our conversations but had not provided specific questions. All the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed in the language they were conducted. I protected the identity of the participants by assigning a pseudonym to each participant.

Surveys

In this study, surveys for parents and adolescents were used during data collection for the Family Language Policy project. They were designed based on a simple descriptive approach (Mertens, 1998) and had a mix of closed and open-ended questions (Appendix D). The questions were chosen to meet the following objectives:

1. To describe family characteristics and home environments
2. To learn about parents' and adolescents' language practices
3. To explore participants' attitudes toward bilingualism as well as their self-evaluation of the knowledge of English and Russian

Surveys were available in both Russian and in English and the participants were given a choice of languages when asked to complete the survey.

Data Analysis

This study used qualitative research designed to explore educational and family language policies that help second generation immigrant children to become bilingual and biliterate adolescents. Table 3.4 provides an overview of data sources and an analytic plan for each type of

data organized by research questions. Further sections describe data description and coding as well as analysis procedures for each data source in more detail.

Table 3.4. **An Overview of Data Sources and Analytic Plan Tied to Research Questions**

Research question	**Data Sources**	**Analytic plan**
1. What are the family language policies that support bilingual- biliterate upbringing?	Parent Interviews Adolescent Interviews	Coding Theming Description
2. How do language policies in supplementary schooling support bilingual-biliterate upbringing?	Teacher Interviews Observations	Coding Theming Description
3. What is the legacy of the school and family language policies in the adolescents' lives?	Parent Surveys Parent Interviews Adolescent Surveys Adolescent Interviews	Coding Theming Description

Analysis Strategies for Survey Data

The information from the surveys was used to construct narrative summaries about each adolescent and each parent. The parents' summaries described family demographics, patterns of language use at home and outside of family settings, parents' motivation to raise their children bilingual-biliterate and their level of satisfaction with the results of such upbringing. The adolescents' summaries described the participants' level of involvement in the Russian School activities, family environment and patterns of language use as well as the Russian language learning motivation and self-identification.

The summaries were constructed prior to the interviews with the participants and served as a guide during the interviewing process. They were further used for the participant description portion of this chapter as well as coded together with the observation notes and interview transcripts.

Analysis Strategies for Observation Data

Classroom observations were made using a Language Observation Protocol (LOP, Appendix A), audio recording, and researcher's field notes and analytic memos. Audio recordings were further transformed into audio logs in the form of a two-column table — one column showing the time span, and the other column showing the summary of the action occurring within that timeframe. Afterwards, based on the LOP, the audio logs were expanded to include transcription of language interaction episodes relevant for the study. Expanded audio logs and field notes were imported into the MAXQDA software for further coding and analysis.

Analysis Strategies for Interview Data

Interview recordings were transcribed in the language they were conducted in: thirteen interviews in Russian and two in English. MAXQDA software was used for transcribing the interviews and analyzing all the data.

Coding, Categorizing, and Theming

Data collected for the Family Language Policy project and for the School Language Policy project were analyzed and coded separately following similar procedures. I used the

English language to write my analytic memos as well as to name codes and categories although a portion of data was in Russian.

The School Language Policy project aimed to answer the research question "How do language policies in supplementary schooling support bilingual-biliterate upbringing?" To analyze data for this project, I used a combination of coding methods suggested by Saldaña (2016). Initially, I planned to base the analysis of my data on my understanding of language policy as a combination of language beliefs, language practices and language management (Spolsky, 2004). I attempted to find elements that would describe each of the elements in my data. However, after the first cycle of coding, I realized that this approach would not work because these elements are intertwined and in many cases, it was impossible to separate language practices and language management. I had to abandon the idea of coding elements of three components separately and decided to apply grounded theory in order to identify patterns in my data.

Following grounded theory protocol (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990), I reviewed each document to identify meaningful, relevant discourse units (phrases, sentences or longer units), grouped and then coded them into groups (codes), which were further united into larger conceptual categories. As suggested by Saldaña (2016), I used different coding methods for different types of data. For the School Language Policy project, I had two types of data: field notes (augmented by observation protocols and audio logs) and interview transcripts. At the first round of coding, the field notes were coded using descripting coding, which Saldaña recommends as the most appropriate method for analyzing field notes (p.73). Descriptive coding is characterized as a first round coding method that "summarizes in a word or short phrase – most often a noun – the basic topic of a passage of qualitative data" (p. 102). I also used

structural coding for the classroom observations to analyze the observation protocols and determine the most common methods of language management in the classroom. Structural coding, according to Saldaña (2016), serves categorization functions. It "both codes and initially categorized the data corpus to examine comparable segments' commonalities, differences and relationships" (p. 98). For the interview transcripts, process coding supplemented with value and evaluation coding were applied in combination. According to Saldaña (2016), process coding is not necessary used "as a sole coding approach to data" (p. 111). It is usually used in combination with other methods. In this study, the process coding served to structure participants' experiences while value and evaluation coding helped to identify passages related to participants' beliefs regarding language use.

Saldaña (2016) states that it is important to "subsume codes into broader codes or categories as you continue coding" (p. 79). Following his advice, I was constantly theming the data organizing my codes under broader meta-codes. The codes were created, expanded and refined throughout the multiple rounds of coding. At all stages of coding, I wrote extensive analytic memos. The use of the MAXQDA software allowed systematizing reoccurring patterns in different types of data across participants, identifying general themes across the data, and keeping all the memos and codes organized. Later, the visual tools of the software were utilized to create code maps and to organize the codes into descriptive categories, which were further united into theoretical codes related to the categories of language practices, language management, and language beliefs. Saldaña (2016) notes that "a Theoretical Code specifies the possible relationships between categories and moves the analytic story in a theoretical direction" (p. 251). This coding approach allowed me to see relationship between the language policy

components described by Spolsky (2004) and to propose a theory that language beliefs determine language management, which, in turn, results in language practices.

The Family Language Policy project was initially designed to answer one research question: “What are the family language policies that support bilingual-biliterate upbringing?” While analyzing data for this project, I considered my experience with the School Language Policy project and did not attempt to find elements that would describe each language policy element in my data, which consisted of interview transcripts and survey summaries. Instead I followed the grounded theory protocol (Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and applied several rounds of coding to my interview transcripts and survey summaries. The coding process for interview transcripts was similar to that used for the School Language Policy project. For the survey summaries, the attribute coding was additionally used during the first round of coding. While creating descriptive categories as a part of coding process, I realized that my data speaks not only to the family language policy in homes of my adolescent participants but also provides information on adolescents’ current language practices, their attitude towards their bilingualism, as well as towards their parents and teachers’ language policies. That is how the third research question, “What is the legacy of the school and family language policies in the adolescents' lives?” emerged. The theoretical coding during the last rounds of coding allowed me not only to describe the correlations between different elements of language policy but also to suggest that family language policies affect the adolescents’ attitude towards their bilingualism.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I presented the overview of the research design, introduced research settings and the participants, described research methods as well as the process of data analysis. This qualitative study is based on two independent projects: one exploring language policies in a Russian Saturday School language policy and the second one exploring family language policies in families of its graduates. To answer my research questions I interviewed bilingual and biliterate adolescents as well as their teachers and parents. In addition, I used such research methods as surveys and observations to augment and enrich my data. Coding, theming and description served as main strategies for data analysis. The following three chapters provide description and discussion on findings made using these research methods and analytic strategies.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS ON THE IMPACT OF FAMILY

Fishman (1991) describes the family as "the most common and inescapable basis of mother tongue transmission, bonding, use and stabilization" (p. 94). The initial decision on whether to preserve a heritage language is always made by the parents. Schwartz and Vershik (2013) name the parent's attitude towards their home country and its language, host country and its language as well as bilingualism in general as one of the main predicators on their children's ability to master their heritage language. The parents' attitude towards transferring their home language to their children is a part of their language beliefs, which, according to Spolsky (2004), in turn, constitute a part of their family language policy.

Family language policy is a burgeoning field of study (see, e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2018; King, 2008; Schwartz & Verschik, 2013; Spolsky, 2012). It explores language beliefs, language management and language practices in families under various conditions and situations. However, the overwhelming majority of studies on family language policy is conducted in the context of immigration, exploring how first and second generation immigrant parents manage language use while raising their children in the host country. King understands family language policies as an "explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members," in which immigrant families engage in response to pressure of the majority language (King, et al., 2008, p. 907). Spolsky (2004) claims that every single family, regardless of the immigration situation and the number of languages it uses, has an explicit and implicit language policy since family members hold certain beliefs on what is appropriate and

inappropriate language use in different situations, manage language use based on those beliefs and use certain language practices that also reflect those beliefs or ideologies. However, Spolsky also agrees that immigration, which brings an additional language into the picture, always complicates the family language policy.

This chapter uses Spolsky's (2004) ideology–management–practice model to examine family language policies in five Russian-speaking families who raised their US-born children in California. All the parents in this study had a positive attitude towards the United States and the English language and valued Russian as a source of cultural heritage as well as a means of communication with the extended family. Therefore, they put a great deal of effort into passing along Russian to their children. The present study aims to explore family language policies in participants' families through learning from both parents and their adolescent children. However, the main focus of this chapter is to describe the language ideologies and language management strategies of the parents. The adolescents' perspectives are presented in Chapter 6, which explores their attitude toward their bilingualism, education in their heritage language and the language rules their parents and teachers implemented in their lives.

This chapter starts with a description of language beliefs that the parents and other family members held prior to the birth of their children and how their views on language changed over time. I then delve into the approach that parents took towards language practice and language management within the family structure. I will discuss the means of heritage language support used at different stages of the children's lives as well as changes in family language practices over the years of childrearing. The chapter ends with a summary of my findings on the family's influence on the development of their children's bilingualism and biliteracy.

Participants

Data presented in this chapter are based on the surveys and individual interviews with five Russian-speaking parents and their adolescent children. All adolescents in this study were born in the United States. At the time of the interview, they were high-school students receiving their primarily education in English. However, all had graduated from a Russian Saturday School where they had studied for at least nine years. Both parents of four out of five adolescents were raised in Russian-speaking countries and came to the United States as adults. The only exception was Masha's father, who was not only the single Russian-speaking adult in her family but also came to the USA at the age of 12. Table 4.1 provides a short summary of information about the participants.

Table 4.1. Short Summary of the Participants

Pseudonym	Age of Parent / Child	Child's American School Grade / Years In The Russian School
Nadya and Sveta T.	41 / 17	12 / 11
Valya and Katya R.	52 / 17	12 / 9
Ivan and Masha M.	49 / 14	9 / 11
Tamara and Dima V.	47 / 16	10 / 11
Tanya and Sofia K.	47 / 17	11 / 13

Nadya is a preschool teacher and the mother of two daughters. Sveta is her older child. Valya is a real estate agent and the mother of two daughters. Katya is her youngest child. Ivan is a lawyer, a university professor and the father of two children. Masha is his oldest child. Tamara

is a Russian daycare owner and the mother of three sons, among which Dima is the middle. Tanya is the principal of the Russian School. Sofia is her only child.

Language Beliefs

While describing the research on family language practices, Lanza (2004) argues that most parents do not have a specific clearly stated language policy. This argument holds true for the parents in my study. They did not always have a specific plan for raising bilingual children. Most said that it was simply a natural thing for them to speak Russian to their children. One of the most important factors that encouraged them to be intentional in their approach to speak exclusively in Russian to their children was the experience of their friends and compatriots whose children did not speak any Russian by the time they had completed elementary school. The more my participants knew about these families whose children did not speak their parents' language, the more intentional they were about emphasizing the importance of Russian at home.

For example, Tanya K. and Nadya T. stated that they did not think about having to maintain their heritage language when their children were born. They simply spoke in Russian at home, and most of their friends were Russian. They believed that preserving the Russian language would not be an issue. They first noticed the need for some language rules at home when their children began attending preschool or kindergarten. Four out of five children in my study did not attend day care; therefore, Russian was their only language of communication for their first years of life.

The only child in my study to attend English-speaking daycare was Masha. However, her situation was unique in that at home, her father spoke Russian to her and her mother addressed her in Mandarin. Masha's father, Ivan, was the only parent-participant in my research who had a

planned language policy at home and had clear objectives in language learning for his children. Ivan came to the United States at the age of 12 and, according to his words, "knew all too well how easy it was to lose one's native language." Prior to Masha's birth, he had rarely used Russian, and he told me that he had to "relearn" it after she was born. Ivan studied a number of articles and monographs on preserving heritage language in immigrant families and based his home rules and language learning goals for Masha on his findings.

In the case of Ivan, his motivation stemmed from a personal experience of language preservation, which affected his desire to be intentional about his family language rules. However, some parents considered the experience of their compatriots. Valya and Tamara stated that their observation of seeing their friends' and relatives' children being incapable of communicating in Russian was the deciding factor to ensure it would not be the case with their children. They trusted the school system to teach English to their children and decided to concentrate their efforts on Russian:

> Valya: I always thought… they'll teach her English at school so this is not my job… but at home, we'll speak Russian…. That's exactly what we were doing… (Interview on April 30, 2018)

> Tamara: I had such a strong desire to teach them Russian as early as possible so when they go to school… I didn't take them to any English classes so when they'd go to school, they would already know how to read and write in Russian… so they wouldn't forget the Russian language… And because of that I thought it would be a good idea to teach them and other children as well… and so, when my oldest son turned three, I began organizing kids at my house… I got a license for a day-care and had six kids there... (Interview on April 28, 2018)

As we can see, Tamara went even further in her efforts to teach Russian to her sons. She organized a Russian childcare so she could incorporate the teaching of her children with work. She wanted to spend more time with them and also ensure that they would receive sufficient Russian input.Tanya, in similar fashion, felt that it was so important that her daughter speak

Russian that she organized the Russian School. These parents did not ask themselves "Why do I want to preserve Russian in the family?" Rather, they were interested it *how* to do it. When asked about their reasons to raise their children bilingually, some of them were not sure what to say. Others talked about their fears of losing the language instead of specific reasons to preserve it.

In some families, the experience of other immigrants was presumably the most pronounced reason to take action in language preservation or when excluding English in the first years of their children's lives. The primary reason was to develop their cultural enrichment as well as communication with their grandparents and even their parents in their native tongue. Nadya specifically emphasized that she could not imagine speaking a different language to her daughter.

All the parents in my study stated strictly personal reasons as their desire to maintain their heritage language, this was their intrinsic motivation. Initially, there was no indication that Russian might be used to fulfill future professional goals. However, they all agreed that this mindset might change later down the road. For instance, Valya said that her older daughter was currently using Russian in her job:

> Valya: I think she can use Russian in her job. For example, my older daughter is an actress and she writes scripts… now she is writing one based on Russian literature… Her English is perfect, no one would ever say that she… but she can imitate a Russian accent easily, it's her specialty…. So she is being shot frequently because of that… when they need a Russian accent… so for her, Russian is necessary and helpful in her career. (Interview on April 30, 2018)

As we can see, the parents did not intend to raise their children as bilinguals for any reasons other than to enrich their personal lives. Their main purpose was to maintain a close relationship within the family and to enrich their children's cultural life.

However, all of them believed that it was important to introduce Russian first and to support it from a very early age. Some parents were also convinced that the mastery of the written language was absolutely necessary to support oral speech. They realized that they would only be able to influence their children for a short period of time and felt it necessary to introduce literature as a means to provide as much language and cultural input as possible. They believed that their children could build on this foundation if they considered it necessary in the future.

> Tamara: I always wanted them to have a good foundation in Russian and then, I thought, when they are adults and want to improve it… to connect their lives with Russian… then, they always can improve it… If they want to take some Russian classes in college or university to get deeper knowledge, they will be ready. (Interview on April 28, 2018)

> Ivan: I gave her a foundation… if she wants to develop it further, great… if she won't… well, I won't force her. (Interview on March 5, 2018)

These parents established a goal to lay out a foundation for the establishment of their children's Russian language knowledge. All of them chose specific materials and language environments to nurture the Russian language acquisition.

While exploring the reasons and motivations of parents to raise their children as bilinguals, King and Fogle (2006) came to the conclusion that parents based their decisions primarily on their own language learning experiences and drew selectively from expert advice and popular literature as well. This was also true of the parents in this study. However, the main motivation of most of these parents was the desire to avoid the experiences of their compatriots, whose children either did not speak Russian at all or lost the language after the exposure to the American public school system. Although the parents had personal reasons to transmit the Russian language to their children, their desire to be proactive in family language planning as

well as establishing rules at home was largely triggered by the fear of repeating the stories that they had heard from their compatriots. In the case of Ivan, it was his intention to avoid repeating his own story in his daughter's life. All of the parents eventually began acting based on the premise that the Russian language needed additional support and they were determined to provide it to the best degree possible. This was a foundation for their own language practices as well as for the home language rules they established for their children.

Language Management and Practices

Spolsky's (2004) three-pronged model for language policy understands language management as any specific efforts to modify or influence language practice, which he defines as a "habitual pattern of selection among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire" (p. 6). At the same time, Montrul (2008, 2015) emphasizes the importance of language input for language development in young children: the more language input the children receive in their heritage language, the better outcome they produce in terms of the heritage language proficiency. In other words, parents' language practices have a significant influence on children's heritage language development.

All of the parent participants in this study put great value on using the Russian language as the main means of communication between them and their children. In addition, they intended to provide their children with as many opportunities as possible to communicate in Russian outside of home. In the context of these five families, practicing Russian was the main way to manage the Russian language use. The parents not only practiced it themselves but also were consciously and constantly expanding areas where their children could practice their Russian skills. I believe that in the family context, language management is largely implemented through

language practices and the parental language use is the one of the main ways of such management. Therefore, in describing my findings on family impact, I do not separate language practices and language management as they are, in effect, two sides of the same coin.

This section is organized based on the age and schooling of the child participants. First, I discuss family language practices and management in early childhood; I then discuss these elements during elementary and middle school years. I finish with the practices during the high school years, which was the time during which the interviews were conducted. This approach is based on the current research in the family language policies and bilingualism suggesting that the start of schooling and entering adolescence are two major events that affect language development in bilingual children.

Many scholars who conduct research on bilingualism and heritage language development as well as on family language policies (see, e.g., Lanza, 2004; Montrul 2015; Schwarz, 2010) note that it is not only the family approach to home language rules that changes over time but also that it largely depends on the stages of child development in the dominant language of the host country. Such development is closely related to the stages of schooling. Montrul (2008, 2015) states that the first significant challenge to the heritage language occurs when a child enters the mainstream educational system. Some children are exposed to it from their early months in daycare; some become familiar with it only at the age of four of five in preschool or kindergarten. Regardless of the exact age, this is the point when the child begins receiving an enormous amount of language input in the host country language. At the same time, the portion of language input in the heritage language usually declines due to decreased time spent in the family environment. Montrul notes that such insufficient input affects structural knowledge in young bilingual children. This often leads to the changes in the family language policies. At this

point, some parents prefer to switch to the host country language to support children's dominant language development in order to ensure their academic success. Other parents perceive this period as an important time to support the home language and introduce strict language rules at home.

Another important period that calls for changes in family language policies is adolescence. This is a period when, according to Caldas (2006) and King (2008), parents need to prepare for the increasing role of their children's agency in making language related decisions at home. During this time peer influence has significant impact on the adolescents' choices in many spheres of life, and language usage is one of them. This is also a period of changes in priorities for both children and parents. All the parent participants in the present study noted that adolescence and enrolling in a high school brought significant changes to their family language practices and management strategies.

