



NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITY
HIGHER SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

Raisa Akifyeva

**CHILD-REARING PRACTICES OF
RUSSIAN-SPEAKING WOMEN
FROM A MIGRATION
PERSPECTIVE**

BASIC RESEARCH PROGRAM

WORKING PAPERS

SERIES: HUMANITIES
WP BRP 140/HUM/2016

CHILD-REARING PRACTICES OF RUSSIAN-SPEAKING WOMEN FROM A MIGRATION PERSPECTIVE²

This working paper is based on the results of a study of the child-rearing practices of Russian-speaking women in the context of a migration perspective focusing on their migration experience, language, and other features that are perceived as cultural and an integration context as determining many important aspects of child-rearing. The analysis shows that a mother's choice of structured activities for the child can be caused by structural factors, such as the national peculiarities of the system of school and pre-school education, family policy, the specifics and set of programs offered at schools and available in the area. Regardless of the social segment, in which migrants are incorporated, children begin to prefer speaking Spanish than Russian if there is not any special effort from the adults. This leads to the fact that the study of the Russian language in some families affects all spheres of life, and many aspects of child-rearing. Many women develop and share ideas about the differences in the parenting approach and style of women from the post-Soviet space and from Spain. Women perceive the stylistic features of the behavior of Russian women as highly demanding and share the view of the low demands of Spanish parents, yet differ in how they perceive their level of responsiveness to them.

JEL Classification: F22.

Keywords: child-rearing practices, Russian-speaking migrants, structured activities, parenting practices, Spain

¹ National Research University Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Department of Sociology, Senior Lecturer; E-mail: akifyeva@hse.ru, akifyeva@mail.ru

² The article chapter was prepared within the framework of the Academic Fund Program at the National Research University Higher School of Economics (HSE) in 2016 (grant № 116-02-0010) and supported within the framework of a subsidy granted to the HSE by the Government of the Russian Federation for the implementation of the Global Competitiveness Program. This study benefited from financial support received from the Center for German and European Studies (St. Petersburg State University – Bielefeld University).

Introduction

Child-rearing practices have been studied from different theoretical positions and perspectives. On the one hand, there is a discussion on the conceptualization and operationalization of practices, styles, parenting strategies, on their variety and the consequences on a child's development and life chances (Baumrind, 1967, 1971; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Lareau, 2003, 2011; Spera, 2005). On the other hand, the researchers discuss the reasons for the existing variety of child-rearing practices, styles, approaches in terms of class (Lareau, 2002, 2003, 2011; Weininger & Lareau, 2009), ethnic and national characteristics (Kremer-Sadlik & Fatigante, 2015; Kremer-Sadlik, Izquierdo, & Fatigante, 2010; Lee & Kao, 2009), structural constraints (Bennett, Lutz, & Jayaram, 2012; Chin & Phillips, 2004) and others.

A large contribution to this debate on the variety and determinants of the practices has been made by the research conducted by Annette Lareau, who distinguishes two child-rearing approaches: "concerted cultivation", which is peculiar to middle-class parents and "accomplishment of natural growth", employed by parents from poor and working class families (Lareau, 2003, 2011). Lareau describes how class-specific features of education, such as the organization of daily life of children, language use, the ways used by parents to interact with institutions, contribute to the formation of certain cognitive characteristics of children and the acquisition of skills that lead to successful life trajectories. Implementation of the concerted cultivation approach suggests that parents consider the development of a child through organized activities as an important component of child-rearing, while children from families which implement the accomplishment of the natural growth approach are mostly included in unstructured leisure activities (watching TV, communicating with other children), initiated by the children themselves and carried out without the participation of adults. Differences are observed not only in the number of structured activities attended by children from different classes, but also in beliefs of parents about the benefits and consequences of organized activities, in the purposes they pursue, involving children in structured activities (Lareau, 2002; Weininger & Lareau, 2009).

Other studies have analyzed a variety of parenting practices with other theoretical positions and take into account other factors. Pamela Bennett and colleagues explain differences in the organized activities of children by structural constraints faced by working-class parents (Bennett et al., 2012). They argue that the fact that the working class attend fewer classes compared to the middle-class children in their study can be explained by the numbers of extra-curriculum and after-school activities, which are provided by school and are available in their area, rather than the

cultural logics of parents. Comparative research of middle-class parents' practices and attitudes in the United States and Italy indicated differences in the parental approaches to being involved in their children's education, in their attitudes to children's extracurricular activities, performance at school and to other aspects of their education (Kremer-Sadlik & Fatigante, 2015; Kremer-Sadlik et al., 2010). Researchers believe that the identified differences are rooted in a local and socio-cultural context (Kremer-Sadlik & Fatigante, 2015). The degree of accessibility to higher education in these countries, the importance of education for the job search can have an influence on parental attitudes and practices. In particular, lack of planning of the children's education by Italian parents can be explained by the fact that a social origin and status of the family in Italy may play a greater role in social mobility and job search, than a person's education, skills and competence.

