

**MORE THAN JUST ETHNIC: NEGOTIATION OF ETHNICITY THROUGH
LANGUAGE AMONG RUSSIAN GERMAN RE-SETTLERS AND JEWISH
REFUGEES FROM THE FORMER SOVIET UNION IN GERMANY**

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines processes of ethnic identity negotiation between two Russian-speaking migrant communities that have a common linguistic background but differ in their understanding of their ethnicity. By analyzing reports of language use and language attitudes, this ethnographically-based research investigates how ethnic identity can be negotiated in the absence of a designated "ethnic" language.

The analysis is based on sociolinguistic interviews with 38 Russian-German resettlers (*Spätaussiedler*, SA) and 40 Jewish contingent refugees from the former Soviet Union (*Kontingentflüchtlinge*, KF) and is supplemented by a quantitative survey. The study demonstrates that in the absence of a distinct in-group code, the negotiation of ethnic positioning in a migrant environment is achieved in part by routinely utilizing contrasting ideologies about shared linguistic resources.

This dissertation adds to an existing body of research on ethnic identity in migration (Bailey 2000; Giampapa 2001; Lo 1999; Zentella 1997) by uncovering rich dynamics of such negotiations not only with respect to the local majority, but even more so *between* migrant groups. The SA community is shown to negotiate its positioning towards the host majority, which becomes especially noteworthy due to this group's historically German ethnic background. Simultaneously, as a minority within a minority, the KF community strives to situate itself not only in relation to the host community, but more so in relation to the "other" Russian-speaking migrant group. Through this process, KF migrants demonstrate an understanding of ethnicity that is tied to characteristics that are not traditionally seen as ethnic (such as social and educational status), but gain ethnic meaning in this community. In the process of identity negotiation, the KF minority applies this understanding of ethnicity to interpret observed and assumed linguistic behaviors and language attitudes of the SA group, particularly with respect to issues of language shift, language maintenance and code-mixing practices.

By uncovering ideologies that link beliefs about language to locally salient ethnic categorization, this dissertation demonstrates how ethnic distinctiveness is established through the use of subtle and arbitrary mechanisms, which are not universally tied to ethnicity, but acquire their "ethnic" meaning in local negotiations of social positioning.

Chapter 1

Problematizing ethnicity in sociolinguistic research

1.1. Introduction

This dissertation examines how two migrant communities, which share linguistic background but differ in the understanding of their ethnicity, construct a boundary between each other through linguistic means. By analyzing reported patterns of language use and language attitudes this ethnographically-based research investigates how ethnic identity is constructed within these communities and how community members use language to shape and negotiate ethnic and social boundaries.

The communities investigated are the Russian German re-settlers (*Spätaussiedler*, referred to as *SA* in this dissertation)¹ and Russian Jewish refugees (*Jüdische Kontingentflüchtlinge*, here referred to as *KF*) who have migrated to Germany in recent decades. I argue that these communities display a unique blend of similarities and differences in the process of ethnic identity negotiation, and that understanding this process will require a revision of the approach that sociolinguists traditionally use to analyze ethnicity, often presupposing a direct link between an ethnic linguistic code and a corresponding ethnic identity. Both *SA* and *KF* migrants come to Germany from the countries of the former Soviet Union, where they have been deeply influenced by the same dominant culture. Both have almost completely lost their ethnic languages—German and Yiddish—throughout history, and have become speakers of Russian. After migration to Germany, both communities acquired German as a second language. In this situation, the two communities present a unique case of two migrant groups united by

¹ In this dissertation, the term *Spätaussiedler* (*SA*) is used when referring to the migrant community in Germany as the official name of this group in the German migration system. The term *Russian Germans* is used in discussions of the history of this group before migration.

language(s) but separated by the way they conceptualize and express their ethnicity. In this dissertation, I ask whether the speakers themselves perceive linguistic means to be tied to negotiation of ethnic identity and ethnic boundaries, and if so, how these means are used in the process of identity negotiation in a migrant context. My goal is to demonstrate that a look into ethnic identity construction within these communities will contribute to a better understanding of how ethnicity becomes assigned, expressed and negotiated through language.

This chapter outlines the general theoretical background necessary for understanding this research. Section 1.2 describes the current approach to the general concept of *identity* in sociolinguistic research, while Section 1.3 demonstrates how *ethnic identity* in particular fits into the more general theoretical framework described in Section 1.2. Section 1.4 then examines some of the fundamental assumptions underlying traditional understandings of the links between language and ethnicity. Finally, Section 1.5 addresses the ways in which my research directly challenges these assumptions and how such challenges can be approached within the general framework of language and identity research. Section 1.6 outlines the research goals and the structure of this dissertation.

1.2. Notion of *identity* in sociolinguistic research

Current approaches to identity within various fields such as psychology, anthropology, social and cultural studies and linguistics, have recognized that identity cannot be understood as a concept that operates around "fixed" and pre-existing societal categories. Instead, in recent decades conceptualizations of identity have shifted towards the realization that these categories are very much alive and fluid (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall 2004; Eckert 1989; Eckert 1995; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). In this "poststructuralist" or "social constructionist" view, individuals are seen as dynamic social participants who not only can claim a membership in different social groups, but are also actively and at all times involved in constructing and negotiating boundaries between groups and categories. Moreover, identity research has shown that individuals can participate in many social categories at the same time and can be actively involved in construction, maintenance and negotiation of boundaries between categories at any time. In this

process, social participants try to find their own place within a social world as much as they ascribe social membership to other individuals around them based on their behavior, including linguistic behavior. It is this dynamic view of identity that I adopt for the purposes of this dissertation, following Bucholtz and Hall's broad definition of identity as "the social positioning of self and other" (2005: 586).

This fluid and ever-changing nature of identity is especially important to bear in mind if one studies identity in migration. During migration, an individual radically changes the place of settlement and moves from a familiar social environment into the (usually) unknown. Thus, migration inevitably forces individuals and whole social groups to re-evaluate their identities and establish their own space within a new and unfamiliar social environment. Migrants are thus forced to engage in a restructuring of the understanding of their social world and to make a new sense of social surroundings, in which they try to establish their own space. It is therefore especially important for research on identity in migration to conceptualize identity in a way that allows the researcher to understand mechanisms involved in this restructuring process.

There are some fundamental aspects of this dynamic concept of identity that are especially important for approaching the ethnic identity negotiation in the SA and KF communities. Although the definition of identity above touches on some of these points, it is important here to discuss them in (somewhat artificial) isolation.

First, one has to keep in mind that **linguistic behavior is a major tool in identity construction**. As members of a wider society, individuals find various ways throughout their daily lives to express and establish their identities, and in turn, to make judgments about the identities of people around them: from making specific choices in personal appearance, such as dress and hairstyles, to participation in the social activities linked to a specific social group. For example, Eckert's (1989; 2000) research on jocks, burnouts and "in-betweens" within a high school context illustrates that such tools as fashion and engagement in group-associated activities can be a powerful way to establish one's identity. However, what has become crucial for linguistic research in particular is the realization that language can and does play an important (if not central) role in identity negotiation within society (see for example Bucholtz & Hall 2004; Bucholtz & Hall 2005; De Fina 2003; De Fina 2007; Gumperz 1982b; Heller 1982; Heller 1987; Le Page

& Tabouret-Keller 1985; Tabouret-Keller 1997). According to LePage and Tabouret-Keller, “linguistic behavior is a series of acts of identity in which people both reveal their own identity and their search for social roles” (1985: 5). In this view, the role of language in identity construction goes beyond the mere signaling or reflecting of speakers’ identity, as linguistic means are tools that enable speakers to actively find, establish and make necessary adjustments to their own space within a larger social context. As Giampapa puts it, “... a speaker at any given time can lean on and negotiate his/her identities through the interplay of linguistic codes thus positioning him/herself in a particular way. Through linguistic practices, speakers can challenge, reproduce and debate their positional identities on their terms” (Giampapa 2001: 284-85). This view of language as central in constructing identity will be one of the underlying assumptions in this dissertation.

Second, one has to bear in mind that **identities are created in opposition** (see e.g. Irvine 2001). As early as in 1982, Tajfel's social identity theory pointed out that people categorize the social world into groups that are *similar to them* or *differ from them* in some significant aspects, thus stressing that understanding someone's identity directly depends on contrasting it with someone else's. This juxtaposition becomes the main principle in Irvine's concept of distinctiveness (2001) as well as in Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) definition of identity that underlies the analysis in this dissertation. It is through this positioning process that an individual comes to realize which aspect(s) of one's own identity need to be projected and negotiated in any given context and thus it is through this juxtaposition that one's identity comes to light.

In their approach, Bucholtz and Hall use the term '*intersubjectivity*' to stress the relational nature of identity. They further emphasize that individuals are not only actors in this ongoing social interaction, but – to a similar extent – they are passive recipients of others' ascriptions of their identity (2004: 493). This means that in order to fully understand how identity construction works, researchers must consider not only the ways an individual or a group positions himself or itself within the larger societal structure, but also the fact that one's identity is constantly ascribed, questioned and contested by both in- and out-group "others". Thus, in order to fully understand the social landscape of a community, researchers have to be sensitive to this constant negotiation of boundaries.

The relational nature of identity will be especially important for the migrant situation investigated in this dissertation. As a relative "novelty" within a host society, a migrant group can be expected to get actively involved in finding their new post-migrant identity. At the same time, this new identity can be expected to be directly contested by both the local population as well as other migrant groups that are also working on situating themselves within the same society. In fact, as Tajfel points out, even more elaborate and innovative identity work can be expected in cases where minority groups feel their identity is being threatened or questioned (Tajfel 1982: 342), as is the case in the SA and the KF migrant communities described here.

The third fundamental aspect of definitions of identity is that identity construction should be understood as a **dynamic and ongoing process**. At any point, projecting and establishing one's identity requires constant "maintenance work". It is through these perpetual "acts of identity" on the part of the individual (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) that group identities are continuously (re-)established, (re-)evaluated and (re-)created depending on each and every context and the circumstances of each interaction. According to LePage & Tabouret-Keller's model, speakers do not merely adjust their linguistic behavior to match their identity to some kind of pre-existent set of social categories. On the contrary, the collective group identities are being established and negotiated exactly by this unified force of single identity acts performed by individuals. As LePage and Tabouret-Keller argue, during interaction, "an individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181). The subsequent discussion in this dissertation shows how migrants create and re-affirm their own and others' identity aspects on multiple levels, both through linguistic and non-linguistic means.

This view of identity as a cumulative outcome of many individual actions highlights the fact that social identities of groups should be understood as both constructed and imagined (see e.g. Anderson 1991: 6) rather than fixed and static categories. It is this flexible nature of social "categorization" that allows speakers to adjust the projections of their own identities as well as to adjust their relations to others'

identities. That is why “people are continuously involved in the processes of producing and position selves and others, and in creation of new subject positions” (Blackledge & Pavlenko 2001: 249). As mentioned earlier, this dynamic nature of identity and an opportunity to adjust and re-create one’s understanding of social landscape becomes a particularly important feature of identity in studies of migrant communities as they are likely to be actively involved in re-categorization of their world and building their own new space within it. One can expect therefore, that this "identity work" will find its expression in the linguistic behavior of a migrant group as it adjusts to a new social (and often linguistic) situation, and the research presented in this dissertation provides a clear example of such newly required adjustment.

The final and perhaps the most central point that is crucial for understanding this research is that **identity is locally constructed**. This means that when analyzing how speakers construct and maintain differences between "self" and "others", the researcher has to bear in mind that such distinctions are deeply rooted in certain ideologies about language and its relation to the social world, which are always locally constructed and cannot to be understood outside of a particular context. In order to gain understanding of how inter-ethnic distinctiveness can be constructed, my research relies on Gal and Irvine's work (Gal & Irvine 1995; Irvine & Gal 2000), which demonstrates how apparently immanent differences between groups are being created from perceived sociocultural distinctions. According to Irvine and Gal, there is a recurring pattern in the "ways ideologies 'recognize' (or misrecognize) linguistic differences: how they locate, interpret, and rationalize linguistic complexity, identifying linguistic varieties with 'typical' persons and activities and accounting for differentiation among them" (Irvine & Gal 2000: 36). To explain this process, Irvine and Gal distinguish three mechanisms – *iconization*, *fractal recursivity* and *erasure*. Through iconicity, speakers tend to establish seemingly inherent connections between a particular linguistic code or behavior and the group using it, as for example, with seeing "ethnic" or "national" languages as inherent attributes of ethnic groups or nations. Fractal recursivity allows social actors to establish differences on many levels at the same time by involving many locally salient oppositions, thus providing them with multiple resources for creating complex and multifaceted identities. Different aspects of these identities can be highlighted as they

become salient in a particular context. Finally, the authors point out that linguistic ideologies have "totaling vision", which allows speakers to single out what they perceive as homogeneous groups united by the same way of speaking through ignoring (or 'erasing' in their minds) variation present in everyday language use.

