

University of Northern Colorado

Scholarship & Creative Works @ Digital UNC

Master's Theses

Student Research

12-9-2020

FACILITATING THE ACCULTURATION OF CHILDREN AMONG RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS

Anna Goncharova
anngon26@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digscholarship.unco.edu/theses>

Recommended Citation

Goncharova, Anna, "FACILITATING THE ACCULTURATION OF CHILDREN AMONG RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS" (2020). *Master's Theses*. 189.
<https://digscholarship.unco.edu/theses/189>

This Dissertation/Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research at Scholarship & Creative Works @ Digital UNC. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Scholarship & Creative Works @ Digital UNC. For more information, please contact Jane.Monson@unco.edu.

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

Greeley, Colorado

The Graduate School

FACILITATING THE ACCULTURATION
OF CHILDREN AMONG RUSSIAN
IMMIGRANT MOTHERS

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Anna Nickolaevna Goncharova

College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Department of Sociology

December 2020

This Thesis by: Anna Nickolaevna Goncharova

Entitled: *Facilitating the Acculturation of Children among Russian Immigrant Mothers*

has been approved as meeting the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the College of Humanities and Social Sciences in the Department of Sociology

Accepted by the Thesis Committee:

Mel Moore, Ph.D., Chair

Kyle Anne Nelson, Ph.D., Committee Member

Harmony Newman, Ph.D., Committee Member

Accepted by the Graduate School

Jeri-Anne Lyons, Ph.D.
Dean of the Graduate School
Associate Vice President for Research

ABSTRACT

Goncharova, Anna Nickolaevna. *Facilitating the Acculturation of Children among Russian Immigrant Mothers*. Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, University of Northern Colorado, 2020.

While biculturalism is considered the preferred strategy of acculturation for most, the existing research does not address the degree to which immigrant mothers support bicultural acculturation of their children and how these mothers enact biculturalism. Although existing research demonstrates that parental involvement and social capital of immigrant parents are important for the success of their children, studies do not delineate the personal meanings and the process of maternal involvement in the acculturation of their children into American society. This research addresses these questions and describes maternal goals towards acculturation and depicts how Russian immigrant mothers facilitate acculturation of their children in the U.S. with respect to family social capital, family activities, and amount of parental involvement.

The study employs a qualitative research design. Nineteen semi-structured interviews with Russian mothers in the immigrant community of Denver, CO, were conducted and analyzed. The research explores acculturation preferences of Russian mothers towards their children. It describes how Russian mothers in the Denver immigrant community access and accumulate family social capital. The study applies Berry's acculturation theory to examine parental goals and strategies with respect to the acculturation of their children. In this context, based on the work of Coleman (1988), Clark (2006), and Strobel (2016), this research discusses the personal reasons and meanings of keeping Russian language in the context of bonding family social capital. The study looks at the bridging aspects of family capital of Russian immigrant

mothers, their involvement in children's education and what social networks and their resources use to facilitate the acculturation of their children. The research describes ethnic parental networks of Russian parents as a valuable resource in facilitating acculturation of Russian children.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
	Statement of the Problem	
	Limitations of the Existing Studies	
	Purpose of the Research and Research Questions	
	Methodological Design	
	Thesis Organization	
II.	LITERATURE REVIEW.....	6
	Acculturation	
	Biculturalism of Immigrant Children	
	Parental Involvement in Acculturation	
	Social Capital of Immigrant Parents	
	Russian Immigrant Parents and Children	
III.	METHODOLOGY.....	23
	Participant Selection and Data Collection Procedures	
	The Role and Background of the Researcher	
	Data Analysis Process	
	Institutional Review Board	
IV.	FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION.....	31
	Models of Acculturation	
	Parental Involvement as Social Capital	
V.	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	70
	REFERENCES.....	76
	APPENDIX	
A.	Institutional Review Board Approval	95
B.	Interview Questions.....	97
C.	Consent Form.....	103
D.	Educational Resources.....	105

LIST OF TABLES

Table		
1.1	Berry's Categorization Scheme.....	7
2.1	Demographics of Participants	27

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The United States (U.S.) would not be what it is today without immigrants. Every year, millions of people come to the U.S. to make this country their home. The population of the United States is heterogeneous. According to the United Nations (2013), 14.3% of U.S. citizens are foreign-born. The U.S. Census Bureau (2013) points out that ethnic minorities make up about a third of the population and about one out of five people speak a language at home other than English.

Entering a new country, immigrants step into a new social reality. Acculturation is the process of social, psychological, and cultural adaptation of individuals by blending the original (native) and new host cultures (Berry 1997; Schumann 1978). It is a unique individual experience that unfolds through social interactions in different social and cultural realities (Berry 1997). The process of acculturation produces new identities, types of knowledge, and social experiences (Tzanakis 2013).

This study employs the theory of acculturation (Berry et al. 2006). This theory looks at different attitudes and behavior models that individuals may engage in an attempt to relate to a different culture. People tend to adopt one of four main acculturation strategies: integration (biculturalism), assimilation (losing native culture), separation (not accepting the host culture), and marginalization (not belonging to both, native and host cultures) (Berry et al. 2006). Existing studies of acculturation suggests that integration (biculturalism) is the preferred option for adults

and children because it gives bicultural individuals additional life opportunities (Nelson and Infante 2014; Tadmor et al. 2012; Tadmor, Tetlock, and Peng 2009; Berry et al. 2006; Kwak and Berry 2001; Phinney et al. 2001; Sayegh and Lasry 1993; Berry et al. 1987; Suinn et al. 1987). The literature also shows that bicultural acculturation has the most positive impact on well-being (Tadmor et al. 2012; Tadmor et al. 2009; Mok et al. 2007; Smokowski and Bacallao 2007; Coatsworth et al. 2005; Phinney et al. 2001; Berry 1997).

To understand the process of immigrant acculturation, I examine the role of social capital. Social capital is a totality of all kinds of social resources (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Language is one form of social capital (Clark 2006). In the process of acculturation, immigrants reflect on their old social capital and find novel ways of building and rebuilding social connections (Erel 2010). They often use the economic, cultural, social, and ethnic resources they brought with them to aid in their adaptation to their new social reality (Louise, Erel, and D'Angelo 2015). For example, in a new country immigrants may reevaluate their education and work experience. Their adaptations are not only based on the social institutions and people of the dominant culture, but also include ethnic networks (Erel 2010). Ethnic networks often provide information about outside resources (Portes and Rumbaut 2006:95). For example, through ethnic networks immigrants find information about schools and social services.

Immigrant youth are important to American society. They are a part of local, political, religious, and ethnic communities, and will enter the labor force and socialize their children. The way their potential unfolds often depends on the willingness of receiving communities to support immigrants (Masten, Liebkind, and Hernandez 2012). Immigrant parents play a valuable part in the process of bicultural adaptation by helping their children overcome difficulties in the new country (Masten, Liebkind, and Hernandez 2012). Successful acculturation of immigrants and

their children depend on the family social capital that roots in relations between parents and children and often is built through spending family time together, investments in children's activities and well-being (Hoffmann and Dufur 2018; Dufur et al. 2016; Prandini 2014; Kim and Schneider 2005). Parental investments into family social capital promote children's higher academic achievements at school and lead to upward social mobility (Dufur et al. 2016). Language plays an important role in creating family social capital of immigrants (Strobel 2016). Social capital of immigrant parents correlate with the life prospects of immigrant children (Coleman 1988) and create favorable conditions for the child's development and academic success and engagement (Cook 2014; Zhou and Bankston 1994; Coleman 1988). Hence, learning more about the process of how immigrant parents facilitate the acculturation of their children has theoretical and practical value.

LIMITATIONS OF EXISTING STUDIES

While biculturalism is considered the preferred strategy of acculturation for most, the existing research does not address the degree to which immigrant mothers support bicultural acculturation of their children and how these mothers enact biculturalism. Although existing research demonstrates that parental involvement and social capital of immigrant parents are important for the success of their children, studies do not delineate the personal meanings and the process of maternal involvement in the acculturation of their children into American society.

The existing research on Russian immigrants mostly concentrates on Russian immigrants living in Europe and Israel (Remennick and Prashizky 2018; Grigoryev and Vijver 2017; Perotto 2015; Benish-Weisman and Shye 2011; Pisarenko 2006). Most studies were quantitative, thus did not include rich insights and perspectives from the study participants. One group of the study discusses acculturation strategies of adults in the context of labor market and financial well-

being (Yakobov et al. 2019; Remennick and Prashizky 2018; Grigoryev and Vijver 2017; Usuyama 2015; Dali 2012; Benish-Weisman and Shye 2011). Another group examines acculturation of children in the context of Russian language acquisition and native language attrition (Perotto 2015) and the role of parents in keeping Russian culture and language in immigration (Remennick and Prashizky 2018; Perotto 2015; Usuyama 2015; Este and Tachble 2009). I found only one research conducted in the U.S. that studied Russian Jewish parental involvement in academics of children in private school, which is now quite dated and only addresses connection parental attitude towards education and new social experiences with academic achievements of children (Aronowitz 1992). Therefore, more research on Russian immigrant communities in the U.S. would help inform the acculturation of Russian immigrant children in the 21st century.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this study, I describe the process of acculturation among a sample of Russian immigrant mothers living in Denver, Colorado. In particular, I examine how mothers facilitate the acculturation of their children into the new country, with a focus on describing family social capital, as well as acculturative desires, strategies, and attitudes.

My research examines the following questions:

- Q1 What are Russian maternal preferences towards acculturation of their children?
- Q2 How do Russian immigrant mothers facilitate acculturation of their children in the U.S.? What are maternal goals and strategies with respect to the acculturation of their children?

METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

I employ semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews allow for an opportunity to hear personal voices of respondents and to envision the processes by which individual parental choices are made.

THESIS ORGANIZATION

Following this chapter, I examine research on theories of acculturation, social capital, and an involvement of immigrant families in acculturation of their children. I look at the four models of acculturation: biculturalism, assimilation, separation, and marginalization. These models are discussed in connection to the theory of family social capital. I also review the literature on Russian immigrant families and children.

Chapter III provides a full description of the research methodology, detailing the process of participant selection, data collection, and analysis procedures.

Chapter IV presents an analysis and discussion of the findings from the semi-structured interviews with Russian immigrant mothers living in Denver, Colorado. I apply theories of acculturation and family social capital and map a spectrum of maternal opinions on the preferable ways of acculturation of their children into the new country. I explore maternal involvement and social networks of Russian mothers in the context of acculturation of children.

Chapter V provides a summary of my research and the recommendations for potential future research and social practices with immigrant families and children.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

ACCULTURATION

Culture refers to the socially constructed values, beliefs, symbols, and norms that are shared by individual members of a social group, transmitted from past generations or formed by individuals themselves (Avruch 1998). Culture provides a cognitive framework through which individuals interpret the behavior of “others.” This interpretation has a significant impact on how individuals and groups communicate within society (Avruch, Black, and Scimecca 1991).

Sociocultural identity is the identity or feeling of belonging to a group. This process involved learning about and accepting traditions, heritage, language, religion, ancestry, aesthetics, thinking patterns, and social structures of a culture (Boski, Strus, and Tlaga 2004). Cultural identities took a central place in the self-concept of people and existed within a changing social context (Lustig and Koester 2006).

The process through which individuals adapt to new cultures and form cultural identities is acculturation (Berry, Trimble, and Olmedo 1986; Schumann 1978). According to a two-dimensional acculturation model (Berry, Trimble, and Olmedo 1986), acculturating individuals may be involved in both, either, or neither cultures. The model described four different behaviors that individuals may employ to adapt to a different culture: assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Berry's (1986) Categorization Scheme

Degree of Identification with Majority Group	Degree of Identification with Minority Group	
	Strong	Weak
Strong	Integrated	Assimilated
Weak	Separated	Marginal

Assimilation is happening when individuals choose to identify themselves solely with the culture of the host society. Separation entails an exclusive involvement of the individual in traditional culture and limited interaction with the culture of the larger society. Marginalization means rejection of the individual by traditional and host cultures. Integration, also known as biculturalism, means the identification and involvement with traditional ethnic culture, as well as the culture of the host society. Bicultural individuals are those who have been fully immersed and have internalized or integrated two cultural frameworks (Furusawa and Brewster 2015; Lakshman 2013; Berry et al. 2006; Benet-Martínez et al. 2002).

In 2012, Motti-Stefanidi and colleagues offered a model of immigrant youth adaptation that is closely related to Berry's acculturation model (1986). The backbone of the model is conceived in three levels: the individual level (personality, temperament, motivation, self-regulation, and cognition), the level of interaction (child's immediate environment: family, peers, school, ethnic group), and the societal level (cultural beliefs, social representations, ideologies). These levels are interconnected and embedded within each other. No precedence is given in this model either to the individual as sole agent or to society as sole determinant of individual differences in immigrant youths' adaptation. Instead, it is argued that both the individual and society play a central role in the adaptive processes that lead to the success (or failure) of immigrant youth.

Bicultural individuals differed in the way they incorporated and alternated cultures in their lives (Phinney and Devich-Navarro 1997; LaFromboise, Coleman, and Gerton 1993). Ryder, Alden, and Paulhus (2000) found substantial evidence that ethnic and mainstream identifications are independent and have non-inverse correlations with personality, self-identity, and adjustment variables. The internal changes that took place in the individual when exposed to new values, norms, and expected behaviors are essential for assuming a sociocultural identity and for participating as a cultural member. In this context, a process of obtaining bicultural identity can be conceptualized as a continuous variable, capturing the proportion to which an individual has internalized or integrated two cultural frameworks (Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2012; Phelan, Davidson, and Yu 1998).

Bicultural acculturation is considered the most beneficial for immigrants and their children (Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2012; Masten and Cicchetti 2010; Berry et al. 2006; Bankston and Zhou 1997; Berry 1997). Bicultural individuals have the ability to switch between their two cultural frameworks in response to varying contextual cues (Cheng and Huizingh 2014; Tadmor et al. 2012; Tadmor et al. 2009; Smokowski and Bacallao 2007; Coatsworth et al. 2005; Benet-Martínez et al. 2002) that allowed them to develop greater cognitive complexity, creativity, flexibility, and empathy (Leung and Lee 2012; Tadmor et al. 2012; Tadmor et al. 2009; Chiu and Hong 2007). Research also showed that bicultural individuals had social support networks from both cultures and exhibited more well-being than primacultural individuals (Mok et al. 2007; Rogler et al. 1991).

BICULTURALISM OF IMMIGRANT CHILDREN

The acculturation of children can be different from adults' adaptation into a different culture (Syed and Mitchell 2013; Kwak and Berry 2001). For immigrant children, the task of developing a sense of identity is complex (Syed and Mitchell 2013; Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2012; Phinney et al. 2001). As part of developing their identity, immigrant and minority youth faced the challenge of developing a cultural identity in relation to two or more distinct cultures (Phinney et al. 2001). Immigrant children had to bridge the language, values, beliefs, behaviors, and customs typical of the new society with those of their home culture (Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2012; Sam and Berry 2010; Oppedal 2006). The degree of cultural adaptation depended on language proficiency; a lack of language proficiency complicated the process of acceptance in ethnic and host communities (Belanger and Verkuyten 2010; Verkuyten 2005).

Going through the process of acculturation, immigrant children faced multiple challenges that affected their adjustment to school and academic success, creating social inequalities in current situations and life opportunities. The challenges often included racism and discrimination, immigration status, language difficulties, and school accessibility (Elizalde-Utnick 2010). Even the most academically successful immigrant children will encounter some degree of stress because of differences between their origin cultures and social life in the United States (Elizalde-Utnick 2010). Adolescents have the added social pressures of trying to fit into the complex social systems in middle and high school (Elizalde-Utnick 2010).

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN ACCULTURATION

Schools often became a place where migrant children, their families, and the host society met (Moskal 2014), but not always are teachers and school administrators in the U.S. prepared to

meet the complex needs of immigrant children (Gandara and Rumberger 2008). Understanding the unique situations and experiences of immigrant families in school was crucial for the successful education of immigrant children. Success was more likely when adjustments were made for the unique cultural and social frames of immigrants (Hartley 1994), which is why communication and cooperation between school and parents were important for the social and emotional wellbeing of children (Christenson and Sheridan 2001).

Parents in partnership with teachers played a significant role in the socialization and acculturation of children (Moskal 2014; Raffaele and Knoff 1999). They supported and promoted a children's social, emotional, and cognitive development (Holden and Edwards 1989). Ideally, parents and society supplemented each other in the process of socialization (Berry et al. 2011; Erikson 1950); it is, however, different for immigrant children.

Immigrant parental styles and involvement in the acculturation of children depended on the norms and values of native cultures (Seginer 2006; Harkness and Super 2002). Parental involvement in children's education differed in immigrant and native families (Tang 2015). Unfortunately, cultural differences between immigrants and the new school systems presented a potential for cultural misunderstanding. Sweeney (2012) highlighted that teachers not only needed to connect the curriculum with the students' worlds, but also make connections with students and families who may have come from and lived in very different living situations, had different cultures, language, values, belief systems, expectations, and socioeconomic situations. Teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and ways of interacting were vital components of their practice with ethnically and culturally diverse families (Pearrow and Sanchez 2008).

Different cultural frames and role expectations produced cognitive dissonance and disrupted interactions between parents and schools. For example, parents and teachers might

have had different homework expectations (Elizalde-Utnick 2010). As a result, immigrant parents faced multiple challenges when interacting with their children's school and teachers. Common barriers included lack of formal education, low English language proficiency, and lack of knowledge about mainstream U.S. culture and school systems (Elizalde-Utnick 2010). In racially, culturally, and economically diverse communities, parents often reported feeling shut out of school events and marginalized by school administrations (Price-Mitchell 2009). This impacted their ability to assist their children with school work that affected the academic and acculturation success of immigrant children and contributed to inequalities (Elizalde-Utnick 2010).

Marti (2008) investigated Latino family involvement in education with 408 immigrant parents of elementary school children. She found that level of education and English language proficiency were significant predictors of parental involvement in child's education. Parents with very low to no English language proficiency and no high school diploma had the lowest level of participation in home-school communication. Contreras (2011) found a similar result in her research on 1,215 immigrant families. She discovered that parents proficient in English were 2.5 to 5 times more likely to be involved in school communication. Immigrant parents with graduate level education were 70% more likely to be highly involved in their child's education.