In migration studies, researchers point to the presence of specific features in the child-rearing practices of migrant parents as well as the role of the community in the child-rearing processes. The concept of social capital proposed by James Coleman, describes how the lack of education, professional skills, and material resources can be compensated for by social capital – the social resources of families and communities, including a set of shared norms and values, attitudes, ties (friends', relatives') between people (Coleman, 2001). Children who are included in migrant communities can have access to the community's social capital and learn various positive cultural patterns (such as "aspiration" and the attitudes to life achievement) and face normalized constraint and control from parents and community members (parents supervise homework or prohibit communication with some peers). Min Zhou and Carl L. Bankston III revealed that Vietnamese students who adhered to traditional family values and have been integrated into the migrant communities, studied better and were focused on achieving high educational qualifications compared to local peers, studying in this school. These behavioral patterns and values were formed by the influence of members of the migrant community through shared expectations, using the practices of constraint and control (Zhou & Bankston III, 1994). Ethnic ties can function as forms of social capital (Anthias, 2007), and along with ethnic community organizations may contribute to the transmission of values and norms to children (Modood, 2004; Shah, Dwyer, & Modood, 2010).

Apart from these discussions, psychological studies of parental practices have been developed (Chen, Chen, & Zheng, 2012; Fibbi & Truong, 2015; Park & Kwon, 2009) in which a crucial role was played by the research of Diana Baumrind (Baumrind, 1967, 1971). She studied American

middle-class families and identified three parenting styles, based on two dimensions, called responsiveness and demandingness (Baumrind, 2005). Demandingness reflects the desire of the parents to integrate the children into society, to socialize them, whereas responsiveness refers to the promotion by the parents of the children's individuality, their desires. Demandingness becomes apparent in the control of the behavior of the child, in the supervision of his/ her activities, while responsiveness consists of the parents yielding to the children's requests, supporting them and making them adaptable. She identified three child-rearing styles. Authoritative parenting style is characterized by a high level of demandingness and a high level of responsiveness, authoritarian – a high level of demandingness and a low level of responsiveness, permissive – a low level of demandingness and a moderately high level of responsiveness and later an indulgent style has been added, which is characterized by a low level of both dimensions (Spera, 2005).

Despite the fact that in relation to the description of differences in family child-rearing, indicated by A. Lareau, the concept of "style" has often been used (Bodovski, 2010; Dumais, Kessinger, & Ghosh, 2012; Ilari, 2013), she herself has used other terms such as "child-rearing strategies", "child-rearing approaches", "pattern of concerted cultivation", "child-rearing practices". Another view on the conceptualization and use of concepts is offered by the integrative model of Nancy Darling and Laurence Steinberg (1993). They distinguish the concept of "values and goals", "parenting styles" and "parenting practices". The values and goals of socializing their children, which parents have, are important determinants of parental behavior. They define parenting practices such as "behaviors defined by specific content and socialization goals" (Darling, Steinberg, 1993: 492). Examples of parenting practices are visiting school events, the punishment of children, and others. The authors define parenting style as "a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviors are expressed" (Darling & Steinberg, 1993: 493).

Thus, parenting style provides the emotional climate in which the child grows and which influences the style features of parenting practices. Unlike parenting practices, parenting styles do not depend on the content of parental behavior, as well as the content of child-rearing context. For example, authoritative parents can use different practices in order to achieve effective implementation of home tasks: some parents may believe that children should perform them before children' rest, but others - after. For other example, authoritative and authoritative parents can use the same practices, but the climate in which they are used can be different. The difference lies in the specific aspects of the behavior of the parents - in tone of voice, intonation, and others.

In this study, I will use the concept of “child-rearing practices” or “parenting practices” in the sense that it was suggested by Darling and Steinberg’s defining practices. I will use “child-rearing approach” or “child-rearing strategies” for describing approaches proposed by Lareau. During the operationalization of the approaches in this article, the main attention will be paid to involving children in organized / structured activities and the motivation and goals of parents, which they mention when explaining the reasons for involving them in such type of activities. The structured or organized activities are defined as activities led by an adult, occur on a regular basis and have an institutional affiliation (Bennett et al., 2012). I will use the concept of parenting styles to refer to the behavioral aspects of parenting, indicated by Baumrind.

This study aims to examine the impact of migration on child-rearing practices, but also to explain it in a broader methodological context by studying child-rearing styles and approaches. In a previous study, I focused on the class distinctions of the child-rearing strategies of migrant women and concluded that class differences in the structured activities of children are largely determined by structural factors. The distinction at the level of cultural logics between middle and working class parents showed in the reasoning for the structured program selection, has not been detected, although structural constraints faced by families with a lack of economic resources and social capital, may determine their choice of the types and number of structured activities for children (Akifyeva, 2016). In this study, on the contrary, I focused on the migration specifics of child-rearing by women with migration experience across class, carrying out a comparative study of Russian-speaking women living in Spain and Russia to reveal the migration specificity of child rearing. This design makes it possible to study the specific features of parenting practices of women migrants living in Spain, which distinguishes them from the practices of women, living in Russia. However, some limitations related to the class position of families will be mentioned in all cases that are relevant to the focus of this article.