Early Childhood

All of the adolescent-participants in my study were born in the United States. In four out of five families, the children did not attend English-speaking day-care and had minimum contact with speakers of English until the age of four. The only exception was the family of Ivan and Masha, wherein Masha attended an English-speaking day-care but spoke Russian to her father and Mandarin to her mother while at home. Ivan stated that at that time, there was a strict rule for her not to use the English language at home. Although isolation from an English speaking environment was not specifically planned to support the Russian language (but rather a normal way of life for these families), it contributed to the fact that the children were immersed almost exclusively in a Russian speaking environment until preschool or even kindergarten:

> Nadya: Sveta was born when we just came to the United States. Here… and first couple of years we didn't know many people… I spent almost all the time with her. She began speaking very early and when she was eighteen months, she spoke in full sentences. We read a lot, we watched Russian cartoons… there was almost no English in our lives… Of course, we when to the parks but she was mostly playing with me there… at that point, she knew no English… maybe she could say 'Hi' and 'Bye' but that was it… When she was four, I enrolled her in a preschool at YMCA for a three hours twice per week… something like that… (Interview on March 17, 2018)

> Tamara: Dima attended my Russian preschool only, he did not go to an American preschool or kindergarten; he went straight to the 1st grade with no English…. Well, he knew a few words… (Interview on April 28, 2018)

> Tanya: When my daughter was very little, I put her into a Russian preschool. So the language she spoke was Russian only. At about four years old, I started introducing a little bit of English to her by integrating an English speaking preschool into a day schedule. So what that meant... when she was four, for three days she would attend a Russian preschool and then for two days, she would attend a regular American preschool. (Interview on February 26, 2018)

> Valya: Her first language at home was 100% Russian… her first friends were Russian… when she was about two… and my older daughter spoke Russian, we all spoke Russian… in short, she spoke no English until she was four. (Interview on April 30, 2018)

At that time, there was no need to implement any specific language rule at home because the only language of communication was Russian. Anticipating upcoming difficulties, some parents intentionally sought to provide significant input in Russian at the home prior to introducing their children to English-speaking environments. All of them read frequently in Russian to their children, and avoided showing them cartoons in English:

> Valya: We never had cable… we could only watch tapes and DVDs… and all of them were Russian of course… and we were watching crazy amounts of cartoons. (Interview on April 30, 2018)

> Tamara: I read a lot to them all day long, especially during their nap time. Some kids slept but mostly they were listening… We sat down together and I was reading and reading… to the point that my tongue would hurt… that was how much I was reading to them. (Interview on April 28, 2018)

> Ivan: When Masha was little, we watched Disney cartoons but we didn't have them in English… we only had them in Russian and in Mandarin. (Interview March 5, 2018)

As we can see, the parents in this study were not concerned about their children learning English primarily due to the observations of their friends, whose children had experienced the loss of the Russian language during the first years of elementary school. The parents anticipated an easy transition and quick acquisition of the English language as soon as their children started school. For some children, the transition seemed to be easy. Dima V. told me during the interview that he was "just watching what other children were doing and repeating after them. It was fun trying to understand what they were saying." However, this transition was not painless for other children. Tanya K. shared that Sofia stopped speaking completely and then started stuttering after her enrollment in an English-speaking preschool, which prompted her to withdraw Sofia after a week or two:

> Tanya: "[being in an American preschool] was very stressful for her. She was three and a half when she started. Yes, it was really-really bad... to the point that she started stuttering... first couple weeks were really great than she completely shut down. I think it was my reaction that provoked her. I was shocked, I did not know why my child stopped speaking completely... for me, it was... the analogy would be like a hard-drive where you erase everything. I did not know what to do... so I contacted a friend of mine who is in speech development... therapy... and she told me... and my daughter began to speak but she started stuttering… the advice I got from this professional was that it was a very typical reaction to stress. I should remove my daughter from that environment… basically, take her out of the American preschool, put her back into a Russian speaking environment and reintroduce the English speaking environment when she'd be older... which I did." (Interview on February 26, 2018)

Tanya and Sofia probably had the most devastating experience among all my participants with the introduction to an English-language environment. Later in the interview, Tanya attributed it to her daughter's general difficulties with language development during the first

years of her life. While enrolled in an English-speaking preschool, Sofia lost her ability to speak any language, probably due to stress. Such reaction not only provoked Tanya to withdraw her daughter from that environment at the time but also affected her approach to the language practices and management in later stages of Sofia's life as we will see later in this chapter.

Sveta T. initially also had difficulties adapting to an English speaking environment. Nadya told me during the interview, that her daughter would not say a word in pre-school (which she attended only briefly for a couple of hours a day) and then in kindergarten for a few months:

> Nadya: So, when Sveta was four, I enrolled her in a preschool for a few hours… I was concerned how she'd go to kindergarten… she went there for a few months but… she said no words there… her teachers told me that she picked up the main commands quickly but said absolutely nothing at all… on my side, I saw zero progress in English… She wasn't trying to talk, she didn't communicate with other children. I wasn't concerned because that was how she was… she is very sociable but it's always been difficult for her to initiate a friendship so I wasn't surprised… yeah… but I saw no progress in English except better understanding… (Interview on March 17, 2018)

According to Nadya, Sveta's difficulties in communication were related to her personality: communication was extremely important to her, and she could not find a common language with her classmates, so she did not like going to preschool. However, when she acquired enough English to talk to her classmates, she quickly switched into English and attempted to use it in conversations with her parents. The same occurred with Sofia. It is notable that Dima and Katya, who did not have difficulties adapting to a new English-speaking environment, were less eager to use English at home later on.

In four of the five families in this study, we see the case of sequential bilingualism. That is, the children were introduced to the English-language speaking environment after they had acquired a basic command of the first language. Prior to this introduction, they had only used the Russian language at home and had differing degrees of the command of the Russian language

prior to enrolling in the English educational system. However, their level of comfort and speed of acquiring a command of English seemed to be dependent not only on their level of Russian proficiency, but also on their personality. Sociable and talkative Sveta stopped talking completely when she found herself in the environment of a new language. Sociable but more calm and inquisitive Dima was trying to figure out how to use the new language. However, in all the cases, the children's initial reaction to a new language affected the future language policies in their families. This happened primarily because even an initial negative reaction soon transformed into the preference for English.

Elementary and Middle School Years

Research shows that the heritage language of immigrant children frequently yields to the dominant language when schooling begins (see, e.g., Lanza 2004; Schwartz, 2010). During the elementary school years, children often receive much more new information in the host country language through formal education, and experience difficulties in communicating in their home language (see, e.g., Kapelovich, 2010; Lanza, 2004; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Okima, 2002). The gap between their two languages usually grows exponentially (Kagan, 2010; Montrul, 2008; Okima, 2002). The older the heritage speakers, the more difficult it is for them to communicate in their heritage language. Consequently, many of them tend to use the dominant language even in domains where they had previously utilized their heritage language exclusively, such as at home.

The participants in my study were no exception. All the parent participants noted that their children attempted to use English with them to some degree:

> Nadya: After Sveta started school… at home we… well, we had strict rules… and it's not that we were fighting… but it was "at home we speak Russian…" (Interview on March 17, 2018)
>
> Ivan: Masha went to daycare for three hours, then she was there full time, and it was all in English. When she started it, she spoke no English at all… so she picked it up there when she was about three… and yes, she began speaking English to us as well… how did we avoid switching to English? We could do it because I forbade her… I did NOT talk to her if she addressed me in English… I simply ignored her… and then she would address me in Russian. (Interview on March 5, 2018)
>
> Tanya: Her Russian... up until the end of kindergarten, Russian was her primary language. But by the end of kindergarten, after a year being at the American school, even though her Russian was much stronger, much richer, I'd say it was easier for her to speak in English… because everyone around her spoke English… She was trying to use English always all the time. I was trying to stop it. (Interview on February 26, 2018)
>
> Valya: I had this problem with my older daughter… with Katya, it was easier… when my older daughter began speaking English to me I told her right away that I did not understand her… she resisted it for a about a month… with Katya, it was different… she saw that everybody was speaking Russian so she was fighting it less… She tried it anyway… but I told her: no, Katya, at home, you speak Russian." I had a clear idea that it was a right thing to do… I don't know why… (Interview on April 30, 2018)

In order to preserve communication in Russian within the family, some parents had to introduce stricter language rules. Usually it was "Russian only at home" or "Russian only with a parent" rule. As we can see from the quotes, some parents were stricter than others. It is very difficult to determine solely based on the parents' statements, whether or not these parents indeed spoke exclusively in Russian. Schwartz (2010) claims that the parents do not always implement what they believe to be correct language practices and management. For example, Schwartz's research demonstrates that many of the parents, who claim to speak solely in their heritage language with their children, often use the host country language. Nevertheless, all of my participants claimed that they used English only in exceptional situations:

> Ivan: With Masha, we did all her homework in Russian. So if she was doing math, we discussed it in Russian… yeah, if there was some specific terminology or English grammar, then yes… no, I didn't switch into English but I would read that specific word in English but then we would discuss it in Russian… and if I needed to say a phrase or two in English, I would do it but then would go back to Russian. (Interview on March 5, 2018)

> Tanya: My speaking habits were the same... even though I did speak English with her when I was helping her with homework. Because the homework was assigned in English and I needed to translate to help it with it. But nevertheless, at home, on the non-school-related matters, it was Russian only. (Interview on February 26, 2018)

In addition, they had to think about supplementary means to support the Russian language so that its development would not fall behind the development of English. Valya was the only parent who stated that Russian was her daughter's strongest language up until she enrolled in high school. The other parents noticed that it became easier for their children to communicate in English at a much earlier age. All of the study participants began attending the Russian School when they were six years old or younger. Not all the parents chose to enroll their children in the School for academic reasons. Some did it simply for socialization. However, all the parents stated that the School was extremely helpful in supporting and developing their children's Russian language skills:

> Tanya: All kids are different. But in our particular case, if it wouldn't have been for the school, we would have lost it. Definitely, the school saved it… not because it only taught her the ABCs, the reading and writing but it changed the mindset. That was it did. If you remember I mentioned that after the first year at the K, she completely switched, and she switched because everyone there spoke it but we gave her an alternative. We showed her that there is a huge community of people who speak Russian. We are... well, we are outnumbered but there are very many of us. (Interview on February 26, 2018)

> Ivan: I enrolled Masha in the Russian School because I knew that oral speech was not enough to support the language… that the skill to read and write gives you a foundation, which prevents you from losing the language... I like it that the Russian School was teaching science, history and other subjects in Russian.

> According to research, this increases the prestige of a heritage language in children's eyes. I believe it worked this way for Masha as well. (Interview on March 5, 2018)

> Tamara: My sons always liked going to the Russian school. They had a lot of friends here and participated in many events. They were looking forward to Saturdays to come here… they learned a lot about Russia and the Russian culture here and this motivated them to speak more… (Interview on March 17, 2018)

There were several reasons why the parents considered the School a beneficial tool for maintaining and strengthening their children's Russian. One of the most beneficial advantages was the promotion of Russian literacy through various programs and curriculum. It was obvious to them that their children needed to know how to read and to write in their heritage language as well as interact on a cultural level. This is what Tanya had to say:

> Tanya: For me, it's natural, as for most educated people. I am sure everyone would share the same opinion. The more you read, the richer your spoken language is. And... when kids were little, we were more interested in doing activities where they could play and sing, and talk... but when they got older we turned to written language... I am all into academics! I love school, I love schooling, teaching and all that... (Interview on February 26, 2018)

Ivan also added that the fact that the School offered content based classes in the Russian language, not exclusively language classes (like a Chinese school, which his daughter Masha also attended, did), increased the value and prestige of the Russian language in his daughter's eyes. Furthermore, the summer camp that the Russian School organized every year also helped to immerse the children into the Russian culture:

> Valya: She really liked going there [to the Russian School]… and their summer camp… she went there seven times! They were dreaming about it all year long… and they were singing Russian songs there, which she… when we were taking them home, the parents had tears in our eyes because our children were singing such songs… (Interview on April 30, 2018)

Despite the fact that while at the camp, the children often spoke to each other in English when left alone, the variety of activities conducted in Russian helped them to utilize the Russian

language for extended periods of time as well as helping to develop a sense of belonging to the Russian culture. All of the adolescent participants in this study attended the Russian School summer camp at least five times.

In addition to attending the Russian School, parents named the following activities as the most helpful in supporting the Russian language at home:

1) Trips to Russia
2) Watching movies in Russian and Russian TV
3) Listening to Russian music
4) Communication with relatives, who do not speak English

Trips to Russia were by far the most valuable means of Russian language support. The parents stated that every trip invigorated their children's confidence Russian. This was especially true when children had an opportunity to communicate with their peers while in Russia, not merely with aunts and grandparents:

> Tanya: The first time she went to Russia when she was six years old. And that was the year when she was finishing kindergarten. And I can say with 100% certainly: if it wouldn't have been for the trip to Russia, we would have lost the Russian language because by that time, even though she was fully versed in Russian and knew it much better, she completely switched to English. It was the Russia trip that made her aware... physiologically? I don't know how it worked... about the other language and culture... that she was not the only one speaking it… And after that, we've been going to Russia quite frequently... almost every year up until four years ago. (Interview on February 26, 2018)

> Valya: We went to Russia every other year… probably, for four or five weeks each time. Every time we went there, it was, of course, a breakthrough in the Russian language… I mean... her Russian was good anyway but there… new people, new things… they picked up a lot of slang there, of course. (Interview on April 30, 2018)

> Nadya: We went to Russia when was, I believe, seven, then ten and twelve… I think it was her last time… Two years ago, she refused to go with me and I went with my younger daughter… Sveta had such an active social life here and there, she had absolutely no friends… so I understand… but the trips to Russia in general, I believe, help to improve the language skills tremendously. (Interview on March 17, 2018)

The trips to Russia provided full immersion into the Russian language and culture. However, as we can see from Nadya's quote, the trips were not of interest for adolescents if they had no friends in Russia.

Masha's experience was unique in terms of her trips to Russian speaking countries. All of her father's family immigrated to the United State in the eighties. She was first immersed into a Russian-speaking environment when she was twelve. At that age, Ivan enrolled her in a Russian speaking summer camp in Estonia. Because of this, she was the only adolescent in my study group, who found friends from Russia and other Russian speaking countries independently, that is, they were not her relatives or children of her parents' friends. According to Masha and her father Ivan, this was a tremendous help in supporting and developing her Russian:

> Ivan: I wanted her to pick up modern Russian because I understand that my Russian is a bit obsolete. And of course, I wanted her to learn more slang and extend her vocabulary enough to discuss the topic of her interest in Russian… In this sense, the summer camp in Estonia helped a lot because there she… in addition to obscenity… she picked up many words she needed to talk about things she is interested in. And her chatting with her friends from Russia and Estonia helps her to discuss those things because she knows the vocabulary. (Interview on March 5, 2018)

Having friends with whom she could only communicate in Russian, increased the importance of the Russian language in Masha's eyes and made her more willing to use it. In addition, she had to use Russian-speaking Internet and social networks to continue the relationships with her new friends, who were not proficient in English. At the time of the

interview, Masha had been to the Russian camp in Estonia three times and was going to go there again. This relationship with her Russian speaking friends increased the significance of the Russian language in Masha's life during her teenage years while this was not the case with those of her classmates from the Russian School, who did not have friends in Russia.

These parents had a significant influence on their children during their elementary and middle school years and used this time to establish a good foundation in Russian for their children. Overall, there were three main components of the language management and practice strategies they implemented: 1) strict rules about when each language is used; 2) help in the development of the Russian language via enrolling their children in the Russian School to teach Russian literacy and other school subjects in Russian; 3) support of Russian language development by providing additional opportunities to practice both receptive and productive skills in Russian. Receptive skills were cultivated via watching Russian movies and listening to Russian music. Language production skills were supported via communication with relatives and family friends who did not speak English as well as via exercising writing necessary for the Russian School.

High School Years

At the time of the interviews, all of my adolescent participants were high school students. The teachers at the Russian School, who I had previously interviewed for the School Language Policy Project, noted that the majority of their students usually switched gradually into English as a primary mode of communication between themselves by the time they entered high school. It was intriguing to me to find out, whether the dynamics of communication within their families changed as well.

All of the parent participants noted that Russian became less prominent in their children's lives and declined in use every year. This decrease was primarily related to the demands of their English-speaking high schools as well as their preparation for college:

> Tanya: She was involved in gymnastics, in art 4 days a week, and had her dance classes two days a week, I had her at the Russian school... Yes, I was that crazy mom. And then the reality kicked that she was not able to... she doesn't have time for all that. So I have to drop little by little... and only stay with what I thought was the most important. But eventually, we had to drop Russian as well... at high school, I would say 11th and 12th grade, you have to devote your time to what's required, to meet the American school requirements and the demands of the universities you will be applying to…(Interview on February 26, 2018)

As Tanya mentioned, there was less time for extracurricular activities for her daughter and Russian classes were those activities to fall by the wayside. As other demands began to assume dominance, adolescents had less time for Russian.

Another important reason for a decreased interest in the Russian language and culture was a growing distance between child and parent as the children's interest in building their own lives within an English-speaking environment began to overshadow the parent/child relationship:

> Nadya: When Sveta got to high school, she began to talk to us in some terrible mix of Russian and English… we fight, we try to say that we don't understand her but she, unfortunately, is too big now to believe… you understand everything, mom… I hope this will go away… I don't know why it is like this… but there is less Russian in her life now… just because she doesn't spend a lot of time with us anymore… We rarely see her now… She is at school, then she goes directly to work… then she either does her homework or goes somewhere with her friends. (Interview on March 17, 2018)

For those adolescents, who used Russian mostly in communication with their parents and grandparents, the language became less relevant due to a growing circle of interest outside of home. The situation was significantly different for those, who had Russian-speaking friends and had more interest in the Russian culture. Thus, Dima mentioned that he was listening to Russian

music almost exclusively, and this interest triggered his desire to browse the Russian Internet in search of music he liked. In addition, he enjoyed reading modern Russian literature:

> Interviewer: Do you still read in Russian?
>
> Dima: Yes, I do... but not for my literature classes… for pleasure.
>
> Interviewer: And what, for example?
>
> Dima: Now, for example, I am reading Metro 2033[5]
>
> Interviewer: Wow! And what do you think? Is it a hard read for you?
>
> Dima: No, it isn't… It is interesting for me so it's easier to read than Russian classics per se… Those books we read in class were different… they were more difficult to read… because I have to… and sentences there are long and heavy, I had to think about them all the time. (Interview on April 28, 2018)

Dima did not like reading Russian classic literature because the language was difficult to understand. However, he read in Russian for pleasure choosing books more relevant and easier to understand for him.

Katya also was interested in Russian music. In addition, she had friends in Russia and was interested in visiting the country. In fact, she was going to Russia for the entire summer a few weeks after our interview.

Masha, who had friends in Russia, was also interested in going there and was using the Russian language daily although her father was less strict in his "Russian only rule" at that point:

> Ivan: Yes, I don't have to force her now but… there a little negative result of my efforts… if the topic is too difficult she simply doesn't talk to me about it… well, because she doesn't have enough vocabulary. (Interview on March 5, 2018)

[5] This is a post-apocalyptic Russian fiction novel that was published in 2005 and was translated into 34 languages.

