

Raising Bilingual Children

*Russian mothers' experience in motivating Russian language
and bilingualism in their Russian-Norwegian children*

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SUMMARY

The following thesis investigates Russian mothers' experience of motivating Russian language learning and bilingualism in their Russian-Norwegian children in Norway. The purpose of this study is to look at the motivating factors that influence parents to teach their children their own language, as well as support the bilingual situation. Although the study focuses on the minority language, as it is the language spoken by the mothers, the bilingual situation is used to further analysis on motivation. The research objectives around the topic are as follows:

- Which strategies are used by the mothers to maintain their children's Russian language as well as bilingualism?
- What are their attitudes towards the social environment at the Russian School?
- What are the main motivating factors in promoting Russian language and bilingualism?

This investigation deals with bilingual children of at least one Russian parent who are growing up in Norway where the dominant language of the bilingual group is Norwegian. The parents investigated are mothers who enrolled their children in Russian classes at the Russian School of Sandvika. Through the use of qualitative methods, such as interviews and observations, I investigate their experience of motivating their child's minority language, including the social and individual implications this has for bilingualism.

The first part of the theoretical framework introduces various approaches to the phenomenon of bilingualism, including studies by Lambert (1977) that investigated into additive and subtractive bilingualism, later followed by Cummins' (2000) CUP model and the Threshold Hypothesis. The study treats bilingualism as a social phenomenon, relating it to the socialization process. Socialization occurs through internalization, which is often described as a process during which the external factors (values and norms of a culture) are assimilated, therefore becoming a part of the self. The theoretical background further examines the internalization process by introducing the motivational theory of Self-Determination (Deci & Ryan, 1985), which introduces the concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and further delves into the social influences of the environment on individual's inner motives. The SDT also presents a framework for the support of intrinsic motivation, claiming that the more

autonomy, competence and relatedness the individual obtains, the more self-determined he will become. Because of its focus on the integrative nature of motivation, it is used as a framework for understanding the nature of the mothers' motivation. A motivation theory for the bilingual language learner is presented by Gardner, and presents as integrative/instrumental motivation as additional motivational constructs. Lastly, throughout the discussion of the findings, theoretical concepts by Foucault, Mead, and Douglas are presented in the analysis of the main motives, which are based on the social perspective of the motivation construct.

The results are divided into three parts: strategy use, attitudes and motives. First, the results concluded a variety of strategies used by the mothers, including the active use of verbalization, reading, cartoons, and homework, in addition to visiting family in Russia every year and creating a social network of bilingual children. Since all three cases are different, the main strategies used differ as well, depending on the mother. While Anna focused greatly on the development of sociolinguistic competence, using verbalization as the main strategy, Katya's focus lies in homework activities. The main strategy that all three mothers actively share is the promotion of literacy. All three mothers read on a daily basis to the children, and exhibit a positive attitude towards literacy. Visiting family in Russia is another strategy they share, believing that the yearly trips benefit greatly the rapid increase in language acquisition.

Second, the results concluded that the mothers were generally positive towards the social milieu at the Russian school, and found the other mothers' support positive and useful. Third, findings suggest that the main motive for the mothers, besides family ties and obtaining a well-rounded education, is identity. All three mothers identify strongly with being Russian, and although they support the promotion of both identities, the reason for focusing on the Russian language is their strong connection to who they are and where they come from. Their deep emotional attachment to their culture is what drives them intrinsically to teach their children language and literacy skills.

Preface

I would like to mention briefly my own experience of bilingualism, which is I think influenced greatly my choice of subject for the study.

From the social aspects of oral language learning, to the adventures in semantics deciphered in grammar class, I have witnessed my own progression in multilingual acquisition. Learning new languages, through full or partial immersion, in the process of immigration, acculturation, and formal education has shaped my thinking, creating 7 language structures, or 7 personality types. Not only did learning new languages become my second nature, but it is also through this process of being socialized into different cultural environments that I experienced the dynamic nature of identity. The proverb “*the number of languages you know is the number of times you are human*”, points at the connection of language to our deep sense of self.

As a mother of a Russian-Norwegian 4-year old, I witness bilingual development closely on a daily basis. This experience, due to the fact that Russian is the minority language and I happen to be the main language contact for my son, involves hard work and discipline. It is impossible to put in this amount of effort on a daily basis without generating the equivalent amount of motivation. Of all the languages I could have chosen to speak with my son, my language of choice was Russian. As a part of the general analysis of the findings from the study, I will briefly mention the main motivating factor in my own choice of raising a bilingual son.

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1 Introduction

Parents are the most enduring educators. Their positive or negative impact on the learning process has long been studied and its effects have been known to be the making or destroying of the child's will to learn. In a bilingual language situation, such as that of Russian immigrant mothers raising Russian-Norwegian children, the teaching behavior of the mother is intensified in a situation where the mothers are working to support both languages. There lies the possibility of intensified teaching opportunities where the child is simultaneously acquiring two language systems at the same time. From a socio linguistic perspective, language learning is motivated by the direct contact with the language group. If there are two language groups, such as the dominant language (Norwegian) and the minority language (Russian), integration occurs within two social environments. From a cognitive perspective, as shown by extensive research studies by Cummins, Lambert and Gardner, advancement in one language helps development in the other language.

Research question:

What are the motivating factors that drive the Russian mothers' desire to teach their own language, Russian, to their bilingual children, as well as promote bilingualism?

The following questions helped guide the study:

- Which strategies are used by the mothers to maintain their children's Russian language as well as bilingualism?
- What are their attitudes towards the social environment at the Russian School?
- What are the main motivating factors in promoting Russian language and bilingualism?

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to gain deeper understanding of the mothers' motivation in teaching their children their heritage language, and supporting bilingualism. The results are meant to develop further understanding on the factors that drive parents to regulate their children's learning. Moreover, the study attempts to approach the construct of motivation

from different perspectives, both theoretical and methodological. While identifying the core motivating factors of parental drive to further bilingual competence, the study paves the way for future research on parental motivation

Structure

Chapter 1 presents the research question, along with an introduction to the study and additional information about the school investigated in this study.

Chapter 2 explains the choice of methods. This chapter includes the reasons for which I chose the qualitative methods such as interview and observation. In this chapter I also discuss the importance of pre-understanding as well as my own background as a resource. Here the transcription process is also elaborated in detail.

Chapter 3 gives a presentation on bilingualism as a social and cognitive phenomenon. This is where I present research by Gardner and Lambert (1972), which divides the concept into Additive and Subtractive bilingualism.

Chapter 4 - The purpose of this chapter is to present the Self-Determination Theory as the main theory of motivation used to understand the mothers' drive. This chapter also includes Gardner's theory on language learning motivation (LLM), namely the Integrative/Instrumental Theory.

Chapter 5 presents the findings, which consist of three interviews with each one of the three mothers: Anna, Natasha and Katya.

Chapter 6 discusses the results against the backdrop of prior research and theory. A second set of theoretical framework is introduced. The purpose of this is to look at the mothers' motivation factors from a sociocultural perspective. This chapter also discusses the main motives using the social context of motivation as theoretical backdrop.

Chapter 7 includes concluding remarks and suggestions for further research.

1.1 The Study

The following study deals with investigating the experience of Russian mothers in Norway promoting Russian language learning and bilingualism in their bilingual (Russian-Norwegian) children. The focus of the study is to explore the attitudes and motivational strategies used by the mothers in teaching language skills to their children.

There are 8 children that are registered as attending the Russian class on Thursdays. However, the average amount of attending children is four or five (sometimes six). The other children do not attend regularly, usually once or two times a month. By the end of the year, only 3 mothers were attending the school on a regular basis.

I chose 3 mothers that attended the school regularly so that I could have the most amount of time with them on a regular basis. Because of the mixed level structure in the class, there are some children who have just entered the class, whereas most of them have been attending since last semester (a total of seven months). The following table demonstrates more specifically the details of the persons involved:

Mother's name	Child's name	Mother's language	Father's language
Natasha	Gleb & Boris (twins)	Russian	Russian
Anna	Yulia	Russian	Norwegian
Katya	Olga	Russian/Norwegian	English

The study is based on the mothers' connection with the Russian School of Sandvika, and the Russian language class on Thursdays that the children attend once a week. The social level of the investigation deals with observing social interaction between the mothers as a group, the communication between the teacher and the mothers, and the interaction between the children and the mothers. Using the social theory framework on motivation, I search for the motivating effects within the group setting, as well as individually with each mother in an interview setting. Most of the observation and interviews take place at the school, although some interview and observation material is conducted at the homes of the mothers. Since it is impossible to separate the sociolinguistic from the social environment, the study incorporates oral and literacy competencies within the school setting.

During the interviews I focus on the mothers' motivation, attitudes and strategies. Each interview is presented separately so that a general picture of each mother is developed. There are 3 mother interviews conducted at the school during or after class.

Most children who attend the school have one or both parents who are native speakers of Russian language. All of the children have been born in Norway, and are currently attending a Norwegian kinder garden or school. Most of the children at the Russian school are what Lambert calls compound bilinguals: *those brought up in a thoroughly bilingual home environment from infancy on* (Lambert 1972).

The theoretical framework is divided into three areas: bilingualism and cognition, motivation and language, and motivation as a social construct.

First, social perspectives on bilingualism are used to present the phenomenon. Bilingualism is further discussed in relation to the terms given by Lambert and Gardner, and the research furthered by Cummins. This part of theory discusses the theories of cognitive competence, and the interdependence that exists in a bilingual situation. These theories involve the research studies by the prominent researchers who pioneered the interdependence of bilingual acquisition in the second half of the twentieth century. Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development (1978) is presented as one of the pillars of socio-educational motivation.

The second part of the theoretical framework deals with the presentation and discussion of motivation and its connection to language learning. Gardner's integrative/instrumental motivation theory and the Self-Determination Theory are both used to look closer at language learner motivation within a social context. The SDT is juxtaposed against the integrative/instrumental theory in an attempt to analyze closer the nature of motivation of the mothers.

Following the presentation of the interviews I include the final part of theory, which includes social theorists as the background for discussing the results of the findings. Foucault's discourses explore how an individual's mental framework becomes shaped by the framework of the social mentality, how it becomes institutionalized into a common discourse. Foucault's framework cannot be excluded when discussing language acquisition, if we regard language acquisition as a social process, a process that often begins with the mother. The social perspective deals with the interdependence of society on individual's attitudes and

motivations. Other theorists, such as Mary Douglas and G.H. Mead are also included in the discussion on motivation from a social perspective.

1.2 About the Russian School

The Russian School of Sandvika was opened in 2001, providing Russian language, speech development, mathematics, and music classes (singing and music theory). The main focus of the school is Russian language instruction and it is geared towards Russian-speaking children born in Norway. The school's goal is to develop a sense of belonging to Russian culture through the language. Its ideology is based on Russian system of education adapted towards the level of development of children residing abroad. Language materials are especially chosen for Russian speaking children residing abroad. All classes are conducted in Russian, under the instruction of a native Russian teacher with teaching qualifications received in Russia.

The director of the school began the Russian School of Sandvika for the continual improvement and empowerment of parents and children in the Russian community. It was founded not only as a Russian language school, but more as a holistic approach to language learning.

The Thursday class is geared towards children aged 4-5. This group was initiated in September, 2012. That is when all of the mothers enrolled their children. The teacher at the initial start of the course (September, 2012) was Sofia. The next semester, in February, 2013, a new teacher, Raya, took her place, and continues as the current teacher at the school.

2 Methods

2.1 Qualitative vs. Quantitative methods

Qualitative methods are often the subject of choice for conducting educational research. I chose the qualitative method because it is most appropriate for an in-depth study of experience in individual cases. Even though this is the focus of my study, it is impossible to exclude completely quantitative method analysis that is more often than not included as part of qualitative research. Motivation and attitude studies in this thesis have used mixed (both quantitative and qualitative) methods to reach their findings.

It is my choice of observation and interview as the methods for the study that justify my choice of qualitative and not quantitative method. Qualitative methods take into account the closeness between the researcher and the informants. Naturally, it is about quality and not quantity and the flexibility this would allow in focusing on a few persons. The flexibility allows for changing information at any point of the process. Being able to invent a follow-up question in a semi-structured interview is a luxury that the qualitative method allows (Repstad 1998: 15).

Denzin & Lincoln present the qualitative research process as a transformative method with the researcher as the agent inside this world that he later represents or recreates: “*Qualitative research...consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world* (Alvesson, M. and Skoldberg, K., 2009: 7 referred from Denzin and Lincoln).

Even though this aspect of qualitative research has been criticized for its subjective tendencies, the desire to delve deeper convinces most researchers who choose qualitative research methods. At the heart of this reason lies the belief in the objectivity of authentic experience.

2.2 Observation and Subjectivity

The starting point is always the researcher's subjective experience. This presents a problem for the researcher, whose goal it is to produce results that contain a degree of accuracy. As a researcher, one accepts that one's values, attitudes and experiences are present at all times, and may at any given moment play a part in this process.

Observation is a primary source to data, at the same time being already impure, or 'theory-laden'. Hanson confirmed that all observation is theory-laden, and this went against the empiricist view of pure observation (observation through the senses) (Lund, 2002: 41).

Hanson's thesis was then supported by the scientific community, and especially accentuated in the method of hermeneutics, where the starting point for research is the pre-understanding (meaning that the author brings in its own pre-conceptions, values, opinions, etc.).

As a part of qualitative research, observation is unavoidable. For a long time, it was believed that observation is separate from theory. The more researchers opened up for the idea of subjectivity and relativity, the more unlikely it was that observation was pure in itself. The separation of O/T had played a strong part in the holding of positivist theory (Lund 2002). However, the emergence of other movements, such as realism and social constructivism, brought a strong opposition into the logic of positivism. One of the important arguments in this was the assumption that if all observation is theory-laden, then all observation is subjective (Lund 2002). Furthermore, due to the fact that the researcher manages observation, data gathering and the analysis, - objectivity seems like an impossible task. Nevertheless, an important point is made by Kvernbekk (PFI 2012) in relation to relativism – if everything is relative (and subjective), then the just uttered statement is relative and subjective as well.

This problem directly addressed by the development of social constructivism, where Berger & Luckmann's (1966) solution to the problem of relativism and subjectivity was to bring all the statements into a consensus, constructing a socially-based reality (Alvesson, M. & Skoldberg, K., 2009).

As a qualitative method I used observation at the Russian school of Sandvika as well as inside the parents' homes. I sat outside with the parents while they were waiting for the children. I observed how the parents interacted with their children, the children's interaction with each other, and the teacher's interaction with both parents and children.

2.3 Phenomenology

Phenomenological research attempts at reaching the essence of the experience, and constructs data by eliciting in-depth individual storytelling. Phenomenologists wished to return to the pre-rational experience, to the things themselves (Alvesson, 2009).

In phenomenology, when the researcher tries to understand the other person he does this by trying to see the same as the other. In order to do this the researcher has to place himself in the other person's situation, or world, and ask the question: "*What is it like to have a certain experience?*" The assumption behind phenomenology is that there is an essence to shared experience. It comes from the social sciences and requires a researcher to place himself/herself in another life world and consequently use this knowledge together with the already established knowledge to interpret the life world experience. The '*lifeworld*' concept was developed by the father of phenomenology – Husserl (Alvesson, 2009: 117).

Terms such as Husserl's (1913) '*lifeworld*', Heidegger's (1962) '*being in the world*' and Gadamer's (1989a) '*belonging*' vaguely direct the researcher into the realm of phenomenology. Merleau-Ponty (1962) further delves into this by instructing to "*describe, rather than explain or analyze. Phenomenology is the attempt at a direct description of experience, without any considerations about the origin or cause of an experience*" (Kvale, 1996: 53).

2.4 Interview

Kvale describes conversation as research, serving as "*a basic mode of human interaction*" (Kvale, 1996: 5). According to Kvale, the interview is "*based on the conversations of daily life and is a professional conversation*" (Kvale, 1996: 5). An interview has often been considered an effective method that transmits information about the other person's world, and perspectives from this other world. Interviews are bridges between the researcher and the source of data. Although past research has criticized the interview method as being too objective, recent research methods have welcomed subjectivity of the conversation as a valid way to achieving results. The interview method has been said to give too much focus to the subjective opinions of individuals, therefore moving away from objective grounds.

Considering the subjective nature of interviewing, this criticism helps us to examine further this growing method. In this study, this supposed subjectivity is used as a means, not as a disadvantage.

In my study the interview plays a central role as I try to get a close look at the attitudes and motivation within the mothers' experience. The interview went on separately, where each interviewee was given time and space, along with the privacy they required. I used a voice recorder to record the interview, and pen and paper in case I wanted to jot something down.

2.4.1 Interview Guide

A carefully prepared interview guide was ready to be used at any moment, but my goal was to welcome a more free flow of thoughts about the experience of language acquisition. As Repstad (1998) writes, - "*Intervjuguidene bør ikke høgges i stein! I flere av mine egne prosjekter har intervjuguidene i praksis vært håndskrevne huskelapper, ofte laget spesielt for hvert intervju*" (66). Through this half-structured interview form, it was possible to achieve a balance, where I never felt that I ran out of questions and we stood in a silent void, but at the same time an inspiring space was given to the participant, a space she enjoyed to share. I was not able to cover all the questions in my interview guide, but through the improvisation I was able to get a deeper sense of each question we went into.

As Repstad (1998) points out, it is much more important to know the questions, what the researcher is precisely after, than to take a long time to interview the subject. Hamlet asked 3 questions to confirm the same assumption about the interviewee's character. Although this was a short interview, it proved reliability and was even self-interpreted (Kvale, 1996: 152).

Therefore, Kvale emphasizes the importance of quality, not quantity, in the art of interview making. By knowing its subject, the interviewer is able to ask the right questions – questions that precisely evoke the interviewee to share truthful answers eloquently, which will then lead the interviewer to provoke interpretations from the subject. This circular motion was described by Kvale as containing depth and possessing the quality needed for further analysis.

As a part of a semi-structured interview, I have created an open guide to use in case of conversation blocks. At the start of the interview, the mothers were asked some background questions – I wanted like to know more about their background (education, cultural background, current employment, etc.) In posing questions about their socio-economic and educational backgrounds, I was able to create a general outlook on the women in my interview group.

My next set of questions had been divided in three parts. The first part dealt with motivation, the reasons why the mothers want the children to be fluent in Russian. This was a general question I asked all the mothers. The main focus here is to have them speak as freely and openly about their true (internally and externally) motivating factors.

The second part dealt with the mothers' promoting cognitive development in their bilingual children. Throughout this part, one of the factors I paid attention to was their metacognitive awareness around language learning. However, instead of using theoretical language, I asked them what they did in their daily routines (in relation to cognitive language learning and bilingual development). This part also included the mothers' goals for literacy, in addition to their strategies for achieving this. The following were questions that dealt with mothers' strategies for developing language cognitively: how much time do they dedicate daily or weekly on reading and doing homework for the class? Which resources are used at home? Do the mothers stop the conversation in order to rectify the child's spoken errors? Is the mother-tongue used consequently by the same parent (keeping languages separate)?

These questions dealt with the mothers' approaches to both spoken and written language development. Conclusively, this part contained the mothers' strategies and attitudes for maintaining the Norwegian language.

The third part contained the mothers' attitudes and motivations in relation to social linguistic development. Questions were asked about the support the mothers felt they got from the other mothers and from attending the Russian School; whether the children had regular contact with other Russian-speaking children; whether the mothers require the children to answer back in Russian when in a Russian or Russian-Norwegian social setting. I asked about traveling to

Russia to see family, and the importance the mothers attached to taking the child to the native environment. This part includes the mothers' identity attitudes and their aspirations for their children's identity.

2.4.2 My pre-understanding

I began to know the mothers in September, 2012, when I enrolled my 4-year old son at the Russian School of Sandvika. Even though researchers are advised against contact with the subject prior to investigation, I chose to research a group where I was an active observer and participant, fully aware of the advantages and disadvantages that this would bring.

The strongest criticism of conducting research on a close subject is the researcher's getting too close to one's subject and losing analytical perspective and the distance needed to conduct an investigative analysis.

On the other hand, it is easier for the informants to trust someone they know instead of someone who is a total stranger. Following Repstad (1998), it is also more difficult for the informants to exaggerate, or manipulate information to a person who knows them well (69). Repstad argues for the advantages of "*go native*", pointing out that the material obtained through close contact (and active participation) is fertile and irreplaceable (42). Considering his argument, it is logical to assume that knowing one's subject is an invaluable resource that can be used while moving between closeness and distance (*Nærhet og Distance*, as is the title in Repstad's book).

Researching the mothers was not the same as being together with them. Prior to the research project, I only talked with them about the children, and the topics of our conversation took practical, every day directions. From the onset of the research project, our communication transformed into a directed search for information that was never taken out and looked at. During some of the interviews, the mothers would ask me for reassurance – "*Isn't that how you experience it (with your son)?*" to which I would answer honestly and briefly about my own experience. I did not feel that sharing my experience influenced their answers, but rather that it contributed to increasing their trust in my understanding. Thus, empathy became an invaluable tool without which it would have been difficult to obtain the closeness I needed for

dealing with the abstract concept of motivation. This proved to be especially useful in conflict situations where trust was most needed.