The study of child-rearing practices in the context of the migration perspective enables the focus on their migration experience, language, and other features that are perceived as cultural, and an integration context as determining many important aspects of child-rearing from the framework of the different approaches to its conceptualization. Therefore, this research contributes to the current discussion trying, on the one hand, to study the child-rearing practices, paying attention to the various methodological context of conceptualizing them and, on the other hand, to take into

account the structural contexts and cultural characteristics of families and the characteristics which are perceived as cultural.

Methods and data

The analysis will be based on data collected in Madrid (32 interviews) and St. Petersburg (17 interviews).

Research in Madrid was conducted in July 2015 and included interviews with Russian-speaking parents (including 4 interviews with the Russian fathers), interviews with teachers or organizers of the Russian-language structured programs for children (4 interviews, two of whom also had children attending the program), visits to these programs, as well as meetings and taking a walk with parents and children. Many respondents were members of the groups for Russian-speaking parents, organized on the basis of social networking services. The children of the majority of respondents attended some after- or pre- school programs, including a Russian-language program for children (24 interviews). The empirical base, gathered in St. Petersburg (2016), consists of interviews with parents whose children attend some after- or pre- school programs, as well as parents who are in an on-line group for the parents of St. Petersburg.

During the interview, the parents described all programs involving their children, as well as a typical weekday and weekend, talked about the use of language in the family, how the choice of educational institutions for children was made, about the role of the children's father and mother in the upbringing, migration plans and involvement in the Russian-speaking community. Interviews with teachers were conducted with the aim to find out what differences there were in child-rearing practices of parents whose children attend the courses they observed and mentioned as significant and how they explained them.

In Madrid, in addition to the interviews, I was able to visit four respondents, participate in a meeting organized for the members of online group for parents in Madrid, visit the two programs for Russian-speaking children (one of them four times), as well as spend time outdoors with parents and their children four times. During these visits and outdoors activities I paid attention to the language that children and parents used, to the types of activities in which they were involved, to the districts I was in and I also conducted interviews. All interviews were in Russian.

Results

The specificity of Russian-speaking migrants

Studies that examine of the specific cultural characteristics of migrants to explain the educational trajectories of children (Shah et al., 2010; Zhou & Bankston III, 1994), pay much attention to the role of communities in these processes. Members of the communities share and assimilate certain values and attitudes (for example, the value of labor or education), they exercise control over compliance with rules, norms and sanctions. Community, in the classic sense, is not just a collection of people, it is a collection of institutions, such as the household, places of assembly, businesses, churches, schools, the courts and others (Park, 2002).

In this sense, the studied communities of Madrid are weakly institutionalized. The main structure-forming institutions of the Russian-speaking minority groups include various structured programs for children, the church, as well as groups organized on the basis of social networking services (Facebook and the Russian service - VKontakte). Communities have weak ties, do not have city territorial specificities and compact places of residence. Place of residence is determined to a greater extent by the socio-economic characteristics of the family and correspond to the established resettlement of local residents. Many respondents demonstrate shared beliefs about the socio-economic spatial segregation existing in Madrid and the surrounding areas - the southern suburbs have less prestige, are characterized by a high proportion of working-class migrants, but housing and rent prices are low. Other districts are described as middle-class and/ or the upper-middle-class. The socio-economic position of families is usually consistent with their assessment of their area of residence. Respondents themselves often used socio-economic characteristics of the area describing their or other place of living, such as *"It's a bit like the such area, which is poor, it is the south, the south of Madrid"* (female, has two children, arrived 13 years ago) or *"It is a middle class district"* (female, has two children, arrived 3 years ago). Russian-speaking migrants from this research have no places of compact residence, they are scattered in different areas of Madrid and its nearest suburbs.

The migrants are not transnational in the sense that they are not included in networks extending across national borders (Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007). Their cross-country contacts are often limited by communication with family and old friends, but can have a regular character.

Another peculiarity of Russian-speaking migrants of this study is their heterogeneity in terms of migration experience and purposes. The respondents can be divided into two groups. The first is represented by migrant workers, whose migration entailed looking for work or job suggestions or, in the case of migrants with a large amount of economic capital, with a choice of new permanent residence in terms of climatic and social conditions. The second group can be described as transnational marriage migrants (Rodriguez-Garcia, 2015), who carried out the move to create a family with a citizen of the reception country. Families of migrants, thus, presented endogamous and exogamous unions, and in two cases, were incomplete.

The study found many similarities in child-rearing strategies and practices, aspects of which are problematized by them, in structural conditions that determine the leisure practices of children, despite the differences in economic resources of respondents, social niches occupied by their environment, the characteristics of the local infrastructures, the integration paths in the host society, as well as the cultural identities of family members. The differences, which are significant from the point of view of the selected methodological perspective, involve other characteristics of the respondents, such as the perception of themselves as bearers of a particular culture and/ or resources (Russian language, literature), stylistic features of upbringing, the fluency of Spanish, and others.

Structural conditions and consequences

Within the framework of the comparative integration context theory a lot of attention in the explanation of the differences in the trajectories of migrants has been paid to the integration context, which is formed from the specific institutional arrangements in the educational system, the labor market, religion, etc (Crul, Schneider, & Lelie, 2012; Crul & Vermeulen, 2003). In the study of educational practices and opportunities, this approach shifts the focus of attention from the family resources and cultural specificity of migrants to the features of educational systems in different countries, such as the age at which a child begins to attend school, opportunities to choose a certain type of school at different levels of education, the number of face-to-face contact hours with teachers (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003). Given these criteria, the educational system in Spain and Russia has significant differences at the level of school and pre-school education. These structural features have an impact on the child-rearing practices of the women from different countries, even if they share similar attitudes and beliefs to the education and follow similar strategies.