Ivan was not alone in his struggle to keep the "Russian only rule" going. Only Tamara and Valya stated that Russian was still the only language they used to communicate with their children:

> Valya: We still speak only in Russian with Katya and my older daughter. They asked me sometimes how to say this and that in Russian and I help them of course… but they don't switch into English… (Interview on April 30, 2018)

> Tamara: It was established from the very beginning that we speak Russian… no exceptions… I sometimes get surprised why children in some families forget Russian… We have many friends where children were talking Russian to their baby sitters and then went to the Russian school till… I don't know… third or fourth grade… and then… babysitters left, and they switched into English… and parents did not react… I guess they just got too lazy to make them speak Russian… It's strange for me why… we didn't have anything like that … we never fought about language, I didn't have to repeat and repeat them… and even now… sometimes when they speak English to each other I tell them: "Speak Russian, I don't understand anything"… and they do switch. (Interview on April 28, 2018)

Katya's and Dima's habit of speaking exclusively in Russian also transmitted into their communication with their peers. They were referred to by their classmates from the Russian School and their parents as the only two students from their class who would initiate conversations in Russian with other students.

As the children entered adolescence and reached high school age, the language rules and practices in most of the families changed. According to Caldas (2006), a decrease in interest at the home of the heritage language is a typical situation at this stage of life due to various factors. For the participants of this study, the main two reasons for such decrease were (1) growing demands of their English-speaking high schools and (2) growing distance between child and parent due to the expanding circle of interests and social networks outside of the home. Those adolescents whose usage of Russian was limited to their home domain, exhibited less interest in it and became more rebellious towards the home language rules. On the other hand, those

adolescents who had interests in Russian outside of home such as intrinsic adherence to the Russian culture or having monolingual Russian-speaking friends, demonstrated not only a higher level of proficiency in Russian but also more compliance with the home language rules.

Conclusion

Many scholars note that success in family language policy, that is heritage language maintenance as well as bilingualism development, depends on a number of factors. Schwartz and Vershik (2013) name among others children's and parents' attitude towards bilingualism. All the parents in this study placed a high value on their children's bilingualism. Parents' belief in the importance of maintaining the Russian language for close relationships within families and children's cultural enrichment encouraged them to provide diverse support for the Russian language, such as reading in Russian, watching television in Russian, trips to Russia and enrolling children in the Russian School. These parents' desire to be proactive in family language planning as well as establishing rules at home was largely triggered by the fear of repeating the stories of their immigrant friends, whose children did not grow up bilingual. The positive attitude towards bilingualism and their intention to pass along the Russian language to the next generation affected the parent's language practices. The parents not only spoke Russian to their children but were also consciously and constantly expanding areas where their children could practice their Russian skills.

Thus, in the family context, language management was largely implemented through language practices and parental language use was one of the main ways of such management. When the children entered the American educational system, the parents followed these three strategies:

1) Adherence to strict rules about when each language is used;

2) Help in development of the Russian language via enrolling children in the Russian School to teach Russian literacy and other school subjects in Russian;

3) Support of Russian language development by providing additional opportunities to practice both receptive and reproductive skills in Russian.

These strategies became harder to follow during the children's adolescent years due to the growing demands of their English-speaking high schools and expansion the circle of interest outside of the child's home. However, those adolescents who had interests in Russian outside of home such as an intrinsic adherence to the Russian culture or having monolingual Russian-speaking friends, demonstrated not only higher level of proficiency in Russian but also more compliance with the home language rules. All the parents expressed to me that they were satisfied overall with the level of the Russian language proficiency their children demonstrated. The parents also stated that they believed that they had given their children a solid foundation in their heritage language and culture, upon which the children could continue building if they considered it relevant to their adult lives.

In this chapter, I described how parents' beliefs regarding language development and heritage language preservation affected language management strategies the parents utilized to ensure that their children would be bilingual and biliterate in English and Russian. The following two chapters explore the Russian School language policies and children's attitudes towards their bilingualism: two factors which had significant impact on language practices in these families.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS ON THE IMPACT OF SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLING

All the parent-participants of this study claimed that the Russian School played an important and sometimes even crucial role in supporting and developing their children's proficiency in the Russian language. Furthermore, the School was an important place not only for their learning of Russian but also a venue of socialization and cultural development. My adolescent-participants stated that it had been an important part of their lives and being there encouraged them not only to speak Russian but also helped them to develop a sense of belonging to the Russian community. Considering the significance the parent-participants attributed to the School, it is important to depict how the School's language policy contributed to its students' Russian language development and promoted such a positive attitude towards their heritage language.

In this chapter, I discuss my findings on the School Language Policy project, data for which was collected between January and December of 2017. I use the term "language policy" as Spolsky (2004) defines it: a combination of language ideology, language management, and language practices; therefore, those were the three main categories I was interested in while collecting and analyzing the data. According to Spolsky (2004), language policy is not always explicit and clearly described by the members of a community. There are often implicit policies that are not stated in the official documents but created and carried out in everyday practice. In this study, I aimed to explore explicit and implicit policies constructed by the teachers and school administration. Initially, I focused on the School's language practices, as this was the most noticeable aspect of the School language policy. However, during my observations and in the

process of conversations with teachers, I came to realize that the School language policy was determined by the language beliefs and goals of the teachers and School administration. Those beliefs affected the language management during class sessions and cultural events. The School's language practices were, in turn, a product of the teachers' and administrators' language beliefs and management.

This chapter is organized around these three aspects of language policy in the structural order of development: the School's language goals and beliefs; the language management implemented by the School administration and the teachers of Russian language and literature; and the depiction of its language practices.

Language Ideology and the School's Goals

Spolsky (2004) describes language ideologies as the beliefs about language and language use, and specifically what constitutes appropriate language practices. In the educational context, language ideology is closely related to the language goals of the language teaching educational institution. The institution provides the instruction that is designed to help its students to reach language competence, which would correspond with the institutional idea of appropriate language practices. This makes exploring the language goals of the School a valuable source of information with regards to language ideology and beliefs of the teachers and the School administration. The Russian School fosters goals of promoting students' bilingualism and biliteracy development as well as cultural goals of integrating the students into the Russian culture.

Academic goals

The overview of research on community-based weekend language schools suggests that in many schools of this type, the teachers do not have sufficient pedagogical training (for instance, see Wu, Palmer & Field, 2011) and do not have clear educational goals (Lyutykh, 2011). However, my data from this study contradicts such claims. The School and the teachers in my study had clear academic goals. However, the goals at the School level and those of the individual teacher did not always coincide.

Teacher's Position

The teachers' academic goals vary depending on the students' age and preparation level; however, there is an ultimate academic goal to prepare the students for a specific Russian language exam, which could be used to fulfill the foreign language requirements at the students' weekday high schools. Four out of five of my participants mentioned this goal during the interviews. However, they also talked about more specific goals relevant to their classes only. In particular, the School follows a Russian educational style approach to teaching the Russian language wherein language instruction is divided into literature and language[6] classes from the early grades. In this school, this division was clearly pronounced: the main objective of the literature class was to teach reading and oral skills while the main objective of the language class was to teach spelling and grammar. I first heard about this from Olga (literature teacher for grades two through six), who mentioned in her interview with me that her job did not include working on children's writing:

> Our goal is to read, to analyze [literary] texts, to answer questions correctly… to

[6] The School calls these classes "language classes" but in the essence, they are "grammar and spelling classes"

> teach them understanding… I simply don't have time in literature classes to pay attention to their writings. I mean, I am sure that is what the language teacher is responsible for… as for the oral part of the language, this is my responsibility… I am trying to work on this… (Interview on February 25, 2017)

Olga believed that she was only responsible for developing students' oral speech. Although earlier in the interview she had acknowledged that her students' spelling and general writing skills needed improvement, she clearly stated that she did not intend to work on that. One of the reasons was the lack of time. Another reason was that she did not think it was her area of responsibility. This was the task of another language teacher. When asked about her teaching goals, Alla (who taught the Russian language classes to the same group of students as Olga) pointed out that she was working primarily on helping the students to develop their writing skills:

> I cannot teach them to be 100% literate but… I see the progress… when they write, now there is agreement in their sentences, they expand vocabulary… their writing becomes automatic… we also learn grammar concepts, they need to know them to continue learning language, to advance in it. We should make a goal to teach them the basics of Russian spelling… but the most important goal is coherent writing… they should be able to express themselves in Russian in a way that other people would understand them. (Interview on April 8, 2017)

Although Alla did not specifically say that she did not work with oral speech, her statements were only related to the development of their writing skills. She specified that she believed that it was impossible to achieve 100% literacy within the framework of a Saturday school; therefore, she primarily wanted to teach them the foundational spelling rules as well as to help them to write coherently.

The School's teachers had clear academic goals that they could describe without hesitation. Furthermore, they shared an understanding of the language learning objectives.

Valentina, who worked with middle and high school students, described her goals in teaching writing in a similar way. Her goal was to teach the students to produce coherent texts in Russian:

> … so that they don't make a ton of grammar and spelling mistakes… so you could understand what they write… to write about any topic… about any familiar topic. Like all of us… and so that it would be more or less grammatical and their mistakes would not cloud the meaning… so that people could understand what they are writing about… I cannot require them to make no spelling mistakes because they don't see those words… (Interview on March 18, 2017)

Like Alla, Valentina emphasized the importance of clear and coherent written speech as an objective and also stated that she did not expect perfect spelling from the students because their experience with written Russian was limited. Other teachers also recognized that their students' exposure to the language was limited compared to that of Russian-speaking children living in Russia and other Russian-speaking countries. They admitted that they did not expect the same proficiency level compared to that of native speakers of Russian. Such expectations by native speaking teachers of heritage language learners have often been critiqued in the academic literature. For example, one of the main conclusions of Lyutykh's dissertation (2011) is that such an approach to heritage speakers of Russian was typical but had many disadvantages for the students:

> This study suggests that proficiency of monolingual Russian-speaking children should not be used as a baseline for measuring proficiency of HLLs. It is unrealistic to expect children who grow up primarily in an English-only academic environment to coincide with their Russian monolingual peers beyond the first few years of their linguistic life. Such unrealistic expectations contribute to seeing heritage learners' deficiencies rather than achievements and likely have a negative impact on children's motivation to persist in learning heritage literacy. (2011, p. 180)

Lyutykh states that the teachers should recognize the limitations of heritage speakers' opportunities to learn and advance in their heritage language and should not expect them to

command the language like native speakers of Russian.

The teachers from the School shared this approach and established goals that were within each student's ability to accomplish them. They realized that they could not teach a native level of proficiency to the children who were not prepared for that. One of the teachers, Lana, who taught reading to elementary school children, explicitly stated that she did not expect her students to learn material that was outside of their zone of proximal development:

> When a child does not understand what words "sandals" or "boots" mean, it is impossible to teach him to understand what "footwear" means… it is like he is outside of his zone of proximal development, I feel… that the challenge is too big for him… and then I send him to a different group where he would feel more comfortable. (Interview on February 18, 2017)

Lana suggested that language learning should not make children uncomfortable. She explained earlier that all of her students had dissimilar language environments at home and different levels of exposure to the Russian language. Lana believed that if a child's proficiency level in Russian was significantly lower than that of other students in her class, the child should not be expected to perform like them. Therefore, such a child would be more comfortable in class with students of the same proficiency level. Lana made the latter claim in relation to the goals of her reading class. One of the goals is to expand the students' vocabulary. Lana believed that this was only possible on an appropriate level. It is important to understand the student's level of language exposure and therefore, have realistic expectations of their progress.

The School's Position

Unrealistically high expectations of children's language competence is a critical issue that affects language ideology in heritage language education. The position of the Russian School was no exception. Many teachers came to an understanding of their students' proficiency and needs through work at the School. This was their first experience in teaching bilingual children. Despite the fact that all the teachers had degrees in pedagogy, none had special training in teaching bilingual children and/or heritage speakers of the Russian language. All of the teachers stated that initially, they expected a native speaker's proficiency from their students' in Russian but later had to lower their expectations and learn to appreciate the students' existing proficiency in the process of working with the School's students and understanding their language experiences.

At the administrative level, however, there seemed to be less understanding of the children's language abilities, which created a unique set of challenges for the teachers' work and contradictions within the School's and the teachers' academic goals. The School generally regarded the children as "native speakers" of Russian. This term was often used by the school principal, who boasted about using authentic Russian textbooks designed for Russian schools in Russia. At the same time, some teachers complained that it was very difficult to use these textbooks. For instance, Olga and Lana said during the interviews that it took them an inordinate amount of time to find adequate materials in those textbooks that would be appropriate for their students:

> Lana: There are so many texts… for example, fairytales…. with vocabulary that is absolutely unfamiliar for them… and even the fact that it's divided into syllables does not make it any easier… I am hunting for the appropriate material all over the Internet. (Interview on February 18, 2017)

> Olga: Some stories there are great and some… well, … we are limited by the textbook… some textbooks are larger and there is more material to choose from but not all of them… sometimes I have to find a different story from the same author and print it out for the students. (Interview on February 25, 2017)

Lana and Olga were saying that they could not always use the textbooks the School wanted them to use. Many texts contained vocabulary that was too advanced for their students; therefore, they had to look for additional materials that would be more appropriate for their students' level of Russian and more relevant to pique their interest. This was a clear discrepancy between the teachers' and the administration's approach. Although the teachers understood the students' need for different types of educational materials and had lowered their expectations of the students' performance, the School adhered to higher [and seemingly unrealistic] academic goals comparable to those of the Russian schools in the metropole.

Tanya, the principal, expressed a desire for her students to strive for a "native speaker" level of command of Russian on multiple occasions. For example, it was clear from her utterances that despite the fact that the explicit academic goal was to prepare the students to pass the Russian language proficiency exam necessary to fulfill high-school foreign language requirements, the implicit expectation was that the students achieved a higher level of literacy:

> Our main academic goal is to teach them how to write and read the works of Russian classical literature, but there is also a practical goal – to pass the exam so that the knowledge the students receive here would serve them for their American schools. (Interview on April 8, 2017)

I find it interesting that Tanya mentioned the exam in conjunction with reading Russian classic literature. The level of Russian required to pass the Russian language exam is significantly lower than that necessary to read most Russian classical literary works. This gave the impression that the School's academic goals went beyond preparing the students for the

exam. Another confirmation of this fact was that many students (including all the participants of this study) continued to attend the School after passing the exam, and the School offered them a sophisticated program, which included classes in the Russian language, literature, history, geography etc. The students could take this exam as soon as they enrolled in high school. This was exactly what many of them did. However, at the time of data collection, there were students who had taken the exam two years earlier. This could indicate that the exam was not the ultimate goal for the School. The School's goal was to give the students material that would be as challenging as possible. The teachers, however, moderated the administration of these materials based on the appropriate capability of the student so as not to overwhelm the student and possibly end up losing their interest in the program and the school in general.

Cultural goals

Another main objective of the School is to encourage socialization of children in the Russian cultural milieu and create language and cultural environments where children "would want to speak Russian," as the school principal, Tanya, put it. This approach aligns with the teachers' belief that language learning should be interesting and relevant. This goal contributed to the School's high retention rate, even among students who have already passed the Russian language proficiency exam. This is what my participants said regarding the importance of this component of the School attendance:

> Katya: I really loved our theater classes and performances. We had so much fun preparing shows for different cultural celebrations. (Interview on May 23, 2018)
>
> Sofia: I liked it that we didn't just learn the Russian language but also celebrated many Russian holidays at the School… it made me feel that my family wasn't weird having, say, a New Year tree instead of a Christmas tree like my American friends… or celebrating the Victory Day… all my friends from the Russian

> School were doing the same and we did that at the School together… (Interview on February 10, 2018)

The School offers classes that, according to Tanya, were specifically designed for entertainment. For young children, there are classes in drawing, modeling, dancing, theater etc. For older children, there are classes on Russian history and theater. In addition, the School organizes extra-curricular events such as Russian holiday celebrations, student art exhibitions, and student performances. The culmination of the School's entertainment program is a Russian summer camp that the School organized every year in the California mountains. All of this was designed to keep the students interested in attending the School and to be motivated to learn more about their heritage language and culture.

The participant teachers believed that the Russian language and literature classes also should be sufficiently interesting in order to hold the attention and desire of the students. The teachers, who worked with younger children, specifically pointed out the importance that the classes needed to be fun and relevant in children's lives. Olga, for example, believed it was important to have an entertainment element to her classes. Lana mentioned the same thing. They did not want the students to be bored. Games and competitions were included in most of the classes I observed. The teaching process for them was not merely the teaching of language but also teaching about the world. It was important to develop reading skills, while making sure that the students understood the text and not just merely read it on a surface level. Alla also believed that classes should be interesting, though she treated this approach as something unusual for her. Here is what the three of them said:

> Olga: Yes, I also strive to do something interesting in class… that why I strive to have different types of activities so that it would not be just "question-answer-test…" I look for activities that would make them smile. (Interview on February

25, 2017)

> Lana: I am trying to explain them as clear as possible or to choose texts that would be in their zone of interests… for example, about school life… we read a story about a boy who spent all class under his desk. Or, for example, for March 8[7], I have a text "How I helped my mom," that is… to choose really relevant texts, of course… (Interview on February 18, 2017)

> Alla: My first goal… though it may seem strange to you… they should be interested… the classes should not be boring… (Interview on April 8, 2017)

All of these teachers emphasized the importance of maintaining the students' interest. Alla mentioned that it was especially important with children here in the USA. During her work in Russia, it had not been her main priority; however, at the Russian School because her current students were less proficient in Russian and the school was supplementary, it took on an ever-increasing importance. It was important to keep the children's interest in order to motivate them to continue learning the Russian language. Succeeding in these goals was crucial to encourage the children's involvement in the School's cultural events and their desire to speak Russian. The School's language practices described below serve as proof that the School generally achieved its cultural goal.

Language Management

School Level

Spolsky (2004) defines language management as any specific efforts to modify or influence language practice by any kind of language intervention. In the School, language management was implemented on different levels. First, the School intended to provide the

[7] March 8 – The International Women's Day – is widely celebrated in Russia, but its celebration is close to that of Mother's Day in the USA.

maximum level of exposure to Russian language and culture for all its students. All the classes as well as cultural events were conducted exclusively in Russian. The School organized a number of competitions such as literature quizzes as well as math and essay contests requiring the use of the Russian language, where the winners would get valuable prizes and recognition. In addition, there were a number of clubs within the School, such as a cooking club, an ecology club, and a journalism club. The latter club met once every other month and published a School magazine. Participation in the journalist club was considered prestigious among the students. Valentina called it "an elite club." The main requirement for the club members was to speak exclusively in Russian during the club meetings. I observed one such meeting. The conspicuous part of the meeting was the fact that the students were trying their level best to use Russian without reminders from Valentina who led the club:

> After Valentina finishes the introduction and assigns each group an article to work on, the students form into groups. I am sitting at the table where four girls from grades seven and eight are working. I know these girls from classes I have previously observed. It is obvious that they know each other well and feel at ease talking to each other as well as to their teacher. They are preparing an article about the upcoming Valentine's Day celebration in Russia. They are looking up some information on their phones and laptops. When they have to write something down, they use voice recognition on their phone and then email it to themselves. It's easier for them than typing in Russian. The conversation flows mostly in Russian, though it is obvious that they have to make an effort to keep it in one language. They are frequently looking for words all the time, asking each other and sometimes me for translations of words they don't know:
> "Whatever!" says one girl in English. Then she continues in Russian: "Wait, no! I know how to say this word in Russian… hmm… no, I don't… oh, yeah! It's *nu i chto*!"
> "Ha-ha! Yeah, that's right," other girl adds. Then she addresses a boy from a group that is sitting on a couch at the other part of the room: "Alex! Hey, dude!" She stops for a second thinking and asks the girls from her group: "How do you say 'dude' in Russian?"
> "I know! I know! It's *chuvak*… I went to Russia last summer. They use this word all the time," helps another girl. "I really like this word. It sounds like Russian rap music." All laugh.

