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RUSSIAN-SPEAKING STUDENTS' EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE AND INTEGRATION PROCESS INTO TURKISH SOCIETY

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

RUSSIAN-SPEAKING STUDENTS' EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE AND INTEGRATION PROCESS INTO TURKISH SOCIETY

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Master of Science, Migration Studies

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This thesis explores Russian-speaking children's difficulties at school and in Turkish society. This thesis also studies Russian-speaking mothers who moved to Turkey as the mother-children topic is interconnected. For this purpose, the reasons for the relocation of Russian-speaking mothers to Turkey, their educational and work experience, the study of the Turkish language, and their adaptation were considered. Then, the topics concerning the Russian-speaking children of these mothers were studied as they are the main subjects of this work. To investigate these children's experiences at school and in Turkish society, the criteria for choosing a school, the adaptation of first-generation migrant children, relations between teachers, classmates, Russian-speaking children, and their mothers, the study and use of Russian and Turkish in a multicultural family; the influence of languages on the academic performance of Russian-speaking children, the role of parents in the education of these children; identification of Russian-speaking children, ways of maintaining Russian

identity in Turkey and children's plans concerning study, work and country of residence were examined.

Qualitative semi-structured online interviews with Russian-speaking mothers were conducted to study the educational and integration experience of Russian-speaking children in Turkish society. In total, 15 mothers took part in the study, and 21 children were examined. Thus, this study is a scientific work that can fill the gap in the literature regarding Russian-speaking children in Turkey since this thesis presents a general description of children and the difficulties they face in educational and integration processes that require special attention for further study and problem-solving.

Keywords: Russian-speaking children, migrant mothers, multicultural families, migrant education, integration, identity

ÖZET

RUSÇA KONUŞAN ÖĞRENCİLERİN EĞİTİM DENEYİMLERİ VE TÜRK TOPLUMUNA ENTEGRASYON SÜRECİ

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Bu tez, Rusça konuşan çocukların okulda ve Türk toplumunda yaşadıkları zorlukları araştırmaktadır. Ayrıca, bu tez, anne-çocuk konusunun birbiriyle bağlantılı olduğu Rusça konuşan anneleri de incelemektedir. Bu amaçla, Rusça konuşan annelerin Türkiye'ye taşınma nedenleri, eğitim ve iş deneyimleri, Türkçe öğrenme ve uyumları göz önüne almaktadır. Ardından, bu annelerin çocukları bu çalışmanın ana konusu olduğu için, bu annelerin Rusça konuşan çocuklarını ilgilendiren konular incelenmektedir. Bu çocukların okuldaki ve Türk toplumundaki deneyimlerini araştırmak için, okul seçimi için kriterler, birinci nesil göçmen çocukların uyumu, öğretmenler, sınıf arkadaşları, Rusça konuşan çocuklar ve anneleri arasındaki ilişkiler, çok kültürlü bir ailede Rusça ve Türkçe öğrenme ve kullanma; dillerin Rusça konuşan çocukların akademik performansına etkisi, bu çocukların eğitiminde ebeveynlerin rolü; Rusça konuşan çocukların tanımlanması, Türkiye'de Rus kimliğinin korunma yolları ve çocukların eğitim, iş ve ikamet ülkesi konuları incelenmektedir.

Türk toplumundaki Rusça konuşan çocukların eğitim ve entegrasyon deneyimini incelemek amacıyla nitel yarı yapılandırılmış çevrimiçi görüşmeler Rusça konuşan annelerle gerçekleştirilmiştir. Toplamda, 15 anne çalışmaya katılmış ve 21 çocuk incelenmiştir. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki Rusça konuşan çocuklarla ilgili literatürdeki bir boşluğu doldurabilecek bilimsel bir çalışma niteliğindedir çünkü bu tez, çocukların eğitim ve entegrasyon süreçlerinde karşılaştıkları özel dikkat gerektiren zorlukları ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Rusça konuşan çocuklar, göçmen anneler, çok kültürlü aileler, göçmen eğitimi, entegrasyon, kimlik

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With respect to every child, regardless of gender, nation, age, and class

To the people who inspired and motivated me to think and act globally

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CIS Commonwealth of Independent States

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

TOMER The Turkish and Foreign Language Teaching Research and Application Center

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In a rapidly changing world, international migration creates diversity in the social, economic, and cultural spheres at the global level. One of the key areas that promotes migration and at the same time is affected by it is the institution of the family. Migration for the purpose of creating a family, family migration in search of a better life, migration of parents with children, and children born in multicultural marriages – all represent important aspects of the dynamic and interrelated issues related to migration.

The family as a socio-cultural institution plays an important role in the formation of personality and the structuring of society, since educational processes, and socialization take place in the family, and also in the family a person acquires cultural values that affect self-identity. A family in the context of migration may not have standard representations. In the case of migration to create a family, people may face difficulties in family relations and cultural adaptation. Children of the first and second generation in multicultural families face various challenges related to adaptation, cultural norms and expectations, and the desire to preserve cultural identity in a multicultural society.

During migration, people get into a new environment, and it is assumed that after some time they adapt, that is, acculturation occurs. Acculturation includes: 1. integration – immigrants preserve their culture and at the same time pay attention to the local culture; 2. assimilation – immigrants seek to adapt and ignore the cultural characteristics of their country of origin; 3. separation – the desire to preserve the culture of the country of origin and rejection of the culture of the host country; 4. marginalization – unwillingness to preserve their culture and rejection of the local cultures (Moyerman et al., 1992). An integral part of acculturation is the ability to communicate with the locals since in this way immigrants can get information about the host country; therefore, they will be able to adapt (Hsu et al., 1993). The phenomenon when immigrants establish contact with locals and use local media is called a positive correlation since there is a relationship between them. It turns out that

to communicate with local people, immigrants need to know the language of the host country. The use of an immigrant's native language in the residence country, in the case of communication with other immigrants, is considered an unwillingness to accultivate (Shoemaker et al., 1984). As a rule, such immigrants are less adapted to the host country and prefer to communicate with people of the same culture as themselves (Gudykunst et al., 1988)

According to studies conducted among European immigrants living in Turkey (Tamer-Görer et al., 2006; Toprak et al., 2009; Dayıoğlu, 2012), unwillingness to learn Turkish and communicate with locals is a reason for their non-integration into Turkish society. However, according to other studies, it has been revealed that the use of the native language in the host country will not necessarily have a negative correlation, since communication in the native language with other immigrants can positively affect the psychological state of the immigrant (Virta et al., 2004). Thus, communication in the native language in the host country may be a factor in the fact that subsequent generations will use their parents' native language and preserve their native culture. In addition, these children will be representatives of the bilingual population, since they will know two languages: native and local (Antonova-Ünlü et al.,2015).

For a long time, the local population of Turkey emigrated to Europe in search of a better life. However, since the 1980s, Turkey has started accepting immigrants from the Middle East, the Balkans, and Asian countries (Karaçay, 2011). Turkey as a destination country, this country has historically attracted migrants due to its geographical location, as a result, this has affected the local society, culture, and economy (Bloch, 2011). One of the notable types of migration to Turkey was the migration of Russian-speaking women after the collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) when economic, political, social instability and the opening of borders contributed to the search for new opportunities to live and work outside their native countries (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018). Many women found jobs in the field of tourism, and some got married. This trend is still relevant today (Deniz & Özgür, 2022). Now there is a Russian-speaking diaspora in Turkey, among which there are not only Russian-speaking women but also their children who moved with their mothers or were born in Turkey and are now being brought up in a

multicultural environment. Nevertheless, there are few studies conducted on the acculturation experience of the Russian-speaking diaspora, and they were conducted in Antalya. According to research by Deniz and Özgür (2010), the successful integration of Russian immigrants into Turkish society is because they know the Turkish language quite well. Consequently, it is easier for them to understand and accept Turkish culture, which also has a positive effect on the acceptance of Russian-speaking immigrants by Turkish people.

The topic of Russian-speaking women living in Turkey has been studied by a large number of studies, among them are the works of Bloch (2009), Ryazantsev and Sivoplyasova (2018), Deniz and Özgür (2022), which I relied on when studying the topic of Russian-speaking women in Turkey. However, the topic of Russian-speaking children living in Turkey is poorly studied, while this topic is essential as neglecting to study migrants of different generations can create difficulties both for the migrants and for the society of the host country.

As a Russian-speaking student in Turkey, I decided to explore the topic of Russian-speaking children, their integration into Turkish society and the experience of their education. Being a native speaker and a researcher of not / a little-studied topic is the relevance of my research. I believe that the study of topics related to Russian-speaking migrant children in Turkey, their position in society and their education has significant importance both locally and globally. Migrant children often face challenges in a new environment. Such studies allow to understand the integration process, the difficulties they face and their needs. As for studying the topic of education of migrant children, it is one of the most important, since it is one of the key factors contributing to their successful adaptation. Moreover, education reveals the potential of migrant children and prepares them for career life which will affect the global economy.

Thus, the study of the education and personal stories of Russian-speaking children in Turkey is particularly important for understanding the integration processes and factors influencing the formation of personality and academic achievements of Russian-speaking migrant children. The knowledge obtained will be a scientific contribution to the topic of integration and education of Russian-speaking children in Turkey. Additionally, this can be used in the development of social and educational

projects for migrant children in Turkey, which will contribute to their successful integration.

Since the studied group of people is underage, I decided to conduct a study using the method of qualitative research by conducting interviews with Russian-speaking mothers living in Ankara. For a more complete understanding of the stories of migrant children, the study of the stories of Russian-speaking mothers moving to Turkey was an important criterion of the research, since the migrant children studied ended up in Turkey because of their Russian-speaking mothers moving to Turkey. Moreover, it was interesting for me to learn first-hand the stories of these mothers, as I am also a Russian-speaking migrant woman, but Tatar by nationality living in Ankara, and I was curious to find out how my compatriots live in Turkey.

The aim of the study is to identify the difficulties faced by Russian-speaking children in the process of education and integration into Turkish society. To achieve this goal, I set a research question - What difficulties do Russian-speaking children in Turkey face in the learning process and in the integration process into Turkish society? To answer this question, other questions were set up: 1. Why did Russian-speaking mothers come to Turkey? 2. What languages are spoken in the families of Russian-speaking children living in Turkey? 3. In which school(s) do Russian-speaking children study and why? 4. What difficulties do Russian-speaking children face from teachers, classmates, and people around them? 5. What are the plans of Russian-speaking children regarding further education and the country of residence, considering their language skills?

To answer these questions and achieve the goal of the thesis, I conducted a qualitative study using a semi-structured interview and used the snowball method to find participants. The participants of the study are Russian-speaking mothers who moved from the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and now live in Ankara, they have Russian-speaking children aged 6 to 18 years, and these children study in educational institutions in Ankara, Turkey. There are no age restrictions regarding mothers.

This thesis consists of 5 chapters. In the first chapter, I introduce the thesis, in general. In the second chapter, a comprehensive literature review is mentioned. The initial structure of the work was the consideration of the topic of Russian-speaking mothers; then the study of the topic of Russian-speaking children from the point of view of diversity and multiculturalism, academic achievement and language proficiency and academic performances. Based on this, in the theoretical part, I consider in detail the topic of international marital migration and the topic of Russian-speaking spouses in Turkey, upbringing in a multicultural environment and the role of parents, the identity of migrants, multicultural education and difficulties faced by children in a socio-educational environment, using different languages in a multicultural environment and children's plans considering their multiculturalism and knowledge of several languages.

In the third chapter, I consider the methodology, describe the choice and strategy of the research method; its process and data analysis and provide a description of the participants. In the fourth chapter, I provide the information obtained during the research and data analysis. This part is divided into 8 topics and 5 sub-topics: 1. Russian-speaking mothers: the history of their relocation; their experience of learning Turkish; their level of education and professional activity; 2. the criteria for choosing a school, the enrollment process and the adaptation period in the case of recently moved children to Turkey; 3. the attitude of teachers towards Russian-speaking children and their mothers; 4. the attitude of Russian-speaking children with peers; 5. languages used in the family, level of Russian and Turkish proficiency; 6. academic performance of Russian-speaking children: the relationship between academic performance and the level of Turkish language proficiency; the role of parents in the educational process of children; 7. preservation of Russian identity in Turkish society; 8. plans of Russian-speaking children regarding education and the future country of residence. This approach allows to understand the dynamics interaction of the dimensions and to analyze the literature discussed above.

As the final part, in the fifth chapter, I provide the results of the work analyzed. Also in this part, I present the limitations that were identified during the study and ideas for

further research, to get a more complete picture of the life of Russian-speaking children in Turkey, their integration and education.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

For a holistic approach to studying the educational experience of Russian-speaking children and their position in Turkish society, it is needed to consider several dimensions. In this chapter, in the first part, I consider the topics of marital migration, international marriages and "Russian wives" as cases to deeply understand the condition of children. In the second part, I consider the theory of social integration, and acculturation, where upbringing in a multicultural family is also studied in detail. In the third part, I touch on the topic of migrant identity. In the fourth part, I described the theory of multicultural education, the immediate topic of research. In the end, I study the position of languages in a bilingual family, as well as academic achievements and plans, taking into account the influence of languages on wages.

2.1 Marital migration and the case of Russian-speaking spouses

According to family studies, political, economic, and social changes in society simultaneously affect marital relations (Bradatan, 2012). The social changes in society including age and education factors affect marriage (Qian & Preston, 1993). Additionally, Becker's Theory of Marriage (1974) is a seminal work in economics that applies economic principles to the study of marriage and the family. Becker (1974) argues that marriage is based on rational calculations between spouses, possibly between their parents as well. He also sees marriage as a pooling of resources that matter when making decisions in the family. He identifies two principles of choosing spouses: 1. It happens naturally and voluntarily; 2. People find each other through advertisements in newspapers, and on the Internet, which suggests that there is a "marriage market". According to the theory of Becker (1974), people decide to get married when they realize that it will be more profitable than living alone. The same can be said that people get divorced if the marriage becomes unprofitable and it is implied that a single life or life with another partner will become more profitable, taking into account such losses as the division of property, and separation from children. Based on this, he concludes that there is such a thing as a "marriage market". Related to economic reasons, Bergstrom (1997) also examines various economic

theories of the family, in which people are treated as rational subjects. These people decide to create a marriage based on the benefits they can receive when creating a family.

The topic of the marriage market was studied by Russian researchers from the perspectives of sociology and demography where population size, gender, age, family formation, and divorce factors were taken into account. Based on this, the term "marriage market" is a group of people who can get married (Volkov & Darsky, 1975; Chuiko, 1975; Vishnevsky, 1977). According to Sinelnikov (2003), the "marriage market" is a group of future husbands and wives who have mutual demands and desires for a future partner.

The "marriage market" includes a complex of disciplines - Economics, Sociology, Demography, and legal regulation (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018). Since marriage can be concluded both between citizens of the same country and with foreigners, there are two types of "marriage market" - domestic and international (Iontsev, 2001). International marriages entail marital migration (Iontsev, 2001). Both the concepts of "marriage market" and "international marriage migration" do not have a certain definition (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018). Marital migration can be considered in two ways:

1. moving to a new place of residence to create a family or for reunification;
2. moving to get married, and registering marriage officially (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018).

However, migration due to the creation of a family, and marriage is not the only reason for Russian-speaking women to move to Turkey.

According to Tyuryukanova (1996: 84-102), "Realization of professional interests", "Improvement of the maternal situation", "Desire to live in a civilized country", "Marriage, family connection, desire to find a partner abroad", "Desire to ensure the future of children" were the main reasons for the emigration of Russian women to create a family with foreigners after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Moreover, there could be several reasons for this (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018):

1. Opening of borders after the collapse of the Soviet Union;

2. Deterioration of living standards and subsequent relocation to other countries in search of a “better life” after economic reforms in the early 1990s;
3. Political instability in the former allied countries.

Uzykhanova (cited by Konygina, 2016), on the other hand, identified some other reasons why Russian-speaking women wanted to marry foreigners. The main reason was that the Russians were not satisfied with the family model at home. During the Soviet Union, the role of a caring father was replaced by the state. Kindergartens, schools, and pioneer camps greatly facilitated the process of raising children - the state-supported in terms of economic assistance; moreover, there was an ideological education. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the state ceased to be a “caring dad”, which is why Russian, Ukrainian, and Moldovan women began to enter relationships with foreigners to have economic stability since there was a shortage of “quality men” in home countries who could create economic stability in the family and would adhere to the ideology in the family.

At the international level the image of “Russian women” can be studied as an objective approach, that is, by paying attention to the characteristics of the type of women peculiar to this group. To do this, criteria such as appearance, cultural characteristics and preferences, and their views on education and career can be considered. Also, “Russian women” can be studied as subjects when studying the preferences of countries for marriage and subsequent immigration are considered. Such an analysis may include factors for the reasons for emigration, their conditions in the home country, economic features, preferences in terms of family model, the distance between the homeland and the destination country, and the historical relationship between the two countries - the homeland and the country of relocation. The objective-subjective approach of the analysis allows to study the interaction of the above factors in the study of “Russian-speaking women” in the international marriage market.

The terminology “Russian wife” is a collective concept that is used in the external “marriage market” to refer to women from the Commonwealth of Independent States (mainly Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova) (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018). Women from these countries are representatives of the “Slavic appearance” - slim, with blond hair and blue eyes. This group of women is very desirable among foreign

men (especially in Asian countries) not only because of appearance-based factors but also because they are ready to choose a home and family - a husband and children instead of a career (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018). Regarding that, “Russian wives” are obedient, not seeking emancipation, and are good mothers (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018). At the same time, according to a study by Bloch (2011), in the context of Turkey “Russian wives” are associated with women in need of material and male protection; Russian-speaking women recognize that they need stability and financial support.

“Russian wives” chose four destinations for marital emigration: the USA, European countries (such as Germany and France), Asian countries (especially China), (Bloch, 2009; Solari, 2006), and the Middle East / Western Asia – Turkey (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018). Limited opportunities in Russia and the territorial proximity of Turkey played a role in choosing a country for emigration (Içduygu, 2006, Deniz & Özgür, 2022). The interest of Turkish men in “Russian” women goes back to the past (circa 1299-1922), when Circassian and Ukrainian women, along with other Russian-speaking women, were treated with respect in the palace harems of the Ottoman Empire (Mansel, 1995). Circassian concubines who worked as hired servants in Constantinople were considered desirable mistresses and wives of the Turks (Duben & Behar, 1991).

As I mentioned earlier, after the collapse of the USSR in the 1990s - 2000s (Deniz & Özgür, 2022), most Russian-speaking women faced serious economic and political difficulties in their homelands. The deterioration of living standards, unemployment, instability, and changes in the social system has become a challenge for some of them to look for new opportunities abroad. Some of the Russian-speaking women saw the opening of borders and emigration to Turkey as an opportunity to find a better life. Turkey became popular as a host country for Russian-speaking women, as there were more economic and social opportunities than in the countries of origin of these women. Many of these women went to Turkey to marry local men, which subsequently facilitated cultural exchange between the partners’ countries of origin. However, when moving to Turkey, Russian-speaking women faced some problems, such as the language barrier, integration into Turkish society, and sometimes even social stigma.

Economic integration has not always been easy, and some of them have faced difficulties in finding work and providing for themselves and their families.

In 2003, border control checks were strengthened in Turkey by entering passport data into an electronic database, and restrictive measures were also created for marriages with foreigners (Curry, 2009). According to this law, foreign wives will be able to obtain citizenship after three years of marriage and after a thorough interview. The law itself does not say which ethnic group this applies to, but most likely the dislike of certain foreigners appeared due to the discontent of Turkish residents. According to Hacaoğlu (2002), this was done to "protect innocent" Turkish men from "Russian women" or "Natasha" who marry for selfish purposes. Russian Natasha (Natalya/ Natalia) is a popular Russian name that has turned into a term in Turkey that implies that "Russian women" are sex workers, schemers, "disease spreaders" or spies who want to obtain Turkish citizenship (Beller–Hann 1995; Hacaoğlu 2002).

"Russian wives" imagine foreigners as rich men, without bad habits (such as who do not drink alcohol), who will be able to provide for a family (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018). So, Turkish men in the eyes of "Russian wives" are handsome and caring, ready to solve any problems and can provide financially (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018). However, the image of Russian-speaking women regarding foreigners does not always turn out to be reality. Even though good looks play an important role in choosing a partner, the fact that women first pay attention to appearance, and miss the attention of other factors sometimes becomes apparent after a while, which subsequently leads to conflicts and divorces (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018). In addition, not all "Russian women" get used to Turkish life, traditions, and cultural peculiarities, besides, they have difficulties learning Turkish (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018).

2.2 The position of parents and children in upbringing in a multicultural family

To understand the upbringing of children in a multicultural family, I consider the socio-economic well-being of parents. Additionally, I consider the educational experience of migrant children of the first and second generation, the role of parents

in the educational process and academic achievements, considering the knowledge and skills of parents.