One also has to bear in mind that application of these principles is possible though what is understood as the *indexical nature* of the relationship between linguistic form and social phenomena (Silverstein 1979). Irvine and Gal summarize this principle in the following way:

"As part of everyday behavior, the use of a linguistic form can become a pointer to (index of) the social identities and the typical activities of speakers. But speakers (and hearers) often notice, rationalize and justify such linguistic indices, thereby creating linguistic ideologies that purport to explain the source and meaning of the linguistic differences. To put this another way, linguistic features are seen as reflecting and expressing broader cultural images of people and activities. Participants' ideologies about language locate linguistic phenomena as part of, and evidence for, what they believe to be systematic behavioral, aesthetic, affective, and moral contrasts among the social groups indexed. That is, people have, and act in relation to, ideologically constructed representations of linguistic differences" (2000: 37).

Furthermore, Irvine and Gal point out that not only specific linguistic forms, but also whole languages can come to index social groups (e.g. Anzaldúa 1990: 207) – a point that will be of crucial importance for the understanding of ethnic identity in particular as it is often tied to one specific 'ethnic' language.

The analysis presented in this dissertation demonstrates how speakers can creatively use the indexical nature of such relationships in establishing new links between aspects of their social world and linguistic structures available to them even in situations where traditionally expected links between social characteristics and linguistic structures (as for example between a particular *ethnicity* and a corresponding *ethnic* language) seem to be unavailable. In order to clarify the meaning of "traditionally expected links", the next two sections of this chapter outline the current approach to the study of ethnicity in the wider framework of identity research. These sections also address one of the major assumptions that often underlies studies of language and ethnic identity.

1.3. *Ethnicity* in the framework of identity research

The sheer number of recent studies that address the relationship between ethnicity and language show a burgeoning interest in this issue among linguists (Bailey 2000; Bell

1999; Bucholtz 1995; Bucholtz 1999; Cashman 2005; De Fina 2007; Fishman 1999; Fought 2006; Gordon 2000; Harris & Rampton 2003; Rampton 1995; Schilling-Estes 2004; Zentella 1997). Although researchers have looked at very different contexts and situations in which ethnic identity can be negotiated, there has been fundamental agreement on the major theoretical position: ethnicity should be understood as one facet of an individual's broader identity, and - just like identity in general - it should be conceptualized as a "socially constructed category, not based on any objectively measurable criteria" (Fought 2006: 4). In fact, as with any other aspect of identity, it can be multi-layered and multi-faceted, and can be emphasized and deemphasized by individuals as they negotiate it in an interaction (see e.g. Schilling-Estes 2004).

The shift from conceptualizing ethnicity as something individuals are born into towards a social-constructionist view of ethnicity as a facet of identity in general was informed in large part by the ground-breaking work of the anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969), who first called attention to the fact that ethnicity is a collectively constructed category. In Barth's view, it is not the "possession" of certain cultural characteristics, but rather the interaction with other ethnic entities that makes a group of people ethnically distinct and visible. As later rendered by Irvine & Gal, "Barth argued that ethnic groups represent a way people organize themselves within a larger social field – a way people identify themselves in contrast with others. Relationships across a boundary, Barth suggested, are thus more crucial to the existence and persistence of the boundary than are any group-internal attributes an anthropological observer might identify" (2000: 74-75). This view of ethnicity is tightly connected to Tajfel's social identity theory mentioned in section 1.2, and, as Fought points out, "this definition of the ethnic 'self' in contrast with an ethnic 'other' fits well with what we know about other identities and how they are constructed" (2006: 13). Remembering this similarity between ethnic identity and identity in general will become especially relevant later, when I discuss how ethnicity had been and should be approached in sociolinguistic research.

At this point it is necessary to specify how ethnicity is conceptualized in this dissertation. This is not an easy task, as many researchers and disciplines base their research on different definitions of this term. This dissertation follows Fought's (2006) approach that builds an understanding of ethnicity on several definitions of an ethnic

group. Here, two specific definitions will be singled out – one by Barth (1969) and one by Zelinsky (2001) — that are particularly suitable for this research because they reinforce the concept of ethnic identity based on the positioning of "self" and "other" as outlined in Section 1.2:

"[An ethnic group:] 1) is largely biologically self-perpetuating; 2) shares fundamental cultural values (...); 3) makes up a field of communication and interaction; 4) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order" (Barth 1969).

The ethnic group is a modern social construct, one undergoing constant change, an imagined community too large for intimate contact among its members, persons who are perceived by themselves and/or others to share a unique set of cultural and historical commonalities... It comes into being by reasons of its relationships with other social entities, usually by experiencing some degree of friction with other groups that adjoin it in physical or social space" (Zelinsky 2001: 44).

Zelinsky also points out that although ethnicity is a social construct, it is not merely hypothetical. On the contrary, ethnic categorization, he claims, is an inherent part of social reality as something "deeply rooted in the consciousness of individuals and groups" on the one hand and "firmly fixed in our society's institutional life" on the other (Zelinsky 2001: 3).

Two points emphasized in these definitions are particularly important for the understanding of ethnic categorization within the KF and SA communities as well as for the understanding of ethnic identity creation in migration in general: first, the necessity of the juxtaposition of one's ethnic identity *against others' identities*, and second, the fact that ethnic identities as social constructs are as much self-ascribed as they are *ascribed by other* individuals, groups and even institutional authorities.

The first point becomes especially important if one considers circumstances of the migration process itself. In a migrant context, a familiar ethnic environment is replaced by a need to redefine ethnic boundaries, as individuals and groups leave their established social landscape and are directly encountering new "ethnic others". In his discussion of ways to approach the study of identity, Auer points out that "migration unavoidably threatens identity" of an individual (2005: 406). Although seemingly applicable to any migrant situation, this threat seems to be especially salient in the case of the two communities described in this dissertation. As with any migrant community, they find themselves in an unfamiliar ethnic environment after migration. However, they also find

themselves sharing their social and physical space with a special "ethnic other", who not only comes from the same geographical space (usually labeled "Russia"), but also speaks the same language. This fact makes these two groups appear to be extremely similar at least in the eyes of the host society. In this situation, where each group is in danger of being mislabeled by outsiders, one can expect them to strive to establish new boundaries that would mark the (often elusive) line where the similarities between "self" and "other" stop and the differences begin.

The second factor that is important to consider when approaching the question of ethnic identity in the Russian-speaking migrant community in Germany is the way others' ascriptions of ethnic categorization – and institutional ascriptions in particular – are playing out within these communities. Researchers who work with these groups have to bear in mind that both SA and KF migrants have recently gone through a very formalized migration process organized along strict ethnic lines. In fact, in order to be a successful applicant for any of the two migration programs, an individual has to actively commit to, and even provide legal proof of either German or Jewish ethnicity as a requirement for migration.² This means that both Russian Jewish and Russian German migrants leave their host countries and enter Germany while bearing a clear ethnic "label".³ Such strict institutionalized ethnic division makes migrants themselves very much aware of the existence of two apparently distinct ethnic groups within Germany. This fact makes the discourse around this distinction an inherent part of the migration process itself and of the life immediately following migration as the groups are sharing physical and social space in their new environment.

So far, this introduction has established that this dissertation views ethnicity as a socially constructed category similar to other aspects of identity. Like other facets of identity, ethnic identity can be established and negotiated through linguistic means. In fact, a look at the literature concerned with the relationship between language and ethnic identity shows that language (and a distinct "ethnic" language specifically) is traditionally

² It is important to note here that "Jewishness" is viewed as ethnicity rather than a religious affiliation in the post-Soviet context. For more information on this issue, see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.2. The details of the migration process are described in detail in Section 2.2.2 and 2.3.1.

³ Section 2.2.2 provides more information on institutional categorization of the Russian German migrants and their family members.

credited with playing a major role in identity negotiation along ethnic lines. Such researchers as Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz (1982) and Tabouret-Keller (1997) have stressed that in today's societies, ethnicity is established and maintained to a large part through the use of a particular language. Fishman states that "ethnic identity is intrinsically connected with language", and that language can become "the most important symbol of ethnic identity" (Fishman 1999: 143). This attitude highlights an understanding that ethnicity is usually expressed and negotiated through the use of a matching "ethnic" language – a view prevalent both in wider societal ideologies as well as in much of the academic community that deals with questions of ethnicity and language. The awareness of this assumed connection between an ethnic identity and an ethnic language is central to the understanding of the goals and purposes of this dissertation. The next section shows in detail how this link between language and ethnicity has been traditionally understood in sociolinguistic research. It also highlights potential problems that may be associated with this traditional approach and illustrates the urgency of a deeper analysis that would go beyond such (often oversimplified) understanding of the relationship between language and ethnicity.

1.4. One language, one ethnicity?

Gal and Irvine point out that not only single linguistic forms, but also whole languages can become associated with particular groups, thus indexing group membership whenever they are used (Gal & Irvine 1995: 973). In this way, an "ethnic" language can and often does mark a membership in a particular ethnic community, in many cases becoming the most visible ethnic identity marker. As Fishman points out, "although language has rarely been equated with the totality of ethnicity, it has, in certain historical, regional and disciplinary contexts been accorded priority within that totality" (Fishman 1999: 4). Such centrality is not surprising considering the fact that language is often seen as a main carrier of one's culture. According to Dorian, "language is the only one [behavior] that actually carries extensive cultural context. The distinctive sounds uttered in speaking a particular language encode meaning, and the link between ethnic group and ethnic language becomes much more important on this level" (1999). Moreover, Fishman

states that "almost every aspect of language is replete with ethnic significance and associations" (Fishman 1999: 340).

Considering this perceived centrality of language for ethnic self- and other-identification, it is not surprising that the research on language and ethnic identity is usually built around an assumption that an "ethnic" community will have a specific linguistic code directly linked to its ethnicity. This link seems especially clearly established in the studies of migrant communities that focus on questions of language maintenance and loss and see the overall decline in the use of an ethnic (or heritage) language as a loss of distinctiveness of a group as an ethnic unit. In his widely-cited study, Haugen (1989) described a three-generation language shift within an American-Norwegian community and found that while Norwegian served as an identity marker for the first and second generation of migrants, the gradual shift to English reflected the acculturation and adjustment in their identity towards the surrounding English-speaking majority. Language was shown to be one of the main factors in formation of migrant identity in adolescents in a study of Russian adolescents in Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti & Liebkind 1998), where engagement in Russian/Finnish social networks and use of these languages were correlated strongly with participants' Russian or Finnish identity respectively. Moreover, for the situations where the minority language had been lost or neared extinction, its potential revival is usually perceived as the only means to preserve one's ethnic distinctiveness (e.g. Dorian (1999) cites examples of Gaelic in Scotland or Greenlandic in Greenland).