In Spain, school education starts at age four, which is two years earlier than in Russia. Although education is compulsory from six in Spain, all the children of the respondents who have reached the minimum school age, except for one child, started to attend their schools from the age of four. Early school inclusion has a significant impact on the organization of a children's life as a whole and on their recreational and structured activities.

Another difference, which relates to the contextual conditions, is the structure of family policy. In particular, in Spain, maternity leave is granted for only four months, which leads to the need to go to work soon after child birth and to use the services of preschool educational institutions or a nurse. Although in some cases, the child began to go to kindergarten because the necessity of the mother to start working, the child attending kindergarten in many families was caused not only by contextual conditions, but also a high level of confidence of the respondents to the preschool education, both public and private. One respondent explains how she and her husband chose a kindergarten for her eighteen-month-old child: *“It is generally very accepted here that children start to attend kindergarten from earliest years. That we were not so scared, because we came, we were showed that here they lied in cradles, here children are crawling, and these only began to walk. (...) But our [daughter] already ran as hard as one can, she was already one and a half years old. And we were not so scared, you know, as sometimes happens in Russia when people are sacred to send children in two years old, some people are scared to send at three years. Things are in a different way here”* (female, has two children, arrived 4 years ago). The woman in this family does not work, and one of the reasons why they sent their daughter to kindergarten is described by an appeal to the personal features of the daughter, including the need to communicate with other children, as well as her activity and mobility.

Differences in existing systems are seen as a consequence of a certain mentality, they believe that they reproduce cultural features in the upbringing of children. Mothers expressed a negative attitude to the early transfer of the functions of child-rearing from the family to preschool institutions, however, at the same time, they think that the period, which is necessary for the socialization of the child only in the family environment, can be shorter compared to the time people prefer to have in Russia: *“Spaniards send their children to kindergarten when they are 4 months old. (...) I was not ready to send my child to a crèche at 6 months because of our Russian mentality. You know, what mentality we have. That is m so I thought that ... well I had to sacrifice my career, because it still affects your success, but sit with her half a year more. I don't*

want to send her to kindergarten until she is at least one year old” (female, has one children, arrived 10 years ago).

Other research has indicated, as opposed to the results of A. Lareau, that parents are more likely to involve their children in structured activities, regardless of family structure and the mother's profession (Hofferth, 2008). In this comparative study, the structural conditions determine the probability of the earlier inclusion of children in the form of structured activities in Spain at least at the level of attendance in kindergarten, compared with Russian families.

Schools provide a variety of structured programs both in Spain and in Russia, but there are their own national specifics. In particular, the lunch break has such duration in Spain that parents can take children home at this time. Schools offer lunch and additionally provide extra-curricular classes at lunch break time, but they are not mandatory. The child can also stay in school, but initiate an activity by him/ herself. Many of our respondents preferred that the child at this time attended classes, arguing that such activities was more helpful, even if they had the opportunity to pick them up and take them home for this period:

R.: Well, here she goes... they have English twice, music twice, and motility once. (...) You can refuse, they will play in the yard there or something else... but I prefer giving her something to do. (...)

I.: Were there any choices or just this?

R.: No, just this (female, has one children, arrived 6 years ago).

Russian language and Russian-speaking structured programs

Inclusion of children in education from early childhood forms their language environment, which can be characterized as predominantly Spanish. Children are beginning to refuse to use the Russian language, even if both parents are Russian-speaking.

Researchers studying migrants in the reception countries often focused on acculturation tendencies and their relationship to the possible trajectories of social mobility. Thus, A. Portes et al. describe consonant acculturation as a process in which middle class parents and children form the cultural orientation of the receiving community, including no longer speaking their native language (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). In terms of economic mobility and stability, this trajectory is seen to be leading to positive consequences. Dissonant acculturation assumes acculturation of children who learn a language and adopt the way of life of the host

community, in contrast to their parents. This trajectory has negative consequences as a result of acculturation and subsequent assimilation into the underclass, in contrast to the previous scenario. Selective acculturation is characterized by biculturalism and leads to upward mobility.

In the case of Russian-speaking migrants in Madrid, there is a trend, which has different characteristics. The specifics of the communities, characterized by weak ties, on the one hand, and the system of school and preschool education, implied the inclusion of the children in the learning process, as well as in the educational culture since their earliest years, on the other hand, leads to the fact that without the special efforts of parents, children begin to use the Spanish language as a major. These processes do not depend on the social segment, in which migrants are incorporated. What a mother of two children says about language preferences of her two sons: *“I would say that it is as a native language for him. That is, of course I'd like to say that I have a bilingual child and I do my best, they have watched cartoons in Russian, they have read fairy tales in Russian, that means that all things that are possible are in Russian, but in spite of this Spanish for them is like Russian for me”* (female, has two children, arrived 15 years ago).