> Such interactions where a student automatically uses an English word and then asks her peers for help happen frequently. On a couple of occasions, the girls will say an entire phrase or a sentence in English. They immediately get a "speak Russian" (said in Russian, of course) from their peers. (Field notes, February 11, 2017)

During my interview with Valentina, she explained that because the students tended to use mostly English between themselves when they got older, there were a number of events at the School where participation required them to speak exclusively in Russian to each other. The teachers emphasized participation as valuable and "prestigious" (as Valentina put it) to encourage the students to follow the rules even if speaking English would have been easier for them. Valentina did not believe it was reasonable to ask her students to switch into Russian while they were talking between themselves during school breaks. I did not hear her doing that while Lana and Olga, who worked with younger children, asked their students to use Russian in these circumstances frequently. Lana said in her interview:

> Whenever I hear English, I say, 'What is that? What do I hear? Is here somebody speaking English?' They always switch right away. I tell them that we are at the Russian School and this means that we should speak Russian. I also try to explain to them why it is important. (Interview on February 18, 2017)

In addition, the Russian School held reading contests for the elementary school students. Each week, they would report on what they had read in Russian during the past week. The teacher would randomly ask some children to tell the class their impressions of the stories they had read. All the students had notebooks where they wrote down a number of pages they read each week. At the end of each semester, the student who read the most number of pages received a reward from the School. This was one of the ways the School encouraged younger students to read in Russian. In Lana's first grade reading class, about one third of the class time was dedicated to discussing their home reading at the beginning of the new semester. Most of the

students boasted about what they read and were eager to retell their stories as well as to comment on what their peers had read.

Class Level

In the Russian language and literature classes, the main language management strategy was to encourage a conversation in Russian rather than explicitly correct it. This meant that the teachers preferred to concentrate on the students' achievements in Russian language acquisition rather than on deficiencies in their competence in the language.

Many (although not all) of the teachers emphasized the importance of allowing the students to express themselves and did not correct their code switching and grammar mistakes made during oral speech. Olga, in particular, said that she preferred not to interrupt the flow of speech in order to make corrections:

> My main approach is… if I see that there is a conversation going on, I never interject in order to correct mistakes because it is better that they speak broken Russian without [grammatical] agreements and make mistakes as long as they communicate… (Interview on February 25, 2017)

Olga believed that communication was a priority for her students. She would not interrupt simply to make corrections as long as they understood each other. She mentioned that this was especially important for students who were not fluent in Russian and required more help. In the classes I observed, the corrections were not usually done during the time of communication and discussions but rather during the time of reading out loud and writing, that is, during the activities where corrections would not interrupt communication.

The teachers noted that the main area of the children's struggle in oral speech was due to their limited vocabulary and mispronunciation of words, usually by stressing a wrong syllable,

which significantly affects pronunciation of a word in Russian. To help the students in these areas, they often played pronunciation and vocabulary games at the beginning of the class. Lana and Olga used such games in every class I observed. While working on vocabulary expansion, within the framework of a game, a teacher could check the students' understanding of certain key vocabulary and help them to learn new words.

The following exchange, recorded in my field notes, took place in Lana's reading class for first grade students. It occurred in the beginning of the class, after working on pronunciation. Lana often began classes with warm up exercises for her students with similar games prior to moving into a literature topic. Such games usually facilitated discussion on the meaning of the words and allowed the teacher to determine if there was sufficient understanding of the concepts behind them and also gave the children an opportunity to learn new vocabulary:

> They [the class] continue into a language game. Lana reads sets of words and the students have to name a word that does not belong there. She reads the following sets:
>
> Apple – pear – cucumber – plum
> Bread – milk – cottage cheese – sour cream
> […]
>
> The first set produces a long (about 3 min) discussion as to whether a cucumber is a fruit. One of the students says, "Cucumbers are fruits. That is what scientists think now. I read about it."
> The other student adds, "They are fruits because they have those... I forgot how in Russian…"
> The teacher helps, "Seeds?"
> "Yes, seeds."
>
> Some students do not agree. The discussion is very loud and heated. Children argue and laugh. Notably, there is not a single English word used during this discussion although most of the children were speaking English between themselves during the break. Finally, Lana suggests excluding "cucumber" based on the fact that it is not sweet. The children agree.

> The second set causes difficulties as well. All the children say that "bread" does not belong in the set but cannot explain why. They do not know how to say "dairy products" in Russian and are trying to go around it:
>
> "Well, it is not liquid," says one child.
>
> "Cottage cheese is not liquid either," notices Lana.
>
> "It is not as milky," suggests another student.
>
> "I would even say it isn't milky at all," smiles Lana. "It is not a dairy product, right?"
>
> The children agree and she asks them to repeat this phrase all together. (Field notes, February 4, 2017)

This interaction consisted of a few steps: 1) introducing words, 2) checking the understanding of the words and concepts (the latter it is especially important for bilingual children, the teacher should be sensitive enough to analyze where a child does not understand a concept behind a word or simply does not know a Russian word for it), 3) help with unknown words, and 4) reinforcement.

In this particular exchange, during the discussion, the children demonstrated the understanding of all the introduced words but had some difficulties attempting to categorize them and showed that they lacked some vocabulary in Russian (with the first set of words) and the concept (in the second set) to provide arguments in support of their opinion. In both cases the teacher provided the necessary vocabulary. However, the children's strategies were different in these two cases. In the first one, a student clearly demonstrated that he simply did not know a Russian equivalent for a familiar word by saying: "I forgot how to say in Russian…" In the second case, the students most likely did not know the general term used for dairy products. I make this claim because they did not try to use an English equivalent or stated that they only

knew it in English as they typically did when it was a matter of not knowing a word in one of their languages. Although the teacher provided the necessary word in both cases, she only made the class repeat it in the second case because nobody in class had known it (in Russian, "dairy products" literally means "milk-based products" so it did not require additional explanation).

My observations of this class and other classes demonstrated that such language games not only helped students to speak more and provide arguments for their opinion but they also provided opportunities to learn new vocabulary and new concepts. The students were encouraged to speak, to argue, to express their opinion and demonstrate their knowledge while relying on the teacher's help when they did not know how to express themselves. Such an approach kept them engaged and interested in attending the School.

Language Practices

Language Environment at the School

The location that the School rented seemed a bit peculiar to me. It was a language school that used the premises of a completely different bilingual school at a Jewish cultural center. All of the classrooms had posters and children's works in English and Hebrew. In addition, on Saturdays, it became even more culturally diverse when these Russian-speaking families filled up the space and the teachers of Russian put their Russian language posters everywhere. In order to get to the school's lobby, one needed to pass by a Rabbi's office. There were quotes from the Scriptures and the Ten Commandments hung on the walls in some classrooms but the Russian school was purely secular. In the classrooms for younger children, there were works of students who studied there during the week. Some chairs even had names on them. The students of the Russian School obviously did not belong to that space but the teachers managed to create a very

special environment that some of my adolescent participants called their second home. One thing that might have contributed to this feeling was the fact that there were many parents on the school premises at all times. Some of them volunteered for the School, and some were just waiting for their children to be finished with their classes. Generally, I heard most of the parents speaking Russian to their children but there were some exceptions.

As for the children themselves, they were more likely to use English during breaks. I found it interesting that many of them can speak Russian but use English to express strong emotions: "Awesome!," "Great!" or even "Shit!" The same way, many students inserted Russian words into their English speech, especially when they were talking about the School and school events. The older the children were, the more English was used in their interactions. Younger children easily switched between languages if one of them would utilize a sentence in another language. For instance, the following conversation occurred between three first-grade students right before one of Lana's classes that I observed:

> Student 1 (in Russian): I lost a tooth yesterday (is showing her friends an empty space between her teeth)
> Student 2 (in Russian): Cool! I lost two around Christmas, one just fell out and one a dentist took out.
> Student 3 (in English): My mom always takes me to the dentist when a tooth is wobbly.
> Student 1 (in English): Really? I hate going there...
> Student 2 (in English): Yeah, me too…
> Student 4 (approaching them and speaking Russian): Hi girls! Have you seen Sasha today?
> Student 1 (in Russian): Hi! No.
> Student 2 (in Russian): Hi! I saw her earlier, before the last class.
> Student 3 (in Russian): Hi!
> Student 4 (addressing Student 1 in Russian): Oh, you lost a tooth!
>
> The students continue a conversation about teeth in Russian. (Field notes, February 4, 2017)

As can be seen, in this interaction the entire group switched first into English when Student 3 started speaking it. However, they switched back to Russian when a new person joined them speaking in Russian. This type of changing the language of a conversation was typical during student conversation. However, I did not hear students addressing teachers in English or vice versa.

Attitude towards the Use of English

In the abstract to her dissertation, Lyutykh (2011) suggests that in Russian Saturday schools, the "parents and teachers appeared wary of the idea of using English to support Russian literacy and held generally negative views about bilingual behaviors of the children." However, in this school, the situation differed significantly. Russian was the main language of communication in and outside of class though it was not stated in the School rules that the School is a Russian only environment, and the use of English was not explicitly prohibited. Instead, English was sometimes used as an asset that helped improve children's competence in Russian. Nevertheless, the main emphasis was on speaking Russian and advancing in the command of this language. Any language practice that was believed by a teacher not to jeopardize this objective was acceptable. The School allows the teachers to choose their language practices and they choose them based on parents' requests, students' needs, and their own beliefs.

According to the students' background data provided by the school principal, Russian was not the only home language for all students. There were a number of students in the School who also used Mandarin Chinese and Spanish, among other languages, at home. In addition, all of the students attended American English-speaking schools during the week and were heavily

exposed to the English-speaking environment. The School and its teachers took this into consideration. They saw the bilingualism of their students as an advantage and did not ignore their knowledge of English as shown in the examples below. The principal noted in the interview that this had not been the School policy from the very beginning. However, the rules had been adjusted to serve the needs of the students and their parents:

> When the School was first founded, we had a strict rule to use Russian only at all times, including breaks. We had language games for children in the hallways during the intermissions. All the parents, teachers, and children had to speak Russian all the time while in school. Of course, it was easier when we had only about 30 students attending the School. However, later, as the School began growing, it became simply impossible. Now we have around 300 students enrolled and not all of them are fluent in Russian. And we have children from families where only one parent speaks Russian and when a non-Russian speaking parent brings a child to the School it is impossible to force him to speak Russian. So… the "Russian only" policy is impossible to implement at this point. However, 97% of the classes are conducted in Russian. The only exceptions are the classes on science and math for middle and high school students. Well, it simply makes no sense to teach them in Russian or to use the Russian terminology because the courses are designed to help the students with these subjects in their American schools…. All the teachers are native speakers of Russian and teach in Russian but there are no strict rules as to how they should address the use of English. (Interview on April 8, 2017)

The principal pointed out that it was impossible to implement a "Russian only" policy because such a policy would go against the students' and parents' everyday language practices. In addition, it would not address the students' needs. This was true for the language use in school in general because the School offers a variety of classes, not all of them language related.

However, the situation in language classes was a little different. Some Russian language teachers noted that they did not encourage the use of English in the classroom and avoided using translation if at all possible. However, all the teachers pointed out that the students were all

different and what worked with one group would not necessarily have worked with another. For example, Lana noted:

> I have another group of second graders… you haven't visited their classes. They are... different…their Russian is not that strong… with them, I am forced to employ translation more often. (Interview on February 18, 2017)

Here, the teacher said that she was "forced" to translate – that is, to use English. She would have preferred not to do it. One of the reasons why the teachers sometimes refrained from using English in class is due to the parents' request, as Lana indicated:

> We try to balance the language use… but there are parents who are adamantly opposed to the use of English in teaching… they say that if you are a Russian school… then how can English be used? There are no options for them. Adamantly opposed, yeah… (Interview on February 18, 2017)

Lana did not see the use of English as an inadmissible option for her teaching. However, she had to adjust her teaching strategies in order to comply with some parents' requests. Such parents did not see their children' knowledge of English as a resource, upon which the teachers could build to improve students' Russian language skills. This was confirmed in interviews with some of the parents. Although not all parents were against using English at the School, Valya R, for example, noted that she enrolled her daughter in the Russian School "to balance the use of English and Russian. What I liked about the teaching there was that there was absolutely no English… because English was the language my daughter used at her English-speaking school all week long."

The teachers had different attitudes towards the use of English in class but generally agreed that it could help the students as long as it was necessary and was not overused. Valentina, who taught the Russian language and literature to middle and high school aged

children, did not use English as a resource and did not make comparisons between the languages. She claimed it was not necessary with her students: "Their vocabulary is large enough that I can explain pretty much any word to them in Russian without switching into English… that's not an issue with most of the students." However, teachers of younger students sometimes utilized English for such purposes. For example, in two classes I observed, Alla, who taught grammar to elementary school aged children, used comparisons between Russian and English grammar and asked children to translate from English into Russian to see the difference between languages:

> They review cases they have covered before and proceed to a new case. Today, it is Dative. Alla invites students to check how it works in English. To do so, she asks students why they might need to know Russian and what they can possibly do with it in the future. When they suggest that they might be translators she says that's how they are going to practice. She gives them handouts with four sentences in English and asks them to write down the translation. After that, they discuss the translations and find correlations between the two languages. (Field notes, February 4, 2017)

She was the only teacher I observed employing translation to explain grammar in this way. However, in a few other cases, teachers translated for the students to show similarities and/or differences between the languages. In the example above, Alla did not simply use English because of the lack of other options but utilizes the language as a resource to produce positive language transfer. I learned during my interview with Alla that she did not know anything about the studies on language transfer. It was her intuitional approach. She noted:

> I am trying to provide parallels between English and Russian all the time because I understand that English is more understandable and closer to them. When we compare, it is easier for them to understand. (Interview on April 8, 2017)

Alla was not the only teacher who believed that the English language could be used as a resource. Lana also thought that the student's knowledge of English could be utilized in class in order to make an explanation clearer as long as the teacher and the students did not switch into

English. However, Lana emphasized that such cases were rare. They were rather an exception from her language practices. When I asked her about the use of English I had observed in her class, she noted:

> Of course, it is helpful to use knowledge they already have… yes, no doubts… but you should not emphasize it, should not switch into English to explain something but when it is necessary, you should use it in some cases. (Interview on February 18, 2017)

In this way, the children's bilingual knowledge was taken into consideration and was used as a resource to improve their Russian skills. However, the main emphasis remained on advancing in Russian. English served as a resource and was taken into consideration but Russian remained the language of communication between teachers and students.

Students' Preference for Russian

There is a great deal of discussion in the scholarly literature related to the use of two languages in the education of bilinguals. García (2009), for instance, advocates the use of two languages in classrooms because switching between languages – what she refers to as translanguaging, defined as "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different features of various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential" (p. 121) – is a natural communicational practice of many bilingual children.

However, the traditional approach to teaching bilinguals supports the separation of languages. In the Russian School, the latter approach was more common. The general requirement was to speak Russian and to use English as a last resort. My observations and teachers' comments of students' language use demonstrated that although the students

commonly spoke English between themselves during the breaks, they rarely used it during the class and cultural events. Moreover, they easily and naturally switched into Russian even during breaks if requested by a teacher or suggested by one of the interlocutors. On multiple occasions, I observed that if one of the students would add a phrase in Russian into a conversation conducted in English, the group would automatically switch into Russian. The data from interviews, below, illustrates how the teachers answered my question regarding the students' use of English:

> Lana (K-2 grades): I tell them: It is a Russian school and here we only speak Russian. If you want say something in English, you have a break for that…" but actually, in the beginning, I didn't even say anything about the break… "what is that? What am I hearing? We only speak Russian here…" and they switch… they always switch…
>
> Olga (2-6 grades): Very rarely… I mean they really try to avoid it as much as possible. Of course, during the breaks they speak English to each other anyway and some of them can use English during class… but that happens when they want to express their thoughts but only remember an English word… this happens… may be in 5%... all other time, it is Russian only…
>
> Valentina (grades 7-12): They never answer me in English. Well, there are some kids who only come to the School for short period of time… a year or so… some of them answered me in English but those children, who have been in the School for a long time, no… they don't…

I see a consistent dynamic here: The older the children were, the more likely they were to use English while talking to each other but at the same time, the older they were, the less likely they were to use English during the class and cultural events. The students developed cultural and language awareness that affected their language choice. Here is what the School graduates told me answering a question on how they choose what language to use:

> Dima V.: I always try to see what language is more comfortable for a person I talk to… For me, it doesn't matter what language to use. I know that my parents and my teachers at the Russian School expect me to speak Russian, so I do…(Interview on April 28, 2018)

> Sveta T.: I never think what language to use... it is just natural... at the Russian School, I've been using Russian all the time… I cannot even imagine speaking English to my teachers here simply because I have always been talking Russian to them… but with many of my friends here I speak English… for the same reason… that's how it's always been. (Interview on April 28, 2018)
>
> Sofia K.: If I know a person speaks Russian, I will speak Russian to him… especially with adults… especially with my teachers from the Russian School (laughing)… (Interview on February 10, 2018)
>
> Katya R.: I love speaking Russian and just use it every time I can. Definitely, with my teachers from the Russian School... I try to use it with my classmates from there as well but they don't' like speaking Russian anymore… though we use a lot of Russian words when we talk. (Interview on May 23, 2018)

These students followed the patterns to which they were accustomed: speaking Russian to Russian-speaking adults. All of them when given a choice chose to give me an interview in Russian because, according to their own words, I was a native speaker of Russian. They preferred to speak Russian to those who, in their opinion, were better in Russian and vice versa. In addition, some students appreciated an opportunity to practice Russian as much as possible because they realized that they could lose it without practice. For instance, Sofia, who was a high school senior at the time of the interview, told me that she was concerned that she could lose most of her Russian if she goes to college to another city and would not have an opportunity to talk to her parents and people from the Russian School often. At the Russian School, many students naturally spoke Russian to their teachers and "other adults" because it seemed natural since it had been a part of their upbringing.