However, research showed that parental involvement indirectly related to impacts on educational interests and achievement of children (Corwyn and Bradley 2008; Kao and Rutherford 2007; Dearing et al. 2004). Parental attitudes were a significant predictor of school adjustment for immigrant and native children (Bryce et al. 2019; Yaseen et al. 2017; Aronowitz 1992). White and Kaufman (1997) demonstrated that children whose parents were involved in

their education, monitored their homework, and talked about school had lower dropout rates than students whose parents did not show their interests in academics.

Parental involvement and control influenced education-related activities of children helped students to solve school problems and prevented deviant behavior (Marti 2008). Abada and Tenkorang (2009) suggested that highly educated immigrant parents motivated their children to study hard and to receive a higher level of education later in life. They also had more academic experiences, more access to information, and provided more educational support to their children (Abada and Tenkorang 2009). White and Kaufman (1997) pointed out that immigrant children who recently moved to the U.S. were more likely to drop out of high school than native-born students. Comparing dropout rates between groups of second generation of immigrants and native-born children did not show significant differences (White and Kaufman 1997).

Contreras (2011) conducted quantitative research on a sample of 1,215 immigrant parents and examined how prior emigrational experiences and social capital of immigrant parents related to their school involvement in the U.S. She found that immigrant parents who participated in religious practices in their home-country were more likely to be actively involved in children's life at school and home.

Portes and Rumbaut (2006) stated that the future of immigrant children can be predicted by analyzing expectations that adults have of them. Knowledge about the parents' academic expectations regarding their children could foretell students' academic success and motivation (Portes and Rumbaut 2006). Students who had strong family and ethnic roots usually showed strong educational motivation, received higher grades, and had college plans (Zhou and Bankston 1994). Research on 198 youth in a Vietnamese community in New Orleans about the

ways immigrant culture affected the adaptation experience of immigrant children showed that social capital contributed greatly to the adaptation of Vietnamese youth in school and later in life (Zhou and Bankston 1994). The Vietnamese immigrant community promoted a strong work ethic among its youths. Students who adhered to family values and were involved in the ethnic community tended to have higher grades and more college plans. Laghi and colleagues (2014) examined sociocultural adaptation of Chinese youths in Italy. They found that Chinese children who had strong ties with an ethnic enclave showed better school adjustment and lower negative behavior compared to native Italian peers.

As Coleman stated, social capital, especially in the family and in the community, affected “creation of human capital in the next generation” (1988:109). Parental support alleviated the effects of perceived discrimination and enhanced adolescents’ ethnic identities (Masten et al. 2004). Social capital played a crucial role in the acculturation of immigrant children, especially in families with limited resources (Allen and Leary 2010; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Perna and Titus 2005; Horvat, Weininger, and Lareau 2003).

In my research, I explored the acculturation preferences of Russian immigrant mothers towards their children and the social resources (capitals) they use.

SOCIAL CAPITAL OF IMMIGRANT PARENTS

Coleman (1988) defined social capital as a collective resource utilizable by actors of social networks. Social capital is grounded in the structure of social interactions and defined by the position of social actors (Tzanakis 2013; Coleman 1988). Different members of the social network obtained varying access to the information circulating inside the network based on their position and involvement (Coleman 1988). Portes (1998) pointed out that participation in social networks helped its members better understand social reality and secured benefits of

membership. Social capital was usually produced through social networks, but it was not identical to them. Social capital not only entailed the ability to deploy social connections and networks, but also evaluated them (Louise et al. 2015). It was a bonding mechanism which added to the integration of social structure (Tzanakis 2013).

Clark (2006:5) considered language the defining characteristic of social capital and its productive value that “consists in the networks of relationships available to individuals and groups such as families, friendships, work, club, religion, neighborhood, political affiliations, and ethnicity.” Nawyn et al. (2012: 256) highlighted the importance of thinking about language as a form of social capital that gave social power to social actors and allowed them to draw productive values from their social networks. They argued that the lack of language led to “the linguistic isolation” and an ineptitude to build social ties. Khodaday and Ashrafborji suggested that “social capitals depend on the language in which they are presented” (2016:338).

Based on the way social capital was used by social actors, Briggs (1998) differentiated social capital that offered support (helped “get by”) from social capital that yielded leverage (helped “get ahead”). According to Briggs (1998:178), social capital which provided support helped social actors to stay afloat in the society and gave them stability in life. On the other hand, social capital which yielded leverage enhanced the opportunity of social actors for vertical social mobility and life improvement. Both types of capital were important for immigrants.

Putnam (2000) underlined bridging and bonding dimensions of social capital. Bonding social capital provided quality social ties that were generated in social groups, for example ethnic enclaves, where members had similar socioeconomic and demographic characteristics and provided psychological and emotional support (Putnam 2000). This type of capital is often presented in ethnic networks where immigrants provided assistance and shared information with

one another (Thomas et al 2016: 78). On the other side, bridging social capital was described as a quantity of diverse social connections that individuals had and could use for their benefits.

Bridging capital connected immigrants with networks and resources of host and other ethnic communities (Thomas et al 2016: 78). Even weak social connections might have linked individuals with social resources (Lin and Dumin 1986; Granovetter 1973). According to Lin (2001: 24), social actors mobilized resources of social networks to increase the likelihood of success in purposive action. Furstenberg (2005) highlighted that the way social networks are used by social actors was more important than social networks itself.

Bonding and bridging social capitals were equally important for successful acculturation of immigrant families and supported economic participation in the host country (Valade 2019; Prandini 2014). Based on the existing theories, Ling and Dale (2014) discussed the leverage opportunities and connections between the different forms of social capital. They proposed that bridging social capital facilitated an access to resources and opportunities; linking social capital connected individuals and social groups with resources of formal social institutions and provided leverages; and vertical social capital linked individuals to people in positions of power and influence (Ling and Dale 2014).

Migration often weakened families and social connections (Smith, Lalonde, and Johnson 2004) and negatively affected social capital available to immigrants. A dominant culture could either accept or ignore an immigrant group, and the level of acceptance affected the economic and social success of immigrants and their children in the U.S. (Bruner-Opps 2010).

Successful acculturation of immigrants and their children depended on many factors and one of them was family social capital. As defined by Coleman (1988:110), “the social capital of the family is the relations between children and parents (and, when families include other

members, relationships with them as well).” Later, Herrero (2018: 441) emphasized that family social capital is “the sum of all actual and potential resources stemming from relationships between family members within family.” Many authors pointed out that it is a bonding capital that roots in relations between parents and children and often is built through spending family time together, investments in children’s activities and well-being (Hoffmann and Dufur 2018; Dufur et al. 2016; Prandini 2014; Kim and Schneider 2005). Parental investments in social capital of children created family bonds (Adler and Kwon 2002) and fostered their positive socialization (Hoffmann and Dufur 2018; Dufur et al. 2016). Parental investments into family social capital promoted children’s higher academic achievements at school and led to upward social mobility (Dufur et al. 2016:5). To advance academic achievement and socialization of children, parents built bridging social capital with schools, churches, other parents, neighbors, and coworkers (Dufur et al. 2016:5 –6). In her research on family social capital and language use among immigrants in Germany, Strobel (2016: 2657) argued that the native language use “potentially strengthen the integrational relationships and facilitate the mobilization of additional resources or their transmission to children.” She also presumed that native language “might help students attain additional resources from other co-ethnic group members” (Strobel 2016: 2658).

In the process of acculturation, immigrants reflected on their old social capital and found novel ways of building and rebuilding social connections (Erel 2010). They often used economic, cultural, social, and ethnic resources they had brought with them and designed mechanisms of their verification in their new social reality (Louise et al. 2015). For example, in a new country immigrants may have reevaluated their education and work experience. These mechanisms are not only based on the social institutions and people of the dominant culture, but also included ethnic networks (Erel 2010). Ethnic networks often provided information about

outside resources (Portes and Rumbaut 2006:95). Garcia Bedolla (2003) found that ethnic communities played a vital role in transferring information about the quality of schools and the ways to support academic achievements and college plans. Steinbach (2012) pointed out that immigrants used ethnic group assistance to receive settlement services in school and host communities. Ties within family and ethnic community may have promoted the growth of bridging capital (Lancee 2008).

At the same time, Adamuti-Trache (2012) emphasized that social capital of immigrants in a host country depended on their ability to build communication with people outside of their ethnic groups. Researchers (Crowley and Hickman 2008; Kelly and Lusic 2006; Gozdzik 2005) pointed at the immigrants lack of interaction with a host society and the potential danger of solely ethnic contacts that limited resources of immigrant communities and slowed their integration into the host society.

Lancee (2008) highlighted the importance of the host language proficiency for immigrants and their connections with people and resources in a host country and building bridging social capital. Memberships in bridging social networks often widened employment and income opportunities of immigrants. Adamuti-Trache (2012) found that adult immigrants tended to have friendships within their ethnic group, and the host language proficiency was the main factor that limits immigrants' connections with people in a host country. The research on a Burundian and Burmese refugee's community in Michigan emphasized that the lack of English language proficiency led the refugees to the difficulties of developing social ties in the host communities and brought the feelings of being disrespected and unevaluated in the local societies (Nawyn et al 2012). This study also raised concerns that the lack of English limited employment opportunities from the positions with low wages (Nawyn et al. 2012).

The use of communication and information technology increased social capital of parents (Jang, Hessel, and Dworkin 2017; Jang and Dworkin 2014; Bartholomew et al. 2012).

Increasingly numbers of parents got online for parenting information, advice and support (Rudi et al. 2015; McDaniel, Coyne, and Holmes 2012).

In my research, I described family social capital of Russian mothers in an ethnic community in Denver, Co and looked at how these mothers built bonding and bridging social capital to facilitate acculturation of their children.

RUSSIAN IMMIGRANT PARENTS AND CHILDREN

According to the U.S. Center of Immigration Studies (Camatora and Zeigler 2016), 442,000 immigrants from Russia arrived between 1990 and 2014 years for the reported time from pre-1990 to 2014 years. The largest number of Russian immigrants, 182,000 people, came to the U.S. between 1990-1999 years, and then after which the rate declined. In 2010-2014, 46,000 people emigrated from Russia to the United States. The average Russian immigrant had lived in the U.S. for 17.7 years and 74.5% received U.S. citizenship. Russian immigrants had one of the highest education rates among U.S. immigrants: 65.1% had a bachelor's degree or higher, 19.5% had some college, 12.8% obtained only a high school diploma and 2.6% had less than a high school education. The U.S. Center of Immigration Studies reported that 81.0% of Russian immigrants did not speak English at home. At the same time, the level of English language proficiency among Russian immigrants was high: 60.5% spoke English at the native level or very well, 21.2% knew English well, and 18.3% did not know English at all or had limited ability. Forty-six and seven tenths percent of Russian immigrants owned a house in the U.S. Statistics showed that 29.9% of Russian immigrants used welfare in the United States: only 8%

were eligible for an additional child tax credit (ACTC) and 10.2% were eligible for an earned income tax credit (EITC); 24.9% of Russian immigrants used Medicaid; 9.8% utilized subsidized housing; and 6.1% received food assistance.

Describing Russian immigrant communities in the U.S., Ivanova-Sullivan (2019:223) pointed at the fact that most Russian immigrants are fluent in English, well-educated, and prefer to settle in places of job opportunities regardless of the presence of a Russian community. Most Russian families actively supported speaking Russian language with their children. To achieve this goal, Russian parents used community Russian schools, small parent-led language groups, numerous on-line materials, and social groups on Facebook.

The existing research on Russian immigrants is fragmented and mostly concentrated on Russian immigrant communities in Europe and Israel. Benish-Weisman and Shye (2011:468) pointed out that Russian immigrants to Israel were highly educated, and 60% of them had a college diploma or above. Research discussed a successful model of Russian immigrant adaptation that focused on how immigrants evaluate the success of immigration based on the quality of their life. Russian immigrants who enjoyed a higher quality of life were seen to experience successful immigration. The research on Russian immigrants in Canada (Yakobov et al. 2018) reported similar finds. Russian immigrants who were able to fulfill their emigrational expectations had better psychological adjustment to the new country.

Grigoryev and van de Vijver (2017) described three acculturation styles that were used among Russian immigrants in Belgium: integration, assimilation, and separation. The group with an assimilation profile was the most socioeconomically adapted, followed by the group who preferred an integrational strategy. They also discovered that the level of socio-economic

adaptation depended on the length of stay in the country: the longer immigrants lived in the host country, the more adapted they were. Pisarenko (2006) explored acculturation strategies used among Russian adolescents in Latvia. She found that models of integration and separation were dominant and led to two different outcomes: Latvian language proficiency were higher, and social contacts with host population were stronger among adolescents who chose to integrate into Latvian society; discrimination and other negative outcomes were related to the separation model. According to this research, assimilation was the least preferable strategy among Russian youths in Latvia.

Dali (2012) showed that to cope with acculturation stress, Russian immigrants in Canada read their way through immigration and shared their leisure time with the mainstream population by participating in sports, hobbies, cultural and community events. Russian immigrants in Australia (Usuyama 2015) also used mass media to feel the connection to mainstream Russian culture. Internet helped communicate with Russia and connected the community. Local magazines and newspapers provided Russian communities with all sorts of information in Russian. Russian ethnic schools preserved Russian language and culture among children. Perotto (2015) characterized Russian communities in Italy by a strong female position and a strong motive to integrate into Italian life. Russian immigrant children showed serious Russian language attrition. Russian ethnic schools greatly contributed to developing and reinforcing Russian language for younger generations of immigrants. Este and Tachble (2009) found that Russian fathers in Canada stressed the importance and necessity of university education for their children. According to this research, decisions about children's future and current situations were made in family councils or solely by Russian mothers, and then fathers were forced to follow.

Aronowitz (1992) examined parental attitudes and their effects on acculturation of Russian (Jewish) children in a private school in San Francisco. He found that school adaptation and academic achievement correlated with parental involvement and attitudes toward education, new experiences and social change, but are not directly related to immigration. Remennick and Prashizky (2018) discovered that successful Russian immigrant parents were motivating their children for success and integration into Israeli society while some children of struggling immigrants were trying to overcompensate for parental failure in the new country. Nevertheless, parental occupation and socioeconomic status played a crucial role in the successful acculturation of the Russian immigrant children.

Further, to validate my results, I compared them to the available data of other studies on Russian immigrant communities in Europe, Canada, Israel, Australia, and the U.S.

Russian Immigrant Community of Denver, Colorado

The number of Russian immigrants in Colorado is small. Only 1.1% of immigrants settled in the state were Russians (Migration Policy Institute 2016). The Russian-speaking community of Denver consisted of almost fifty thousand people, and the majority had Jewish roots (Russian Denver 2017). The main concentration of Russian-speakers in the Denver area was in Glendale and South East Denver (Russian Denver 2017).

Russian-speaking immigrants focused on establishing cultural institutions in Denver (Russian Denver 2017). Four Russian schools taught children Russian, math, traditions, dance, and music. Several cultural centers for children provided cultural activities, after-school enrichment, and sports. An association of 11 clubs drew hundreds of adults for discussions, concerts, fitness activities, and poetry (Russian Denver 2017). The Glendale Branch of the Arapahoe Library District was a full-service, fully bilingual branch library with a popular

Russian collection. The library held language materials for all age groups in all formats, including audiovisual materials, magazines, newspapers and books. It also provided bilingual staff during all library hours to help customers access materials and information. In addition to collections and staff, it provided a variety of educational and entertaining programs of interest to the Russian speaking community, such as children's enrichment programs, concerts, lectures, club meetings, and English as a second language classes (Russian Denver 2017).

Conclusion

Existing research on the acculturation of immigrant children presented numerous advantages of biculturalism, but did not answer the questions why, and to what degree, mothers supported this model of acculturation. The process of acculturation of immigrant children into American society in the context of family social capital was an important area for further study.

To address those needs, in this research I described how Russian mothers in the Denver immigrant community accessed and accumulated family social capital. First, I applied Berry's acculturation theory to examine parental goals and strategies with respect to the acculturation of their children. In this context, based on the work of Coleman (1988), Clark (2006), and Strobel (2016), I discussed the personal reasons and meanings for keeping Russian language in the context of bonding family social capital. Second, I looked at the bridging aspects of family capital of Russian immigrant mothers, their involvement in children's education, and what social networks and their resources they used to facilitate the acculturation of their children. I described ethnic parental networks of Russian parents as a valuable resource in facilitating acculturation of Russian children.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

PARTICIPANT SELECTION AND DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

This research examines the acculturation of the children of Russian immigrant mothers in Denver, Colorado. A qualitative research design is employed to delineate the meanings and experiences of Russian mothers. I conducted 19 semi-structured interviews with a convenience sample recruited in common use places where Russian immigrants tend to gather, such as the Russian library, the Russian Centers for Children, Russian schools, and Russian stores. After recruiting two potential participants for my research at any given site, I moved to another location.

I approached people who appeared to be Russian immigrants and of the age where they were likely to have school-aged children (approximately 25-55 years old). I asked them if they were Russian immigrants, if they had school-age children, and if they were willing to participate in my research. I explained that the interview contains two parts: first, they would answer questions on paper, and after that they would answer my questions orally, in a free manner. I also informed possible participants that I would record the interview using a digital recorder that would be openly placed on the table in front of them during the interview. If they met the criteria and agreed, I asked them to read and sign the informed consent form (see Appendix III).

The interview was designed to last 45-60 minutes, but each participant took their time in answering questions so the duration of the audio recordings varies from 20 minutes to 1 hour 45

minutes. I conducted interviews at a time and place convenient for participants; such places included the public library, coffee shops, and after school activity centers. For the convenience of interviewees, the consent forms and interview questions were translated into Russian and interviews were conducted in Russian upon agreement with participants.

The interview contained two parts: straightforward close-ended demographic questions on a paper survey followed by open-ended face-to-face interview questions (see Appendix II). The close-ended questions gave me structured information about parents' age, education, income, employment, the ages of children, time in the U.S., and family type (Russian vs. mixed marriage). This information is used to draw a demographic portrait of the sample that helped to ground the findings and described the limitations of the research.