While the above studies have correlated ethnic identity with the general tendency of whole communities towards either the maintenance of the heritage language or a shift to the host language, the majority of research on language and ethnic identity has been focused on investigating how exactly identity work is performed by individual speakers in interaction. In these studies, researchers have focused on the phenomenon of *code-mixing* or *code-switching* in order to show how speakers can utilize two languages in the process of their identity negotiations. The majority of this research, once again, has generally relied on the assumption that each of the languages in question can be directly associated with a particular ethnicity. Within this framework, the mere switch into a particular language is thus seen as an alignment with the corresponding ethnicity, helping

speakers to evoke the "ethnic" aspects of their identity. For example, Clachar (2000) illustrates how juxtaposition of English and Spanish is employed by US-born Puerto-Ricans in order to balance between their Puerto-Rican and American identities. De Fina (2007) shows that ethnic identity construction is directly anchored in the linguistic practices of codeswitching from English into Italian. Thus, the switch into an ethnic language is usually understood by speakers and researchers as the "index of membership in a particular social (including ethnic) group" (Auer 2005: 405). In fact, as Giampapa (2001) demonstrates, there are many ways in which speakers can utilize this ideological connection between one language and one ethnicity. In her study, second-generation Italian-Canadian speakers utilize a number of different codeswitching practices in their construction of what Giampapa calls "hyphenated" Italian-Canadian identities. Here is how she summarizes her findings:

"As shown, within the Italian-Canadian world it is through the intimate exchanges of the peer networks where the participants reclaim their italianità on their terms through codeswitching and codemixing dialects, Italian and English. Paolo performs his italianità through his dialect. Tania expresses this through the appropriation of expressions and phrases from her friends' dialects to create a "new" code. Stefano plays on his multiple positions within the peer group site where he finds himself shifting identities through his shifts in language. The fact that he codeswitches into French to mark precisely his identities as a Francophone, bilingual Canadian is notable. Furthermore, Stefano also claims an Italian-Canadian identity as well, speaking Italian and enhancing his italianità during these peer interactions. This also attests to the multiple positions that Stefano can hold, and the fluidity between them" (Giampapa 2001: 307).

Although Giampapa demonstrates that speakers are involved in a very elaborate process of negotiating identities while utilizing a wide spectrum of mechanisms in order to highlight different aspects at different times, in all instances, her analysis is once again based on the assumption that ethnicity is anchored in the use of a *corresponding* ethnic language or some of its features. In fact, several other studies have shown that this ideological link between one's language and ethnicity may be so potent that it can, in fact, override other social or physical characteristics, which would otherwise evoke an association with a particular ethnic or racial group. For example, in Bailey's (2000) study, the ability to speak Spanish for young Dominican migrants in Rhode Island overrides the racial categorization as African Americans ascribed by their peers based on speakers' phenotype. For Bailey's participants, speaking Spanish means "being Spanish". A similar equation of language and ethnicity has been perpetuated in other studies, such as

Anzaldúa, who concludes that "ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language" (1990: 207), or Aikhenvald (2003) who finds ethnic languages to serve as direct "badges of identity" in her study of multilingual society in Amazonia. In fact, the link between one's language and one's ethnic identity is often perceived to be so strong that it might allow speakers to borrow others' ethnic identities just by borrowing elements from their ethnic languages. Describing instances of moving across ethnic lines, Bucholtz states that "the ideological link between language and ethnicity is so potent that the use of linguistic practices associated with a given ethnic group may be sufficient for an individual to pass as a group member" (Bucholtz 1995: 355). The ability of speakers to move across ethnic lines was also demonstrated by Rampton (1995) and Sweetland (2002) who showed how speakers can "cross" into another ethnicity by appropriating features of someone's ethnic language in a single conversation or by using an ethnically-marked variety routinely.

As the studies quoted above demonstrate, the widely accepted approach that directly links ethnicity construction to the use of an "ethnic" language or some of its features has established itself throughout the discipline. However, by taking it for granted, it might seem easy to assume that it is the *only* way for individuals to express their ethnic affiliations. Nonetheless, as this dissertation will demonstrate, this attitude would mean an oversimplification of the often complex and unpredictable relationship between language and ethnic identity. The analysis of the negotiation of language and ethnic identity in the SA and KF communities described here shows that assuming a direct connection between a language and ethnic identity would not only undermine the complexity of functions a language can perform in social context, but also oversimplify a potential richness of the ethnic relationships among groups and individuals.

In order to clarify this point, the next section outlines specifically the unique situation in the two communities that are described above and shows how understanding the relationships between them can contribute to the better understanding of the roles and functions language plays in society.

1.5. When "language equals ethnicity" doesn't work: SA and KF communities in Germany

It is not surprising that the one language - one ethnicity approach has flourished in today's sociolinguistics, as it has shown to be valid in many of today's western societies that have been heavily influenced by the common ideology of monolingual nation states (see e.g. Anderson 1991). This ideology sees language as "the most central constituent in the formation of a nation and national identity" (Piller 2001). In this context, the majority of the research on language and ethnicity, especially language and ethnicity in migration, has looked at linguistic situations from the position that counterposes two distinct and separate cultures and ethnicities: the cultural/ethnic space of the host country is always juxtaposed with the migrant's own ethnicity. This binary approach forces the researcher to see an individual's identity options under one single dimension – moving between home and host culture, constantly trying to position him- or herself with respect to these two cultural poles. As summarized by Blackledge and Pavlenko,

"the monolingual and monocultural bias underlying sociopsychological approaches leads them to conceptualize the world as consisting of homogeneous, and, most of the time, monolingual cultures or in- and out-groups, and of individuals as moving from one group to another. This monolingual bias is most evident in the unidirectional perspective which posits the necessity to abandon one's first language and culture in order to learn the second language and acculturate to the target language (TL) group, whether this abandonment is termed "acculturation", "integrative attitude", or "convergence". As such, sociopsychological approaches do not lend themselves easily to theorizing bi-and multilinguals who may be members of multiple communities. " (Blackledge & Pavlenko 2001: 244-45).

Although very common, this approach takes this straightforward relationship for granted without further questioning of its validity or complexity. In fact, a lot of times this approach seems to ignore one of the main underlying principles of identity construction in general – the fact that the relationship between language and identity is directly tied to *local* ideologies and juxtapositions. The availability of an apparent "ethnic" language often seems to make researchers forget that identities are locally constructed and that in each and every context, one has to question the indexical meaning of the linguistic forms and ideologies standing behind this meaning. This lack of awareness seems to set the study of language and ethnicity somewhat apart from other branches of sociolinguistic research on identity: as demonstrated in Section 1.4, studies of ethnic identity often rely on the macro-level ideologies of the monolingual nation-states

that equate one language with one ethnicity, while not always questioning the ideological nature of this relationship. In order to show how the specific example of the SA and KF communities in Germany can challenge this ideology, this section briefly outlines the unique set of circumstances that brings these communities together within the migrant context.

The two communities analyzed in this study are a fairly recent addition to the German migrant landscape: the extensive Russian German and Russian Jewish migration started in the mid-1980s and in the beginning of the 1990s respectively. Despite its recency, the scale of this phenomenon became very significant for Germany, with over two million SA and approximately 250,000 KF migrants to date. Coming from a common “Soviet” or “post-Soviet” environment, these communities are “deeply influenced by the culture, society and economy of the (post) Soviet Union” (Dietz 2000: 643). What is even more important for this study, however, is that fact that, to large extent, they also share one linguistic background. A number of studies have pointed out that both groups come to Germany being largely monolingual in Russian, having assimilated to the Russian-speaking majority in their home country (Dietz 1997; Dietz 2000; Kessler 2003; Meng 2001; Worbs 1995). German is being acquired mostly as a second language after migration; in some cases, speakers have experience learning German in academic contexts in the home countries. As a result of these cultural and linguistic commonalities, the two communities often appear as one entity in the eyes of the receiving society.

These similarities in cultural and linguistic background make these two communities an interesting case with regard to questions of identity. However, to my knowledge, none of the linguistic studies have dealt directly with issues of Russian German or Russian Jewish ethnic identity in the past. Ethnic identity of migrants has rather been the point of discussion in some sociological studies that have focused specifically on the migrants’ level of integration in the receiving society. For example, researchers such as Dietz (1997), Silbereisen et al. (1999), and Steinbach (2001) have looked at identity questions in relation to the SA community. As a recurrent theme, these studies have stressed a degree of social isolation and social and cultural distance from the dominant society while attributing it to a drastic shift in the ascribed ethnic and cultural identity they found to be typical for most of the migrants: while having been perceived as

a German minority in the home country, the migrants do not pass the receiving society's criteria of "Germanness", which, being strongly informed by monolingual ideologies, focus strictly on proficiency in the German language. Therefore, the SA migrants are perceived and labeled as "Russian" due to the wide use of Russian in their everyday communications (Dietz 1997). This ethnic labeling is seen as an obstacle that prevents many migrants from establishing social networks with local Germans and contributes to certain marginalization and the higher orientation of SA migrants towards migrant networks.

Comparable trends have also been attested in the few (mostly sociological or demographic) studies that investigated KF communities in Germany, focusing either on motives for migration (Schoeps et al. 1996) or on the social integration of this group in the receiving society (Becker 2001; Doomernik 1997; Kessler 2003; Schütze 2003). Most researchers stress the virtually total loss of their heritage language (Yiddish), the vast loss of religious traditions, as well as a post-migration shift in ethnic identification from "Jewish" to "Russian" enforced by the ascriptions from the dominant majority - trends similar to the ones attested for Russian German migrants.

However, despite this common ethnically-defined ascription as "Russian", there is evidence that the two groups perceive themselves as two distinct entities within the larger Russian-speaking communities in Germany. The one study that compared the Russian German and the Russian Jewish migration side-to-side attests that even though the groups come into frequent institutional contact with each other during migration, and despite the seeming commonalities in their background, there appears to be little or no contact between them outside of the institutional context (Dietz 2000: 647). Taking into account that the similarities in the migration process and sharing the same social space within the German environment make the two groups very well aware of each other's existence, one must ask whether and how ethnic differentiation would be negotiated and defined within these communities. Considering the apparent conflict between the imposed "macro-ethnic" category on the one hand and the multiple self-ascribed ethnic identities that can be potentially taken on by the community members (Jewish, Russian Jewish, German, Russian-German, Re-settler etc.), we can expect that speakers would be involved in very multi-faceted and elaborate identity work that – depending on any particular context –

will involve negotiating many of these (and potentially other) aspects of social and ethnic self-representation.

With respect to the linguistic negotiation of identity, one can expect that, both Russian German and Russian Jewish migrants would use their dominant language in the same way as speakers in other migrant groups use a common minority language: Russian can be predicted to serve as a major resource that would allow both groups to negotiate their place within the new environment as one large Russian-speaking community. Analyzed from this perspective, the negotiation of migrants' identity would fit nicely into the traditional approach to language and ethnicity that focuses on identity negotiations between the dominant society and an ethnic minority.

However, the traditional approach will not be able to capture the identity negotiations in these communities with regard to the following points: on the one hand, it would fail to recognize the potentially rich dynamics in ethnic identity negotiation *within* the larger Russian-speaking community. On the other hand, the SA and KF communities present a clear case where the link between an "ethnic" minority and an "ethnic" language appears to be highly problematic. In the context where the two communities share a linguistic background (with Russian being the native language and German being acquired as a second language), the traditional approach, which expects a more or less clear correspondence between language and ethnicity, would not be applicable. In this case, to reveal the potential negotiation of ethnic identity, the analysis will have to rely not on the use of a clearly ethnically marked language, but instead on a different set of tools sensitive enough to capture less obvious ways of identity negotiation. The questions that might arise in this situation are then: If there is no "ethnic" language, how is identity negotiated? Is (ethnic) identity negotiated through language at all? In the absence of an "ethnic" language, is the boundary still defined by the community members in ethnic terms or are there other social aspects that are involved in creating group distinctiveness? But even more importantly for a linguistic study: If language is used as a tool in identity negotiation, what particular aspects of language do the community members use to define the ethnic boundary? And further, how do these linguistic tools acquire their social meaning in the context of these groups? This dissertation provides answers to these questions.

In addressing these questions, this research contributes to a growing number of studies that similarly have questioned some of the weak points of the traditional "one language – one ethnicity" approach. Fishman for example, stresses that one has to be aware that it is the "*link*" and not "*equivalence*" between language and ethnicity that researchers deal with (1999: 154), while De Fina (2007) emphasizes that research of language and ethnic identity cannot presuppose what other aspects of social life will become relevant for configuration of the categories negotiated through an "ethnic" language as "any aspect of social reality, from food to accent, can be used to symbolically index ethnic affiliation. Thus, there are no unified criteria that can universally define ethnic boundaries: rather, these are creatively invoked and negotiated by individuals and groups in response to their evolving social roles and circumstances" (De Fina 2007: 373).

A closer look at the emerging research that has addressed these issues shows an overall agreement that the tendency to look at the questions of language and ethnicity by just contrasting a "majority" and a "minority" undermines the complexity of the real-life relationship between language and ethnicity in two major areas. First, by overlooking the fact that just as with any other social categories, the language and ethnicity link is influenced by local ideologies about language, the traditional approach fails to recognize those cases where this link may be skewed in some way: either an "ethnic" language could have more functions than just being a direct "label" of a corresponding ethnicity, or where ethnicity could be expressed through different (including other linguistic) means. Second, by focusing on the majority-minority dimension, the traditional approach fails to recognize that a similarly exciting and elaborate process of ethnic identity negotiation can also be possible within the minority populations themselves wherever one can expect a contact between several minority groups.