Parenting differs in different cultures, but at the same time, it differs within the same culture (Wise & Silva, 2007). Important features in the upbringing of children in an intercultural environment are the social layer and the experience of raising children (Boushel, 2000). Values, beliefs, and behaviours depending on goals can influence the upbringing of children (Wise & Silva, 2007). These principles can influence the character of the child (Chen & Luster, 2002), the process of assimilation, and the policy of multiculturalism (Rosenthal, 2000). Moreover, the upbringing of children is influenced by the cultural characteristics of upbringing, the social and physical conditions in which the child is settled, and the psychological characteristics of the parents (Boushel, 2000; Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2001).

Previous studies have shown that the language proficiency of migrant children depends on the socio-economic status of the family (Dixon & Wu, 2014). A study by Cha and Goldenberg (2015) showed that children who are from an ethnic minority from a more prosperous socio-economic status are more likely to speak the local language of the host country (Cha & Goldenberg, 2015). This is because families with a higher level of education and a stable income understand the importance of learning and using the national language to ensure successful integration into the society of the host country.

Many immigrants have financial difficulties when they start living in a new country (Ward, Bochner & Furnham, 2001). This is because education and previous work experience may not meet the requirements in the host country. Moreover, ignorance or poor command of the local language can psychologically and economically negatively affect a person (Luksyte, Spitzmueller & Rivera-Minaya, 2014). After moving to the host country, the ordinary life of an immigrant who was at home changes because a person is confronted with a new culture (Titzmann & Fuligni, 2015). An immigrant may experience cultural shock due to differences in lifestyle and social norms between the country of origin and the host country and as a result experience difficulties in integration; an immigrant may have a language barrier; and may face discrimination due to his foreign origin. All the above are moments that change in a person's life when they become migrants.

Language acculturation is one of the important points of integration (Nguyen & Bennett-Martinez, 2013). If we apply this fact to the family, then, in this case, migrant parents need to know the local language, because this can affect the education of children, and their academic performance (Costigan & Koryzma, 2011). It is worth noting that the language acculturation of parents may depend on their socio-economic status (Dixon, Wu & Daraghmeh, 2014). In addition, ignorance of the local language can lead to exclusion from the culture of the majority, that is, the local population, due to the lack of communication. Consequently, such families are likely to continue speaking their native language (Arriagada, 2005).

The integration of migrants is also affected by the period of their stay in the country. The longer they live in the host country, the easier it is for them to assimilate socioculturally (Markovizky & Samid, 2008), and the better they know and speak the local language (Pease-Alvarez, 2002). Such changes can also affect the relationship between parents and children (Becker, 2010). This may be because children, compared to their parents, have spent most of their lives in the host country. Consequently, this may affect the self-identity of children, while their parents may still consider themselves representatives of the country in which they were born. It is also worth considering that the upbringing of parents who grew up in the country of origin and the upbringing of children in the host country, even if this upbringing was according to the method of the upbringing of the parents' country of origin, will be different since migrant children are in a different cultural environment, they interact with local children, see how these children behave. All this does not remain without a trace and affects the behavior of migrant children. Because of these differences in behavior, misunderstandings or conflict may arise between migrant parents and their children, since they may have different life values and different views on life.

The terminology "parental ethnotheories" was created by Harkness and Super (1992) to study the influence of cultural characteristics on the upbringing of children. Ethnotheories are a belief system in a certain group regarding child education, which includes the socio-emotional and cognitive development of children (Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2001). These beliefs are formed based on the cultural experience of parents who take as the basis for the upbringing of children, and these values are shared by the society in which the child is brought up (Harkness & Super, 1992; Rosenthal &

Roer-Strier, 2001). The ethnotheory examines the social and physical conditions of the place where children live; how many people they live with; whether there are any gender expectations from children; who cares for and educates them and how (Harkness & Super, 1992). Cross-cultural differences even differ on the topic of children's nutrition (Harwood et al., 1999). For instance, in some cultures, parents believe that children should eat themselves, in other cultures, that children should be fed; in some cultures, up to a certain age, children consume only breast milk, while in other cultures, at a similar age, parents begin to feed adult food to a baby.

Researchers believe that the goals of parenting and expectations from children are influenced by cultural characteristics (Harwood et al., 1999). According to multicultural studies, there is a relationship between the characteristics of upbringing and the characteristics of society: "individualistic" and "collectivist" (Harwood et al., 1999). In individualistic societies, it is accepted that children achieve something on their own, and adults support this initiative (Wise & Silva, 2007). In collectivist societies, on the contrary, the interests of society are above all. That is, the problems and interests of society are more important than individual interests, and in this case, all members of society feel responsible (Wise & Silva, 2007). Also, in an individualistic society, it is accepted that the manifestation of any emotions and feelings by children is part of the educational process. In a collectivist society, on the other hand, it is customary to express only positive emotions to maintain the atmosphere in society (Gonzalez-Mena, 2001). The type of parenting can also be seen by how many hours and how children spend their time. If parents have the desire to raise children with a sense of family duty, then such children are likely to devote more time to housework than to "children's games" (Harkness & Super, 1992).

Related to multiculturalism, acculturation can facilitate the upbringing of children in a new culture (Wise & Silva, 2007). In this case, acculturation refers to changes in parenting approaches due to the diversity of cultures with which people begin to interact during migration (Segall et al., 1999). Acculturation can take place in different ways depending on different moments, for example, the willingness of parents to integrate into the society of the host country, because of which beliefs and methods of parenting may change depending on the time spent in the new culture (Leyendecker, Scholmerich, & Citlak, 2006).

2.2.1 Education of migrant children and the role of parents

The fact that there is a difference in academic performance between local children and immigrants in the West is not a new phenomenon (Schnepf, 2004; Marx, 2005). However, this phenomenon is ambiguous (Schnepf 2004). The assimilation of immigrant children can occur in different ways; therefore, it can lead to different academic achievements (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

The indicator is which generation of migrants a person belongs to. As a trend, the second generation that was born abroad is dominated by the experience of assimilation of the first generation (OECD 2006). This is because the children of immigrant parents do not face difficulties of integration in the new society, and adaptation processes at school (Azzolini et al., 2012). Moreover, representatives of the second generation sometimes even have higher academic achievements than local children (Chiswick & DebBurman, 2004). According to the research, it has been observed that academic achievements depend, among other things, on the family: the level of education and the type of activity of parents (Heath et al., 2008). Nevertheless, it cannot be argued that these criteria are unambiguous since the education and professional qualifications of parents may be underestimated in the host country (Heath & Brinbaum, 2007). Local language proficiency of immigrant children is a critical factor in academic achievement. As a trend, the level of language proficiency of the second generation is better than that of the first generation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Azzolini, 2012).

The characteristics of educational institutions also affect academic performance (Hao & Pong, 2008). The division of schools into public and private is considered to be a factor of difference (Kerckhoff, 2001). According to research, students who study in private schools have higher rates than students in public schools (Van de Werfhorst & Mijs 2010). This may suggest that the choice of school is a deliberate decision of parents, and family background is important (Dronkers, 2010). However, there are other criteria. Parents' awareness of the school education system and the ability to access information channels can also influence the choice of educational institution (Coleman, 1988).

2.3 Identity and migration

In the topic of migration, identity is an important component, although it has a subjective character (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). When people immigrate, as a rule, they lose their social status and connections; therefore, in the host country, they have to start from scratch, since there is no history, or image (La Barbera, 2015). Despite all the efforts of immigrants to integrate into a new country, they will always be foreigners in this country. An idealized better life somewhere in another country turns out to be different in reality. After realizing this, migrants begin to remember their country of origin from the good side. Nevertheless, when they return to their homeland, the migrant returns to their original thoughts that it is better abroad. It turns out a vicious circle. Migrants remain in uncertainty, and it is eventually that they are no longer “here”, but not yet “there” too (La Barbera, 2015). The meaning of the word “home” includes territorial position, emotional state, and history (Mohanty, 2003). So, a person can have several homes if to consider the place of birth, residence, study, and work.

In the study of the issue of identity during migration, intersectionality can be considered, and to study gender, nationality, socioeconomic class, and religion (Crenshaw, 1991). Since people change their country of residence, the definition of identity becomes a problem for sociologists, as they study (de)territorialization in the context of globalization; and as a result, they conclude that (re)territorialization of a place, in theory, is necessary, since difficulties arise in the relationship between the territory and nation (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). The very fact that migrants identify themselves as representatives of two or more countries makes to think that it is necessary to reconsider the conceptualization of political communities and the idea of a sense of belonging (Bauböck, 2005).

When identifying a migrant, it is important to consider migration policy, citizenship, cultural norms and values, the history of the country of origin and the country of residence (Pessar & Mahler, 2003). Since the 1980s, research has been actively conducted on how people behave and identify themselves in various places during migration. Moreover, there are critical questions for research such as who they identify themselves with, and what problems arise in this process (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000).

Research shows that the feeling of belonging to a group is not fixed and this may change over time (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). People define themselves according to aspects that are characteristic of a particular group and recognize belonging to this group – collective identity (Jenkins, 2008). However, self-identification may change due to migration. Jenkins (2008) claims that people do not "have" identification, but "do" it because identification changes, it has a plural form. I assume that identification during migration is a dynamic phenomenon that is affected by location and time. The country of residence, its culture, local language, relationship with local people, lifestyle, period of residence in the destination country etc., all have a significant impact on self-identification. Since these factors can change over time, then in parallel with these changes, the identity of a person also changes. Thus, I argue that self-identification has a plural form, since during migration, the pre-immigration habitual way of life changes in the host country, which sometimes makes the migrant think about self-identity.

2.4 Multicultural education

Multicultural education concerns both migrant children and local children. It has a positive effect on adaptation, integration, and reduction of discrimination, thereby improving intercultural communication and creating a more tolerant society. Berry (1997) states that integrative adaptation is based on the preservation of cultural traditions and communication with residents of the host country, so it has a useful effect on the integration of migrants. According to a meta-analysis by Pettigrew (2006), it was found that the interaction of people from different cultures reduces bias and racism. Allport (Katz, 1991: 125-157) is also convinced that mutual relations among representatives of different cultures is a contribution to a tolerant society. Thus, all of the above highlights the importance of multicultural education to create a favorable and friendly atmosphere among local children, migrant children as well as teachers since teachers are an integral part of the educational process.

The goal of multicultural education is to transform the educational system so that students of different nations, genders, and different social classes receive education on an equal basis (Banks, 1993). Multicultural education researchers study the correlation

among student characteristics such as gender, race, and social class which have an impact on the process (Banks, 1989).

Many researchers argue that to implement multicultural education, it is necessary to change curricula, teaching approaches, and the attitudes of teachers and staff of educational institutions (Banks, 1992). For instance, Banks (1993) argues that multicultural education should have fixed indicators to measure and has formed 5 aspects: “Integration of content; the process of knowledge formation; reduction of prejudice; pedagogy of equality; empowering school culture and social structure.”

a) The integration of content means the inclusion of ethnocultural features in the curriculum. For example, teachers can describe various historical moments that have contributed to any ethnic group in subjects such as foreign languages, and social sciences.

b) The process of constructing knowledge takes place with the help of teachers when students are explained how ethnic, racial, and socio-class affiliations of people affect the creation of knowledge. The influence of cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and historical experiences of different cultures on knowledge is studied (Berger & Luckman, 1966).

c) The perspective of overcoming beliefs, multicultural education develops a tolerant and positive attitude towards people from various racial, ethnic, and cultural groups, to reduce intra-school conflicts and misunderstandings among students and create a favorable atmosphere in the educational institution (Banks, 1993). To help students change their beliefs and behavior, researchers and teachers have paid attention to how racial awareness and identification develop (Milner, 1983;). These discussions can be viewed from the point of view of two directions: the racial beliefs of children and their changes.

According to research by Banks (1993), teachers do not have sufficient knowledge in the field of race and positive attitudes towards others – whites, and African Americans. Moreover, teachers believe that children in primary school are not able to understand racial differences. However, this is not true. According to studies that have been conducted for almost 50 years, researchers have concluded that children from the age of 3 begin to understand racial differences (Ramsey, 1987). To understand whether it

is possible to change the strong beliefs of children, studies were conducted. Trager and Yarrow (1952) found that a democratic curriculum can positively influence the racial beliefs of teachers and students; moreover, teaching in an intercultural environment also has a positive effect on changing racial attitudes. In one experiment, children were asked to choose objects and animals of black colours and describe them positively; and when white, then negatively (Williams & Edwards, 1969). Based on this study, it was found that such techniques reduce negative racial beliefs. Such experimental studies have confirmed the results (Hohn, 1973; Parish, Shirazi & Lambert, 1976).

d) The pedagogy of equality aspect implies that the role of a teacher includes the choice of teaching methods for children that do not contradict the values, interests, abilities, and skills of students mediated by a particular culture (Banks, 1993). Thus, the learning style should correspond to the diversity of students who belong to different ethnic groups. This will help to solve educational processes in a multicultural space. The equality of pedagogy is realized through the choice of the student's solution to its educational tasks as an individual, regardless of race, or nation (Delpit, 1988).

e) Empowering school culture and social structure: The previous 4 aspects of multicultural education are connected with the school. School can be conceptualized as a social system (school curriculum, extracurricular activities, teaching approaches) (Theodorson, 1969) and a cultural system that takes into account various norms, values, and ethos (Bullivant, 1987). To make changes in school life, reforms are needed so that education is free of negative beliefs (Banks, 1993). Thus, semi-cultural education consists of purposeful, consciously carried out actions of teachers, and students, which make up the social structure of the school, in which equality, regardless of race, nation, and cultural affiliation, in general, equality prevails. The social and cultural systems are interconnected since the change of one system is impossible without the other. The social structure is changing due to positive changes in ethnocultural beliefs (Banks, 1993).

Thus, all five aspects of multicultural education are separate, but at the same time interrelated and complementary.

2.4.1 Difficulties of migrant children in the education system

According to Barban and White (2011), second-generation immigrants will be less likely to face difficulties, since they will already know the language better and will be more adapted than their parents. However, there is another opinion. Migrants of non-first generations face a lot of stress (Fuligni, 2012) because indigenous people treat them negatively, they do not have ethnic support, and as a result, behavioral problems arise, victimization occurs, which leads to bullying (Eggers and Mitchell, 2016; Peguero and Williams, 2013). Victimization of immigrants, which leads to bullying, may be because they are different from local people, and one gets the impression that they are less worthy than indigenous people (Mendez et al., 2012).

Since young people spend more of their time at school, bullying occurs there (Svensson, Stattin, & Kerr, 2011). Communication of migrant children with local peers can help them integrate into society and feel belonging to it, or, on the contrary, lead to discrimination and a sense of alienation (D'Hondt, Van Praag, Van Houtte, and Stevens, 2016). It depends on the atmosphere in the school, and the attitude of teachers and classmates (Suldo et al., 2009). The more support there is at school, the less bullying immigrants, and local children face (Walsh et al., 2016). Awareness of multiculturalism, equality, and inclusivity among local schoolchildren can reduce discrimination against migrant schoolchildren (Schwarzenthal, et al., 2018).

2.5 Language policy of bilingual families

The family language policy consists of language ideology, management, and practice of language/languages (Schwartz & Moin, 2012). But in general, language policy is an integral part used to achieve political goals for integration (Kaplan & Baldauf, 2003). Language policy consists of the desires of a nation belonging to different groups (Corson, 1990).

In studying the language policy of the family, attention is focused on parents and language ideology. Ideology, according to Spolsky (2004), can be called "the expression of moral judgment"; that is, habits are formed based on ideology; culture is created. Spolsky (2007) states that the language ideology in the family is formed due to the way of thinking and beliefs that exist in the family. Language beliefs are

created based on the attitude of parents to their native language, and the popularization of the language to children (Harding & Riley, 1986). In a bilingual family, some parents face the question of what language or languages and how to teach the child. The choice of language is most often due to beliefs that come from the culture in which the person comes from (Spolsky, 2004).

More often parents choose a language based on their language ideology. This decision is made from the moment of the birth of the first child and is applied to subsequent children. However, this ideology may change due to a change of residence. In this case, there is a possibility that it will be necessary to adapt the chosen ideology in a new place (Spolsky, 2004). It is also worth noting that the practice of children's language depends not only on parents but also on others because it will not be possible to control the use of the language/languages according to the chosen structure.

Language management refers to the control of languages used in the family: language selection, practice, and "correction" if it is necessary to eliminate some shortcomings and improve (Spolsky, 2007). Parents act as controlled persons, and for this, they must have a certain methodology for language in the family and of the children (Spolsky, 2007):

1. Observation of the languages used in the family.

2. Organization of opportunities for the practice of a particular language, for example, meeting with relatives who speak a certain language and live in the country of origin or the country of residence.

3. Spending time with children who speak a particular language.

After the family is convinced that they have made the right decision, they will start practicing the language. The basic idea is that the family is interested in children using a particular language in the future (Cooper & Ralph, 1989). However, it should be borne in mind that the decision to use a particular language(s) may have pragmatic considerations to obtain benefits, depending on the popularity of the language and plans for children.

2.5.1 Bilingual family

A family as a social unit has its language policy (Spolsky, 2007). For the bilingual family, Barron-Hauwerth (2004) argues that at least two languages are spoken in such a family, therefore, at least two cultures are present. Scotton (2006) describes a bilingual person as a person who speaks at least two languages since childhood or as an adult. Gleason and Ratner (1998) are sure that bilingualism can be native, that is, the study of languages goes from birth, and acquired when a person learns a second language gradually being at any age. Additionally, according to Viljamaa (2012), in a bilingual family, at least one person speaks another language, unlike other family members; and at least another person also knows this language actively – fluently speaks it, or passively – understands it, but does not understand perfectly, nevertheless, can use it in communication in the family. In other words, in a bilingual family, a person can speak fluently in one language and at the same time can understand (the main factor) another language, even though they do not know it so well. Gleason and Ratner (1998) described such a phenomenon as Code – Switches – this is when a person in a family speaks two languages and mixes languages, using those words that in their opinion would be better able to express emotions; at the same time, all family members will be able to understand it.

2.5.2 Educational outcomes and future perspectives

Since the early 1980s, the study of the impact of migrants' language abilities in the host country and how it affects the economy began. According to these studies, immigrants who speak the local language have high salaries (Grin, 2003). Bourdieu (1977) in the Economics of Linguistic Exchanges describes that a certain language can be considered as "linguistic capital" depending on the social context in which this language is used. In any field, it is important to consider the relationship between the dominating and the dominant language. The dominating language is the local language, which has power over the education system and dictates rules that are beneficial to the economy (Bourdieu, 1977). The minority's knowledge of an additional language other than the local one can contribute to high salaries since people in this group can perform tasks that people who speak only one language cannot do (Agirdag, 2013).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I consider the method of the research. I describe my choice of conducting qualitative research and the choice of conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews. I also describe the preparation for the interview: Drafting questions, searching for participants; conducting interviews and analyzing data. This part presents the characteristics of participant mothers: Their countries of origin, age, reasons for moving to Turkey, period of residence in Turkey, their marital status, education and work; number, gender and age of children. As for the characteristics of children from 6 to 18 years old, I provide data on their educational institutions (private or public), and their level of proficiency in Turkish and Russian.

As mentioned before, the purpose of my research is to identify the difficulties faced by Russian-speaking children in the process of getting an education and integration into Turkish society. To study these issues most richly, qualitative research is utilized. As Bryman (2012) said, in this type of research, the emphasis is on words, and not on quantification, which in my case plays an essential role. Qualitative research is aimed at studying how people perceive the social world (Polkinghorn, 2005). “Deep understanding of the concrete” is the goal of a qualitative research approach (Domholdt, 1993). The qualitative research method is popular in the study of social issues because this method allows the understanding of human beliefs, emotions, experiences, and behaviours (Tong et al., 2012), which can help to understand the reality of people’s lives (Atkinson et al., 2001). This research method is popular in such fields as psychology, health care, sociology, education, management, and so on (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

Interviews as one of the methods of qualitative research a popular method of collecting data (Gill et al., 2008). Sewell (n.d.) from the point of view of science describes the interview as a desire to understand the social world, and how a person perceives it, and to reveal it to scientific explanations, which would help me answer a research question. There are three types of interviews: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews (Stuckey, 2013; Gill et al., 2008). The most popular among them is a semi-structured interview (Alshenqeeti, 2014), which contains questions prepared in

advance by the researcher (Stuckey, 2013). In a semi-structured interview, it is not necessary to ask all the planned questions, as this will depend on the conversation with the person being interviewed. During such an interview, other questions may arise. Moreover, for research related to personal stories, semi-structured interviews are most suitable (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Thus, we can say that semi-structured interviews as the method of data collection are optimal for achieving the goal of this study. It is also worth noting that participants can use "Me– we–they" phrases during stories (Bucher et al, 2016) which can help to understand some of the criteria for identifying participants.