The open-ended questions were formulated based on the theories of acculturation and social capital where the language was seen as one of the main defining factors in the models of acculturation and, at the same time, as a major resource (social capital) that allowed access to social capital of social networks. The interviews started with questions about the values and the meaning of language proficiency for immigrant parents. Then, it acquired the level of language proficiency of immigrant children as it was evaluated by the immigrant mothers. I compared the desirable level of children's language proficiency in Russian and English to the real situations of the language usage in social life (family time, friends, school, and social and cultural activities). As a result, I filled the scientific models of acculturation with a spectrum of real-life attitudes, strategies, and experiences of Russian immigrant families and children. The interviews continued with the questions about social networks and social capital that were used by Russian immigrant families to facilitate acculturation of their children. Participants were asked about school, community, and friend-related social networks. The usage of ethnic social networks of

immigrant parents was compared to American networks. The accessibility of social capital of different networks for immigrant parents and children was examined in the context of English and Russian language proficiency. For example, in order to understand social networks of Russian parents at school, respondents were asked about contacts with teachers, Russian, and American parents and topics of their conversations. Participants also explained how they used those networks to solve problems and help their children.

My sample was 19 Russian speaking immigrant women recruited at Russian immigrant community-focused locations. Unfortunately, I could not recruit any Russian fathers; I approached several men, but they were busy and/or did not want to participate in the research saying that they did not know much since their wives took care of the children. Recruitment of participants at community-focused locations excluded Russian parents who did not connect to these locations from participation in my research and biased the research results.

The age of participants varied from 33 to 57 years old with a mean age of 41. All women (100%) considered Russian as their native language. At the same time, five women (26%) reported being able to speak a second native language, such as Ukrainian, Belarussian, Tatarian, Latvian, and Hebrew. Fourteen women (74%) in my sample were married; four (21%) were divorced, and one (5%) was separated without filing for an official divorce. Twelve women (63%) in my sample had Russian speaking husbands and seven women (37%) were married to American men. Participants spent 3 to 24 years of their life in the U.S. with a mean of 11 years. Nine women (48%) in my sample had two children; five (26%) had one child; and five (26%) had three children.

To lend validity to the demographic portrait of my sample, I compared my data with the publicly available data on the demographic portrait of an average Russian immigrant into the

United States presented by the U.S. Center of Immigration Studies (Camatora and Zeigler 2016). Women in my research had different levels of education: 13 (68%) claimed to have a Master of Art degree; two women (11%) had a Bachelor of Arts degree; three women (16%) had an Associate of Arts degree; and one (5%) had a High School Diploma. The U.S. statistics showed that 65.1% of Russian immigrants had a bachelor's degree or higher, 19.5% had some college, 12.8% obtained only a high school diploma, and 2.6% had less than a high school education. Family income of the participates in my research varied widely: four women (21%) claimed their family income to be less than \$35,000; six (32%) marked their family income in the range from \$35,000 to \$69,999; five women (26%) had income in the range from \$70,000 to \$99,999; and four women (21%) stated that their family income was more than \$100,000. Statistics showed that 29.9% of Russian immigrants used welfare in the United States, which is 2.1% lower than in my sample. The English level proficiency on mothers in my sample was as follows: 16% of mothers thought that they were fluent in English; 58% spoke well with some mistakes; and 26% estimated their English level was basic. The demographic portrait of my sample closely correlated with the data on the demographic portrait of an average Russian immigrant in the U.S. presented by the U.S. Center of Immigration Studies (Camatora and Zeigler 2016).

Participant identities had been concealed, and each participant was given a pseudonym to ensure confidentiality of all personal information. Table 2.1 detailed the demographics of the participants. Each column represented the information for a certain woman who participated in the research with her pseudonym.

Table 2.1 Demographics of Participants

Category	Zhenya	Irina	Lena	Fatima	Sveta	Toma	Rita	Sarah	Anna	Kimma	Sofia	Alsu	Olesya	Masha	Galina	Lada	Luba	Arina	Yana	
Age, in years	42	42	38	43	33	36	35	35	34	56	39	43	34	47	40	57	40	42	39	
Native Language	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Number of Kids	2	2	2	3	2	3	1	3	2	2	3	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	
Marital Status	S	M	M	M	M	D	D	M	M	D	M	M	M	D	M	M	M	M	M	
Husband's Ethnicity	A	R	A	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	A	R	R	A	R	A	A	A	R	
Education	H	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	As	M	As	B	As	B	
Level of English	B	M	W	W	B	B	W	Fl	W	W	Fl	W	W	W	W	B	W	B	Fl	
Time in the U.S., in years	12	6	17	9	4	8	3	20	4	14	4	9	4	24	6	24	22	4	20	
Family Income, \$\$	L	L	D	R	M	M	L	D	R	D	R	D	R	L	M	M	M	M	D	

Abbreviations used in Table 2.1:

Native language: R- Russian; Ta – Tatarian; U –Ukrainian; B – Belorussian; L – Latvian

Marital status: S – separated; D – divorced; M – married

Husband's Ethnicity: R - Russian; A - American; Je – Jewish; B – Belarussian; Ar – Armenian; U – Ukrainian; Ta – Tatarian

Education: H – High School Diploma; As – Associate of Arts Degree; B – Bachelor of Art Degree; M – Mater of Arts

Level of English: B – basic conversational; W – Well with minor mistakes; Fl - Fluent

Family Income: L - less than \$35,000; M – from \$35,000 to \$69,999; D - from \$70,000 to \$99,999; R - more than \$100,000.

I transcribed each interview. Annotations and notes were added to the interview transcripts. Then I translated interview transcripts from Russian into English. Then, my translation was checked for accuracy by a certified American High School teacher who is also a native Russian speaker and lived in Alaska and had no connections to the Russian community in Denver. The recording of the interviews and transcriptions were stored on an external memory card that was kept in a locked cabinet in my house. After three years of secure storing, the recording of the interviews will be erased from the external memory card using a commercial software application designed to remove all data from the storage device. Conducting,

transcribing, and analyzing interviews in Russian, which is not a common language in the U.S., gave additional protection of participants' privacy.

THE ROLE AND BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCHER

The researcher played an important role in all stages of a qualitative study. According to Creswell (2012), the researcher collected data, defined themes and trends, and interpreted the experiences of participants. In this process, the researcher needed to be aware of his/her personal background that shaped interpretations of data. My perceptions of immigrant social capital and the Russian community had been greatly shaped by my experience. This experience and my personal background affected the way I asked questions, and how I saw and interpreted the results. My community involvement shaped how I chose places and participants, as well as how I approached people and communicated with them. Because of this, it is important to take into account that I am a native Russian. I was born in Russia and spent 30 years of my life living and working in that country. I spoke fluent Russian, knew and understood Russian culture and traditions from the inside. I had also spent 15 years of my life in the United States. I knew English and American culture well. As an immigrant, I was personally experiencing the process of acculturation and sociocultural identification, as well as observing it with my family members and members of my ethnic community. I was also raising my child, who was born outside of the U.S., and experienced the problems of sociocultural identification and acculturation. As a parent, I worked hard to raise a successful child who was well adapted to life in the United States, and yet maintain her Russian roots and ties. I was an active member of a Russian speaking community in Denver. My child was enrolled in Russian ethnic activities. I had information about, and access to, the Russian speaking community in Denver.

There were positive and negative outcomes of being an insider in the Russian community. The benefits included an easy access to the group, acceptance and a level of trust and willingness to share information because the participants presumed that you are one of them and would better understand their experiences (Corbin and Buckle 2009:58). On the other hand, participants might have assumed the similarity and cut short explanations of their experiences (Corbin and Buckle 2009:58). At the same time, the researcher might have shaped and guided the study based on his or her personal experience, and the perception of results and their analysis might have been affected by the personal experience of the researcher (Corbin and Buckle 2009:58). To reduce the negative effects of being insider, I kept this bias in mind while communicating with participants in Russian community and working on my research.

DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS

Data were analyzed using Dedoose software that is professionally developed for analyzing qualitative and mixed methods research with text, photos, audio, videos, and spreadsheet data (Lieber and Weisner 2010; Briggs and Turner 2006). As I read transcripts, I developed themes related to the acquisition of social capital by Russian immigrant parents. An open coding strategy allowed me to identify relevant and patterned responses for thematic analyses. Identified themes were scrutinized in relation to the following kinds of categories: goals for child's acculturation, use and satisfaction with existing social and educational resources and services, informational channels, educational opportunities, and social connections.

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

My research was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board at the University of Northern Colorado and complied with all required ethical standards (see

Appendix A). Participants were informed about goals and risks of my research and signed a consent form. They were informed that their answers would be recorded with a digital audio recorder and that all received data would be stored for three years and then destroyed.

Ethical considerations were extended beyond confidentiality and informed consent. I introduced myself as a parent and a member of the Russian community, so research participants would feel more comfortable when describing their experiences. Before signing a consent form, all participants were informed about how discussing parental involvement in their child's acculturation may cause stress and anxiety. Before signing a consent form, I also discussed with participants that they might have become stressed about their responses—worried about reflections on them as a parent or that they were not doing enough to facilitate the acculturation of their children.

The risks to the participants in this study were minimal. Participants had the option to not answer questions that did not feel comfortable to them. As a researcher, I developed trust and tried to minimize stress and anxiety by answering all participant questions and offering them an informational list of free ethnic, community, and educational resources (see Appendix D). I also explained that this research was my thesis work and I thanked participants for contributing to it.

This research added to the existing knowledge about Russian immigrant communities in the U.S. and their acquisition of social capital for purposes of acculturation.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

MODELS OF ACCULTURATION

Existing research on the models of acculturation conducted on Russian immigrants lists integration (biculturalism), assimilation, and separation in Belgium (Grigoryev and van de Vijver 2017) and integration and separation in Latvia (Pisarenko 2006); marginalization was not found. These studies did not look at the acculturation preferences of Russian mothers.

Based on Berry's acculturation theory, I explored acculturation preferences of Russian immigrant mothers towards their children. Eighteen out of nineteen mothers voiced the importance of having bicultural children who are capable of speaking Russian fluently, and one mother considered assimilation into American culture as the best method of acculturation for her daughter. None of the mothers in my sample chose marginalization or separation. The dominance of the bicultural model in my sample might have been an outcome of the bias in my sample since I recruited participants at locations indicative of much involvement in the ethnic community. Comparing the results of my study to other research on acculturation of Russian immigrants, I presumed that all four models of acculturation can be found in the Russian immigrant community in Denver. More research with a broader sample on this topic is needed.

Existing research on acculturation of immigrant children mostly concentrated on children and did not study why immigrant mothers supported bicultural acculturation of their children, how those mothers enacted biculturalism, and how the position of immigrant mothers on acculturation affected family activities. My research focused on these questions.

Bicultural Acculturation

To understand the value and the meaning of biculturalism for Russian families, I applied the theory of family social capital (Coleman 1988) and looked at an immigrant family as a social network that connected parents and children. Bonding social capital roots in bonding relations that are commonly seen as relations of “talking about personal experiences” (Kulkofsky, Behrens, and Battin 2014:470) and language played an important role in this process. Coleman highlighted that “measure of the strength of the relations between parents and child is a measure of the social capital available to the child from the parent” (1988: 110).

In my research I explored what speaking the native language means for Russian immigrant mothers in the context of bicultural acculturation of their children. Even though most Russian mothers stated that they spoke English well (58% or 11 out 19 women) or even fluently (16% or 3 out 19 women), almost all women highlighted that they were not able to discuss many things confidently and safely in English as well as they could in Russian. For many mothers, the ability to speak the same language as their children was necessary to build healthy and supportive relations and to keep those relations later in life; it contributed to understanding each other’s problems and talking about them at the same intimate level. For instance, Lada emphasized a very important belief that she would never be able to fully express her thoughts and emotions in English:

I think no matter how good is your second language ... anyway, for me, to talk to my child about anything and express all the details I want... I certainly can do it better in my native language where I can put all my soul in my words and not hurt the feelings of my children. I can fully express myself in Russian. I am 100% sure I am saying things right, and they understand me the way I want. English is not my native language, and I don’t feel it... there are some security reasons. If mom does not know well the language that is spoken by her children, she does not understand them, their problems. The language is your future and your connection.

Olesya doubted that, even with constantly improving her English, she would know it as well as Russian and be able to discuss complicated problems with certainty, “My English is not good enough to discuss complicated problems, and I would love to...I have very close connections with my children, and I want to keep them. I never will be able to discuss some situations in English, even with my constantly improving English.” For these Russian women, building bonding relations with their children was very important and closely connected with the ability of their children to speak and understand Russian. The mothers highlighted that only with the native language could they reach the connections that would allow them to discuss personal experiences and problems with their children at the intimate level.

Weak relations between parents and children were related to a lack of social capital in the family (Coleman 1988:111). For Russian immigrant mothers, losing native language was associated with the loss of maternal contact with children. Six mothers strongly presented these ideas in their interviews. For example, Irina said:

I don't want to lose my contact with my children...if my children will only speak English, I will not be able to communicate with them. It is very important for me. Russian connects me, as a mother, to my children. I don't want to lose them.

For parents with limited English language proficiency, the ability of their children to speak and understand Russian was the only way to communicate and stay in touch within families. For example, Zhenya pointed out, “At least, I want my child to understand me because my English is...I don't know if I will be able to master it or not...at least, I want to be able to communicate with my child.” This meant that mothers with limited English language proficiency saw keeping Russian language as the only possibility to build bonding relations and family capital with their children.

Existing research on ethnic communities pointed to the important role of native languages for the culture keeping (Chew 2015; Perlin 2014; Shin 2014; Anzaldua 2005; Hooks 1994), and bonding social capital of the family provided support and created opportunities for children to connect with Russian culture and ethnic community. Based on the theory of family social capital, I looked at how mothers saw those connections.

Nine mothers in interviews directly noted that the native language bridged children with their extended families, local communities, and the culture of their ancestors. Sveta pointed out that native language connected children with their cultural roots, “There is something spiritual, something native and something cultural...our roots. It is very important to me that my child will be able to speak Russian.” Galina highlighted that speaking native language meant belonging to the certain ethnic group, “It is valuable because she is Russian. Russians should know Russian language. If you are Armenian, you should know Armenian language. Latinos should know Spanish.” Alsu emphasized that native language gave children a unique cultural identity and an opportunity to culturally stand out and connect with their cultural roots:

You should know your native language to keep your roots. Every child should know where he/she is from, his/her culture, at least the culture of his/her family. I think it is important. Because today you can see a tendency when cultures and nations mix up and we lose a language, for example, Tatarian language.

These Russian women voiced that native language played an important role in forming cultural identity of immigrant children and connecting them with ethnic roots.

Connections with extended family enrich family social capital (Coleman 1988: 110). Three mothers shared the worry that not teaching children their native language showed disrespect and cut children’s connections with extended family. For example, Masha exclaimed, “How you should hate your mother and disrespect her that you cut your children’s ability to talk to her!” Rimma pointed out that the knowledge of Russian gives the children the ability “to

communicate with their relatives, in my case, my mom, their grandma, who lives in Russia.”

These mothers emphasized that native language supported bonding relations between children and the members of their extended family such as grandparents, uncles and aunts, cousins, and other relatives.

Family social capital provided children with an access to the human capital of their parents (Coleman 1988: 111) and, in the case of immigrant families, children had an opportunity to learn their native language and culture at home and become bicultural. Numerous studies of biculturalism mention that bicultural individuals had unique abilities to switch between their two cultural frameworks (Cheng et al. 2014; Tadmor et al. 2012; Tadmor et al. 2009; Smokowski and Bacallao 2007; Coatsworth et al. 2005; Benet-Martínez et al. 2002) and developed greater cognitive complexity, creativity, flexibility, and empathy (Tadmor et al. 2012; Tadmor et al. 2009; Leung et al. 2008; Chiu and Hong 2007). Russian mothers saw biculturalism as a way to advance children’s development and gave them unique abilities. Five mothers in my research voiced these ideas in their interviews. For example, Olesya explained, “We decided to grow them as bilinguals because all research says that it is great. We think it is great for their brain development.” Rita said, “They (children) are more advanced...their brains function differently...they look at things from more angles...I think knowing the second language helps child’s development.” Rimma pointed out that “Even my child understands now that children who can speak several languages are smarter than monolingual children...their brains work differently.” While raising children in immigration, these Russian mothers saw that as a unique opportunity to advance children’s development and critical thinking skills by teaching them Russian.

Callahan and Gandara (2014) analyzed the large amount of statistical data and showed that bilingual individuals have multiple social benefits in life. For example, they had better jobs and higher wages than similar monolinguals. In my qualitative research, I looked at the opinions of Russian immigrant parents to see how they contemplated social benefits of being bilingual for their children. Seventeen mothers in my study voiced that knowing languages provided extra life opportunities and enhanced vertical social mobility of children. For example, Irina saw learning languages as a part of education, “It is a great educational opportunity for kids to know another language for free because they were born in Russian speaking family. This is their privilege. I think it is great when a person knows languages. The better you know the language, the better for you.” Sofia connected knowing languages with life opportunities:

Bilingual children have more opportunities in the future. If the knowledge of the language is not at the basic “hi-bye” level...when they can write, read, and speak fluently in two languages...and know the cultural mentality of the countries as well...this is very valuable. Here, in multicultural America, it is a very valuable ability.

These Russian mothers saw their ability to pass native language to their children as an additional educational opportunity that enhanced human capital for these children.

Four mothers perceived that knowing an extra language is a very practical skill that their children could use in their future careers. For example, Toma mentioned that knowing Russian meant there was no need for an interpreter in cases of serving Russian clients, “I explain to her (daughter) that it is very, very important and needed. For instance, I give her such examples...if you will work and will get paperwork in Russian; you will not need an interpreter. You will be able to translate them fast without any help. It will be easier for your clients.” Lada highlighted that proficiency in Russian would add value to the resume and gave more employment opportunities, “If later in her life she will put on her resume that she knows Russian that is a plus

only. It is great! She will have more value in a job market.” These mothers projected that keeping Russian with their children added more value to the human capital of these children later in life and advanced their chances on the job market.