My involvement with the mothers had been a positive experience. I participated in everything that went on in the school. Because I was a natural part of the collective, it was just as natural to begin conducting research. In the very beginning of the research project, I started to observe closely the mothers' behavior, and to conduct short interviews. This informal interview material was then jotted down on paper, and used later for analysis. During this initial stage, I felt that bringing a tape recorder would feel artificial, and wanted to accustom the mothers slowly to the idea of discussion on a particular topic.

The natural situation of being a part of the group five months before starting to conduct research, created the foundation for trust and ease with which the informants accepted the project. Additionally, my presence and discussion were accepting during the challenging moments of dealing with problems as they arose spontaneously. The immediacy of conflicts causes the informants to release information that otherwise is not accessible. Considered to be the times when informants are most spontaneously honest, conflicts are known to be very informative (Repstad, 1998: 44). During a conflict, by considering me as one of them, the mothers talked to me about the issue at hand. However, by listening to their attitudes within the conflict situation, I risked being involved and losing the distance I needed to maintain. My goal was then to keep the role of a listener, without siding with anyone.

2.4.3 Socio-Linguistic Background of the Researcher

Pre-understanding consists of the experience the researcher brings into the project. Since it is due to the characteristics of my own socio linguistic background that I am able to conduct the following study, it is important to mention briefly what those characteristics consist of. While growing up in Ukraine (until 5th grade) and Kazakhstan (summers until 5th grade), Russian was the first language I learned from my Kazakh mother and my Ukrainian-Jewish father. On a daily basis, I listened to Kazakh, Ukrainian, Hebrew and Russian. But I remained monolingual, speaking only Russian inside and outside home environment until I was eleven years old. Both Kazakhstan and Ukraine, countries where I spent my childhood, have two

official languages – Kazakh and Russian, and Ukrainian and Russian. Such is the case of all the former Soviet Republics.

Russian has been the dominating language in Kazakhstan, Ukraine, and other Soviet Republics before the break-up of the Soviet Union. However, following the dissolution in 1991, a strong wave of nationalism emerged in many of the republics, and the Russian language dominance weakened, causing an upward transition of the minority languages, such as Ukrainian, Kazakh, Latvian, Lithuanian, etc. This transition was not only societal and familial, but also academic. During the Soviet era, my mother entered first grade without knowing one word in Russian. She had only spoken Kazakh in her monolingual home. All her classes were in Russian (in Kazakhstan). When I started school in Ukraine, all of my classes were in Russian, except for one Ukrainian language class.

I consider myself to be multicultural and multilingual, being able to identify with various distinct cultures. This array of possibility presented itself through the challenging experience of being an immigrant and submerging into other cultures and languages. Known to be as the intensive way of learning a new language, one is forced to communicate on a daily basis even though one does not enjoy it all the time. In this sense, languages are tools used externally for driving that specific environment.

I have taught Spanish, English, Russian and French, both formally and informally to children of all ages, in public, private and alternative schools (both Montessori and Steinerskolen). Throughout my language teaching experience, the challenge has been to motivate second language learning inside the classroom, which is by nature restricted to formal and timed interactions with non-native speakers. On the other hand, by developing strategies for use inside the classroom, the possibility for creative learning inside the classroom is always present. Classroom language teaching was another way of looking into the language learning process.

2.4.4 Getting in contact with the school

I enrolled my four-year old son at the Russian School of Sandvika in September, 2012, the same time that the other mothers enrolled their children. When I contacted the founder to

obtain permission to conduct a study on the mothers' experience, I received a positive and encouraging response, a similar feeling I got when I first came to the school together with my son. In addition, additional information through an interview with the founder and the teachers could be provided if necessary. My intention for the research project was to find a language school that was accessible, where people already knew me, so that I would have access to an open and trustful situation. I would be able to establish direct contact through my ability to communicate in my own language.

Being fluent in Russian provided instant access into the environment of the mothers. It was a unique opportunity of getting to know their experience. I presented the project to each mother and reassured them about anonymity and that it was an open interview that they are free to interrupt and terminate at any moment they feel that they are not comfortable to continue. They were offered to sign the consent form containing additional details and information about the project.

When I began to present the details of my thesis to each mother individually, I noticed a great deal of interest not only about the research on bilingualism, but about motivational theories around language learning. Because of their own metacognitive awareness in regards to parenting and language learning, as well as their reflection on education, they were very motivated to communicate their opinions and to know about the subject as well. My intention was to provide them with a general overview, without giving too much information. As Kvale points out: *"Informed consent is about the balance one finds in giving information and withholding it, so that the interviewees' natural views on a topic are obtained"* (Kvale, 1996: 113). The reason for this is that the researcher's intentions are to obtain data from the informant's point of view. Planting ideas into the experience of the other could manipulate their experience, leading the interview away from the reality of the experience itself.

2.4.5 Selection

Socio-economic background of the mothers

The age group of the mothers is from 30-45 years old. All of the mothers hold a university degree and a wide range of experience in several careers, both in Russia and in Norway.

I chose these three mothers because they were the ones attending Russian class on a regular basis. However, this meant that I picked out the participants, and that all of the informants came from a middle-class background.

Hakuta (1986) relates the problem of methodology as having the following limitation: *When bilinguals are unselected and come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, negative effects are found. When bilinguals are selected for balanced bilingualism and come from middle-class backgrounds, positive effects are found* (42). In their study, Peal and Lambert “purposefully selected balanced bilinguals from similar socioeconomic backgrounds, finding positive effects, and a higher degree of bilingualism than in found in low socioeconomic status bilinguals” (Hakuta, 1986: 42 referred from Peal and Lambert, 1962).

On the other hand, in his longitudinal study on his own bilingual children, Caldas (2006) concludes that as a middle-class bilingual parent, time and discipline were the biggest costs, not the actual monetary expenses. Although the family invested into buying a cottage in Canada so that the children could have access to societal immersion for a few months out of the year, Caldas suggested that social status and economic advantage did not play a big role in the achievement of a balanced bilingualism. The only expensive investment was traveling to the minority language country, and staying there for a period of time: *The laboratory was expensive. This fact by itself, however, does not mean that our findings are somehow less applicable, or that the means we employed are somehow superior. Much of the social capital that we invested in our children cost no penny* (Caldas, 2006).

The biggest expense for the mothers is the yearly trip to Russia. For all three mothers, traveling back home is not an option. For some mothers, during the times that they have financial difficulties, the family helps out with the stay or with the tickets. The importance of the trip, both for the mothers themselves and for the language practice of the children, outweighs the monetary worries, and motivates them to save throughout the year in order to make this trip. Natasha admitted to making the trip twice a year, together with her husband and two children.

Socio-linguistic Background of the Mothers

Apart from educational and career development, the mothers seem to have been avid readers and travelers. They tend to have an interest towards improving their own cultural repertoire through books, people and travels. These interests were described during the interviews, while the mothers demonstrated their own sphere of well-roundedness. Therefore, it was relatively easy to spark a conversation about how they envision their children's education, how they evaluate their children's linguistic progress, and other metacognitive processes about their children's development. This might have been due to the fact that they were already highly aware of the different aspects of getting an education, not only as a means to a goal, but as a process on the whole. In addition, they appeared conscious of the effect that their own educational development had and will have on their children, and they placed a high priority on their own future aspirations. During the interviews, a full range of eloquent, elaborated, analytical Russian came forth in a monologue on their awareness of the language learning, its benefits and process. All three mothers could easily converse on the topics of education, identity and cognitive development.

Soviet, not Russian, culture had been the dominant culture in the former Soviet republics (former USSR). The official language in the USSR was Russian, and it is still the language spoken by a large majority of people from the post-Soviet republics. These currently independent republics are: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. While Katya and Anna both come from Russia, Natasha spent the majority of her life in Belarus.

All three mothers grew up and obtained their education during the Soviet Union era (before 1991). This implies that they identified with the Soviet culture, especially the folkloric tales and Soviet cartoons that they grew up with at the time. These are the same cartoons and fairy tales that are given to the children as homework at the Russian school. Using their knowledge of folklore the mothers are able to train their children's sociolinguistic competence.

Education and Work Experience of the Mothers

Anna

Anna was a successful real estate broker in Moscow, with a degree in art history. When she met her Norwegian husband, she had already obtained a great amount of independence, owning her own apartment, and enjoying her career. When she moved to Norway, she started working as a cleaning lady. Due to back problems, she had to leave this job and started to study Norwegian. In one and a half years, she was already prepared for the Bergen's test, and passed. Her main concern had been to assimilate into this culture, by learning the language, studying and finding a job suitable to her work experience. Anna regards this as especially important for the future attitudes of her daughter. She is convinced that her own successful assimilation and positive attitude would have a great influence on Yulia's attitudes as well. Anna is now separated from her husband, and lives alone with her daughter.

Natasha

Natasha moved to Norway from Belorussia (Belarus), together with her husband. Their children, twins – Boris and Gleb, were born here in Norway. Natasha holds a degree in educational linguistics from a university in Belarus, and works in transport solutions here in Norway. This is a career path she chose years ago, working in transport solutions in Belorussia as well.

Katya

Katya holds a degree in economics. She obtained her bachelor's degree in business management from the College of Oslo. She works in her field, and wishes to 'upgrade' by studying accounting. Her ambition is to become an accountant. She lives alone with her daughter Olga.

2.4.6 Transcription

The first question I had to ask myself as someone new to conducting research was whether transcription was an important tool in research. The answer came as I began the transcription process, and realized what an irreplaceable tool it was.

Transcription is translation of the spoken into the written. The problem with transcription is the same as that of any translation – there are certain aspects that cannot be translated because they belong in the original version.

Throughout all the interviews, a tape recorder was used in order to be able to record everything, and have time to concentrate on the participant and make notes if necessary. After each interview I worked on transcribing it, along with all the details revolving around the interview, as best I could remember. As Kvale (1996) mentions, it is a matter of choice whether the researcher will transcribe verbatim, or whether this will be an attempt at getting closest to the meaning that the interviewee tried to convey.

By transcribing the interviews I was able to get a closer hold on the material, obtaining a structured format for oral data. While memory and note taking could have been a substitute for transcription, I was not able to remember everything and keep track of every detail. Transcription allowed for a more accurate account of the interview. However, because of the technological and circumstantial difficulties, an inevitable loss of information is considered a natural part of transcribing the spoken word. In addition, the researcher is the connecting bridge and agent that translates the spoken into the written. It is therefore important to be as accurate as possible, and to record as closely as possible, what has been said. Transcription is not analysis; this is where it is necessary to be as objective as possible, including as many details as possible. The main reason for this is that one never knows what can be useful until one looks at it as a whole and is writing the analysis.

By transcribing information transmitted through the spoken word, it often becomes obvious that not all data can be accurately recorded, resulting in loss of information. Transcriptions allow for subjective errors and therefore cannot be considered objective translations from the oral to the written.

Apart from the general validity problem with transcription, there is a greater obstacle with the translation. I had to translate from Russian to English as I transcribed the interviews. As in any translation from one language to the next, some information is always lost. The goal of every translator, then, is to balance the right amount of accuracy and precision, getting as close to the meaning as possible. Many translators are, in a sense, meaning hunters.

2.4.7 Analysis

According to Kvale (1996), the first step of the 6 steps of analysis, takes place when the interviewee describes her world. It is during this step that the advantage of knowing one's subject is apparent, as the interviewee who has developed trust with the interviewer is often more likely to speak openly, in detail, and without manipulating information. The second step is when the interviewee makes a spontaneous analysis or a connection, without intervention of the interviewer. During the interviews conducted in this study, all three subjects exhibited a certain level of metacognitive reflection on their own strategies and motivation, as well as on that of their children. Without being asked, they spontaneously elaborated on their own, bringing in comparisons, metaphors, analysis and interpretations during the interviews. The third step of analysis involves intervention from the interviewer, when the interviewer makes an assumption on the basis of what has been said, and expresses this assumption in order to get a reaction from the subject. At this point, the subject has the opportunity to negate or agree with the interviewer. The mothers often disagreed with me and the assumptions I made in reaction to their statements. This not only made the interview more dynamic but it also helped me in the next step of analysis. By witnessing their opposing views, I was presented with several sides of the same issue. Due to the spontaneous nature of these repeated contradictions, the mothers' attitudes became more easily discerned. The fourth step is the interpretation conducted by the interviewer after having transcribed the interviews. Throughout this thesis, I focus on the first four steps of analysis specified by Kvale. Due to the time constraint the study leaves out the fifth step involving re-interview and the sixth step involving action.

2.4.8 Limitations

There had been a number of limitations throughout the study. The first one was the number of participants. While the intention was to conduct in-depth interviews and use field observations, it would have been more effective to use a larger sample. Had the interviewed sample included mothers from another Russian school, the resulting data might have been representative of a larger population. It is due to this limitation that the results are not to be generalized, rather used to further understanding on the subject of parent motivation of bilingual children.

The second limitation is subjectivity. Like Caldas (2006) states: *A limitation of the case study in general; and of participant-observation in particular, is subjectivity. I do not claim to have conducted an objective study. Indeed, it is the subjective nature of the study that is its strength. A case study's strong point is its in-depth and detailed look at a specific instant 'at close hand' (24).* Following Caldas, this study's subjective edge is a conscious effort to come closer into the motivation phenomenon. This was obtained through the process of developing trust and respect from the mothers.

Thirdly, because of the number of objectives, the study tends to divert into several directions. The result of this is a wide range of analysis, in comparison to a study focusing on one question. Because we dealt with locating the motives, explorative approaches lead to using different theoretical lens to look at the different sides of the same phenomenon.

3 Theoretical Framework

3.1 Bilingualism - Socio-cultural Perspectives

Bilingualism is a social phenomenon, and it is therefore a complex social issue. Socialization is a process by which the child internalizes the system of norms and values that belong to that particular language as part of his own. As a part of this learning process the child becomes part of a culture that he can eventually claim as his own. The shared values and norms that he acquires eventually internalize and play an important role in the development of his identity. This internalization is assimilated unconsciously, simply by living within a particular culture and is directly related to the daily exposure of the language of that culture. Socialization takes place in the interaction between the child and the social group that forms part of that interaction. By identifying with the important persons within the social group the child adapts into the roles presented in front of him, copying their behavior and gradually behaving like them. Positive attitude of these important persons plays an essential role in the development of a communicative competence that will further motivate the child's learning processes and uses of the language. Primary socialization normally occurs within the family, where the models for behavior are significant others. It is during primary socialization that the child becomes aware of the greater social system. According to Fishman, it is in minority situations that the family plays the most important role in language maintenance and transmission, because *“if these languages are not transmitted in the home they will be lost as they are not part of the language curriculum offered in schools”* (Fishman, 2001). For the children at the Russian School, until the age of 4, the only source of Russian language practice had been the mother, and the extended family in Russia.

After the age of four, they were placed into the Russian school environment once a week, something that would later increase with the age. Secondary socialization happens within the walls of an institution, such as school. This is where the child gains awareness of the social structures and systems. In this study, I enter both the home sphere of socialization (by interviewing the mothers) as well as the school culture (by observing them in their secondary socialization territory).

Having heard the expression “*language is power*”, one might wonder in what sense this might be so. On one hand, this refers to the power the individual gains over his ability to maneuver in society. On the other hand, it is through the language (learned by a newcomer, just as a baby learns a new language) that the society restructures the individual. Radical shifts gradually occur, just as a bilingual child growing up inside two radically different social systems. Russian and Norwegian are very distinct social structures that have a deeply seated value system and mentalities that do manifest themselves through oral expression.

In a bilingual situation, there are two identities, two social systems and two parts of the self. The process of bilingualism is directly related to the life-long process of being integrated into society. It is through language that the self or selves become part of society, producing a self that is more complete, or integrated. It includes learning our own identities as well as acquiring the skills needed to get along with others. Language is responsible for transmitting formal knowledge and skills, evaluating and monitoring learning.

3.2 Measuring Bilingualism

In the following section I attempt to come into the definition of bilingualism through the use of a sociocultural perspective, and how bilingualism is the result and the construction of society and culture. Moving away from trying to measure the degree of bilingualism, I then contact it in a sociocultural context.

According to the definition provided by *Webster’s New World Dictionary of the American Language* a bilingual is “*using or capable of using two languages*”. Hence, bilingualism is the ability to use two languages. In the concept of bilingualism the division is between the first language, which is the child’s mother tongue, and the language the child first acquires, and the second language, which the child later acquires. In many cases, both languages are acquired simultaneously, and there is simultaneous progress in the spoken language at home (in this case, Russian) and the language in the kinder garden or school (in this case, Norwegian). Two out of the three mothers in this study spoke only Russian to their children from birth (the children have been born in Norway). These are cases of one-parent one-language, meaning that one language is used, without mixing, when speaking with that

particular parent, in Russian. Throughout the study, the Russian language is referred to as the minority language, and the Norwegian language the majority (or dominant) language. As explained by Landry (2007a): “*The minority language is the language of ‘solidarity’ used for intragroup informal contracts and the dominant language is the ‘status language’, prevailing in intergroup contacts, in formal and societal functions and as the medium of social mobility*”. (Landry, 2009: 204 referred from Landry 2007a).

Furthermore, bilingualism in itself is not easily defined. The abundance of definitions of bilingualism makes it difficult to pinpoint the term, considering the wide range of proficiency that is allowed when considering someone bilingual. According to the definition by Bloomfield (1933): “*Bilingualism is native-like control of two languages...Of course, one cannot define a degree of perfection at which a good foreign speaker becomes a bilingual: the distinction is relative*”. Bloomfield (1933) only confirms the obvious observation that bilingualism is a relative notion, and that “*native-like control*” goes only as far as the frames of the context allow. Everything depends on the situation the person finds himself in. It is not the focus of this study to measure the degree of bilingualism or language competence in both languages, but rather how parents handle bilingualism. Still, some researchers have pointed out that the difficulty lies in conducting studies on bilingualism when the scale for measuring it is relative. Throughout the study, the parents’ own measuring of their children’s bilingualism is noted, as the mothers intuitively approximate the level of Russian and Norwegian fluency, as well the level of literacy progress. Their awareness of these levels might stem from their own language learning experience. For example, both Natasha and Anna claim that their children speak Russian better than the average bilingual child in Norway, and worse than a native-Russian child living in Russia. In regards to fluency, research suggests that judgment of native fluency often comes from the native speakers who fail to distinguish the speaker from one of their own. Caldas’ (2006) studies on his own children supported this assumption, after observing how the native speakers of French asked the children as to why they spoke English, assuming that they were born and raised in a strictly French environment, which was not the case.

This presents a greater problem when one makes a distinction between competence (what one knows) and performance (what one does). According to Chomsky, the actual performance of the language in use does not reflect one's competence: *The problem for the linguist, as well as for the child learning the language, is to determine from the data of performance the*

underlying system of rules that has been mastered by the speaker-hearer and that he puts to use in actual performance (Chomsky, 1965: 4).

As in any relationship, a perfect bilingual balance of equal proficiency in both languages is impossible. Bilinguals are usually less competent in one language than in the other. For example, using the mother tongue with one parent at home does not cover many of the areas involved outside of home. Reading and writing skills acquired through continual practice at school might be lacking in a home environment. While a child might achieve sufficient sociolinguistic competence in the mother tongue, it is always a challenge for the parent to maintain the literacy level equally proficient as that of the dominant language.

This is the case of the children at the Russian School. The lack of exposure to Russian language is a disadvantage, and the children lack practice in different environments. While Yulia (Anna's daughter) seems to possess sufficient sociolinguistic competence in the mother tongue, she lacks the exposure to the structured foundations of writing. Since her only access to systematic teaching is once a week at the school, her mother believes that she needs more academic stimulation, even though she doesn't want to press her into this.

The *Threshold Hypothesis* is an example of the difficulty of measuring competence and the problem it entails in research work (Cummins, 2000). If one considers the *Thresholds Theory*, it would be just as unclear as to the precision of the threshold, since it lacks definition in the level of language proficiency children may reach in order to avoid negative effects. The same goes for the positive cognitive development in relation to the theory – the threshold for that is not easily defined either. The most obvious question then is – how could one use the Threshold Theory for development if one is not able to locate the threshold itself? The difficulty of this brings me to Lambert's choice of additive and subtractive forms of bilingualism that he uses to generally measure progress and competence.

Cummins demonstrates the use of Threshold Hypothesis to measure the thresholds where additive and subtractive bilingualism are initiated.