3.1 Advantages and disadvantages of the interview

The interview is a flexible research approach by which interviewees can tell about problems. In general, in an unstructured and semi-structured interview, the researcher can understand how well the interviewee understands the problem, and if necessary, the researcher can intervene, direct, and clarify certain points if questions arise. Opdenakker (2006) is convinced that personal communication allows for collecting qualitative information in the first place, which is an advantage over collecting this quantitative research method. Also, the use of telephone calls as information collection allows one to communicate with people from different countries and cities (Opdenakker, 2006). In addition to the advantages, there are also disadvantages. The interviewer's biased attitude can influence the interviewee's responses (Doyle, 2005). Also, what interviewees say during an interview may not always be the case in another context (Knott et al., 2022). As for privacy, it is not always possible to maintain confidentiality, especially in small communities (Knott et al., 2022). And, perhaps, the last drawback is that transcribing an interview takes a lot of time.

3.2 Interview techniques and ethical considerations

As I mentioned earlier, I used a qualitative study and conducted a semi-structured interview. I decided to use a popular and effective method - face-to-face interviews (Adhabi & Anozie, 2017). In the same category, according to scientists, it is possible to include video interviews, because eye-to-eye contact is maintained (Sullivan, 2013). Even though online interviews were considered ineffective before COVID-19, the pandemic has made its adjustments and the attitude towards online interviews has

changed, so during my research I conducted online interviews. It was convenient for mothers to call in the morning after they took the children to school, or late at night after they put the children to bed. Thus, I can say that an online interview is a flexible tool since it makes it easier to choose a convenient time for an interview, regardless of location and other circumstances. In addition, there is an opinion that during an online interview, a person experiences less discomfort than during live communication, and for me, it was important that mothers felt comfortable since this would directly affect the information, I planned to receive from them.

With the permission of the participants, I recorded the interview on a dictaphone. All participants in the study granted consent to have their conversations recorded. The participants have been informed that the study has confidentiality and that their data would be encrypted. Anonymity, as a rule, reduces harm to participants, because it is impossible to predict all the risks (Knott et al., 2022). After completing the interview, I encoded and analyzed the data to draw conclusions.

3.3 Process of the research

To study the topic of Russian–speaking children in Turkey, their experience of education, and integration into Turkish society, I chose a qualitative research method - conducting in-depth interviews with the mothers of the children. After choosing the research method, I had to compose questions that would reveal the topic and allow me to find answers to exciting questions; and determine the choice of interviewees according to certain characteristics that would correspond to the topic under study; (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006), then find participants and conduct interviews.

Before making a list of questions, I decided to get acquainted with similar studies that were conducted earlier. As it turned out, there is no such topic that would reveal the experience of Russian-speaking children in Turkey. Therefore, I studied the previously conducted studies on Russian-speaking women in Turkey (Ryazantsev & Sivoplyasova, 2018; Bloch, 2011; Özgür & Deniz, 2022) to understand the reasons for the relocation of Russian-speaking women to Turkey. Next, I studied the topic of children from the point of view of multiculturalism and diversity in the family, at school, and in society (Banks, 1993), language skills, and academic achievements

(Azzolini et al., 2012). After that, I started composing the questions. One of the criteria of the questions was the openness of the questions so that the participants could share their personal experiences and tell their stories. It was also important for me to avoid questions that could only be answered with "yes" or "no". I started the list of questions with simple ones because such questions allow me to get to know the participants more closely and for participants to feel more relaxed, which is also important in the study (Jacob & Furgerson, 2012). There was a smooth transition between the questions related to acquaintance and the main questions, that is, the structure of the questions was from simple to complex. After the main questions, there were final questions about plans. As a result, the questions included such subtopics as the history of mom's move to Turkey, her education and work status; the study of children – age, gender, language proficiency, information about the type of school and grade, a story about the school life of children, about the relationship of children with teachers and peers, problems at school and in the family, plans for the future (Appendices A, B).

The questions were originally written in Russian and then translated into English. In my opinion, this order of languages is correct, since the study participants and I are fluent in Russian, and the logic of the questions was focused on the Russian way.

3.3.1 Selection and finding of participants. Conducting interviews

The subjects in my work are Russian-speaking children in Turkey, however, due to their underage, I had to communicate with their mothers. The requirements for the participants were as follows: These women had to emigrate from the Commonwealth of Independent States countries to Turkey and now live in Ankara, they must have at least one child aged 6 to 18 years old to understand difficulties in different stages of the education, who would know Russian and study in Turkey. There were no limitations for age, marital or employment/occupational status of mothers, as the main subjects of the study were the children of these mothers.

To reach 15 participants, firstly I reached some women in Ankara I know who met the described criteria for my study. And then using the snowball sampling method, which is a good way for specific groups, I reached other participants. To do this, I wrote the text of an invitation to participate in the study, where it was written about the study

and the goal. The text was sent via WhatsApp to some of my friends and forwarded to their friends (Appendices E, F). My friends asked their friends if they were ready to take part in my research. After that, my friends sent the number of their friends so that I could contact them. I sent them a pre-prepared text (Appendices E, F) again. After that, I received agreements from mothers to take part in the study. We agreed on the date and time of the video call. After I conducted all the interviews with 15 participants, I deleted the phone numbers of these mothers and our WhatsApp chats for ethical reasons.

After the participants agreed to take part in the study, we wrote off in personal messages and discussed the day and time of the interview. All interviews were conducted online via WhatsApp video call and took from 45 to 60 minutes. 14 interviews were conducted with a camera and one without a camera because one woman was talking on the way, the rest of the time she was very busy. So, at the beginning of the interview, I briefly talked about myself (name, where I study, what kind of research I do, and for what). The next stage was the question of the participants' permission to use the voice recorder for an audio recording of the material, which was later used exclusively by me for transcription and further work with the received data. I also once again read out the consent form for participation in the study (Appendices C, D) and discussed that this interview is confidential and that their data will not be used anywhere. The study was conducted in Russian because all the participants were fluent in it. Also in the interview, the participants sometimes used words and phrases in Turkish and English (mainly the names of school subjects).

Obstacles - when we agreed with the participants about the interview, sometimes I had to change my plans because then it would be difficult to find a convenient time. Interviews took place mostly in the morning, after mothers took their children to school or late at night after work, having dinner, or doing homework with children. In this case, an online interview was the most appropriate method of research. Some mothers asked their children about their school life in advance before the interview to not miss anything.

3.4 Data processing and analysis

All the audio recordings made were transcribed by me. The texts were written in Russian (also in Turkish and English if the participants used these languages). Later the texts were translated by me into English. Transcribing and translating the interview took longer than I thought. In addition, it is worth noting that the translation of some stable expressions in Russian required more time for a more accurate or approximate translation into English. The original names of the participants were replaced with other names and some data regarding the place of work of the parents were not included in the transcription, as this could violate the anonymity of the participants. We discussed these interviews with my research advisor and discussed the key points identified during the research and the coding process. After that, I started a thematic analysis to identify patterns.

3.5 Participants

As seen from Table 1, the participants in the study were women from 33 to 52 years old, with an average age of 40 years. They moved to Turkey from different regions of the Russian Federation (7 women), Belarus (2 women), Ukraine (2 women), and Kazakhstan (5 women). The reasons for moving were different: the creation of a family - 5 people, for a better life - 3 people, study or work - 3 people, the return to the homeland of the husband - 2 people. 9 women are married, 5 women are divorced, and 1 woman lives with her boyfriend. The women interviewed lived in Turkey from 1 to 29 years. As for the level of education of women, 7 women have more than two higher educations in different fields like International Relations and Interior Design, Psychology, Philology and Economics, Turkology and History, Foreign Trade and Journalism; 6 have one higher education in faculties like Music, Sports, Art, English, History, Public Administration; one has secondary general education – studied in Banking college and the other has basic general education (10 grades). 11 women work as interior designer, translator, psychologist, makeup artist; 3 women do not work and 1 is on maternity leave.

During the study, 21 children were studied: 11 girls and 10 boys. 4 children have been living in Turkey relatively recently, compared to the rest of the children (17) who have

been living in Turkey since birth. 11 children study in public educational institutions in Turkish, 9 – in private: 2 children study in Russian and 18 in Turkish, 1 child goes to Russian kindergarten. 14 children study in 1-8 grades, 6 in colleges. Even though some children were born in Turkey, they do not speak Turkish well enough. However, all children speak Turkish and Russian in one way or another. 7 children know both languages equally well, 6 children know Turkish better, 8 children know Russian better.

In the study, I did not ask direct questions about the income and financial situation of the families. However, in the process of research, it was clear that because of the level of education of Russian-speaking mothers and their professional activities, also, if the family is complete, then I can assume that all families are prosperous. Moreover, some mothers mentioned that they met their husbands at work. Also, it is worth noting that some Russian-speaking mothers said that their husbands hold the position of manager in an international organization or do business.

Table 1: Characteristics of participants and their children

name	age	reason for moving to Turkey	country of origin	residence period (years)	marital status	education	work	children: gender & age	type of school	children's languages
Maria	38	better life	Ukraine	8	divorced	higher education (music teacher)	yes	14 y.o. female (3 years in Turkey)	Governmental Art School	Russian better
Gulnaz	33	family re-unification	Russia	7	married	2 higher education (international relations; interior designer)	yes	7 y.o. female (6.5 years in Turkey) 4 y.o. female	Russian private school	Russian better
Irina	46	better life	Kazakhstan	29	divorced	basic general (school, 10 years)	yes	14 y.o. female	Turkish private	Turkish better
Olga	34	family forming	Belarus	1	co-habitation	2 higher education (teacher of Belarusian and Russian languages and literature; foreign economic activity)	yes	8 y.o. male (her son, 1 year in Turkey)	Turkish private	Russian better
Daria	40	husband's homeland	Ukraine	2	married	3 higher education (philologist; project management; psychology)	yes	6 y.o. female 12 y.o. male	Russian private kindergarten Turkish private	Russian better both are good
Ekaterina	41	family forming	Kazakhstan	17	married	2 higher education (orientalist-Turkologist; faculty of history)	yes	17 y.o. female 14 y.o. male	Turkish governmental Turkish governmental	both are good both are good
Alexandra	42	family forming	Russia	10	married	secondary general (banking college)	no	7 y.o. male 24 y.o. male	Turkish private	Turkish better
Veronika	41	work	Russia	20	divorced	higher education (physical culture and sports)	yes	12 y.o. female	Turkish governmental	Turkish better
Ludmila	47	education	Russia	27	married	2 higher education (philological education; faculty of economics)	yes	14 y.o. male 17 y.o. male	Turkish governmental Turkish governmental	both are good both are good
Elza	37	family forming	Kazakhstan	14	married	higher education (designer and art teacher - pedagogical education)	yes	9 y.o. male 11 y.o. female	Turkish private Turkish private	Turkish better Turkish better
Sofia	37	better life	Kazakhstan	4	divorced	higher education (English teacher; training for the master of nails and eyelashes)	yes	10 y.o. female (her daughter)	Turkish governmental	Turkish better
Victoria	40	family forming	Russia	15	divorced	higher education (a history teacher)	yes	8 y.o. female 14 y.o. female	Turkish governmental Turkish governmental	Russian better Russian better
Zlata	37	husband's homeland	Russia	9	married	higher education (public administration)	no	8 y.o. male 5 y.o. male	Turkish governmental	Russian better
Vera	52	family re-unification	Belarus	2	married	2 higher education (faculty of applied mathematics; economist-accountant)	no	9 y.o. male (2 years in Turkey)	Russian private	Russian better
Luiza	40	education	Russia	19	married	2 higher education (foreign trade; journalism)	maternity leave	6 y.o. male 11 y.o. female 2 months female	Turkish governmental Turkish private	both are good both are good

3.6 Self-reflection

This thesis is dedicated to the topic of the education of Russian-speaking children and their integration into Turkey. The topic of children and education is very close to me because I believe that education is a factor for personal development, socio-economic well-being, and at the same time one of the key factors determining the development and prosperity of society. The topic of education and the position of a person in society in the status of a migrant of the first, second, or third generation requires a special approach to study these issues.

A large number of foreigners of different nationalities live in Turkey, including people from Russian-speaking countries. I decided that I should use my skills and interests and use one of my native languages to study the unexplored topic of Russian-speaking children in Turkey, their education, and their experience of integration into Turkish society. Since the age range of the children studied was from 6 to 18 years old, this study could not have been imagined without the participation of their mothers. Consequently, the topic of Russian-speaking women is touched upon in my work. Being a woman and a citizen of the Russian Federation, a Tatar by nationality, and a foreign student in Turkey, this topic is also attractive to me, since there is a certain bias towards “Russian women” in Turkey. Moreover, the study revealed that an integrated approach to the study, that is, considering women and their children together turned out to be logical since this relationship affects each other.

As I mentioned earlier, I was familiar with some of the participants earlier, and it was they who helped me find other participants in the study. It is important to note that I was acquainted with five women, but we were not friends. I did not know their personal detailed stories, so their life experiences were new to me. Since we had good impressions on the day of our acquaintance, they decided to help me in conducting research and writing a thesis. In Ankara, I attended several events held by Russian representatives, where I met some of the participants, and with other participants, we met in everyday life. On the other hand, it is worth noting that in Ankara, not all the people I invited to take part in the study agreed. I think it depended on thoughts about security and trust. It seems to me that as a native speaker living in Turkey, the stories of these women were more understandable than those of another non-Russian-

speaking researcher. However, to avoid bias, when analyzing the data, I consulted with my advisor. In the study, not all participants immediately openly shared their stories. There were no hidden and provocative questions that I asked. After all, the friendly and honest atmosphere created by the researcher at the beginning of the conversation played a special role. I am grateful to the participating mothers for taking part in the research for writing this scientific work, thereby they contributed to science that will be used in future works.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I present the data obtained as a result of a study conducted among 15 mothers who come from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), regarding their children who moved with them to Turkey or were already born in Turkey. Here I show the patterns that have been identified regarding mothers, features in the education of children and their position in Turkish society. Before proceeding to a detailed analysis, I would like to provide a general characteristic of migrant mothers and their children. It is also worth noting that the study of the characteristics of mothers allows us to present a more complete picture of the situation of children, and some causal factors.

4.1 Russian-speaking mothers

As mentioned in the previous chapter, mothers came to Turkey from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to Turkey for various reasons: to study, work, create a family, to find a better life for themselves and their children. During the study, it was revealed that the surveyed mothers have a higher education and 11 out of 15 mothers work, one is not working now because of the child's courtship. As for the marital status, 9 mothers are married, and 6 mothers are divorced. Most of the children (18) studied were born because of an international marriage with a Turk, and three children have fathers who are not Turks. All these children are educated in Ankara in primary, secondary, or high schools.

4.1.1 The reason for moving to Turkey

One of the reasons for Russian-speaking mothers to move (or: for moving) to Turkey is the desire to start a new life to create better conditions for themselves and their children. For example, Sofia decided to move to Turkey after the divorce, noticing that nothing kept her in her homeland. Sofia's motives for moving could be memories of married life in her homeland, and to make it easier to survive a divorce, she decided to move to another country and start a new life.

I came to Turkey 4 years ago to start a new life. My sister lives here, it was easier for me of course [...]. Nothing was holding me in Kazakhstan either. I did not have a car or an apartment. I was after the divorce […]. I thought I would give it a try. (Sofia, daughter 10)

Another reason why Russian-speaking women moved to Turkey is their studies and subsequent marriage. Ludmila came to Turkey as an exchange student. While studying at the university, she met her future husband. They met during an internship in Ankara.

I came in the framework of an exchange program to study in the 1990s […]. My husband and I met in the 3rd year of university, we did an internship in accounting together. I found an office in Kızılay, we went there because of documentary things, and we met there. (Ludmila, sons – 14 and 17)

Another participant came to Turkey at the age of 19 to receive higher education in Istanbul. After graduation, she returned to Kazan, where she started working. Luiza came to Turkey for work, where she met her future husband.

At the age of 19, I came to study in Turkey. So, I stayed here. I studied in the speciality "Foreign Trade" at Marmara University […]. After graduation, I returned to Kazan. I started working there. I came to Turkey for a work trip and met my husband there. (Luiza, son 6, daughter 11, newborn female)

Some of the participants, whose husbands are Turks, lived abroad after marriage and eventually moved to Turkey to their husbands' homeland. Zlata's family moved to Ankara in 2015. The reason was the economic benefits since the husband had his own home in Turkey and it was more profitable. This may indicate a desire to live in more stable conditions in an economically advantageous place for the well-being of the family.

In 2015, my husband, son and I moved to Turkey. We met and got married in Russia. In 2014, we decided to move because in Turkey my husband had his housing, and it was more profitable. (Zlata, sons – 5 and 8)

Daria's family moved to Turkey as a result of the refusal to grant them a residence permit in the previous host country during the pandemic. As a result, they had to come to her husband's homeland.

> *We moved to Turkey with my family, I have been married to a Turk for 14 years. We have not lived in Turkey before. We lived in Russian-speaking countries […]. We did not decide, the pandemic decided everything for us. We were once again denied a visa (in the previous country) due to the pandemic, so we moved. (Daria, daughter 6, son 12)*

One of the most popular reasons for moving Russian-speaking women to Turkey is to create a family with a Turk and then move to Turkey. The acquaintance of Russian-speaking women and Turkish men naturally took place.

> *We met in Kazakhstan; my husband came on a business trip. We met there. And when he returned to Ankara, I also came here. (Ekaterina, son 14, daughter 17)*

Some dating took place on the Internet on dating sites where the geography of partners was not limited to men in the country of origin of Russian-speaking women, which indicates that modern technologies, such as the Internet, can play an important role in the formation of intercultural relations and marriages.

> *I came in 2008, came because of my marriage. I met my husband on the Internet. We talked for about 3 months. (Victoria, daughters - 8 and 14)*

After some time, Victoria realized that the decision to marry was wrong, because over time, when she began to understand the Turkish language better, she understood what it meant to be married to a Turk. Her views changed. Victoria described her first impression of her ex-husband, focusing on his external qualities, such as beauty and physical attractiveness. However, as it turned out later, different interests became an obstacle to joint family life.

> *I was married for 10 years, and then we divorced […] In the beginning, everything seemed so beautiful and romantic. He was very handsome, he had muscles, white teeth, and dark skin […] When I already begin to*

understand, then everything is different […] What was interesting to me, was not interesting to him. (Victoria, daughters - 8 and 14)

Victoria noted that she was faced with a biased attitude on the part of her ex-husband's family, as her cultural characteristics and habits were incomprehensible to them and caused negative comments, including the way of raising children in terms of feeding and dressing them. Victoria shared that the approaches to upbringing in Turkey and Russia are different. She also noted that some stereotypes and preconceived opinions about Russian speakers could be associated with the collapse of the USSR and the wave of immigration after that. Victoria noted that in the Turkish family, it was customary to tolerate if something was not pleasant and continue to live on. This indicates that collectivist emotions were higher than individual ones.

When the children were born, I had Turkish parenting methods. In the summer they were forced to dress warmly, and then children sweated. There were condemnations that the children were thin and that I did not feed them, so they were hungry. They gave the example of the sister's children "The fat child is a healthy one." Jam was given to the child in the third week – I was shocked! […] They thought that everything was very bad in Russia, […] when I decided to get a divorce […] my mother-in-law thought that I was spoiled and said it would get better. It was the way they did – you need to keep quiet about problems and continue to live. (Victoria, daughters - 8 and 14)

Vera also met her husband online when she was planning to go to Turkey on vacation with her eldest son. After that, they often met, and they had a son as a result. Her partner was thinking about introducing Vera to his parents, however, it turned out that his parents would not want to have a foreign daughter-in-law (the desire to preserve their Turkish and Muslim identity), so the family continued to live in two countries. However, after a while, the family decided to move to Turkey because it was hard for the parents and the child to live like this. Thus, there was a reunion of family members in Ankara.

I met my husband on the Internet. Well once my oldest son and I were planning to go to Turkey for the autumn holidays. A week before our trip, I got acquainted with my future husband. During the year, he came, and then I visited him. A year later, a son was born. His parents did not know. According to him, Muslim traditions are radically different from Orthodox ones. I understood that he was a religious man. It was difficult for him. He wanted to stay with us but at the same time, he did not want to lose his parents. […]. We arrived in Turkey to recreate the family […] such life does not suit everyone, to go back and forth. There was no consistency […]. So, we decided to move here. (Vera, son 9)

Thus, Russian-speaking women moved to Turkey for various reasons: Getting an education, working, creating a family, for better conditions for themselves and their children, and moving to their husband's homeland because of economic benefits, and family reunification. The Internet played an important role in dating and creating a family among Russian-speaking women and Turkish men, as it was a means of dating and maintaining communication. After the creation of a family, there are cases of divorce, for various reasons, among them cultural differences, and misunderstandings between spouses and Turkish relatives.

4.1.2 Education and Professional employment of Russian-speaking mothers

Since the main task was to study the experience of education of Russian-speaking children and their position in Turkish society, it was decided that studying the experience of education of mothers and their employment could help to understand some reasons and backgrounds. Thus, it was revealed that 13 out of 15 mothers have at least one higher education, 7 of them have two or more higher education degrees. 11 out of 15 mothers work, 3 mothers are housewives and one mother stopped working because of maternity leave.