Conclusion

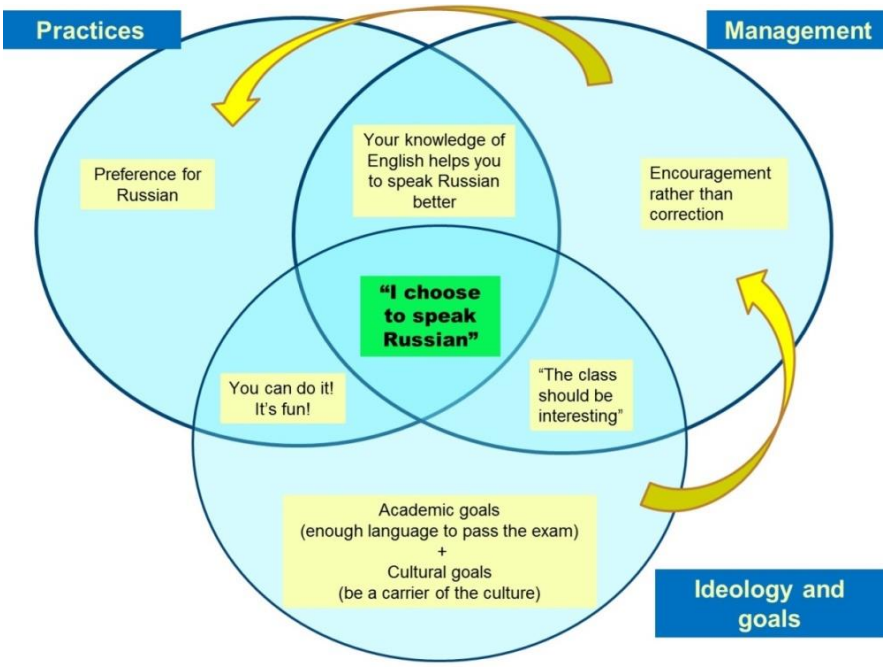

Figure 5.1. A Graphic Representation of the School's Language Policy

This chapter aims to answer the question: How do language policies in supplementary schooling support bilingual-biliterate upbringing? Figure 5.1 illustrates the School's language policy and how it contributed to preserving Russian as a heritage language to second-generation Russian immigrants by encouraging them to choose to speak Russian. Such preference for Russian was a part of the School's goals; it was further expressed through the School's language management and resulted in language practices. In addition to clear academic goals, the School aimed to integrate the children into the Russian culture through Russian practices. It did so through organizing cultural activities and immersing students into language learning in class by providing interesting and relevant learning materials. Although there were contradictions

between the in teacher's and administration's approach to the academic goals, the teachers found a way to adjust their work in order to ensure that the goals they established in their classrooms were attainable for the students. One of the main language management strategies was to encourage students to speak and to concentrate on their achievements rather than on their deficiencies. Most of the teachers understood that the students were bilinguals with English being their dominant language, and they used English as an asset in teaching Russian. As a result, they created a bilingual environment when the use of Russian was preferred by the students in most situations.

These policies were not always specified in the School documents but were often constructed in everyday practice by the teachers and school administration. The School's language policy essentially had the following model:

1. Initially, the School provided immersive exposure into the heritage language and the culture from an early age.
2. The second important component was an appreciation of the students' prior linguistic knowledge without strict judgment.
3. And ultimately this resulted in students developing interest in the Russian language and a preference for speaking Russian.

In essence, the School provided not only supplementary education but also a supplementary language environment that heritage speakers often lack. Furthermore, it played an essential role in forming the students' identity as bilingual and bicultural people, which is further discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

ADOLESCENTS AND THEIR PERSPECTIVE

All the parent participants whom I interviewed for the current study noted that with their children approaching adulthood, their role as leaders in establishing language rules at home had been either diminished or had little further impact. This occurred due to the growing demands from the children's English-speaking high schools and the expansion of their circle of interest outside of home. The parents believed they had done as much as they could to pass along the Russian language and at that point, it was up to their adolescent children to decide what to do with the knowledge they had received.

In this chapter, I discuss the perspectives of the adolescents, including their attitudes towards bilingualism, their language beliefs, and language practices. This chapter starts with the description of the participants' language learning experiences from the children's point of view. Then, I describe the role of the Russian School and peer influence in the adolescents' life as bilinguals. After that, I discuss the adolescents' language practices and language beliefs. Finally, I conclude with my observations regarding factors that had an impact on the adolescents' language practices.

Participants

Data presented in this chapter are based on the surveys and individual interviews with five Russian-speaking adolescents who were recent graduates of the Russian School at the time of the data collection. All the adolescents in this study were second generation immigrants. At the time of the interview, they were high school students receiving their primarily education in

English. However, all had received supplementary education from the Russian Saturday School for at least nine years. Table 6.1 provides a brief summary of information about the participants. For four out of five adolescents, both parents were raised in Russian-speaking countries and came to the United States after they graduated high school. Katya's and Sveta's parents also received higher education in Russia. Masha was the only adolescent-participant whose mother did not speak Russian. Masha's father Ivan came to the USA from Belarus at the age of 12 and considered himself a heritage speaker of Russian with English being his dominant and preferred language.

Table 6.1. Summary of the Adolescent Participants

Pseudonym	Age	American School Grade
Sveta T.	17	12
Katya R.	17	12
Masha M.	14	9
Dima V.	16	10
Sofia K.	17	11

Sveta (the elder of two daughters of preschool teacher Nadya T.) and Katya (the younger of two daughters of real estate agent Valya R.) were high school seniors already accepted to college and ready to leave their parents' homes. The girls were friends through the Russian School although they lived in different cities and attended different weekly schools. Sveta also had a close relationship with Sofia, the daughter of Tanya K., the Russian School principal.

These two girls claimed to be best friends. Their parents and teachers stated that all the girls used English almost exclusively in communication between themselves.

Sofia was the only child in her family. Sveta was the older of two sisters and claimed to talk to her younger sister mostly in English. Katya was the younger of two sisters and, according to her own and her mother's words, communicated to her older sister mostly in Russian. Masha (the elder daughter of lawyer Ivan M.) and Dima (the middle son of Russian preschool owner Tanya V.) were slightly younger than their classmates in the Russian School and did not have close relationships with Katya, Sofia, and Sveta. Nevertheless, they were friends with other students from the School. In addition, Masha supported online relationships with native speakers of Russian from Russia and Estonia, who she had met while attending a Russian summer camp in Estonia. Dima had two brothers, with whom he claimed to talk mostly in Russian.

Language Learning Experiences

Lanza (2004) and Montrul (2015) claim that bilinguals' attitude towards their languages, especially towards their heritage language, is closely related to the language input they received during their formative years, the level of exposure to each language as well as to the emotions they associate with the use of each language. Therefore, prior to discussing the adolescents' language beliefs and practices, it is important to learn about their language experiences and the roles that Russian and English played in their lives through the years of childhood and adolescence.

The five adolescents I interviewed for this part of the study shared many similarities in terms of their language learning journey. However, each of them had experiences which were

unique. All of them were born in the United States and came from middle class families where at least one parent was a Russian-speaking immigrant from the former Soviet Union. The common trait among their parents was their desire to pass along the Russian language to their children. Although four out of five parents reported a high level of proficiency in English, all of them consciously chose to communicate with their children exclusively in Russian from birth.

When asked about their memories in regards to learning their languages, all the adolescents reported remembering time when they spoke absolutely no English. All of them acquired the English language at school. However, they had quite different memories about that process. For instance, Sveta T., who was 17 at the time of the interview and did not consider the Russian language relevant to her current life, recalled her experience of acquiring English as something difficult and shameful. She began actively learning it when she attended kindergarten in New Jersey, where her family lived for about a year. She was the only student in her class who had to take ESL classes. Being very sociable, she remembered it as a shameful experience that she did not like:

> I remember how I had to go to these *speech classes*[8] in the middle of the day… and I really did not like that… because I had to leave everyone and it was so shameful… they showed me some pictures and… I didn't like it… I don't remember that being difficult… it's just… I didn't want to go… (Interview on April 28th, 2018)

Sveta isolated and that her language made her different from others. What was the most unpleasant for her was being separated from her friends. She felt shame for having to learn English and for being different than her classmates. The feeling of belonging was very important

[8] The conversations with Sveta, Dima, Katya and Masha were conducted in Russian. The words that the adolescents utilized in English are in italics.

to Sveta and later played an important role in the integration process with her friends from the Russian School.

Katya R., who was 17 at the time of the interview and held very close ties to the Russian language and culture, also had difficulties while acquiring English but for different reasons. She recalled feeling unintelligent due to her lack of understanding of English. She could not follow the commands of the teacher and this made her not only feel uncomfortable but also made her question her mental abilities:

> When I went to kindergarten, it was very difficult because I did not understand at all what I was being told… we started math, English… I had to learn all of that without understanding what the teacher was saying… and I had situations when the teacher would explain something to me and I did not understand her and she would get mad at me… and… I had to take those… 'English Second Language' classes and… I believe I was in the third grade when I graduated from them… I didn't think I was smart because I didn't understand English… (Interview on May 23rd, 2018)

Katya did not feel comfortable in the environment where she did not understand the language. The teacher's reaction supported those feelings. For Katya, understanding English was synonymous to being smart. She made this connection a few times during our interview:

> …later, when… I was, say, like in the 6th grade… when I was about eleven… then everything was normal. I thought I was smart, I could communicate in English without difficulties and understood everything. (Interview on May 23rd, 2018)

Like Sveta and Katya, Dima V., who was 16 at the time of the interview and considered the Russian language an important part of his life and identity, also began learning English in kindergarten. However, his experience was slightly different. He did not attend any ESL classes and recalled the experience of learning English as a game or solving a puzzle:

> English in kindergarten?.. It was all based on intuition… I remember that when other kids would finish their tasks they all were saying "*I'm done!*" And I was

> like… hmmm, this probably means "That's it"… I was picking up their words and was trying to make my own language… and like this… slowly but surely, I picked it up… and by the first grade I could talk without problems… and without ESL classes. (Interview on April 28, 2018)

Dima was trying to understand what his classmates were saying through the context of their speech. This did not mean it was easy; however, it was enjoyable and was a task he had to accomplish. Dima relished the memory and during the interview, went into detail describing that time. Unlike Katya, he did not associate his lack of mastery of the English language with being unintelligent.

Masha M, who was 14 at the time of the interview and used Russian primarily as a means of communication with her monolingual Russian friends, also did not recall any difficulties with learning English. She was exposed to the English-speaking environment earlier and did not have any memories of her first encounters with English. She did not take ESL classes and claimed that she learned English "easily and painlessly via communication."

Sofia K, who was 17 at the time of the interview and, according to her mother had an especially difficult time adjusting to her English-speaking preschool and kindergarten in the beginning, preferred not to talk about that period during the interview.

Each of the participants had a different experience of learning English and a different attitude towards it. However, all of them strived to acquire a sufficient level of proficiency in it as soon as possible in order to become a part of a group while exposed to the school environment. As early as preschool and Kindergarten, the English language became not only a means of communication and obtaining education but also a measure of intelligence and belonging.

Language Preferences and the Russian School

As the children grew older, the English language gained a more significant role in their lives. However, the home domain remained the primary place for the use of the Russian language. In addition, all of them were later exposed to the context of the Russian School where they had additional opportunities to support and develop their Russian skills. The language practices of all the adolescent participants had many similarities in terms of how they used Russian primarily at home and at the Russian School. Sveta, Katya, and Sofia even noted that they basically lived in two worlds. They had two completely separate circles of communication: one formed of people from their American weekly school and the second formed of people from the Russian School.

The adolescents confirmed what their parents said about the meaning of the Russian School in their lives: it had been an important place of socialization and learning about their cultural heritage. They all had warm memories of the time had spent there:

> Katya: I didn't even feel that it was a school… it was more like… I don't know… an event of some sort… like… it was just fun to be there… like visiting friends… (Interview on May 23rd, 2018)

> Sofia: I have a lot of good memories from it. I really liked the whole experience. I really liked the Russian School. It wasn't like regular school. Regular school I associated with not as much fun. Not something I looked forward to but the Russian school was definitely something I looked forward to. (Interview on February 9, 2018)

> Sveta: I really liked it here… I liked the people… I was always looking forward to Saturdays… my classmates were really fun. (Interview on April 28th, 2018)

The Russian School was often associated with fun and socializing with friends more than with studies. However, the adolescents also mentioned that it was a valuable experience from an

academic standpoint. They did not simply improve their Russian skills at the School but also learned a great deal of history, geography and mathematics:

> Sveta: I learned a lot here, of course… I know Russian history really well and they don't teach it at school at all… well, in my American school, we have never talked about Russian history… so it's good that I've been here to learn it… It was interesting and important… not only for the language… Russia is a big part of the world…(Interview on April 28th, 2018)

> Dima: Well, even if I didn't like some classes here, all of them served me well… I studied math here… completely different approach but it helped me a lot in my American school…. Natural science was also helpful… I really liked it… and history and geography! We had an amazing teacher. In comparison with the history I studied in my American school… huge difference! Right now we are learning about World War II… and they don't even talk about the Eastern front… how is it even possible?! Nothing about the important battles on Soviet territory… (Interview on April 28th, 2018)

Dima and Sveta were especially appreciative of learning not only the Russian language itself but the valuable information they could not learn in their American school, such as a different take on historical events or alternative approaches to solving math problems.

Although not all the adolescents liked the classes, all stated they were valuable and they learned to appreciate them as time passed. Katya in particular noticed that initially, she went to the school to spend time with her friends. However, she later realized that she had an opportunity to get better grades than other students. The latter fact motivated her to study harder:

> Well, when I first came to the Russian School, I wasn't the best student, to be honest… I didn't even try… I was going there to have fun… my best friend was in the same class with me and we didn't even bother to listen to the teachers… we were just sitting there, talking and drawing… but later, when I was like ten… I realized that I wasn't that bad in comparison with others… I understood more and could take advantage of that and to prove that I could be a good student… so… I changed my attitude towards the classes and homework… and everything changed… I became an A student… that was interesting… (Interview on May 23rd, 2018)

Katya's change in attitude towards the classes at the Russian School helped her not only obtain better grades but to also increase her self-esteem. While she was still not feeling very intelligent in her American school due to her struggles with English, the Russian School became a place of proving herself smarter than she had previously thought.

Sveta, on the other hand, was not a big fan of the academic part of her Russian schooling. She noted that she realized the importance of the studies but did not like them. The only reason she went to the Russian school was for entertainment. This perfectly aligned with the main motivation of her mother, Nadya T., who stated in her interview that she enrolled Sveta in the School so she would have more friends:

> No, no academic motivation… To be honest, I have never thought something like "I will enroll Sveta in the School to improve her Russian," for some reason… This was a place for her to meet with her Russian friends. (Interview on March 17th, 2018)

This idea of the Russian School playing an important role in the socialization process was shared by all the parents, although the rest of them also valued the language input the School provided. In addition, the School Principal Tanya K. also confirmed that socialization into Russian culture was one of the main goals of the School.

However, regardless of their previous experiences and despite the Russian School being an important place of socialization, all the adolescents reported English as their strongest language at the time of the interview. Although they had difficulty determining what language they would call their native language, there was a clear consensus on English being the strongest one:

> Masha: I never know how to answer the question about my native language because… you know… my first language was Russian, then Chinese, then English… but I speak English better and I think in English…(Interview on March 5th, 2018)

> Sofia: To an extent, it is easier for me to speak English… yeah, to a small extent…(Interview on February 9, 2018)
>
> Katya: Well, Russian used to be my strongest language but now… I feel like English is taking over… (Interview on May 23rd, 2018)
>
> Dima: Russian was my first language but now I probably speak English better. (Interview on April 28th, 2018)

All the adolescents, when asked about their language preferences, told me that English was slightly easier for them to use but they would prefer to speak Russian to me because I am a native speaker of Russian and they knew me through their Russian School. They also claimed that the home and Russian School environment triggered the use of the Russian language, especially with "adults" as Sofia put it:

> Interviewer: So, let me see if I understand you correctly. If you know that a person speaks Russian, you would speak Russian to him or her. Correct?
>
> Sofia: Yes, especially with adults... 100%.
>
> Interviewer: And adults for you are..?
>
> Sofia: I'd say not 18-year-olds but I'd say... about college... yeah... someone more leaning towards my parents' age...
>
> Interviewer: Ok, so... but if it's someone your age...
>
> Sofia: I might try to see if they are comfortable in Russian. But most people I know... who speak like me... they are more comfortable in English.
>
> Interviewer: So... Just to make sure that I understand you correctly: the reason why you primarily speak English to your Russian-speaking friends is that they are more comfortable in English?
>
> Sofia: Yeah. (Interview on February 9, 2018)

Sofia was more likely to speak Russian to bilingual adults and more likely to speak English to her bilingual peers. This approach was shared by Sveta, who was her close friend at the time of the interview. Both of the girls specifically pointed out that they spoke mostly English to each other because it was "just easier" and "it had always been this way." Sveta and Sofia both associated Russian with the language of "adults". They used it primarily in communication with their parents, grandparents, parents' of their friends, and the teachers from the Russian School. The School and home were the two main domains where Russian was spoken by all the adolescents. However, at the time of the interview, all of them had approached a stage of their lives where they could choose their own language practices and set up priorities in many areas, including the language use. At this stage, all of them had assumed agency over their language priorities and demonstrated significant variations in language practices.

Language Practices and Preferences in Adolescence

Caldas (2006) notes that by middle adolescence, parents tend to have almost no influence on their children's language choices. What matters instead are friends. Adolescents are inclined to prefer the language they chose in communication with their peers. Peer influence affects all spheres of their lives. Here is how Eckert (1989) describes it:

> In secondary school, where the social structure of the student cohort dominates virtually all aspects of life in the institution, choices in all domains are restricted not so clearly by adult judgment as by peer social boundaries." (p. 12)

The notion of peer control in heritage language maintenance is based on Harris's Group Socialization Theory (Harris, 1995). She claims that a child's socialization is a highly context-dependent form of learning, whereby children learn different patterns of behavior inside and outside of the home. Furthermore, Harris claims that this distinction between home and outside

the home behavior is particularly relevant in bilingual and bicultural situations where usage of the home language is connected to behavioral, cognitive, and emotional responses that occurred at home while the other language is relevant to the situation that occur outside the home. The findings of Caldas and Carol-Caldas (2000, 2002) bring empirical evidence for Group Socialization theory by pointing out that the children's preferences for either of their two languages was highly sensitive to the environmental context. This in-depth case study underscored the overwhelming influence of peer control on language practices when the children enter into adolescence. It stresses that children favor the behavioral system of the peer group outside the home over the one they acquire at home. Harris used the case of bilingual families to illustrate this claim because ethnic minority children tend to shift from the heritage language to the dominant one. Consequently, when adolescents are not exposed to the contexts where they have an opportunity to practice their heritage language with their peers, it limits practicing the language and leads to less interest in it. Schwarz (2012) also points out an overwhelming influence of peer control on language practice. This is especially relevant for teenagers and proved to be true for the adolescents in this study: although all the adolescents claimed to value their heritage language and used it in communication with their peers to some degree, those who tended to use Russian in communication outside of their home and their circle of friends from the Russian School were more likely to choose other practices in Russian such as watching TV, browsing the Internet, listening to music, and reading for pleasure.