Threshold hypothesis assumes that those aspects of bilingualism which might positively influence cognitive growth are unlikely to come into effect until the child attained a certain minimum or threshold level of competence in his second language. Similarly, if a bilingual child attain only very low level of competence in the second (or first), interaction with environment through that language, both in terms of input and output, is likely to be impoverished (Baker and Hornberger, 2001: 71)

Where would the child's development have to be in order to cross into the next threshold? Proficiency so often depends on the context, and even within the context, there is the distance between performance and competence. It does seem, however, that Cummins meant for the Threshold theory to be something of a fluid structure, and thresholds are perhaps moved and adjusted according to the learning situation.

The ambiguity of the Threshold Hypothesis reflects the ambiguity of the phenomenon of bilingualism. It is not easily defined, and most importantly, it is not easily measured. It is something that we always have to have in mind while researching on bilingualism. Nevertheless, knowing this can serve to our advantage in that it could help maintain focus on the process of learning and teaching bilingualism, allowing the flexibility of goals or thresholds which are in constant shift.

3.3 Research on bilingualism

There has been a considerable amount of research done on the effects of bilingualism on cognitive development. Comparing the different studies done on intelligence, it is generally feasible to conclude that those studies done in the first half of this century was looking for the negative effects of bilingualism on intelligence, whereas more recent studies have focused on linking bilingualism to positive effects on intelligence.

The research done prior to 1960 investigated the negative effects of bilingualism on social, cognitive and emotional development, therefore claiming that minority children are prone to retardation and other learning disabilities. However, after 1960, researcher began to test the positive effects of bilingualism on cognitive development, and found just the opposite. One of the most important recent research studies on bilingualism were led by Cummins, who claimed that improving one language improves the other, which then causes the improvement of both languages (Cummins 2000). This was a radical development in the research community, since research prior to 1960's used freely the SUP model of Separate Underlying Proficiency.

Research by Cummins could have been one of the reasons that researchers started to focus on investigating the benefits of bilingualism. Most mothers claimed that a great potential lies in language learning, and that it is only to the benefit of their child's development to maintain learning their mother tongue. Although a direct link between intelligence and bilingualism has yet to be established by the research community, parents often exaggerate the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, claiming that children will be smarter

The first suggestion that bilingualism might affect children's metalinguistic abilities was proposed by Vygotsky (1962). He argued that a bilingual child is more accustomed to the arbitrariness of the form-meaning connections and so is less reluctant to separate them. He speculated, therefore, that bilingual children would be more advanced than monolingual children in solving problems such as the sun moon task. In this problem, introduced by Piaget, children must decide what the sun and moon would be called if they switched names and which one would be up in the sky at night (the sun would). The trick is to dissociate the form from its usual meaning; that is, children must not pay attention to what they know these words actually mean (Grosjean, 2013: 195-196).

3.4 Additive or Subtractive Bilingualism

Lambert (1972) differentiates between additive and subtractive forms of bilingualism. Additive bilingualism refers to enrichment created by the second language. Maintaining both languages at an equal value contributes to the development of both languages at the same time. Subtractive bilingualism occurs when the acquisition of one language threatens to dominate the other. An example of this is the erosion of mother tongue language in the United States, where English more often than not becomes the dominant language.

In the SUP model the first and second languages are represented as two separate entities with two separate channels. This implicates that they are independent and do not effect each other's proficiency. There is no relationship between the first language proficiency and second language proficiency. This also means that the skills learned through one language

will not be transferred into the other. Another characteristic of this model is that when one language is improved, it takes up more space, and therefore pushes out the other.

The Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP), on the other hand, is an interdependent model that is the model that is much used in the research community today. It claims the additive effects of bilingualism, demonstrating how two languages are part of one system. Using two channels for input and output of knowledge, the skills learned in L1 are transferable to L2. And vice versa – the concepts learned in L2 can be used in L1 acquisition. Furthermore, there is a transfer of social knowledge and identity that is transferable from one language to the other. This suggests that the cognitive or social skills that the child already learned in L1 she/he doesn't need to relearn in L2. This is what Lambert named additive bilingualism. Lambert stressed the importance of positive attitude and support from the environment (parents and teachers) that would be the required factor for additive bilingualism to flourish. Subtractive bilingualism, however, could easily develop as negative attitudes and shame push out the other (minority) language and the dominant language could take over.

Through this CUP model, Cummins (2000) claimed that even the reading and writing skills that are learned in one language do not have to be relearned in the other – because once the concept of reading and writing is established, all the child has to do is to rename the concept. During the interview with Natasha, she mentioned this very explicitly – *“It's not that my son doesn't know the word, it's that he doesn't know the concept of 'thermos' for example. But he doesn't know it in Norwegian and he doesn't know it in Russian. Once he learns the concept, he can learn the names for it in 10 languages, but the concept remains the same”*.

She had been well aware of the Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) model, developed by Cummins (1984), and described it in context. She recalled when her son made a habit of answering *"I don't know"* to naming certain objects, such as table, or chair. Because of the frequency of this comment, Natasha began to realize that it was not that he didn't know the object's name, it's that he did not yet have cognitive awareness of that object itself. It was this cognitive awareness that Natasha said was important for language learning. The important thing, she said, was not being able to say it in two languages, but to be aware that *"this concrete object is a table"*. Consequently, it would be easy to add on the different words (like synonyms) to already defined concepts.

The knowledge of art, yes, can help the perception of geography, or the study of nature. Just by studying art you receive knowledge about nature. By studying nature, you can learn about the structure of your body. Everything is so connected that studying the different subjects you later get a picture that gets compared and you understand, the world is one and we are all one whole (Anna, interview).

This CUP model stresses that “When children are taught subtraction in one language, they do not have to relearn it in the second. Once the concept is understood, it can be applied in either language. Spanish medium lessons do not feed a ‘Spanish part’ of the mind, nor English-medium lessons an ‘English part’. Ideas, concepts, attitudes, knowledge and skills transfer in either language” (Baker, 2000:72).

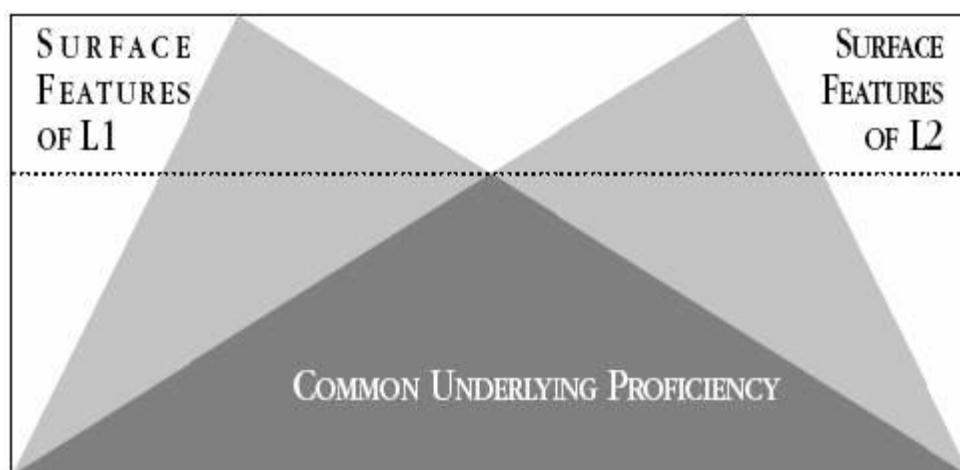


Figure 1: The CUP model (Cummins, 2000)

The tops of the two peaks represent the basic aspects of language, such as conversational abilities of both L1 and L2. The Common Underlying Proficiency is the common storage of skills and knowledge that can be used for both languages. In light of the study, this model supports the claim that motivating the development of the minority language naturally promotes the dominant language as well. Caldas (2006) maintained that in a bilingual situation, the support must revolve around the minority language, since it is the weaker language.

Øzerk expands the CUP model into the common foundation for multilingualism. His mountain peaks continue to be additions of a common base of language development:

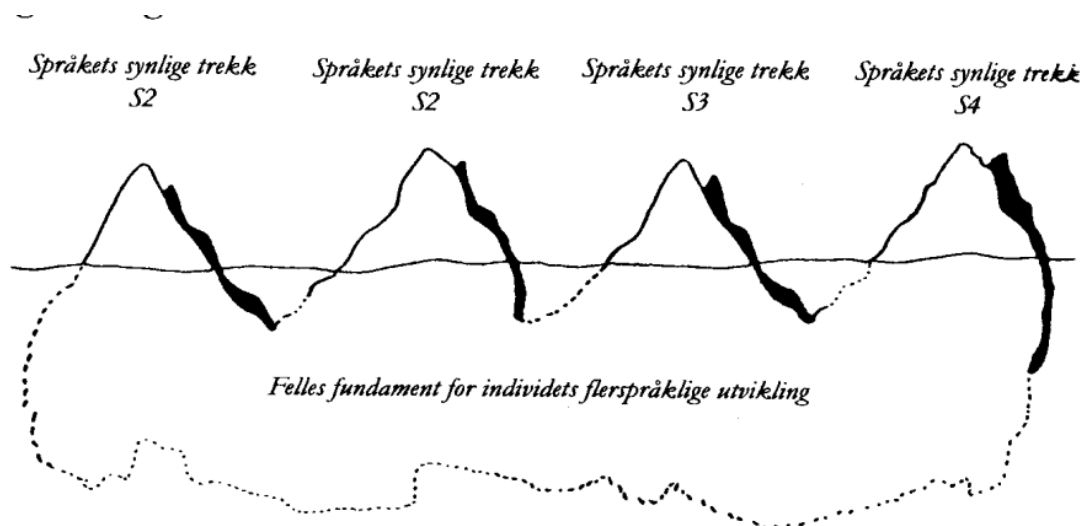


Figure 2: Multi-iceberg model (Øzerk i Bråten, 1996 s. 184)

Øzerk also supports Cummins' and Caldas' claims on the importance of developing the minority language, or the mother tongue. Research studies by Landry and associates (2009) have brought forth a discussion on the conditions that favor additive bilingualism for minority groups. Prior research by Cummins has suggested that additive bilingualism can be fostered by strong emphasis on the learning of the minority language (Landry, 2009: 204 referred from Cummins 1981; Hamers and Blanc, 2000).

3.5 Receptive Bilingualism

Receptive bilingualism is extremely common in bilingual families. In these cases, the parents may speak the mother tongue with each other, or to the children, but the children don't answer back in the minority language. They answer back in the dominant language, understanding everything in the mother tongue.

Instead of a full competence, the children acquired only a partial competence. Writing fell away first, then reading. The effort required to impose these skills became too

great for the parents. Similarly, the children succeeded in limiting the sphere within which Norwegian was spoken...This bilingual situation was highly typical, with parents speaking Norwegian and children answering in English. Eventually the parents might also succumb to the pressure exerted by this uncomfortable situation and go over to English themselves (Haugen, 1969).

As Anna stated in the interview, her fear that her daughter would lose the language was the motivating factor for the verbalization tactics. Katya, on the other hand, was afraid that her daughter would not gain sufficient competency in Norwegian. Fear of receptive bilingualism, both for the minority and dominant languages, is what drove both mothers to action.

All of the mothers were determined to avoid receptive bilingualism, therefore making it a daily requirement for the children to answer and participate speaking Russian. After class, some of the children and parents stay so that the children can play together. The children quickly switch to speaking Norwegian among each other. Some of the mothers interfere and make the comment "or you speak Russian or we leave", but not all the mothers do that, and it presents a difficulty when one mother does it and the mother of the other child doesn't make the same rule.

This happens because of the preference of the children to switch to the dominant language. In this situation they have the choice of language, and they prefer Norwegian. The strict mothers' response about maintaining the conversation in the mother tongue runs parallel to the general attitude the parents must have in maintaining of the mother tongue responsive competence in their children. It is not only the attitude that needs to be established and reaffirmed. To a single mother requiring her child to answer back in Russian in a dominantly Norwegian society with almost no contact with Russian community, is a matter of commitment to the linguistic future of the child. It involves discipline on a daily basis. There are usually a lot of corrections to be made, and a long while before the child achieves the competence of a Russian speaker. The dominant language has the power to erode the minority language, if not balanced out by the constant supply of not only disciplinary practice, but also other stimulation and creative tools. As Harding & Riley point out: *"The astonishing facility with which young children learn a second language is only paralleled by the speed at which they can forget one. Again, the crucial factors are use and need. If a language no longer serves the child's communicative needs he will not use it and if he doesn't use it he will forget it, quickly and completely.* (Harding & Riley, 1986: 41)

3.6 Vygotsky

Lev Vygotsky (1868 - 1934) was a teacher, linguist, psychologist and writer. His area was developmental psychology, child psychology and education. Vygotsky believed that thought was socially constructed, recognizing the interdependency and interconnectedness that exists in a bilingual process. Vygotsky claimed that "The processes of the native and foreign language have between them a great in common," and that "success in learning a foreign language is contingent on a certain degree of maturity in the native language (Ozerk).

According to Vygotsky, the development of language is a direct result of social interaction with others. The daily interaction with someone who is more knowledgeable linguistically and culturally gives the child the opportunity for constant improvement. As a result of this continual participation, the daily doses of external learning gradually internalize and become part of the child's own equipment. The parent/teacher figure plays a principal part in this development, which is at first a supplier of skills that the child lacks. However, with the time needed for the assimilation of these new cognitive and language skills, the child is able to work the way himself in a territory that was once unknown.

Vygotsky (1978) claimed that the core place of development where transformative changes really occurred was at the 'zone of proximal development'. In the learning sense, this was a way to adapt the learning situation to the level of the child's development. The child's level of maturity is to be evaluated by the adult, so that the latter can present him with new information, which is just above his current level. The evaluation is simply problems given to the child to be solved in order to check where he stands, and from this evaluation the difficulty level is to be increased, under the guidance of the adult, teacher, or even an older, more advanced student. The focus of this practice is the interaction which aids the child into unknown territory, so that the child is not alone inside a problem for which he does not have the solution tools. Vygotsky's principle of learning was based on the concept of social constructivism, where he claimed that 'What the child can do with assistance today she will be able to do by herself tomorrow' (Vygotsky, 1978: 87).

Vygotsky was not only a teacher, but a persistent researcher who was deeply involved with the development of language processes in his students. His notion was that for a young learner, acquiring two or more languages at the same time was an advantage because they serve each other in a dependency process. That is why he refused to separate between learning

of L1 and L2. According to Vygotsky, second language acquisition benefits from and depends on knowledge students already possess through mother-tongue language. Likewise, the second language broadens the child's awareness of the mother tongue. Both languages work upwards, helping each other in a constant mutual climb.

For Vygotsky, language is the medium through which children become socialized into the society's (or adult's) way of thinking. Language is then directly connected to thought and creating thought structure. In the process of internationalization, language is the tool used by adults to shape children's mentality. In a bilingual child, this internalization occurs in two language structures, and, as Vygotsky so keenly points out, it occurs as an outward-inward process, first through the adult and then within the child. This point is precisely illustrated by Hakuta (1986):

The greatest change in children's capacity to use language as a problem-solving tool takes place somewhat later in their development, when socialized speech (which has previously been used to address an adult) is turned inward. Instead of appealing to the adult, children appeal to themselves; language thus takes on an intrapersonal function in addition to its interpersonal use. When children develop a method of behavior for guiding themselves that had previously been used in relation to another person, when they organize their own activities according to a social form of behavior, they succeed in applying a social attitude to themselves. The history of the process of the internalization of social speech is also the history of the socialization of children's practical intellect (Hakuta, 1986: 79 referred from Vygotsky, 1978: 27).

Because the environment plays a central role in Vygotsky's sociocultural theory, it is then only logical to assume that the internalization process depends on the environment where the internalization takes place. The formation of thought at home goes only so far as that environment allows, as well as the problem-solving that is school-based.

Bahtin (1981) was a strong supporter of not only the sociocultural perspective, but according to him, it was a process of 'ventriloquation': *The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention. Prior to this moment of appropriation...it exists in other people's mouths, in other people's concrete contexts, serving other people's intentions: it is from there that one must take the word, and make it one's own (293-294).*

4 Theory on Motivation

In this study, SDT is used to locate and understand the Russian mothers' motivation in relation to their children's learning Russian and supporting both languages. Although I will present all of the components of the SDT as a backdrop against the mothers' motivation experience, I will especially focus on identifying the extrinsic/intrinsic components of the SDT, and the internalization process provided by the SDT. Moreover, these theories will be used as a pointer in locating the main direction, intrinsic, extrinsic, or both, around which the motives are found. As an additional component of motivation theory, this chapter will also present Gardner's integrative/instrumental theory while exploring language learner motives.

4.1 Self-Determination Theory

4.1.1 Introduction

SDT is the umbrella term for the following motivation theories: Cognitive Evaluation Theory (CET), Organismic Integration Theory (OIT), and Basic Needs Theory (BNT). In looking at each theory, one can further understand the formation of motivation, its sources and its factors.

The Self-determination theory is described by Deci & Ryan (2000) as the organism's own motivation theory. SDT has an organismic approach to motivation, in that it regards the individual as an organism that is active and self determining over its own behavior. A self determined person is more intrinsically motivated than a person that feels controlled by outside factors or an inner press. The emphasis on intrinsic motivation and its benefits forms part of SDT. To be self determined can be compared with experiencing one self as an actor in one's life, while a person that feels controlled will feel as a pawn who is driven by outside factors and who doesn't have control over his own life.

Self-Determination Theory is a motivation theory on human liberation, growth, and realization of one's potential. SDT makes explicit assumptions about human nature. If juxtaposed against the Cummins' CUP model, the SDT mechanism exhibits similar positive

and negative effects at the presence or lack of proper support (such as autonomy, competence, and a supportive environment). Autonomous behaviors tend to reflect growth motivation improvement and mastery, whereas controlled behaviors tend to reflect ego motivation in that they are characterized by viewing feedback as threatening, defending one's ego, and being dishonest with oneself and others (Hodgins & Knee, 2002).

The SDT has often been presented as work motivation or health motivation theory, although it has gained its popularity as a learner's motivation theory. Other studies, such as those by Landry, Joussemet & Koestner (2008) investigate into autonomy supportive parenting, using the SDT. Recent studies linking the SDT to Gardner's Integrative/Instrumental Theory on Language Learning Motivation have discussed the importance of the SDT as a language motivation theory. Judging by the variety of fields in which the SDT had been employed, it might be correct to assume that the general use of this theory as a basic motivation hypothesis is applicable.

4.1.2 SDT and parent motivation

Parental motivation of bilingual children is a relatively new field, with Moerk (1982) pioneering his investigations on mothers' strategies in teaching language to toddlers; and the more recent qualitative study on his own bilingual children by Caldas (2002). Throughout this study, parental motivation can be interpreted as an autonomous process which is intrinsically driven. Both parents, one of Canadian origin and the other American, are deeply involved in teaching the children over a long span of time (19 years), and derive not only enjoyment from being able to develop a high level of oral and literary competence in their children, but also explore the methods they used and the results of their progress. It can be concluded that what began to be an extrinsically identified motive, inspired by a child on the street that spoke two languages to each parent, evolved into a longitudinal study fueled by inner sensations stimulated by the desire for mastery, knowledge and exploration.

Following both Caldas' findings and Deci & Ryan's SDT, one might assume that parent motivation is sustained over time if there is a substantial amount of intrinsic motivation. On the other hand, it would be erroneous to assume that this is a separate entity that accumulates from within. Intrinsic motivation is often produced as a result of an external motive, or

reward. Nevertheless, the SDT claims that these external motives must be there to accustom the habit until the habit becomes a part of the self. For the parent who is used to systematically give daily language instruction over a long period of time, what had been an effort involving constant correction becomes a part of daily routine, and finally, a fruitful activity. This adaptation of the extrinsic/intrinsic motives is derived from the following:

Amotivation	A lack of motivation caused by the realization that ‘there is no point...’ or ‘it’s beyond me’.
External Regulation	The least self-determined form of extrinsic motivation, coming entirely from external sources such as rewards or threats.
Introjected Regulation	Externally imposed rules accepted as norms so as not to feel guilty
Identified Regulation	The person engages in an activity because he/she highly values and identifies with the behavior, and sees its usefulness
Intrinsic Motivation: Knowledge	Doing the activity for the feelings associated with exploring new ideas and acquiring knowledge
Intrinsic Motivation: Accomplishment	Sensations related to attempting to master a task or achieve a goal
Intrinsic Motivation: Stimulation	Sensations stimulated by performing the task

Figure 3: Description of Noels, Pelletier, Clement and Vallerand’s (2000) Language Learning Orientations Scale: Intrinsic Motivation, Extrinsic Motivation and Amotivation. (Dornyei, 2005: 78)

Amotivation, or the lack of motivation, can be exemplified by a parent who does not have any desire to speak the heritage language with the child, and is mostly speaking the dominant society language throughout the whole upbringing. There is a general feeling of language transfer unimportance. The parent would make comments, such as “it’s so much faster to say it in Norwegian”.

External regulation involves the parent teaching the language because there will be a reward or a threat. In relation to the mothers, the reward would be future job opportunities.