I work as a psychologist. I have many higher educations. My first education is philological. The second one is project management, a master's degree. Now I'm studying to be a psychologist. (Daria, daughter 6, son 12)

Mothers' educational and occupational status can allow them to move to Turkey. For example, Olga mentioned that one of the criteria when she decided to move to Turkey was her online work, as she prefers to rely on her capabilities. In addition, Olga emphasized that she could not know how things would be in her new country of residence, which shows her independence. After moving to Turkey, after some time she quit her job and started working in her boyfriend's company. In this job, she continues to do what she already knows how to do, that is, use her knowledge and skills. It can be said that working in her boyfriend's company, she helps to develop his business, and at the same time she earns money, that is, she continues to rely on her own as she has a child.

> *I had an online job. If I had an off-line job, I probably would not be able to make that decision so quickly. Because it is not clear how it would be in another country. I am the person who hopes the most for herself. Now I work as a business development manager at my boyfriend's company. I have experience in marketing, sales, and finding new clients, and now I continue to work in these areas and help my boyfriend. (Olga, son 8)*

Some mothers work by their profession as Gulnaz.

> *I work as an interior transformation consultant and an online interior designer. My first higher education was in the field of international relations and the second one was "interior designer". (Gulnaz, daughters – 4 and 7)*

However, not all mothers work by profession after moving. The reason for this may be the level of proficiency in the local language.

> *Now I work in a beauty salon, as an eyelash extension master. I am an English teacher by education. I haven't started working by profession because I don't know Turkish so well yet. (Sofia, daughter 10)*

Luiza, who is currently on maternity leave, said that after her first child turned two, she went to work, and worked until the birth of the second and third children. According to her, today her priority is children. She also noticed that after they grow

up, she would like to return to work. However, she said that she may face difficulties, among them: the lack of acquaintances who could help with employment and the unwillingness to start from scratch.

> *Before the maternity leave, I worked quite actively. When the oldest child (daughter) was 2 years old, at that time we were still living in Antalya. My daughter started going to kindergarten, and I went to work. We have been living in Ankara for 3 years […]. I work as an interpreter in a construction company for 8 years. Then my son was born, and I was already more with children. […]. Now I have children in the priory. After they grow up, of course, I would like to realize myself, but I do not know where I can do it in Ankara. There are no such acquaintances here. So far, it has been difficult for me. I would like to work where knowledge of Russian is needed, I would not like to work just in a Turkish company, this means starting from scratch and I do not want to do this. (Luiza, son 6, daughter 11, newborn female)*

From the above analysis, it follows that Russian-speaking mothers have higher education and work in various fields, which indicates their desire to be financially independent. As for online work mothers, it allows them to keep jobs regardless of location. Moreover, sometimes online work is one of the important aspects that helps women decide to move to another country, as a result, it helps integration and adaptation in a new environment. One of the mothers is on maternity leave, but she expressed a desire to return to work as soon as the children grow up, however, she also noted that it is difficult to find a suitable job without networking, and she does not want to start from scratch. Also, some mothers do not work and are engaged in raising children, where their husbands are the breadwinners.

4.1.3 Experience of learning Turkish by Russian-speaking mothers

Most of the mothers learned Turkish in educational institutions. Mostly they studied at the courses of TÖMER (Türkçe ve Yabancı Dil Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi) - The Turkish and Foreign Language Teaching Research and Application Center. Mothers who have completed Turkish language courses there say that they know

Turkish at a household and conversational level. Also, Turkish songs and TV shows could serve as one of the ways to learn the language. However, it is worth noting that these mothers notice that their level of knowledge of the language may not be sufficient to work, for instance, in the civil service.

> *I learned Turkish through TV series and songs, but anyway, then I had to take courses in TÖMER. The level of my Turkish according to the TÖMER system is B2. This is enough for living in Turkey. But if I worked in a government job, I do not think I would have had enough. (Maria, daughter 14)*

Some of the mothers want to improve their Turkish language skills and they continue studying Turkish in private schools. They strive to reach a higher level and speak this language fluently.

> *I do not speak Turkish fluently, it takes time. I took courses in Minsk. Now I am taking courses at a private school to study Turkish. I also took courses at the Embassy. So far, I know Turkish. I just want to speak beautifully. (Vera, son 9)*

Some mothers, who studied Turkish at TÖMER, came to Turkey as students, and learning Turkish was mandatory before starting their main studies at the university.

> *I studied Turkish at the TÖMER courses, we had language courses for 8 months, and it was within the framework of a scholarship that Turkey (Turkish program) provided to study at the university. (Ludmila, sons - 14 and 17)*

Some mothers studied Turkish on their own. Gulnaz learned Turkish when she had been living in a Turkish-speaking environment. She knows Turkish words; she has learned them from TV series and heard from her husband. However, she still does not know the Turkish language very well and makes mistakes, she does not know grammar well. The Turks correct her, and she remembers it after. However, sometimes she faces criticism from those who laugh at her Turkish since she has been living in Turkey for a long time (7 years). Gulnaz noticed that she would like to go to language courses,

however, her newborn baby was very restless and there was no one to leave her with. Now both her daughters have grown up, her Turkish is enough to live in Turkey. Gulnaz also noted that if there was a reason to speak Turkish at a high level, then she would have taken courses. In everyday life, she communicates with her husband in English.

> *I still have not learned Turkish. I did not go to any language courses […]. I learned the language in the environment. I do not know grammar well, I speak incorrectly. Some people correct me. I thank them for correcting me, and then I speak correctly. Some people laugh at my Turkish because I have been living here for a long time and have not learned Turkish. I am telling them to accept me like this […]. If I could go back, I would probably go to TÖMER, it would be cool. I would like someone to "lift me by the hair" (to force); and take a child who did not want to stay with anyone. We had such hysteria. If some strong woman from my husband's family would have said harshly, "Give me the child and go learn Turkish," I would have gone. Now it is also possible to do it. If there was a super need, I would have gone, I would have found the time. But for now, I am comfortable with my Turkish. My husband and I still speak English. I learned some phrases from people around me, from my husband, when we went to the store. I have a vocabulary […]. I watch TV series with Turkish subtitles because I am interested, and from there I remember the words. Now I need to improve my grammar. (Gulnaz, daughters – 4 and 7)*

Irina said that she used TÖMER textbooks for self-study of Turkish. In addition, she noticed that she was in a Turkic-speaking environment, which probably contributed to her linguistic progress. To assess the level of Turkish proficiency, Irina took a test on which she was assigned the intermediate level. After that, she was sent to more advanced levels of courses. Irina attended several classes but eventually stopped going to them. She explained it by saying that she did not need a diploma, besides, she had little free time because of work.

> *I studied Turkish by TÖMER books. And I was in a Turkish-speaking environment. Then I passed the language proficiency exam and at that time*

I had an intermediate level. Then they directed me to the last levels. I went there a couple of times and then stopped. I went there because of "korochka" (we use this word for diploma), but in the end, it was not needed. I did not have time to go to courses, I was working. (Irina, daughter 14)

Thus, Russian-speaking mothers learned Turkish in different ways. Most of them went to language courses, and some studied by themselves, as a result, they know Turkish at a basic level. However, most mothers understand that their level of Turkish language proficiency is not enough to work in Turkish. It is also worth noting that among the mothers some are still learning Turkish because they want to know it at a good level. Also, some mothers came to Turkey as students, or mothers who have been living in Turkey for about 20 years and they know Turkish at a high level.

4.2 School selection criteria, enrollment, and adaptation process

In this part, I consider the criteria for choosing a school; the process of enrollment and adaptation of children who moved to Turkey 1 - 4 years ago, whose dads are not Turks. According to the mothers, regardless of the education level (i.e. kindergarden, primary, secondary, high school), language-based or subject-based reasons are the priority reasons to define the school for their children.

After Veronika divorced her Turkish husband, she and her daughter moved. The daughter started going to another school – the Turkish state school. Veronika noted that at the moment it is enough for her daughter to study at a public school and stressed that she may go to a private secondary school. Veronika also said that it is important for her that her daughter can continue to play sports, this is the main criterion for choosing a school.

My daughter is in the 7th grade. From the first grade, she studied at a public school. I do not think she should be sent to a private school, because I already know what a Turkish education is. Maybe after the 8th grade, she will go to a private school […]. After the divorce, I moved, and we changed schools. It was important for me that she could develop and play volleyball. (Veronika, daughter 12)

Ludmila's two sons study at Turkish state lyceums, where the sons entered based on the scores obtained in the exams. The priority was the Anatolian lyceums, which, according to other people and Ludmila's opinion, offer high-quality teaching of exact sciences, although after completing their studies in such lyceums, one can enroll in humanities faculties as well. Ludmila also noted that she is not well-versed in the Turkish education system thus, she stressed that her words are subjective. Based on this, it can be said that Ludmila's opinion about the lyceums in which her sons' study was formed due to the majority opinion of people in Turkey.

> *The eldest son is 17 years old; he is studying in the 11th grade, the youngest son is 14 years old, and he is studying in the 9th grade. They study at state Turkish lyceums. Lyceums are far from our home. They go to the school by public transport. As for the choice of schools, they passed there on exam scores. The priority was the Anatolian lyceums, the others say they are good, and I also think so. Exact sciences are well taught there. They (sons) will be able to enroll in engineering faculties, also they will be able to enter the humanities departments. Also, I don't know much about the Turkish educational system. (Ludmila, sons - 14 and 17)*

The opinion of the mothers regarding the choice of a school for children corresponds to the opinions of Veronika and Ludmila. The quality of education is important for them because it is directly related to their plans regarding university studies and profession. Thus, I can say that the criterion of private or public school is not the main one.

Sofia's daughter's admission to school and studying there in Turkish was difficult at first. She did not know Turkish and because of that, the school administration did not want to accept her to the first grade in a Turkish school. They wanted to send her to kindergarten, but Sofia's daughter was tall, she already knew how to write, read, and count in Russian, so Sofia thought that her daughter would be bored in kindergarten. As a result, her daughter was taken to the first grade. Moreover, studying in the first grade at a Turkish public school helped her daughter to learn Turkish and successfully integrate into a new environment. Also, the location of the school next to the house is an important selection criterion for the mother.

My daughter is 10 years old. She studies at a Turkish state school in Turkish, in the 4th grade. She went to the 1st grade without Turkish. They did not want to enroll her. They wanted to send her to kindergarten. But […] she was tall, and she would degrade there […] you know about the preparatory classes in Russian-speaking kindergartens. She could already read, write, and count. As a result, she was taken to the first grade. There were just no such children in this school who started studying without Turkish. They did not know how to behave. In the first grades of Turkish schools, they do the same thing as in Russian kindergartens. They prepared for writing; numbers and letters were taught. That was good for her because it helped her to learn Turkish. In Russian schools, the 1st grade is more difficult, since in kindergartens children are already being prepared for school; they are more prepared […]. At the age of 6, we came to Turkey, a year later, in the fall, she went to school. Criteria for choosing a school – it is nearby. (Sofia, daughter 10)

Sofia also shared the story of adaptation to the school. As for Sofia's story, the daughter was experiencing difficulties, and she did not want to go to a new school, there were tantrums and tears. It could have been a reaction to an environment unfamiliar to her, where people spoke an incomprehensible language. Sofia initially went to school with her daughter and spent time there while she was in class. This was done so that the daughter could feel safe. As for the daughter's nausea, this may also be a consequence of the daughter's anxious state. After some time, Sofia decided that she needed to stop going to school with her, and one day she fraudulently sent her alone, telling her to get on the school bus first, while she stayed on the street at that time. After that, the daughter was crying, most likely from the thought that she had been abandoned, that now she would be alone in the school environment, without a person she knew – her mother. Sofia also cried because of the emotional state of her child, but she went to this act because it was necessary for adaptation. After that day, Sofia stopped going to school with the daughter and it became easier for her to go to school alone. Thus, it can be said that children face difficulties in adapting to a new foreign environment and school. The help of parents during adaptation is an important

help for children, which can affect the physical and emotional state of the child, the learning of the local language and academic performance.

> *Adaptation to the school was difficult. There were tears and hysterics every day. She did not want to go to school. I went to school with her and sat at the door. She was tied to me; she did not understand the language; she was sick periodically. She went out into the corridor to check if I had left or not. I went to school like this for 4 days. Then I started leaving after 2-3 lessons. Then one day I decided that I would not be able to do this with her forever. So, I said I was going with her. I put her in the service first, and I managed to get out of the car quickly. The doors closed and she started screaming and crying. It was hard for her; it was hard for me. We cried together. Thank God those days are behind us. (Sofia, daughter 10)*

Olga's son also had to start primary school, however, as soon as they moved to Ankara, he began studying at a private summer school on the initiative of his mother. Olga thought that this could help him to integrate into Turkish society and prepare for the new academic year in a new country. After studying at the summer school, the school management offered to continue their studies at the school. Olga and her boyfriend decided to agree because they thought it would be more comfortable for the son's psyche since he was already familiar with this school. The language of classes at this school is Turkish, which means that the son would have to communicate in Turkish and master it in the learning process, which would help him learn Turkish and integrate into Turkish society.

> *My son is 8 years old, and in September he started studying in Ankara. He is studying in a private Turkish school, in college. In the summer I was looking for summer school. There was no intention of directing him there to study; I had a dilemma: to send him to a Russian or a Turkish school. I did not know where would be better. Anyway, I was doing some research. I understood that it was necessary to immerse him in communication with local children before September, so I found a summer school […]. They offered us to continue studying with them. We thought it would be more comfortable for his psyche to send him to a familiar place. Moreover, the*

reviews about the college were good, and they teach there well. Children score good grades there. (Olga, son 8)

Although Olga's son's adaptation to the Turkish school was not as traumatic as that of Sofia's daughter, he was nostalgic for the homeland. Nevertheless, Olga believes that Turkey is better for them, since there are more opportunities and better conditions, especially in terms of education and learning foreign languages. As for the foreign language, Olga's son said that he would not marry a Turkish woman because he did not want to speak Turkish a lot. Perhaps Olga's son said so because he was in the process of learning Turkish, and it was hard for him. Olga noted that in her homeland she sought to create conditions for her son to receive a high-quality education, however, this would take more time. In Turkey, thanks to the financial support of her boyfriend, her son receives a good education. Olga believes that in the future her son will be grateful for life in Turkey.

When I ask the son where it is better to live, he says that in the homeland, but it seems to me that here is better. He wants to return because of his friends and acquaintances, but I see more opportunities here, as we travel a lot, visit interesting places, and he learns a new language. He also jokes that he will not marry a Turkish woman because he does not want to speak Turkish a lot (laughing). He is still pulling back, but I think he will be grateful later. Besides, as I have already said, there are better conditions in terms of studying, and learning languages - English is better here too. Well, Mehmet (Olga's boyfriend) takes on a significant part of the expenses, and I would not have such an opportunity to support him in terms of education at home. I've been looking forward to it, but it was unclear when I would have come to such a result. (Olga, son 8)

In the case of Maria's daughter's story in enrollment to high school, to the lyceum, it turned out that there were special courses that students need to take before entering the lyceum and Maria did not know that. According to Maria, these courses need to be taken within a year, but her daughter took them only for 1.5 months since Maria found out about these courses late. This indicates a possible lack of clear communication and the lack of a support and adaptation system for foreign parents and children from the

secondary Turkish school where Maria's child studied. Thanks to her Turkish friends, Maria received information and help, which greatly facilitated the process of preparing for her daughter's entrance exams. This underlines the importance of support and assistance from the local community in adapting and orienting in a new environment. Despite the difficulties, Maria's daughter was able to pass the entrance exams and enter the lyceum that she wanted because of her interests and skills.

> *She came to Turkey and went to the 7th grade. So, in the 7th and 8th grades, she was in secondary school. In the 9th grade, she already went to the lyceum […]. My daughter also went to training for 1.5 months before admission (to the lyceum). Although children go there for a year to "dershane" (in Turkish – preparatory classes). The children go there for a year […]. I did not have any information […]. They did not explain to me at school when I brought the child. Maybe they thought I knew it by myself, but I did not know. If there were no friendly Turkish women in my environment, I would not have learned anything, and it would have been difficult. Even though I am a foreigner, no one helped me anywhere. Maybe I was not so active and interested, which I cannot say about myself. But thank God that my daughter passed exams and entered the lyceum […]. I did not choose the lyceum, that was her choice. She has talents. (Maria, daughter 14)*

Maria stressed the importance of having friends and acquaintances in the host country for successful adaptation, as local people can help and support. Maria also said that some immigrants think that everything will be easy and comfortable in a new country, but in reality, everything may be different, so you need to be prepared for difficulties and obstacles. Maria also noted that it is necessary to respect the culture and traditions of the country of residence and to speak the local language at a basic level.

> *If you do not have Turkish friends behind your back, then it will be even harder for you here. This is a specific moment. If foreigners think that they will come and they will be welcome and everything will run like clockwork, then this is not true. I think this can be said about any country. If you do not have local acquaintances, it will be very difficult for you. You have to*

do something yourself, and it is also desirable that someone helps you. It seems to me that without the help of a citizen of the country you decided to move to, your life will become billions of times more complicated. And it is not even about the language. If you decide to live in another country, then you need to respect the traditions of the country and learn at least at a minimum level the local language. Communicating through a translator is ridiculous. (Maria, daughter 14)

Olga also shared the story of when she encountered difficulties when trying to make an appointment at the institution to confirm that her son had studied in the homeland for one year at school so that he could enroll in the second grade at a Turkish school. After Olga was unable to make an appointment online, Olga and an employee of the school where her son was going to study went to the Department of Education, where they had to certify the document. This suggests that the school is ready to help a foreign parent and her child in bureaucratic matters related to education in Turkey. Despite the help from the outside, in the end, Olga was able to sort out the document confirmation process herself. It turns out that Olga can understand the Turkish language and solve some issues in this language, which may indicate that despite the short period of learning the Turkish language, she took assimilation in Turkey with responsibility.

By the way, the school here helps with the denklik. The Department of Education asked to bring the documents that were in the homeland. They asked to confirm that his class and level of knowledge at home correspond to his class in Turkey and that he can continue his studies here. In our area, it was difficult to register for an online meeting with them, but then we went there in person. A teacher from school came with me and helped. We went and said that we could not register for a meeting online, so we came. We were told that there were no places in Çankaya soon and that we needed to go to another area, to Büyükşehir. Without any problems, I went there alone and sorted everything out. The employee spoke to me in Turkish and asked questions about the documents. I understood him. (Olga, son 8)

Thus, it can be said that when starting to study at school in Turkey, as well as when changing educational institutions, migrants face various difficulties: bureaucratic,

emotional, and problems related to the inability of local school staff to work with foreign students, although there are exceptions. It can also be said that with the joint efforts of parents, schools (communication with migrant parents) and children (attending supplementary classes if necessary), the adaptation period of migrant children can contribute to successful integration in Turkish schools. Criteria such as the quality of education, in-depth study of certain subjects, language and territorial proximity play an important role in choosing a school for both children born in Turkey and for children who have recently moved to Turkey.

4.3 The attitude of teachers towards Russian-speaking children and their mothers

The atmosphere in the school is interconnected with the integration process of Russian-speaking children and their academic performance. Therefore, the study of the relationship between teachers, Russian-speaking children and parents is an important topic for study. The study revealed that many teachers strive to create a positive and supportive educational environment where Russian-speaking children can show their individual qualities and feel part of the community. However, misunderstandings and the stereotypical attitude of teachers negatively affect the relationship with Russian-speaking children and their mothers, since, according to mothers, this affects the academic performance of their children and their well-being, thus, mothers are concerned about the attitude of teachers to their children.

For instance, Victoria noted that the eldest daughter was a reserved child, and to liberate her, the teacher asked her to bring her favorite Russian book and read something to her classmates. As a result, this aroused the interest of classmates, and the daughter began to feel more confident. Moreover, at the initiative of the teacher, Victoria and her eldest daughter once talked about Russian culture in a history lesson, they brought various items characteristic of their culture: rubles, the Russian flag, an icon and other items. Thus, it can be said that the teacher showed support for Victoria's daughter while paying attention to interpersonal relationships and cultural diversity. This had a positive effect on Victoria's daughter's self-esteem, as she began to feel more comfortable communicating with Turkish classmates. Also, familiarity with another culture contributed to the expansion of the worldview of the teacher and classmates. Such events have the property of cohesion, which creates a friendly and

tolerant atmosphere. According to Victoria, human attitude is above the quality of education.

> *The oldest daughter was withdrawn in elementary school. The teacher once told her to bring a Russian book and show how she could read Russian […]. She was just a star that day. She showed that Russian letters are written differently. Then her classmates asked her to teach them Russian, too. Before our interview, I asked my daughter if she had any problems, she said that on the contrary, she arouses interest because she knows another language, travels to Russia, and has been to many places. We have only positive experience […]. We found icons, Russian money, the flag, and a khokhloma (khokhloma is a decorative painting of wooden furniture) at home. We printed out the pictures. The children were very interested. The teacher was also interested. Maybe the level of education is lower here, but the attitude is much better. In Russia, your focus is only on studying, but here the teachers are humane, they sympathize with the student; they try to take part in the student's life. That's what I like. Probably it is even more important than knowledge. (Victoria, daughters – 8 and 14).*

In the case of Alexandra, there is an increased interest in her son precisely because of a foreign mother. The son is often asked questions about the country, traditions, and upbringing in a multicultural family. So, it shows the desire of teachers to learn more about the cultural and family context of the child. To do this, they additionally take Alexandra's son to a psychologist to take care of the well-being and emotional state of the child. A favorable educational environment contributes to the fact that where the child feels support and understanding from teachers. Such an approach can contribute to the development of the student and the creation of a harmonious educational environment.