Four mothers also pointed out that knowledge of languages in the society connected with obtaining a higher social status, and children were proud of their capability to speak more than one language. For instance, Irina said that knowing languages was “considered stylish.” Toma emphasized that speaking Russian lifted the social status of her daughter among peers:

She (a teenage girl) was not proud of being able to speak Russian. She spoke to somebody of her age on a phone in English, and I asked her a question. And that boy asked her: “Do you speak Russian?” She said: “Yes.” He praised her for that. I think it is important for my daughter. She is proud of herself that she has such ability.

These Russian mothers described that the ability to speak native language gave their children a higher social status among monolingual peers.

Maternal opinions presented in my research supported the notion that knowledge of two or more languages is a key factor providing children with access to the family social capital, as well as social resources (capital) of native and host cultures (Strobel 2016).

Choosing Assimilation

A model of assimilation assumed prioritizing the new host culture over the native culture led to an eventual loss of native culture and language in favor of a new one (Berry 1986). Only one participant, Luba, mentioned that Russian is not important, and she does not speak it to her daughter; her husband was American and, to keep the family connected they spoke English at home:

My daughter was born here. At home, we speak English because my husband speaks English and we cannot...we cannot speak Russian because he will not be able to participate in our conversation. It got this way from the very beginning...in English.

Explaining her choice of letting her child be fully assimilated to American culture and not keeping Russian, Luba said that her daughter lived in the U.S. and, for her, Russian is just a foreign language her daughter would never need in life:

It (Russian) is not important. She is pleased that she is Russian. She can brag in front of her friends, but she is not interested in learning Russian. It is not important for me either. The foreign language I learned at school did not help me at all. If I will make her speak Russian and, then, she will decide to live in Spain. Knowing Russian will not help her at all.

At the same time, later in her interview, this mother described her unsuccessful family experience in which making the child learn Russian had an opposite result - the girl lost her interest in the language:

Earlier, I tried to teach her Russian, but we had a family situation...her grandmother scared her, and she lost any interest in the Russian language. My mom started to push her and make her learn Russian because she was afraid to lose her granddaughter, but it had an opposite result. She lost any interest in Russian and stopped communicating with her grandma at the same time.

This situation raised the question that bonding relations with a child and the child's interest in learning native language might be connected (Adamuti-Trache 2012; Nawyn et al. 2012; Lancee 2008).

Luba also said that from time to time she spoke Russian to her child and, in the English-speaking environment, Russian became their secret language that allowed them to share intimate moments. This supported the idea of mothers who chose biculturalism and showed that native language intimately connected mother and child: "She talks to me when she wants to keep a secret so that nobody will understand us. She has very bad Russian." Besides, Luba mentioned that earlier in life she was taking her daughter to Russian activities and "was happy because they spoke in Russian, and she needed to memorize her parts in Russian. I was taking her there just for her Russian." Then, according to Luba, the girl had outgrown these activities and lost her

interest in them. After that, all activities of Luba's daughter became English speaking activities. I did not know what happened (Luba did not explain), but, at that certain time of her life, Luba just gave up on the idea of raising a bicultural and bilingual child and chose assimilation as a preferred acculturation model for her child. Luba's choice did not mean that her daughter got fully assimilated into the American culture and lost her Russian roots. In my research, I concentrated only on maternal positions towards acculturation of children.

In the literature, assimilation was often seen as a successful model of adaptation to the new culture. This next example supported this statement. Luba described her daughter as a successful school student who was involved in social activities and had friends:

My daughter is an excellent student. She has very good behavior. She helps everybody. She participates in everything. If she gets extra homework, she does it for extra credit. I come to school, and they say that we have nothing to talk. Her final grade is visibly great from the beginning because of her extra credits.

Luba shared that her daughter was not enrolled in any Russian activities but, instead, she participated in numerous activities at school, and one of those activities might provide the girl a college scholarship. This is how Luba described her daughter's involvement into American social life:

In 9th grade she started high school and one of her teachers said that if you want an easy and interesting school life, participate in everything you can: after-school activities, volunteer opportunities. Then, you will not notice how you are learning. Your education will look easy and simple. She follows that advice. She is enrolled in military cadets. They have such thing in Denver schools. They practice children's military. It is an elective class. You start it in high school, and you can continue to do it in college. If your child reaches a certain rank, he/she will be rewarded a full college scholarship. My daughter does it for the second year. She is a sergeant now...she actively participates in drama. She volunteers. She participates in everything she can...it is her attitude: not to stay at home. She lives a good life.

Based on one family's experience, I could not make any generalizations about families that preferred assimilation of their children into the host country. I only suggested this for future

research on these types of families. Choosing assimilation might be more common for mixed families where parents did not share the same native language and culture, and native language (Russian) is hard to keep.

Fighting Marginalization

A model of marginalization assumed that a person, due to immigration, lost many valuable connections with their native culture and, at the same time, did not fit into the host culture (Berry 1986). One participant in my research, Sofia, wanted to see her son as a bicultural individual and was very upset that her son, who was brought to the U.S. as a teenager, refused to learn English and dropped out of school: “My son’s English is worse than mine. I don’t understand how he studied in the 10th grade and finished half of the 11th grade at school and received transcripts. He does not attend school anymore.”

At the same time, according to this mother, the boy had limited social contacts in Russian and American communities. Sofia shared that an adopted Ukrainian boy was the only friend of her son: “My son has a friend here. He is local, American. He was adopted from Ukraine. He speaks broken Russian...broken Russian mixed with Ukrainian. But my son speaks Russian to him.” Sofia pointed out that her son did not have American friends and did not want to be a part of American culture and learn English, “I help my son because his knowledge of English is low. It is because he does not have a will to study English. He did not want to study English when we came here. He is not very social. He is not very communicative.” This supported the idea that having bonding relations with people helped with learning languages and cultural integration (Adamuti-Trache 2012; Nawyn et al. 2012; Lancee 2008).

According to Sofia, after leaving school her son worked at the game room: “My son likes math strategies. He uses them in his work. He works in one of the online game rooms...it is

American plus they have some international gamers.” Sofia blamed herself for her son’s decision to drop out of school. Earlier, she did not like her son’s school and moved him to a better one. The boy left school for good. He did not want to graduate from high school or go to college.

Marginalization is not a choice. This mother was very concerned about the future of her son in the U.S. But based on one family’s experience, I could not make any generalizations about families that fought for their marginalized children and tried to connect them with society and change their future for better. I could only state that this type of family exists in this Russian immigrant community. More research on this phenomenon is needed on a broader sample of families with marginalized children.

Separation entailed an exclusive involvement of the individual in traditional culture and limited interaction with the culture of the larger society. In my sample, I did not see any examples of separation. This did not mean that this type of acculturation did not exist in this Russian immigrant community at all.

My research showed that even in a relatively small sample, Russian immigrant families embodied different choices of acculturation models and strategies (biculturalism, assimilation, and marginalization). Since most families in my sample (18 out of 19) chose bicultural acculturation as a preferred model, I paid more attention to it. More research with a broader sample of immigrant families is needed to explore the models of biculturalism, assimilation, marginalization, and separation. Next, I looked at the reality of raising bicultural children in the context of maternal involvement in education and family social capital.

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AS SOCIAL CAPITAL

Existing research showed that parents play a significant role in the socialization and acculturation of children (Raffaele and Knoff 1999). They supported and promoted children's social, emotional, and cognitive development (Holden and Edwards 1989). Family social capital depended on "the attention given by the adults to the child" (Coleman 1988:111). Parental involvement in education was an important part of the family social capital that provided social support and leverage to children (Hoffmann and Dufur 2018; Dufur et al. 2016).

Discussing Future

Bonding family social capital roots in relations between parents and children and often was built through spending family time together, investments in children's activities and well-being (Hoffmann and Dufur 2018; Dufur et al. 2016; Prandini 2014; Kim and Schneider 2005). Parental attitudes, academic expectations, and involvement were significant predictors of academic success and motivation of immigrant children (Bryce et al. 2019; Yaseen et al 2017; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Zhou and Bankston 1994; Aronowitz 1992). Parental involvement boosted academic learning and asserted the importance of education for children (Bryce et al. 2019). Parents facilitated learning by establishing goals that reinforced the engagement of children into academics (Yaseen et al 2017). Discussing the future helped with academic planning, motivated and supported children, and could be seen as family social capital of support and leverage (Hoffmann and Dufur 2018; Dufur et al. 2016:5).

Abada and Tenkorang (2009) suggested that highly educated immigrant parents motivate their children to study hard and receive higher levels of education later in life. The findings in my research supported this statement. Fifteen Russian mothers in my sample (79%) had a university education and held a Bachelor's degree or higher. Having a university degree was

highly valued by these mothers and presented to their children as highly desirable because it provided more opportunities in life. Narratives from Russian mothers in my research showed that each mother had her way of talking to her child about their future and education. Discussions about future profession and educational pathways with children in Russian families started early and intensified as the children grow.

Russian mothers who participated in my study were constantly discussing future opportunities and education with their children. All nineteen of them mentioned they want their children to receive a university degree. The only parent who mentioned that she would be happy with her son receiving an associate degree as an exception was Sofia, the mother of the boy who dropped out of school, “I don't want to push my kids, but I want each of them to get at least a Bachelor's Degree. Actually, for my son...I want him to graduate from a community college. With my son, I will be happy with this. Life corrects our dreams.” Sveta described her worries and how she corrected educational and professional dreams of her young child of seven who decided to pick a working-class profession for his future, “We discuss a profession with my son. Many times, he made me worried because he wants to be an engine driver. That's why I give him examples that he also can be a doctor, for example, or something else... We want him to graduate from university.” These Russian mothers set their dreams about children's education high and shared them with the children to motivate their children to accomplish bigger things in life.

Coleman (1988: 111) stated that family social capital is closely related to parental human capital and the wiliness of the parents to share it with their children; this benefited children's academic success. Research showed parents with college educations had more academic experiences, more access to information, and could provide more educational support to their children (Abada and Tenkorang 2009). All mothers in the interviews stated they discussed the

future with their children. The way Russian mothers discussed the future with their children depended on the age group of the children. The older children got more intense and detailed discussions of their future. Mothers of elementary school children talked about it less often and in a less serious manner. For example, Rita explained, “We talk about this, but this is not the main topic of our conversations now. We talk about this time to time.” Zhenya said, “We started to talk about this. What do they like? What do they want?” These Russian mothers presented the idea that talking about the far ahead future with their young children did not dominate the conversations, but they paid attention to the children’s dreams and interests.

Lena, the mother of a young boy, described how she helped her son to narrow his dreams about his future profession, “He wants to be a scientist. I always tell him that he needs to narrow the field and choose what exactly you are going to study...” Lena shared that she constantly talked to her very active boy about the value of education and helped him plan his future, “We explain to him the importance of education, of good behavior, of planning and foreseeing his future. He is a very active boy. He is doing first and then he thinks. That’s why we have to talk to him very often about his future, a profession, and different choices of professions.” This mother uses discussions about the future with her son as a way to help the boy plan his life and correct his behavior in the present.

Older children got more detailed discussions of their future career. Parents mentioned in their interviews that they discussed the importance of certain school subjects and classes with their children. For example, Anna pointed out that she “often talk about this (higher education)...sometimes, I remind them that they need to study some school subjects...for example, I say something like this: ‘Study math! You will always need it, and it is useful for you.’” This mother used her discussions about the future as a way to motivate her children to

study harder at school and pay more attention to certain school subjects that the children might need later in life.

All parents of high school students discussed college plans with their children often or even on a daily basis. For instance, to describe this process mothers used such phrases as “all the time” (Alsu), “maybe too often” (Rimma), “very often” (Sofia), “on a daily basis” (Fatima), and “very often, almost on a daily basis” (Masha).

All mothers described the process of making decisions about future professions and picking the right college as a collective discussion. For example, Irina said, “We discuss her choice of future profession. We look at all aspects of this question. We make decisions together.” All mothers of high school children described the process as a free family conversation; only three mothers mentioned that their children initiated the discussion. The rest started the conversation, led, and actively participated in the discussion. Lada described one of her dilemmas on whether to express her opinion or wait for her daughter to express her opinion, and then to discuss it, “We discuss it all the time. Right now, I have a dilemma to tell her what I think or let her decide. I think about this way or that way. We must talk about her future.” These family discussions about the future show how families use their family social capital to help children with their educational plans.

Discussing the future, Russian mothers touched on a wide range of topics with their children. For example, Galina emphasized that she discussed different options of future pathways and their outcomes with her high school daughter:

We talk about this in such a context... “What are you going to do later in your life? Are you sure it will work for you? What, if not? Do you have plan “B”? Did you really think everything through?” We don’t give her directions: you have to go there and do this. No! It is more for education...to know how it can be and what she wants.

Masha highlighted the following questions she discusses with her high schooler: “How does she see her future? What does she want? How is she going to achieve her goals? What plans does she have? What does she think about?” These Russian mothers use their personal human capital to discuss possible outcomes of different life choices with their children. They also kept in mind their children’s interests.

Rimma shared that they used the internet to find out more details about certain professions: “We go on the Internet and search the salaries for this profession...discuss professions.” On the other hand, Luba talked to her daughter about money saving strategies, “This is her plan and her goal. We discuss this...I told her that she needs to start saving money, to find a job...not even for money, but for the experience of independent living, so she has some skills and can earn money later.” These Russian mothers shared how they helped their children to connect plans about the future with ways of building financial capital and personal experiences of independent living and decision making.

Four mothers specially pointed out they do not prioritize money and wealth over children’s interests and talents. For instance, Zhenya highlighted that she “does not recommend them to choose money over their interests. I want them to find a balance. They need to choose what they like to do, first of all.” Another mother, Yana, pointed out people spend most of their life at work and children had to choose their profession carefully with respect to their interests:

The most important thing is to do what you really like. This is very important because we spend most of our life at work, not at home. That’s why if you don’t like your work, you will end up with depression, pills, and such. First of all, I think, my children should choose something they really like and then work toward it.

These mothers highlighted that, in the discussion of the future, they emphasized with their children the importance to put their interests and talents first and not make decisions based on money only.

Not all parents were successful in their attempts to motivate their older children to try harder at school or follow their advice. Five mothers mentioned receiving some resistance and disobedience. For example, Sofia complained that even she talked to her son “about this on a daily basis, but I don’t see any results. Our discussions do not change anything.” Another mother, Masha, complained that it was hard to talk to her daughter about this topic, “Well, they don’t like parent’s recommendations. They want us to leave them alone.” In her interview, Lada confessed that discussing the future with her high schooler could be very emotional, “It is hard. It is very emotional. We need to sit and discuss everything without arguing.” This type of behavior was age related and quite common for teenagers who considered themselves adults and wanted to be independent in their decisions and actions (Heaven 2001).

Arina shared that to avoid difficult situations and sharp corners in the discussions with her son, they used a third party’s opinion: “Sometimes, my husband sends him to talk to somebody else; then, my son would come back and tell us the things he found out... about advice he received and what he plans to do next. We discuss this and find a decision as a family.” This example showed how family used its bridging capital to connect the child with people and additional resources that were located outside the family.

Coleman pointed out “the social capital that has value for a young person’s development does not reside solely within the family” (1988: 113). Further in my research I explored how Russian mothers used outside social networks to facilitate acculturation of their children.

Picking the School

According to Berry (2011), an ideal model of bicultural acculturation of children should balance and equally represent two cultures in different spheres of social life such as school, after-school activities, friendships, and cultural events. In this process, immigrant children had to bond

the language, values, beliefs, behaviors, and customs typical of the larger society with those of their home culture (Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2012; Oppedal 2006; Sam 2006).

At the same time, Lin (2002) pointed out people from nondominant backgrounds used to have homogeneous social networks with people within their community and struggled building valuable connections with people in other social groups. School's social environment played an important role in acculturation of immigrant children (Vedder and Horenczyk 2006) and schools in poor neighborhoods with a large body of students from socially disadvantaged communities often had limited upward (leverage) social connections and social capital (Warren, Thompson, and Saegert 2002; Briggs 1998). Thus, to overcome limitations of ethnic networks, it was important for immigrant children to attend places where they could meet and connect with people from different cultures and backgrounds which included people who obtained higher social status and wealth (Warren et al 2002; Briggs 1998).

Placing children in a good school with strong academics provided a strong ground and boost for the child's vertical social mobility (Burgess and Briggs 2010). Unfortunately, low-income and immigrant children often did not have access to good schools and good education which limited their life opportunities (Black and Machin 2011). Parental support and actions could alleviate the effects of perceived discrimination (Masten, Liebkind, and Hernandez 2012).

Family social capital played an important role in "creation of human capital in the next generation" (Coleman 1988: 109). To pursue their dreams of a university education for their children, Russian parents not only motivated children to share their dreams, but also worked hard to supplement this idea through school placement and after-school activities. In my research, I looked at the ways Russian immigrant parents placed their children into schools.

All nineteen mothers believed picking the right school was crucial for a successful and desirable future for their children. All of them, except one family, managed to place their children in good schools with high educational ratings such as elite private schools, schools for gifted and talented, STEM schools, schools with IB programs, and advanced placement classes. For example, one of the mothers, Irina, gave the following comments on the topic:

It is very important for Russian parents to choose the right school for their children. You probably know what parents do just to place their children in the school they like. It is a very serious matter. They think of a proper school placement for their child ahead of time and do everything possible to place their child in the school of their choice... Sometimes, you have to move to get into the right district. It is not a secret that Russians can cheat just to place their children in the right school.

This narrative showed that mothers understood that planning of educational pathways of children affected the quality of the education children received later in life.

The process of placement into the school of choice was not always easy. It often depended on financial resources of the family that were “approximately measured by the family’s wealth or income (Coleman 1988: 109). Fifteen mothers (79%) stated that their family income was higher than \$35,000 a year and nine mothers (47%) shared that their income was higher than \$70,000 a year. This meant that the most families in my sample belonged to the middle class. The family income shaped the school placement behavior of parents. Nine families could afford to buy a house in the neighborhood of their school of choice. For example, Olesya described the school of her son as a public school in a good neighborhood, “It is a public school that is located in a good neighborhood.” Masha highlighted the type of advanced academic program and parental attitudes towards children’s education in that program, “She (her daughter) is on IB program in Cherry Creek High School, and all parents there are as crazy about education as me. They want the best education.”