Introjected regulation tends to involve a feeling of responsibility towards teaching the heritage language, based on the fear that the heritage language will be lost. The feelings of guilt and shame for not properly teaching the language also form part of introjected regulation. Even though these feelings are internal, they are still considered to be directly dependent on external factors – “What would my family say if I don’t teach him Russian”. As Katya admitted in the interview, the family influenced her to start speaking Russian again to her daughter.

Identified regulation is when the parent holds the belief that it is important to teach one’s child to speak, read and write in Russian because it will be useful. All three mothers attach value to the acquisition of language skills as a part of the well-roundedness (dannelse) process.

Intrinsic motivation involves the parent’s desire to teach the children for the sake of enjoyment, knowledge, and the excitement that comes from transferring knowledge to one’s own child.

4.1.3 SDT as an Internalization Process

The SDT is unique in its elaborate description of motivation as an internalization process. The SDT approach to socialization emphasizes the possibility of internal growth through the fulfillment of the basic needs of autonomy, competence and relatedness. The SDT presents an elaborate view on the internalization process. The action of internalization takes place within the extrinsic motivation frame, not at the absence of motivation (amotivation) or the presence of already internalized intrinsic motivation. The final step of extrinsic motivation is integrated

regulation, which means that values have been assimilated and made part of self, but the action is still considered extrinsic because it is not done out of enjoyment, stimulation, and knowledge itself. A more precise description is offered by Ryan & Deci (2000):

“Internalization refers to people’s taking in a value or regulation, and integration refers to the further transformation of that regulation into their own so that, subsequently, it will emanate from their sense of self” (71).

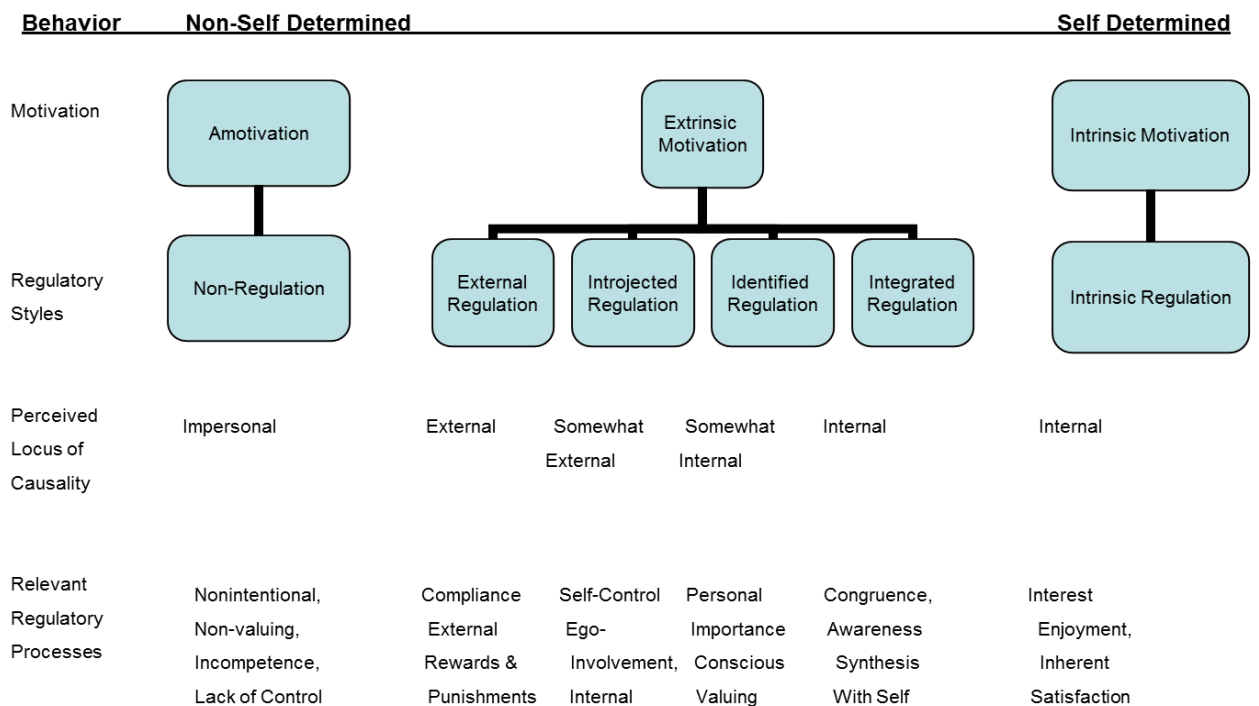


Figure 1. The Self-Determination Continuum Showing Types of Motivation with their Regulatory Styles, Loci of Causality, and Corresponding Processes.

From "Self-determination theory and the facilitation of intrinsic motivation, social development, and well being," by R.M. Ryan and E.L. Deci, 2000, *American Psychologist*, January, p. 72

Figure 3: The Self-determination Continuum (Ryan & Deci, 2000)

4.1.4 Cognitive Evaluation Theory

Cognitive Evaluation Theory explains how the outside factors in the social sphere influence motivation for the individual. As pointed out by Deci & Ryan (2000), the theory argues that *“social-contextual events (e.g. feedback, communications, rewards) that conduce toward feelings of competence during action can enhance intrinsic motivation for that action” (70).*

Both positive and negative response from others can influence motivation, but it is reward

that plays an important part in improving intrinsic motivation. The importance of learning something new reflects the need for competence and autonomy. It is the different experiences of self determination that effect intrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan 2000).

In Cognitive Evaluation Theory the importance of outside environment is especially stressed when inner motivation is involved. That is why the two needs it brings into focus are competence and autonomy. The environment and the various social relationships and connections have the possibility to increase inner motivation, acting as the driving force. Positive response and recognition have the power to improve inner motivation. It increases the possibility for improvement in performance and effort.

In relation to the mothers who promote their children's bilingual education and upbringing, as the theory suggests, the more supportive the nature of both environments (the dominant Norwegian environment and the minority Russian environment, including the Russian school), the more intrinsically motivated the mothers will become.

On the other hand, according to the theory, motivation will not increase if the feeling of autonomy is absent or low, or if the response one gets is not supporting autonomous learning. Pressure to achieve can be damaging to inner motivation. It is important to take the time, energy and positive criticism from others in order to keep and further one's inner motivation. They also stress the importance of language, and how one's choice of meaning underlying the words plays a big role in forming positive reflection.

Externally motivating factors, such as secure future for the child (external reward) and feeling pride about the child's achievement (introjection) are both quite useful tools, but in the long run, it is not enough to keep the motivation up, especially when the person is constantly nagged into doing it. Nagging about result improvement ends up in feelings of being forced, feelings that not only lead to the total absence of motivation, but also to a potential threat to one's health and well-being.

According to Gagne and Deci (2005), the danger is that through excessive use of regulation through external factors, one can easily become less creative and result-oriented. Balance is the key. To use just enough external rewards in order to move from outer regulated towards inner regulated. An example of this is an observation of the Norwegian mother at the Russian school. Her daughter speaks Norwegian with the mother and exhibits a case of receptive

bilingualism with her Russian father, whom she understands but does not respond to in Russian. For the first few months at the Russian school she entered the class crying, refusing to be there without her mother. Since the girl enjoyed drawing, the teacher (Sonia), tried to incite her with that. However, the situation did not improve until the mother promised her a lollipop if she stopped crying. Considering the value of this uncommon reward, the girl continued to wait for her lollipop after each class, meanwhile becoming more and more accustomed to the learning situation.

As the Cognitive Evaluation Theory suggests, just enough external regulation is used so that it becomes a habit. The following theory, Organismic Integrations Theory, covers this in more detail.

In the 1960's Frederick Herzberg published "The Dual Structure Theory", which makes a distinction between hygiene factors (externally motivating factors) and motivating factors (Herzberg, 1966). The theory also suggests that people are motivated by the motivating factors, and not the hygiene factors. Examples of hygiene factors are: salary and security, position, work conditions, relationships. Motivating factors can be looked as inner motivating factors and are as follows: recognition, progress, and responsibility, the work itself, personal growth. Inner motivating factors are more effective because they last longer and because they don't depend on outside influences to maintain motivation.

The main incongruity of this theory is the ambiguousness of external/internal concepts. This happens due to the fact that it is often impossible to make clear distinctions between the social environment and individual motives. It is often through position that one gains recognition and progress. Personal growth is often directly affected by external rewards, and security can also be considered a need, both psychological and physical. However, it is by separating the inner from the outer and to see how external influences the internal that a more holistic analysis becomes possible. The Organismic Integrations Theory provides further explanation in relation to the internalization process.

4.1.5 Organismic Integrations Theory (OIT)

Organismic integrations theory concerns the ways in which different forms of extrinsic motivation promote or prevent internalization, and how one can move from external to

internal motivations. This part of SDT looks at how externally motivated people can be self-regulated, regulating motivation through integrating and internalizing. It is highly important that throughout this process people experience autonomy and recognition from persons of significance.

OIT describes the different types of regulation that people can have in different situations and at different times. According to the OIT people can under optimal conditions integrate any new regulation (Gagne & Deci 2005). When that happens, the person experiences that he himself has control over his actions, even though in the beginning he was not motivated from within to carry out the activity. Under optimal conditions, this theory supports Vygotsky's ZPD theory, where the process of integration of new knowledge is fostered by a supportive environment (teachers/parents/society). The main feature of integration theories, such as the integration of bilingual language skills, is focus on positive or negative external support that can have positive or negative effects on motivation.

OIT represents the different forms for external motivation and the factors that promote or prevent internalization and integration of behavior. Internalization has to do with how the person takes in something while integration has to do with making something a part of a person, and a part of his self. Internalization is defined as the taking in of values, attitudes or regulatory structures, such as the outer regulations of a behavior are transformed to an internal regulation and as a result are no longer dependent of outside help (Gagne & Deci: 334). It is often that we are obligated to do something we are not motivated to do, such as brushing our teeth. This then becomes automatic, and we brush our teeth without motivation, but without too much struggle either. The internalization process is a process of regulating external influences and adapting them into one's own value system. The internalization process doesn't happen overnight – it takes time. The outside environment always has a great influence on one's psyche, but it is through the realization of one's own will and power to assimilate, sift through the unwanted material in order to keep what one "wants" to keep – that is what internalization is all about. It is not always the positive that a person wants to internalize. Even if it is negative attitudes and habits that the person will internalize, the internalization process will still give the individual a feeling of well-being through the feeling of belonging to a community as well as a feeling of satisfying social relations (Ryan & Deci 2000b).

There are four types of external motivation. The least autonomous form for external motivation involves the achievement of an external reward, or the avoidance of a punishment. “*Introjected*” regulation includes the avoidance of feelings of anxiety, guilt, pride or getting attention from someone of importance. These feelings are directly connected to one’s self-esteem and have to do with a person’s self-perception. A typical example is the “nice girl” syndrome, and the behavior that is induced by expectations from society. When a person can internally regulate a task, but considers the task as controlling, he does it in order to avoid guilt or in order to feel proud (Ryan & Deci, 2000). For a language learner, this would refer to speaking the language because they would feel ashamed if they didn’t. For a bilingual parent, it would mean feeling shame if the child doesn’t speak the language, or doesn’t have the equal amount of knowledge or competence in both languages.

A higher degree of autonomy is obtained through *identified regulation*. Identification involves setting a value on a task in such a way that it is important for the person. All of the parents at the Russian School recognize the value of their children’s acquiring Russian. The recognition of this value is of a personal importance, although it is not yet entirely part of one’s self. It is more self-determined and is considered more lasting and having a higher participation level. The more identified a regulation, the more autonomously closer it is to being integrated as a part of the self (Gagne & Deci, 2005).

The most autonomous form for external motivation is *integrated regulation*. It is at this point that the identified regulation is fully integrated in the self, after a careful self-examination of the newly assimilated values and needs. It is only when identified regulation is fully assimilated by the self that the integration process can occur. To integrate a task the person has to understand the meaning of the task and integrate it into their own value system. Nevertheless, it is still part of external motivation because it is still partially directed towards obtain results, and therefore not conducted from pure enjoyment. A person doesn’t need to be personally interested in an activity.

The Organismic Integration Theory describes the process of integration, from the least integrated part of extrinsic motivation, consisting of behavioristic model of reward and punishment, to the ego-focused (introjected) and valuably important (identified) parts, and to the other edge of the most integrated part of extrinsic motivation, one that is almost a part of the self.

The OIT forms a central part of the SDT, as well as the most extensive. This might be due to the observation that while the intrinsic motivation is an existing one that functions with a support system and satisfaction of the basic needs, - the acquisition of new skills which undergoes a series of tasks, must be integrated. Naturally, the process of integration takes time and requires a lot of support, both internal and external.

Due to environment limitations where the minority language lacks the natural surroundings of the heritage language, the mothers are placed in an artificial situation, where motivation for teaching the heritage language, must be integrated. Had this been a natural environment in Russia, teaching the children to speak and write in Russian would have been an intrinsically motivated daily activity for the mothers.

4.1.6 Basic Needs Theory (BNT)

The basic needs theory claims that there are three basic psychological needs that have to be satisfied in order to develop the individual's ability to self motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2000). These three needs are the need for autonomy, competence and relatedness. Autonomously motivated people are more persistent, demonstrating stronger initiative and performance than others, due to the fact that the task means more to them than to those that are motivated externally (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Autonomy:

Autonomy as a psychological need can be defined as a state where one can initiate and regulate one's actions spontaneously, experiencing freedom. This is accompanied by the freedom to choose the task, choose methods, and choose the use of time. Autonomy literally means "*rule by the self*" and a person is autonomous when his or her behavior is willingly enacted and endorsed (Ryan, 1993). An environment that supports autonomy is one in which a person is allowed to express himself and at its best to be oneself. Autonomy is not the same as independence in the sense that one can be dependent on others and still be autonomous. Autonomy, however, is directly related to greater psychological health. It involves acting with a sense of volition and having the experience of choice.

The determination that a parent has in relation to her child is the decision process through which the mother chooses for the child the education scenario at home as well as at school.

By choosing the child's neighborhood and school environment, the mother indirectly decides the kind of people the child will surround himself with, or the kind of ideologies he will feel close to. It is possible to argue that one can never get enough freedom of choice. Eventually, the child will choose for himself. A parent who is totally self-determined is one who can make choices for the child and operate without restraints from society or her own psychological barriers. For example, the Russian mothers make conscious choices to support or not support bilingualism by enrolling their children early in Norwegian kinder garden and Russian school, providing them with extra help in Norwegian, promoting literacy at home, etc.

In the case of the mothers in this study, I investigate their determination in making choices based on internal and external motives. According to the SDT, the more internal their motives, the more self-determined and autonomous they are. As their autonomy and competence in teaching their children improves, so does their sense of relatedness in connection to the Russian school. That is, the more autonomous, competent and related the mothers become, the more this effects their own growth in motivation. On the other hand, in case of the environment becoming unsupportive, and there is a loss of self-efficacy and autonomy, the direct effect on motivation can be detrimental.

Competence

Competence is a need to be effective when it comes to interaction with others. According to the basic needs theory, the need for competence involves the need to feel as if one has the communicative ability to interact with others.

Relatedness

Relatedness is a need that involves the development of fulfilling relationships within the social environment one is in. This is also the need to experience belonging, recognition and respect from others (Gagne & Deci, 2005). Themes such as the development of trust, constructive criticism, individual dialogue and equality, will be discussed in connection with relatedness. Of all these, in order for a relationship to last a long time, trust is essential. Trust is developed over time, with repeated proof from two individuals adding on more and more trust through repeated actions. Schindler og Thomas (1993) divided trust into five dimensions: integrity, competence, consistency, loyalty and openness. A parent/teacher can

systematically demonstrate examples of trust, but it is through training that trust can be maintained as a whole.

Sometimes trust is created in the moment – in a stressful situation, for example. A person feels pressed into a situation, and has no one else to rely on. No matter the amount of support that he is being offered at the moment, it feels safer to be two, instead of one.

A good example of relatedness is Natasha's challenging situation at the onset of a new teacher, when her boys became very distracted and she could not see another solution than to leave the school (her other suggestion was to separate them, but this was impractical). During this situation, supportive comments, such as "how can one help/what can we do?" were directed in Russian towards Natasha. These comments came from several mothers, but were directed from the "social body" of the mothers. In Russian, one of the very common sociolinguistic codes for offering help to someone in a difficult situation, comes from one individual on behalf of the group. For example, it was often Anna that took initiative to express concerns of the group. It was also Anna that took the initiative to buy a present for the departing teacher, and to collect money for this. This was something she offered to do, and the other mothers thought this was a good idea. When she spoke to the teacher about the other's concerns, she expressed her thoughts as "we", a very common social frame for communication, where the person involved includes the others' feelings and thoughts.

The encouraging form of the mothers had to do with their acceptance of her as part of them, as well as their lack of criticism of her children's behavior. The mothers commented how "tired/wired they are after kinder garden," implying the fact that it is difficult for boys at that age to sit still – they have to move. This form of acceptance worked to support Natasha's frustration, because the mothers did not blame her for not being able to control her disruptive children. Had she gone home this time without this support, she would feel isolated and unsupported in this learning process, part of which was attending the school. Although the decision to leave the school was made by Natasha, she wanted to express her final decision, and hear what the mothers had to say. There was a genuine desire to listen to Natasha.

4.2 Motivation and Language Learning

In order to approach closer the concept of motivation, this chapter will take into account a motivation theory from the perspective of language acquisition. The term motivation in a second language learning context is seen according to Gardner (1985) as referring to “*the extent to which the individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity*” (Nasser, 2011: 995 referred from Gardner 1985: 10).

According to Gardner (1985), motivation is “*the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favorable attitudes toward learning the language*”. Effort is not enough, it is the energy directed towards a specific goal that describes motivation. Motivation is the main force or will to learn – it is the engine that drives the language process. “*Many of us may want to be millionaires, but if this desire is not associated with a concomitant effort to achieve the goal we are not really motivated to become millionaires*” (Gardner, 1985). Many parents would like their children to be bilingual, but if the desire is not strong enough, they will rarely put up with the repetitive language practice and discipline it takes to maintain a minority language at home. There are many effort-producing activities; claims Gardner (1985), such as the desire to please a parent, exams, a new bicycle, but these externally-motivating factors are not enough, the motor of motivation still being an internally-based power.

Recent research studies have only recently begun to include the SDT into the language learner motivation (LLM) theories, placing intrinsic/extrinsic motivation in juxtaposition to the already known Gardner’s integrative/instrumental theory. Other studies have in educational psychology have looked for whether intrinsic motivation promotes additive bilingualism. One such example is Landry, Allard and Deveau (2009) investigating the conditions favoring linguistic motivation. The researchers use the Self-Determination Theory as framework for their study. Their presentation of the PALL model suggests that autonomy support of the minority language promotes additive bilingualism because of the “*strong inter-linguistic transfer of minority language competencies and of an internal motivational orientation*” (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2009: 203). The study then claims that internal motivation promotes minority language learning which then positively effects the internal motivation of the dominant language (Landry, Allard & Deveau, 2009: 208).

4.2.1 Integrative/Instrumental Motivation Theory

One of the most respected and researched theories of motivation in second language (L2) acquisition is Gardner and Lambert's (1972) theory of integrative and instrumental orientation. According to these studies, orientations are the reasons why an individual would study a language, while motivation is the desire to learn and the attitudes that stand behind this desire. Integrative orientation has to do with the desire to be a part of the community, while instrumental orientation presents the desire to use the language for practical purposes, such as work.

The main criticism of Gardner and Lambert's research is that they conducted their studies in a Canadian environment, where the learners had daily social access to both French and English. This setting is far from the reality of a typical L2 learning situation, where the only opportunity the learner gets is artificial practice with other non-native. Although the research had been invaluable in L2 studies on motivation, it offers an incomplete view on language motivation, and should be used as a supplementing theory. In this study I incorporate the Integrative/Instrumental Motivation Theory together with the Self-Determination Theory, in order to locate the motivation of the mothers.

The other criticism presented by Dörnyei (2005) is the lack of clarity and framework around what actually consists of integrative and instrumental concepts. Dörnyei (2005) points out that the original theory consisted of other subcategories, which were then simplified into just the integrative and instrumental components.

Dörnyei (2005) criticizes this model for being too vague in relation to the concept of integrativeness, which is not only loosely defined, but also used several times. The general concept of integrative motivation consists of subcategories of motivation and integrativeness. The confusion arises when one asks the question: why are there two terms for integrativeness?

Integrative motivation is described by Gardner in the complex model that is divided into integrative and instrumental motivation. Integrative motivation reflects "*a high level of drive on the part of the individual to acquire the language of a valued second-language community in order to facilitate communication with that group*" (Dörnyei, 1990: 46 referred from Gardner, Smythe, Clement, & Glikzman 1976, 199). The internal desires that deal with

integrative motivation are: interest and desire to learn the target language, whereas instrumental motivation is driven by external benefits, such as a better job or a higher salary.