> *The attitude of teachers is an increased interest in him because of his mother. He is asked questions about the country: "What are the traditions there?". Curiosity. It is from teachers. They are interested in how a child is brought up in a family. He is additionally taken to a psychologist to find*

out what kind of atmosphere we have at home. (Alexandra, sons – 7 and 24)

Veronika said that teachers treat her and her daughter with special respect. Victoria said that her daughter differs from local children because of her upbringing, discipline and character, for which the teachers express special gratitude. Thus, it can be said that because of the individual qualities of the child, and because of a different approach to upbringing - as in Russian-speaking countries, the attitude towards the child is positive.

We have moved to another school; it has a volleyball bias and there is a special respect for us. Plus, I raised my daughter in our way, not in Turkish. That is why the teachers express gratitude to me as they do not have such a child in their school. Anyway, our discipline is different, the children here are different. Even though I raised her alone, I was able to raise her with a good character, she is disciplined, and I am very happy about this. (Veronika, daughter 12)

The attitude towards Ekaterina's children is positive, perhaps because they do not differ in appearance from Turkish children, and they know Turkish well. The teachers did not suspect that the children's mother was a foreigner and that the children had another native language, so they were pleasantly surprised. This indicates a positive perception of multilingualism and recognition of the value of knowledge of another language on the part of teachers. Ekaterina does not note any negative aspects or problems in relations with teachers in Turkey. This emphasizes the absence of discrimination or unfavourable situations related to their multiculturalism. On the contrary, in the educational environment of children, there is tolerance and openness of teachers to the diversity of cultures and languages.

My children do not differ from the Turks, there have never been any problems. In addition, in Turkey there are blue-eyed and blond; it is very difficult to distinguish by appearance. When the teachers found out that the mother was a foreigner, they were surprised at how well the children spoke and that the child had another native language too. There were no negative moments. (Ekaterina, son 14, daughter 17)

Luiza shared a story that happened at a parent-teacher meeting at her son's school. The teacher called her son a foreigner, and this offended Luiza, there was a misunderstanding in the definition of "foreigner". Luiza does not want her son to be considered a foreigner so that there is no rejection and aggression. She wants her son to be part of society, that is, the same as most of his Turkish classmates.

> *There was a parent-teacher meeting. One parent asked if there would be foreigners in the class. As it turned out later, this parent was referring to Arab children from Syria. The teacher said that there was a boy from Russia. I was glad, I thought that I would have to get to know this boy; my children fluently speak Russian. As a result, the teacher was referring to my son. It turned out that my son is a foreigner. But if you look at it that way, then the whole Ottoman Empire was full of foreigners. I do not know what exactly this teacher meant […]. I was offended when my son was called a foreigner at the meeting because I did not want him to be considered a foreigner. I want him to be in the team […]. The main thing is that there should be no anger and aggression and that they should not look at him as a foreigner. There should not be discrimination against children in general. These are just little things, but they hurt somewhere deep inside. (Luiza, son 6, daughter 11, newborn female)*

The teachers' attitude towards Luiza's daughter is very good, perhaps this is due to the daughter's personality, success and character, she is also an excellent student. When Luiza's youngest daughter was born, her daughter's teachers came to their home with flowers to congratulate them. This emphasizes the friendly relationship between teachers, parents, and daughters, regardless of the multiculturalism of mother and daughter. Luiza also emphasizes that, in general, the attitude of teachers towards their children is positive, except for some misunderstandings.

> *My daughter is also treated well by all teachers. The head teacher and the director were at our house. We are in touch. Even when the youngest daughter was born, they came to congratulate her with a bouquet. Maybe this was because the oldest daughter is calm and an excellent student. There are no problems with her. She is a proper and convenient child.*

Maybe it also affects. Teachers only praise. (Luiza, son 6, daughter 11, newborn female)

As for Olga, she decided to go to the first meeting with the teacher with the mother of her Turkish boyfriend. The boyfriend's mom used to work as a teacher, so she knew how to maintain communication. During the conversation, the teacher decided to find out who Olga came with. After that, as it seemed to Olga, all the teacher's prejudices and stereotypes about the Russian mother disappeared. The boyfriend's mother spoke about the Russian "daughter-in-law" only in a positive way. Thus, the support of the Turkish "mother-in-law" seemed to the teacher something serious.

The teacher did not treat me well at first, as she probably thought we were not serious with Mehmet. At the first meeting with the teacher, I went with Mehmet's mother. The teacher in the middle of the conversation asked if she was a neighbour, and Mehmet's mother said no. Then the teacher was shocked that to stand up for the Russian girl came a Turkish mother-in-law. Mehmet's mother was also a teacher, she knew how to communicate. After that, the teacher praised me and said it was good that we were together with Mehmet. Perhaps the teacher broke all stereotypes (laughing). (Olga, son 8)

When Olga communicated with the teacher, she also asked that her son not be treated as a foreigner who does not know the language, since the son already understood Turkish. This suggests that Olga wants an equal attitude of the teacher to her son, regardless of his nationality, language skills and abilities.

I also asked if they ask him in class - they do, as teachers may think "Well, he is a foreigner." He knows Turkish. Even the teacher said that she understands that he is a foreigner, so she tries to pay extra attention to him. (Olga, son 8)

Thus, it can be said that parents want fair treatment of their children as local ones. Support from teachers plays an important role in creating a positive school environment for Russian-speaking students in Turkey. Teachers' interest in the culture

and traditions of these children contributes to their well-being and also creates a multicultural and friendly classroom environment.

4.4 Classmates and friends of Russian-speaking children

In the study, I also paid attention to the study of the relationship between Russian-speaking children of their classmates and peers. In this part, I describe that the relationship between Russian-speaking children and friends can be diverse and depend on many factors: knowing of Russian and Turkish, personal characteristics of children, including appearance, the presence of common interests and values, cultural characteristics, and stereotypes.

Victoria said that the daughters of her Russian-speaking friends are friends of her youngest daughter, which can be explained by the fact that the children have a common language of communication, culture, and most likely common interests. The eldest daughter has also Turkish friends, which emphasizes the eldest daughter's openness to communicating with local children and knowing Turkish well. In general, the daughters have no negative experiences with their peers. Thus, it can be said that Victoria's children have a positive experience interacting with children in Turkey – both Russian-speaking and Turkish-speaking.

> *The younger one's friends are the children of my Russian–speaking friends. The oldest has Turkish friends, and they have a healthy interest in our culture. We did not have anything negative. (Victoria, daughters – 8 and 14)*

Olga noticed that the improvement in her son's Turkish language had a positive impact on his relationship with his peers. Her son began to feel more confident in communicating in Turkish and he easily finds a common language with his peers. It turns out that before that the child had a language barrier, which made it difficult to make contact and communicate with other children. That means that the level of proficiency in the local language plays an important role in the process of forming social ties and adapting to a new environment.

Relations with peers have also improved since the improvement of Turkish. (Olga, son 8)

Irina said that her daughter has both Russian-speaking and Turkish-speaking friends. Nevertheless, there were cases when her daughter was subjected to insults and name-calling by some children. This may be a sign that there is discrimination among children concerning foreigners in Turkey. Irina also said that for some period her daughter had difficulty expressing her thoughts in Turkish. Perhaps it happened after the parents' divorce, the daughter stayed with a Russian-speaking mother, not with a Turkish father. Nevertheless, Irina noted that there are also such friends who treated their daughter well despite her national origin. Irina also underlined that even if the child's parents are one foreigner and the other is local, the child may face national difficulties in the country of origin of one of the parents.

I talked to my daughter, and yes, there were moments, some children called her names. Called "pis rus, domuz eti" (dirty Russian, pork). Someone was good, someone was discriminatory […]. At that time, she was very offended. Everything is not so nice, even if you are half foreigner. Also, the daughter said that the language barrier was also. Sometimes she said, "kendimi ifade edemiyordum" (I could not express myself). (Irina, daughter 14)

Alexandra said that her son feels a sense of pride and satisfaction that he is different from his Turkish classmates. He likes that he attracts attention when he speaks to his mother in Russian in front of his classmates. Now the relationship between her son and his classmates is good, but she believes that in the future her son will have problems because of her mother's Russian nationality, since she knows similar stories. Alexandra, like some of the mothers interviewed, noted that the older the children get, the ruder they become. Nevertheless, she emphasized that it is possible to avoid this discrimination.

I would not say that there are difficulties. He is probably even proud that he is not like everyone else. He likes it because when I come to school, absolutely all the children and teachers look at me. They have curiosity,

because I speak a different language, and my son feels it; a privilege over his classmates, that he is different. He gets pleasure from it because he starts speaking Russian and shows everyone that we speak another language. I know that some children from my environment are hurt, but my son personally has not been affected by this yet. As he is still small. Children are cruel, they will then start using it against him. But it's not for 100%. (Alexandra, son 7)

Luiza's children sometimes face unpleasant moments. A classmate of the daughter and the brother of this classmate when discussing the daughter of Luiza call her Russian. Luiza does not like it, perhaps because sometimes "Russian" has a generalizing negative interpretation. Luiza suspects that the reason for this attitude is most likely related to the opinions and prejudices transmitted by the parents of Turkish children. This may be due to perceptions of nationality, religion and culture that create stereotypes and lead to discrimination. Luiza noted that there was a biased attitude towards her at parent-teacher meetings due to cultural and religious differences. When Turkish parents found out that even though Luiza is from Russia, at the same time she is a Muslim, the parents were pleasantly surprised by this. Based on this, it can be said that cultural and religious differences can lead to prejudice and discrimination, while their similarity can help to be accepted into society in the host country.

When her classmate and her brother discuss my daughter, they call her "Rus" (Russian). The daughter says that she is not Rus (laughing). Dad is Turkish, mom is Tatar. Since she knows a foreign language, they call her so. But I think it is not coming from the children but from their parents. At the beginning of the meeting with parents, I felt that I was treated as a foreigner, although I know Turkish well. It seems to me that it is more connected with religion, the fact that I am uncovered […]. Most likely they think that if I am from Russia, then I am a Christian. When they found out that I was a Muslim, they were so happy! (laughing). They are surprised that there are Muslims in Russia. (Luiza, son 6, daughter 11, newborn female).

Ludmila's eldest son looks like her and has an Asian appearance, and the youngest son looks like his dad. The eldest son arouses the interest of others because of his atypical appearance in Turkey. Because of the slanted eyes, peers had called him Chinese. However, after he said that he was a Turk, this interest disappeared. Ludmila also noted that after COVID-19, her children, especially the eldest son, became very popular because of his Asian appearance, he is called handsome. This trend started with the popularity of Korean pop culture and its wide representation in the media, leading to an increase in interest and attractiveness of Korean young people, especially among girls and teenagers, which may be related to the appearance, style and lifestyle represented by Korean pop culture.

I would not say that there were difficulties. The older one looks like me, he looks Asian, and because of this, he has issues. Children called him Chinese, because of his slanted eyes. The younger one looks more like dad. The elder still had some difficulty because he was different. But the children did not call it that out of spite. He said that when he called his name, he said that he was a Turk – this interest (interest in appearance) disappeared […].

After the pandemic, a new trend has emerged. Girls are now falling in love with Koreans. Now my children are doing well. The elder is very popular. Even my friends' children offer to take a walk. Gay pop culture or how they say it? He is told that he is handsome. In their case, if you are tall, then you are already handsome, despite your appearance. Well, curiosity in a good way. In high school, he used to say that everyone was looking at him. They came to look at the youngest son at school, and the bravest even asked if he was a foreigner, if he was Korean, if he knew Turkish.

Fashion looks will help reduce discrimination. It arouses positive interest. Well, I think it is interesting. My friends' children have posters on the walls, they say they are even going to marry them. But I think this fashion will pass. Fashion is changing. (Ludmila, sons – 14 and 17)

Based on the data, I can conclude that having a common culture and a common language of communication affects the friendship of Russian-speaking children in Turkey. It also helps to integrate into Turkish society. However, language barriers, cultural differences and discrimination also affect who Russian-speaking children communicate with.

4.5 Learning Russian and Turkish languages and their use in the family

According to the participants' statements, the language of children and families varies. Therefore, the language of children and families can be classified like this:

- children who moved to Turkey with their mothers, they know Russian better than Turkish, and their biological fathers are not Turks;

- children who know Russian better than Turkish, while their fathers are Turks;

- children who know Turkish better than Russian, while their fathers are Turks;

- children whose parents are divorced, whose fathers are Turks - some of them know Russian better than Turkish, others, on the contrary, know Turkish better than Russian;

- mothers who want the main language of communication between mother and child to be Russian, the fathers of these children are Turks;

- children who speak Russian and Turkish equally well, their fathers are Turks.

Learning and using languages in multilingual families is a complex process that depends on a variety of factors, such as relocation, family circumstances, cultural environment and personal preferences. In addition, the level of language proficiency (mainly knowledge of Turkish, since 18 children study in Turkish) affects the education of children and their academic achievements. Also, knowledge of the local language affects their social integration into Turkish society, since in most cases, Russian-speaking children have Russian-speaking friends.

Maria's daughter moved to Turkey during Covid-19, however, despite the limitations and difficulties caused by the pandemic, as well as difficulties in finding a tutor, Maria's daughter because of her efforts, her adaptation to a new environment, post-

Covid offline life, studying at a normal school, as well as active communication with peers allowed her to successfully master her Turkish and achieve good communication skills in it.

> *She learned Turkish with a tutor as the courses did not work because of COVID-19. She came to Turkey when there was Covid. […] It was difficult to find a qualified tutor. Until the moment when normal (offline) school was opened, it was hard for her. But then, when real people, real children, appeared, then it became easier for her. Now, her speaking is very decent. (Maria, daughter 14)*

Daria is married to a Turk, and they have children: a 12-year-old son and a 6-year-old daughter. Daria noted that her daughter speaks Turkish poorly and goes to a Russian kindergarten. She noted that her daughter started speaking late, at about 3.5 years old, unlike her son at 1.5 years old spoke Russian perfectly. After moving to Turkey, her daughter refused to speak Turkish. Moreover, the Turkish father, who knows the Russian language, began to speak with the daughter in Russian. Thus, the late development of the daughter's speech is an individual feature, the unwillingness to accept Turkish culture due to the spontaneous move to Turkey to the father's homeland and the use of only the mother's native language may be the reasons that the daughter does not speak Turkish well. Studying at a Turkish school may be the reason for the improvement of her daughter's Turkish.

> *My daughter goes to a Russian kindergarten. Unfortunately, she does not speak Turkish well. Before that, she went to an English kindergarden. When we moved here, she was 3.5 years old and she in general started talking late. At the age of 3, she started speaking Russian. My first child spoke perfect Russian at the age of 1.5 and chatted normally at 1.8, and my daughter began to speak only at the age of 3. When we moved here, the relocation was chaotic and stressful; she began to protest. She refused everything Turkish. Our dad made a mistake and started talking to her in Russian. He succumbed to her whims. So far, the daughter and husband speak Russian at home. That is why she did not learn Turkish like my son. Now she is in her last year of kindergarten, and most likely she will go to*

a Turkish school […]. We hope she will learn it there. (Daria, daughter 6, son 12)

Regarding the son, Daria said that although her son speaks Turkish as a native speaker, he has difficulties due to the lack of a Turkish language environment. Daria said that the presence of Russian culture prevails in their family since the husband spends a lot of time at work, and therefore, the children are not involved in Turkish culture in the same way as Turkish children. She noted that her children do not know various jokes, proverbs and expressions which are peculiar to Turkish culture, since children are mostly surrounded by Russian-speaking people, and her son, for instance, does not watch Turkish bloggers or Turkish cartoons. Consequently, even though Daria's son knows both Russian and Turkish well his Russian is richer.

Although my son knows Turkish, he speaks like a native speaker. But there are pitfalls there […]. We have problems with Turkish because my son does not live in a Turkish environment. So how do we live? Somewhere jokes, somewhere proverbs, some phraseological units. Turkish children know all these expressions and my son does not know that. Because dad is at work from morning till evening, and now our son has more Russian culture. He does not accept Turkish culture. He watches Russian bloggers. He also watches cartoons in Russian but does not watch them in Turkish […]. That is why he cannot explain some Turkish sayings. He speaks Turkish fluently; he is a 100% native speaker. There is nothing he does not understand. But we still live here in some kind of Russian society […]. The daughter goes to her grandparents, but the son is no longer interested in that […]. Well, he does not know in Turkish something like "not sewn mare's tail" (Russian says – good-for-nothing twit). My husband will not understand it although he knows Russian very well. (Daria, daughter 6, son 12)

Daria believes that her daughter is most likely pretending that she does not know Turkish. She said that her husband sometimes mixes Russian and Turkish when talking to the daughter. This suggests that most likely Turkish speech in everyday life can affect the improvement of language skills. Daria's husband knows Russian and English too, and when they communicate, they mix Russian and English. The husband and son

speak Turkish, and sometimes the son speaks English with both parents. The son's use of several languages, including English, which is not the native language of any parent, may be the result of communication with people of different nationalities or high-quality English classes at the school.

> *My daughter knows Russian, but I guess she understands Turkish too. Just masquerading. My husband speaks Russian fluently. My husband and I communicate very interestingly – in Russian, English, mix languages. He and the son communicate in Turkish. With the daughter (father speaks) both in Russian and in Turkish. Also, the son is starting to speak English with us. Once, when we were abroad, one man could not stand it, came up and asked: "What language do you speak?!" (Daria, daughter 6, son 12)*

Elza is married to a Turk and their children know Turkish better than Russian. Their family lived in a Russian-speaking country before moving to Turkey, however, her children now know Turkish better than Russian. Several factors influenced this: The family lived with the children's Turkish grandmother (with Elza's mother-in-law) for one year, and Turkish relatives came to visit them. Moreover, Elza noted that she sometimes communicated with children in Turkish and assumed that was her mistake. Until now, sometimes Elza answers the children in Turkish. Considering all these facts, it becomes obvious why the Turkish language is in priority for children. However, Elza noted that before the pandemic, her children went to Russian language courses, which shows the desire to maintain the mother's native language. She also said that her daughter knows Russian better than her son. Perhaps this is because the daughter spent more years in a Russian-speaking country than the son who was born after the daughter.

> *We lived with my mother-in-law for a year, and there was no way to avoid speaking Turkish. Turkish relatives were coming. Secondly, the son went to a Turkish kindergarten, where he spoke Turkish. When we moved to Turkey, it was my fault that I answered my son in Turkish. He understands 90% of what I say to him in Russian, and he speaks 50-60% Russian but with an accent. The daughter knows much better – she understands 100% and speaks 90%. I took them to Russian language courses. But since the*

pandemic started, we stopped going to courses. Now we are all going to continue studying Russian […]. Children know Turkish better than Russian; in most cases, we speak Turkish in the family. Among themselves, sometimes I speak Turkish automatically, and this is part of my fault. If I always spoke to them in Russian, then we would not have such a problem. In Russian, my husband knows "Hello, how are you". (Elza, son 9, daughter 11)

Victoria is raising two daughters alone after her divorce from her Turkish husband. She said her daughters know Russian better than Turkish. Victoria especially focused on her younger daughter, who knows Russian better than Turkish. The youngest daughter prefers to watch cartoons in Russian. Also, the youngest daughter does not know some Turkish words and makes Turkish sentences based on Russian logic. Victoria emphasized that it may have been influenced by the divorce from her Turkish dad, which is why her daughter has less opportunity to practice Turkish. The youngest daughter went to a private Turkish kindergarten, but the pandemic began, which is why Victoria and her daughters spent time together and spoke Russian at home. Victoria also said that her eldest daughter loves Russia. Initially, she had difficulties in making Turkish sentences, however, it passed over time.

We speak Russian at home, and their (daughters') Russian is better than Turkish. The youngest one for sure. The older one is better (Turkish than the younger daughter's). Also, they watch cartoons in Russian. Therefore, the youngest daughter does not understand many Turkish words. If she had full-fledged communication in Turkish, then she would have a father and a Turkish family, and it would be easier for her. Although she went to a private Turkish kindergarten, then the pandemic began. We were all at home and spoke Russian[...]. But the youngest daughter has a good Russian without an accent. The older one doesn't have an accent either, and she loves Russia very much. The younger one sometimes confuses words in a sentence, she has more Russian logic in the making of a sentence. The older one had it too, but it passed. (Victoria, daughters - 8 and 14)

It is noteworthy that Veronika's daughter, even though her parents are divorced (the father is a Turk) knows Turkish better than Russian. Perhaps this is because Victoria has two daughters who can speak Russian which is comfortable for both of them.