Our study does not assess the consequences acculturation tendencies in terms of social mobility, but it problematizes these processes from a different perspective - the perception of the parents of these processes as a negative. Bilingualism of the second generation is complicated, regardless of the wishes of parents. Against this background, Russian language courses and other Russian-speaking activities are regarded as an important part of the total child-rearing strategies of the child. Adopting Spanish culture is not seen as a problem by all families, regardless of class and the ethnic composition of them. The role of a Spaniard father as a bearer of culture hardly surfaces in the narratives of women from mixed marriages. All the informants perceive learning the Spanish language and culture as natural, what is happening at school and in the local environment, while learning the Russian language and culture are considered as requiring effort. In the Russian-speaking families in which the parents speak only in Russian there are similar trends: *“The dad is also Russian, but we noticed that two months after arrival, we went immediately to the Spanish school. Three months later, the older children already talked in Spanish, so we had not studied Spanish before. The oldest child three months later, the youngest one after five months already spoke and they have very good results in the Spanish language in school, that is, five in the Russian grade system, 9-10, that is excellent. But we began to notice that because the whole environment is Spanish-speaking, the children quickly began to lose the Russian language, just*

momentarily. (...) And since all friends are Spanish-speaking, that is a music school, sport classes in Spanish, so the language which is vivid is lost” (female, has three children, arrived 2 years ago).

Parents are distinguished in their effort invested in the study of the Russian language by a child, but most of them share a high value of proficiency in the Russian language. This attitude is also supported at the level of the official transmitted ideology and implemented practices. For example, many respondents talked about information concerning the positive effects of bilingualism received from psychologists and other representatives of schools and medical institutions.

In some families, the study of language permeates all aspects of life. Even a trip to Russia is estimated from the perspective of opportunities to immerse the child in a language environment. One of the recurring practices is to send the child to a kindergarten for a period of the holidays in Russia in order to study the Russian language.

Many parents complain that despite their efforts, the children still speak Spanish to each other, even if the home language of communication is Russian: *“You collect three Russian-speaking children who attend Spanish-speaking schools, who are with their mothers, with parents talking in Russian, they speak to each other in Spanish” (male, has two children, arrived 13 years ago).*

A lot of research describing the approaches to childrearing and child care pays much attention to the way to use language by adults when they interact with children (Lareau, 2003; Nelson & Schutz, 2007), in the case of a lot of these migrant families, the way of using language has its marked features. For example, a mother can always speak with her child only in Russian, even in the presence of her husband, even if he does not understand the Russian language. Women in mixed marriages may not be fluent in any languages other than Russian or do not speak Spanish fluently and use English for communication with her husband:

R.: Speak with children in Russian only, the husband speaks only in Spanish. And with my husband I speak in English. So, we have three languages at home.

I.: And you speak Spanish cautiously, yes? It is easier for you to speak English?

R.: It is much easier! Yes, my Spanish is mediocre and poor (female, has two children, arrived 3 years ago).

As a result, families in which the language is neglected, the Russian language is lost. For example, a Russian language teacher talks about her students from families in which the parents themselves

begin to use Spanish words in their speech: *“Both mom and dad, they are from the Ukraine or Russia, and they themselves speak a mixture of languages and their children. Naturally, the child, why would he maintain ... He hears Spanish words which compose half, he just answers them in Spanish”* (teacher of Russian language).

Meanwhile, language transmission requires material and other family resources. Classes take time, a meeting of the community members can be costly, the majorities of Russian language courses are not free and may be located far from the place of residence. In addition, in families in which parents are not able to pick up their children after school, the children mostly attend extra classes offered by the school, which promotes socialization in a Spanish-speaking environment. In communities with strong ties, members can carry out the function of caring for the children, to control them, migrants from this study do not have such a group of support even if they need it. They also are limited in the help they receive from their relatives. Some respondents used the help of their mothers, who came to Spain with a view to provide assistance for the care of children, but the possibility of such assistance is limited in most cases because of the need for different reasons to go back. Moreover, even such short-term visits require additional material resources.

The study of the Russian language is not always the aim of a cultural transfer. Many respondents stated quite rational reasons as important or essential: find a job in the future, cognitive development of the child, the opportunity to keep in touch with relatives. The Russian language is perceived as a valuable resource in terms of life chances and prospects.

Russian-language structured programs for children not only have the function of the children's development and their socialization, they also allow mothers to accumulate social capital, and for some women form the most desirable and comfortable social circle. This possibility of joining a network of new acquaintances is especially valuable for those who have recently moved and/ or do not speak Spanish fluently. At one meeting, which took place without children, organized in a restaurant for the members of one of the communities for Russian-speaking parents, women got to know each other and exchanged information about their place of residence in order to identify those who live in the vicinity and with whom it will be possible to meet later. However, the migrants with long experience of living in Spain can also have such needs. Unlike many other activities women may be less sensitive to the content of Russian programs. They create a language environment, which can be the main purpose of attendance.