In a closer look at Gardner's integrative-instrumental duality, Clement and Kruidenier (1983) bring into account the vagueness of the terms, as well as other influencing factors (Dörnyei, 1990: 47 referred from Clement & Kruidenier 1983). As a result of their research, they found data to support other motivating factors that had to do with environmental factors. A large-scale survey was conducted in Canada looking for orientations for language learning. Dörnyei concludes that Clement and Kruidenier's study could not locate an orientation specific to the minority group, only as far as multicultural settings in the dominant groups were concerned (47).

Graham (1984) came up with a term *assimilative motivation*, referring to “*the drive to become an indistinguishable member of the community*” (Dörnyei, 1990: 47 referred from Graham 1984). This, Graham argues, is different from integrative motivation, which implies the desire to learn about the social group of the target language, whereas assimilative motivation involves being inside of it and part of it, assimilated.

Gardner's studies were conducted in Canada, among English-speaking Canadians learning French which is the second official language of the country. This means that the studies were conducted according to the Second-Language Acquisition context, which requires direct exposure or frequent interaction with instruction. This differs from studies on foreign-language learning (FLL) context, which is the typical academic learning of a language that does not involve interaction with the community (Dörnyei, 1990: 48). One could even argue that Gardner's studies are bilingual language acquisition, where the learner is exposed to simultaneous language and culture learning. Integrativeness is more likely to occur and even seems to be a natural process when there is direct exposure with the community of both languages. Dörnyei wanted to test Gardner's theory in another context. The purpose of the Dörnyei's (1990) study was to investigate the importance and characteristics of integrative and instrumental motivation of English-learners in Hungary, an FLL situation.

The results of the study found some integrative components in instrumental motivation, and vice versa. The results also showed that the significant motivating factors in FLL are instrumentally motivated, such as the career-goals of an individual. The reason why there was such a pull into the instrumental motives was that there was not enough exposure to the target

language community to develop affective motives that make part of integrative motivation. However, the study concluded that although instrumental motivation will get the students to a certain level, it is the integrative motivation that will get them further.

SDT and Integrative/Instrumental Theory

Recent comparisons of SDT and the theory of integrative/instrumental orientation have been undergone by Noels (2001), who in a study on learners of Spanish compared integrative to intrinsic motivation. Noels concluded that the correlation exists, and the more integrative behavior a person exhibits, the more self-determined he is. However, Noels separated the two concepts, emphasizing that while integrative had to do with becoming a part of society, the SDT's intrinsic motivation had to do with personal enjoyment and satisfaction. Although Noels differentiated intrinsic motivation and integrative orientation as two separate concepts, the researcher recognized that they both shared the self-determined aspect.

However, several studies later conducted demonstrated the connection between external motivation and instrumental orientation. In fact it was Gardner (1985) who claimed that both integrative/instrumental orientations were parts of extrinsic motivation “*indicate that the language is being learned in order to satisfy some goals not simply because of an intrinsic interest in the language itself*” (12).

5 Interviews

5.1 Natasha

I met Natasha outside of school. This was her suggestion, so that we would have time to talk without being interrupted by the children. She was very willing to meet with me and share her experience not only with her children, but her experience in teaching languages as well.

Natasha currently gives classes in Russian speech development to Russian-Norwegian toddlers.

Natasha has positive attitude towards her children's bilingualism. This is demonstrated through her choice of reading material. Bedtime story reading is equally divided between Russian and Norwegian. The children often ask for explanation of unknown words or concepts. She says this mostly happens during the Russian reading. She then takes the Norwegian book to kinder garden, and they read it with the teacher, who then explains to them in Norwegian. For Natasha, it is important not to include the Norwegian language in their Russian-speaking home. She encourages the reading of a Norwegian book in Norwegian, and the discussion of it in Russian. She claims that in that way, the child will develop positive thoughts about his mother's positive attitude about the dominant language in society. In this way, not only does Natasha and her kids create a dialogue about her sons' familiar subject, but also they construct a new dialogue going into a further discussion, in their mother tongue. Natasha speaks of the "golden middle". It is what she calls the balance of the two languages, where one respects the other, and vice versa. Positive valorization of both the minority and the majority languages is the driving force of a bilingual education. When her sons have guests who are Norwegian, Natasha makes a point of speaking only in Norwegian, to not exclude her sons or their friends. She says that it is not polite, and she wouldn't want the Norwegian friends to feel excluded, nor would she want her sons to feel ashamed.

Throughout her experience in teaching foreign languages, Natasha has developed a high awareness of language learning and language teaching. This was acquired not only through experience, but also through extensive reading on language acquisition and educating bilingual children. When it came to her own sons, it was a matter of course that Russian

would be the language that everyone would communicate in, without mixing it with Norwegian. Both mother and father spoke Russian to the boys from birth.

When asked about the main motivating factor in her teaching Russian to her sons, Natasha answered: “There was no motivation about it, it’s just how it was going to be – we speak Russian, and the children will also”. Apart from this, there were plenty of other motives that Natasha expanded on. The first one she mentioned was the intimate contact with her children. It was important for her to speak Russian to her children to maintain emotional contact that she claimed would be missing had she spoken to them in another language. To explain her emotions in her mother tongue is to move to another level of communication, a level that would not be possible to achieve in a foreign language.

Because of the strong Russian culture and language practice at home, both boys began talking early, and have developed good oral skills in Russian. Because they attended a Norwegian kinder garden, they also gained high competency in Norwegian. When asked about their oral competency, Natasha confirmed that they had a stable level of competence in both languages.

It was also stressed by the mother that one of her motivations for her children's language growth was belonging to an identity other than the Norwegian culture identity. This, Natasha claims, is important so that they grow up knowing where they came from, where their roots are. She says this with a strong urgency, claiming that knowing that they also belong to a Russian identity will serve as a pillar later on in life. She is convinced that it is during the early years that identity can be integrated into the person. This identity is developed through the language, she says. For Natasha, now is the moment that language work creates identity formation: “*When they’re uncontrollable teenagers, and you come to them and you say – look, how interesting Russian culture is, and by the way, you’re Russian*” (Natasha, interview).

As a part of this learning experience, the family takes trips back to Russia, visiting their grandparents and spending time with other children of the family. They make this trip together, with the father and with Natasha, sometimes twice a year, for a period of 3-4 weeks. Last time, they visited for two months. Natasha observed these trips as “big jumps” in her son’s language process. For Natasha this is an essential part of language development - when the child realizes that Russian is not a language used exclusively by the mother and the father, but that it is language spoken by other people, by a greater community. Also, part of the

child's awareness growth is opening up to learn the cultural artifacts that come with this language. These cultural artifacts are discovered by traveling to the mother country, while at home in Norway, these artifacts had only been pictures inside a book. For Natasha, speaking her own language to her children is like giving them a gift. It means helping them understand where they come from.

Although she had been a teacher for some years, she is well aware of the disadvantages of being the sole educator of one's children can lead to. That is one of the principal reasons that she enrolled her children in the Russian School of Oslo. In addition, she knew that a teacher would often exercise greater authority than the mother would.

Natasha is very committed to bringing her boys to Russian class every Thursday. She believes that speaking the language within the family is not enough. All language learners must have directed instruction, a teacher, and other learners that are moving in the same direction. Even though her sons got a head start as language learners with double exposure from mother and father, she still regards Russian classes as extremely helpful in this development. She sees cultural values, community values, and language values in this exchange. It also helps greatly to be supported by other mothers who are part of the same project, and who often share the same views.

When asked about her children's awareness of language learning, Natasha said that they, who are 4 years old, are not yet aware or motivated for language learning. She believed that awareness and motivation come later on in life.

Natasha is great believer of creating a balance between free teaching and teaching through negotiations. For example, when it's time for bed, Natasha makes a deal with the boys - should we study or should we go to bed. Naturally, they choose the former.

This belief in balance makes her a flexible but persistent language educator. For example, instead of correcting her child's speech mistakes, she repeats the correct words in a question, suggesting that the correct word was what was meant by the child.

Although she is very well read on pedagogical theory and language learning research, her ultimate credo is "know thy child". She believes that awareness around language learning can only be applied in context to the knowledge a parent or teacher has about the child

5.2 Anna

I met Anna in her home, while Yulia was present. Anna's daughter Yulia (5 years old) was born in Norway, to a Norwegian father and a Russian mother, Anna. Anna spoke only Russian to Yulia from birth, even though they lived together with Yulia's Norwegian father until the child was 3 years old. Anna also spoke Norwegian, but at the table it was a cross of two languages – Anna speaking Norwegian with her husband, then turning and speaking Russian with her daughter. Then Yulia gradually separated the two languages, communicating in Russian with her mother and Norwegian with her father. Anna reports little or no mixing of the two languages.

Even before Yulia's parents separated, the main caretaker was Anna, who spent a considerable amount of time with Yulia. After the divorce, Anna spent most of the time with Yulia, including two of four week-ends per month. This gave her the opportunity to speak as much Russian as possible with Yulia. However, when I asked her as to whether the continual exposure to the Russian language influenced Yulia's progress in Norwegian, her response was that yes, based on the response she received from kinder garden, Yulia's progress in Norwegian can be considered lagging behind the Russian. When asked about whether her desire was that Yulia should be equally fluent in both languages, Anna responded that it was her intention that Yulia should begin early with Norwegian, and that is the main reason why she started kinder garden when she turned two. When asked to expand on this question, Anna explained that her daughter's country of birth is Norway, and that she lives and grows up in Norway. According to this view, it has been essential for Anna to support both languages, even if she is only actively teaching one of them.

The reason for teaching the one language is that Anna doesn't feel competent to teach in Norwegian. She says she can't because she would be teaching wrong. What she means by this is her lack of native ability for pronunciation, and language nuances that a native speaker possesses. Anna rates her Norwegian ability as good, but not good enough to teach Yulia on a

sociolinguistic level. Besides, according to Anna, it would not be possible to include both languages on a daily basis. She is well aware of the one-parent, one-language benefits, even though she had never read about it

When Yulia was born, Anna decided that she wanted Yulia to be able to communicate in Russian. Because of her fear for the future loss of Russian language, Anna decided to verbalize as much as possible any kind of activity Yulia was involved in. She implemented this strategy from a very young age. As Yulia gained understanding, and as her linguistic ability improved, Anna decreased the amount of verbalization because she said it was very tiring to have to speak in such detail on a daily basis. The verbalization strategy had been used together along with literacy strategies, which involved reading Russian books and attending the Russian school. In addition, they traveled to Russia yearly, and received visits from family here in Norway.

Currently, Anna has regular contact with two Russian-speaking families, where she brings Yulia to play with the children. These are two separate families which they visit twice a month. During these visits, Yulia speaks only in Russian with the other children, without switching to Norwegian. Anna states that both families require that the children speak only Russian to each other. Since they possess the same level of Russian linguistic ability, no switching occurs neither from Yulia's side, nor from the other children. Anna assumes this situation to continue until the children no longer possess the same level of fluency. If the Norwegian becomes more dominant and the children feel that they can express themselves better and easier in the dominant language, then naturally either switching or communication in the dominant language will occur.

Anna claims that her daughter's personal happiness is the most important thing for her. When asked about what she means by happiness for Yulia, Anna diverts into a juxtaposition of what happiness is not – the concept of greatness. Greatness in the sense of achievement of external goals. In contrast to the internal goal of happiness, greatness for Anna should not exist as a future goal for one's child. In the interview, Anna gives examples of geniuses such as Michelangelo whose upbringing motivated them for success (Michelangelo's father pressed his son to be successful, and beat him when Michelangelo decided to become a painter). For Anna these are two different directions – being motivated for success and being motivated for happiness. Moreover, Anna describes happiness to be directly connected to the concept of

self-realization: *And what is needed for happiness – an awareness of one’s self as an individual, yes, then if your father is Norwegian and your mother is Russian, then you possess Norwegian mentality and Russian as well. If one part is missing, then how can you become self-realized?* (Anna, interview).

Yulia’s Stuttering

Earlier studies have claimed that the likelihood of stuttering in bilingual children is higher than in monolingual. Most of these studies were conducted in the first half of the twentieth century, and were particularly focused on the negative connection between bilingualism and cognitive development. More recent studies claim that the correlation is unreliable, and suggest that "stuttering is a neurotic symptom for which there may be any number of psychosomatic or socially induced reasons; bilingualism, however, has not been shown to be one of them" (Hoffmann, C., 1991: 141-142 referred from Paradis & Lebrun 1984: 12).

Yulia stuttered until she was three years old. She was also born with a back problem, for which Anna treated her by going to an osteopath. The osteopath asked her if Yulia also sucked on her fingers (to which she said yes), and if she stuttered. The osteopath’s suggestion was that that particular back problem caused pain in the jaw, which Yulia tried to alleviate by sucking on her fingers, which then led to the stuttering.

Anna refrained from telling Yulia not to suck on her fingers. Instead, she talked about the fingers as if they were living things: “Fingers don’t have a brain, you know. They don’t know what they are doing, but they can listen to your brain. So you can tell them what to do”. When Yulia turned 3, she stopped. Anna believed it was her comments about the fingers that helped her daughter.

5.3 Katya

The interview with Katya was conducted at the school, while waiting for the children. Her daughter Olga, who is five years old, was born in Norway to a Russian mother and an English father. Olga speaks English with her father. Katya says this was the result of necessity, since her father spoke neither Norwegian nor Russian. With each passing year, Olga’s English

improved, through direct and required language contact with her father. Between Russian, Norwegian and English, Katya says that her daughter switches and becomes a different person with every language. Her tone of voice changes, her personality and behavior adapt to the language of the moment.

Olga spoke only Russian with her mother until she was 2 years old, when she entered a Norwegian kinder garden. The kinder garden teacher told the mother, Katya, that her daughter lagged behind all the other children, and that she should speak Norwegian to her, if she wants her to succeed and be like the others in their development. Katya listened to the teacher, and began to speak only Norwegian to her daughter. Naturally, this brought Russian language development to a halt, both the oral and written language, and a reversal of the language began, where Olga was forgetting more and more of the vocabulary, eventually limiting her Russian to basic expressions.

Since Katya's decision was based on her willingness to speak only Norwegian at home, as Olga's Norwegian began to improve, her Russian began to deteriorate. Around the age of 4, noticing strongly her daughter's imbalance:

She was behind (in Norwegian), and I got scared, and pressed the Norwegian language, and naturally, we abandoned the Russian. Plus there was a period of time, 4 years that we didn't travel to Russia. That is, all kind of practice was absent. Then we traveled to Russia, and there, our relatives motivated us that Russian is a must. In general, when she comes to Russia and has the Russian language, watches Russian cartoons, reads Russian books, we speak in Russian, intonation is Russian, expressions are Russian – all this of course brings her closer to her relatives, and to Russian culture (Katya, interview)

In response to the kinder garden teacher, who also placed a greater value on the environment language than the home language, Katya chose to support the dominant language at the cost of her own, minority language. From one perspective, Katya's reaction admitted her own acquiescence to the situation, in that she allowed the dominant language environment create a situation of subtractive bilingualism, where the dominant language took over the minority language. On the other hand, she did decide to reverse this process, which demonstrates that it was not a case of powerlessness, but rather of active involvement supporting both languages at different times.

In a study on the experiences of latino parents to preserve their home language, Veronica Pacini-Ketchabaw and Judith K. Bernhard (2001) use the research work done by Cummins, 1996; Darder, 1991; Ogbu, 1978, as structural models that help understand how minorities are disadvantaged in the educational system, due to the lack of support and a negative attitude towards the minority language. The study led by Pacini-Ketchabaw investigates the assimilative pressures that the parents experience in speaking Spanish at home. Some of the challenging experiences from the study are the responses parents got from the teachers: "*The teachers know that I speak Spanish with the children at home. One teacher told me that I had to speak English with them because they do not pronounce it properly. She also told me that my son needed to speak more English because of his poor pronunciation, and that I was not helping them by speaking Spanish at home.* Nevertheless, the study concluded that "The parents are assumed to be willing and capable of departing from their present position of powerlessness, given an improved understanding of the situation and political activity (Pacini-Ketchabaw & Bernhard, 2001: 139)

Witnessing her daughter's regression, Katya decided to bring up her Russian again, by taking her to Russia to visit family, and by enrolling her into the Russian School. When asked about the decision to speak Norwegian to her daughter, Katya responded that it was a decision she did not and does not regret. She was fully determined that her daughter should feel herself a part of the Norwegian society, having a sense of belonging and a social circle to support this belonging. Throughout the interview, Katya related her daughter's well-being directly to her success in a social environment. Since this environment is Norwegian, Katya's determination was unquestionably geared toward the competence in the dominant language. Katya was positively convinced that the sociolinguistic competence of the Norwegian language had to be a priority, and that the Russian language could be recuperated. Katya had heard that the language window for child fluency is around the age of 4 or 5. In her opinion, she started to bring back the Russian language just in time.

For Katya, the most practical reason for her daughter's learning Russian is that she will be able to speak to her family that is unable to communicate with her in any other language. Other reasons are the importance that Olga will identify with another culture, the individual enrichment that this provides, the widening of horizons that language learning brings with it, and also, the opportunity to compare mentality of other cultures. Katya calls this a free gift:

“Language is not only a source of expression, but also an expression of culture” (Katya, interview).

The positive attitude towards her daughter’s well-roundedness (*dannelse*) plays a big role in Katya’s motivation for teaching Russian to her daughter, and naturally, in supporting bilingualism. When asked about her connection to the Russian culture, Katya claims that she is Russian, identifying herself with being Russian for the rest of her life. However, her deep desire not to instill a sole mentality in the mind of her daughter is explicitly expressed by her critique on Soviet mentality, which she claims was the reason for her leaving Russia. On the other hand, Katya says, the Norwegian mentality has its negative sides as well. Her desire is, then, to give her daughter several directions: *“By the time she is ten or fifteen, she can speak three languages”* (Katya, interview). According to Katya’s opinion, her daughter acts differently in every language. She has three personalities – Russian, Norwegian, and English.

While observing Katya and Olga interact, I noticed Olga speaking Norwegian to her mother. One day, the mother, addressing her in Russian, asked her to respond in Russian, which Olga did. On another Thursday, Katya spoke only Norwegian to her daughter, and the daughter responded in Norwegian. These are short observations that last five or ten minutes, and are not be used to make a conclusive judgment on Katya’s level of Russian/Norwegian with her daughter. However, one can only assume that Katya’s claim that 50/50 % (Russian and Norwegian) is used while communicating with her daughter might be inaccurate.

6 Results

6.1 Teaching Strategies

This chapter will identify the teaching strategies used by the mothers in their daily interaction with their children. These strategies were applied in relation to spoken language and literacy. In a study on the teaching behavior of mothers, Moerk (1978) suggests that mothers possess a variety of teaching techniques through which they actively promote language learning as well as motivate their children to improve. The positive results from the study concluded that around 40 instances of motivational phenomena per hour were used by the mothers orally in their communication with the children (Moerk, 1978: 541).

6.1.1 Developing Sociolinguistic Competence

The majority of researchers today tend to make a positive connection between bilingualism and cognitive development. Sociolinguistic competence is the ability to use and interpret meanings and nuances within a particular situation. As a bilingual, one must learn both systems, switching from one to the other. The tendency to develop a greater communicative sensitivity comes from having to choose the appropriate language to respond to. This would make them extra sensitive in their ability to respond appropriately in each situation, and depending on the person spoken to.

Anna says that she never read anything on child psychology, or on educational theory. She doesn't have experience with teaching a language. She elaborated that she intuitively knew what she had to do in order for Yulia to learn Russian; that in order for Yulia to understand more advanced vocabulary, Anna had to use it on a daily basis. The same goes for intricate expressions and linguistic turns: *“I didn't want her Russian to be the dry, daily responses to simple questions. I wanted her Russian to be full of nuances, sentences using rich adjective vocabulary that the Russian language is full of. I wanted her to be able to describe to me in detail what she saw, in a picture, for example”* (Anna, interview). Because the Russian language uses a variety of diminutives (that is not common in Norwegian) which form part of the emotional vocabulary and expression, Anna was elaborately using these with Yulia on entering the kinder garden – “Yulia, Yulechka, Yuleshik, Yulchik” – all part of Yulia's name.

Diminutives in Russian are used to express affection, often when directing children or when talking with children.

Anna often plays together with Yulia, participating in “playing house” games or with dolls. She uses this time to ask Yulia for descriptions of what she is doing, to practice expression in Russian. Following Döpke (1988), playing activities together with the children are opportunities for language teaching that “*allow the parent to present the child with verbal models, to rehearse language information for the child, to make pattern structures transparent, and to elicit verbalizations from the child*” (103).