> *My daughter speaks Turkish well, she has an accent in Russian. (Veronika, daughter 12)*

Among the mothers were those who said that they would not speak to their children and husbands (they understand Russian) in Turkish, since these mothers can speak their native language without an accent, and they can convey the desired idea without difficulty. It can also be a sign of the preservation of the mother's native language and culture in her children who do not live in the mother's homeland. In Zlata's family, the son speaks Turkish with his dad, and Russian with his mom. If some do not understand Russian during the conversation, then Zlata speaks Turkish, this can be assessed as a manifestation of flexibility in communication and a sign of adaptation in the country of residence, that is, in her husband's homeland. As for communication between Zlata and her husband, her husband knows Russian, so when they chat, both partners speak their native languages.

> *He speaks Turkish to Dad, and Russian to me. Even if I knew Turkish very well, why would I speak to a child in a foreign language? With an accent, and incorrect pronunciation. I have a language that I know perfectly. I will only talk to my son in this language. When the three of us talk with someone, we speak Turkish. I also speak Russian with my husband, and he answers me in Turkish. I cannot speak Turkish with my husband, and I will not. I cannot express everything I want in Turkish; I do not have enough words. But we understand each other. (Zlata, sons – 5 and 8)*

Luiza's children speak Russian and Turkish equally well, and their dad is Turkish. Initially, the children spoke better in Russian, as they mostly spent time with their mother and grandmother from the mother's side. Besides, the father spent a lot of time at work. The Turkish language caught up in kindergarten. It turned out the way Luiza imagined. Thus, both languages are used in the family depending on the context of

communication. When the children are with their father, they speak Turkish, with their mother – in Russian, and when they are all together, they communicate in Turkish.

> *My daughter knows Russian and knows the grammar perfectly […]. She speaks without an accent. Turkish is a native language […] The son speaks Russian and Turkish fluently and speaks without an accent […]. The first language of children is Russian. Dad was often on work trips, and I spoke Russian with the children. My mom was here too, and we also went to Russia, and there were no Turkish relatives nearby. Turkish is the second language […]. I thought that my children would learn Russian first, they would learn Turkish at school. That is how it happened. In kindergarten, they made up for Turkish. Young children catch on quickly. The kids and dad speak Turkish, with me in Russian and when we are all together then in Turkish. (Luiza, son 6, daughter 11, newborn female)*

The language of communication in the family depends on various factors, including the level of proficiency in Turkish and Russian of all family members, the language environment, the presence or absence of a Turkish father, and personal circumstances. The use of both Russian and Turkish languages with the support of the family can contribute to the successful mastery of both languages if the family is complete. In case of divorce, the level of language proficiency depends on the circumstances, in this case, it may turn out that the proficiency of one language may be better than the other. However, under the conditions that both languages will be used in the family and additional language courses or because of self-study at home, in this case, there is a chance that a Russian-speaking child will be equally proficient in Russian and Turkish.

4.6 Academic Achievement of Russian-speaking children in Turkey

To analyze the academic performance of children of Russian-speaking mothers, it is important to consider several factors: the language of study, the curriculum, homework, and the role of parents in the education of children.

4.6.1 Language proficiency and academic performance

In this part, I analyze data on the academic performance of Russian-speaking children in Turkey. As it turned out, it depends on many factors: language skills, the degree of adaptation, the ability to learn new teaching methods and support from parents – more detailed information about the role of parents I described in the next part. Differences between the educational systems of the CIS countries and Turkey can create both pros and cons, and it is important to evaluate them in the context of the individual needs and characteristics of each child.

In the case of Maria, her daughter has faced difficulties in understanding terminology in Turkish in some subjects, such as chemistry, physics, and the art of history, as understanding natural sciences can cause difficulties even in the native language if the child is stronger in the humanities. Despite this, Maria's daughter, thanks to her efforts and assimilation into the Turkish environment graduated from high school on an average on par with Turkish students. However, difficulties in understanding terminology continue at the lyceum.

> *She graduated from high school normally, at the level with Turkish children. Yes, she had the lowest passing score, but she had it. There are difficulties with the language, where there is chemistry and physics. It is hard even if you study in your native language, especially if you do not have a mathematical mindset. Complex words, of course, are in such subjects as literature, and art history […] she does not understand them. But again, she has no points lower than 60 points. (Maria, daughter 14)*

According to the participants, subjects in Turkey and Russian-speaking countries are different. Veronika said that in elementary grades, the subjects are relatively not different, but somewhere from the beginning of the studies in high school, the subjects began to differ markedly. Even though Veronika has good Turkish, she experienced difficulties in understanding the questions posed in the tasks that were given to her daughter for doing homework. Veronika doubted her academic abilities and suggested that this could be because she had not studied for a long time and the training system had changed. However, when she talked to her Russian-speaking friends in Turkey,

whose children have already grown up and who have already passed this stage, she learned that they and their children also faced difficulties in understanding tasks. Therefore, it can be assumed that the problem of misunderstanding the assignment arises not because of the academic abilities of the parents, but because of the different approaches to teaching in Russian-speaking countries and Turkey.

> *The subjects are very different. From 1st to 4th grade, everything was about the same as ours, but from 4th to 5th grade I did homework with my daughter, and I just did not understand the questions, although I have good Turkish. I did not understand the idea. I thought maybe because I had not studied for a long time, and they somehow asked questions differently […]. When I asked my girls (Russian-speaking women in Turkey), whose children are already adults, they laughed at me and said, "Welcome to our club!" (they did not understand the tasks either). (Veronika, daughter 12)*

On the other hand, Olga's son is in the 2nd grade and according to her observations, subjects such as mathematics and languages have similar content to the Russian school. Nevertheless, the approaches and logic of learning in the Turkish system differ, which makes it difficult for both the child and the mother to understand the task. Olga noted that the formulation of questions in Turkish tasks is based on a different type of logic, different from the logic that exists in education in Russian-speaking countries. This is also confirmed by the mathematics teacher, with whom Olga's son has additional mathematics classes. It is worth noting that the tutor is familiar with math, which is taught in Russian-speaking countries, and with mathematics in Turkey. A tutor who has experience working in two countries cannot say which logic is better, it is simply the logic is different. Thus, it can be said that the Turkish education system has its peculiarities in approach and logic, especially in subjects such as mathematics. Russian-speaking students moving from a Russian school to a Turkish one and vice versa may need additional time and effort to adapt to this logic because the questions in the assignments are based on.

> *My son is in the 2nd grade […]. I noticed that the subjects are similar: mathematics, and language. But the approach and logic are different […]. It was hard for me to understand the logic of the tasks, and how questions*

are posed. The tutor said that if we decide to return home, it is better to do it not after a long period, as his logic will get used to Turkish mathematics, to the formulation of questions as they are very "twisted". In Russian-speaking schools, they teach differently. She told me as a person who has worked in two countries. I do not know where logic is better. Just logic is different. (Olga, son 8)

Olga also said that her son has a subject where socio-cultural features that are peculiar to Turkey are studied. This may indicate that Turkey pays great attention to the preservation of its cultural heritage and the formation of national identity among the younger generation.

They have "hayat bilgisi" – it is something like our "man and the world". There they are told how to behave in nature and some social moments that surprised me. Interestingly, they have been studying culture since elementary school. Once we read a poem about hospitality […]. Apparently, this is some kind of special Turkish cultural thing, something like: "Sister, bring the slippers faster!" - because in Turkey everyone wears slippers. "Bring a clean towel! Prepare börek…". (Olga, son 8)

However, not all such examples from Turkish life can be understood by Russian-speaking mothers and their children.

The question was, "When someone from the family goes to the army, what should we do?" It was a strange question for me, and my son did not know the answer. It seems to me that he should not know the answer to such a question at the age of 7. (Zlata, sons – 5 and 8)

The mothers noted that in Turkey there is a subject of "Din dersi" (religion), which involves the study of religious teachings, but in fact, Islam is mainly studied there, based on the fact that surahs are taught there. This subject is compulsory from the 4th grade in a Turkish school. According to Victoria, many Turkish children have been studying religion since childhood, which creates a difference in the level of knowledge and understanding of educational material on this subject. As it was noted earlier Victoria is raising two children alone after her divorce from her Turkish husband. So,

for her eldest daughter, the study of religion is difficult and causes difficulties. Therefore, Victoria decided to change her daughter's religion on her Turkish identification card from Muslim to Christian (the religion of Victoria). Exemption from studying this subject based on another religion is a common practice, which facilitates the child's education and does not affect their overall academic performance. It also allows Russian-speaking families to adapt and preserve their religion in the context of the Turkish school curriculum.

> *There is Din (Religious Studies). The oldest daughter went to the 7th grade, then she said that it was very difficult for her, she had to learn surahs there, I do not understand anything about it. Now she only goes to classes, but she does not have to take the Religion exam. We took "muaf" (exemption from the subject of Religion because of being a representative of other religion than Islam). In the ID we wrote that she is a Christian. My friends also do it. This subject starts in the 4th grade. And yet, many Turkish children have been studying religion since childhood, so it is easier for them. It is difficult for my daughter. (Victoria, daughters – 8 and 14)*

Luiza noted that in Turkey, in secondary school, one subject includes 3 different disciplines, and they are studied separately each academic quarter, while in comparison with the curriculum in the CIS countries it has an introductory character (for instance, biology, chemistry and physics are studied as separate subjects; history and geography too). However, Luiza noted that in high school these disciplines are studied in more detail and as separate subjects. She said that she likes a more relaxed attitude to studying in Turkey, compared to studying in Russian-speaking countries, as it helps to avoid unnecessary stress and tension in the learning process.

> *Fen – physics, chemistry, biology; I like this system. They study biology for one term, chemistry for the second, and then physics. Subjects are studied in more depth at the lyceum as separate subjects. Now there is an introduction. Sosyal – geography and history are together […]. In Turkey, there is no such thing that everyone should know everything […]. My mother was surprised, but it is fine for me […] they treat it easier here […] they don't strain here. (Luiza, son 6, daughter 11, newborn female)*

Luiza was pleasantly surprised that students at the school write with a pencil throughout their studies. In Russian-speaking schools, students usually write with a pen, which makes children feel more responsible and fear of making mistakes. The use of a pencil rather than a pen in Turkish schools is another difference between education in Turkey and in Russian-speaking countries.

> *I was surprised that they wrote with a pencil. I thought it was like this in elementary school. But they do it in high school too. If you make a mistake, you can erase and correct it. We (in CIS countries) did not have such an opportunity, we wrote with a pen – in this case, the child probably has more responsibilities. It turns out that you cannot make a mistake. (Luiza, son 6, daughter 11, newborn female)*

Alexandra also noted the advantages of the Turkish education system and mentioned that children in Turkey are more socially developed compared to children living in CIS countries. This may indicate differences in the approach to socialization and the development of social skills in the Turkish educational system. Also, Alexandra noted that it is just her opinion that children from CIS countries are more "closed".

> *In Russia, we do not have such an education […]. In Turkey, children are very developed in terms of society. Our children are more hammered. But this is just my opinion. (Alexandra, sons – 7 and 24)*

Elza considered that it makes no sense to compare Soviet education with Turkish education and noted that migrants should be prepared for this. This indicates an awareness of the existing differences between educational systems. Elza also noticed differences in the approach of the test regarding the assimilation of educational material. In the education system of the CIS countries, it is usually necessary to write detailed answers to questions, while in the Turkish system, testing prevails. Elza also underlined such shortcomings of the Turkish educational system, such as a lack of sports, lack of discipline and responsibility. She believes that it is important to teach children this from childhood.

> *I think it makes no sense to compare our Soviet education with the Turkish one. You have to be ready for this […]. We know everything a little bit*

(concerning courses) […]. If you have a question, then you should write the answer in detail […]. They have a test education here, which I do not like at all. Very little physical education. They do not have "to clean up after yourself". It is necessary to introduce discipline and responsibility […] from childhood. I think this is a big minus (huge disadvantage). (Elza, son 9, daughter 11)

Thus, if a child has experience of education in Russian-speaking countries, then in this case, learning in Turkish and differences in educational approaches can cause both difficulties and opportunities for the development of a Russian-speaking child. Adaptation and successful education in Turkey are influenced by both the individual abilities of the child and the role of parents. However, even when the children were born in Turkey, they also faced difficulties. Mothers noted that there are differences in the school programs of Turkey and the CIS countries and the comparison of the quality of the two educational systems has an individual character. Also, mothers mentioned that they cannot always help their children. The role of parents in the education of Russian-speaking children is discussed below. Finally, there is a tendency that in the case when the child's parents are divorced and the mother is a Christian, the family decides to make an exemption from the subject of Religion, where Islam is mainly studied.

4.6.2 The role of parents in children's education

In this part, I provide the data obtained during the questions about the role of parents in the education of children, parents help in doing homework, as this also affects academic performance. In addition to the fact that the educational system differs in the CIS countries and Turkey, it is also necessary to consider such points as the level of Turkish proficiency of the child and the parent.

Some parents believe that motivation and discipline are more important than helping their children with homework. Gulnaz is sure that the child should independently cope with homework. She noted that her responsibility is to ensure discipline and motivation for her daughter. Gulnaz also said that she tries to explain to her daughter the understanding of the importance of doing homework and insists on order and

organization. Gulnaz is the motivation for her daughter. The daughter sees that her mother is constantly engaged in writing work and maintains neatness and order in her workspace. Gulnaz also mentioned that motivation should not be associated with a material reward.

> *I think that the daughter should cope with homework. On my part, she needs discipline and motivation. It is important to organize her homework process. She needs to be made to understand that now you are sitting down and doing homework […]. I do not motivate my child in any way. She constantly comes into my office and sees that I am writing something in my notebooks […]. She says that everything I have here is nice and neat. Then I say that she can also create such an atmosphere for herself. There is a personal example. I do not have a habit of giving my daughter something if she does her homework. I always let her know that she does it for herself, not for me. (Gulnaz, daughters - 4 and 7)*

On the contrary, some parents think that they must do homework with their children. Alexandra believes that parental help when doing homework plays an essential role since at this moment the child opens up in communication if the parent asks leading questions. In this way, parents can find out how the child is doing at school, and in that case, parents can support and help. Also, they find out what place the child occupies in society, whether they help their classmates, or they help them. Alexandra believes that parents are responsible for the education of the child and their school life and that it is wrong to shift responsibility to teachers.

> *I help with homework. I think that parents should help the child to do homework as at that moment there is the most open contact with the child, he opens up. He talks about the atmosphere in the classroom, about love or not love for a certain teacher. He unconsciously expresses his feelings and emotions […]. Asking leading questions such as "In which position are you in terms of understanding the subject?" […] the child evaluates whether this subject is given to him easily or difficult. And here, for example, there is Zeynep, who does not understand anything, and he helps her. Then you understand his position in society. Does he belong to the*

leader or is he downtrodden, whether he has friends or not? It is all like a game. A competent intelligent parent will learn all the information they need, if they need it and are interested in it. Many parents shift their responsibility to teachers […]. It was not the teacher who wanted this child, but the parent. Therefore, the parent needs to participate in the life of the school, then the child feels more protected and confident. You can help a child through dialogue. (Alexandra, sons – 7 and 24)

For mothers, one of the benefits of doing homework with a child(ren) is learning and practicing Turkish. As Zlata helps her son with homework, at the same time, she is improving her Turkish, as she and her son translate tasks from Turkish to Russian, and then the answers from Russian to Turkish. It turns out that helping with homework becomes an opportunity for both a Russian-speaking mother and a child to develop language skills.

I help with homework […]. I also studied in three grades at a Turkish school (laughing). I first do the translation and explain in Russian. Then he should be able to explain it in Turkish. But this has its advantages. He can make a logically normal translation, just like real interpreters from Russian to Turkish and from Turkish to Russian. While we were translating, I also improved my Turkish […]. (Zlata, sons – 5 and 8)

Olga helps her son with homework if he first does his homework on his own, and he has difficulties, then she helps. Besides, Olga's boyfriend also helps the son. He explains the tasks in a more understandable way in Turkish, which makes it easier to understand and complete homework.

I help him do homework. I just ask him to do what he can, and we are doing difficult tasks together. I checked what he did. Mehmet with great pleasure helps him, he paraphrases tasks and explains them. (Olga, son 8)

Maria's daughter has reached such a level of understanding of school material, that Maria cannot help with homework anymore. This may be due both to the improvement of her daughter's Turkish language – the use of certain terminology in Turkish, and the complication of the school curriculum, which also Maria noted.

> *I do not do homework with my daughter anymore, because now she understands school moments better than I do. My Turkish is already not enough for her courses. Moreover, the area of subjects is drawing. (Maria, daughter 14)*

Finally, some parents are sure that children should do homework on their own. Ekaterina quoted the words of her daughter's first teacher, who said that if a child has difficulties with homework, then the child should tell the teacher about it so that she understands what the difficulty is and solves the issue. According to Ekaterina, the role of a parent in the child's education is to support and monitor the completion of homework.

> *The role of the parent in the child's education is that the parent should direct and ask if the homework has been done. If there are difficulties, the teacher should help. When we sent the child to the first grade, we were told not to read with the child and not to teach anything, because the teacher would teach the child. (Ekaterina, son 14, daughter 17)*

Thus, some parents actively help their children with homework, since at that moment children can share their impressions about the atmosphere at school and in the classroom, about interaction with teachers and classmates. Other parents helped their children to do their homework, but at some point, they stopped because their language proficiency in Turkish was not enough. Moreover, even if the parents know Turkish well, they cannot help, because the tasks become more difficult, and the difference in the education systems of Turkey and the CIS countries becomes obvious. Finally, most mothers believe that children should have discipline, and motivation, and do their homework, and if difficulties arise, ask teachers. Anyway, all children, in some cases, turn to their parents for help, but in most cases, Russian-speaking mothers cannot help their children. Thus, the academic performance of Russian-speaking children depends on themselves and their mothers' level of Turkish proficiency, and on their mother's previous educational experience, which is why it may be lower compared to local children's.

4.7 Maintaining Russian identity in Turkey

Attendance at sports classes, and Russian language classes, through attending events in Russian, maintaining traditions and celebrating holidays inherent in the culture of a Russian-speaking mother play a key role in preserving Russian identity among Russian-speaking families living in Turkey. This not only helps children stay connected to their mother's native culture and promotes their personal and cultural development in a multicultural environment, but also emphasizes their Russian identity.

Daria in her story emphasized the relationship of Russian identity and visiting various extracurricular activities. Even though the family lives in Turkey and the children are brought up in a multicultural environment, they retain an active Russian identity, as do Russian-speaking children in the CIS countries. In addition, Russian language classes and theatre classes contribute to the preservation of cultural roots and language skills. Moreover, a variety of additional activities, such as skating, gymnastics, and fencing, emphasize the interest in various activities, that develop the interests of children, and contribute to the formation of their "Russian" identity. Daria also noted that her son learns poems, thereby becoming involved in art, which allows him to develop an aesthetic perception of the world, which is also popular among Russian-speaking people.

> *Of course, my children go to the sections, ours (Russian-speaking) all go (have extracurricular activities). Both additionally study Russian. My daughter goes to a theatre studio in Rossotrudnichestvo (Federal Agency for the Commonwealth of Independent States Affairs, Compatriots Living Abroad, and International Humanitarian Cooperation), for figure skating and gymnastics. My son every week learns a poem; I insist on this so that he gets used to something beautiful at least a little bit. He also does fencing. (Daria, daughter 6, son 12)*

Ludmila from the youngest age of her sons began to take them to additional Russian language classes, which became the basis for further study and development of language skills, as they continued to study Russian. Ludmila

noted that she insisted on reading Russian literature, memorizing poems, and participating in Russian-language events. Such activities made it possible to study and develop language skills and maintain cultural ties. In the middle classes her sons began to ask the question "Why do we study Russian?", but after a while doubts about the values of learning Russian began to disappear. When the oldest son worked twice using Russian and English, he began to realize that thanks to his knowledge of foreign languages, he has more opportunities in terms of career and making acquaintances. Thus, it can be said that understanding the benefits of language learning creates a natural motivation for bilingual children to learn languages.

> *When they were 4-5 years old, I started taking them to Russian language courses and they still go to Russian classes […]. Initially, it was something entertaining for them: they liked to play during breaks with others, so they accepted it […]. In the middle grades, they wondered why they should study Russian, because they already spoke Russian, and they did not want to do their homework […] I made them read books for 1 hour. Except on Sunday, they did not come into contact with Russian literature; they taught poems. I took them to all Russian events – March 8, Maslenitsa, birthdays, New Year, Children's Day, there were Easter picnics. If a Russian-speaking theatre came, for example, I took them there […] Now they are studying Russian with understanding. The eldest son worked at the hotel for 2 seasons, precisely because of his knowledge of English and Russian, and he liked it because he made a lot of acquaintances knowing these languages. Now I do not need to explain that we are going to an event. Now he is registering himself, learning poetry, and preparing for Russian-language events. (Ludmila, sons – 14 and 17)*

As for Ludmila's younger son, he sees that his older brother went abroad to the event because he actively participated in Russian-speaking events in Turkey, and he knows several languages. This aroused the younger son's interest in learning languages and participating in such events on his own. Moreover, once Ludmila's youngest son saw that mother received money for the translation, for the work she did due to her knowledge of the Russian language. This surprised him and became another motivation for learning foreign languages, as he saw

the financial benefits of using a foreign language. Thus, I can say that understanding the values of knowledge of various languages, including foreign ones, arouses the interest of bilingual children to study them.