In the first case, there are two possible scenarios where the direct link between the ethnic language and a "corresponding" ethnicity may fail. On the one hand, the traditional approach can overlook the fact that an "ethnic" code can and often does index more than just a membership in a particular ethnic community. As some of the recent studies have shown, use of a particular language can serve discursive purposes (see, for example, research on conversational code-mixing such as Auer 1998; Auer 2000; Dirim & Auer 2004; Shin & Milroy 2000; Wei et al. 2000). Furthermore, language use can be

ideologically linked to a number of social attributes other than just ethnicity and thus can be utilized by speakers in the negotiation of social roles and other aspects of identity not related to ethnic affiliation (Dirim & Auer 2004; Eckert 2008; Myers-Scotton 2000; Williams 2005). For example, Eckert (2008) demonstrates how within a context of one school, initially ethnically marked linguistic elements become available to a wider pool of users and their social meaning can change from marking a Chicano identity to representing a locally salient social status of "coolness". Williams (2005) shows how code-mixing between English and Chinese in a mother-daughter conversation comes to revoke associations between the use of Chinese and the social category of age. In this situation, the use of Chinese by the (normally English-dominant) daughter allows her to assume a more authoritative position in a conversation. Dirim and Auer (2004) have demonstrated that the use of Turkish in the context of today's Germany even goes beyond traditional ethnic lines and – when used for example by speakers of Farsi and Azeri – comes to index not Turkish, but a wider Muslim identity. As Auer points out, in such situations "simple and seemingly straightforward links between language and ethnicity (speaking Turkish – being Turkish) may fail" (Auer 2005: 409). This claim has been further supported by studies that look at the phenomenon known as 'passing' (e.g. Bucholtz 1995), in which out-group speakers appropriate someone's linguistic code and thus pass as group members.

On the other hand, a traditional one language – one ethnicity concept does not take into consideration that ethnicity can be indexed and negotiated in a conversation by means other than an "ethnic" language. For example, in Bindhoffer's (1998) investigation of the Swabian community in Hungary, the author finds that even after a seeming decline of an ethnic language the community is striving to find other ways to determine boundaries between the Hungarian-speaking majority and the own ethnic group that also has shifted to Hungarian, for example through music, dance and certain rituals, such as wedding customs. He states that "in our changing world language is not always the most important indicator of belonging to a particular ethnic group" (Bindorffer 1998: 143). Other recent research in migrant communities has shown that even without utilizing an ethnic language, it is possible for minorities and migrant communities to find ways to use linguistic variation within the majority language to establish difference along ethnic lines

(e.g. Fought 2006; Kiesling 2005b). Fought (2006) reports on the ways ethnic Maori speakers negotiate their identity through variation in the majority language by using specific features of English in the absence of a specific "ethnic" code. In his quantitative study of word-final *-er* in Sidney, Kiesling (2005b) demonstrates a local emergence of a new "ethnolect" that – after having originated in the Greek community – is becoming characteristic for a number of migrant communities at the same time, thus acquiring generic ethnic meaning of being "not local", "not mainstream", sometimes serving as a tool of creating distinction between the "Anglo" and "non-Anglo" population. As Kiesling's study clearly shows, such "ethnolects" do not need to be rooted directly in any particular "ethnic" language. In contrast, he demonstrates how this new variable can acquire new meaning within a local context while at the same time expanding its functions from indexing just one ethnicity towards becoming a multi-ethnic phenomenon.

In addition to the importance of local ideologies and locally bound indexical meaning when talking about negotiating ethnicity through language, Kiesling's study also touches on the second point mentioned above: that traditional approaches tend to overlook the often very rich social (and linguistic) dynamics within the migrant communities and minorities themselves. Pointing out the importance of looking "beyond" the majority-minority dimension, he states that:

"There are thus a number of 'identity axes' on which migrants might position themselves, depending on the social discourse in which they are situated. There is a discourse of migrant vs. non-migrant... This dichotomy is probably the dominant discourse around migrant identity. There are discourses that recognize differences among non-Anglo migrants, however, probably more so within these groups (...) There is also a commonality among Australians who are children of migrants, as they find they have common experiences, especially those that address negotiating two different cultures in one place" (Kiesling 2005b: 8).

In fact, a number of scholars have recently turned their attention to the investigation of ethnic boundary construction within the communities traditionally perceived as homogeneous. They argue that even within communities that have been treated as a single entity by the dominant ideologies, speakers may "enact subtle identity differentiations" (De Fina 2007: 372), thus creating hierarchies and defining inter-ethnic boundaries which may go unnoticed by the surrounding majority. For example, Urciuoli (1991) illustrates the transparency of ethnic and racial boundaries between Puerto-Ricans and African Americans in New York City. She reveals that the group boundaries can be

re-defined and re-negotiated depending on whether the speakers need to stress their inter-group distinctiveness or to present themselves as a unified group in contrast to European-American outsiders. Bucholtz (1995) demonstrates how ideologies connected to Latino and Asian communities in the US can be held accountable for the linguistic behavior of one single individual of Asian and Latino heritage who preferred to highlight her Japanese background (rather than the Latino one) due to its higher prestige within the dominant white culture. Similarly, Lo's (1999) study uncovers hierarchical structures in the Asian-American community and shows how "within-group" ideologies influence stances speakers can take within a conversation as well as in their code-mixing practices.

Considering this variety of mismatches between an "ethnic" language and a specific "ethnic identity, Blackledge and Pavlenko argue clearly that, "the ideological assertion that one language equals one culture or one nation ignores the complexity of multilingual societies" (2001: 253). Furthermore, they state plainly that "a simple equation of "one language equals one (cultural, ethnic, national, class, generational, gendered or other) identity' is clearly an oversimplification" and conclude that "in a world of global communication and migration the simple formula of 'language equals identity' is no longer adequate for analysis" (Blackledge & Pavlenko 2001: 253). Instead, the research asserts that the "kinds of symbolic resources the members of these groups use to index ethnicity in specific contexts of social activity" (De Fina 2007: 372) should become the focus of linguistic inquiry in the field of language and ethnicity. It is this locally-bound construction of ethnic identity in each and every case that can not only provide us with insight into identity work in action but also with a deeper understanding of the ways language works in society in general.

Building on the outcomes of previous studies, this dissertation also adds to this ongoing discussion by bringing in a strong ideological component as it explores not the linguistic means used by the speakers per se, but also the ideological positions the communities may take with respect to available linguistic resources in the process of the ethnic identity negotiation.

1.6. Research goals and dissertation structure

When approaching the ethnic identity negotiation in SA and KF communities in Germany this research leans directly on the four aspects of constructivist understanding of identity outlined in Section 1.2, namely the assumptions that *language* is central to defining one's identity, that identities, being *fluid and dynamic*, are created in *opposition*, and finally, that *local ideologies* about language ultimately can provide us with an understanding of identity construction in a particular context.

Based on these four assumptions, the discussion in subsequent chapters investigates the following aspects of identity negotiations in the SA and the KF communities:

First, from what we know about the negotiation of identity in general and from such examples as the case of Maori in Section 1.5, even in light of absence of an ethnic code one can still expect language to be one of the main tools in identity negotiation between the SA and the KF communities. In this context, the goal of this research is to discover these "other" resources that can be exploited by the community members in order to serve this function.

Second, the "opposition" factor can also be expected to play a major role in identity negotiation between the groups, not only because of the physical closeness of the two groups in their post-migration space, but even more so because of the apparent similarity between them and a possibility of the majority "mislabeling" one (or both) groups. In light of this, my research takes into consideration that speakers may accept such ascribed pan-Russian-speaking identity, and one of the goals of this dissertation thus is to see when exactly the salience of an "opposition" overrides such potential feelings of closeness.

Third, in connection to the second point, my research takes into account that the community members can be expected to be constantly involved in the negotiation of their identities, highlighting different aspects of them (such as being a member of larger Russian-speaking group, Russian German, Russian Jewish, German, Jewish etc... or other locally relevant aspects of identity) at all times in different settings. Therefore, one goal of this research is to find out what aspects of identity can become relevant to the speakers at different times.

Finally, with respect to the local nature of ideologies governing identity negotiations, the primary goal of this research is to provide a detailed analysis of the specific ways community members link linguistic resources available to them to the salient categories of ethnic and social distinction in their specific situation. The unique constellation of different ethnicities and languages within these two communities presents a clear case in which the relationship between linguistic form and its function of marking an ethnicity would be clearly indexical, and thus requires an investigation of what particular *locally relevant* ideologies are involved in bringing this relationship to life. Keeping in mind that one cannot presuppose which linguistic means will be chosen by the community members to signal different aspects of identity, this dissertation explores what specific social meanings become relevant for creation of the inter-ethnic distinction in these particular communities.

The analysis is organized in the following way. Chapter 2 looks at the historical and linguistic background of the two communities. It also approaches the particulars of their migration to Germany as an important factor in shaping post-migrant relationships between the two communities in question. Chapter 3 outlines research instruments used in this dissertation, as well as addresses a number of methodological issues relevant for the subsequent discussion. Chapters 4 through 9 present the analysis of the results, first addressing the principles of the overall ethnic categorization within the Russian-speaking migrant community in Germany (Chapter 4), followed by the chapters focusing on the role language plays in creating and negotiating such categorization: Chapter 5 addresses the linguistic background of the two communities and shows how the connection to the linguistic past shapes the communities' view of each other in the new migrant environment. Chapter 6 focuses on the practices and attitudes towards the use of German and Russian in the migrant context, linking them to the outcomes of social network analysis within both communities. The analysis in Chapter 7 turns to issues of language learning and the ideologies behind its prominence in one group's discourse. Chapter 8 addresses issues of Russian maintenance and demonstrates how different approaches taken by the two communities to the prospect of shifting to German are utilized by the migrants in delineating the boundary between "self" and "other". In the final data chapter (Chapter 9), the discussion turns to the issue of code-mixing as one of the most salient

ways to create and negotiate the boundary between the two communities through linguistic means. Finally, in Chapter 10, I summarize the main findings of the dissertation and discuss theoretical and methodological implications of this research for the study of language and ethnicity.

Chapter 2

Historical context of SA and KF migration to Germany

2.1. Introduction

In order to better understand the relationship between the two migrant communities in question, it is necessary to know about the historical circumstances that triggered their migration, as well as the demographic, social and linguistic backgrounds of the two groups prior to and after the migration. This chapter introduces both communities and their relocation to Germany, highlighting the aspects of their history that are shown to constitute an important part of these groups' identity when they come together in a migrant context.

2.2. Historical context of the SA migration to Germany

This section looks at the history of the Russian German population in the former Soviet Union and highlights a number of aspects critical for understanding the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of this community. It further discusses the specifics of the ongoing migration of this ethnic group to Germany as late re-settlers (Spätaussiedler, SA), introducing the discussion of the status of the SA community in Germany presented in the subsequent chapters.

2.2.1. Historical overview of the Russian German minority in the former Soviet Union

The ethnic group labeled "Russian Germans" are descendants of migrants who came to Russia during the reign of Catherine the Great (1777-1796) and throughout the 19th century. During this time, the Russian territory expanded dramatically after a series of

wars in the Russian south. As the government looked for ways to incorporate the newly acquired territories into the state economy, it hoped to attract colonists willing to settle in the new areas. As a potential solution, the manifest of December 1762 invited citizens of various European countries to come and colonize the new additions to the Russian empire. The invitation promised religious freedom, as well as freedom from taxes and military service among other privileges. Upon arrival, each colonist family was entitled to 30 hectares of land (or 65 hectares in the Black Sea regions), which equals approximately about 74 and 160 acres respectively (Sarazin 2005: 34). This attractive offer mainly drew re-settlers from various parts of Germany (especially from Hessen, Rhine area, Saxony, Wuerttemberg), many of whom were devastated by recent wars and economic decline. Other groups included religious minorities experiencing religious prosecution, such as Mennonites (mostly from the north of Germany) and Baptists.⁴

By the end of the 18th century, the European part of Russia contained a number of large, self-sustaining German colonies, characterized by an agrarian life style. Using the government granted freedoms to provide their own educational, social and religious services, the colonies functioned highly independently from the Russian surroundings economically, as well as culturally. The lack of contacts with the surrounding Russian population guaranteed preservation of the German dialects brought by migrants from different regions of Germany (and in some cases, Switzerland and Austria). The accounts of the dialectal variety of the German colonies of that time (summarized, for example, by Bold and Piirainen (1996)) attest to a variety of original German dialects spoken throughout Russia, most frequently Hessian, Rhineland, Palatinate, Saxon as well as the Low-German dialects spoken specifically among the Mennonite communities. At the same time, the German minority in Russia was characterized by diglossia (Rosenberg & Weydt 1992: 219), in which the use of original dialects coexisted with the use of High German in such domains as the German press and school system.