Anna was teaching her daughter the most difficult aspects of language learning - meanings behind words. When Yulia was born, until she was 3 years old, Anna used the following linguistic strategy: She described minutely every process that she experienced with her daughter – “*Now we get a small cup, then a little bit of sugar, we take out the spoon from the kitchen cabinet, and we use it to place the sugar into the tea....etc.,*” (Anna, interview). This detailed monologue was extremely tiring for Anna, but she got Yulia to expand her vocabulary and understand her every word, after some time. After some time, she required Yulia to verbalize her desires more elaborately, so that she would practice making requests and saying instead of point to the object, or instead of saying “*Give me that*” (Anna, interview).

TV and Cartoons in Russian/Norwegian

All of the mothers used Russian cartoons as a strategy, claiming that watching Russian cartoons was another way of obtaining culture and improving language skills. Some mothers, like Natasha and Katya, allowed the children to watch both Norwegian Barne TV and Russian cartoons, alternating between the two. The mother, then, would regulate this by saying “*Now, we can watch a Russian cartoon together, before Barne TV*”.

Katya uses Russian cartoons actively as a strategy to improve her daughter’s oral competence. By sitting together with her, Katya can participate and help when her daughter has questions and doesn’t understand.

Q. Does she understand everything?

A. The simple ones, the ones that have been recommended to us through the homework, yes, she understands. But if we take others, we tried to watch, Pushkin's fairytales, even elementary Prostokvashino, then I had to be alert, in any moment ready to translate. Those were too advanced.

Q. So you translate to Norwegian yes?

A. Well, it depends. I can't, so to speak, be a synchronized translator, but I transfer the general moments. I found that those fairy tales "O Tsare Saltane" appeared difficult. Those elementary cartoons such as "Kurochka Ryaba", "Repka", "Cherepaja I Lvenok" - all those last cartoons (as part of homework) were great, she didn't even ask me to translate. (Katya, interview)

As part of the homework assignment every week, the parents are asked to watch one Russian cartoon. This homework consists of several parts. First, the mothers read the lyrics to the song in the cartoon, together with the children. Then, they explain unknown words to them. After watching the cartoon, they ask to memorize the song. This process is repeated in class. The cartoons include songs, mimicking and gestures.

Then there appears this connection. I liked this moment when we prepared for this cartoon. First we read this poem, explain the new words, more or less memorized; then watched the cartoon. In this way, she obtained more understanding of everything. (Katya, interview)

Katya's view supports that of Anna's, in that visual stimulation functions as support for literacy and cognitive development. This is in accordance with the rest of the mothers' view on television. They support it as an educational supplement, not as a source for enjoyment. Anna emphasizes this through the triangulation strategy she used since Yulia was small, where the procedure was to read to the child, let her watch the cartoon, and listen to the CD. This was done consequently and as a means for comprehension and visual learning.

Anna mentions the importance of achieving perception of the language: *In order for her to have a perception of the Russian language - we watch a fairy tale, a picture on video, right then I read to her in the evening or in the morning. When she watches a cartoon she develops an image in her mind, in addition to speech, right. It's from this that mentality is developed. (Anna, interview)*

Transferring what one knows to the child is a skill that some people possess, and others don't, Anna says. Her desire is to pass on her knowledge through verbal explanations. These verbal explanations are based on Yulia's reality. For example, while reading a story they came upon a crayon that made jokes, entertaining the public. And Yulia asked what it was. The mother told her "*Yulia, this is a clown that entertains*". Consequently, Yulia started asking what and why. Anna did the following: "*Then I put on a video about this crayon, simultaneously adding a few words about this: 'The crayon was an old Soviet clown' that she had never seen in her life. Drop by drop – that's how things add up, from drops* (Anna, interview).

Although both Katya and Natasha allow Norwegian BarneTV as well as Russian cartoons, the use of TV is restricted and all of the mothers prefer to limit this as much as possible. Furthermore, they seem to support the view that books are a more active and direct way of language instruction. This view is supported in the research community. Researchers have found that live interaction (e.g., reading or talking to a child) is more effective than exposure to recorded sounds (e.g., television) in reversing the narrowing process (Kuhl, Feng-Ming, & Huei-Mei, 2003).

Mixing/Code-switching strategies

Code-switching is a change of language within a conversation. This often occurs in bilingual families where both parents are bilingual. Many parents would like their children to speak in one language and regard code-switching as somewhat of a delay or a backwards process. However, research shows that code-switching is perfectly normal, and even is a natural way of assimilating the two-languages. Referring back to Cummins and the CUP model, it would be logical to assume that since the languages are so intertwined; then code-switching is a part of this process.

Very few bilinguals are able to separate both languages without code-switching. Sometimes this is an automatic (and creative) action. Instead of stopping in the middle of the sentence in Russian, while looking for the right word, just use the Norwegian word, and keep going. It is efficient, especially for children who want to quickly get their point across. People do it all the time. Of course, it is the dominant language (in this case, Norwegian) that gets put into the Russian sentence.

Grosjean (1992a) names two kinds of code-switching, which he calls static and dynamic interference:

Static interference describes relatively permanent influence from one of the bilingual's languages in the other. Accent, intonation and the pronunciation of individual sounds are common areas where static interference may be present. Dynamic interference recognizes when features from one language are transferred temporarily into the other. Interference can occur at any level of language and in either written or spoken language (Baker, 2000: 32 referred from Grosjean, 1992a)

In a study analyzing the role of parental interaction, Mishina-Mori (2011) investigated the aspects of parental input on the language choice of bilingual children. The study was conducted around longitudinal observations of two Japanese/English bilinguals around the ages of two, and the discourse strategies of the parents were then analyzed. The conclusive results showed that it was not the consistency in the parent's language choice that led to the child's use of the parent's language, but rather explicit reinforcement of the use of the parent's language that led to diminishing mixing patterns in the children (3122).

Prior studies have been done on parents' discourse strategies in relation to the maintenance of the minority language. One such study on German/English bilinguals by Döpke (1992) concluded that parents' response to the child's mixing played a significant role in the future use of the appropriate language. The results from Döpke's study demonstrate that children who were put through 'high-constraint insistence strategies', 'requests for translation' or 'displays of incomprehension' eventually decreased mixing, choosing the appropriate language of the parent (Mishina-Mori, 2011: 3124 referred from Döpke: 1992).

The current teacher Raya said that the children will speak as well as the parents want them to speak: "*It is the parent's job to make the children speak well. If the child does not answer back in Russian, or mixes the two languages – it is because the parent did not make that a rule from the start*" (Raya, interview).

For all of the mothers at the school, except for Katya, having their children answer them back in Russian was a required matter-of-fact. Most of them made the decision before the children were born that their home would be a one-language one-parent scenario. Therefore, it was not a matter of choice for the children to speak Norwegian to them. From the start, it was decided and implemented by the mothers that the child would speak Russian at all times (in the store, in kinder garden, and at home) to the mother.

The mothers differed in their tactics at the times when the child brought Norwegian words into the Russian conversation. For example, Natasha's children would take a word such as *løp*, and exclaim – “*poløpayem?*” meaning “*shall we run?*” Natasha's discourse strategy is more implicit. She does not demand a translation, nor does she show incomprehension. Instead, she reforms the question using the Russian word correctly “*Do you mean 'pobegayem'?*” Considering that the boys have a high level of oral fluency (coming from a monolingual home where both parents speak Russian), having had to answer back to their parents in Russian from young age, Natasha's lack of explicit corrections may be based on her own satisfaction of their oral progress. However, because it is not a requirement, the invented words might enter more frequently into their lexicon. Even though both Natasha's boys are brought up in a Russian-speaking home, the mother witnessed a minor form of dynamic interference, where the boys were moving words from Norwegian and restructuring the suffixes to fit them into a Russian conversation. Natasha does not regard this as a problem, because she is very confident in her children's oral skills. She does not see code-switching as long-term, but rather as a short-term occasional slip, which she believes she should not openly correct all the time. Natasha responds to this by correcting them with a question – “*Did you mean to say...(correct answer)?*”

Anna exhibits another approach, insisting on the correct use of the language. She restricts Yulia's use of Norwegian words, and corrects her directly and firmly. When the children are playing together, and the parents of the children also want to reinforce Russian, Anna approaches her daughter and asks her to please speak Russian with the children. If Yulia refuses, she asks her again, using reasoning: “*You know that this is your chance to speak Russian with your friends that also speak your language. Don't miss that chance, Yulia, speak Russian to them please my dear*” (Anna, interview). The insistence on using the language as much as possible, and as correctly and elaborately as possible, can be observed through

Anna's tone of voice with Yulia, and the attentiveness with which she takes the time to explain the importance of the use of Russian. In that sense, Anna actively motivates language production and correction using metacognitive awareness by explaining to her the choices that Yulia does have, while insisting that speaking Russian while with her mother is not a choice but a requirement.

Katya, on the other hand, shows little or no correction in her daughter's mixing, allowing her to go from one language to the other. Katya had the initial decision to speak Russian to her daughter, which she fully implemented, without mixing, until Olga began kinder garden. At this point, she became convinced that she should speak Norwegian with her daughter so that she would improve in Norwegian. This decision was based on advice given by the kinder garden teacher. This began a reversal in the progression of Russian, and an improvement in Norwegian. When Katya saw the deterioration of her language in her communication with her daughter, she made the decision to go require once again a monolingual interaction. This proved to be difficult, since the daughter became accustomed to her mother speaking Norwegian to her. Katya's solution was to use both languages, which is the current situation. Olga is not required to answer back in Russian, using Russian and Norwegian spontaneously in the same conversation. Sometimes Katya asks her to say it in Russian, but these are infrequent, implicit comments. In a study on parents' response to the child's mixing, Lanza (1992) concluded that the child's language choice depends on the negotiation style of each parent. The study claims that Siri (the subject) mixed substantially while speaking with her father, whose tendency was to accept the conversation consisting of both languages (referred from Mishina-Mori, 2011: 3124).

In her assumption about language learning awareness, Katya claimed that since the language window is around the age of 4, "*I started to bring back the Russian language just in time*". It was around this age that Katya began to incorporate additional resources for the Russian language, such as the Russian School, trips to Russia, materials and, most importantly – the increased use of Russian in her daily interactions with her daughter. However, mixing has become a strong habit that even Katya admits is difficult to get rid of. When asked about the reason why she code-switched herself and did not require Olga to speak only in Russian, Katya answers "*Well, it's because, I don't know, then again, these are cheap excuses, but when I need to explain something quickly, when we're in a rush and I need to explain*

something quickly. Although, really, I see that I can explain things to her just as fast in Russian, and she'll understand everything. (Katya, interview) It could also be suggested that the habit of mixing is not unlike any other habit that develops quickly and becomes a constant trait of the interaction. According to the research on parent discourse styles, the situation could be rectified through the decision of Katya to explicitly require Olga to speak only Russian.

Mishina-Mori's (2011) study is consistent with other studies on response strategies investigating parents' treatment of mixing. In a study on bilingual children of Japanese and English, aged two to four, evidence shows that explicit strategies prove to be the most effective as far as code-switching is concerned: *"responses with an explicit message to abide by the one-parent one-language policy have a significant positive impact on language choice and on the socialization process"*. Furthermore, it is suggested by Mishina-Mori that it is due to the nature of the explicitness, which is *"unambiguous in terms of what the requirement is"* that the children are sure of what they is required of them, making their selection easy (Mishina-Mori, 2011: 3136 referred from Kasuya, 1998). The children are forced, or socialized into a system, within which they then can make choices of correcting their mistakes.

The research findings run parallel to my own observations of my son's mixing. By the age of 4, my son was still a monolingual child, speaking only Norwegian and refusing to speak Russian despite the fact that I only spoke Russian with him. This resistance was met with unquestionable determination from my side. The explicit requirement that he must answer me in Russian was substituted by the same degree of requiring him to at least repeat the words after I had said them. If he wanted milk, I would ask him *"repeat: 'give me milk'"*, and once he repeated after me, I would give him the object he wanted. This procedure, which involved me repeating everything 5-10 times, was exhausting and often mechanical. However, I was convinced that if I am disciplined and if I don't force him, there will be no progress. By the age of 4, my son spoke his first spontaneous words to me in Russian, and eight months later he was speaking in sentences. The use of the Norwegian language now comes as a support system, where all the unknown Russian words are translated, and vice versa. From this perspective, code-switching is a strategy for the support of both languages, where as Cummins explained, what is learned in one language can be transferred into the other.

6.1.2 Developing Literacy

As Teale and Sulzby (1986) claim, *it is the home experience that gives children the knowledge and awareness of literacy.* (Hancock, 2006: 355 referred from Teale and Sulzby 1986). According to these studies, it is not just the act of reading, writing and doing homework that drive literacy progress. It is the parents' attitudes about literacy that influence the attitudes of the children, thus motivating them to be open to reading in other languages – firstly, in their own, and not excluding the dominant language as well. Both Katya and Natasha reported 50/50 reading strategy – A Russian fairy tale and then a Norwegian fairy tale. The inclusion of Norwegian stories plays an important role in the attitudes of the children toward reading, making them believe that the mothers also participate in reading the same books that are read to their Norwegian friends. Although Anna did not read Norwegian stories to Yulia, she had a wide collection of books in Norwegian, which she read together with her daughter, translating them to Russian. These were the different books on the studies of nature and geography which Anna regularly purchased, and through the initiative of Yulia, translated and explained to her daughter.

Attitudes toward literacy are reflected in the amount of time the parent dedicates to reading to the child, talking about books, or encouraging reading activities. It is also the time that the parent devotes to going to the library, enjoying the time spent among books together with the child. However, in the case of the Russian mothers, this would be the time and effort spent in creating their own private library. This is due to the obvious restriction of the Russian being a minority language, and the limited literacy environment that the mothers and the children find themselves in. Throughout the child's upbringing, it would be expected that the main resource for literacy would be the home environment. The responsibility that falls on the parent to teach literacy to the child is substantial.

In her house, Anna has a big pile of educational material in Russian. These include traditional Russian fairy tales, preschool notebooks for beginners (writing); books for the development of motor skills; plus books for Russian class. In addition, Anna buys internationally renowned children's stories translated to Russian. These are new additions for reading at bedtime, a change from the Russian fairy tales which Yulia already knows by heart.

Anna instinctively bridges reading and visual stimulation, making these two inseparable tools and parts of the process. She uses all the educational linguistic tools in her reach - she has Russian CD's for children in the car, CD's, movies, fairytales, and educational books for writing in Russian. Intuitively strategic, she would read to Yulia a fairytale, and let her watch the DVD and listen to the CD of that same fairytale. This is a way for Anna to ensure Yulia's visual, oral and listening stimulation. Anna expresses her awareness of the benefits of this process: *For me this seemed very important, because one reads the book without a picture and there's no perception. When she watches a cartoon she develops an image in her mind, in addition to speech, right. It's from this that mentality is developed.* (Anna, interview)

All of the three mothers exhibit a strong desire to support the development of their children's literacy skills. This support is manifested in obtaining educational materials, such as books and practice writing books; books for school; creative tools to construct and practice writing letters; computer-programs promoting literacy enhancement; and reading to the children. The time and effort involved in presenting this material varies from mother to mother, but all of the mothers admit to at least 20 minutes reading every night before bed, in addition to doing homework that is assigned by the school.

A common tendency shared by the mothers is not only their value in literacy but also the way they view literacy as inseparable from cultural identity. Following Hancock (2006), "*Literacy and cultural identity were profoundly interwoven for many of the parents and there was a perceptible resistance to what was regarded as cultural impoverishment*" (363). Even the simplest story in Russian has an array of complex vocabulary and language variations that can be difficult to know for a bilingual child. The tale of *Moydodir*, a Russian rhyme tale of a boy who didn't want to wash himself, and was forced by the Sink Master to do so, is full of all the possible vocabulary in the domestic lexicon. This includes words for items that a child growing up in Norway had never seen or touched, such as the *Samovar* (a round metal container used to boil water for the preparation of tea), or the *pechka* (a brick stove that was traditionally used not only for making food and heating the room, but also as a bed). These items are a part of the cultural heritage, and the children may come in contact with them on their visit to Russia. But before they do, the parents have to implant these words by reading the stories, and introducing the concept through their own explanation of what it is. This is an easier task when the vocabulary can be translated, and the children know the concept already in Norwegian. Then, if they don't know what the word sponge means, they just ask for the

Norwegian word. Then, the next time they come across to the word sponge, they know what it is.

A lot of the mothers insist on reading Russian fairy tales. This is because a lot of Russian fairy tales are rich with the Soviet culture. Mothers who grew up in the Soviet era feel "at home" reading these stories, since it brings them back to their childhood, and reminds them of the stories their parents read to them when they were children. This is something they can share and teach their children, explaining to them the nuances of the language, the richness and ambiguity of the words. Russian stories for children are often moral tales, lessons on how one should be a good friend, and why; how one should treat one's guests in a generous way; how one should help out an animal and feed it, etc. In 'Moydodir', for example, the main character, a regular boy, refuses to wash himself, and ends up getting threatened by the Crocodile that he will be eaten. He then runs home and gets washed by the Sink Master. The moral of the tale comes at the end, saying that everyone, even cats and mice, must wash themselves, at all times.

A lot of the moral tales are encouraging education. The following homework assignment by Raya is a typical poem promoting learning

Train, train!

What did you bring us?

I brought you colorful books

Let the kids read!

I brought crayons

Let the kids draw! (Classroom material)

The train bringing the children educational material as gifts is symbolic for the value attached to school as the gifts are learning tools instead of toys. The value attached to the act of going to school is apparent in the attitudes of the mothers. Comments such as "*And on Thursday we go to the Russian School. There you will meet your teacher, and the other kids*". They say Russian school, not Russian class, even though it is only one hour a week, because it places a greater importance on the act of going to a school. It makes it formal and systematic. That is important for the mothers. "*It has to be systematic,*" says Anna, believing that it is the ritual of sitting down at the desk, together with the other children, with the guidance of the teacher,

that creates the structure for a learning situation. *"No matter if they learn something or not, it is just the positive experience of school that I want my daughter to have."*

In a study on *"Attitudes and Approaches to Literacy in Scottish Chinese Families"* Hancock investigated the parents' experience in promoting home literacy. The study focuses on the different attitudes of the parents, concluding that all of the parents had a strong commitment to develop their children's literacy in Chinese. In addition, the parents looked for innovative methods to diverge from the traditional method of memorizing. The following is an example of a parent's creative encouragement. These are 'pictorial instructions,' – combining pictures with letters, so that the learning process becomes associative, - associating one unknown concept (the letter) with the concept that is already familiar (the drawing). Since children learn to draw before they learn to write, this is their familiar space. It is this space that the parent can use to teach the very complicated, Chinese (Or Russian) writing system: *"You have to make them use their imagination. I take the textbooks away from the children and say 'follow me, draw a square and don't close the mouth. Add a moustache'. They can't just copy from a book, they get it wrong and you need to teach them the correct sequence and talk it through with them in an interesting way like 'draw a smile' or 'draw two eyes'. For more complicated characters, you get them to draw a square and divide it into three parts"* (Hancock, 2006: 366). Other Chinese use the hand-held electronic bilingual dictionary. Other parents support learning letters by simple memorization. The study took a variety of Chinese parents from different social backgrounds and proficiencies. Hancock's study concludes that learning Chinese literacy was linked to directly to the transmission of cultural values and norms (Hancock 2006).

Homework and Bruner's Scaffolding

The concept of scaffolding is closely related to Vygotsky's theory on the ZPD, as it implies a socially constructed support process for the gradual development of a linguistic competence. Like a scaffold, it is there only temporary, and will be removed or added on considering the child's progress.

The six features of effective scaffolding are presented by Wood (1976):

- Creating children's interest in the task
- Simplifying the task
- Keeping children on track by reminding them of the goal
- Pointing out key things to do and/or showing the child other ways of doing parts of the task
- Controlling the child's frustration during the task
- Demonstrating an idealized way of doing the task

All six steps of scaffolding can be demonstrated through the homework task given by Raya. This is a task that the parents need to do together with the children. The first step involves coloring and cutting a set of syllables. By physically creating the letters, the children create the activity together with the parents through the already-known creative activities that they already enjoy, such as cutting and coloring. After this, the parents lay out the syllables, mixing all the different syllables for the child to see. Then the parent asks the child to look for the syllables that make up a certain word, for example, MA –MA. This part involves reading the first letter of the syllable, identifying both letters, and locating the other syllable. This is a short session of listening comprehension, involving listening, understanding, and reading the words. The next part of the activity involves gluing the syllables together. This the child gladly does alone. Again, the words are read together with the parent, and the child is encouraged for the attempt. The last part of the activity is writing out the words next to the glued material. A lot of children get tired and bored with this part of the activity. As Sonia emphasized in her advice on writing and homework is that at this age, if the children write one letter and get bored, the parent shouldn't push them further. All of the mothers refrain from pressing the children to continue working if they are bored and tired – this could be interpreted as their way of controlling the children's frustration, and of preventing the children from future amotivation. Because, as Sonia said, the children can so easily lose motivation for writing. Finally, the mothers can demonstrate an idealized way of writing the words. My son often asks me to write the words so that he could see the way that I write them.