Two families rented houses in the neighborhood with schools that had good academic rating. For example, Galina said that, first, they picked the academic program for their daughter; then found a school with this program; but they could not afford to buy a house in this neighborhood, so they decided to rent an apartment in the area to ensure their daughter could attend the program:

She (her daughter) is on the International Baccalaureate program. This means all her classes are advanced classes. There are only four schools in Denver they have this program. We knew about this program. When we moved to the U.S., we were told about this program. When we were searching for apartments, we were looking for the apartments in the area that will allow our daughter to attend this program in high school. Now we want to buy a house, but cannot afford it in this area, so we wait for her graduation. We wait only because of her school and the B.A. program.

Seven families went through the application and lottery process to place their child in the school of choice. For example, Toma's daughter needed to pass tests to be admitted into a prestigious IB program in a school district they do not live in and Toma needed to act fast and provide all papers to support the application process:

This program called International Baccalaureate. It is like school inside the school. It happened we lived in a different area, and she attended a different school. They told me that they cannot transfer her because we do not live in Cherry Creek School District. Well, they told us to come for testing on April 1st. She wrote a perfect essay about why we need math in our life... I filled a form as a not resident. The principle looked at her papers.... Then, they sent me a letter saying: "Congratulation! She is accepted.

These narratives show renting and lottery was the alternative ways of placement children in the schools of choice. It was not easy and required an active participation of the parents: they had to find the right school; go through the application process and lottery; and then often drive their children to this school.

In interviews, all mothers mentioned that they paid close attention to the quality of education and social situation at schools their children attend. Five mothers shared that they moved their children from one school to another that would better fit their educational and social

goals. For instance, Alsu pointed at a huge difference between public school her children attended first and a charter school they moved them to later:

When my children attended a regular public school, it was something. Teachers didn't care. You have to teach your child at home, and teachers report results. And all results they had there as I understood are results of parents working with their children. Parents must teach and lead their children. My children spent a year in public school... When we changed for our son public school to Academy, it was so different like sky and Earth.

This narrative emphasized the importance of mothers who controlled education of their children closely and family capital in forming human capital of immigrant children. Moving the child to the school that cared supports student's needs and provided social leverage in the future.

Schools were places where children met new people and made friends. These people became a part of the child's social network and social capital that were not directly associated with family. Narratives of Russian mothers showed that acculturation of immigrant children in a multicultural society could be described as a multifactor, complex process of socialization that involved multiple social actors and cultures.

Addressing my question about ethnicity of friends their children had, mothers started to specify that, in reality, American friends of their children had quite different ethnic backgrounds. Irina pointed that they were second generation of immigrants, "Maybe this is an individual case, but her friends are not fully Americans. They are immigrants in second generation." Rimma described her child's friends as foreigners and immigrants, "They are foreigners. They are immigrants like us. As for school, her friends are Spanish speakers, Chinese, Mongols... They all speak English because it is a common language for them." Luba highlighted that, at school, her daughter made friends with children from all over the world, "Her friends are not only Americans. They are from all over the world." These Russian mothers emphasized that school

connected children from many cultures and played an important role in building bridging social capital of their children.

Russian mothers knew that their children got exposed to diverse cultures and watched how these cultures influenced their children. Two mothers, Toma and Fatima, proudly mentioned in the interviews that their children were learning Spanish as a third language and actively participated in Spanish clubs and other activities.

Schools in poor neighborhoods with a large body of black and Latinos students often had limited upward (leverage) social connections and social capital and often associated with crime and drugs (Warren, Thompson, and Saegert 2002; Briggs 1998). In my research, two mothers expressed concerns about the social environment of public schools their children had been attending and stated that it was one of the reasons they moved their children to a different school. Toma pointed out attending socially disadvantaged schools created a survival situation for her daughter:

She was attending Prairie Middle School. It is surrounded by bad neighborhoods with all kind of children. There were...mostly, there were black and Mexican children. Their percentage was huge. I looked up the percentage how many white American kids were attending this school...there were Arabs...most of the students were not Americans...there were 70% Mexicans...these were horrible years. My child's life turned upside down. She needed to survive there.

Sofia named a good soccer team as the only good thing in the school in the socially disadvantaged neighborhood her son was attending:

When we came, I placed him in that school because it has a good soccer team. The school had a good soccer team, but the school itself was not good. There are lots of Latinos. I would say that 80% of students are Latinos. They sell weed and such things. I moved him to a better school with good, conservative children.

These Russian mothers voiced concerns that attending schools in poor neighborhoods put their children in the socially disadvantaged networks with limited social capital that might create problems for the children.

My interviews showed that Russian mothers used school placement as an instrument to facilitate acculturation of their children, to build social connections, and social capital. They carefully chose schools and moved children to a different school if the school did not meet their personal requirements. More research on a broader sample should be done to generalize tendencies in parental choices of school and their connection with acculturation preferences.

After-School Activities

Research suggested that after-school activities played an important role in socialization and acculturation of immigrant children (Miller 2011; Riggs 2006). There, children developed their interests and learned new skills (Riggs 2006). Participation in after-school programs helped students to build new social networks and developed social capital that enriched their learning experiences and forged future social and educational aspirations (Miller 2011). Hence, after-school activities provided immigrant children more opportunities in life and played an important role as a leverage social capital. In my study, I looked at after-school activities as an opportunity for immigrant children to build valuable connections between the people in their host culture and their ethnic community.

Eleven Russian mothers in my sample prioritized children's interests and quality of after-school education over practicing Russian language and culture, even though most children had a personal experience of participating in Russian activities. At the same time, Russian families in my sample were actively placing their children in American activities.

Seventeen parents in my research reported that their children were involved in after-school activities based on their child's interests and family preferences. Two mothers said their children did not have any after-school classes. One of them confessed she did not have money to pay for that (Tomma). This situation raised a problem that not all immigrants could afford this way of acculturation of their children.

Only one mother, Rimma, thought the Russian language was a main reason her daughter was involved in Russian after-school activities and did not take any American after-school classes, "She does not attend American activities. She attends Russian classes and activities to practice the Russian language and culture. I mean she learns it there because her teachers speak Russian." This mother prioritized the importance of learning the Russian culture and language over American activities.

Family social capital was built through the investments in children's activities (Hoffmann and Dufur 2018). The mothers mentioned they picked after-school activities based on their goals, interests of their children, quality of the classes, how well their children could fit in, location and time of classes. For example, Anna shared:

She (her daughter) attended basketball at the American school. Gymnastics...it was Russian gymnastics here. They spoke Russian there. She took American and Russian swimming lessons. They were chosen not because of the language. We chose Russian gymnastics because of the good quality of classes. We could not find American gymnastics that is even close in quality. We did not care about the quality of the swimming lessons. We chose by the convenience of their schedule, distance to home. When I chose after-school activities, I look at their convenience...distance to home and such...because I don't expect them to become Olympic champions. It is more for fun.

Zhenya explained her daughter went to Russian artistic gymnastics because Americans did not offer this sport, "My daughter takes gymnastics...she sings in a choir. It is American. So, she only has Russian gymnastics...Russian because it is the only place that offers artistic gymnastics. Americans offer sport gymnastics and we do not want to do it." These Russian

mothers described how they invested in the human and social capital of their children by placing them into various activities based on the children's interests and talents.

Three mothers in their interviews brought up the idea that Russian activities were not the best fit for their Americanized children. Lena emphasized that Russian and American after-school activities are culturally different, and her Americanized child did not like the strictness of Russian coaches:

Mostly, he goes to American after-school activities. He does not like Russian and does not fit in. He constantly feels like he has been yelled at...teachers are too strict...well, I see they are good, but they act differently than Americans. They don't praise kids constantly and without reason, don't joke or play much. They are serious and make kids work hard. He likes Americans.

This narrative showed Russian children get exposed to the different cultures through participating in ethnic and American after-school activities. Bicultural children choose cultural and social environments of these activities based on their personal cultural experiences and preferences.

Prioritizing quality after-school classes and children's interests over Russian ethnic activities allowed Russian children to meet new people and cultures and enrich their social capital. On the other hand, it could negatively affect the bicultural acculturation of Russian children and their proficiency in the Russian language. My sample was too small to make any generalizations; more research on this topic is needed.

Social Capital of Russian Community

Obtaining the information about schools and the quality of education they provided was essential (Mizala and Urquiola 2013). Ethnic networks often played a valuable role in providing information about outside resources (Portes and Rumbaut 2006:95). The role of Russian ethnic networks in accumulation and sharing information about school choices, quality of education,

and possible educational pathways was significant. Galina shared that “here, in the Russian community, news and information spread fast.” Lada highlighted that she received all information she needed from the Russian community, “I get all the information I need from my friends and friends of my friends. Parents spread information fast.” These narratives showed the Russian community played an important role in sharing all kind of information.

Bridging and bonding relations outside of the family connected immigrants with networks and resources of ethnic communities (Thomas et al 2016: 78). All mothers mentioned in their interviews that they discussed school questions with their Russian friends, relatives, and even with people they met at the Russian activities and events. This is how Irina described the process of sharing information about schools among Russian parents:

We discussed schools a lot before we found a right placement for our children. What kind of school is it? What school is better and why? Lots of school related questions. I remember when our kids were about to graduate from Russian kindergarten...so, at that time, mothers would stay by the reception desk and discuss schools for hours. They had a lot of information...what school belongs to what district...what school you can get in if you are an out-of-district student and what school your child does not stand a chance...there is a very prestigious school...it is called Cherry Creek Academy. Everybody wants to get their child there or into the Challenge School for Gifted and Talented. Russians talk about these schools a lot. How did you get your child there? Are there any chances for my child? How long is their waiting list? Parents constantly talk about that.

Another parent, Rita, added the following details about the questions Russian parents liked to discuss:

For example, we talk about schools, their level...what kids study...who and how to help with homework...who does homework with their children...opinions on this question. We discuss activities...what kids do after school...what spot to choose to receive a scholarship later when they go to the university. We often discuss school ratings...what school to choose...what school to move your child next...how to choose a good school for your child...what universities are better...well, such questions...we talk about education.

These Russian mothers listed common questions about schools that were discussed by parents in the Russian community. The information received during such discussions enriched

family social capitals and provided the immigrant families with the informational grounds for making decisions about school placement.

Bonding relations inside the Russian ethnic community created the practice of following educational pathways of good friends and relatives for families with younger children. Luba described a strategy of following successful families on their educational path that was used in the Russian community:

We have friends. They have a younger child, and they are very interested in this. She follows in our footsteps. They sent their daughter to the same elementary school my daughter was attending; then, their child went to the same middle school, and after that, she will go to the same high school. We discuss everything about schools in details. She is interested in the curriculum.

This narrative showed the trust in the bonding relations between mothers not only provided the mother of the younger child with detailed information about the school experience of the older children of her friends, but also created a social pathway on which younger children followed academic success of the older children.

College admission and after-school activities and events were other important topics of conversations among Russian mothers. Lada described questions that were often discussed by parents involved in the Russian Orthodox religious community:

Parents worry about college admissions and choosing the right profession for their children...we worry about the future of our kids. We go to church. We participate in the church life. As parents, we discuss how our children grow because they grow in the church. They come there at the very young age and grow together. It is interesting what university they got admitted and how they adapt to adulthood.

Bonding relations among mothers in the Russian Orthodox Church allowed mothers to discuss not only formal questions of college additions, but also to share personal information about the process of growth of their children.

Irina in her interview highlighted that after-school activities were also discussed often by Russian parents:

Russian parents talk about everything...for example, after-school activities or where to spend time and have fun...or where to go on vacation...or museums that are a must to visit with kids or exhibits...we discuss where you have to take your child and why...Halloween, for example...where do you go for Halloween? Everybody discuss how and where they are going to celebrate it. Children's New Year Parties...where? Who will go? Or who went to see Nutcracker ballet or a New Year Party for kids...we discuss such things.

Participation in parental discussions enriched the social capital of Russian immigrant mothers. This narrative showed Russian mothers used parental feedback to pick the right after-school activities and events for their children.

Rimma pointed out that parents of teenagers bond together and talk about health, puberty and problems in family relationship:

Emotional questions...we are parents of teenagers...they all have different emotional situations...we talk about husbands, of course, because some women have American husbands, some – Russian, and some are divorced. So, kids spend half their time in their dad's house...in the case of divorce. That affects the emotional condition of a child and a family situation...I mean the emotional and psychological conditions of a child...relations to your spouse...talk about husbands...children's health...how involvement in sports can improve health and stimulate development.

This type of bonding relations among Russian mothers provided them with emotional support and information about personal experiences of other mothers.

Five mothers said they did not feel comfortable talking openly and in-depth with random people in the Russian community about problems they had and preferred to discuss such things with close friends or professionals. Toma explained her position as follows:

I communicate with Russian parents, but talk to them rarely. Because I know, Russians discuss each other and spread rumors. They can spread bad things about my daughter. I have had that experience many times. That's why I went for professional help. I want confidentiality. I went to a Russian psychologist because of my bad English. He was a specialist and promised me confidentiality.

This mother highlighted the problems that bonding social connections inside the ethnic community with their ability to share information that might hurt people if the network shared the intimate information to the members of the community who did not belong to that bonding network.

Another mother, Sofia, complained she has limited connections with the Russian community and “does not know too many Russians” and the one she knows:

She cannot give me any useful advice because her parental experience is limited to one child. If I need advice, I ask teachers at school. I can tell them my situation, but I don't call their advice useful. I don't have an experience where they gave me useful advice.

The use of information technology and the internet increased social capital of parents (Jang, Hessel, and Dworkin 2017; Jang and Dworkin 2014; Bartholomew et al. 2012). Research showed that the number of parents using the internet for parenting information, advice, and support increased (Rudi et al. 2015; McDaniel, Coyne, and Holmes 2012).

In my study I found Russian parents used the internet and online groups to facilitate the acculturation of their children. Eight mothers mentioned they use Russian groups on the internet for help and advice, in addition to real life communication within community. For example, Irina explained that internet groups were very useful, especially in situations when people you know did not have useful information:

I am a member of the group called Colorado Russian Wives and it helps me a lot. Sometimes, you have such question that you even don't know whom to ask for help...you ask them in the group and usually there is somebody who knows the answer or can help. They provide you with very useful information, give you recommendations or address...it is a very helpful resource.

Rita shared that Russian Facebook groups discussed many important topics for parents. On Facebook there are such forums like “Russian moms” or “Russian...” There, you can always ask your questions about schools, activities...whatever you need to ask. This is

the resource number one where you can always get answers.” Anna adds: “Not so long ago I asked in a Russian speaking group where to find a doctor. They answered. They helped me.

These narratives showed that even weak social connections in the internet forums and groups might link individuals with social resources (Lin and Dumin 1986; Granovetter 1973).

Five mothers highlighted that the internet groups and forums provided parents with a higher level of privacy since often people did not know each other. For example, Irina pointed out she did not “know many of them personally.” Four mothers pointed at the unique opportunity of the passive participation when a person received useful information just by reading posts of others. Toma shared, “I am a member of a DenveRussian group on Facebook and two others, but I am not active there...I always read posts and think...” Passive participation in the internet groups provided her with the information she needed (social capital) but did not require her to share any personal information or feelings.

Low human capital of parents might have been enriched through the use of the social capital available to the family (Coleman 1988:110). Twelve mothers mentioned that occasionally they used the internet search to find answers for random questions or to help their children with research projects and homework. For example, Sarah said, “I use the internet, of course. I don’t know...mostly Google, and then I go from the search results...for example, governmental sites or medical portals.” Lena shared she uses the Internet to help her son with school projects, “We’ve done a school project about Russia. In this case, we used information from internet...watched, read, looked at some fascinating facts. I told my son about the land of his ancestors.” These narratives demonstrated how mothers compensated their lack of knowledge in certain areas by social capital of the internet networks.

In the interviews, Russian mothers mapped the unique ways these people built social networks and shared valuable information which helped immigrant families to make informed decisions about school placement, after-school activities, college admission, and support each other. My sample was too small to make any generalizations; more research on this topic on a broader sample is needed.

Staying in Touch with School

Raffaele and Knoff (1999) pointed to the importance of “school – parents” collaboration for the children’s success at school. Narratives showed Russian mothers see American schools as a social resource of advancing (leveraging) children’s opportunities in life. They actively communicated with schools and asked teachers for help and advice when it is needed.

All Russian mothers mentioned they participated in standard forms of communications with parents that the school may offer, such as parent-teacher conferences and open houses, as well as email communication. Eight parents mentioned schools send informational emails on a weekly or daily basis to keep parents posted. This is how Alsu described her communication with school, “Via emails all the time. I mean every week teachers send an update: what they plan to do at school, and what we have to do at home. They send weekly plans for schoolwork. If I have any questions, I can always call or write them.” Rita pointed out they communicated with the school mostly during parent-teacher conferences, “I go twice a year for parent-teacher conferences. Sometimes, if I have questions, I contact them via email.” Lena shared that rarely does she contact the school:

Rarely, thank God! We don’t have any problems and do not need any meetings with teachers. Well, he has a very good teacher. She sends emails with updates on a daily basis. If I have questions, I ask them, but I don’t have them very often. On average, maybe once in two months I have to ask something or need some details.

These narratives illustrated Russian mothers have weak connections with the school but, in the case where children do not have problems at school, they provided mothers with needed information. The way Russian parents connected with schools changed with the age of children and the problems the children had.

With the older children, the less often Russian mothers contacted the school. For example, Fatima explains:

Very seldom. High school...I told you in middle school she was watched all the time, all the time. When she moved to high school, we started to pay less attention. For example, when I feel something... it might happen once in five months. I can go to school and meet with her advisor once in a half year. I don't control her strictly. I trust my daughter. She is a good student. She never had academic problems at school. When I talk to the school, they answer immediately.

This narrative illustrated that bonding relations of trust between mother and daughter defined the way the mother communicated with the school.

Galina described her communication with the school as formal because her daughter did not have any problems there:

We simply don't have problems and that is why we don't see those meetings useful. Yes, I know if there are problems then you have a reason to communicate with the school, but not when your child is doing well.

This mother highlighted that the presence of problems at school make the parents communicate with teachers and to build with them bridging and bonding networks.