In the present study, the influence of peer control on the adolescents' language choices was clearly pronounced. English gradually became the primary language of communication between the adolescents from the Russian School. While asked why they would not speak Russian to their Russian-speaking friends, some students noted that many of their friends do not

want to speak Russian or do not have high enough level of language proficiency to support a conversation in Russian. Parents also claimed that the main reason why their children switched into English during communication with their friends from the School was the fact that more and more of their friends would prefer English due to the lack of proficiency in Russian. Thus, they were led into using the English language by their peers. However, the influence of peer control within this group had another side. Although all of the parents reported the switch into English in child to child communication as a sad reality, the adolescents had slightly different perspectives on this subject. In particular, they stated that the Russian language was an important part of their communication with their peers. Although they indeed spoke most of the time in English, their ability to speak Russian as well as share experiences associated with the Russian School gave them a sense of belonging to a group:

> Sveta: We do speak Russian sometimes… in front of adults (laughing)… there are some words we always use in Russian… such as 'lager'… We don't say *camp* because our experience of summer camps is associated with Russian… 'lager,' 'vozhaty,' 'pohod'[9] – all these words are from our Russian experience… and we use them in Russian…(Interview on April 28th, 2018)

> Sofia: My friends... I have my Russian friends who used to go here. And we do primarily use English but we do also use Russian a lot. Sometimes we only use Russian when we want to talk about someone who is in front of us or in supermarket we say something like, "Oh, look at that person!" We always use Russian when we are trying to say something secret which is fun because it's kinda a secret language between us. So, it's definitely still used between us but I do feel like I still speak with them more in English. (Interview on February 9, 2018)

> Katya: Well, yeah… we speak English but we mix… I can be speaking and I can forget a word… for example how to say [Katya is looking around for an example and picks up a cup, which is "stakan" in Russian]… yeah, *a cup*… so, I can say "I got my stakan"… and they also do it… and nobody thinks it is weird… this is a part of our…(Interview on May 23rd, 2018)

[9] Summer camp, summer camp instructor, hiking.

> Dima: With my friends from the Russian School we speak in Russian at our American School. It's like… we are Russians and can show everyone that we are Russians and can speak another language… it's considered cool among us… but here… we mostly speak English…(Interview on April 28th, 2018)

The adolescents appreciated their ability to use the Russian language and their ability to share some content that others would not have understood. Sharing the language or even the mere knowledge of the ability to use it created a sense of belonging. The latter was especially interesting in Dima's case. He was the only adolescent participant who reported having Russian speaking friends in his American school. He claimed to speak Russian to them in the English speaking environment to demonstrate belonging to a particular group although preferring English in communication with the same people while being at the Russian School. Dima and his friends felt that their knowledge of Russian was an advantage that made them "cool" in the eyes of their non-Russian speaking friends.

At the time of the interviews, all the participants had graduated from the Russian School and home remained the primary context for Russian language use. However, language practices outside of home corresponded to their social connections and the value they placed on their bilingualism. Thus, Sofia spoke mostly in Russian with her parents and exclusively in Russian to her grandparents and teachers at the Russian school. However, that was the limit of her use of the Russian language. She did not read in Russian and did not express an interest in Russian culture. During the interview, Sofia repeated several times that it was important for her parents that she speak Russian:

> I know my dad is worrying about me forgetting Russian... He is very... he'll be very sad if I forget Russian... I know, yes, from experience and I talk to my dad sometimes about it… []… because Russian is their first language and Russian is the language they talk to me with… so... I feel like I am obligated to respond to them in Russian. (Interview on February 9, 2018)

During our conversation, Sofia constantly referred to the importance of Russian for her parents' sake but did not say a word about significance and relevance of the Russian language to her personally. She sometimes listened to Russian music if recommended by her friends or parents. She also mentioned that she felt obligated to speak Russian to her parents and expressed concern that she might forget it when she attended college and their daily communication became less frequent. However, even this concern was initiated by her father, not by her personally. The only association for the use of the Russian language in Sofia's adult life was related solely to communication with her family.

Sveta also used very little Russian outside of home after her graduation from the Russian School. She admitted that she used English words frequently while talking to them because her vocabulary was limited. She said that she only knew vocabulary related to home and school and knew absolutely no slang or words related to other areas of life. This was expressed in her language during the interview: Sveta inserted many English words in her Russian speech, used simpler vocabulary and syntax structures in comparison to her peers. Sveta stated that she did not read in Russian and did not listen to Russian music. She said that she did not feel any attachment to Russian culture:

> It's not that I don't like it. But I simply have… other interests. (Interview on 28th of April, 2018)

Sveta stated that her lack of interest in Russian culture as well as in travels to Russia, was related to the fact that she did not have any friends in Russia or any Russian speaking friends who spoke no English. She mentioned that she had always been jealous that she did not have friends in Russia or Russian only speaking friends unlike most of her peers from the Russian

School. When asked about the possibility of using the Russian language in her adult life, Sveta said that being bilingual would be "a good check mark on the resume" but it would be unlikely that she would use it anywhere outside of her parents' home.

Katya was among those adolescents who were still using a lot of Russian at the time of the interview. She was referred to by others as the person who would share Russian music and memes in Russian with her classmates. Katya stated that she felt like she was the one who would initiate a conversation in Russian with her peers but would usually switch into English due to their preference. Russian had been a big part of her life all through adolescence. It was not limited to communication with her parents and the teachers from the Russian school as it was for Sofia and Sveta. At the time of the interview, she frequently watched movies and TV shows in Russian, followed Russian movie starts and other celebrities on social media, and listened to Russian music. She also reported reading in Russian for pleasure and for the purpose of expanding her vocabulary:

> I mostly read in Russian in summer when I have more time… during the school year I only read for the Russian School but in summer, I have more time… so I can read for pleasure… it's good for my Russian.. the more you read, the easier it gets… like with everything… and I watch Russian TV a lot, especially with my dad… and follow my favorite celebrities on Instagram. (Interview on May 23rd, 2018)

Katya demonstrated a conscious approach to bilingualism: she not only stated that reading, browsing the Internet and watching videos in Russian was important to expanding her vocabulary in Russian but also claimed to do all of the above deliberately to improve her level of proficiency in Russian. Furthermore, at the time of the interview, she was just a few weeks away from her high school graduation and was heading to college in another state. Katya had searched the Russian organizations in the city where her college was located to ensure she would have the

opportunity to stay connected with a Russian community. In addition, she was planning a lengthy independent trip to Russia in the upcoming months to visit her family and friends. Katya identified herself as "mostly Russian" and hoped to have an opportunity to cooperate with Russian companies in her professional life in the future.

Dima also was one of the adolescents who placed a high value on the Russian language. He had an extended family in Russia with whom he kept close ties. In addition, he read in Russian for pleasure, surfed the Internet in Russian, and listened to Russian music. Dima claimed that his playlist was 100% in Russian:

> Dima: … because I know Russian, I can read Russian books, listen to Russian music and watch Russian movies.
>
> Interviewer: And do you do all of that?
>
> Dima: Of course!
>
> Interviewer: Why?
>
> Dima: Because I enjoy it. My playlist is 100% Russian.
>
> Interviewer: And what about books? Do you still read in Russian?
>
> Dima: Yes, I do... but not for my literature classes… for pleasure. (Interview on April 28th, 2018)

The Russian language was not only a means of socialization for him but also an important instrument of acquiring knowledge. He also believed in the importance of preserving the language within the family and claimed to speak primarily in Russian to his ten-year-old brother because his brother "has to pick up Russian now while he is still little. Otherwise, it's going to be really difficult for him…" Dima was proud of his Russian heritage and had an internal motivation to support and develop his level of proficiency in Russian. When asked about the

future prospect of using Russian in his adult life, Dima expressed interest in traveling to Russia and possibly even living there for some time.

For Masha, the Russian language played an important role as a means of communication. She had attended a Russian summer camp in Estonia and had non-English-speaking friends from Russia with whom she stayed in touch via social media. According to her, such communication helped her not only to expand her Russian vocabulary but also to improve her spelling:

> I mostly type in Russian… and I think I became better in spelling because of that… because when I spell something incorrectly my telephone corrects it… and I learn how it should be spelled… (Interview on March 5th, 2018)

Although Masha did not have family in Russia and did not feel attached to Russian culture, she valued knowing the language as a means of reaching her professional goals in the future:

> I love languages and would like to do something with linguistics… I don't know yet… so yeah, Russian can be really useful… it is not a commonly learned language… and a different alphabet… yeah…(Interview on March 5th, 2018)

In addition, Masha claimed to use Russian sources for her papers for high school, which she considered an advantage. She stated that she only realized the importance of speaking Russian when she went to the Russian camp in Estonia. It was the first time in her life when she found herself among people who spoke or learned three or four languages. At the time of the interview she was enjoying her reputation of being a "girl who speaks many languages."

The level of interest in Russian and independent engagement in Russian practices for all of these adolescents tended to be closely related to the level of the language usage in communication with their peers: Masha, Katya and Dima, who had peers with whom they communicated exclusively in Russian, read, listened to music, watched TV and videos as well as browsed the Internet in Russian more often. On the contrary, Sveta and Sofia, who used Russian

to communicate with their friends to lesser degree and did not have monolingual Russian friends, tended to choose practicing Russian outside of the influence of their parents to a lesser degree. Although they had a positive attitude towards their bilingualism, their use of Russian was limited to the home domain and they did not demonstrate a personal choice of using Russian outside of this area.

Summary and Conclusion

I asked all of my adolescent participants the following question: "Your parents mentioned that some of your childhood friends from Russian-speaking families who used to speak Russian while they were little do not speak it any longer. Is it true? If so, why do you think this happened? And why it is different in your situation?" Everybody agreed that this was true. Furthermore, all the respondents answered without thinking that their bilingualism was a result of their families' efforts:

> Dima: I think it's because of my parents… I am very grateful that I have such parents who made me learn Russian… thanks to them, I can speak Russian very well… because when I was still little, they made me… they were telling me how important it was… (Interview on April 28th, 2018)

> Masha: My dad… he did not force me but… it was like… he spoke only in Russian to me… you should… you should do this, you should go to the Russian School… and I listened… and … ok, I will do it… I didn't really like it and I used to think it was weird but when I was twelve or thirteen, I was like "It's really cool!" It was after I came from the summer camp in Estonia the first time… everybody there was impressed that I knew Russian and Chinese … so I decided it was cool and wanted to study even more. (Interview on March 5th, 2018)

The adolescents claimed that their current ability to speak in Russian, unlike some of their peers, was the result of their parents' insistence. Yet, at the time of the interviews, their

parents' and even teachers' influence on their Russian, according to the adults' testimonies, was limited; most of the Russian linguistic practices the adolescents engaged in were the result of their personal choice. Caldas (2006) claims that mid-adolescence, which Steinberg (1993) defines as occurring between the ages of approximately 14 and 18, is a period when young people often resist parental language management and where peer-group language is more important than that of the parents. This was also true for the participants of this study.

Peer influence had both negative and positive effects. Thus, in Masha's case, the understanding of the advantages of bilingualism was triggered by the approval of her peers. Although she had been resistant to her father's attempts to raise her trilingual and had not understood the practical applications of her knowledge of Russian, this changed after she first attended a summer camp in Estonia and received the appreciation of her language abilities in addition to finding practical application for her knowledge of Russian in communication with her new monolingual Russian friends.

Sofia and Sveta, on the other hand, had not developed close relationships with monolingual Russian-speaking youth and did not have siblings or other relatives of the same age group with whom they could speak in Russian. This made the Russian language less relevant to their lives and did not promote engagement in such Russian practices as reading, browsing the Internet in Russian or listening to the Russian music.

Dima and Katya, in addition to having opportunities for peer communication in Russian outside of the Russian School and close family, saw benefits of speaking two languages in the possibilities to expand their intellectual and cultural level:

> Dima: If I knew only English, I would be able to read and write only in English and understand information presented in English only… And because I know Russian, I can read Russian books, I can watch Russian movies, I can listen to

> Russian music… and this… this expands your world and gives you access to new information and culture… (Interview on April 28th, 2018)
>
> Katya: Being bilingual allows you to speak to different people: those Russian-speakers who don't speak English and English-speakers who don't speak Russian… and you can understand both sides… you understand what the Americans feel and what the Russians feel… and because you speak different languages, your brain works better and you can… well, it's easier for you to learn new languages and study other subjects… well, because your brain works better… I don't know, that's how I feel… (Interview on May 23rd, 2018)

These adolescents perceived the Russian language as a means to acquire knowledge and to receive different perspectives. They valued their bilingualism not merely for giving them an ability to communicate to their family but also as a source of personal development.

Thus, relevance to the adolescents' life such as the need to use Russian in communication with their peers, interest in Russian culture and realization of the benefits of bilingualism in general were the main driving forces for the adolescents to use their heritage language.

The adolescents' language practices demonstrated that they moved from parent-lead language management to self-management by taking authority over their language practices and beliefs. As long as they had an internal motivation to use the Russian language as well as opportunities to use it outside of the home and the Russian School, they were more likely to use Russian for their personal activities as well.

In this chapter, I described the adolescents' perspective on their language development process as well as on the role the Russian School and their parents played in their bilingualism and biliteracy. In addition, I provided an overview of the adolescents' language practices at the time of the data collection in order to learn about the legacies the family and the School language policies left in their lives. The following chapter summarizes my findings on the language policies in the lives of Russian-speaking immigrant children in their formative years as well as

describes implications of the study for immigrant families, heritage language educators, and researchers.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

Caldas (2006), Kasatkina (2010), and Montrul (2015), among other researchers, agree that the outcome in raising bilingual children depends on multiple factors with parental language beliefs and practices playing the leading role. In particular, Kasatkina (2010) conducted detailed analysis of the factors that affect language choices of Russian-speaking immigrants in the United States and described the characteristics of families who choose to foster biliteracy in their children. The author stated that dedication to a "consistently realized, strong language policy at home" (Kasatkina, 2010, p. 13) was one of those characteristics. The current study aimed to explore such language policies in families that maintained their dedication to bilingualism and biliteracy through their children's childhood and adolescence. Due to the fact that the important part of the policies was enrolling children in a Russian Saturday School, I also examined the educational language policies in the Russian School. The language policies were described using Spolsky's (2004) three-part model of language policy and exploring the perspectives of parents, teachers as well as bilingual and biliterate adolescents. The primary objective of the present work was to explore how language policies at home and at the Russian School support heritage language development in second generation immigrant speakers of Russian. The study also describes how these policies affected the language practices of the children during their adolescent years.

In this chapter, I outline the primary findings of the study, summarizing answers to each research question. After that, I describe the implications for families and heritage language

educators, as well as for research and theory. The chapter concludes with descriptions of the study's limitations and suggestions for further research.

Summary of Key Findings

Recent academic interest in immigrant and heritage languages and their speakers has largely overlooked adolescent speakers and the support systems they receive in developing language proficiency in their heritage language. There has been little research on language policies that surround such speakers at home and at places where they receive supplementary education in their heritage language. This qualitative case study examines the ways in which supplementary education and family language policies assist in raising bilingual and biliterate speakers of Russian and English. It explores two domains of the children's life: the contexts of family and a Russian Saturday School by examining specific language beliefs, practices, and language management strategies at the Russian School and the families of five of its graduates as well as by providing a threefold perspective of parents, teachers and adolescents.

Family Context

All the participants of the study identified the key role in the process of ensuring the development of children's bilingualism as belonging to the parents, who placed a high value on the Russian language and passing it along to the next generation. Exploring their perspectives helped to answer the first research question: What are the family language policies that support a bilingual-biliterate upbringing?

The parents' belief that perpetuating the Russian language was critical in maintaining close relationships within families as well as the children's cultural enrichment encouraged them

to provide diverse support for the Russian language such as reading in Russian, trips to Russia and enrolling their children in the Russian School. These parents' desire to be proactive in family language planning as well as establishing rules at home appeared to be triggered largely by the fear of repeating the stories of their immigrant friends, whose children did not grow up bilingual. Their positive attitude towards bilingualism and their intention to pass along the Russian language to the next generation affected the parent's language practices. The parents not only spoke Russian to their children but were also consciously and constantly expanding areas where their children could practice their Russian skills. I believe that in the family context, language management was largely implemented through language practices and parental language use was one of the main tactics of such management. When the children entered the American educational system, the parents followed these three strategies:

1) Adherence to strict rules about when each language is used;

2) Support of Russian language development by providing additional opportunities to practice both receptive and reproductive skills in Russian;

3) Help in development of the Russian language via enrolling children in the Russian School to teach Russian literacy and other school subjects in Russian.

The Russian School played an important role in the lives of these families not only as a place of supplementary education but also as a community builder. It served the purpose of showing the children that "there are a lot of people who speak Russian" (Interview with Tanya K. on February 26, 2018). The parents were intent on demonstrating to their children the practical application of the Russian language by engaging in language practices requiring the use of their heritage language at home as well as outside of the home. This approach of widening the language practice opportunities served as the main language management strategy.

In the context of these families, language practices and language management were inseparably linked with each other. In this regard the School was the language environment, supporting language enrichment by helping the children master written Russian and thereby giving them access to use the Russian language for more practice involving reading and writing.

The School Context

"All kids are different. But in our particular case, if it would not have been for the school, we would have lost it [the Russian language]," according to Tanya K. in a 2018 interview. Tanya was referring specifically to her daughter Sofia, who completely switched to English after kindergarten, refusing to speak Russian even to her parents although it was the primary home language. Tanya was one of the founders and the principal of the Russian School who wholeheartedly believed in the power of community and education for heritage language maintenance. The School's mission stated that it was designed to support parents in their attempts to raise bilingual and biliterate children. Exploring institutional practices of the School helped me to answer my second research question: How do language policies in supplementary schooling support bilingual-biliterate upbringing?

The School was founded by a group of parents who were eager to raise their children bilingual and biliterate in Russian and English. It was organized as a community of cultural practices that aimed to encourage its students to choose to speak Russian. Developing such preference for Russian was part of the School's goals; it was further expressed through the School's language management and resultant language practices. In addition to clear academic goals, the School aimed to integrate the children into Russian culture through Russian social and

cultural practices. It did so by organizing cultural activities and immersing students into language learning in class by providing interesting and relevant learning materials.

One of the main language management strategies was to encourage students to speak and to concentrate on their achievements rather than their deficiencies. Most of the teachers understood that the students were bilinguals with English being their dominant language, and they used English as an asset in teaching Russian. As a result, they created a bilingual environment when the use of Russian was preferred by the students in most situations. The teachers pointed out that it was crucial in their job to understand that their students were not monolingual speakers of Russian and could not be taught the same way as their peers in Russia. In particular, the Russian language and literature textbooks used in monolingual schools in the metropole were not suitable for the School students. Due to the fact that they were used by the School, the teachers had to put extra effort into class preparation in order to meet their students' needs.

The School's language policy worked by the following model:

1. Initially, the School provided in-depth, immersive exposure into the heritage language and the culture from an early age.
2. The second important component was an appreciation of the students' prior linguistic knowledge without strict judgment.
3. Ultimately this resulted in the students developing an interest in the Russian language and a preference for speaking Russian within the School.

Essentially, the School provided not only supplementary education but also a supplementary language environment that heritage speakers often lack. Furthermore, it played an

important role in forming the students' identity as bilingual and bicultural people, which all the adolescent participants in this study claimed to be.

Adolescence

The teachers and the parents pointed out that at the time of the data collection, they had very little influence on their children's language practices and did not have opportunities to manage their language use as they had done earlier. It was the right time to search for the answer to my third research question: What is the legacy of the school and family language policies in the adolescents' lives?