6.2 Social Attitudes

6.2.1 Encouragement

According to Gardner (1985), attitudes can be active or passive, explicit or implicit. Parents' attitudes have direct or indirect influence on children's language learning, in that they promote or discourage it. Gardner (1985) suggested that parents play an active role when they encourage their children to do well, when they monitor their language learning performance, and when they reinforce any successes identified by the school. He argued that to the extent that the parents had positive attitudes toward the community, they would serve to support an integrative motive in the student (110).

Throughout the study, the mothers' encouragement was manifested through active involvement and verbal comments towards the children's work. This happened on both cognitive and social levels. On a cognitive development level, Anna exhibited a high level of positive attitude. An example of this is working on art drawings together. Responding to Yulia's request for her work to be evaluated, Anna attentively looks at the result of Yulia's attempts, and makes comments. Since the whole activity is a process in which Anna's comments form a part of the activity itself, Anna has to be careful not to demotivate Yulia. First, Yulia asks her mother what she would like her to draw, to which her mother answers – 3 paintings of Vasnetsov (a Russian painter), and she places the painter's work in front of Yulia. After Yulia is finished drawing, she asks her mother to choose which one she likes the most, and Anna says that likes them all. Anna's specialty is not giving praise, but it is being specific about the praise. She gives detailed encouragement on each work; exactly what she liked or what she thought was really interesting. She does this with elaborate eloquence, on purpose, she says, so that her daughter would learn these words.

6.2.2 Responsibility

Out of the 8 parents that brought their children to the school, all of them were mothers. It was the mothers that made the initiative to contact the school and enroll their children in classes. They were the ones responsible for bringing the children to class. In the case of Natasha, she was responsible for picking up both boys from kinder garden and taking them to Russian

class. Even when she thought it would be a good idea to separate the boys so that they would have better concentration, she admitted that the father would not support this, since it would mean that he would have to get off work early and pick up one of the boys. In the case of Yulia, the father only spent time with her two weekends a month, and did deviate from this routine. The rest of the mothers admitted to Russian school as being their full responsibility, as well as the homework that they did together with the children

Maintaining the progress of additive bilingualism so that both languages support each other is a life-long project that involves motivation, positive attitude, effective strategies, awareness, competence, and a supportive environment. As claimed by Moerk (1978), it is the mothers that take on the majority of this work, and it is their attitudes and motivation that promote progressive language acquisition. Moerk (1978) studied the teaching behavior of the mother and its influence on the child's learning. In his findings, he discovered a high frequency of language teaching strategies used repeatedly and continuously throughout mother-child interaction. As confirmed by other, more recent studies, parents of bilingual children are the primary teachers that are in the position to actively motivate the progress of both languages, through the strategically positive development of their own, minority language. Parents' resourcefulness revolves around the awareness of language learning factors, social and teacher support factors, as well as the right kind of learning tools. This is a systematic, metacognitive work that the parent does throughout the life of a bilingual child. Bilingual children have been compared to disabled children – they lag behind everyone else, scoring poorer on tests, and possessing a lower sociolinguistic competence than others. However, since testing all-around bilingual competence has been known to be a challenging task, standardized tests are only a vague reflection of the competence bilingual children truly possess. Throughout this thesis, I did not focus on the degree of competence in the children, but rather on how parents create conditions to develop sociolinguistic competence in their bilingual children, and which motivating factors drive the parents in this process.

6.2.3 Self-Efficacy

According to Bandura, self-efficacy is people's beliefs about their ability to succeed (Bandura, 1995). Consistent with the general description of self-efficacy, parent's efficacy is the parent's beliefs in his or her abilities to bring about the desired result of child's learning.

Vygotsky's view emphasized growth learning in a guided environment gave little attention to the source of the child's motivation. As a sociocultural theory, it focused on the growth that resulted as a part of the communication dynamics, while only mentioning the child's own development occurring independently.

Bandura, on the other hand, took this independent development as the main card in the social framework, claiming that children's efficacy beliefs play a prominent role in regulating their development. "*The most effective way of creating a strong sense of efficacy is through mastery experiences. They provide the most authentic evidence of whether one can muster whatever it takes to succeed*" (Bandura, 1995: 3 referred from Bandura, 1982; Biran & Wilson, 1981; Feltz, Landers, & Raeder, 1979; Gist, 1989). Developing a sense of efficacy through mastery experiences is not a matter of adopting ready-made habits. Rather, it involves acquiring the cognitive, behavioral, and self-regulatory tools for creating, and executing appropriate courses of action to manage ever-changing life circumstances.

Witnessing improvement in their children's linguistic competence creates a positive circle of action in the parent. Katya claimed that after only a few months of attending the Russian School she began to notice an improvement in her daughter's motivation and linguistic competence. There was also a genuine interest for the carrying out of the homework assignments. These examples proved to Katya that she made the right choices, improving her self-efficacy. The increase in her self-efficacy beliefs influences the next choices she makes, creating a positive circle of mastery experiences.

The following is an example of how Natasha maintained her self-efficacy beliefs during a challenging situation. The first month of having a new teacher Natasha's boys were constantly distracted, periodically leaving the class to talk to her under different pretexts. The first two times, she would express her frustration to the other mothers, and on the third time she told them before class that they would go home if they were to act out. On the fifth lesson of this behavior, she took the decision to leave. Her initial reaction to this situation was the desire to separate them. She intuitively knew that when separated they are able to concentrate. She wanted to use the same strategy here as she used in kinder garden, where she placed the boys in different class groups so that they wouldn't distract each other's learning. Since this worked in kinder garden, she assumed it would work in another classroom situation. The problem with this strategy was that it was not practically possible, as she could not bring one boy without the other, and there was only one Russian language group during the week. She did

not see any other choices than to stop coming. However, at the follow-up interview, Natasha claimed that this was far from a resignation. Not only did she plan to continue to stay involved at the school (teaching Russian to the toddlers on Sunday) and continue to teach literacy to her children at home, but she also was very determined that the boys would continue Russian language classes no matter what.

6.2.4 Relatedness

The main point of contact around a Russian language community had been (for the past year) through the Russian School. All of the mothers felt like they were developing a bond between them and the other mothers. They found the environment, which was just sitting and talking at the tables outside the class while waiting for the children to come out, supportive and resourceful. This was the place where they felt comfortable about asking for advice on anything: topics ranging from websites for language learning, to schools, to analyzing their children's behavior. The mothers experience this time as safe space for helpful talks on any topic. This was also the opportunity to experience support from others, as feel as positive feelings about the development of their children, as well as productive criticism. As Natasha claimed, *“we’re all in it together, with the same struggles, the same concerns”* (Natasha, interview).

In a case study by Delgado-Gaitan (1990) parents organized a leadership support group where they helped motivate each other and communicate with teachers and schools. As the study progressed, the parents went from an incompetent, isolated situation, to a sense of autonomy, competence and relatedness (as according to the Self-Determination Theory). They achieved self-efficacy where before there was none.

In the case of the Russian school and the parents involved, most of the mothers met when their children began classes in September, 2012. As time progressed, they became more and more involved. Although this was not formally organized, and they did not have plans to meet at other occasions, it was inside their conversations that the support was found.

Anna's reaction in the following situation can be analyzed as an example of relatedness as interference. During the incidence of the boy crying at the door, with his mother gently trying to convince him, Anna started to talk to the mother, in a very direct way. She advised her to leave, because, she said, it's not worth it to sit here and cry every time (the boy cried every time he came to class). The mother of the crying boy then began to talk to Anna, explaining to her as to why she did not want to be strict to the boy, how her own mother was very strict with her (in a typical Soviet upbringing of the time), and how she never wanted to be that kind of mother. This was a conversation that they had, where the woman was sharing her own social anxiety, and the other mothers were all listening attentively. This can be interpreted as a situation of positive social support, where even though there was an apparent conflict, the mothers shared their opinions and the mother of the crying boy did not feel isolated. Even though Anna was critical, she still supported the woman's situation by interfering in a constructive way.

From Anna's perspective, she argued that it was her moral duty to interfere, and that there would be nothing scarier than to act as indifferent to this "violation of basic laws of life and of the collective":

First of all, all of us were suffering. We're sitting there, looking at her, yes. This is a completely incomprehensible state for us to be in. In principle, this is nonphysical abuse of the child. Yes, morally – the child is on the floor whining and crying, not screaming but whining, hh, some kind of slow and quiet hysterics. The mother is sitting, totally out of it, as if everything was ok, and we are there, talking among ourselves and seeing the child laying on the floor while he should be at this time enjoying himself, listening to something and communicating with other children. This is discomfort for everyone, 100 %, starting from the child and ending with the mother and the surroundings. And then the mother starts: 'What should I do...? This is how he is...' Well, if I didn't have a child, I would say 'Yes, really, what should you do..., maybe we should solve this together...' (Anna, interview)

The mothers at the Russian School often got into the discussion of Soviet (traditional and strict) discipline versus Norwegian (more relaxed and social) upbringing. While under the Soviet era schooling (that the mothers were used to), the children learned to read and write before they began school (from the ages of 3). The mothers at the Russian School, however, having been brought up during the Soviet school system and having been acquainted with its effects, were very reluctant to push their children, because they were afraid that it would

decrease their motivation in the future. It is because of this that they didn't want to force them to do their homework (although the teacher designated homework every week), and refrained from the traditional force methods that were used on them in their Soviet upbringing.

In relation to Russian school, the mothers refrained from using external incentives, such as buying treats so that the child would do the homework, or come to class. If the child did not want to come to class, they would not force them or bribe them. Most children, however, enjoyed coming to class because they got to play together before and after class.

6.2.5 Group attitude

I will analyze the following incident as an indicant of the mothers' attitudes towards each other. One incident at the school that tended to repeat itself over a period of one month, and which resulted in Natasha's decision to stop attending the class on Thursdays has been observed and described in the following:

This was the 5th lesson with the new teacher (Raya), and Natasha came as usual, rushing to get the two boys ready for class. She warned them that if they act out again, they will all leave. She accompanied them into class and sat them down together with the other children. She then sat outside of class with the rest of the mothers. As the class progressed (about 20 minutes into the class), the boys were becoming more and more unruly. They started to run inside the classroom, then outside of class to the mother, and back. This involved slamming the door, playing with the curtains and the traffic cones that were used to prop the door. As this was going on, the other children were getting distracted as well, leaving their seats and crawling on the floor.

Natasha had said after only a few lessons where they were misbehaving, that they will leave. She said that she saw only two solutions here - bring them separately, or leave. She didn't have the practical means to bring them separately, so she said that they would not come again, that was the final decision which she seemed to take unwillingly, looking at the other mothers with regret and frustration. The current class situation is becoming to be a concern for some mothers. While Natasha's children were running around, hitting the glass doors and talking loud, Olga (Katya's daughter) was also being distracted, running around and following the boys outside of class.

This situation is an example of positive attitude and high self-efficacy among the mothers as a group. Even though Natasha was frustrated, she talked to the other mothers, expressing her frustration. The other mothers listened to her, offering to help with the children, asking what they could do, and being attentive. In that moment, one of the mothers suggested to meet outside of class at a playground, so that the children could play together. All the mothers exchanged phone numbers and there was a mutual agreement for support of social activity outside of class. There was a genuine interest to meet outside of school.

None of the mothers reprimanded the children at that moment. Katya was very relaxed about the situation, accepting it as normal. She made excuses for the children, saying how difficult it must be for the children at this age to concentrate after kinder garden.

6.2.6 Involvement in the classroom

A research study conducted on *The Role of Parents' Motivational Beliefs and Relationships with Teachers in Children's Social and Emotional Functioning*, investigated the importance of parents' involvement. "*When parents believe it is their role to be involved in children's schooling and feel efficacious to do so, they are more likely to be involved.* The study was examining to see whether the parents' motivational beliefs, such as self-efficacy affected the quality of parent-teacher relationships. The study concluded involvement improved self-efficacy as well as the quality of parent-teacher relationship, leading to an improvement in the child's social skills. On both the social and the emotional planes children benefited from their parents' involvement (Moorman, E., Sheridan, S., & Kwon, K. 2011).

In relation to the mothers' attitudes about the teacher's support, there are opposing opinions. Because of the subjectivity of the cases, it is difficult to discern whether the teachers were supportive or not. It depends on what the parent expects of a teacher, and whether the teacher continues to live up to these expectations. Natasha's expectations of an effective teacher were as follows: "*He has to guide you. He has to give you the right tasks, he has to show you the right direction, and it is in this direction that you move with your children*" (Natasha,

interview). For Natasha, the focus of this relationship is placed on the teacher's ability to direct the parent, who will then direct the child.

Sofia

Sofia taught at the school from September, 2012 to February, 2013. During these six months, the mothers slowly came to develop a close relationship with her, which began with her own initiative to talk to each and every one of them after class. She would briefly comment on each child, making suggestions on what they could work on, and how. In those moments the parents would seek her advice, but mostly they would seek her effort to help them improve in teaching their children at home. For example, she would often say, *"don't force the child. Even if he/she sits down and reads one letter, or associates words with that letter, it's enough work for them for today"*. She would generously give praise to children who did a good job that day. She would be direct and expressing the demand for improvement: *"Read to him, you have to read as much as possible to him"*, and she would explain why it is important for cognitive development, how the child's conceptual world develops through reading.

Sofia's comments to the parents were very encouraging, say both Natasha and Anna. However, while Natasha was positive towards Sofia's communication with her, another mother was seriously disgruntled and blamed her strict teaching style for her son's unwillingness to be in class. On several occasions, the boy sat by the glass door outside, crying. He did not listen to his mother's pleading arguments. He only sat outside of class and cried. The mother expressed her assumption that the teacher was too strict. She attributed her son's reaction to the teacher's style and they both decided not to come back. The rest of the mothers, however, were not discontent about Sofia's teaching style, commenting that Sofia's classes had structure, and she was direct and clear about her rules – everything that the child had to do (go to the bathroom, eat and drink) he/she had to do before or after class. She communicated her desire for structure both to parents and children. Her goal was to exclude external factors that would influence her class.

Raya

Raya is the new teacher at the school. In a short interview, I ask Raya about what it is that drives the parents to teach their children Russian as well as maintain bilingualism. Raya claims that Russian parents here at the school take the education of their children very seriously, believing strongly in its long-lasting importance. Raya further analyzes this to be a part of having a relationship to the culture, and that this relationship becomes developed through the love of the language: *Language is the means to understanding of another culture, and the way to love another culture is to understand it* (Raya, interview).

Raya believes that the main motivator of children's bilingualism is the parent: *"It's all up to the parent. If the parent decides that the child will speak Russian - that is how it will be, then the parent is motivated to do so, and finds the support to do it"* (Raya, interview). She has talked to a lot of parents about this. The parents that have the willpower to speak Russian with their children in a society where they are the only source for practice, they have to be prepared and disciplined to speak, correct and enforce Russian language at home. They have to decide that it is not optional for their children to answer back in Russian. Raya says that a lot of children, given the choice, would answer in Norwegian, therefore not having to try to answer back in Russian.

In another example of scaffolding within spoken practice, Raya elaborates on an activity by one of the mothers at the school: *The mother came home and every day, ever since her daughter could understand her, she would tell her about her day. The mother would tell the daughter how she got to work, the people she talked to at work, where she went for lunch, what tasks she had to do, what she did on the way home* (Raya, interview). This was a scaffolding task, because this was initially a starting point from which the conversation with the daughter began. The more the daughter understood the more details the mother included. If the daughter didn't understand something, the mother would explain (new words/concepts). As a result of this daily exercise, the daughter not only perfected her comprehensive and oral skills, but also expanded her vocabulary and built a communicative foundation with the mother, having gained indirect participation into her world. Another positive feature of this exercise is that the daughter ended up imitating the mother and including details about her world as well.

6.3 Main Motives

6.3.1 Family Ties

In the case of the Russian mothers, bilingualism is a situation determined and managed by the mothers from the birth of the children. All three mothers emphasized the trips to Russia to be the most effective strategy for language development. This was because the children had no other choice than to speak the language.

I want her to speak Russian because she needs to be able to communicate with my parents and family in Russia. How else will they be able to communicate if she doesn't speak their language? They can't speak Norwegian, they don't live here. When she is with them, she can feel like she's a part of the family, and she knows what's going on from an insider perspective. If she doesn't speak the language, she will remain an outsider, even if she is family (Anna, interview)

For all of the mothers, contact with family and the ability to communicate with relatives in Russia is a highly motivating factor. Katya admitted this to be the most important practical motive for her to renew her desire to speak Russian to her daughter. It was while visiting her family in Russia (after a 4 year pause) that Katya saw this as a necessary advantage.

In a study on the experiences of latino parents preserving their home language, Veronica Pacini-Ketchabaw and Judith K. Bernhard (2001) consider maintaining ties with family in the home country is a strategy used by the parents to motivate their children's language learning. If we look closely at Katya's case, family was a motivating factor for Katya's come back into the Russian language. On the other hand, both Natasha and Anna view visiting family as a matter-of-fact yearly ritual, which is non-negotiable. According to both Natasha and Anna family visits are a reminder of who they are.

6.3.2 Well-rounded Education (Dannelse)

Each mother expressed repeatedly the desire for a well-rounded education, a knowledge of other cultures, an openness to other ways of living, learning. In an interview with Katya

specific terms, such as “a widening of horizons”, the “enrichment of individuality”, “experience from other cultures”, and “the ability to compare mentalities” were used to describe the reasons for educating the child in Russian about Russian culture (Katya, interview). From the mothers’ view point on an all-around education, it consisted of being a global citizen, of being a part of the social scheme.

I don't mean education, clothes, food, but rather globally thinking. Because in any case we are all citizens of the world, and the world is so small. The more knowledge the child receives, the more he will see... It's not necessarily the Russian school – if you can't or won't attend it. If the child visits America, Russia, he already receives some kind of information, realizing that he is a part of a whole, that is, already looking for the self, feeling himself whole in this whole (Anna, interview)

Based on the mothers’ holistic view on education, this well-roundedness (dannelse) is created as a result of a socialized educational process. The process of socialization has often been defined as an unplanned, life-long process of being integrated into society. It includes learning our own identities as well as acquiring the skills needed to get along with others. Education is responsible for transmitting formal knowledge and skills, evaluating and monitoring learning. Anton Hoëm (2000) views formal educating entities as separate parts within the socialization process: “På tilsvarende vis kan man se undervisning som en delprosess, og sosialisering som den totale prosess i dannelsen av mennesket. I vårt land er det vanlig å se undervisning i hovedsak som et intellektuelt anliggende, men som noe som foregår i et større sosialt miljø, undervisningsenheten og undervisningsinstitusjonen, som igjen er deler av enda større enheter” (43). Durkheim, on the other hand, sees education as “an eminently social thing” (Durkheim, 1956: 114). For Durkheim socialization and education are directly interconnected. Society is responsible for the creation of man in the image of itself. Durkheim (1956) points to: “Not only is it society which has raised the human type to the dignity of a model that the educator must attempt to reproduce, but it is society, too, that builds this model, and it builds it according to its needs...It is society that draws for us the portrait of the kind of man we should be, and in this portrait all the peculiarities of its organization come to be reflected” (122-123). In this case, it is the mother responsible for showing the societal model to the child, and restructure it according to the child’s needs. This societal model that is presented by the mother is a cultured, positive and bilingual model that is open to the world.

The mothers are positive to other cultures and languages, and they encourage this through educational materials at home. One example of this is the reading of "*The Wizard of Oz*" in Russian, a colorful and detailed depiction of an American adventure story. Anna uses the World's Atlas to ask Yulia where she thinks America is located, - "*Where did the girl from 'Wizard of Oz' live?*" She wants her to develop a sense of other cultures, so that she would be well-rounded: *I don't want her to be like this or like that. All I want for her is to be happy and to achieve what she wants in life. It's not that I want her to dance to Mozart because it's Mozart, but that she has access to this music, and other music from other countries* (Anna, interview). This open-mindedness creates a positive circle in the children's awareness of the world and an acceptance of other cultures.

It's more my desire for her to learn or receive fractions of what I know, not even knowledge but rather for her to see directions – that they are there. Because people who, roughly speaking, go in one direction, they don't know that one can chop the potatoes together, carrots, and make a soup. Had someone showed them they would know, ok, there's not only ready-made hamburger at the store but that one can actually buy meat, and a whole set of actions that bring one to an even better result. That's what I think is important – to teach the child to think in different directions, and to look in different directions (Anna, interview).