Things changed as soon as mothers sensed a problem their child might have had. This is how a mother of a girl described her relations with the school:

Once a month, I visit her teacher...regularly. When she just started this school, I was visiting more often. I visited every week and asked about her achievements, adaptation, fitting into the kid's groups and make friends. When I noticed that she was doing fine and communicating with children well, I started to visit less often, but I am trying to visit. I am happy with the results of my meetings with her teachers. They are very informative...informative enough...I understand what to do next, what to watch, what to work on. I have very open relations with her teacher. Her teacher is open to conversations

and always invites me to visit: “Please come! Ask questions. I will be glad to help!” We had some difficulties with social adaptation at the beginning of the school year. My daughter had some situations with students. I visited her teacher about this and asked her to help and find out...I asked her to help me to understand the situation from another point of view. I may say that I have productive relations with school.

This narrative demonstrated how bonding relations between the mother and her daughter’s teacher helped solve the problems the child had.

Zhenya, the mother of an elementary school boy, shared that she stayed in touch with the school formally as any other parent, but if her son stopped completing his homework, she got the situation under control:

We stay in touch with the teacher when our son does not do his homework. That’s when we start communicating with them extensively. We receive an email that our son is not doing his homework, then, I set a meeting with his teacher. At the same time, I ask his teachers to help him and give him a chance to change the grade. Eventually, he completes his homework.

Alsu also shared her own positive experience of cooperation with her son’s teacher in order to improve the boy’s grades:

For example, my son got C for one class, and his teacher wrote to me immediately. She wrote, “Your son took a test, and he got this grade I don’t agree with because I know he can do better if he tries. He cannot retake the test, but we can work on an improvement together. He needs to read certain books because they will explain him our material better. Please check his work at home all the time and sign it so I could see that you saw his work.” There were mistakes because my son did not try too hard and just wanted to get through. I am very happy that we have such collaboration with the school. It is great!

The narratives of Zhenya and Alsu demonstrated that working on a child’s academic situation is a process which depended on the bonding relations of trust between the teacher and the mother.

Fourteen mothers expressed they are happy with the school and received help there, if it is needed. Irina said, “There is nothing to worry about. The school helps us. They provide us an interpreter for free. I really needed an interpreter because I did not speak English at all. So, I

could talk to the teachers during our meetings.” Arina a similar opinion, “We often communicate with teachers. On average, we visit my son’s school once a month. He has wonderful teachers. If we have questions, we go and talk to them. We get advice and they answer our questions.” Sarah highlights, “Every week, we discuss something for sure. If I have questions, they help me a lot. If I cannot meet in person, then, I can email them. They are very responsive when you send them an email.” These mothers in their responses illustrated that bonding relations between teachers and mothers provided needed information and support for immigrants.

Three mothers complained they do not reach a desirable level of understanding in the child’s situation at school. For example, Yana asked her son’s school to give the boy more challenging work, and the school did not support her:

There is always one teacher that does not fit our requirements. Maybe, once or twice we had problems with those teachers. I mean not real problems, but I asked them to do something, and they ignored my requests, or they would start doing what we asked them, but never continue and finish with it. This is one of the reasons why we changed our son’s school. That’s why we needed to decide to stay and be bored or to find a better school and leave. Well, we decided to leave.

This situation demonstrated that the lack of bonding relations with teachers and a passiveness towards the student’s problems made the mother change the school for her child.

Sveta said they do not have problems and “never asked school for help”. At the same time, she expressed a worry that she might not know everything since “school never calls about son’s behavior or anything.” Sveta wants to visit the school more often and talk to her son’s teacher, but “it is hard for us. We have one car, and my husband uses it for work.” This situation revealed that formal connections with immigrant families are not always enough, and mothers might want to have more information about the child’s adaptation and academics at school. Impersonal communications made this immigrant mother feel disconnected from school and unable to control the academic and social progress of her children.

Cases of miscommunication with schools existed but were not common in my sample. This might be explained by the careful approach in the child's placement made by Russian parents based on individual characteristics and needs of the child, and numerous reviews and recommendations from the members of the local Russian parental networks.

Connections with American Parents

Membership in parental networks provided emotional support and friendships for parents and children, as well as shared informational resources (Homel, Burns, and Goodnow 1987) or, in the term of theory of social capital, membership in parental networks provided their members an access to the support and leverage social capital.

American parents could be a valuable resource of information and social support for immigrant families and their children, but my research showed that American and Russian parents rarely meet and talk to each other. "Parents don't know each other and do not meet," complained Zhenya, "well, I don't know where I can meet and get to know other parents. I don't have a chance to meet their parents at all." Sveta stated, "I don't communicate with Americans. I come to volunteer to school and, of course, I know them all because we have the same parents for several years now, but we don't talk. No, we do not communicate." In sum, thirteen Russian mothers voiced that they have a problem finding any connections with American parents. These situations gave examples of social isolation of immigrant mothers from the local parents.

Sarah pointed out she had problems fitting into the existing group of American parents and did not have bonding relations with them:

"When kids have birthdays or something like this, then, we communicate. But on an everyday basis – not. The thing is this is a private school. We cannot make friends there. They are very welcoming, very amicable. On the birthdays, they do everything together...as a team...if something happens, they help each other, but I cannot say I have friends among them...probably not.

Irina blamed her low proficiency in English as a barrier in communications with Americans, “I stay in touch with one of the moms, but she is Russian, too. I don’t communicate with Americans because of my English.” Anna described a similar situation:

It is hard for me to keep conversations in English. I mean quality conversations...not like yes-no, well, okay...I simply cannot keep up. They put their thoughts together way faster, and I don’t feel comfortable. I almost don’t communicate in English with people, unless it is needed at work. All my friends speak Russian. At school, I cannot build any close relations with anybody. I don’t know any other places.

Galina said that there were two problems which kept her from social connections with Americans - language and spare time. “No, we do not communicate with American parents. First, we did not have language when we moved to the U.S. Now, we don’t have time. With the parents of her friends...we say “hi-bye” and common phrases. That’s it. I don’t know why. It just happens.”

These examples supported the idea that the lack of English language proficiency leads to the difficulties of developing social ties in the host communities and brought the feelings of being disrespected and unevaluated in the local societies (Nawyn et al 2012).

Toma compared communication among parents in American and Russian schools:

No, our paths never cross. I have not seen any of them. They have personal time for each parent. I come according to this schedule. I don’t see any parents there. But, in kindergarten (Russian)...there are a lot of Russian children. Of course, I communicate with their parents. Who are you? Where are you from? What are you? How is your child? What activities your child attends? My child can read...but my child does not want to read. As for (American) school, I don’t see any parents.

Toma’s example illustrated that the cultural differences in the school organization, in the case of Russian school, helped parents to connect and communicate, and the total opposite situation in the case of American school.

Six mothers in their interviews said that they communicated with American parents and found these connections valuable. “Yes, I ask Americans for advice. They help. I did not grow up in this country,” explains Masha, “I know some things. But anyways, they have many details of their lives I am not aware of. They are locals and know how to answer and what to say for the best result.”

Alsu pointed out parent volunteering and class activities for children and parents helped to make needed connections among parents:

In our school, we have to spend some time volunteering at school, so I meet other parents pretty often. In the elementary school, they had picnics, some sort of playdates for kids. I meet some parents more often than other. There are parents, moms, who don't work and spend lots of time at school. We always meet parents. Our school had an international body of students. We have friends from India, Poland, Russian, and the United States. Sometimes I ask parents for help. It is mostly about school business because I am a disorganized person and I always need help.

The interview showed that Russian immigrant parents are often disconnected from parental networks of host communities and the resources they have. Schools played an important role in the organization of parental networks by setting up meetings, playdates, providing opportunities to volunteer in classrooms, and etc. Not all schools provided opportunities for parents to meet. This limited the chances of immigrant parents receiving valuable help and advice from local parents.

Connections with American Neighbors

Meier (1999) considered neighborhood relations as a form of social capital. Connecting with locals can support and leverage immigrant families and children. At the same time, immigrants struggled to integrate into local communities and lack, or have, limited interactions with people in host communities (Gozdziak 2005).

In my research, ten Russian mothers reported that they have problems with staying in touch with people from local communities. “I don’t communicate with Americans. I never enjoyed talking to them about anything besides work,” explains Lena, “At work...when I worked, I had a good professional relationship with Americans, but I never wanted to have any personal connections. I never needed it.” Sveta shared that she meets Americans only at a playground but cannot build deep social connections with people: “Only on a playground, I talk to some parents, nothing serious, mostly ‘What a beautiful day! What a kid!’ We do not discuss any problems.” Such situations can be explained with “a lack of knowledge about mainstream U.S. culture” (Elizalde-Utnick 2010) that limited interpersonal relations. These examples illustrated that Russian immigrant mothers have limited connections with local communities and parental networks.

On the other hand, nine mothers stated that they stayed in touch with American neighbors and value these relations. “In eight years we have been here, I met so many good people,” shares Fatima, “Well, we talk about everything...everything. I can talk to them about children’s activities. How they take care of their children...I borrow experience from my American neighbors who have children. They can advise me an event. My neighbor can give me some children’s clothes. They gave me musical instruments for my children.” Sofia emphasized that Americans from local communities have valuable information about community resources: “Yes, Americans might know more about something. They can provide me with contact information of the person, or they can recommend a school or give me negative feedback on a school that I thought was good. It is important too. I learned a lot.”

These examples demonstrated that integration into local communities is very important for immigrants. On one side, cultural and language differences limited the opportunities for

immigrant integration into local social networks and their access to local resources. On the other side, it is hard for immigrants to improve English language proficiency and learn a new culture and customs without close connections with locals.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

My research depicted a small group of Russian middle-class families and children with well-educated parents who spoke English well or fluently. The participants presented a unique view on the problems of immigrant children and shared personal experiences on how they facilitated an acculturation of their children.

This is an exploratory research that captured important themes such as language, family connections, family social capital, parental involvement, and parental social networks. It contributed to an understanding of what could be important for immigrant mothers in the process of acculturation of their children.

In the literature (Motti-Stefanidi et al. 2012; Masten and Cicchetti 2010; Berry et al. 2006; Bankston and Zhou 1997; Berry 1997), biculturalism is considered a preferred strategy of acculturation. This research voiced that native language connected mothers with their children and provided an intimacy to their interpersonal relationships. Losing their native language was associated by Russian mothers with the loss of parental contact with the children. For parents with limited English language proficiency, the ability of their children to speak and understand Russian is the only way to communicate and stay in touch.

Existing research looked at social capital of ethnic communities but has not examined the role of language (Allen and Leary 2010; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Perna and Titus 2005; Horvat et al. 2003). This research looked at language as a form of social capital and connected the ability of immigrant children to access social capital of their families with the knowledge of

the native language. The study found that the language helped access, as well as to keep and initiate, valuable social connections and resources (social capital) within families and social communities (school, work, neighborhoods, etc.).

The social integration and economic mobility of immigrant children depended on the degree of access immigrant children had to quality education from preschool through college (Tienda and Haskins 2016). Parental involvement in education played an important role in the academic success of children and their future in the new country (Raffaele and Knoff 1999). At the same time, researchers reported that low English proficiency is a barrier for some immigrant parents from staying in touch with schools (Contreras 2011; Marti 2008).

This study supported the idea that language proficiency played a crucial role providing immigrant parents access to the resources of school and parental networks of the host community. This research showed that Russian mothers see American schools as a social resource of advancing (leveraging) children's opportunities in life. They actively communicated with the school and asked teachers for help and advice when it was needed. On the other side, interviews with Russian parents detected that immigrant parents are often disconnected from school and local parental networks and their resources. English language proficiency was pronounced as one of the reasons for this.

Existing research suggested that ethnic communities played a vital role in transferring information (Garcia Bedolla 2003). My research supported this finding and showed that in order to overcome limited access to the information from the host culture networks, Russian parents built and participated in ethnic social support networks that shared the information about school placement, quality of academics at school and its social and emotional environment. Russian

hnic community also provided opportunities for children to participate in cultural after-school activities and build the social environment that supported learning and use of Russian.

This research demonstrated that raising bicultural children is important for immigrant parents but, at the same time, supporting biculturalism of children required huge family commitment and resources. Raising bicultural children can be extremely hard and, at the same time, very important for immigrant families with low English proficiency, education, and income. Losing parental contact as a result of language loss disadvantaged immigrant children by diminishing the support and leverage opportunities provided by their families and ethnic communities. As the worst-case scenario, losing contact with parents might lead immigrant children to delinquent behavior, drug use, emotional and other problems. More research on this topic is needed.

LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The results presented in this study should be considered in context of several limitations. My sample is homogeneous and very small; it does not represent all Russian immigrant mothers. It showed only voices of middle class, highly educated Russian mothers who speak English well and who I randomly recruited at Russian community related locations in Denver, CO.

Not all ethnic related locations in Denver were used. I had to acknowledge a researcher bias and the fact that I recruited at the public locations I felt comfortable with, and I knew about, but there are many other locations that were excluded from the number of my recruitment places. For example, I did not recruit at the places of worship and religious communities, and this limited my research, as well. I recruited participants who might be mothers based on my personal estimations of the maternal age and look, and this bias limited my sample to the women who fit

my idea of maternity. The mothers who did not feel comfortable openly talking about their private life and children likely decided to not participate in my interviews. There were Russian mothers who were busy and did not have time to participate in my research.

The recruitment was biased by the type of location's activity or services and this limited my research participants to the mothers who used these locations for their needs at the time of the recruitment.

This research is limited by my personal experience and knowledge about the Russian community of Denver and its social networks. There might be a large number of Russian families who are well integrated with their own Russian networks outside of the ethnic community I knew and the locations I used for recruitment. Some Russian mothers might be doing acculturation work with their children independently. There might be Russian mothers who chose assimilation into American society for themselves and their children and did not stay in touch with the Russian community. There also might be Russian mothers focused on acculturation but having to work full-time and did not have access to the certain ethnic services and locations. This limited the research results to the choices of members who are involved with certain Russian ethnic life that is defined by recruitment locations.

Family positions and opinions in this research are presented by mothers. Fathers may offer different perspectives.

Russian immigrant communities in the U.S. are heterogeneous. The sociopolitical and economic situation of a given city, region, or nation may affect the process of acculturation (Bourhis et al. 1997). My sample is too small to represent voices of mothers from a wide variety

of socioeconomic backgrounds that existed in the Russian community of Denver. Therefore, it should be taken into account while generalizing results to the Russian community of Denver and other Russian communities.

The results of this study are culturally biased. The cultural uniqueness of the Russian community, such as traditional religions, multiethnic roots, Soviet past, should be taken into account.

To overcome all these limitations, more research is needed on a broader sample of Russian immigrant parents which would include different regions, socioeconomic status, genders of participants, as well as Russian immigrants disconnected from ethnic community connections available to this researcher. Conducting similar research on immigrant parents from other ethnic communities with different socioeconomic status would provide a rich base for comparing, analyzing, and validating the main findings on parental preferences for acculturation.

Despite these limitations, the present study extended the knowledge on the acculturation preferences of Russian mothers and their effects on family activities, social capital, and parental involvement in life and education of children.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This research suggested that successful acculturation of these immigrant children depends on parental involvement and social capital of immigrant family. In order to support immigrant families and enhance their social capital, schools and the local communities should create safe spaces for parental communications such as: discussion rooms where local and immigrant parents may discuss their problems and the discussion is professionally moderated; and meetings

with professionals who would answer questions (questions should be collected through anonymous notes placed in a special mailbox) and provide information on the topics of concerns. Immigrant families should have easy access to English as Second Language classes and translation services.

More research is needed on the immigrant internet communities. Safe spaces for immigrant communication such as professionally moderated forums and groups should be created on the internet to provide help and support for families and individuals.

REFERENCES

- Abada, Teresa, and Eric Y. Tenkorang. 2009. "Pursuit of University Education among the Children of Immigrants in Canada: The Role of Parental Human Capital and Social Capital." *Journal of Youth Studies* 12(2):185–207.
- Adamuti-Trache, Maria. 2012. "Language Acquisition among Adult Immigrants in Canada: The Effect of Premigration Language Capital." *Adult Education Quarterly* 63(2):103–126.
- Adler, Paul S., and Seok-Woo Kwon. 2002. "Social Capital: Prospects for a New Concept." *Academy of Management Review* 27:17–40.
- Allen, Ashley B., and Mark R. Leary. 2010. "Self-Compassion, Stress, and Coping." *Social and Personality Compass* 4(2):107–118.
- Aronowitz, Michael. 1992. "Adjustment of Immigrant Children as a Function of Parental Attitudes to Change." *International Migration Review* 26(1):89–110.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria. 2005. "How to Tame a Wild Tongue." *Ways of Reading* 7:77–86.
- Avruch, Kevin. 1998. *Culture and Conflict*. Washington, D.C.: USIP Press.
- Avruch, Kevin, Peter W. Black, and Joseph A. Scimecca, eds. 1991. *Conflict Resolution: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. New York, NY: Greenwood Press.
- Bankston, Carl L., and Min Zhou. 1997. "The Social Adjustment of Vietnamese American Adolescents: Evidence for a Segmented-Assimilation Approach." *Social Science Quarterly* 78(2):508–523.

- Bartholomew, Mitchell K., Sarah J. Schoppe-Sullivan, Michael Glassman, Claire Kamp-Dush, and Jason M. Sullivan. 2012. "New Parents' Facebook Use at the Transition to Parenthood." *Family Relations* 61(3):455 –469. Retrieved June 5, 2020 (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1741-3729.2012.00708.x>).
- Bélanger, Emmanuelle, and Maykel Verkuyten. 2010. "Hyphenated Identities and Acculturation: Second-Generation Chinese of Canada and the Netherlands." *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* 10(3):141 –163.
- Benet-Martinez, Veronica, Janxin Leu, Fiona Lee, and Michael Morris. 2002. "Negotiating Biculturalism: Cultural Frame Switching in Biculturals with Oppositional Versus Compatible Cultural Identities." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 33(5):492 – 516.
- Benish-Weisman, Maya, and Samuel Shye. 2011. "Life Quality of Russian Immigrants in Israel: Patterns of Success and of Unsuccess." *Social Indicators Research* 101(3):461 –479.
- Berry, John W., Joseph Trimble, and Esteban Olmedo. 1986. "Assessment of Acculturation." Pp. 291 –349 in *Field Methods in Cross-Cultural Research*, edited by W. Lonner and J.W. Berry. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Berry, John W., Uichol Kim, Thomas Minde, and Doris Mok. 1987. "Comparative Studies of Acculturative Stress." *International Migration Review* 21:491 –511.
- Berry, John W. 1997. "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation." *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 46:5 –33.
- Berry, John W., Jean S. Phinney, David L. Sam, and Paul Vedder. 2006. "Immigrant Youth: Acculturation, Identity, and Adaptation." *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 55(3):303 –332.