Traditionally, the history of Germans in Russia is seen to have gone through two major periods: the long time of relative stability and continuing development from the

⁴ For a detailed account of origins and destinations of the German migration to Russia see Mukhina (2007).

initial arrival up to World War II, and the drastically different, turbulent and unstable phase, which spanned the second half of the 20th century (Berend 1998).

The first phase was characterized by the relatively steady development of the original German settlements ('mother-colonies'), as well as the expansion of the colonies into new settlements founded by second or third generation migrants ('daughter-colonies'), both of which had few contacts with the surrounding Russian majority. Although the colonies lost some of their original rights and faced hostilities from the Russian authorities during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (especially during WWI), they were still able to maintain their autonomy within the Russian state. This autonomy developed even further after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 and the end of the civil war, when the largest concentration of Germans in the Soviet Union was granted the right to become first the German Autonomic Region in 1918, and then the Volga German Soviet Republic in 1924. At the same time, the smaller German colonies were formalized as official German districts or 'rayons' (Sarazin 2005: 35). This granted local German authorities the right to make decisions on a number of internal questions, including educational policies aimed at the German language maintenance. The extensive network of German-speaking educational institutions, including elementary and secondary schools, vocational schools, and teacher and agricultural colleges, was the primary provider of education for the Russian German population at that time. For example, in 1927, according to the statistical data available today, up to 98% of all Russian German children within the Volga Republic, and up to 84% outside its borders were educated in German-speaking schools (Pinkus 1986: 54). In this context, German traditions, religion and culture, including the German language, were well maintained both within the family as well as throughout the official life.

However, the second half of the 20th century, a separate period in the history of the Russian Germans, was characterized by a number of devastating changes that directly affected the Russian German population (Berend 1998). World War II brought drastic changes to the official state politics towards the German minority, which significantly affected the social structure of this ethnic group and ultimately contributed to the loss of many ethnic cultural traditions, including the use of the German language. Despite the historical changes up to the first half of the 20th century, German in the colonies had held

strong positions both within the family domain and the official spheres such as in religion and education. Since the late 1930s however, German had started to lose its positions in both domains, being rapidly replaced by Russian.

This rapid shift caused by the events surrounding WWII was earlier foreshadowed by a number of changes in the Soviet language policy introduced as early as the 1920s, when the Soviet state prohibited any religious practices, and seized all church properties. This measure affected the German minorities in particular, since religion was originally one of the strongest unifying forces within the colonies; even the place of settlement for colonists was often determined not by the colonists' home region in Germany, but rather by their religious practices (Rosenberg & Weydt 1992: 231). In this situation, religious activities were reduced to the private sphere and became illegal home gatherings and worship (Strobl & Kühnel 2000: 26). This change signified the loss of the church domain as one of the most important contexts of German language use outside the home and forced the religious practices into the family sphere. In 1938, another political decision drastically affected language maintenance among all younger generations, when the use of German (as well as any other ethnic language rather than Russian) as the medium of school instruction was prohibited throughout the Soviet Union, thus forcing all the German language schools to rapidly switch to Russian as the instructional language.

However, as mentioned above, even more devastating changes affected the use of German in all domains due to the onset of WWII; the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 had crucial consequences not only on the status of the German language, but also on the destiny of the Russian German population in general. Shortly after the breakout of the war, a series of governmental regulations were issued, which, in fear of anti-Soviet incidents, were designed to prevent contacts between the local German minorities and the approaching German army. According to these regulations, the entire German population of the Soviet Union was ordered to be deported to remote parts of the country east of the Ural mountains (to the regions of Novosibirsk, Omsk, Altai and the Republic of Kazakhstan) within 5 days of the decree release (Auman & Chebotareva 1993). In a limited period of time, about 400,000 Germans were moved from their original settlements in the Volga regions, followed by 25,000 from Georgia and about 130,000 from other European parts of the Soviet Union (Ingenhorst 1997: 50). In

Kazakhstan alone, where the Russian German population numbered only about 50,000 people before WWII, the census data of 1959 showed that the community had grown to a stunning 650,000 people (Rosenberg 1992: 52). Eisfeld (1992: 148) provides a striking comparison between the places of residence of the German population in the Soviet Union before and after the deportation:

Table 1: Distribution of the Russian German populations in the Soviet Union

	Census 1927	Census 1979
Ukraine	31.8%	1.8%
European USSR	54.6%	18.6%
Siberia	6.6%	23.8%
Kazakhstan	4.1%	46.5%
Middle Asia	0.8%	9.3%
Total size of the German minority in the Soviet Union		1,936,214

As Table 1 shows, after the war, the majority of the Russian German population became concentrated in the eastern parts of the Soviet Union – a pattern that is still true today. Despite the governmental promise to provide suitable living arrangements for Russian Germans in the new areas, in most cases, the deported (who had been forced to leave behind their land, houses and most of their belongings) were not provided with basic living conditions in the new areas. In this situation, the newly arrived migrants had to seek contacts with the local, mostly Russian speaking, population, in order to find food and help with living arrangements (Auman & Chebotareva 1993). For most of the German deportees, this period brought their first-ever contacts with the Russian-speaking majority (Rosenberg 1992). Eventually, the German population was grouped into so-called '*специальные поселения*' 'special villages', which were assembled without any respect to re-settlers' original hometowns, friendships or even family relationships. The residents were prohibited from leaving the village and traveling within the Soviet Union, and had to go through a weekly registration process with the local police until about ten years after the deportation.

The constellation of such villages, which were often randomly assembled, also caused a certain re-grouping of the original Russian German dialects, which not only destabilized the status of German among this minority (see e.g. Rosenberg & Weydt

1992: 218), but in some cases might have led to a certain amount of dialect leveling among German speakers from different pre-deportation regions now living together.

Overall, most of the researchers who have looked at the history of the German culture in Russia and the Soviet Union, agree that the hurried deportation of 1941 was the most crucial factor in drastically altering the 200-year-long history of this ethnic group, breaking apart social structures that used to be the main bearers of the German culture in Russia, such as family, close-knit religious and village communities. Ingenhorst (1997) characterizes the deportation as the strongest crisis for the Russian Germans and states that "it represents the beginning of the end of the history of the German minority as a present and recognizable group in the Soviet Union" (Ingenhorst 1997: 50), [my translation].

The deportation, however, was not the last measure taken by the government to minimize the chances for the German minority to come into contact with the invading Nazi army, and the governmental measures taken a year later contributed even more strongly to the decline of inter-generational transfer of the German language and culture within the Russian German community. According to a new decree, all male members of the Russian German population between seventeen and fifty years of age were separated from their families and transported to so-called '*трудармия*' 'labor armies', leaving behind their new places of settlement. A year later, the requirement was widened to all men of fifteen to fifty-five years old and all women between sixteen and forty-five, except for those pregnant or with children under 3 years old (Hilkes & Sticker 1997: 225). On the one hand, these measures created a unique situation in which different dialects of Russian German were spoken in the German labor camps around the eastern part of the country. In this situation, German often became a special symbol of unity for its speakers (Rosenberg & Weydt 1992: 224). On the other hand, this situation had the most devastating effect on language maintenance in the Russian German families; since most of the adult population was forcefully taken away from their family members, many of the children born before WWII were left in the care of grandparents, neighbors or state-run institutions. Even if, in theory, German could still have been used with any remaining relatives, many adult speakers avoided the language due to the strong societal stigma attached to it. Therefore, the majority of the younger generation grew up largely

without in-family communication in German or German instructional schools (Rosenberg 1992: 62). Only in 1955, after 14 years of service, were the participants of the labor armies allowed to return to their families. However, even after the re-unification of the families, the statistics show a steady decline of German as a native language in the Soviet Union: while in 1939 census, 75% of the Russian German population declared German as their native language, this number dropped to 57% in 1979 and further to 48% in 1989 (Dietz & Hilkes 1992: 49; Rosenberg 1992: 47).

Such decline cannot only be explained by the interruption of the use of German as a family language and the switch to Russian as the state-wide language of education, but also by a number of other factors. Although German was still taught as a foreign language in many schools, its attractiveness as a subject sank rapidly during WWII not only among many students, but also within the general population. In this situation, even if an opportunity to speak German with family members did exist for some Russian German children, it often had to be hidden from the public eye in fear of the negative reaction from the Russian-speaking community (Dietz & Hilkes 1992: 47; Strobl & Kühnel 2000: 27). Thus, many families taught their children to hide their German ancestry and assimilate quickly to the Russian-speaking majority during and after WWII. In addition, the faster rate of urbanization of the Russian-speaking mainstream and the dominance of the Russian language in higher education and the general labor market also contributed greatly to the rapid shift to Russian. While before WWII agriculture was the traditional occupation of Russian Germans, the statistics show an increase in the number of Russian Germans moving to urban centers after the travel restrictions for the German special villages were cancelled in the 1950s. While only 15% of Russian Germans lived in urban areas in 1929, the number of city residents reached 32% in 1962 and 50% in 1979 (Eisfeld 1992: 148), which served as an additional factor in breaking up Russian German close-knit family ties and the tradition of German maintenance. Another powerful predictor of possible language loss among the ethnic minority – the number of marriages to other ethnicities - also has risen steadily throughout the second half of the 20th century among the Russian German population. For example, the rate of intermarriages was as high as 69 percent among the SA migrants who came to Germany through re-settlement program in 1999 (Dietz 2000: 642). The second period of the

Russian German history, which spanned from the middle until the end of the 20th century, can be generally characterized by a vast social restructuring of the Russian German ethnic minority in the Soviet Union and a rapid and steady decline of the overall German proficiency among the community members.

2.2.2. Specifics of SA migration to Germany

The start of the political changes in the Soviet Union at the end of the 20s century, once again, brought drastic changes to the lives of many Russian Germans enabling them to move to the country of their ancestors. Although Germany started accepting migrants of the ethnic German background already soon after WWII, the possibility of migration did not become a real option for the Russian German minority until the liberalization of Soviet politics and the fall of the Iron curtain. Once possible, migration from Russia, Kazakhstan and other republics of the former Soviet Union quickly became a mass phenomenon, with over 2 million Russian Germans migrating from 1987 (the first year of mass migration) to 2005, according to the following statistical data:⁵

⁵ This data from Bundesministerium des Inneren (http://www.zuwanderung.de/1_statistik.html) does not specify whether these numbers include non-German family members.