Valuing education, especially global and cultured education, is for the mothers a very important motive in their desire to promote Russian language and bilingualism. The desire for a child to be cultured and well-educated can be interpreted as having an identified motive, meaning that its usefulness is recognized and valued. Identified motivation is the part of extrinsic motivation that is almost intrinsic. Anna, for example, states: "*It's not that I like Dragunsky or Nosov (Russian storytellers), but it's that Yulia would like them. I don't like them, but I listen to them together with her, so that she would learn about them.*"

6.3.3 Identity

Many immigrants face the dilemma of whether to speak only their own language or the dominant language of the country where they now reside. From one perspective, the desire to be accepted plays a big role in deciding to speak only Norwegian at home. From another perspective, the fear of losing the heritage language is accompanied by the fear of losing one's identity. In this case, it is not the fear of the mothers' losing their identity as Russian,

but it is their fear that the children, whose only contact with Russian is the mother, will stop identifying themselves as Russian.

It was first Durkheim that introduced the concept of *anomie* to describe the feelings of dislocation that people feel when they move from one social class to another. For the mothers at the Russian School the process of socialization into a new society began when they arrived to Norway. All of the mothers speak Norwegian, but they all admit to maintaining their Russian identity (“*I will never be Norwegian,*” they say). For them the process of socialization had to abruptly change, and they had to bring in a new system at the threat of their old system would reject the new one. Their children, assimilating a double process of socialization, are apt to experience the same difficulty. Hoffmann (1991) applies this concept to bilingualism, presenting it as feelings that can be brought about by having to constantly balance conflicting cultural norms: “*the person who tries to reconcile two widely divergent linguistic and cultural patterns may find the inaccessible goals of achieving ‘balanced bilingualism’ presented to him by his two environments leading to feelings of frustration*” (146 referred from Baetens Beardsmore 1982: 127).

Throughout the interviews, the three mothers expressed one main fear. They feared that their children would lose the language, which would cause them to lose the identity that belongs to that language, and that consequently the children would not be able to belong and they would be lost. This fear had become a motivating force in their support of Russian, as well as in their support of Norwegian. All of the mothers desired an equal acquisition of both identities – the Russian and the Norwegian.

This fear might be reflected in their own feeling of dislocation. *Anomie* is a feeling of dislocation that people feel when they move from one social class to another (Durkheim, 1956). *Anomie* can be used in relation to moving from one culture to another. How does one retain parts of oneself when one is forced into a situation where all others follow a different set of norms. An immigrant is forced to change her mentality, but if we look at this as an accumulative process, a positive process, then it would not be considered an *anomie*.

All of the mothers speak Norwegian. At the school, they speak Russian to each other, to the children and to the teacher. They maintain their Russian identity through their ability to switch to their language at any moment. However, this identity is only maintained through the

language. Outside of this context, they look like regular Norwegian women, dressing and talking Norwegian outside of school context.

On the other hand, my own experience of raising a bilingual child, despite the confusion that it could create, is an opportunity for the formation of the multi-identity concept of global citizen, or a neutralization of identity. A flexible way of treating this dynamic concept is to admit that it is something that one can renounce, adapt, or use according to the situation. The following conversation between a Norwegian boy (the one who questions) and my son (the one who answers) outside of class exemplifies this point:

Q: Are you Russian?

A: I'm Russian and Norwegian!

Q: But you speak Russian. Are you Russian?

A: I'm Russian, Norwegian and American. I speak Russian, Norwegian, and English! My mother teaches me Russian. My mother speaks Russian with me.

My son travels to America twice a year for a period of one month each time, in order to see his Kazakh/Ukrainian relatives who speak Russian with him. On these trips, he has several people who consistently communicate Russian with him. However, the American culture is very present in my family that is often speaking in English and mixing English and Russian. It is because of this that my son not only began to pick up English on these trips, but also started to identify himself with being an American.

My own emotional attachment to the Russian language has to do with the fact that it is the only language (out of the 7 languages I speak, write and read in) that holds a connection with my childhood. The associations that one has with childhood are directly related to the mentality that one grew up in. This mentality becomes impregnated into one's psyche, and remains as long-lasting, even after the child has moved into another culture. This mentality is activated every time one speaks the language. When I speak Russian, I evoke the nature of my own upbringing and I transfer it to my son. Thus, the tradition, culture, folklore, and atmosphere of the heritage language become a reality for my son. It is natural for a parent to want to share not only what she knows best, but what happens to be the knowledge that lies closest to the heart of the parent. Along with this desire to share the heritage language, exists

a sense of urgency – to ensure that my son achieves native-like fluency, both oral and written, in Russian.

In this way, I possess the same motive as the mothers, sharing the urgency to transmit the closeness of the socio-psychological environment of my childhood to my son. However, all three mothers exhibit a strong tendency to identify themselves as “Russian”. Even Katya, who chose to temporarily “put on hold” her Russian identity, so that she could fully integrate into the Norwegian society, pronounced herself as “Russian” at the time of the interview, confirming the fact that this is something she cannot run away from, that this is who she is. This common trait for all three mothers is what fuels their motivation and their work with the children. All of the mothers talked about identity as a support system, as something the children would be able to rely on in the future.

Natasha

Natasha speaks Norwegian to her sons when their friends are around as well as when there are other Norwegians present, as when picking the children up at the kinder garden. She feels this is polite, and says that she does this so that the Norwegian children or adults do not feel excluded. She had often heard people comment on what language she and her children speak, and why they speak a different language that the others can’t understand. Natasha says that she switches to Norwegian and that is an easier way to make the people feel a part of the conversation.

The responsibility of identity formation lies, according to Natasha, upon the parent. It is the parent who introduces the culture and language to the child, and it is therefore the parent who has the choice to do so at an early stage of the child’s development. Most importantly, says Natasha, it is the parent that creates the possibility for the child to love, respect and feel pride “*to be Russian*”. For Natasha, this is not meant to be a nationalistic tendency, but rather a sense of who they really are. In addition, Natasha believes that “*the probability that they will develop absolute negativity and a complete denial of everything Russian, this probability is minor, in any case much less than if these efforts were not applied right now*” (Natasha, interview).

You and I, we, apply right now so much effort. We prevent problems that unquestionably will arise in adolescence in every child from bilingual background. It's a problem of identity. Who am I really - at 11 years of age they will start to think about this, they're not going to know who they are. This conflict will be there anyways in every person. Work on this now, we will alleviate this conflict - to run away from this conflict is impossible, but to alleviate it yes. Thanks to these classes (Natasha, interview).

For Natasha it is important to promote positive attitude in the children about their Russian identity. The formation of her children's identity is directly connected to developing their linguistic ability, and is especially influenced by the development of their literacy skills.

Stephen J. Caldas conducted a longitudinal study over a period of 19 years, together with his wife, on their three bilingual children. The experiment dealt with finding the best ways to ensure that their children obtained and maintained a native-like fluency in both languages, as well as competence in literacy. While living in Louisiana, USA, the main challenge, as with most minority languages, was maintaining the French language. The researchers discovered that *for our children to have acquired the high level of bilingualism that we set for them in the beginning of our project, it seems that total societal language immersion was required for extended periods of time with their peers* (Caldas, 2006: 195).

Anna

When her daughter turned two, Anna made the decision to place Yulia in a Norwegian kinder garden, which was also focused on music education. This was a conscious decision – “*to socialize her,*” she said. She wanted Yulia to have all the possibilities, linguistic and social, in Norwegian society, and she fully accepted the importance of early socialization.

However, her main focus was and still is her own cultural identity as well as her daughter's awareness of her parents' identities. Unlike Natasha, Anna made the decision to speak Russian with Yulia in all situations – at the store, in kinder garden or in other public places where the dominant language is Norwegian. She says that one of the reasons is that she doesn't want to have to hide who she is. Another reason is that by hiding who she is and speaking Norwegian to Yulia when they are in public, she would be creating a negative attitude towards her own identity, being Russian, and that would, in the future, create a

negative attitude in Yulia as well, where she would be ashamed of her mother or her mother's culture. Finally, Anna said – *“They have to accept that it's ok for Yulia to speak to her mother in her language, that it's not impolite”* (Anna, interview). This reflects Anna's belief in recognition of her self, and she feels that by setting the standard of speaking Russian in public, she will prevent Yulia to deny speaking Russian to her in public in the future.

Anna wants her daughter to develop her Norwegian identity as well. One example is the discussion she has on *Karius og Baktus* with Yulia. This is a book she reads with her dad at his house, and Anna shows her the cartoon at home, in Norwegian. But the discussion goes on in Russian. The importance of this activity, claims Anna, is the acceptance of Norwegian mentality and cultural heritage that comes through the books and cartoons that the children grow up with. The same goes for Russian children as well. Anna explains this as a having something to talk about, because if Yulia doesn't have that base, and has never seen these stories, the communication is very limited, and she is excluded.

It can be interpreted that for Anna identity is a sense of self. It is a support system. The language is a source of spiritual and intellectual satisfaction. Anna admits that her knowledge of Norwegian, although sufficient for not only daily interactions but for university level studies, lacks the depth and richness of expression that her level of Russian allows. One could assume that improving the language brings one closer to identifying with the culture. However, Anna is decided about her identity, just like Natasha and Yulia: “I am Russian” and “I will always be Russian” are statements that are set in stone, it seems. In the following interview excerpt one can observe the way in which Anna regards identity as the self:

Q: Why did you want your child to speak Russian, why was this important?

A: Because the mother, me, speaks Russian. It is important for the awareness of her mentality as well as the wholeness of her identity. If she is half Russian, and this will probably come later in life, if she's partly Russian and has a Russian mother, then she has to carry within herself some part of Russian culture, unquestionably so, because for a child when she grows up it could seem like a loss of something kin, as if she lost some part of her self. That is what I sense.

Katya

Katya came to Norway ten years ago, and underwent an assimilation process where she decided to become fully integrated into the Norwegian society, not only through the language but through identification with Norwegian culture. However, she later decided to go back to her Russian roots. Subsequently, began to travel to Russia again with her daughter, and enrolled Olga at the Russian School. Katya says that for a long time, she rejected the Soviet identity. Her dislike of the typical Soviet mentality was one of the reasons she left Russia. But, she admits now, that it is best to find and maintain one's own golden middle, not harbor completely into the Russian, or Norwegian mentalities because they can easily disappoint in their unfixed nature.

Q. Why is integration so important for you and for your daughter?

A. Well, first of all, it is the culture into which she was born, and in which she lives. It will still be her dominating culture, well, this she will figure out herself, but in the meanwhile. That is why, so that she feels herself an integral part of this culture, as well as society, in kinder garden, at dance school, swimming pool, etc. - everywhere regardless of where we are. So that she is accepted on equal terms.

Yes. A few years ago I had a hang-up like some or a lot of the Russian people here, claiming things like "I don't want to have anything to do with Russia or Russian culture" or "I'm 100 % Norwegian" and etc. But all of that comes back like a boomerang, all of that is nonsense, artificial, and in any case later life puts everything where it belongs. That's why it's possible to find another solution. I call it the Russian core, Russian mentality, after all the main concepts will always live inside of us, and we react like Russians toward Norwegian comments. We can of course control this, but inside we will feel Russian, always. And there's no need to switch to Protestantism.

One can assume that for Katya identity is the dominance of the language and culture where you live, no matter if it's Norway, Russia, or England. Had her daughter resided in England, she would want her to dominate the English language first, as a priority to the other languages. She believes this is important for the child to feel that she belongs to the environment where she lives, and this can only be done through the sociolinguistic competence. Even though inside herself Katya recognized the irreversible tie to her Russian self, she is a strong believer of the 'democratic' view of bringing up the child that can choose,

without imposing her own view and her own identity. The opposing argument is that, by not imposing the Russian culture through requiring the language spoken at home, Katya allows for the dominant language to take over and push out the minority language. As the language is pushed out, so is the identity. If Olga speaks sometimes in Russian, and is not required to do so, it is possible that the language will continue to deteriorate. According to Natasha's comment which was supported by research studies she had read, there is a time frame during which the child takes on a language system that has the potential to become his own. Following Natasha, until a certain age, children perceive any language equally without difficulty (Natasha, interview).

Identity as Social Order

The child is born with a *tabula rasa* – a blank state, without any obstructions to any kind of knowledge. In Anna words, this is the clay-like state of childhood, where the children can be molded into pretty much anything (Anna, interview). A newborn is in harmony with himself, it is in a perfect state of balance. He is what Durkheim calls "*all that he can and should be*" (Durkheim, 1956: 115). This balance is broken when the child separates from the mother's body, physically and mentally. This is the moment of a disturbance. The unity that was slowly dissipating, and the separation between the "I" and the "other" becomes more pronounced with each year to come, as the child recognizes this separateness and it causes him to begin to see himself through the other's eyes.

Foucault claimed that the metaphor of people imprisoned into a system reflects on the reality of how they really are, implying that the mind needs to belong to a structure, to be inside a framework. Foucault's institutions are metaphors for the order that is created by society. Language is another framework for social order. Following Foucault, the less choice is presented to the individual, the closer he gets to his real self. This is a critique on the democratic ideals of individual self-determination, but it does, however, fit into the framework of a language learner, who is forced into a particular culture and language from birth. Integration of outer values into the internal framework of a bilingual child, then can be seen not as a matter of fact, something that happens as part of the whole social order and is not optional. In line with Foucault, Mead claims that the individual involved in a social

activity has the potential to be complete: "*Only in so far as he takes the attitudes of the organized social group to which he belongs toward the organized, co-operative social activity or set of such activities in which that group as such is engaged, does he develop a complete self or possess the sort of complete self he has developed*" (Mead, 1974:118). This could be what Foucault calls the normalization of the self, but the question of whether he means the unification of the self or its reduction remains open. Maybe Foucault's referrals to social reality point to stripping the individual to its bare essentials, and like Douglas, knowing him as he is: "*Ved å sanksjonere handlingene nøyaktig, bedømmes individene slik de "virkelig" er. Det disiplinære straffesystemet blir en kilde til kunnskap om individene*" (Foucault, 1977: 164).

Both Mary Douglas and Foucault make referrals that map the individual's reality in a social context. For Douglas, moral order and social reality are the same: "*When we say 'that's the way things are', we are not only making a factual statement about the mechanical appropriateness of nature, but a moral evaluation of that order*" (Douglas, 1984: 87).

Douglas sees reality as a moral order which is recreated through the process of recognition of things out of place, and the removal of disorder, deviance, followed by the restoration and renewal of moral order. Teaching sociolinguistic competence is guiding the learner into a "correct" framework, and correcting errors, both oral and written, is a daily reality for any bilingual parent. When parents correct a linguistic expression and restructure it into one that is closer in its sociolinguistic value, they put into place the moral frame to which the children "should" adhere. One example of this is the use of the polite form of "you" in Russian. This is still the accepted form of addressing adults, elderly and strangers. For a child to address an adult using the informal "you" would sound out of place. At the Russian School, one might hear "You!" addressing the teacher in Russian, using the same impolite form and tone of voice as if exclaiming the Norwegian "Du!" At that moment, no immediate comments are observed. However, this does not mean that transference of the impolite "you" form has been made, and accepted among the mothers who live in Norway. Based on our knowledge of the Russian mothers' tendency to instill quality in the Russian language we could assume that they would take the time to explain the polite form and emphasize its importance when using it in front of the children.

It is not deviance itself but the recognition of deviance that creates a line of demarcation that separates the rejects from the normal: "*It is not that this is this and that that, but that this is in*

its right, correct, appropriate, and just place" (Douglas, 1984: 87). Both Douglas and Løvlie see this separation line as the place for transformation and renewal. Løvlie calls it "*the interface*", which is dynamically unstable – it is in movement (Løvlie, 2003). Douglas also mentions that the lines of demarcation are constantly readjusted. Both Løvlie and Douglas see these borders as not only regulating behavior but also dividing reality into structures in the mind. The need for borders is so strong within the human psyche that the society often creates moral deviance (for example, witch hunt), where people get punished for the crimes they didn't commit (Douglas, 1984). The realization of "*a disturbance*" that has to be moved is only a natural response and part of the motivation to satisfy one's need for fulfillment. The lines of demarcation are imaginary moving lines created in the mind. Dirt can never be removed, only moved. Like dirt, deviance cannot be eliminated because it is created and recreated by man.

The concept of identity can be juxtaposed to the concept of Douglas' dirt. The motivating factor is not "identity" or "dirt" itself. It is rather the recognition of the absence or presence of these that motivates action. Both concepts exist through this recognition, and without it they would be neutralized

7 Conclusion

This thesis dealt with exploring the mothers' motivation strategies, attitudes, and main motives behind their willingness to teach their children their heritage language, as well as support bilingualism. Its main objectives were to answer the following questions:

- Which strategies are used by the mothers to maintain their children's Russian language as well as bilingualism?
- What are their attitudes towards the social environment at the Russian School?
- What are the main motivating factors in promoting Russian language and bilingualism?

The thesis included theory from various areas. The social and cognitive theory presenting bilingualism, a socio-psychological theory on motivation (the SDT), motivation and language learning theory (Gardner), and finally, another look at motivation from the perspective of social theory. Dörnyei and Otto (1998) come into an elaborate definition of motivation, pinpointing that it is a *“dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and/or selected, prioritized, operationalized, and successfully or unsuccessfully acted out (65).* Motivation is a mysterious and fascinating phenomenon research has yet to get a grasp on. It has been described as *“an inner psychological process that creates a driving force within us that causes us to act, simultaneously giving us a direction for the action, maintaining and strengthening the action”* (Jacobsen & Thorsvik, 2005: 231). Researchers may agree that the meaning of the construct *“motivation”* is revealed through the actions that it brings about. Still, a more concise definition is offered by Ryan & Deci: *energy, direction and persistence* (Ryan & Deci 2000). Then it is natural to ask about that which creates motivation, or the driving force that gives energy and direction to begin and maintain an activity.

My thesis included three chapters of analysis: strategies, social attitudes, and main motives. The first chapter of analysis shows which strategies are used by the mothers and the children's reactions to these. Findings indicate an array of strategies used by the mothers: verbalizing strategies, literacy strategies, and social strategies. The results of the study indicate a variety of motivating strategies that the mothers use to support language awareness,

cognitive development, and literacy. The mothers took a long time talking about what they do to improve their children's skills. This chapter also includes the mothers' awareness of the learning process, including their understanding and knowledge around literacy, language mixing and visual stimulation, such as cartoons and TV.

The second part of analysis demonstrates the mothers' attitudes, both on a personal level and in relation to the group. This part focuses on the experience of being motivated in a social context. As a group, the mothers demonstrated a supportive attitude, judging by the encouraging comments in challenging situations, and the willingness to offer help and advice. Even in difficult social situations, the mothers took active measures and were self-determined in their behavior. When it came to school involvement, all three mothers expressed interest in talking to the teacher after class, and in following up with the teacher's comments. All three mothers seemed to possess a high level of self-efficacy, demonstrated especially through their comments during the interview about the challenges they experienced. In spite of these, they maintained a positive outlook on the general progress that bilingualism was taking.

The third part of analysis explores the main motives, which are: family ties, well-roundedness, and identity. Well-roundedness (*dannelse*) is often mentioned by the mothers as a future aspiration. Both Anna and Katya define this as being able to see in different directions, as a higher consciousness in relation to one's options in life, to oneself and to others. Natasha, on the other hand, does not specifically mention well-roundedness, but stresses strongly the need to instill identity values at an early age.

According to the findings presented in this study, identity is the main source of motivation for the teaching behavior of the mothers. In the Russian mothers' case, identity being the main motivating force in teaching their children Russian, the inner desire of belonging cannot be separated from the outer factors to the inner desires to belong to. The emotional attachment exists because of the cultural artifacts the parent passes on to the child, through the language. The desire to support this transfer is the desire to reintegrate to the child what one has integrated self.

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Attachments

Interview Guide

- Background questions – socio-economic background, educational background of the mothers.
- Mothers' interest/motivation/goals for their children's development of Russian
- Mothers' awareness around language learning/teaching a language/their consciousness on teaching
- Is the mother-tongue used consequently by the same parent – keeping languages separate 'one parent, one language' model
- Does this parent require the child to answer back in Russian
- Whether the mothers stop the conversation in order to rectify the child's spoken errors.
- How much time do they dedicate daily or weekly to reading and doing homework for the class
- Traveling to a Russian-speaking country or where they could have abundant practice
- The use of supportive elements such as cartoons/TV in Russian
- Do the children have regular contact with other Russian-speaking children?
- Mothers' attitudes to giving their children an education in Russian

CONSENT FORM

Thank you for your participation in connection with my master thesis in education at the Pedagogisk Forskningsinstitutt at the University of Oslo. Throughout the following interview I will investigate about your experiences in raising a bilingual child. I will ask about your attitudes towards bilingualism, your motivation for your child's linguistic competence, and the strategies you use to promote linguistic competence in your child.

The interview will take about one hour, and will take place at the Russian School of Oslo. It is also possible to meet outside of school hours, and choose a time and place best suitable for you.

All information that is revealed by you during the interview will be treated with total confidentiality. All your statements will be recorded anonymously. At the completion of the thesis all the information will be destroyed, in the late summer 2013.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me: mob 90510506

mvaynman@hotmail.com

Informant's Consent

I have received information about the study of my experience raising a bilingual child and I would like to be interviewed about this.

Signature

Date

Phone number

E-mail