- Berry, John W., Ype H. Poortinga, Seger M. Breugelmans, Athanasios Chasiotis, and David L. Sam. 2011. *Cross-Cultural Psychology: Research and Applications*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Black, Sandra, and Stephen Machin. 2011. "Housing Valuations of School Performance." *Handbook of the Economics of Education* 3:485–519.
- Boski, Pawel, Katarzyna Strus, and Ewa Tlaga. 2004. "Cultural Identity, Existential Anxiety and Traditionalism." Pp. 457–474 in *Ongoing Themes in Psychology and Culture: Proceedings from the 16th International Congress of the International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology*, edited by B.N. Setiadi, A. Supratiknya, W. J. Lonner, and Y.H. Poortinga. Retrieved August 24, 2020.
(https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1263&context=iacp_papers).
- Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc Wacquant. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Bourhis, Richard Y., Celine Moise, Stephane Perreault, and Sasha Senecal. 1997. "Towards an Interactive Acculturation Model: A Social Psychological Approach." *International Journal of Psychology* 32: 369–386.
- Briggs, Xavier de Souza. 1998. "Brown Kids in White Suburbs: Housing Mobility and the Many Faces of Social Capital." *Housing Policy Debate* 9(1):177–221.
- Briggs, Xavier de Souza, and Margery A. Turner. 2006. "Assisted Housing Mobility and the Success of Low-Income Minority Families: Lessons for Policy, Practice, and Future Research." *Northwestern Journal of Law and Social Policy* 1(25):25–61.

- Bruner-Opps, Carolyn. 2010. "Immigrant Perspectives: Social Reproduction and the Future of Second Generation Mexican-American and Chinese-American Immigrants." *College of Education* 10. Retrieved May 2, 2019 (http://via.library.depaul.edu/soe_etd/10).
- Bryce, Crystal, Robert H. Bradley, Tash Abry, Jodi Swanson, and Marilyn S. Thompson. 2019. "Parents' and Teachers' Academic Influences, Behavioral Engagement, and First-and Fifth-Grade Achievement." *School Psychology* 34(5):492 –502.
- Burgess, Simon, and Adam Briggs. 2010. "School Assignment, School Choice, and Social Mobility." *Economics of Education Review* 29(4):639 – 649.
- Callahan, Rebecca, and Patricia Gandara. 2014. *The Bilingual Advantage: Language, Literacy, and the U.S. Labor Market*. Tonawanda, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Camatora, Steven A., and Karen Zeigler. 2016. *Immigrants in the United States: A Profile of the Foreign-Born Using 2014 and 2015 Census Bureau Data*. The U.S. Center of Immigration Studies. Retrieved January 16, 2018 (https://cis.org/Report/Immigrants-United-States?gclid=CjwKCAiAhMLSBRBJEiwAlFrsth-Q-YZoYAVy_LAAQr9foparwzl3_wcMDUmdrEfM-e09cSRxIYabQIBoCfMEQA_vD_BwE).
- Cheng, Colin C.J., and Eelko K.R.E. Huizingh. 2014. "When Is Open Innovation Beneficial? The Role of Strategic Orientation." *The Journal of Innovative Management* 31(6):1235 –1253.
- Chew, Kari. 2015. "Family at the Heart of Chickasaw Language Reclamation." *American Indian Quarterly* 39(2):154 –179.

- Chiu, Fu-Hsuan, and Yao-Win Hong. 2007. "Cooperative Communications in Resource-Constrained Wireless Networks." *IEEE Xplore*. Retrieved June 19, 2020 (<https://ieeexplore.ieee.org/abstract/document/4205088>).
- Christenson, Sandra L., and Susan M. Sheridan. 2001. *Schools and Families: Creating Essential Connections for Learning*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Clark, Tom. 2006. "Language as Social Capital." *Applied Semiotics* 8:29–41.
- Coatsworth, Douglas, Mildred Maldonado-Molina, Hilda Pantin, and Jose Szapocznik. 2005. "A Person-Centered and Ecological Investigation of Acculturation Strategies in Hispanic Immigrant Youth." *Journal of Community Psychology* 33(2):157–174.
- Coleman, James. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *The American Journal of Sociology* 94:95–120.
- Contreras, Mariah M. 2011. "Social Capital and School Involvement in Immigrant Families: Understanding Parenting Social Practices before and after Immigration." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, Tufts University, Medford, MA. Retrieved on September 30, 2018 (<http://0search.proquest.com.source.unco.edu/pqdtft/docview/1018325951/abstract/13FA588A3F56A193B7/1?accountid=12934>).
- Cook, Karen. 2014. "Social Capital and Inequality: The Significance of Social Connections." Pp. 207–227 in *Handbook of the Social Psychology of Inequality*, edited by J. McLeod, E. Lawler, and M. Schwalbe. Wisconsin: Springer.
- Corbin, Sonya, and Jennifer L. Buckle. 2009. "The Space between: on Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research." *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 8(1):54–63.
- Corwyn, Robert, and Robert Bradley. 2008. "The Panethnic Asian Label and Predictors of Eighth-Grade Student Achievement." *School Psychology Quarterly* 23(1):90–106.

- Creswell, John W. 2012. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approach*. London, U.K.: Sage Publication.
- Crowley, Helen, and Mary Hickman. 2008. "Migration, Post-Industrialism, and the Globalized Nation." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31(7):1222 –1244.
- Dali, Keren. 2012. "Reading their Way through Immigration: The Leisure Reading Practices of Russian-Speaking Immigrants in Canada." *Library and Information Science Research* 34:197 –211.
- Dearing, Erik, Kathleen McCartney, Heather B. Weiss, Holly Kreider, and Sandra Simpkins. 2004. "The Promotive Effects of Family Educational Involvement for Low-Income Children's Literacy." *Journal of School Psychology* 42(6):445 –460.
- Dufur, Mikaela J., Toby L. Parcel, John P. Hoffmann, and David B. Braudt. 2016. "Who Has the Advantage? Race and Sex Differences in Returns to Social Capital at Home and at School." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 45:27 –40.
- Dufur, Mikaela J., Toby L. Parcel, and Benjamin McKune. 2008. "Capital and Context: Using Social Capital at Home and at School to Predict Child Social Adjustment." *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 49:146 –161.
- Elizalde-Utnick, Graciela. 2010. "Immigrant Families: Strategies for School Support." *Principal Leadership* 10(5):12 –16.
- Erel, Umut. 2010. "Migrating Cultural Capital: Bourdieu in Migration Studies." *Sociology* 4(4):642 –660.
- Erikson, Erik. 1950. *Childhood and Society*. New York, NY: Norton.

- Este, David C., and Admasu A. Tachble. 2009. "The Perceptions and Experiences of Russian Immigrant and Sudanese Refugee Men as Fathers in an Urban Center in Canada." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 624(1):139 –155.
- Furstenberg, Frank F. 2005. "Banking on Families: How Families Generate and Distribute Social Capital." *Journal of Marriage and Family* 67(4):809 –821.
- Furusawa, Masayuki, and Chris Brewster. 2015. "The Bi-Cultural Option for Global Talent Management: The Japanese/Brazilian Nikkeijin Example." *Journal of World Business* 50(1):133 –143.
- Gándara, Patricia, and Russel W. Rumberger. 2008. "Defining an Adequate Education for English Learners." *Education Finance and Policy* 3(1):130 –148.
- Garcia, Eugene E. 1983. "Becoming Bilingual during Early Childhood." *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 6(4):375 –404.
- García Bedolla, Lisa. 2003. "The Identity Paradox: Latino Language, Politics and Selective Dissociation." *Latino Studies* 1(2):264 –283.
- Gozdziak, Elzbieta. 2005. "New Immigrant Community and Integration." Pp. 57 –73 in *Beyond the Gateway: Immigrants in Changing America*, edited by E. Gozdziaak and S. Martin. New York, NY: Lexington Books.
- Granovetter, Mark S. 1973. "The Strength of Weak Ties." *American Journal of Sociology* 78(6):1360 –1380.
- Grigoryev, Dmitry, and Fons van de Vijver. 2017. "Acculturation Profiles of Russian-Speaking Immigrants in Belgium and their Socio-Economic Adaptation." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38(9):797 –814.

- Harkness, Sara, and Charles M. Super. 2002. "Culture and Parenting." Pp. 253 –280 in *Handbook of Parenting Volume 2: Biology and Ecology of Parenting*, edited by M.H. Bornstein. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hartley, Tricia. 1994. "Generations of Literacy among Women in Bilingual Communities." Pp. 339 –359 in *Worlds of Literacy*, edited by M. Hamilton, D. Barton, and R. Ivanic. Toronto, Canada: Multilingual Matters.
- Heaven, Patrick. 2001. *The Social Psychology of Adolescence*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Herrero, Inés. 2018. "How Familial is Family Social Capital? Analyzing Bonding Social Capital in Family and Nonfamily Firms." *Family Business Review* 31(4):441 –459.
- Hoffmann, John P., and Mikaela J. Dufur. 2018. "Family Social Capital, Family Social Bonds, and Juvenile Delinquency." *American Behavioral Scientist* 62(11):1525 –1544.
- Holden, George W., and Lee A. Edwards. 1989. "Parental Attitudes toward Child Rearing: Instruments, Issues, and Implications." *Psychological Bulletin* 106(1):29 –58.
- Homel, Ross, Alisa Burns, and Jacqueline Goodnow. 1987. "Parental Social Networks and Child Development." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 4(2):159 –177.
- Hooks, Bell. 1994. *Teaching to Transgress: Education as a Practice of Freedom*. New York, N.Y.: Routledge.
- Horvat, Erin, Elliot B. Weininger, and Annette Lareau. 2003. "From Social Ties to Social Capital: Class Differences in the Relations between Schools and Parent Networks." *American Education Research Journal* 40(2):319 –351.

- Jang, Juyoung, and Jody Dworkin. 2014. "Does Social Network Site Use Matter for Mothers? Implications for Bonding and Bridging Capital." *Computers in Human Behavior* 35:489–495. Retrieved July 18, 202 (http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2014.02.049).
- Jang, Juyoung, Heather Hessel, and Jodi Dworkin. 2017. "Parent ICT Use, Social Capital, and Parenting Efficacy." *Computers in Human Behavior* 71:395–401.
- Ivanova-Sullivan, Tanya. 2019. "Heritage Russian in the U.S. and the New Type of Pluricentricity in the Context of Immigration." Pp. 223–236 in *The Soft Power of the Russian Language: Pluricentricity, Politics, and Policies*, edited by A. Mustojoki, E. Potasova, and M. Yelenskaya. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kao, Grace, and Lindsay T. Rutherford. 2007. "Does Social Capital Still Matter? Immigrant Minority Disadvantage in School-Specific Social Capital and its Effects on Academic Achievement." *Sociological Perspectives* 50(1):27–52.
- Kelly, Philip, and Tom Lusic. 2006. "Migration and the Transnational Habitus: Evidence from Canada and Philippines." *Environment and Planning* 38(5):831–847.
- Khodaday, Ebrahim, and Mozghan Ashrafborji. 2016. "Social Capitals and English Language Learning in an Iranian Language Institute." *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 7(2):328–339.
- Kim, Doo H., and Barbara Schneider. 2005. "Social Capital in Action: Alignment of Parental Support in Adolescents' Transition to Postsecondary Education." *Social Forces* 84:1181–1206.
- Kulkofsky, Sarah, Kazuko Y. Behrens, and David B. Battin. 2014. "The Bonds that Remind us: Maternal Reminiscing for Bonding Purposes in Relation to Children's Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance." *Infant and Child Development* 24(5):469–488.

- Kwak, Kyunghwa, and John W. Berry. 2001. "Generational Differences in Acculturation among Asian Families in Canada: A Comparison of Vietnamese, Korean, and East-Indian Groups." *International Journal of Psychology* 36(3):152 –162.
- LaFromboise, Teresa D., Hardin L.K. Coleman, and Jennifer Gerton. 1993. "Psychological Impact of Biculturalism: Evidence and Theory." *Psychological Bulletin* 114(3):395 –412.
- Laghi, Fiorenzo, Susanna Pallini, Roberto Baiocco, and Radosveta Dimitrova. 2014. "Parent and Peer Attachment and Psychosocial Adjustment of Chinese Immigrant Adolescents in Italy." Pp. 259 –273 in *Global Perspectives on Well-Being in Immigrant Families*, edited by R. Dimitrova, M. Bender, and F. van de Vijver. Springer Science and Business Media.
- Lakshman, Chandrashekhar. 2013. "Biculturalism and Attributional Complexity: Cross-Cultural Leadership Effectiveness." *Journal of International Business Studies* 44(9):922 –940.
- Lancee, Bram. 2008. "The Economic Return of Immigrants' Bonding and Bridging Social Capital: The Case of the Netherlands." *International Migration Review* 44:202 –226.
- Leung, Louis, and Paul S.N. Lee. 2012. "The Influences of Information Literacy, Internet Addiction and Parenting Styles on Internet Risks." *New Media Society* 14(1):117 –136.
- Lieber, Eli, and Thomas S. Weisner. 2010. "Meeting the Practical Challenges of Mixed Methods Research." Pp. 559 –580 in *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research*, edited by A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication.
- Lin, Nan, and Mary Dumin. 1986. "Access to Occupations through Social Ties." *Social Networks* 8(4):365 –385.
- Lin, Nan. 2002. *Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. London, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

- Ling, Chris, and Ann Dale. 2014. "Agency and Social Capital: Characteristics and Dynamics." *Community Development Journal* 49(1):4–20.
- Lund, Darren E. 2006. "Waking up the Neighbors: Surveying Multicultural and Antiracist Education in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States." *Multicultural Perspectives* 8(1):35–43.
- Lustig, Myron, and Jolene Koester. 2006. *Intercultural Competence: Interpersonal Communication across Cultures*. New Jersey: Pearson.
- Marti, Biane C. 2008. "A Multidimensional Look at Immigrant Family Involvement in Education." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Educational Psychology, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Retrieved on May 10, 2016 (<http://search.proquest.com/source.unco.edu/pqdtft/docview/1018828259/abstract/13FA588A3F56A194B3/1?accountid=12844>).
- Masten, Anne S., Keith B. Burt, Glen I. Roisman, and Jelena Obradovic. 2004. "Resources and Resilience in the Transmission to Adulthood Continuity and Change." *Development and Psychopathology* 16(4):1071–1094.
- Masten, Ann, and Dante Cicchetti. 2010. "Developmental Cascades." *Development and Psychopathology* 22(3):491–495.
- Masten, Ann S., Karmela Liebkind, and Donald J. Hernandez, eds. 2012. *Realizing the Potential of Immigrant Youth*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- McDaniel, Brandon T., Sarah M. Coyne, and Erin K. Holmes. 2012. "New Mothers and Media Use: Associations between Blogging, Social Networking, and Maternal Well-Being." *Maternal and Child Health Journal* 16(7). Retrieved February 18, 2019 (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s10995-011-0918-2>).

- Meier, Gerald M. 1999. "Capital and Development." *Asian Economic Journal* 13(4):353 –365.
- Migration Policy Institute. 2016. *States Immigration Profiles: Colorado*. Retrieved June 1, 2017 (<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/state-profiles/state/demographics/CO>).
- Miller, Peter M. 2011. "Community-Based Education and Social Capital in an Urban After-School Program." *Education and Urban Society* 44 (1):35 –60.
- Mironenko, Irina A. 2013. "Concerning Interpretations of Activity Theory." *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science* 47(3):376 –393.
- Mizala, Alejandra, and Miguel Urquiola. 2013. "School Markets: The Impact of Information Approximating Schools' Effectiveness." *Journal of Developmental Economics* 103:313 –335.
- Mok, Aurelia, Michael W. Morris, Verónica Benet-Martinez, and Zahide Karakitapoğlu-Aygün. 2007. "Embracing American Culture: Structures of Social Identity and Social Networks among First-Generation Biculturals." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 38(5):629 –635.
- Moskal, Marta. 2014. "Polish Migrant Youth in Scottish Schools: Conflicted Identity and Family Capital." *Journal of Youth Studies* 17(2):279 –291.
- Motti-Stefanidi, Frosso, John W. Berry, Xenia Chrysochoou, David L. Sam, and Jean Phinney. 2012. "Immigrant Youth Adaptation in Context: Developmental, Acculturation and Social Psychological Perspectives." Pp. 117 –158 in *Realizing the Potential of Immigrant Youth*, edited by A.S. Masten, K. Liebkind, and D. Hernandez. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

- Nawyn, Stephanie J, Linda Gjokaj, DeBrenna LaFa Agbényiga, and Breanne Grace. 2012. "Linguistic Isolation, Social Capital, and Immigrant Belonging." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 41(3):255 –282.
- Nelson, Kyle A., and Michel Infante. 2014. "Integrating the Best of Both Worlds: Details from Mexican-Origin College Students about their Bicultural Identities and Adjustment Experiences." *International and Multidisciplinary Journal of Social Science* 3(1):56 –68.
- Oppedal, Brit. 2006. "Development and Acculturation." Pp. 97 –112 in *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*, edited by D. L. Sam and J.W. Berry. The United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Pearrow, Melissa, and William Sanchez. 2008. "Personal Epistemology of Urban Elementary School Teachers." *Education and Urban Society* 40(2):226 –242.
- Perlin, Ross. 2014. "Radical Linguistics in an Age of Extinction." *Dissent* 61(3):70 –75.
- Perna, Laura, and Marvin A. Titus. 2005. "The Relationship between Parental Involvement as Social Capital and College Enrollment: An Examination of Racial/Ethnic Group Differences." *The Journal of Higher Education* 76(5):485 –518.
- Perotto, Monica. 2015. "Evidence of Attrition in Second-Generation Russian-Speaking Immigrants in Italy." *Russian Journal of Communication* 7(2):242 –247.
- Phelan, Patricia, Ann L. Davidson, and Hanh Cao Yu. 1998. *Adolescents' Worlds: Negotiating Family, Peers, and School*. Teachers College Press.
- Phinney, Jean S., and Mona Devich-Navarro. 1997. "Variations in Bicultural Identification among African American and Mexican American Adolescents." *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 7(1):3 –32.