The results of our study have many parallels with the trends found in other research, studying the process of learning the “minority” language by children in mixed families (Le Gall & Meintel, 2015). The mixed couples in Madrid undoubtedly have their own specifics, in particular, on average, they use more languages at home and can use the one person - one language strategy, which is considered as one of the optimal strategies raising children bilingually (Palviainen & Boyd, 2007). However, the significant thing about this case is the fact that Russian-speaking migrants in Madrid are experiencing similar difficulties, and use similar practices of language learning and development of language skills regardless of mixedness (Collet, 2012) of their families. Additionally, in the context of the methodological focus of our research it is also important that the need to study the Russian language by the child determines the characteristics of child-rearing practices of some women and to a large extent causes the choice of structured activities and the goals that they pursue.

Child-rearing approaches and styles: cultural features

The majority of respondents perceive the child-rearing approach and styles of women from the post-Soviet space as cultural-specific and in contrast to the approach employed in Spain. According to the respondents, the important features of child-rearing styles of Russian women are seen to be supervision of children's behavior, covering different areas of life, a high level of parental control over the observance of rules and norms, which is accompanied by disciplinary instructions and sanctions: *“We have a lot of restrictions. We have a very restrained upbringing, we restrain the child to a high degree in order that he/ she does not exceed the limits. In Spain there are not things like that, a child is a king and a god, if he wants to poop in the middle of a table, then it should be. They have different attitudes to children, they are allowed everything, everything is permitted”* (female, has one children, arrived 10 years ago).

According to the terminology of Baumrind (2005), the behavior of Russian-speaking parents is seen by respondents as highly demanding, in other words, being consistent with the high demandingness dimension of parenting styles. Descriptions of stylistic differences in child-rearing practices are often accompanied by examples of the typical varieties of parental control over children's behavior in public places, from the perspective of its compliance with appropriate social norms of behavior from the point of view of parents (*“do not sit on the floor; do not look at this; do not speak this; sit with me properly; I am eating so do not disgrace the mother in a restaurant”* (female, has one children, arrived 4,5 years ago)), as well as examples of control for observance of the rules of hygiene, as well as of intensified care for the child health (*“in the winter we have caps,*

in the fall we have a cap” (female, has one children, arrived 10 years ago). The respondent in the last quote mentions the differences in practices of Spanish and Russian mothers to children's health care, which is often expressed in the fact that Russian mothers pay greater attention to the protection from the cold and other weather conditions, perceived as unfavorable or dangerous for the health of the child. The last quote also refers to a popular example, which has been given by many respondents to the description of the stylistic features of Russian-speaking migrants. According to them, a Russian-speaking child is easily found on the beaches through panama hats, which are worn for protection from the sun.

The differences in the styles are evident in many areas of life, including in school and health care facilities: *“They [the Spaniards] are also. Snot is flowing in three streams, well, let them flow. No, I certainly can not do like this. I'm flying to the doctor, my doctor scold me: “Why are you coming, snot has just began. It is not seen nothing””* (female, has one children, arrived 4 years ago). In this example, the respondent tries to explain that the Spaniards, including doctors, do not pay attention to the weak symptom of colds, do not give them such importance, as is customary in Russia.

Generally speaking, parents share the view of the low demands of Spanish parents, but differ in how they perceive the level of responsiveness. On the one hand, many of them say that parents in Spain are very fond of children and show warmth and emotional involvement in what is happening with them and their condition. These views correspond to the characteristics of permissive style. On the other hand, there are respondents who believe that their level of responsiveness characterizing the parenting style of Spanish parents is lower than that of Russian-speaking parents: *“Spanish woman first of all think about themselves and then about the child”* (female, has one children, arrived 6 years ago).

Another feature, which some parents considered as culturally specific, regards the practices of inclusion of children in structured activities. These parents, along with the fact that they share ideas about the high demands of parents from post-Soviet space, also believe that structuring of a child's leisure time and involving them in different classes and extra-curriculum activities are also specific cultural traits. A woman from a mixed family says that she has different beliefs from her Spanish husband's ones about how to raise the children and she believes that the differences are of a cultural nature. There are also differences of opinion concerning the desirability of including children in structured activities, as well as the purchase of books and educational games. The

husband, according to a woman, accuses her that she deprives children of a happy childhood, limiting, in particular, the amount of time allotted for unstructured forms of activities: “*Books are also better took in the library, like: “leave children alone, let them play, let them run around in yard with children”* (female, has two children, arrived 3 years ago).

These ideas about the differences in approaches relate to the characteristics of concerted cultivation and the accomplishment of natural growth (Lareau, 2003), concerning the organization of the daily life of the child - structured for concerted cultivation and unstructured, initiated by children, for the accomplishment of natural growth. These representations of the parenting approaches also have reference to features described in other studies, examining parenting beliefs and practices. Kremer-Sadlik and Fatigante (2015) found differences in the views of the children of American and Italian parents which correspond to “child as project and child as being” (Halldén, 1991). In this sense, the beliefs shared by the majority of respondents about a Spanish parents's views on the child and child-rearing approaches corresponds to those that are employed by Italian parents, who believe that a child should be granted more freedom and give them the possibility to show more personal initiatives, compared to American parents who consider childhood as a period of preparation for future life, carried out by a parents' control.