Table 2: Ethnic German migration from the former Soviet Union from 1987 to 2005

Year	Number of migrants
1987	14,488
1988	47,572
1989	98,134
1990	147,950
1991	147,320
1992	195,576
1993	207,347
1994	213,214
1995	209,409
1996	172,181
1997	131,895
1998	101,550
1999	103,599
2000	94,558
2001	97,434
2002	90,587
2003	72,289
2004	58,728
2005	35,398
Total:	2,239,229

This massive exodus drastically changed the demographics of the ethnic re-migration to Germany. While in the period between the end of WWII and the late 1980s the majority of ethnic German migrants came from Poland, Hungary and other countries of the Eastern Europe, the re-settlement from the former Soviet Union now became the main stream of migration to Germany. This shift can be explained first by the mere size of the German population in the USSR, and second, by the special status of this particular group of migrants. While all applicants from the Eastern European countries other than the countries of the former SU had to provide proof that they (or their ancestors) had been persecuted on the basis of their ethnicity, such proof was not required for the Russian German group. The mass deportation of the 1940s was seen as historical evidence of such persecution, allowing all the members of the Russian German minority to successfully apply for the re-settlement program. In addition, at this time the group was not expected to demonstrate proficiency in the German language as proof of their German ethnicity for re-settlement and naturalization purposes (Piller 2001: 269)

Talks of limiting SA migration started as early as the 1990s, as especially large numbers of migrants became quite overwhelming for the German authorities. The

expected fast and unproblematic integration of the Russian German minority into the host society did not become reality, which was mainly attributed by authorities to the widespread lack of German proficiency, especially among younger migrants (Struck-Soboleva 2006: 58). In addition, the vast cultural assimilation of this German minority to the (post)-Soviet environment was perceived by the German government as another big challenge standing in the way of the successful integration of this large migration stream into the German society. These factors were held responsible for the lack of contacts between re-settlers and the local society, as well as for high rates of unemployment among migrants and difficulties in their social and professional adjustment to Germany. In order to slow down the SA migration and to improve integration chances, in 1996, the German government introduced a series of new regulations concerning migration and naturalization in Germany mainly focused on a stronger screening for attributes of “German ethnicity” (*deutsche Volkszugehörigkeit*). From now on, an ethno-linguistic criterion was added to the selection process of migrants and required not only a proof of German ancestry through the *jus sanguinis* principle (or “the right of blood”) as it was before, but in addition, a proof of *connection* to German ethnicity by showing proficiency in spoken German. Every SA applicant needed to successfully pass a language test, which, according to information materials for applicants, was designed specifically to determine whether German had been acquired by the applicant in the family as a native language (as opposed to German learned in academic settings). The evidence of such *family language* was seen as a proof of “Germanness”,⁶ based on a strong ideology of a nation-state (Piller 2001). To this extent, during the test applicants were encouraged to use the native Russian German dialect and specific “Russian-German” vocabulary, which could be seen as a direct proof of their Russian German ancestry. Every Russian German applicant received only one chance to take the test, due to the assumption that the test was designed to check the level of German language and thus German cultural heritage acquired in the family, as opposed to success of attending language courses. It is only in the case of a positive test result that the application was accepted for further consideration. Passing a language test became also required for non-German family

⁶ Detailed information on the test is available at the website of the German Bundesverwaltungsamt at www.bva.de

members wishing to migrate with the applicant.⁷ Today, the results of the language test serve as the main criterion for determining the level of “Germanness” of an applicant, and in the case of a test failure it even overrides the proof of German descent. According to Struck-Soboleva (2006: 63),

“...the results of the test are the exclusive basis for the allocation of Spätaussiedler status. According to the results of the test, Russian Germans born before 1993 are subject to paragraph 4 as Spätaussiedler (meaning that they are virtually German) or paragraph 7 as the descendants of Germans (not really German themselves). The relatives of descendants (Abkömmling) can only be allocated a status under paragraph 8, which means that they are foreigners. Thus, the results of the test determine the applicable “paragraph”, i.e. the status and therefore the extent of the help to be offered in the process of integration, such as pension and financial benefits.”

The introduction of the language test has contributed to the falling numbers of migrants in recent years. According to the available data, only 49.1% of applicants were able to pass this test between 1996 and 1999 (Dietz 2000: 637). This number fell even further to 25% in 2005. This low percentage is not surprising considering the tragic circumstances of the German maintenance and loss among the Russian Germans addressed above. In addition, other factors, such as relative economic stabilization in the former Soviet Union, general reduction of benefits for incoming re-settlers in Germany, as well as the fact that the large majority of the Russian German families already had taken advantage of the two-decade long migration opportunity, led to a steady reduction of the overall migration flow in the most recent decade. For example, the number of migrants who entered the central receiving facility in Germany in the first month of 2006 dropped nearly 60% compared to the same month of the previous year,⁸ and the latest numbers continue to show a steady decline in the Russian German migration to Germany overall.

⁷ The regulations differ slightly for non-German family members wishing to migrate along with the Russian German applicant. In order to submit their applications, they have to take and pass at a certain level the written language test (Sprachstandtest). In contrast to the language test for ethnic Germans, this test can be repeated 6 months after an unsuccessful attempt. Only the applicants who can demonstrate a certain level of German proficiency are being considered for the re-settlement program and can accompany the Russian-German family member.

⁸ Integration in Deutschland, 1/2006, online version.

2.3. Historical context of the KF migration to Germany

2.3.1. Specifics of KF migration to Germany

Compared to the SA migration, the Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Union constitute a much smaller group and present only a small percent of all Jewish post-Soviet migration in recent decades. An estimated 1.8 million migrated from the former Soviet Union between 1989 and 1998. The majority of them (over 60 per cent) chose Israel as their destination, followed by the ones who settled in North America (about 30 per cent). Only about 10 per cent moved to Germany or, in rather rare instances, to other countries of Western Europe (Tolts 2000: 188).

Compared to Israel and the United States, Germany has become a relatively late destination for the Jews from the former Soviet Union. However, it soon became the second most popular migration destination after Israel, surpassing the USA by 1998. The Jewish population of the former Soviet Union was first granted access to Germany after its re-unification in 1991. Migration to Germany became possible after a political incident between Germany and Israel in the early 1990s, when the Israeli government requested all European states to deny entry or residence to Jews seeking refugee status, with the goal of promoting Jewish migration to Israel. Germany rejected this demand due to the tragic history of its relationship with the Jewish minority and started to accommodate Jewish migrants through the framework of the so-called Contingent Refugees' Law (*Kontingentflüchtlinggesetz*) (Dietz 2000: 639). Originally designed to accommodate refugees from South- and East-Asia and Africa, this law assigned newcomers to different states according to set contingent quotas. In allowing Jews from the former Soviet Union to migrate to Germany through this legal framework, the authorities were hoping to pursue two specific goals. On the one hand, this program was aimed at reviving the struggling local Jewish communities throughout the country. On the other hand, it was seen as an attempt to repay Germany's historic debts to the world's Jewish population.

In order to better understand the current constellation of the KF community in Germany, it is also important to comment on the reasons why the Contingent Refugee Law in particular was chosen as a legal framework for this stream of migration. The fact

that accepting Jewish migrants was strongly tied to the idea of repaying historic debts to world's Jewish population forced Germany into a position in which it would have been unacceptable for the authorities to decline requests to enter the country made by Jewish applicants. Since Germany did not have a common immigration law, but rather relied on specific programs to accommodate different waves of migrants, the two possibilities were either accepting the Jews from the former Soviet Union through its asylum program or through the refugee laws. Applicants for political asylum, who had to provide evidence of political or religious prosecutions in their home country, went through a rigorous review process and were often declined. In contrast, the Contingent Refugee Law provided a very suitable bureaucratic framework, since the only criterion for admission was the ability of the applicants to provide a legal proof that they belonged to the Jewish minority in their home country, without a need to demonstrate that they had been discriminated against on the basis of their race or religious beliefs. The only required legal ground for migration, therefore, was an official document demonstrating the "Jewishness" of the applicant or of either of his/her parents. This requirement was easily met by Jews from the former Soviet Union, where "Jewishness" was and still is considered and perceived as ethnicity and until recently was specified in the internal personal identification of all citizens (see Section 2.3.2 for detailed discussion of the understanding of "Jewishness" in the context of the Soviet Union).

Although the KF migration program received initial welcome from the German authorities, it soon became associated with a number of problems similar to ones of the SA community described in Section 2.2.2. Despite the high levels of education among the KF migrants, most of them had to rely on the state for financial support for several years upon arrival, as their professional qualifications were not easily transferable to the German job market. Even in cases where migrants' professional skills would be comparable, most of them could not find a suitable occupation due to the general lack of German language skills. Thus, the integration into the German social life and work force proved to be much more difficult than was initially anticipated, and created an additional strain for the German social security system similar to the SA migration (Dietz 2000: 644).

In addition, the legal definition of being Jewish adopted for the purposes of this migration program was phrased in a way so that the state could accommodate KF migrants not only born from two Jewish parents, but also the ones whose mother *or* father (or even grandparents) were Jews according to the official documents. This, in turn, led to a number of conflicts with the policies of the local Jewish communities, which hoped to become the main authority responsible for integrating newcomers into Jewish life in Germany and German society in general. However, the very broad definition of “Jewishness” adopted by the government came into direct conflict with Jewish religious law (*halakha*), according to which only those born to a Jewish mother could be considered Jewish. This discrepancy led to a situation in which almost half of the KF migrants were not considered “Jewish” by the local Jewish communities and as such, have not been accepted as members (Remennick 2005: 31). In addition, even in cases of ‘*true*’ Jewish migrants, Jewish communities often failed to attract the new members to the activities in the synagogues and Jewish cultural centers in Germany due to the specifics of identity of the Jews from the former Soviet Union, especially their wide spread secularity.

Since the understanding of what “being Jewish” means in the post-Soviet context and how it differs from the traditional religious definition of Jewishness is important for the subsequent discussion in this dissertation, the next section addresses specifically the evolution of the Jewish identity in the Soviet and post-Soviet context.

2.3.2. Evolution of concept of '*Jewish identity*' in the former Soviet Union

Like the Russian Germans, the Jewish minority in the countries of the former Soviet Union underwent drastic changes in its structure and culture during the years of the Soviet rule. During that time, it had been transformed from a group of tight-knit communities, which were mostly separated from the larger Russian-speaking majority, into a group that has been named the “most acculturated” ethnic community of the Soviet Union (Kessler 2003). This development eroded the traditional self-definition of the Jewish community as one united by religious practices, common language and cultural traditions, transforming the way ‘being Jewish’ is understood in the post-Soviet context. This section outlines the historical context that contributed to the evolution of Jewish

identity in the former Soviet Union and discusses what constitutes ‘Jewishness’ in its culture and society.

At the time of the Bolshevik revolution, most of the Jewish life in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus was concentrated in smaller Jewish towns (“stetlts”), where Yiddish was the main language of communication. Largely separated from the surrounding dominant cultures, the Jewish population possessed a strong sense of community, defined by a number of “traditional” attributes of an ethnic/religious minority, such as territorial separation, common religious beliefs and language, shared culture and traditions – very similar to other minorities within the multiethnic Russian Empire.

What set the Jewish community apart from other minorities were the specifics of the political debate about the status of minorities in general, and the Jewish minority in particular, within the evolving Soviet Union. In the framework of this debate, the attitude towards the Jewish minority was quite controversial. On the one hand, the ideology of the early Soviet leaders questioned this group’s legitimacy as a “true” *ethnic* minority. Since the Jewish community could not be related to a fixed historic territory within or outside the Soviet Union, none of the Soviet leaders - neither Lenin, nor later Stalin - were convinced that it could or should be considered a true ethnicity. In this way, the Jewish minority was not seen as equal to other ethnic groups in the country (such as Russian Germans, Tatars etc.) and, as a consequence of this, often lacked state support for its recognition and cultural preservation (Gitelman 2003: 109).

On the other side of this controversy was the status of Jewishness within the legal state system, where it was defined and treated as any other ethnicity. Shortly after the establishment of the Soviet Union, a mandatory state-imposed ethnic categorization was introduced for all citizens. From the early days of the Soviet Union until after its collapse in 1991, ethnicity, or to be more precise, *национальность* ‘nationality’, was specified in the main personal identification documents (passports) of all the adult population. Along with other biographical data, it was made known to authorities every time a personal identification was required: such as when requesting any kind of civil or legal services, applying to educational institutions, and for jobs etc. In this way, the ethnicity of all citizens was very much an integral part of everyday life - clearly defined and made public on multiple occasions. Despite ideological debates about the “legitimacy” of the Jewish

minority as an ethnic group addressed above, Jewishness was officially considered as ethnicity within all institutionalized contexts.

As indicated earlier, the legal recognition as an ethnicity did not, however, guarantee a higher chance of cultural preservation for the Jewish or any other minorities within the Soviet Union. From the beginning, the official policies towards ethnic groups were aimed at a fast 'merger' ('слияние') of all cultures into one. In the minds of the country's leaders, this new ideal Soviet culture, in which all nations worked towards building a new socialist state, had to be stripped of any and all of its old-fashioned bourgeois nature. In this context, the Jewish minority (traditionally associated with certain 'non-proletarian' occupations) became one of the main targets of these new cultural ideologies. In addition, Judaism as the core unifying force of most Jewish communities was seen as another important target for the new ethnic policies; with Atheism being the official ideological choice of the new state, it was crucial to educate young generations of Jews in accordance with the new religion-free ideology.