- Phinney, Jean S., Gabriel Horenczyk, Paul Vedder, and Karmela Liebkin. 2001. "Ethnic Identity, Immigration, and Well-Being: An Interactional Perspective." *Journal of Social Issues* 57(3):493 –510.
- Pisarenko, Olga. 2006. "The Acculturation Modes of the Russian-Speaking Adolescents in Latvia: Perceived Discrimination and Knowledge of the Latvian Language." *Europe-Asia Studies* 58(5):751 –773.
- Portes, Alejandro. 1998. "Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24(1):1 –24.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Rubén Rumbaut. 2006. *Immigrant America: a Portrait*. London, U.K.: University of Columbia Press.
- Prandini, Riccardo. 2014. "Family Relations as Social Capital." *Journal of Comparative Family Study* 45(2):221 –234.
- Price-Mitchell, Marilyn. 2009. "Boundary Dynamics: Implications for Building Parent-School Partnerships." *The School Community Journal* 19(2):9 –26.
- Putnam, Robert D. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York, NY: Free Press.
- Raffaele, Linda M., and Howard M. Knoff. 1999 "Improving Home-School Collaboration with Disadvantaged Families: Organizational Principles, Perspectives, and Approaches." *School Psychology Review* 28(3):448 –466.
- Remennick, Larissa, and Anna Prashizky. 2018. "Celebrating Memory and Belonging: Young Russian Israelis Claim their Unique Place in Tel-Aviv's Urban Space." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 47(3):336 –366.

- Riggs, Nathaniel. 2006. "After-School Program Attendance and the Social Development of Rural Latino Children of Immigrant Families." *Journal of Community Psychology* 34(1):75–87.
- Rogler, Lloyd H., Dharma E. Cortes, and Robert G. Malgady. 1991. "Acculturation and Mental Health Status among Hispanics: Convergence and New Directions for Research." *American Psychologist* 46(6):585–597.
- Rudi, Jessie, Jodi Dworkin, Susan Walker, and Jennifer Doty. 2015. "Parents' Use of Information and Communications Technologies for Family Communication: Differences by Age of Children." *Information, Communication and Society* 18(1):78–93.
- Russian Denver. Retrieved September 12, 2017 (<http://www.russiandenver.com>).
- Ryan, Louise, Umut Erel, and Alessio D'Angelo, eds. 2015. *Migration Capital: Networks, Identities, and Strategies*. Houndmills, U.K.: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Ryder, Andrew G., Lynn E. Alden, and Delroy L. Paulhus. 2000. "Is Acculturation Unidimensional or Bidimensional? A Head-to-Head Comparison in the Prediction of Personality, Self-Identity, and Adjustment." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79(1):49–65.
- Sam, David L., and John W. Berry. 2010. "Acculturation: When Individuals and Groups of Different Cultural Backgrounds Meet." *Perspectives of Psychological Science* 5(4):472–481.
- Sayegh, Liliane, and Jean-Claude Lasry. 1993. "Immigrants' Adaptation in Canada: Assimilation, Acculturation, and Orthogonal Cultural Identification." *Canadian Psychology* 34(1):98–109.

- Schumann, John H. 1978. *The Pidginization Process: A Model for Second Language Acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.
- Seginer, Rachel. 2006. "Parents' Educational Involvement: A Developmental Ecology Perspective." *Parenting Journal: Science and Practice* 6(1):1 –48.
- Shin, Sara. 2014. "Language Learning as Culture Keeping: Family Language Policies of Transnational Adoptive Parents." *International Multilingual Research Journal* 8(3):189 –207.
- Skobba, Kim, David Meyers, and Lori Tiller. 2018. "Getting by and Getting ahead: Social Capital and Transition to College among Homeless and Foster Youth." *Children and Youth Services Review* 94:198 –206.
- Smith, Andrea, Richard N. Lalonde, and Simone Johnson. 2004. "Serial Migration and its Implications for the Parent-Child Relationship: a Retrospective Analysis of the Experiences of the Children of Caribbean Immigrants." *Cultural Divers of Ethnic Minority Psychology* 10(2):107 –122.
- Smokowski, Paul R., and Martica L. Bacallao. 2007. "Acculturation, Internalizing Mental Health Symptoms, and Self-Esteem: Cultural Experiences of Latino Adolescents in North Carolina." *Child Psychiatry and Human Development* 37(3):273 –292.
- Steinbach, Marilyn. 2012. "Fostering Intercultural Perspectives of Future Teachers." *McGrill Journal of Education* 47(2):147 –265.
- Strobel, Bernadette. 2016. "Does Family Language Matter? The Role of Foreign Language Use and Family Social Capital in the Educational Achievement of Immigrant Students in Germany." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39(14):2641 –2663.

- Suinn, Richard M., Kathryn Rickard-Figueroa, Sandra Lew, and Patricia Vigil. 1987. "The Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale: An Initial Report." *Educational and Psychological Measurement* 47(2):401–407.
- Sweeney, Jacquelyn S. 2012. "Veteran Teachers Working in Diverse Communities: Noticing Students, Families and Communities." Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Education, Michigan State University, Michigan. Retrieved on February 26, 2017 (<http://0search.proquest.com.source.unco.edu/pqdtft/docview/1018425254/abstract/13FA588A3F56A190B3/1?accountid=12832>).
- Syed, Moin, and Lauren L. Mitchell. 2013. "Race, Ethnicity, and Emerging Adulthood: Retrospect and Prospects." *Emerging Adulthood* 1(2):83–95.
- Tadmor, Carmit T., Patricia Satterstrom, Suji Jang, and Jeggrey T. Polzer. 2012. "Beyond Individual Creativity: The Super Additive Benefits of Multicultural Experience for Collective Creativity in Culturally Diverse Teams." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 43(3):384–392.
- Tadmor, Carmit T., Philip E. Tetlock, and Kaiping Peng. 2009. "Acculturation Strategies and Integrative Complexity: The Cognitive Implications of Biculturalism." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 40(1):105–139.
- Tang, Sandra. 2015. "Social Capital and Determinants of Immigrant Family Educational Involvement." *The Journal of Educational Research* 108(1):22–34. Retrieved November 6, 2017 (DOI: 10.1080/00220671.2013.833076).

- Thomas, Rebeca L., Christina M. Chiarelli-Helminiak, Brunilda Ferraj, and Kyle Barrette. 2016. "Building Relationships and Facilitating Immigrant Community Integration: An Evaluation of a Cultural Navigator Program." *Education and Program Planning* 55:77–84.
- Tienda, Marta, and Ron Haskins. 2016. "Immigrant Children: Introducing the Issue." *The Future of Children* 2(1):3–18.
- Tzanakis, Michael. 2013. "Social Capital in Bourdieu's, Coleman's and Putnam's Theory: Empirical Evidence and Emergent Measurement Issues." *Educate* 13(2):2–23.
- United Nations. 2013. *UN Population Report*. New York, NY: UN Statistics Division.
- U.S. Census Bureau. 2013. *Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics*. Washington, DC Retrieved April 5, 2017 (<http://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/censr-18.pdf>).
- Usuyama, Toshinobu. 2015. "The Assimilation Process of Russian Immigrants and Preservation of the Russian Language and Culture in Australia." *Russian Journal of Communication* 7(2):229–235.
- Valade, Marc Y. 2019. "Influence of Integrative Social Capital on the Resilience of Immigrant Families: Accounts of Economic Class Immigrants in the Toronto Area." *International Migration and Integration*. Retrieved October 16, 2020 (<https://doi-org.unco.idm.oclc.org/10.1007/s12134-019-00728-2>).
- Vedder, Paul H., and Gabriel Horenczyk. 2006. "Acculturation and the School." Pp. 419–438 in *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*, edited by D. L. Sam and J. W. Berry. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.

- Verkuyten, Maykel. 2005. "Ethnic Group Identification and Group Evaluation among Minority and Majority Groups: Testing the Multiculturalism Hypothesis." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 88(1):121 –138.
- Yakobov, Esther, Tomas Jurcik, Ielyzaveta Solopieieva-Jurcikova, and Andrew G. Ryder. 2019. "Expectations and Acculturation: Further Unpacking of Adjustment Mechanisms within the Russian-Speaking Community in Montreal." *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 68:67 –76.
- Yaseen, Muhammad, Shah Zaman, and Naveeda Rasheed. 2017. "En Empirical Study on the Role of Parents in Academic Achievement of Children in Private School of Karachi." *Life Science Global* 6:84 –92.
- Warren, Mark R., Phillip Thompson, and Susan Saegert. 2002. "The Role of Social Capital in Combating Poverty." Pp. 1 –28 in *Social Capital and Poor Communities*, edited by M.R. Warren, P. Thompson, and S. Saegert. New York, NY: Russel Sage Foundation.
- White, Michael J., and Gayle Kaufman. 1997. "Language Usage, Social Capital, and School Completion among Immigrants and Native-Born Ethnic Groups." *Social Science Quarterly* 63(2):103 –126.
- Zhou, Min, and Carl Bankston. 1994. "Social Capital and the Adaptation of the Second Generation: The Case of Vietnamese Youth in New Orleans." *The International Migration Review* 8(4):821 –834.

APPENDIX A
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL



Institutional Review Board

DATE: January 3, 2018
 TO: Anna Goncharova
 FROM: University of Northern Colorado (UNCO) IRB

PROJECT TITLE: [1172232-1] Facilitating the Acculturation of Children among Russian Immigrant Parents
 SUBMISSION TYPE: New Project

ACTION: APPROVAL/VERIFICATION OF EXEMPT STATUS
 DECISION DATE: January 2, 2018
 EXPIRATION DATE: January 2, 2022

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this project. The University of Northern Colorado (UNCO) IRB approves this project and verifies its status as EXEMPT according to federal IRB regulations.

Thank you for your patience with the UNC IRB process. Your application is thorough and your materials are clear and comprehensive. Please note that identifiable data (e.g., audio recordings of the interviews, signed consent forms) need to be kept for only three years.

Also, given the number of questions in your interview protocol it seems like it might take longer than 45-60 minutes to complete with an actual participant. Consider completing one interview and then amending the consent form accordingly so that potential participants know how long the interview will really last. You don't want them to stop at 60 minutes because you didn't prepare accordingly. There are no requests for amendments or additions for these small changes.

You may begin participant recruitment and data collection using the verified/approved exempt category materials and protocols.

**Best wishes with this
 research. Sincerely,**

Dr. Megan Stellino, UNC IRB Co-Chair

We will retain a copy of this correspondence within our records for a duration of 4 years.

If you have any questions, please contact Sherry May at 970-351-1910 or Sherry.May@unco.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within University of Northern Colorado (UNCO) IRB's records.

APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Number code _____

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is your relation to your child?

- Mother
- Father
- Other, please specify _____

2. What is your age? _____

3. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

4. What is your current marital status?

- Single/never been married
- Married
- Separated
- Divorced
- Widowed

5. What is the ethnicity of your husband/ wife / partner?

- Russian speaking
- American
- Other, please specify _____
-

7. How long have you continuously been in the U.S.?

8. *Is your total family annual income?*

- Under \$35,000
- \$35,000 - \$69,999
- \$70,000 - \$99,999
- \$100,000 or more

9. How well do you know English?

- No English
- Basic conversational
- Well - with minor problems
- Fluent

10. What is your primary native language (-s)?

11. Please list age, grade, and gender of your children.

Thinking about your OLDEST, School-Age child while responding to these questions:

-
1. What is the primary language you speak with this child currently? Why do you prefer this language?
 2. How often does your child communicate in Russian? To whom?
 3. Do you think it is important for your child to speak Russian? If so, to what level of proficiency? If not, why not?
 4. How well do you think your child knows English?
 5. Who is teaching whom? Do you help your child with English or he/she is teaching you? How do you feel about that?
 6. Who in your family spends the most time with the child?
 7. In what ways are you and other family members involved in your child's life?
 8. What movies does your child watch? American or Russian? Do you want your child to watch more movies in Russian? How often do you watch movies together? What kind?
 9. What books does your child read? American or Russian? Do you want your child to read more books in Russian? How often do you read books together? What kind?
 10. Who are your child's friends? What do they do together? Does your child have American friends?
 11. What are your child's interests? What do you do to meet them?
 12. How well the activities offered at your child's school and community match his or her interests?
 13. How confident are you in your ability to make sure your child's school and social environment meet your child's learning needs? How could schools or community organizations help you to meet your child's needs?

14. What kind of things do you do to help your child to be successful in life? How could schools or community organizations help you to meet your child's needs?
15. How often do you meet in person with teachers at your child's school or visit school?
16. Are you satisfied with these meetings?
17. How often do you ask them for help or advice in child related situations?
18. Are you in contact with other parents in your child's school?
19. How often do you ask them for help or advice in child related situations?
20. What kind of advice have you received?
21. Have you taken any of this advice? Which advice? What did you do as result?
22. Do you help your child understand the content he or she is learning in school? How? What kind of resources do you use? Where do you find them?
23. Is your child involved in American after-school/ community activities? What kind? Why or why not? Are you satisfied with their quality?
24. Is your child involved in Russian after-school activities? What kind? Why or why not?
25. Are you in contact with other Russian parents? Will you consider asking them for help or advice in child related situations?
26. What kind of advice will you seek/ have you received?
27. Have you taken any of this advice?
28. Are you getting help or advice from your American friends, neighbors, or co-workers in child related situations? Will you ask for it? Do they offer it?
29. What kind of things will you ask them for?
30. What kind of advice have you received?
31. Are you satisfied with their responses? Why or why not?

32. Have you taken any of this advice? Why or why not? Which advice? With what result?
33. Are you getting help or advice from your Russian friends, neighbors, or co-workers in child related situations? Do you ask for it? Do they offer it?
34. What kind of things do you ask them for?
35. What kind of advice have you received?
36. Are you satisfied with their response?
37. Have you taken any of these advices? Which advice?
38. What did you do as result?
39. Do you use Internet resources to support your child's needs? Which ones? How often?
What kind?
40. Do you use Internet communities and resources to receive other kinds of information that you think would help your child be successful? Which ones? How often? What kind?
41. How often do you talk to your child about his/her life prospects in the U.S. (education, profession choice, community involvement)?
42. What kind of things do you wish you could do to provide your child with more life opportunities in the U.S.?

APPENDIX C
CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM FOR HUMAN PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY OF NORTHERN COLORADO

Project Title: Facilitating the Acculturation of Children among Russian Immigrant Parents

Researcher:

Anna Goncharova, M.A. Sociology Student, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, UNC

Phone: 970-542-3093 Email: anna.goncharova@unco.edu

Advisor: Dr. Mel Moore Phone: (970) 351-2100 Email: mel.moore@unco.edu

Purpose of the research is to study how Russian immigrant parents help acculturate their children.

Description:

The interview will be conducted in Russian and then translated into English. The interview will take 45-60 minutes and contains two parts. The first part will ask you common demographic questions, such as your age, amount of education, and income. The second part is about your thoughts about acculturation and any resources you use to support your child/ren in the U.S. Later, this information may be helpful for social services and nonprofit organizations in building their programs for Russian immigrant families.

There are minimal foreseeable risks for participants in this project. All personal information will be coded and kept completely confidential. No real names will be used for any reports of data or be disclosed to the public. The data received in this research will not be used for any kind of commerce. Upon completion, you will be provided with information about existing resources in the Russian community in Denver.

Participation is voluntary. You may decide not to participate in this study, and if you begin participation, you may still decide to stop and withdraw at any time. Your decision will be respected. By signing this consent form, you voluntarily agree that, later, the researcher will translate your answers into English without disclosing your name.

Having read the above and having had an opportunity to ask any questions, please sign below if you would like to participate in this research. A copy of this form will be given to you to retain for future reference. If you have any concerns about your selection or treatment as a research participant, please contact Sherry May, IRB Administrator, Office of Sponsored Programs, Kepner Hall, University of Northern Colorado Greeley, CO 80639; 970-351-1910.

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

APPENDIX D
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES

FACEBOOK GROUPS FOR RUSSIAN PARENTS

- Russian Speaking Parents USA
https://www.facebook.com/groups/RussianSpeakingParentsUSA/?ref=br_rs
- RUSSIAN PARENTS
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/russianparentsbrooklyn/>
- Russian Parents VIP
https://www.facebook.com/groups/328416783904913/?ref=br_rs
- Russian Parent of America
https://www.facebook.com/groups/1527415464162844/?ref=br_rs
- Russian Parents With Teens
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/RPWTeens/>
- Русские Мамы USA / Russian moms USA
https://www.facebook.com/groups/206185556495739/?ref=br_rs
- Наши в США. Жизнь в Америке. Иммиграция. Советы
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/NashiUSA/>
- Russian America Русская Америка
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/1452008515102058/>

LOCAL

- Russian Parents in Colorado
https://www.facebook.com/groups/347012765466332/?ref=br_rs
- Russian Parents Of Northern Colorado
https://www.facebook.com/groups/RussianParentsNorthColorado/?ref=br_rs

- DenveRussia: Colorado Russian Community Life
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/Denverussia/>
- Russian Colorado - Русские в Колорадо
https://www.facebook.com/groups/RussianColorado/?ref=br_rs
- Russian wives in Colorado
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/733043906811183/>
- Russian Colorado Classifieds / Реклама и продажа в Колорадо для всех
https://www.facebook.com/groups/730141703833672/?ref=br_rs
- REDwave Connections / Russian Concerts and Events in Colorado
https://www.facebook.com/groups/redwave/?ref=br_rs

FREE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES

- *Learn to read in English* / Чтение
<http://www.starfall.com/>
<http://www.readingbear.org/>
- *Math and more* / Математика
<https://www.khanacademy.org/>
<https://www.ixl.com>
<http://www.math.com/>

SCHOOL RATINGS / О ШКОЛАХ

<https://www.greatschools.org/>