The essential role of the parents and the Russian School in bilingualism development was confirmed by the adolescent-participants in the study. The adolescents claimed that, unlike some of their peers with similar backgrounds, their ability to speak in Russian was the result of their parents' insistence. However, they also mentioned that at some point, they realized the benefits of bilingualism for themselves. In some cases, the understanding of the advantages of bilingualism was triggered by the approval of their peers. In other cases, the adolescents perceived the Russian language as a means to acquire knowledge and learn different perspectives. They valued their bilingualism not merely for giving them an ability to communicate with their family but also as a source of personal development.

The adolescents' language practices demonstrated that they moved from parent-led language management to self-management by taking authority over their language practices and beliefs. Although the children became less involved in the Russian language practices during their adolescence, as long as they had an internal motivation to use the Russian language and opportunities to use the Russian language outside of home and the Russian School, especially in

communication with their peers, they were more likely to choose to use Russian for their personal activities.

Implications of the Study

Implications for Families

This study confirmed the leading role of parents in bilingualism and biliteracy development, as supported by previous research. Success in raising bilingual and biliterate children in all the participant families was a result of cooperation between the teachers and the parents with the leading role being that of the parents. It demonstrated that language management within the family contexts can be implemented via specific language practices. The parents not only practiced Russian themselves but also were consciously and constantly expanding areas where their children could practice their Russian skills. Parents who aim to raise bilingual children might be more successful in achieving their goals if they consciously control their language practices and provide their children with opportunities to use their heritage language in a meaningful way in areas related to their personal interests.

Parents should also consider the role of the community in raising their bilingual children. Some parent-participants stated that the sense of the community provided by the Russian School was crucial in demonstrating to the children the practical application of speaking and learning Russian. This might be especially important if a family does not have an opportunity to travel to a Russian-speaking country on regular basis, which was claimed by study participants to be the most effective way to support the use of the Russian language. However, travel to a Russian-speaking country has more benefits for language skill development if the child has various

opportunities to communicate there in Russian, preferably with monolingual Russian speakers of their age group.

Opportunities to be in contact with monolingual Russian peers (or youth that prefer adolescents' heritage language for communication) becomes especially important during adolescence when peer pressure increases. The heritage language continues to play an important role in the adolescents' lives when it is used in communication with people of the same age, and when it is relevant to the adolescent's interests outside of the home and supplementary school. Parents might consider providing their children with opportunities to build such relationships by exposing them to youth environments, for example by enrolling them in Russian summer camps like some of the participants of this study did.

Implications for Heritage Language Educators

This study has made several important contributions to the field of heritage language education. First, by collecting information about the Russian School history, language policies, and the family characteristics of its graduates, the study has provided a comprehensive narrative of a large Russian Saturday school, which, in essence, is a distinct cultural hub around which parents, students and teachers can collaborate in a natural environment. The results of this study point to the importance of immersive exposure in the heritage language and culture by offering a variety of classes taught in the heritage language as well as providing an opportunity to participate in a large number of extra-curricular activities. The latter allows the students to not only practice the heritage language but also learn about the culture as well as to develop personal interests in areas that would require more use of the language.

Second, the study pointed out the discrepancy between the materials used in heritage language education and those that the teacher considers necessary to meet the students' needs. It is a common practice in Russian heritage schools in California to use textbooks designed for monolingual native speakers of Russian living in Russia. However, those textbooks assume daily instruction in Russian as well as a Russian language environment, and often teach literacy using vocabulary unknown to heritage speakers. The texts usually do not focus on building vocabulary and do not take into account a student's bilingualism. At the same time, there is currently an ongoing effort to create textbooks specifically for bilingual children and children learning Russian outside of a Russian language environment. A few textbooks for bilinguals have been published in Russia and other countries. It may be beneficial for administrators of heritage schools to explore this new type of materials to see if they better meet the students' needs.

Finally, the findings of this study demonstrate the necessity of a pressure-free atmosphere in supplementary heritage language education without high-stakes tests in order to encourage the students' desire to attend the school, especially as they enter into adolescence. The administrators and the teachers in heritage schools may benefit from replicating the friendly environment of the Russian School to attract more adolescent students by planning personally relevant as well as culturally significant courses and extra-curricular activities.

Implications for Theory and Research

This study used Spolsky's (2004) framework of language policy, which views language policy as an interrelated set of language ideologies or beliefs, language practices and language management in a given speech community. However, it is not always easy to separate those three components of language policy. In the context of the five families who participated in this study,

practicing Russian was the main way to manage the Russian language use. The parents not only were involved in various practices in Russian but also were consciously and constantly expanding areas where their children could practice their Russian skills. The findings of this study suggest that in the family context, language management can be largely implemented through language practices and that parental language use is a primary means of such management. However, family practices alone are not enough to ensure language maintenance. A community of speakers and peers is also necessary.

Study Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This study explored two domains which provided support for developing and maintaining the Russian language: the home and a Russian weekend school. However, the research was limited to only one Russian school and a small number of participants, which may not have afforded the sampling of a full range of beliefs, practices as well as language management strategies used to support the Russian language development in heritage speakers. At the same time, however, this study provided a nuanced, in-depth look at family-school language practices, management, and beliefs. To augment in-depth studies such as this, future research might include more classrooms in different kinds of schools (e.g. secular, home-based, church-affiliated) as well as the exploration of family language practices in families with more diverse characteristics such as different socio-economic status and family structures.

Another important limitation of this study is its emphasis on adolescents who attended a heritage language school through their school years. It did not explore cases of children who dropped out of their heritage school or did not receive formal education in their home language.

Furthermore, whereas this study included a detailed examination of the parents' and their adolescent children's backgrounds, practices, and beliefs, these data were limited to the participants' self-reports. Home visits and observations in the family context would have enriched this exploration and added another important dimension to the interpretation of the family support and examining the family language practices. For the current study, this was difficult to accomplish due to the time constrains and busy schedules of the parents and adolescents. It is recommended that future studies include home visitations, preferably over an extended period of time.

The current study was also limited to one region of the U.S. In order to obtain a more comprehensive picture of language policies that support bilingual and biliterate upbringing, more research in different regions and states are required. I believe that exploring the experiences of second generation immigrants from Russian-speaking countries who are not bilingual and biliterate by the time they enroll in high-school would also shed light on the factors that affect bilingual upbringing in immigrant families.

In addition, it is impossible to understand the full picture of immigrant adolescents' language experiences without learning about language policies that affect them outside of the family and supplementary schooling. Further research should consider investigating language policies at the children's main schools as well as language policies imposed by local governments.

Final Thoughts

My research was strongly motivated by my desire to answer the following question "How can one raise competent bilingual and biliterate speakers in a monolingual culture that does not

generally support multilingualism?" Knowing the statistics and having the experience of working with college students born in Russia or born in the US to Russian-speaking parents for whom Russian "used to be" their native language by the time they matriculated, I was looking for exceptions to this rule. My hope was to find parents and students who maintained a high level of Russian proficiency and to learn from their experiences. This desire was driven by the necessity to gain a better understanding of how to raise my own children as biliterate in Russian and English and to help other parents having the same objectives.

The results of this study provided me with insights to my self-search question and have had a noticeable impact on the language policy in my family. I have a clear understanding that prior to adolescence, the role parents play in their children's bilingualism is crucial. However, it's still unclear how far the legacy of the family language policies can go in children's lives. I hope to have an opportunity to follow my adolescent participants into their adult life and to interview them again in a few years.

APPENDIX A
LANGUAGE OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

Language Observation Protocol

General information

Date_____ Time_____ Class_____

Grade _____ Teacher_____ Number of students_____

Language use	Teacher's reaction	Outcome

Coding of language use

1 = direct translation
2 = intra sentence code-switching
3 = inter- sentence code-switching
4 = para-phrasing
5 = parallel speech
6 = grammar error
7 = phonetic error
8 = colloquial usage

APPENDIX B
GENERAL OBSERVATION PROTOCOL

GENERAL OBSERVATION PROTOCOL
(GOP)
Adapter from Lyutykh, 2011

1. Program setting: Physical environment, describe in sufficient detail to permit the reader to visualize the setting.

2. Human and social environment: Ways in which people organize themselves into groups, patterns of interaction, frequency of interaction, language used for interaction.

3. Activities and participant behaviors:
- What do people do?
- What would one see if one were watching?
- How is activity introduced? In what language is it done?
- Who is present? What language do they use for interaction?
- What are the reactions of the participants to the activities?
- How is completion of this activity related to other program activities?

4. Informal interactions and unplanned activities. What language do participants use in informal conversations?
5. Nonverbal communication.

6. Observing what does not happen: discrepancies between what was supposed to happen according to a plan or schedule but did not.

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

All the interviews were semi-structured. This means that many questions were open-ended and depended on the teachers' previous answers. A format of a semi-structured interview helped to receive specific knowledge about participants' background and beliefs but let them to provide their perspective and express their priorities.

TEACHERS

1. Could you please tell me about your educational background and experience in teaching Russian in Russian-speaking countries and in the United States?
2. How did you come to connection with this School? Please tell me about your history here. What and whom have you taught at the School?
3. Please tell me about your students. Who are they? Why do they study Russian? How do they like being here? How would you define the language competency of your students? How do you check it?
4. How would you define the language competency you expect from their students? Have your expectations changed over time?
5. What languages do your students use in classroom and outside of it? Are you familiar with bilingual modes of communication such as code switching? Do you allow them in your classroom? Why?
6. Can we discuss examples of language use I have observed in your classroom?

PARENTS

Adapted from Kasatkina, 2010

1. Russian is your native language. What role does it play in your life at this point of your life? Was it different when your child was born?
2. Could you tell me a little about the history of your child's language development? What languages did you and she or he speak when she or he was younger? How has it changed over time?
3. How important it is for you that your child speaks Russian? Why?
4. Do you think it is important for your child to become bilingual? Why?
5. Did you make a conscious decision with respect to what language/languages your child would speak in which context? If yes, who else was involved in the decision making process? What affected your decision?
6. Why was it important for you that your child would have literacy skills in Russian?
7. What is the single most effective thing you do to motivate your children to speak Russian? To read and write in Russian?
8. What is the single thing that you find the most difficult about practicing Russian reading and writing with your children?
9. Have you ever tried to establish language rules at home? Could you please tell more about these rules and your child's reaction to them?
10. How do you and other family members react when your child speaks English when expected to speak Russian?
11. How do you resolve "language issues"?
12. Does your child speak Russian outside of home and the Russian school?
13. Has your child been exposed to a Russian-speaking environment? If so, how often and for how long?
14. How strong is your sense of connectedness to the Russian language and culture? What about your child's?
15. How do you feel about your child's current level of Russian?
16. How do you envision your child's Russian in his or her adult life?

ADOLESCENTS

1. What languages do you speak? Which one do you prefer?
2. How would you assess your proficiency level in each of these languages?
3. What do you remember about learning your languages, if anything?
4. Did/do you have books in Russian at home? Did you read books in Russian with your parents as a child?
5. Have you been to a Russian-speaking country? If so, how often and for how long? What language did you speak there and to whom? What did you like and dislike about the trips?
6. Do your parents and other family members insist (or insisted in the past) that you speak Russian? What do you think and how do you feel about it?
7. Have your parents ever tried to establish language rules at home? What do you think about these rules? Did/do they work?
8. How do your parents and other family members react when you speak English when expected to speak Russian?
9. You spent a lot of years attending the Russian School. What do you think about this experience?
10. What did you like and dislike about your Russian classes? Who has chosen what classes you would take?
11. What was your the most and the least favorite thing about the Russian School?
12. How important is it for you to have literacy skills in Russian?
13. With whom do you routinely speak Russian? English now?
14. How do you how decide what language/languages to speak in which context?
15. Do you speak Russian outside of home and the Russian school now?
16. What do you do or might be inclined to do in Russian when you are alone?
17. Do you have Russian-speaking friends? What language do you speak to them?
18. Do you think it is important to become bilingual? Why? Do you have bilingual friends?
19. How do you identify yourself in terms of ethnicity and cultural affiliation?
20. Your parents mentioned that some of your childhood friends from Russian-speaking families who used to speak Russian while they were little do not speak it any longer. Is it true? If so, why do you think this happened? And why it is different in your situation?

APPENDIX D
SURVEY

PARENTS

Tell us about yourself:

1. Your name _____
2. Your age.
3. How old were you when you came to the USA?
4. Your gender
5. What is your household income?

<30K 30K-60K 70K-100K 100K-150K >150K

6. Please answer the following question about you and your spouse:

Question	You	Your spouse
Country of birth		
Native language		
Level of Education		
Do you work outside of home	No Part-time Full-time	No Part-time Full-time
On a scale 0-5, how well can you do the following in English? Read Speak Write Comprehend	0 – cannot do at all 5 – excellent 0 1 2 3 4 5 0 1 2 3 4 5 0 1 2 3 4 5 0 1 2 3 4 5	0 – cannot do at all 5 – excellent 0 1 2 3 4 5 0 1 2 3 4 5 0 1 2 3 4 5 0 1 2 3 4 5
What language do you speak most often?		
At what age did you begin to learn English?		

7. Please check everything that applies to you in the following table:

	Only Russians	Mostly Russians	Half Russians / Half Americans	Mostly Americans	Only Americans
My neighbors are					
My close friends are					
My coworkers are					
My acquaintances					

8. How much do you..? Please check everything that applies to you in the following table:

#		Significantly more than in English	More than in English	About the same as in English	Less than in English	Significantly less than in English
1	Speak Russian at home?					
2	Speak Russian at work/at school?					
3	Speak Russian with your friends?					
4	Speak Russian to your spouse?					
5	Speak Russian to your parents?					
6	Speak Russian to your children?					
7	Watch Russian TV?					
8	Listen to Russian music?					
9	Watch movies in Russian?					
10	Read books in Russian?					
11	Browse internet in Russian?					
12	Post on social networks in Russian?					
13	Read other materials in Russian?					
14	Read to your children in Russian when they were younger?					

Please feel free to add any comments to your answers to the question at the table

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. Please rank the Russian language competencies in order of importance you assign for your children where 1 is the most important and 5 is the least important

    Reading
    Speaking
    Writing
    Comprehension
    Knowing and understanding Russian culture

10. I believe it is good that my children are able to read and write in Russian because:
    a.
    b.
    c.
    d.
    e.
11. How often do you use the Russian language to explain word meaning in English to your children?

    Never Rarely Sometimes Often All the time

12. How often do you use English to explain word meaning in Russian to your children?

    Never Rarely Sometimes Often All the time

13. What was your primary motivation to send your children to the Russian school?

_____
_____

14. How satisfied are you with the level of Russian your children demonstrate at this point? (please rate on a scale from 0 to 5 where 0 is “completely dissatisfied” and 5 is “completely satisfied”)
    a. Speaking _____
    b. Reading _____
    c. Comprehension_____
    d. Writing _____

Please let us know if you would be interested in participating in the interview:

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

ADOLESCENTS

Name _____

1. How old are you? _____

2. How many years have you been attending a Russian school?

   - Less than one year
   - 1-2 years
   - 2-3 years
   - 4-5 years
   - more than 5 years (please, specify)_____

3. Please list all classes you have taken at the Russian school (if you took too many to remember all of them please name 5 your favorite classes ☺) _____

   _____

   _____

4. How often have you participated in the school's extracurricular activities (competitions, club meetings, school picnics etc.)?

   - never
   - rarely
   - sometimes
   - (almost) in all of them!

5. Why did you start attending the Russian school?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

6. Why do you continue attending the school?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

7. Have you had Russian lessons in the U.S. before and/or outside of the Russian school??

   - Yes
   - No

8. If yes, please specify where:

   - at home (taught by family members)
   - in a Russian-speaking preschool
   - in elementary or middle school
   - in high school
   - from a private tutor
   - in a church school or other Saturday school
   - other (please, specify) _____

9. Have you been to a Russian summer camp? If yes, please specify how many times.
   - Yes, in the USA _____
   - Yes, in Russian _____
   - Yes, in a different country (please specify) _____
   - No

10. Where were you born?

    - U.S.A.
    - Russia
    - Other (please, specify) _____

11. If you were born in a Russian-speaking country, at what age did you leave it?

    _____

12. Where was your mother born?

    - U.S.A.
    - Russia
    - Other (please, specify) _____

13. What languages does your mother speak to you? Check all that apply:

- Russian
- English
- Russian and English. If so, in what proportion? _____

- Other (please, specify)_____

14. Where was your father born?

- U.S.A.
- Russia
- Other (please, specify) _____

15. What languages does your father speak to you? Check all that apply:

- Russian
- English
- Russian and English. If so, in what proportion? _____

- Other (please, specify)_____

16. What languages do your grandparents speak to you? Check all that apply:

- Russian
- English
- Russian and English. If so, in what proportion? _____

- Other (please, specify)_____

17. Did you grandparents live at the same home with you when you were growing up?

- Yes
- No

18. Do you speak Russian in your day to day life? (outside of the Russian school); select one

- never
- rarely
- sometimes
- every day

19. If you speak Russian in your daily life, who do you speak it with? Check all that apply:

- ☐ parents
- ☐ siblings
- ☐ grandparents
- ☐ relatives in the U.S.
- ☐ relatives overseas
- ☐ friends in the U.S.
- ☐ friends overseas
- ☐ other (please, specify)_____

20. Have you been to Russia or another Russian-speaking country?

- ☐ No, never/never since immigration to the US
- ☐ Yes, one or two times
- ☐ Yes, a few times
- ☐ I go there every year for a short trip
- ☐ I go there every year for the entire summer
- ☐ Other (please, specify)
  _____

21. I like going to Russia/ Russian-speaking country because (check all that apply) – only answer this question if you have been to Russia or a Russian-speaking country:

- ☐ I have friends there
- ☐ I have family there
- ☐ I like immersion into the Russian language
- ☐ I like learning more about my parents' culture
- ☐ I do NOT like going there
- ☐ Other (please, specify)
  _____

22. What is your motivation for studying Russian? Check all that apply:

- ☐ future career opportunities
- ☐ interest in Russian literature, history, politics, science
- ☐ parent's advice
- ☐ Russian friends in the US
- ☐ Russian friends overseas
- ☐ desire to develop closer ties with Russian-speaking relatives
- ☐ other (please, specify)_____

23. Which of the following activities do you do **in Russian** outside of the Russian school and school related activities and how often? Check all that apply:

□ watching TV
○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily

□ watching movies
○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily

□ reading newspapers/magazines/news on the Internet
○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily

□ reading fiction
○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily

□ reading academic literature, i.e. textbooks, articles
○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily

□ speaking to friends
○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily

□ speaking to family
○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily

□ browsing Internet
○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily

□ posting on social networks
○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily

□ listening to music (songs in Russian)
○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily

□ other (please, specify) _____

24. Which of the following activities do you do **in English** and how often? Check all that apply:

- ☐ watching TV
  - ○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily
- ☐ watching movies
  - ○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily
- ☐ reading newspapers/magazines/news on the Internet
  - ○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily
- ☐ reading fiction
  - ○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily
- ☐ reading academic literature, i.e. textbooks, articles
  - ○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily
- ☐ speaking to friends
  - ○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily
- ☐ speaking to family
  - ○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily
- ☐ browsing Internet
  - ○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily
- ☐ posting on social networks
  - ○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily
- ☐ listening to music (songs in English)
  - ○ almost never ○ rarely ○ monthly ○ weekly ○ daily
- ☐ other (please, specify) _____

25. Rate your proficiency in Russian:

	None					Fluent
Listening	0	1	2	3	4	5
Speaking	0	1	2	3	4	5
Reading	0	1	2	3	4	5
Writing	0	1	2	3	4	5

26. How often do you read for pleasure in English?

- never
- rarely
- at least once per month
- at least once per week
- 2-3 times per week
- every day

27. How often do you read for pleasure in Russian?

- never
- rarely
- at least once per month
- at least once per week
- 2-3 times per week
- every day

28. In what situations would you rather use Russian (provided you have a choice between Russian and English)? (check all that apply)

- talking to your parents
- talking to your siblings
- talking to your Russian-speaking friends who also speak English
- talking to your teachers in the Russian school
- talking to Russian-speaking friends of your parents
- talking to other Russian-speaking people in the USA (for example, in a Russian store or restaurant)
- other (please, specify) _____

29. How do you identify yourself?

- as a Russian
- as an American
- as an American Russian
- as a Russian American
- Other (please, specify)_____

30. Do you think you'll continue using Russian throughout your life? If yes, for what purposes?

_____

_____

_____

31. If the college where you will study offers Russian language classes for your level of Russian and/or classes in the Russian language (for example, literature or history classes) would you be interested in taking them?