It is interesting to note that in response to these ideologies aimed at the reduction of the religious influence in the Jewish communities, a wave of new Jewish schools and other cultural institutions was organized throughout the country. Indeed, at least in the Ukraine and Belarus, nearly 50% of all Jewish children were attending such institutions by the early 1930s (Gitelman 1991). However, the main idea behind creating targeted "Jewish" educational institutions was not the preservation of the culture, but rather setting a transitional stage for the re-education of Jews into the socialist ideology. The new educational system was designed to present a strictly secular socialist content, stripped of everything Judaic, including Jewish history, religion and the study of Hebrew. In order to better reach the target group, this new non-Judaic content was instructed through the medium of the community's target language. Yiddish was chosen to be a language of instruction due to its clearly secular nature.

However, there are indications that such schools were not very popular among the Jewish minority. As Gitelman (1991) points out, many parents resented sending their children to schools that seemed to be more anti-Jewish in nature due to their special curriculum than regular Russian-speaking institutions. In addition, schooling in Yiddish was perceived as rather disadvantageous for its graduates who wished to continue their

education. In order to complete the entrance examinations for any college or university, one had to re-learn all the subjects in Russian. For the Jewish minority, which was characterized by its preference for higher education, this was a rather strong factor against sending children to Yiddish schools, ultimately lowering the popularity of the soviet Jewish education in the new state. By the mid-1930s, the funding for education in Yiddish subsided, and the Jewish schools in the country were closed.

This decline in the popularity of Jewish schools and Yiddish as a medium of instruction occurred at the time of the fastest urbanization in the history of the Soviet Union. The industrial development of the 30s attracted large numbers of the rural population to migrate to larger cities in search of jobs and better opportunities. The Jewish minority, traditionally located in rural areas, was not an exception to this trend, which led to the establishment of extensive contacts with the Russian-speaking majority. By 1989, the urbanization rate of the Jews in the Soviet Union had reached 99 per cent, with more than half of all Jews being concentrated in Moscow and Saint Petersburg (Dietz et al. 2002). As was pointed out in several studies on Jewish history in Russia, the period of massive urbanization can be seen as the time of a large-scale and rapid shift to Russian among the Jewish population who were eager to compete for jobs with other ethnicities (Gitelman et al. 2003). Such urbanization had a devastating effect on Yiddish maintenance. The census data from different points of the 20th century shows that over a hundred years, the percentage of Jews who listed one of the Jewish languages as their mother tongue dropped drastically from 97 percent in 1897 to only 11 percent in the last Soviet census of 1989 (Gitelman 2003: 107). The shift was sped up by the fact that among the Jewish population, Russian (a lingua franca in new multinational industrial centers) was enjoying very high prestige as a language of education, job opportunities and personal development. Even among Jews living in Ukraine and Belarus, Russian had the status of a “high” language, and there is evidence that even in these soviet republics, the Jewish population was shifting towards Russian rather than the languages of the local majorities.

The statistical data on intermarriage, one of the most powerful indicators of acculturation, also supports the claim that the Jewish minority in Russia was quickly integrating itself into the wider society. According to Gitelman (2003: 110), by 1970,

nearly 50% of all married Jews were married to non-Jews, with interethnic marriages especially typical in urban areas. This trend continued to grow over the next decades, and “in the 1980s, for every 100 Jews there were an additional 60 non-Jews in the households. In the 1990s that ratio increased to 80 non-Jews for every 100 Jews” (Gitelman 2001: 253). The high rate of intermarriages can also be tied to the fall of overall size of the Jewish population in Russia due to the formalities of the ‘ethnicity assignment’. At the time of their passport application at the age of 16, children of interethnic marriages could freely decide which of the parental ethnicities they wish to affiliate with and have marked in their passports. In many cases, the children favored the non-Jewish ethnicity because of the fear of real or anticipated anti-Semitism.

However, despite the massive acculturation to the Russian-speaking majority, the decline of Judaic religious practices and the wide spread shift to Russian, one cannot claim that the Jewish minority became completely invisible within the surrounding majority. Aside from the legal ethnic identification and societal anti-Semitism, there were also other external factors and historic events that through the years preserved a sense of Jewish identity. For example, World War II not only raised Jewish self-awareness as a response to the Nazi occupation of the Soviet Union, but it also caused a slight revitalization of Zionist ideas among the Soviet Jewish population, due to the migration to Russia of Jewish refugees from the Baltic region, where Jewish communities survived in a more traditional form. The establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, the Soviet Unions’ opposition to it, and later Israel’s success in the Six-Day War of 1967 also served as an additional push towards the strengthening of Jewish identity in the country and the hopes to emigrate. Thus, when the emigration to Israel became possible in 1971, it attracted a large number of Russian Jews, motivated mainly by the Zionist ideas. Many took advantage of the later emigration opportunity to the USA, which, however, has since declined in the number of immigrants accepted (Tolts 2000: 199).

While this early migration was primarily motivated by ideological factors, the second migration wave of the late 1980s (including the migration to Germany), which roughly corresponded with the fall of the Soviet Union, was based to a much lesser degree on ideological factors. In these later years, the main causes for migration became first and foremost family reunion with relatives in Israel or the United States, or the

economic situation in the post-Soviet society. Since the 1990s, Germany became the most popular destination as opposed to Israel or the USA, as it offered an opportunity to escape the economic and political instability of the post-Soviet environment, at the same time allowing migrants to stay within a relatively short distance to their pre-migrant homes, while living within the European cultural context. For Russian Jews, who by the end of the 20th century were mostly concentrated in the urban areas of the European part of the Soviet Union and felt a strong connection to the European cultural traditions (Levinson 1997), this opportunity became the most attractive one. Dietz (2000: 643) points out that “the admission to Germany seems to be attractive for those Jewish emigrants who want to leave the former Soviet Union but feel insecure about going to Israel or to the USA”. The fact that migration to Germany was seen as a more practical decision rather than one caused by ideological reasons was also confirmed by Remennick (2005).

Considering this pragmatic attitude towards migration to Germany, one can expect a certain mismatch between the official goals of this migration stream (to re-vitalize Jewish life in Germany in its traditional sense) on one hand and the motivations and attitudes brought by the migrants themselves on the other. In addition, considering the historic events that affected the development of Jewish identity within the Soviet Union and pressure from the internal Soviet politics, one can see why in many aspects the understanding of “being Jewish” within the KF community differs drastically from traditional views of “being Jewish” held in other Diaspora contexts around the world and in Germany in particular, thus adding to misunderstandings between the local Jewish communities and the migrants. In order to better understand the self-conceptualization of “being Jewish” in the former Soviet Union, let us point out what does and does not constitute this identity.

First of all, due to the success of anti-religious ideologies implemented throughout the entire existence of the Soviet system, the Jewish minority in the former Soviet Union does not conceptualize itself through Judaism as religious practice. A study conducted among Russian and Ukrainian Jews in the 1990s found that only 3 percent of respondents believed that practicing Judaism defines “being a Jew” (Chervyakov et al. 2001). Kessler (2003) surveyed Russian Jewish migrants in Berlin and found that only 7% of them described themselves as “religious”. A similar observation is made by Ritterband (1997),

who studied Russian Jewish immigrants in New York and found that the secularity of migrants could be seen as one of the major factors distinguishing Jews from the former Soviet Union from the local Jewish population or other immigrant communities. Gitelman (2003: 51) points out, that for those who identify themselves as Jews in the Soviet Union, “Judaism no longer defines the content or boundary of Jewish identity. This is quite logical: if Jewishness is ethnicity only, then one should be able to practice whatever religion one wishes without affecting one’s ethnicity”. In fact, in some cases other religions (primarily Russian Orthodox Christianity), are seen as an attractive alternative to Judaism among the Russian Jewish population.

Second, today, a common language is no longer a defining factor for the Jewish minority in the former Soviet Union due to the decline of religious studies and practices (signifying the loss of Hebrew) and, since the 1930s, the rapid shift to Russian in everyday communication (which brought about the loss of Yiddish).

The question that arises here is - If it is not a common religion or language, then what exactly can be seen as the constituents of Jewish identity in today’s former Soviet Union? Research conducted in this area agrees that first and foremost, Jewishness is being strongly perceived as an *ethnicity* by both Jewish as well as non-Jewish populations. This fact is mainly attributed to the long history of the mandatory ethnic categorization of the Soviet system, which led to a situation where ethnic differentiation was formally present in the society for all its citizens even in cases where an ethnic/cultural group had lost all or most of its “active” attributes (such as language, clothing styles or cultural practices), and had acculturated to the dominant culture. Gitelman (1991: 5) states that

“...state-imposed ethnic identification is probably the most important factor in creating a situation of almost total acculturation with nearly no assimilation among soviet Jews. That is, almost all Soviet Jews have adopted, to a considerable extent, a culture which was not originally their own (...) but very few Jews who are not the offspring of interethnic marriages are assimilated, that is, have exchanged their original ethnic identity for another. (...) Thus, while the Soviet system has largely discouraged active Jewish identification, it remains paradoxically insistent on maintaining passive Jewish identity”.

Unlike some other ethnicities, however, “Jewishness” is not being actively expressed within the society, but can be seen as a passive self-identification with a certain group, expressed rather in “social” than in “ethnic” terms. Levinson (1997) states that at this point in history, the main distinguishing features of the Jewish minority in Russia

should be considered “subcultural”, concentrated mostly in socialization norms and the interpretation of common societal values, stating that for the post-soviet environment, a “cultural Jewishness” would be a more appropriate term rather than “Jewish culture” (Levinson 1997: 223). Stressing the elusive nature of “Jewishness” in the former Soviet Union, Gitelman (2003: 108) defines the Jewish minority as “Russian culturally, but Jewish socially and officially”. By both Jews and non-Jews alike, the Jewish minority is rather perceived as a group distinguishable from the mainstream Russian culture mainly through a certain lifestyle, not Judaic in particular, but which is believed to have evolved from a combination of Jewish and Russian values (Levinson 1997). The most prominent characteristics of (self-)identification of Jews from the ex-Soviet Union are termed in such categories as being “able”, “talented” or “cultured”, ultimately expressed by an overall higher level of education in comparison to other ethnic groups (Levinson 1997; Ritterband 1997).⁹ This tendency is often attributed to the instances of official anti-Semitism within the Soviet Union, where Jewish children were encouraged by the parents to study and work harder to overcome the difficulties of entering the educational institutions or jobs of their choice despite the “unwanted” ethnic label in the passport (Gitelman 2003). This, in turn, tied Jewish identity within the former Soviet Union to the notion of upward social mobility and orientation towards more intellectual occupations, such as doctors, scientists, writers, poets, musicians, producers or managers (Levinson 1997). With many well-known and visible Jewish figures within the Soviet cultural structures (TV, film industry, music, literature and such), in all, the Jewish minority was seen by self and others as both an active producer and consumer of Russian (Soviet) high culture.

This specific understanding of Jewishness that was mainly perceived as *ethnicity* in the context of the former Soviet Union will be central for the analysis of the identity negotiation between the KF and the SA in Germany presented in this dissertation as it will be shown to stand at the center of the KF community's view of self and their view of others.

⁹ The surveys of Jewish immigrants in Germany found that up to 70 percent of adults enter the country bearing a university or a college diploma, according to Doornik (1997).

2.4. The two migrant communities side-by-side

Considering certain similarities in the historical trajectories of the two communities in the former Soviet Union, the two ethnic groups discussed above present an interesting case of two migrant populations, which suddenly find themselves occupying the same social space in the new country. In this situation, the similarities and differences of their past can be assumed to play a significant role in the ways the two communities position themselves towards each other and towards the receiving society. This section will address aspects of the two communities that on the one hand, make them share a certain historical and cultural heritage, while on the other, serve as certain separating factors as they negotiate their relationship within a migrant context.

2.4.1. Similarities between the groups

The following factors seem to have affected both groups in the same way: the commonalities of the groups' cultural and linguistic background, similar migration experiences, as well as the shift in the ethnic self-perception of the communities' members that is brought about by the migration experience. Below, each of these factors is discussed in detail.