Some parents perceive their style and approaches as having advantages and is preferred and correct from the point of view of social norms and benefits for the child, but many respondents, especially those from mixed families, problematize these differences in features and try to find a compromise: “*And I now have adapted to some degree and have become to have a more relaxed attitude to the child. Of course, I explain to her that it is not allowed to scream if go to some place, it is ugly to scream. But I'm not doing this with her, "Sit down, I say, keep your back straight". Yes, I correct, I say: "Let your back be straight", but not I am not fanatical”* (female, has one children, arrived 4,5 years ago).

Therefore, women try to modify their practices by taking into account the perceived rules and norms, to reduce the level of control over the child's behavior at home, and especially in public places, to change the types of instructions from directive form to softer and reduce the degree of care about health, which becomes apparent in the frequent visits to the doctors, using clothing to protect against the weather. These processes are related to the subjective perception of existing rules and norms, differences in practices and attitudes compared with the husbands in some mixed families, the interaction with various institutions and local residents.

Conclusion

This article focuses on the parenting practices of Russian women and tries to contribute to the current debate, drawing attention to their migrant specifics, namely to the features of child-rearing, which can be explained by the migration experience, new environment, perceived cultural differences, native language and its status, as well as the new structural context at both the local and national levels. Within this study special attention has been given to the similarity of practices of Russian-speaking women migrants but with different economic resources, as well as their differences from the practices which are peculiar to women living in Russia and having no migration experience.

The process of migration entails the loss or transformation of kinship and friendship networks, which affects some aspects of child-rearing. In particular, migrants often have limited opportunities to receive help from the relatives of the child's mother and use other extended family resources. Specificity of the migrant community, which is weakly institutionalized, characterized by the disperse resettlement of migrants and weak ties, also determines its minor role in implementation of the function of child care and childrearing.

One of the important components of the approach “concerted cultivation” (Lareau, 2003, 2011) is the special organization of the daily life of the children, including them in structured activities. In this study, it was shown that a mother’s choice of structured activities for the child can be caused by country-structural factors, such as the national peculiarities of the system of school and pre-school education, family policy, the specifics and set of programs offered at the school and available in the area. In addition, the choice of structured activities may be associated not only with the purpose of the socialization of the children and their development, but also with the aims, related to the migration specifics of women, within which the significant ones are, the formation of the nearest circle of friends, the institutionalization of community, learning and maintaining the Russian language by children, the creation of a Russian-speaking language environment, and cultural transmission.

Regardless of the social segment, in which migrants are incorporated, children begin to prefer speaking Spanish. This leads to the fact that the study of the Russian language in some families affects all spheres of life, and many aspects of child-rearing. Although the special language environment, as well as child-rearing practices directed to its maintenance, is described as a specific feature of mixed unions (Le Gall & Meintel, 2015), in our study, Russian-speaking

migrants in Madrid may experience similar difficulties, and use a similar practice of language learning and development of language skills, regardless of the mixedness (Collet, 2012) of their families.

Many women develop and share ideas about the differences in the parenting approach and style of women from the post-Soviet space and from Spain. Women perceive the stylistic features of the behavior of Russian women as highly demanding and share the view of the low demands of Spanish parents, yet differ in how they perceive the level of responsiveness of them (Baumrind, 2005). Features that respondents give parenting approach employed by Spanish families have a lot similarities with the characteristics of the views of childhood and childrearing of Italian parents (Kremer-Sadlik & Fatigante, 2015) which can be called as “child as being” (Halldén, 1991).

Acknowledgements

I express my deep gratitude to all those who agreed to participate in this study, as well as to those who kindly assisted me in the recruitment of people for the research, introduced me to them and invited me to meetings. In Madrid, the organizers and teachers of the Russian language programs as well as representatives of the Orthodox Church gave me considerable assistance.

References

- Akifyeva, R. (2016). Children’s participation in structured activities in the context of the child-rearing strategies of Russian-speaking women: Class and migration status. *Working Papers Centre for German and European Studies*, WP 2016-01, 1–15.
- Anthias, F. (2007). Ethnic ties: Social capital and the question of mobilisability. *The Sociological Review*, 55(4), 788–805.
- Baumrind, D. (1967). Child care practices anteceding three patterns of preschool behavior. In *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 75, 43–88.
- Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. *Developmental Psychology*, 4(1p2), 1–103.
- Baumrind, D. (2005). Patterns of parental authority and adolescent autonomy. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development*, 2005(108), 61–69.
- Bennett, P. R., Lutz, A. C., & Jayaram, L. (2012). Beyond the Schoolyard: The Role of Parenting Logics, Financial Resources, and Social Institutions in the Social Class Gap in Structured Activity Participation. *Sociology of Education*, 85(2), 131–157.