> *The younger one sees that the older one went abroad once, once to Antalya to the camp, and he was taken there because of his active participation in events. Now the younger one has stopped resisting; he also goes to events with a desire. He also goes to English. Even when tired, he takes the bus after school […]. The oldest son realized that knowledge of Russian and English languages can be earned […]. Once I had to go to work, I had an individual translation […] for less than an hour, and my son was with me […]. He saw that after translation […], I signed and received the money […]. Then he realized that knowledge of the Russian language brings money. (Ludmila, sons – 14 and 17)*

Ekaterina said that her children studied the Russian language, literature, and geography in the Russian Culture Association, which helped to preserve the connection with Russian traditions and culture. Her children were surrounded by other Russian-speaking children, which also helped to form social ties and find common interests. Ekaterina also said that she communicates with both Turkish and Russian speakers, but she noted that she communicates more closely with Russian people because of a common mentality and interests. It can be said that Ekaterina is open to communication with Turks, and at the same time keeps in touch with Russian-speaking people.

> *The Russian language was studied by children in the Association of Russian Culture […]. They also study their geography and literature in Russian [...] We have a large Russian diaspora here, and, I won't say that I don't communicate with locals, I communicate with Russian speakers, because the mentality is closer. No matter how we assimilate here, our traditions and interests coincide more than with Turkish women or Turks. I have friends and colleagues from Turkey […] (Ekaterina, son 14, daughter 17)*

Ekaterina also shared that she has a desire to preserve Russian traditions and holidays, so she moved the holidays that she celebrated in her homeland to her family in Turkey to maintain ties with her native culture. It also speaks of Ekaterina's desire to pass on traditions to her children and keep in touch with Russian culture. Moreover, Ekaterina introduced Russian traditions into her Turkish family, and as for her, Turkish relatives have positively accepted the traditions of a foreign daughter-in-law. Moreover, Ekaterina's husband's parents love her so much and it may be because of her tolerant and respectful attitude to the culture and traditions of her Turkish husband. In addition, Ekaterina said that not all Russian–speaking brides have a positive experience of living in Turkey; one of the reasons is learning Turkish.

> *We are celebrating the New Year. I also introduced a birthday celebration, because they do not consider it as a holiday, while we do. We celebrate Christmas somewhere with girls from the Diaspora […]. March 8 – in my Turkish family, it was not customary to celebrate March 8, I got used to the fact that you need to buy flowers and give them to me, my mother-in-law and all the girls that we have in the family. It turns out that I transferred my traditions to a Turkish family. They accepted these innovations positively. I can boast that I am a favourite gelin (bride). But also, I did not feel uncomfortable, because I already knew Turkish when I came to Turkey […].80% of our compatriots are doing well […] our people have problems with Turkish, it is hard. (Ekaterina, son 14, daughter 17)*

Based on the analysis, it follows that attending various extracurricular activities in the field of sports and art are features of the identity of Russian-speaking children in Turkey. The preservation of traditions peculiar to the mother's culture is expressed through the study of the Russian language and the celebration of holidays, showing their integration into Turkish life. Moreover, maintaining both Russian and Turkish traditions is considered a successful integration.

4.8 Plans for Russian-speaking children

In this part, the plans of children and parents regarding the future of children are considered. There were no time and space restrictions, so the parents touched on topics such as university studies, country of residence and profession.

Victoria's youngest daughter wants to live in Russia, but her ideas about this country are limited, as she comes to visit her grandparents for summer holidays in the summer and spends time at the dacha, riding horses. As Victoria noted, the youngest daughter has not seen the Russian winter, snow. As for the eldest daughter, she has a more realistic idea of Russia, since she is older. Victoria's oldest daughter wants to be a flight attendant, but her interests change from time to time. Knowledge of Russian, Turkish and English can be useful in the future professional career of Victoria's eldest daughter. It is also worth noting that Victoria's youngest daughter knows Russian better than Turkish. The oldest daughter also knows Russian better, but her level of Turkish is better than her younger sister's.

> *The youngest plans to live in Russia. She loves to spend time in Russia, but what she sees there: she comes there in the summer, to the village. There are animals. Grandfather works at the racetrack, so, you can stroke horses, and ride. Russia is a holiday for her. But she has no idea that Russia also has schools, winter, cold. The oldest one understands everything. She wants to become a flight attendant because she knows languages such as Turkish, Russian, and English. But we will see because preferences are constantly changing. (Victoria, daughters – 8 and 14)*

Alexandra expressed a desire for her son to study abroad. As for her, the children of the new generation do not experience the same restrictions and obstacles in travelling and choosing a place of study as the previous generations. Moreover, her son speaks at least two languages: Turkish and Russian. Nevertheless, the choice of the country of study will depend on the preferences of the son, and the financial capabilities of her husband too.

> *There is such freedom of choice, but probably it will depend on how much his father will earn. But we would like him to study abroad, as his school*

has exchange programs, and children can automatically study in any country. They have additional languages for this too […]. He is from a new generation who is not tied to anything. My husband and I are from a generation when going abroad was something like fiction, not easy. Children of this generation live in such a way that they can easily go anywhere. (Alexandra, sons – 7 and 24)

Ludmila's eldest son went to an international camp in Turkey and a gathering of compatriots in Moscow, and it was probably this experience that formulated a strong desire to study abroad, as he saw opportunities that could be available in other countries. Ludmila notes that in Turkey, in general, young people want to study abroad, as it is difficult to enroll in local universities. That is why Turkish youth consider studying abroad as an alternative option. However, this may not be the only reason, but it needs to have more information. Ludmila also said that she plans to support her children – to cover the costs of accommodation, flights, and pocket expenses, if the children go to university after winning a scholarship. Ludmila also believes that boys after reaching adulthood should earn money, and provide for themselves, so she will not pay for the education of her sons at the university. If the sons are not enrolled in the university for free, then they will have to go to work. And finally, Ludmila supports her children in choosing a career path but requires them to be independent and responsible for their future.

Children's plans? Or do I have any plans for children? […]. Last year he went to an international (event) […]. There were guys from different countries. I think that after the experiences he has a strong desire to study abroad. He has already checked which exams to take – I do not interfere with that […]. He said that he did not want to study in Turkey. But I noticed that modern youth has such a thing – "Oh, study abroad!" Although if you study seriously here, there are good universities too. But it is hard to get into them […]. The younger son does not talk about studying abroad yet […]. My plans for the children are to let them choose their direction, because I think it should be a favorite job […]. I will always help. But I say that I will not pay for their education […]. If they want to go abroad,

then they should look for grants and scholarships. If they do so, then I will cover accommodation, will give pocket money, and I will pay for tickets. If they don't, they will go to work. Boys after the age of 18 must earn and provide for themselves. (Ludmila, sons - 14 and 17)

Luiza's husband is in favour of their daughter getting a higher education in the same city or country where her parents live so that they are "in sight". This reflects the husband's reverent attitude towards their daughter and relates to his Muslim beliefs. The son, on the other hand, has no restrictions in terms of the country of study. However, Luiza considers that her children will study in Europe. This indicates openness and willingness to seek the best educational opportunities for their children, despite gender expectations. In addition, it is worth noting that Luiza studied at the University of Turkey. Thus, gender expectations can influence children's educational choices due to the cultural influence of parents.

In terms of higher education, maybe even to Europe. Dad allows the son to go wherever he wants, but as for the daughter, he says that daughters should be in the same country and the same city so that they are visible. Here is such a reverent attitude of the husband to our daughter, this Muslim position is felt. Let's see how it turns out in the future. (Luiza, son 6, daughter 11, newborn female). Thus, the plans of Russian-speaking children regarding further education, profession, and country of residence depend on various factors, such as academic achievements, language skills, financial capabilities of parents and gender expectations of parents.

To sum up, during the analysis, various aspects of the move of Russian-speaking mothers to Turkey and its impact on the adaptation of both mothers and their children were considered. The study revealed various reasons for moving, including the desire to find the best conditions for the interviewed mothers and their children, as well as the formation of intercultural relations and marriages with Turkish men. Family roles and the work of mothers in Turkey have a significant impact on the adaptation process of the mothers.

Language adaptation of children is important for successful integration into a new educational and socio-cultural environment. Learning Turkish is an important aspect of adaptation, and support and motivation from parents contribute to the language development of children.

The preservation of the Russian language and culture in multilingual families plays an important role in preserving personal identity and connection with the cultural heritage on the mother's side. Flexibility in communication and the use of different languages depending on the context is a common practice in multicultural families.

Mutual understanding and interaction between cultures play an important role in the successful adaptation and formation of a positive environment for Russian-speaking mothers and their children in Turkey. The active participation of parents, teachers and classmates in this process contributes to the successful adaptation and education of children in a multicultural society. Support for the preservation of language and culture plays an important role in the formation of national identity and the successful social integration of migrant children.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis was to identify the difficulties Russian-speaking children in Turkey, which they face in the learning process and Turkish society when communicating with the locals. To study this topic, I conducted a qualitative study using the semi-structured interview method. Before the interview, I studied literature, which helped me to immerse myself in the topic of multicultural education and upbringing, the process of integration. Since the children studied were under 18 years old, the study participants were their mothers – Russian-speaking mothers. Therefore, it was reasonable to study the life experience of Russian-speaking mothers in Turkey, since the experience of parents and children is interrelated, as the children studied are migrants of the first and second generations. Considering the above topics that I planned to study, I have compiled a list of questions for the interview (Appendices A, B). It is worth noting that this list was not exhaustive, as it was assumed that other questions would appear during the interview. This is the advantage of a semi-structured interview. After the questions were drawn up, I started looking for participants. Since I live in Ankara, I had Russian-speaking acquaintances who had children and who met the requirements of the study. Then, using the snowball method, I found other participants. My friends contacted their friends with an offer to take part in scientific research. After their consent, my friends sent me the phone numbers of the contending participants with their permission. I sent them a pre-prepared text (Appendices E, F) with information about the study. After their consent, we agreed on the date and time of the interview. All interviews with 15 participants were conducted online, as this was the most optimal format for participating mothers. At the beginning of the interview, I read out the consent text on participation in the study and on the further use of obtained data in scientific papers and other educational works (Appendices C, D). The interviews lasted an average of one hour. All conversations with the permission of the participants were recorded on a dictaphone.

Mother's moving to Turkey

In the first part, the reasons for the relocation of Russian-speaking mothers to Turkey were carried out. Based on this, the following conclusions can be drawn:

The relocation of Russian-speaking mothers to Turkey is due to many reasons, including the search for a new life, better conditions for themselves and their children, as well as the creation of a family with Turkish men. This confirms the theory of Bradatan, (2012) that political, economic, and social changes in society can influence migration decisions. Some of the women interviewed moved with their Turkish husbands to their husbands' homeland because of economic factors and stability in their husband's homeland. Starting a family with a Turkish man and then moving to Turkey is a common reason for Russian-speaking women to move, which indicates international marital migration (Iontsev, 2001). Many of them get to know their future husbands naturally in life or via the Internet, which confirms the theory of Becker (1974) about the principles of choosing a partner. Thus, modern technologies, such as the Internet, play an important role in the formation of intercultural relations and marriages. In addition, dating sites can be considered as a tool that can identify requirements for a future partner thanks to site filters. This confirms the definition of Sinelnikov (2003) on the marriage market. Study and subsequent marriage are also among the reasons for relocation to Turkey (Becker, 1974; Bradatan, 2012). Some participants came to study at the university and during their studies or after they met their future husbands.

Russian-speaking women may face a biased attitude from the husband's family, due to a lack of understanding of the cultural characteristics and habits of Russian-speaking women (Harwood et al., 1999). It was also noted that maintaining a positive atmosphere in society is above individual desires (Harwood et al., 1999). Misunderstanding and rejection of Turkish relatives can be expressed in the form of negative comments both personally to a Russian-speaking woman and to the approach to raising children regarding their nutrition and clothing (Harwood et al., 1999). Stereotypes about Russian-speaking women were caused by the collapse of the USSR, after which there was a trend of immigration of Russian-speaking women to Turkey (Konygina, 2003). In some cases, due to differences in culture and religion, family

reunification may take some time, and families may continue to live in two countries. Nevertheless, the desire to eliminate uncertainty and create stability in life sometimes prevails, and eventually, the family decides to live as a full family in one country.

Education and work of mothers

Most of the mothers have a higher education, and some of them have several higher education degrees. This indicates their desire for professional development and the presence of significant experience in various fields. As for professional employment, many of them work, which enables them to make assumptions about their desire to be financially independent and take an active life position. Some mothers have online jobs. This allows them to retain employment regardless of the country of location and even facilitates the decision to move. Moreover, some of them help their partners in doing business. Thus, I can say that most Russian-speaking women are interested in work, in the desire to be financially independent, to do things that are interesting to them. In some families, there is a patriarchal model, where the husband provides the family financially, and the wife is engaged in the upbringing and development of the child. This may be due to cultural or personal preferences.

One of the participants noted that after the children, her priorities shifted toward family and children. She also mentioned a desire to return to work after the children get older. Nevertheless, she noticed that the lack of acquaintances who could help with work and the unwillingness to start from scratch can be an obstacle to employment in Turkey. This confirms that after migration, people tend to lose their social status, which is why they have to start working from scratch (La Barbera, 2015). In general, Russian-speaking mothers living in Turkey have a high level of education and strive to be active and independent. They show flexibility in choosing a job, using their professional skills, and contributing to their family and business.

School selection criteria

When choosing a school, parents consider factors such as the location of the school near the house, which provides convenience and saves time on the road. However, the choice of an educational institution may also depend on other factors, such as the reputation of the school, and the preferences of parents and children. Based on this, it

can be stated that choosing a school based on the criteria of private or public (Kerckhoff, 2001) is not the main criterion, since there are public schools where quality education is taught and students receive high scores, the same can be said about private schools. Even though the economic state of the family was not directly studied in the research, based on the educational experience of the interviewed mothers and their professional activities, considering the occupational status of the fathers, I assume that all families are prosperous. However, the socio-economic situation of the family was not the main factor in choosing a school.

The adaptation of newly immigrated children in a Turkish school can be a challenge due to the language barrier. However, it can be assumed that if a child already has basic knowledge of the school curriculum of the first grade, then studying in the 1st grade of a Turkish school can help to master the Turkish language and successfully integrate into a new environment. However, this conclusion has more of an individual character, as it depends on the individual abilities of the child. Before deciding on enrolling a child in the first grade without knowledge of the language in which the courses will take place, it is necessary to check the child's knowledge regarding the material that is needed for admission to the first grade and the knowledge that must be acquired at the end of the school year. If the results are high or average, then in this case, it is likely that in the first grade, the child will mainly study the local language and at the same time study school subjects. Also, attending summer or preparation schools after immigration can be useful for integration into Turkish society, learning the Turkish language, and preparing for the new academic year. This can help children get used to school, teachers, and classmates, which contributes to psychological comfort and integration into a new environment.

Russian-speaking mothers are sure that adaptation to a new country requires social ties, respect for culture and traditions, as well as active independent actions for successful integration into society. This confirms the ideas of acculturation and integration of migrants in a new environment (Titzmann & Fuligni, 2015). The lack of clear communication and a system of support and adaptation for foreign parents and children can create difficulties in entering school after moving to a new country. Support and assistance from residents can facilitate the process of adaptation and

orientation in a new environment. This confirms the need to ensure adaptive conditions for immigrants and the role of social ties in the integration process (Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013). Parents' support and explanation of the benefits of moving helps children to adapt better and understand the importance of studying in a new country and school (Titzmann & Fuligni, 2015).

The position of a teacher in multicultural education

Teachers' support plays an important role in creating a positive educational environment for Russian-speaking children studying in Turkey. This corresponds to the research of Banks (1993), which emphasizes that multicultural education should consider the cultural characteristics of students.

Parents strive for a fair and inclusive education for their children, where they are valued not only for their knowledge of the Turkish language but also as individuals who can successfully study and develop in a foreign educational environment. This is also confirmed by the theory of Banks (1993), who focuses on the equality of pedagogy and considers the diversity of students, including their ethnicity.

The importance of teachers' interest in the culture and traditions of children is confirmed, as it promotes the emancipation of migrant children and increases their self-esteem. This approach also corresponds to multicultural education, which seeks to create a favorable atmosphere and consider the cultural characteristics of students (Banks, 1993). Despite the absence of a school curriculum focused on multicultural education, the personal initiative of teachers plays an important role in creating a multicultural environment.

The individual qualities of a migrant child and their approach to learning can cause a positive attitude on the part of teachers. During the research, I noticed that Russian-speaking mothers pay special attention to discipline. Mothers defined discipline as a quality that is characteristic of the Russian-speaking method of education. According to the interviewed mothers, teachers admire the discipline of Russian-speaking children. Such behaviour of a student can be influenced by the "parental ethno-theory" (Harkness & Super, 1992), where the model of upbringing peculiar to another culture, in which other values, beliefs, and norms are present (Wise & Silva, 2007; Chen &

Luster, 2002) that also influence the formation of the educational experience of Russian-speaking children in a multicultural environment.

Nevertheless, there may be some misunderstandings and problems that require discussion and resolution to create a harmonious relationship between parents, children, and teachers (Banks, 1993). Some teachers have a preconceived attitude because of the Russian-speaking nationality of the mother, which affects the relationship between the teacher and the mother. It also affects the relationship between the teacher and the Russian-speaking child. In this case, teachers pay special attention to the Russian-speaking student, take them to a psychologist, and ask questions to study the atmosphere in a multicultural family. Also, in some cases, teachers treat Russian-speaking children as foreigners, even though they are half Turkish and know Turkish well. Thus, the study confirms the importance of support, understanding, and tolerance on the part of teachers in creating a favourable educational environment for Russian-speaking children studying in Turkey.

Relations between Russian-speaking children and their peers

A common language and culture play an important role in the formation of bonds between Russian-speaking children living in Turkey. Children who share a common language and culture are more likely to show greater intimacy and friendship with each other. This is consistent with a theory that emphasizes the importance of sociocultural adaptation and communication for the successful socialization and integration of children in a multicultural environment (Verkuyten & Yildiz 2007).

The level of knowledge of the local language is also important for the social adaptation of children. Improving language skills can lead to more confident communication among peers and easier networking. This is also consistent with the theory of the importance of language in modern sociocultural adaptation (Barban & White, 2011; Mendez et al., 2012). However, there may be cases of discrimination and bias on national and cultural grounds. This is also confirmed by studies that immigrants, especially second-generation immigrants, may face difficulties and negative attitudes because of their ethnicity (Fuligni, 2012). This can affect their sense of belonging and adaptation to society. Cultural differences, language barriers, and bias can have an

impact on children whose mothers are Russian speaking. Incorrect use of the name "Natasha" in Turkey, as a term with negative connotations, is an example of bias and stereotypes that can affect children's educational experience and relationships with local peers (Beller-Hann, 1995; Hacaoğlu, 2002).

The school environment for Russian-speaking children in Turkey can be difficult, especially due to linguistic and cultural differences. It is important to create a supportive and safe educational environment to reduce feelings of alienation and negative emotions among Russian-speaking children (Suldo et al., 2009; Walsh et al., 2016). Additionally, appearance and cultural trends can influence the perception of children in a new environment. Interest in unusual appearances can cause both positive and negative emotions and reactions in others in children. (Crenshaw, 1991).

Awareness of multiculturalism, equality, and inclusivity among local schoolchildren can help reduce discrimination and ensure more harmonious relationships between Russian-speaking children and their peers (Schwarzenthal et al., 2018). These studies confirm that linguistic and cultural similarities play an important role in the formation of relationships between children in a multicultural environment. However, it is necessary to pay attention to bias and discrimination, as well as to create a supportive educational environment for the successful socio-cultural adaptation of Russian-speaking children in Turkey.

The use of Russian, Turkish, and other languages by mothers and children

Many Russian-speaking mothers have studied Turkish in various educational institutions and courses, such as TÖMER, for adaptation and better communication in Turkish society. This confirms the theory of linguistic acculturation and integration of migrants (Dixon et al., 2014). The level of Turkish language proficiency of mothers who have completed courses is usually sufficient for everyday communication but may not be sufficient for working in Turkish. Moreover, some mothers noted that they would like to improve their level of Turkish language proficiency and that is the reason that some of them continue to study. This is also supported by the ideas of Markovizky and Samid (2008) about socio-cultural integration and the desire to improve communication with the local population. Also, among the interviewed mothers were

those who independently studied the Turkish language using the Internet, video, and communication in Turkish society.