    - ☐ Yes, of course!
    - ☐ Possibly
    - ☐ It depends on (please, specify) _____

    - ☐ No, because (please, specify) _____

Please let us know if you would be interested in participating in the interview:

- ☐ yes
- ☐ no

REFERENCES

Adler, P. A., & Adler, P. (1994). Observational techniques. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincold (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 377-392). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Andrews, D. R. (1999). *Sociocultural perspectives on language change in diaspora: Soviet immigrants in the United States* (Vol. 5). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Beaudrie, S. M. (2016). Building a Heritage Language Program. In Fairclough, M. and Beaudrie, S.M. (Eds.) *Innovative Strategies for Heritage Language Teaching: A Practical Guide for the Classroom* (pp. 80-98). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Beaudrie, S., Ducar, C., & Potowski, K. (2015). *Heritage language teaching: Research and practice.* Columbus, Ohio: McGraw-Hill Education.

Benmamoun, E., Montrul, S., & Polinsky, M. (2010). *Prolegomena to heritage linguistics* [white paper]. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and Harvard University. Retrieved from: https://dash.harvard.edu/handle/1/23519841

Bezcioglu-Goktolga, I., & Yagmur, K. (2018). Home language policy of second-generation Turkish families in the Netherlands. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *39*(1), 44-59.

Brandunas, E., & Topping, B. (Eds.). (1988). *Ethnic heritage and language schools in America*. Washington, DC: American Folklife Center/Library of Congress.

Brecht, R. D., & Rivers, W. P. (2000). *Language and National Security in the 21st Century: The Role of Title VI/Fulbright-Hays in Supporting National Language Capacity*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

Brecht, R., & Ingold, C. (2002). *Tapping a national resource: Heritage languages in the United States*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics/ERIC.

Bialystok, E. (2001). Metalinguistic dimensions of bilingual language proficiency. In E. Bialystok (Ed.), *Language processing in bilingual children* (pp. 113-141). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Caldas, S. J. (2006). *Raising bilingual-biliterate children in monolingual cultures* (Vol. 57). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual matters.

Caldas, S. J., & Caron-Caldas, S. (2000). The influence of family, school, and community on bilingual preference: Results from a Louisiana/Quebec case study. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, *21*(3), 365-381.

Caldas, S. J., & Caron-Caldas, S. (2002). A sociolinguistic analysis of the language preferences of adolescent bilinguals: Shifting allegiances and developing identities. *Applied Linguistics*, *23*(4), 490-514.

Carreira, M. (2004). Seeking explanatory adequacy: A dual approach to understanding the term. *Heritage Language Journal*, *2*(1), n1, 1-25.

Chinen, K., & Tucker, G. R. (2005). Heritage language development: Understanding the roles of ethnic identity and Saturday school participation. *Heritage Language Journal*, *3*(1), 27-59.

Cho, G., & Krashen, S. (2000). The role of voluntary factors in heritage language development: how speakers can develop the heritage language on their own. *ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics*, 127-140.

Compton, C. (2001). Heritage language communities and schools: Challenges and recommendations. In J. K. Payton, D. A. Ranard, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage languages in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 81-99). McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics/Delta Systems.

Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The modern language journal*, *94*(1), 103-115.

Creese, A., and P. Martin (eds.). 2003. *Multilingual classroom ecologies*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Curdt-Christiansen, X. L. (2018). Family language policy. In *The Oxford handbook of language policy and planning* (pp. 420-441). New York: Oxford University Press.

Dagenais, D., & Day, E. (1999). Home language practices of trilingual children in French immersion. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, *56*(1), 99-123.

Draper, J. B., & Hicks, J. H. (2000). Where we've been; what we've learned. In *Teaching heritage language learners: Voices from the classroom* (pp. 15-35). ACTFL

Dworin, J. (2003). Examining children's biliteracy in the classroom. In A. I. Willis, G.E. Garcia, R. Barrera & V.J. Harris (Eds.), *Multicultural issues in literacy research and practice* (pp. 29-49). Hillside, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Emerson, R.M., Fretz, R.I., & Shaw, L.L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes* (2nd edn.). Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Eckert, P. (1989). *Jocks and burnouts: Social categories and identity in the high school*. New York and London: Teachers college press.

Fan, X., & Chen, M. (2001). Parental involvement and students' academic achievement: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review, 13*(1), 1-22.

Field, F. (2011). *Bilingualism in the USA: the case of the Chicano-Latino community* (Vol. 44). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Fishman, J. (1966). *Language loyalty in the United States*. Hague: Mouton & Co.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages* (Vol. 76). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual matters.

Fishman, J. (2001). 300 - Plus years of heritage language education in the United States. In D. A. Ranard, J.K. Payton, & S. McGinnis (Eds.), *Heritage language in America: Preserving a national resource* (pp. 81-99). McHenry, IL: Delta Systems Co Inc.

Fishman, J. A. (2014). Three hundred-plus years of heritage language education in the United States. In T. G. Wiley, J. Kreeft Peyton, D. Christian, S. C. K. Moore, & N. Liu (Eds.), *Handbook of heritage, community, and Native American languages in the United States: Research, policy, and educational practice* (pp. 36-44). New York, NY and Washington, DC: Routledge and Center for Applied Linguistics.

Friedman, D., & Kagan, O. (2008). Academic writing proficiency of Russian heritage speakers: a comparative study. In D. Brinton, O. Kagan, & S. Bauckus (Eds.), *Heritage language education: A new field emerging* (pp. 181-199). New York: Routledge.

Fogle, L. W. (2013). Parental ethnotheories and family language policy in transnational adoptive families. *Language Policy, 12*(1), 83-102.

Fogle, L. W., & King, K. A. (2013). Child agency and language policy in transnational families. *Issues in Applied Linguistics, 19*, 1-25.

García, O. (2009). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In Skutnabb-Kangas, T., Phillipson, R., Mohanty, A. K., & Panda, M. (Eds.). *Social justice through multilingual education* (pp. 140-158). Cleventon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

García, O., & Leiva, C. (2014). Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 199-216). Springer, Dordrecht.

Harris, J. R. (1995). Where is the child's environment? A group socialization theory of development. *Psychological review, 102*(3), 458-489.

He, A. W. (2006). Toward an identity theory of the development of Chinese as a heritage language. *Heritage Language Journal*, *4*(1), 1-28.

He, A. W. (2016). Across generations and geographies: Communication in Chinese heritage language speaking households. In Wei (Ed.) *Multilingualism in the Chinese diaspora worldwide* (pp. 293-311). New York and London: Routledge.

Hornberger, N. H. (Ed.). (2003). *Continua of biliteracy: An ecological framework for educational policy, research, and practice in multilingual settings* (Vol. 41). Cleventon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Hornberger, N. H. (2008). Continua of biliteracy. In Hornberger (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of language and education* (pp. 3152-3169). Berlin, Germany: Springer Science.

Hornberger, N. H., & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging in today's classrooms: A biliteracy lens. *Theory into practice*, *51*(4), 239-247.

Hornberger, N. H., & Wang, S. C. (2008). Who are our heritage language learners? Identity and biliteracy in heritage language education in the United States. In Brinton, D., Kagan, O., & Bauckus, S. (Eds.) *Heritage language education: A new field emerging*. (pp. 3-35) New York and London: Routledge.

Hua, Z., & Wei, L. (2016). Transnational experience, aspiration and family language policy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *37*(7), 655-666.

Isurin, L. (2011). *Russian diaspora: Culture, identity, and language change* (Vol. 99). Berlin, Germany: Walter de Gruyter.

Jones, S. (2004). Shaping identities: the reading of young bilinguals. *Literacy, 38*(1), 40-45.

Kagan, O. (2010). Russian heritage language speakers in the US: A profile. *Russian Language Journal/Русский язык*, *60*, 213-228.

Kagan, O. E. (2017). Multilingual Los Angeles: Do Immigrant Language Communities Make an Impact on Language Education in Public High Schools? In *The Routledge Handbook of Heritage Language Education* (pp. 207-221). New York: Routledge.

Kagan, O. E., Carreira, M. M., & Chik, C. H. (Eds.). (2017). *The Routledge handbook of heritage language education: From innovation to program building*. New York: Routledge.

Karapetian, S. (2017). Opportunities and Challenges of Institutionalizing a Pluricentric Diasporic Language. In *The Routledge Handbook of Heritage Language Education: From Innovation to Program Building* (pp. 145-160). New York: Routledge.

Kasatkina, N. (2010). *Analyzing language choice among Russian-speaking immigrants to the United States.* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Arizona).

Kennedy, K.D., & Romo, H.D. (2013). 'All colors and hues': An autoethnography of a multiethnic family's strategies for bilingualism and multiculturalism. *Family Relations, 62*(1), 109-124.

King, K. A. (2016). Language policy, multilingual encounters, and transnational families. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *37*(7), 726-733.

King, K., & Fogle, L. (2006). Bilingual parenting as good parenting: Parents' perspectives on family language policy for additive bilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *9*(6), 695-712.

King, K. A., & Fogle, L. W. (2013). Family language policy and bilingual parenting. *Language Teaching*, *46*(2), 172-194.

King, K. A., Fogle, L., & Logan-Terry, A. (2008). Family language policy. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 2(5), 907-922.

Klapper, M. (2007). *Small strangers: the experience of immigrant children in America, 1880-1925*. Chicago: Ivan Dee.

Kleyn T., Vayshenker, B. (2013) Russian Bilingual Education across Public, Private and Community Spheres. In García, Ofelia, Zeena Zakharia, and Bahar Otcu (Eds.), *Bilingual community education and multilingualism: Beyond heritage languages in a global city* (pp. 259-271). Cleventon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kopeliovich, S. (2010). Family language policy: A case study of a Russian-Hebrew bilingual family: Toward a theoretical framework. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, *4*(3), 162-178.

Kradinova, L. (2007). *"What's preached" vs. "what's practiced": Language views and family language practices in Russian-English bilingual families*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ.

Lanza, E. (2004). *Language mixing in infant bilingualism: A sociolinguistic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Liu, P. (2006). Community-based Chinese schools in Southern California: A survey of teachers. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *19*(2), 237-247.

Lyutykh, E. (2011). *Russian language schools: Exploring heritage literacy beliefs and practices in families, instruction, and communities* (Doctoral dissertation, Northern Illinois University).

Martínez, G. (2016). Goals and Beyond in Heritage Language Education. In Fairclough, M. and Beaudrie, S.M. (Eds.) *Innovative Strategies for Heritage Language Teaching: A*

Practical Guide for the Classroom (pp. 39-55). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

McCabe, M. (2017). Czech Heritage Language Education in Communities in the United States and Europe. In *The Routledge Handbook of Heritage Language Education: From Innovation to Program Building* (pp. 114-128). New York: Routledge.

McCarty, T. (2011). Entry into Conversation: Introducing Ethnography and Language Policy. In Teresa L. McCarty (Ed.) *Ethnography and Language Policy*. (pp. 1–29). New York: Routledge.

Melo-Pfeifer, S. (2015). The role of the family in heritage language use and learning: Impact on heritage language policies. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *18*(1), 26-44.

Mertens, D. (1998). *Research methods in education and psychology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Montrul, S. A. (2008). *Incomplete acquisition in bilingualism: Re-examining the age factor* (Vol. 39). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Montrul, S. (2015). *The acquisition of heritage languages*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

Moore, E. L. (2012). *Language and Social Identity Construction: A Study of a Russian Heritage Language Orthodox Christian School* (Doctoral dissertation, UCLA).

Okita, T. (2002). *Invisible work: Bilingualism, language choice and childrearing in intermarried families* (Vol. 12). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.

Oriyama, K. (2016). Community of practice and family language policy: Maintaining heritage Japanese in Sydney—Ten years later. *International Multilingual Research Journal, 10*(4), 289-307.

Otcu, G. B. (2009). *Language maintenance and cultural identity construction in a Turkish Saturday school in New York City* (Doctoral dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University).

Park, S. M., & Sarkar, M. (2007). Parents' attitudes toward heritage language maintenance for their children and their efforts to help their children maintain the heritage language: A case study of Korean-Canadian immigrants. *Language, culture and curriculum, 20*(3), 223-235.

Polinsky, M. (2006). Incomplete acquisition: American Russian. *Journal of Slavic Linguistics, 14*, 161-219.

Polinsky, M. (2000). The composite linguistic profile of speakers of Russian in the U.S. In O. Kagan & B. Rifkin (Eds.), *Teaching and Learning SlavicLanguages and Cultures* (pp. 437-465). Bloomington, IN: Slavica.

Polinsky, M. (2007). Reaching the end point and stopping midway: Different scenarios in the acquisition of Russian. *Russian Linguistics, 31*, 157-199.

Polinsky, M., & Kagan, O. (2007). Heritage languages: In the "wild" and in the classroom. *Language and Linguistics Compass, 1*, 368-395.

Reyes, I. (2006). Exploring connections between emergent biliteracy and bilingualism. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy, 6(*3), 267-292.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Rowe, D.W. (2003). The nature of young children's authoring. In N. Hall, J. Larson and J. Marsh (Eds.), *Handbook of early childhood literacy* (pp. 258–70). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Saldaña, J. (2016). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Schwartz, M. (2008). Exploring the relationship between family language policy and heritage language knowledge among second generation Russian–Jewish immigrants in Israel. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *29*(5), 400-418.

Schwartz, M. (2010). Family language policy: Core issues of an emerging field. *Applied Linguistics Review*, *1*(1), 171-192.

Schwartz, M., & Gorbatt, N. (2017). "There is No Need for Translation: She Understands": Teachers' Mediation Strategies in a Bilingual Preschool Classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, *101*(1), 143-162.

Schwartz, M., & Moin, V. (2012). Parents' assessment of their preschool children's bilingual development in the context of family language policy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *33*(1), 35-55.

Schwartz, M., & Verschik, A. (Eds.). (2013). *Successful family language policy: Parents, children and educators in interaction* (Vol. 7). Berlin, Germany: Springer Science & Business Media.

Schwartz, M., & Verschik, A. (2013). Achieving success in family language policy: Parents, children and educators in interaction. In *Successful family language policy* (pp. 1-20). Dordrecht, Germany: Springer.

Seidman, I.E. (2013). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Shibata, S. (2000). Opening a Japanese Saturday school in a small town in the United States: Community collaboration to teach Japanese as a heritage language. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *24*(4), 465-474.

Singer, A., Hardwick, S., & Brettell, C. (2008). (Eds.). *Twenty-first-century gateways: Immigrant incorporation in suburban America.* Washington: Brookings Institution Press.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Spolsky, B. (2012). Family language policy–the critical domain. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *33*(1), 3-11.

Strauss, A. (1987) *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (1990) *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* . Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Strickland, M., & Shumow, L. (2008). Family matters: Exploring the complexities of families of immigrant adolescents and achievement in four G8 countries. *The Open Family Studies Journal, 1*, 39-48.

Schwartz, M. (2010). Family language policy: Core issues of an emerging field. *Applied Linguistics Review, 1*(1), 171-192.

Schwartz, M., & Verschik, A. (Eds.). (2013). *Successful family language policy: Parents, children and educators in interaction* (Vol. 7). Berlin, Germany: Springer Science & Business Media.

Tomasello, M. (2005). *Constructing a language*. Boston: Harvard University Press.

Tse, L. (2001). Heritage language literacy: A study of U.S. biliterates. *Language, Culture, and Curriculum, 14*(3), 256-268.

Valdés, G. (2000). The teaching of heritage languages: An introduction for Slavic-teaching professionals. *The learning and teaching of Slavic languages and cultures*, 375-403.

Valdés, G. (2014). Heritage language students: Profiles and possibilities. In T. G. Wiley, J. Kreeft Peyton, D. Christian, S. C. K. Moore, & N. Liu (Eds.), *Handbook of heritage, community, and Native American languages in the United States: Research, policy, and educational practice* (pp. 27-35). New York, NY and Washington, DC: Routledge and Center for Applied Linguistics.

Van Deusen-Scholl, N. (2003). Toward a definition of heritage language: Sociopolitical and pedagogical considerations. *Journal of language, identity, and education, 2*(3), 211-230.

Van Deusen-Scholl, N. (2014). Research on heritage language issues. In T. G. Wiley, J. Kreeft Peyton, D. Christian, S. C. K. Moore, & N. Liu (Eds.), *Handbook of heritage, community, and Native American Languages in the United States: Research, policy, and educational practice* (pp.76-84). New York, NY and Washington, DC: Routledge and Center for Applied Linguistics.

Verbitskaya, L. (2010). *Russian language outside the nation.* Plenary talk presented at the Russian Language Outside the Nation conference, Edinburgh, UK.

Webb, J. B., & Miller, B. L. (Eds.). (2000). *Teaching heritage language learners: Voices from the classroom*. New York: ACTFL.

Wesche, M. (2004). Teaching languages and culture in post-9/11 world. *Modern Language Journal, 88,* 278-285.

Whitmore, K.F., Martens, P., Goodman,Y., & Owocki, G. (2004). Critical lessons from the transactional perspective on early literacy research. *Journal of Early Childhood Literacy 4*(3), 291–325.

Wiley, T. G. (2005). The reemergence of heritage and community language policy in the US national spotlight. *The Modern Language Journal*, *89*(4), 594-601.

Wu, H. P., Palmer, D. K., & Field, S. L. (2011). Understanding teachers' professional identity and beliefs in the Chinese heritage language school in the USA. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, *24*(1), 47-60.

Xia, Q. (2016). *Heritage Language Maintenance and Biliteracy Development for Immigrants' Children: A Study of Chinese Immigrants' Family Language Policy and Biliteracy Practices* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Washington).

Zemskaja, E.A. (2001) *Jazyk russkogo zarubezhja: Obshchie protsessy i rechevye portrety (Language of the Russian diaspora: Common processes and speech portraits).* Moscow/Vienna: Jazyki slavjanskoi kul'tury

Zyzik, E. (2016). Toward a Prototype Model of the Heritage Language Learner. In Fairclough, M. and Beaudrie, S.M. (Eds.) *Innovative Strategies for Heritage Language Teaching: A Practical Guide for the Classroom* (pp.19-38*)*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.