- Bodovski, K. (2010). Parental practices and educational achievement: social class, race, and habitus. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(2), 139–156.
- Chen, J. J.-L., Chen, T., & Zheng, X. X. (2012). Parenting styles and practices among Chinese immigrant mothers with young children. *Early Child Development and Care*, 182(1), 1–21.
- Chin, T., & Phillips, M. (2004). Social reproduction and child-rearing practices: Social class, children's agency, and the summer activity gap. *Sociology of Education*, 77(July), 185–210.
- Coleman, J. S. (2001). Kapital sotsialnyiy i chelovecheskiy [Social and human capital]. *Obschestvennyye nauki i sovremennost*, 3, 121–139.
- Collet, B. (2012). Mixed couples in France. Statistical facts, definitions, and social reality. *Papers. Revista de Sociologia*, 97(1), 61–77.
- Crul, M., Schneider, J., & Lelie, F. (Eds.). (2012). *The European second generation compared: Does the integration context matter?* (IMISCOE Research). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Crul, M., & Vermeulen, H. (2003). The Future of the Second Generation: The Integration of Migrant Youth in Six European Countries. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 965–986.
- Darling, N., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as Context: An integrative model. *Psychological Bulletin*, 113(3), 487–496.
- Dumais, S. A., Kessinger, R. J., & Ghosh, B. (2012). Concerted Cultivation and Teachers' Evaluations of Students: Exploring the Intersection of Race and Parents' Educational Attainment. *Sociological Perspectives*, 55(1), 17–42.
- Fibbi, R., & Truong, J. (2015). Parental involvement and educational success in Kosovar families in Switzerland. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 3(1), 1-17.
- Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645(1), 1–24.
- Halldén, G. (1991). The child as project and the child as being: Parents' ideas as fames of reference. *Children and Society*, 5(4), 334–346.
- Hofferth, S. (2008). Linking Social Class to Concerted Cultivation, Natural Growth and School Readiness. In *Disparities in School Readiness: How Do Families Contribute to Successful and Unsuccessful Transitions into School?* (pp. 199–205). New York, London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Ilari, B. (2013). Concerted cultivation and music learning: Global issues and local variations. *Research Studies in Music Education*, 35(2), 179–196.

- Kremer-Sadlik, T., & Fatigante, M. (2015). Investing in children's future: Cross-cultural perspectives and ideologies on parental involvement in education. *Childhood*, 22(1), 67–84.
- Kremer-Sadlik, T., Izquierdo, C., & Fatigante, M. (2010). Making Meaning of Everyday Practices: Parents' Attitudes toward Children's Extracurricular Activities in the United States and in Italy. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 41(1), 35–54.
- Lareau, A. (2002). Invisible inequality: Social class and childrearing in black families and white families. *American Sociological Review*, 67, 747–776.
- Lareau, A. (2003). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lareau, A. (2011). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life* (2nd Edition with an Update a Decade Later). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lee, E. M., & Kao, G. (2009). Less bang for the buck? Cultural capital and immigrant status effects on kindergarten academic outcomes. *Poetics*, 37(3), 201–226.
- Le Gall, J., & Meintel, D. (2015). Cultural and Identity Transmission in Mixed Couples in Quebec, Canada: Normalizing Plural Identities as a Path to Social Integration. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 662(1), 112–128.
- Levitt, P., & Jaworsky, B. N. (2007). Transnational migration studies: Past developments and future trends. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 33, 129–156.
- Modood, T. (2004). Capitals, ethnic identity and educational qualifications. *Cultural Trends*, 13(2), 87–105.
- Nelson, M. K., & Schutz, R. (2007). Day Care Differences and the Reproduction of Social Class. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 36(3), 281–317.
- Palviainen, Å., & Boyd, S. (2007). Unity in discourse, diversity in practice: The one person one language policy in bilingual families. In *Successful family language policy: parents, children and educators in interaction* (Vol. 7, pp. 223–248). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer.
- Park, J.-H., & Kwon, Y. I. (2009). Parental goals and parenting practices of upper-middle-class Korean mothers with preschool children. *Journal of Early Childhood Research*, 7(1), 58–75.
- Park, R. (2002). Organizaciya soobshestva i romanticheskii harakter [Community Organization and the Romantic Temper]. *Sociologicheskoe Obozrenie / Russian Sociological Review*, 3, 13–18.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: the story of the immigrant second generation*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.

- Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 530(1), 74–96.
- Rodriguez-Garcia, D. (2015). Intermarriage and Integration Revisited: International Experiences and Cross-Disciplinary Approaches. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 662(1), 8–36.
- Shah, B., Dwyer, C., & Modood, T. (2010). Explaining Educational Achievement and Career Aspirations among Young British Pakistanis: Mobilizing “Ethnic Capital”? *Sociology*, 44(6), 1109–1127.
- Spera, C. (2005). A Review of the Relationship Among Parenting Practices, Parenting Styles, and Adolescent School Achievement. *Educational Psychology Review*, 17(2), 125–146.
- Weininger, E. B., & Lareau, A. (2009). Paradoxical pathways: An ethnographic extension of Kohn’s findings on class and childrearing. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71(3), 680–695.
- Zhou, M. (1997). Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 975-1008.
- Zhou, M., & Bankston III, C. L. (1994). Social capital and the adaptation of the second generation: The Case of Vietnamese youth in New Orleans. *International Migration Review*, 28(4), 821–845.

Raisa N. Akifyeva

National Research University Higher School of Economics (St. Petersburg, Russia). St. Petersburg School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Department of Sociology, Senior Lecturer;
E-mail: akifyeva@hse.ru.

Any opinions or claims contained in this Working Paper do not necessarily reflect the views of HSE.

© Akifyeva, 2016