Motivation and support of parents play a key role in the language development of children. The active participation of parents in learning Turkish together with their children contributes to a better level of proficiency in the local language (Becker, 2010). At the same time, the lack of parental support in the use of language, for example, in the case of divorce, when the child stays with one of the parents and begins to speak more in one language, then, consequently, the child's other language will be at a lower level (Pease-Alvarez, 2002). However, the reason that one language is more developed than another native language, in the case when children know Russian better than Turkish, since fathers spend a lot of time at work and as a result, children spend time with Russian-speaking mothers. Even if children know both languages well, then in this case there is a chance that the knowledge of proverbs and sayings in Russian will be clearer to children than in Turkish.

Preservation of the mother tongue in a multilingual family is an important aspect, and the active use of the native language helps children retain their language skills. This is in line with the ideology of language policy in the family described by Spolsky (2004) and supports the importance of preserving the native language. Flexibility in communication and the use of different languages depending on the context is a common practice in multilingual families and may be the result of adaptation to the environment and the desire to preserve and use the native language and culture. This confirms the practice of "Code-Switching" in multilingual families (Gleason & Ratner, 1998).

The data obtained indicates the importance of active learning of the Turkish language for the successful adaptation of Russian-speaking mothers and their children in Turkey. Family support and the creation of a language environment play a key role in the successful development of the language skills of children in multilingual families.

Academic performance of Russian-speaking children and the role of parents in their education

Some subjects in Turkish schools differ significantly from the education system in the CIS countries, which can create difficulties in understanding and completing tasks, especially in subjects with specific terminology. For first-generation migrant children, additional difficulties are factors such as learning a foreign language and adaptation, which can affect their academic performance.

The education of young people through the curriculum considering local cultural values and traditions, and social aspects is an important component of the formation of society and national identity of Turkish children, which may not be clear to migrant children, which may cause misunderstanding during assimilation and adaptation to life and education in the host country (Azzolini, 2012). However, sometimes these sociocultural moments can positively affect the process of adaptation and upbringing of a Russian-speaking child.

Different approaches to learning and the logic of posing questions in assignments can cause difficulties for Russian-speaking children when adapting to Turkish school, as well as for parents who want but cannot help children with homework. However, these differences do not make one education system better or worse. This suggests that there are differences in the educational systems of Turkey and the CIS countries. In the Turkish education system, some disciplines are studied as a single subject, while in the CIS countries, these disciplines are studied as separate subjects. This is another factor confirming the differences in the education system between Turkey and the CIS countries.

In addition, during the study, I found that according to some mothers, thanks to the Turkish education system, children are more socially open than children in Russian-speaking countries. In Turkey using a pencil instead of a pen (as it is in the CIS countries), gives the right to make mistakes, if you write wrong, you can erase and correct. I believe this is an essential fact that affects the well-being of schoolchildren both at school and later in adult life.

Exemption from studying the subject of religion based on another religion is a common practice among Russian-speaking families in Turkey. This allows the child to avoid the difficulties associated with studying religious teachings other than their religion, with which they are not familiar. This can be considered as a desire to preserve one's identity and cultural traditions (Boushel, 2000).

The role of parents in the education of children can affect academic performance. Parents' support in completing homework, motivation, control, and the creation of learning conditions play an important role in a child's academic achievements (Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008). Nevertheless, parents have different approaches in terms of their involvement in the process of their children's education, namely homework. The level of understanding and completion of homework may also depend on the level of language proficiency of the child and the parent. Consequently, language skills can influence academic achievements (Azzolini, 2012).

Maintaining Russian identity and plans of children

The Russian language plays an important role in families where children are bilinguals, and each family chooses its approach to learning it and maintaining the mother's native language. This supports the theory of "parental ethnotheories", which reflects the belief system regarding the upbringing of Russian-speaking children in a multicultural environment, and forms approaches to education and language development of children (Harkness & Super, 1992).

Communication with Russian-speaking relatives of mothers supports spoken Russian and communication with the mother's culture and language. This is another cultural feature of a multicultural family that influences the upbringing, and preservation of the language and identity (Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2001).

Understanding the benefits of learning languages other than the parents' native languages, that is Russian and Turkish, motivates bilingual children to develop language skills, as children understand that this can positively affect their careers (Harwood et al., 1999). The minority's knowledge of an additional language other than the local one can contribute to high salaries since such people can perform tasks inaccessible to those who speak one language, which proves Bourdieu's theory (1977)

about the “Economy of Linguistic Exchanges”, which point to the importance of multilingualism and language skills for career and financial well-being (Agirdag, 2014).

As for the Russian-speaking identity, during the research, I realized that Russian-speaking children actively attend additional classes in creative and sports fields. This fact is a characteristic of the Russian-speaking identity. Also, despite the difference in cultures between Turkey and the CIS countries, Russian-speaking mothers strive to maintain their native traditions and holidays; they actively integrate them into their Turkish families. As a rule, in such families, both sides - a Russian-speaking mother and Turkish relatives, show flexibility and respect for another culture.

Preferences regarding educational institutions and the choice of profession of Russian-speaking children in Turkey depend on various factors, such as language skills, gender expectations, and cultural and financial issues (Harwood et al., 1999). Gender expectations of parents in terms of the future of children - city, and country of living, paid or budget tuition at the university. This is the only aspect in which the issue of gender was considered. In other topics such as the choice of school, the relationship of teachers and classmates, name-calling, the topic of gender was not mentioned.

Limitations

Despite being an important attempt to understand the experience of Russian-speaking children in Turkey, the conducted study has several limitations, among them the following can be noted:

a) The limited number of studied mothers is insufficient for making generalized conclusions about Russian-speaking children both in Ankara and throughout Turkey;
b) The age of the children studied ranged from 6 years to 18. A large age difference made it difficult to understand the situation of children in a certain period, for example, in elementary school, middle school and high school.
c) Since the subjects of the study were Russian-speaking mothers, and the objects were their children, the position of their fathers in a multicultural family, his role in the education and social life of children remained unclear;

d) When specifying the level of language proficiency, in some cases the data was ambiguous. This is especially true for those children who know both languages equally – Russian and Turkish;

e) The study also studied both groups of children, those who have lived in Turkey since birth – live with their father or separately, and those who recently moved to Turkey – live with or without a partner of mother. Socio-economic factors affect both the integration and the education processes of Russian-speaking children.

Suggestions for future study

Based on the limitations, the following works may be carried out in the future:

It is suggested to conduct a study with a large number of Russian-speaking mothers living in Turkey. Also expanding the research area and study cases in different cities of Turkey, especially in those cities where there are many Russian speakers, for example, in Antalya and Istanbul. A larger number of interviews will allow to understand more accurate data about Russian-speaking children, their education and their position in Turkish society.

It is also worth considering different age groups of Russian-speaking children, this will allow to understand what difficulties children face in different periods of study.

There can be a study of Russian-speaking children in Turkey of different migrant generations, as it is interconnected with the time spent in Turkey and affects the level of language proficiency and the integration process. Related to language proficiency, to develop methods that could more accurately determine the level of language proficiency of Russian-speaking migrant children.

Conducting a separate study among Turkish dads of Russian-speaking children makes it possible to understand the role of the father in a multicultural family, in the social and educational environment of a Russian-speaking child. It would also allow to find out his thoughts and emotions about life in a multicultural family and to learn the reaction of his parents and relatives regarding the Russian-speaking wife.

Long-term research in the field of integration and education of Russian-speaking children in Turkey would reveal the dynamics and general trends regarding the length of residence in Turkey.

Conducting research among teachers and headmasters of Russian-speaking children in Turkey would provide additional information about the educational process and integration of Russian-speaking migrant children into Turkish society.

Based on the data obtained, policymakers can take more precise measures to solve the problems faced by Russian-speaking migrant children to create an inclusive socio-educational environment for these children in Turkey.

Recommendations

a) Since immigrant children who do not speak the local language may need additional support, policymakers may allocate financial resources to language learning programs to help Russian-speaking children adapt to the learning environment.
b) It is also necessary to develop educational materials that reflect the diversity of cultures and experiences of immigrant children. This will contribute to the creation of a friendly atmosphere inside the school.
c) Since some immigrant children face psychological and social problems when moving to a new country, support programs such as counseling by psychologists and social workers can be created to help children cope with these challenges.
d) Creating curricula focused on intercultural learning can help all children, including local ones, to better understand and respect different cultures. This contributes to the creation of a more tolerant and inclusive society.
e) Moreover, from time to time monitoring should be carried out to protect against discrimination and violations of the rights of Russian-speaking immigrant children in educational institutions.

Thus, all these measures are aimed at ensuring equal opportunities for immigrant children in education and helping them to integrate into a new country.

The family plays a crucial role in the formation of an individual's personality and cultural identity. It is a place where education, socialization and the transfer of values take place. The family context has a significant impact on a person's self-identity. However, migration can make changes in the usual structure of the family, as there is a need for cultural adaptation and preservation of cultural identity in the host country. The use of the Russian language in Turkish society is a factor in preserving cultural identity in a multicultural environment. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the influence of the family context and family values on the processes of acculturation and cultural adaptation of Russian-speaking immigrants, as well as to develop more effective policies to support Russian-speaking migrants in Turkey and integration into a new cultural environment.

Russian-speaking women who have moved to Turkey are often interested in finding new opportunities for themselves and their children. They also create families with Turkish men. Despite the positive aspects of intercultural marriages, Russian-speaking women sometimes face a biased attitude from the family of Turkish spouses, which may be due to cultural differences.

Children's adaptation to a new country can be a challenge, but with the support of teachers and the creation of an inclusive educational environment, they can successfully integrate and study. If the school is taught in Turkish, then the level of proficiency in the local language affects the academic success of children. Also, the support of parents and the family context play an essential role in the educational development of Russian-speaking children in Turkey. Children's preferences for future education and career choices depend on various factors, including language skills and cultural influence. Preserving the mother's native language and Russian cultural identity is an important aspect for multicultural families in Turkey, which affects the preservation of language skills and cultural ties. Russian is significant in families with bilinguals, and its use helps maintain linguistic and cultural ties.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questions for the Semi-Structured Interview English version

1. Please introduce yourself:
- How old are you?
- What country and city did you come from?
- Are you married? If there is a husband, what does he do?
- Do you work? If yes, what is your occupation?
- What is your education level?
2. Please tell me your story about moving to Turkey:
- When and with whom did you move to Turkey?
- What was your purpose for moving to Turkey?
- Do you know any language other than Russian? What about your partner, if so?
-What is your level of Turkish proficiency? About Turkish, if so, when, and how did you learn?
3. Please tell me about your child/children:
- How many children do you have?
- Are they boy(s) or girl(s)?
- How old is he/ she/them?
- Does the child/children speak both Russian and Turkish equally well?
4. Let's talk about the education of your child/children (for each child)
- Which school does the child/child study at? (primary, secondary, high, or university)
- Public or private?
- In Turkish / Russian or in an international school does the child/children study?
- In what class does the child/children study? (grade)
- What criteria did you rely on when choosing a school?
- Is the school far from home?
- How does she/he/them go to school? (On foot, school bus, and car)
- Who takes the child/children away from school?
5. Please tell me about the school life of your child (children) (for each child)
- Does your child/children like school? What is the general attitude or value of school of your child/children?

- What kind of student is your child at the school?
- Are the courses in Turkey different from the ones in your country of origin?
- Do you help your child/children with homework?
- What do you think of parental involvement in the education process?
- How do teachers treat your child/children?
- How is his/her/their relationship with classmates and peers?
- How does the national origin of the child affect his/her/their communication with peers?
- What difficulties does the child/children face at school and beyond?

6. Please tell me about the extracurricular activities of the child/children:
- What does the child/children do outside of school?
- Does he/she/they go to any clubs/sections?

7. What are your child's/children's plans?
- About education?
- About staying in Turkey or moving?

Appendix B: Questions for the Semi-Structured Interview Russian version

1. Представьтесь, пожалуйста:

- Сколько Вам лет?
- Из какой Вы страны и из какого города?
- Когда Вы приехали в Турцию? С какой целью?
- Вы замужем? Если да, то чем занимается Ваш муж?
- Вы работаете? Если да, то кем?
- Какое Ваше образование?

2. Расскажите, пожалуйста, свою историю переезда в Турцию:

- Когда и с кем Вы переехали в Турцию?
- С какой целью Вы переехали в Турцию?
- Где Вы выучили турецкий? На каком уровне владеете им?
- Знаете ли Вы языки помимо русского? Если да, то какие?

3. Расскажите, пожалуйста, о Ваших детях:

- Сколько у вас детей?
- Мальчик(и) или девочка(и)?
- Сколько ему/ей/им лет?
- Одинаково хорошо ли говорит Ваш ребенок/дети на русском и турецком языках?

4. На какие критерии Вы опирались при выборе школы (для каждого ребенка)?

- В какой школе учится Ваш ребенок/дети?
- В государственной или частной?
- В турецкой/русской или в международной школе учится Ваш ребенок/дети?
- В каком классе учится Ваш ребенок/дети?
- Далеко ли находится школа от дома?
- Кто отводит и забирает ребенка/детей со школы?

5. Расскажите мне, пожалуйста, о школьной жизни Вашего ребенка (детей):

- Отличаются ли предметы в Турции от предметов в стране Вашего происхождения?
- Помогаете ли Вы ребенку/детям с выполнением домашних заданий?

- Как вы думаете, какая роль родителей в образовании детей?

- Как учителя относятся к ребенку/детям?

- Какие отношения ребенка/детей с одноклассниками и ровесниками?

- Как национальное происхождение ребенка/детей влияет на общение со сверстниками?

- С какими трудностями сталкивается ребенок/дети в школе и за ее пределами?

6. Расскажите, пожалуйста, о внеклассной деятельности ребенка/детей:

- Чем занимается ребенок/дети вне школы?

- Ходит ли он/она/они на какие-нибудь кружки/секции?

7. Какие планы Вашего ребенка/детей?

- в плане образования

- останется ли ребенок/дети в Турции или переедут куда-нибудь?

Appendix C: Consent form English version

Dear Participant,

This research is being conducted by Guzel Minazova from the TED University Migration Studies Graduate Program under the advisory of . Aylin Çakıroğlu Çevik. The objective of the research is to identify the experience of Russian-speaking children in the process of getting an education and integration into society in Turkey. The participants of this research are Russian–speaking mothers in Ankara.

If you approve your participation in the research titled "Russian-speaking students' educational experience and integration process into Turkish society", you will be the participant of this research between December 2022 – February 2023. You will be required to participate in practices like interview which will be informed to you in advance according to the determined schedule. During and following the research, your credentials or identity information will not be shared with anyone outside the project without your permission.

The scientific data gathered through this study will be shared in the publications, presentations, and educational online environments only by the researchers of this research. The collected data will be kept in an encrypted file on my computer by deleting your name and other contact information.

Participation in this study is based on a volunteer basis. Participation in this study might inform you about the educational issues of your child(ren) and make visible the process of social integration via education, specifically Russian-speaking children. This study's stages, which take place about 1 hour, do not involve any disruptive elements. However, if you feel uncomfortable for any reason, you are free to quit the research without any justification. In this case, the utilization of the information you have provided will depend on your approval. Thank you in advance for your participation. For detailed information about the research and for any questions you wish to be answered, you can contact Guzel Minazova (e-mail:

phone: or

Aylin Çakıroğlu Çevik (e-mail: phone: +9 *).

I participate in this study voluntarily and I am aware that I can quit the practice any time I want to. I am aware that I will take part in interview practices in the scope of this study. I accept the utilization of the information I will provide in scientific publications. I am aware that voice recordings will be made during the study. I know that these recordings will only be used in scientific publications, presentations, and educational online environments.

I want to participate in the project Yes / No
I consent to record my voice for research purposes Yes / No
My words can be used in the below-mentioned visuals:
Online educational environments Yes / No
Reports, articles, related news, and written materials Yes / No

Name/Surname:.....
Signature: .....
Date: .....

Thanks,
Researcher's
Guzel Minazova Signature:.....

If you have any questions about your participation and/or preservation of your rights or believe that you might be subject to any risks or stress, contact the TED University Human Research Ethics Committee or i

Appendix D: Consent form Russian version

Уважаемый Участник,

Это исследование проводит Гузель Миназова, магистр Университета TED, Миграционные Исследования, под руководством доцента и доктора Социальных наук Айлин Чакыроглу Чевик. Целью исследования является выявление трудностей, с которыми сталкиваются русскоязычные дети в процессе получения образования и интеграции в турецкое общество. Участниками этого исследования являются русскоговорящие мамы в Анкаре.

Если Вы подтвердите свое участие в исследовании, проводимое под названием «Образовательный опыт русскоязычных школьников и процесс их интеграции в турецкое общество», Вы станете участником этого исследования в период с декабря 2022 по февраль 2023 года. Для этого Вам нужно будет принять участие в интервью, о котором Вам заранее сообщат в соответствии с указанным периодом. Во время и после исследования Ваши личные данные не будут переданы кому-либо за пределами проекта без Вашего разрешения.

Научные данные, собранные в ходе этого исследования, будут опубликованы в публикациях, презентациях и в интерактивной образовательной среде только исследователями этого исследования. Собранные данные будут сохранены в зашифрованном файле на моем компьютере; Ваше имя и контактные данные будут удалены.

Участие в этом исследовании осуществляется на добровольной основе. Принимая участие в этом исследовании, Вы можете сделать видимым проблемы, с которыми сталкивается Ваш ребенок / дети в школе, а также рассказать об их процессе социальной интеграции через образование, в частности русскоязычных детей. Этапы этого исследования, которые длятся около 1 часа, не включают в себя никаких деструктивных элементов. Однако, если Вы по какой-либо причине почувствуете себя некомфортно, Вы можете прекратить исследование без каких-либо объяснений. В этом случае использование предоставленной Вами информации будет зависеть от Вас. Заранее благодарю Вас за Ваше

участие. Для получения подробной информации относительно исследования, и по любым вопросам, на которые Вы хотите получить ответы, вы можете связаться со мной - Гузель Миназовой (e-mail: com телефон: или с профессором и доктором социальных наук Айлин Чакыроглу Чевик (e-mail: телефон:

Я участвую в этом исследовании на добровольной основе, и отдаю себе отчет в том, что могу прекратить участие в исследовании в любое время, когда захочу. Я понимаю, что буду принимать участие в интервью в рамках этого исследования. Я согласна на использовании информации, которую я предоставлю, в научных публикациях. Я проинформирована о том, что во время исследования будут сделаны аудиозаписи. Я проинформирована о том, что эти записи будут использоваться только в научных публикациях, презентациях и в интерактивной образовательной среде.

Я хочу участвовать в проекте Да / Нет
Я даю согласие на запись моего голоса в исследовательских целях Да / Нет
Мои слова могут быть использованы в приведенных ниже случаях:
Онлайн-образовательной среде Да / Нет
В отчетах, в статьях, новостях относительно этой темы, и в письменных материалах Да / Нет

Имя / Фамилия: .....

Подпись: .....

Дата: .....

Спасибо,
Подпись исследователя
Гузель Миназова: .....

*Если у Вас есть какие-либо вопросы по поводу Вашего участия и/или сохранения Ваших данных или Вы считаете, что можете подвергаться каким-либо рискам или стрессу, свяжитесь с Комитетом по этике исследований человека Университета TED или напишите e-mail

Appendix E: Invitation text English version

Hi, my name is Guzel. Our mutual friend (name of the friend) shared your contact.
I am a student at TED University, getting a master's degree in Migration Studies program. To write my master's thesis, I chose the topic "Russian-speaking students' educational experience and integration process into Turkish society". The goal of the research is to understand the experience of Russian-speaking children in the process of getting an education and integration into society in Turkey.
During the study, I am going to conduct an interview and with your permission, your voice will be recorded. The research based on a volunteer basis will be confidential and anonymous. If you want to take part in the study, we can conduct an online interview at a time and day convenient for you or meet in a cafe or another place after discussing the day and time in advance. Only you and I (without the child(ren)) will be during the interview.
If you or your friends want to take part in the study, then please contact me on WhatsApp at + **** or by e-mail

Thank you in advance for your contribution to science.

Kind regards,
Guzel Minazova

Appendix F: Invitation text Russian version

Здравствуете, меня зовут Гузель. Наша общая знакомая (имя знакомой) поделилась Вашим контактом.

Я студентка Университета TED, получаю степень магистра по программе Миграционные исследования. Для написания своей магистерской диссертации я выбрала тему “Образовательный опыт русскоязычных школьников и процесс их интеграции в турецкое общество”. Цель исследования – выявить трудности, с которыми сталкиваются русскоязычные дети в процессе получения образования и интеграции в турецкое общество.

Во время исследования я планирую провести интервью, и с Вашего согласия наш разговор будет записан. Исследование, проводимое на добровольной основе, будет конфиденциальным и анонимным. Если Вы хотите принять участие в исследовании, мы можем провести онлайн-интервью в удобное для Вас время, встретиться в кафе или в каком-нибудь другом месте, предварительно обсудив день и время. Только Вы и я (без ребенка / детей) будем присутствовать на интервью.

Если Вы или Ваши друзья хотите принять участие в исследовании, то, пожалуйста, свяжитесь со мной по WhatsApp **** или по электронной почте g

Заранее благодарю Вас за Ваш вклад в науку.

С уважением,
Гузель Миназова