2.4.1.1. Common cultural and linguistic background

As can be seen from the discussion of historical circumstances in sections 2.2.1 and 2.3.2, both communities went through strikingly similar trajectories in their history through the 20th century, gradually shifting towards the dominant Soviet/post-Soviet culture. Due to the outside political and societal pressure, both of them have shown a high level of assimilation to the Russian-speaking environment and the loss of many traditional attributes of an ethnic minority. One of the most striking features was the (virtually complete) loss of the two respective community languages – Russian German dialects and Yiddish – especially among younger generations. This aspect becomes especially important in the migrant context where the Russian-speaking background often serves as a powerful unifying factor for positioning the migrant community from the former Soviet Union as a whole towards the outside German-speaking environment. For example, one of the largest Russian-speaking newspapers in Germany, *Русская Германия* ('*Russian*

Germany') bears a slogan *Наша родина – русский язык* ('Our homeland is the Russian language'), thus directly stressing the importance of Russian as a nostalgic symbol of unity for all streams of migration from the ex-Soviet Union to Germany.

2.4.1.2. Similarities in migration procedures

Although the two groups enter Germany through two officially separate migration programs, there is a strong resemblance in the policies and procedures of the migration process for both SA and KF migrants. These similarities not only have the same effect on the status of the two groups within the social structure of the host society, but also directly influence the social structures within the migrant societies.

Both groups enter Germany through the so-called "transition camps," which are separate for re-settlers and refugees, but are similar in their functions and organization. The primary task of this institution is to assist migrants in the completion of the necessary paperwork and to "distribute" the newcomers among the appropriate German states according to states' ability to absorb migrants. These facilities, where migrants of both groups spend an average of two weeks, become an important source of contacts with compatriots migrating at the same time. The importance of such contacts (especially the ones united by the same final destination) has a very high value for migrants and serves as a source of information crucially important for the successful completion of the first formalities on the way to the new place of settlement.

Only during the second step of the migration procedure do the migrants arrive in the town or city of their final destination. Although the goal of many migrants is to move as close as possible to their friends or relatives who arrived earlier (especially in the case of the SA community, who see migration as an opportunity to reunite with other family members separated by the deportation of the 1940s), the final decisions about the settlement areas are made by immigration officials, who keep the number of migrants in a particular state proportionate to the size of the state's population.

After arriving at their final destination, the newcomers usually spend several months living among other migrants in a transitional residence while looking for a suitable apartment. Although it is sometimes possible for larger cities to have separate "dorms" for SA incomers and for refugees (including KF migrants), many cities locate

both Russian-speaking groups in the same facilities due to their common cultural and linguistic background. Such living arrangements also make it easier for the staff to provide advising and counseling for both groups, since both SA and KF migrants have to complete many similar steps during the first months of migration. The living facilities are often overpopulated, requiring whole families to share one room and all residents to share one house kitchen, bathroom and laundry facilities. The tight living arrangements often result in intensive contact among Russian speakers and cause rapid development of Russian-speaking networks among the newly arrived migrants. These close in-group contacts are further facilitated by the fact that the first months after migration are usually spent within the house, since most of the migrants are waiting for language courses or professional training required for re-employment in Germany. For many migrants from the post-Soviet space, this is also the first time that the communities actually come into contact each other.

The contacts between the two groups may also continue later, as the eligible migrants enter the 6-month-long governmental language courses for the newcomers. It is only after the completion of the course and after migrants find suitable living arrangements on their own and move out of the temporary residence that the contacts between the two groups become more sporadic and may eventually subside.

2.4.1.3. Identity shift upon migration

While hardly any research has dealt directly with issues of SA ethnic identity (with the exception of Pfetsch (1999)), it often becomes a point of discussion in sociological studies that focus on the level of integration of this ethnic group into the receiving society (Dietz 1997; Silbereisen et al. 1999; Steinbach 2001). As a recurrent theme, all of these studies stress a degree of social isolation and cultural distance from the host society, which is often attributed to the shift in ethnic and cultural self-identification observed among many SA migrants. While having been perceived as a German minority in the home country, the migrants do not pass the criteria of authentic “Germanness” in the eyes of the host society upon migration. Mainly, the right to be seen as “real” German is denied to this group by the native population based on the linguistic characteristics of the SA group, specifically the lack of German proficiency (Dietz 1997; Pfetsch 1999). In

addition, the legitimacy of German ancestry is often questioned in the eyes of the German population, which became expressed in a number of derogatory labels for this migrant group in Germany, as, for example, "*Schäferhunddeutsche*" ("German shepherd Germans"), which implies that the German ancestry is claimed by the migrants on the basis of non-legitimate ties to German ethnicity, such as owning a German shepherd. The ethnic re-labeling from German to Russian further prevents SA migrants from establishing social networks with local Germans and leads to the higher orientation of SA migrants towards their own ethnic group, sometimes even increasing the in-group orientation of migrants and promoting the use of Russian as the language of communication within the network (Struck-Soboleva 2006).

A comparable perception in the eyes of the receiving society has also been attested in the few studies that investigated KF communities in Germany (Doomernik 1997; Kessler 2003; Schütze 2000; Schütze 2003), stressing the almost total loss of native language (Yiddish), the vast loss of cultural and religious traditions, and, as a result, a post-migration shift in ethnic identification from "Jewish" to "Russian", similar to the one attested for SA migrants. While they have grown up identifying themselves as "Jewish" in the countries of their origin, these migrants are "Russian" in the eyes of the host society (Becker 2001: 66). This identity change is clearly reflected in a statement made by a 35-year old woman, cited by Kessler (2003) in her survey of migrants in Berlin:

"In Russia, I was a 'Jew', here I am a 'Russian'. I can't say what I like better" [my translation].

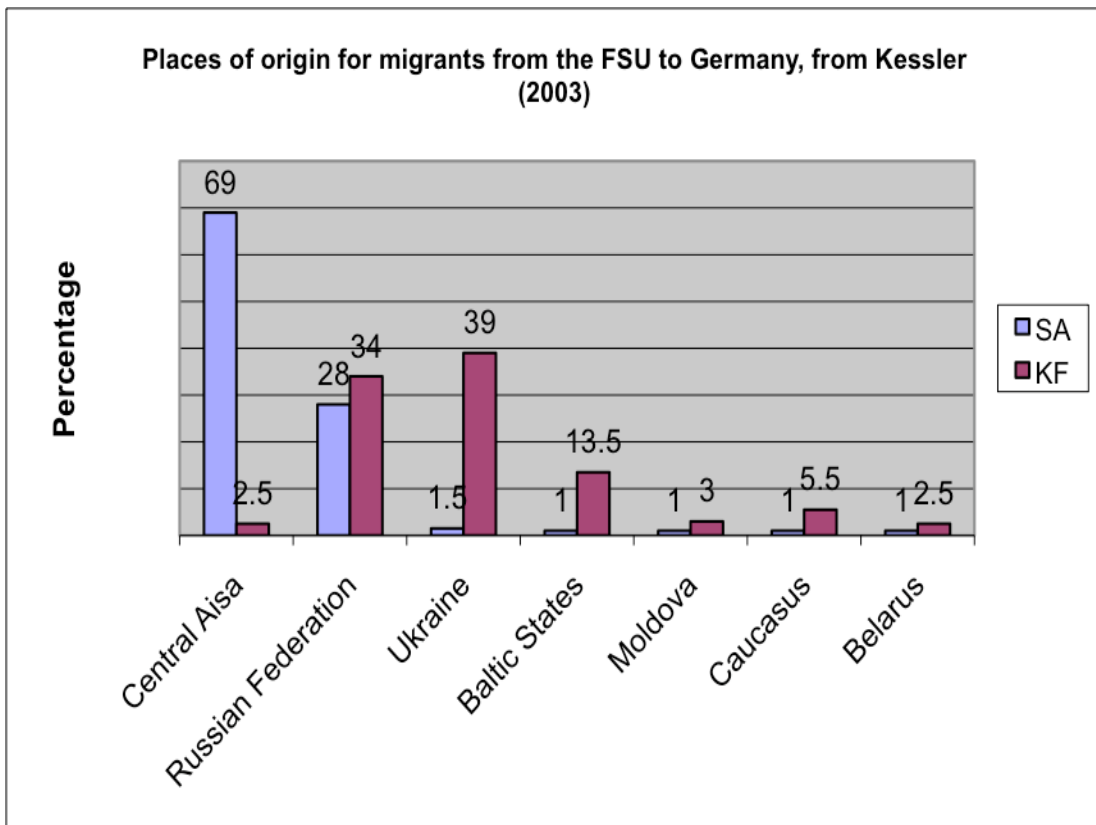
2.4.2. Differences between the groups

Next to the similarities between the groups highlighted above, there are also several social characteristics that set the two groups apart and potentially can be utilized by the group members in negotiating a social boundary between each other. In this section, I will address such factors as the differences in the migration geography, social and educational levels, the size of the two migration streams along with differences in the migrant's network structures that are likely to be formed by the principles shaping the migration itself, as well as migrants' legal status in Germany.

2.4.2.1. Migration geography

Traditionally, the SA communities were characterized by an agrarian lifestyle, and even despite the trend to urbanization in the second half of the 20th century, the majority of the Russian Germans lived in smaller towns or villages up to the time of the migration. In addition, as mentioned earlier in section 2.2.1, the majority of the Russian German population was concentrated in the eastern parts of the Soviet Union, in particular in Kazakhstan, as a result of the mass deportation of the 1940s. In contrast, the Russian Jewish population is concentrated mostly in the European part of the ex-Soviet Union and comes almost exclusively from larger urban centers, in particular Moscow and Saint Petersburg (Dietz 2000: 643). According to Kessler (2003), the places of origin for KF and SA migrants are distributed as follows:

Figure 1: Places of origin for SA and KF migrants from the former Soviet Union to Germany



As one can see, the vast majority of SA migrants come from the Central Asian parts of the former Soviet Union, in contrast to KF migrants coming from the western

regions. This geographical divide means that it is during migration that the two groups first come into immediate contact with one another. As a result, they can be expected to engage in active negotiation of their positioning towards each other within the new society, especially taking into consideration the inevitable contacts between the two groups during the migration procedures discussed above.

Even more importantly, the difference in the spatial distribution of the two groups prior to migration can be seen to go well beyond the mere geographical differences between the groups if we consider the ideological relationships between the large urban centers and the provinces in the former Soviet Union and in Russia in particular. According to a large-scale study conducted by the Russian Academy of Science that surveyed attitudes towards life in urban centers versus small provincial towns across Russia (Gorshkov et al. 2004), the former was strongly associated with high educational and cultural status, refinement and progress as opposed to Russian provinces that were seen as far less economically and culturally developed in the eyes of both urban and small-town residents. This perception can be expected to create a certain psychological distance between the two migrant groups, where SA migrants would be potentially associated with a notion of “provincialism” in the eyes of the mostly urban KF population from the European parts of the former Soviet Union. The analysis showed that this, in fact, became one of the major tools in creating distinctiveness between the two groups in this study. This attitude could be noticed even in the group labeling of the SA group: despite the existence of a well-known German term “Russlanddeutsche” (Russia Germans), the term “Kazakh Germans” or “Russians/Germans from Kazakhstan” was widely used among the KF population to refer to the SA migrants thus stressing the geographical (and cultural) distance between the two groups (see, for example, Excerpt 20 and Excerpt 27).

In addition, not only the geography before migration, but also the distribution of the groups after the migration could be seen as a certain separating factor. As mentioned earlier, due to the difference in the migration procedures, the SA migrants are generally more restricted in their choice of the final residence in Germany, as this decision is made by the distributing authorities. This causes a more equal distribution across Germany and a relatively low mobility of the SA population at least in the first years after migration,

since they are initially required to stay in the same town in order to be eligible for the financial support and social services. In contrast, KF migrants are free to choose the final place of their residence within the borders of a particular German state. Traditionally urban, this group continues this trend in Germany by residing in larger urban centers offering more cultural and professional opportunities, which causes a higher density of the KF population in German cities as opposed to smaller towns, and repeats the pattern of demographic distribution characteristic of both groups before migration.

2.4.2.2. Educational background

The sociological research agrees unanimously that there is a large educational gap between the two communities, with KF migrants demonstrating significantly higher levels of formal education. This fact can partially be explained by the patterns of geographic distribution of the two communities discussed in the previous section; being primarily urban and coming from major cities, the KF population was likely to have enjoyed wider access to institutions of higher education than the SA migrants. In addition, as mentioned in section 2.3.2, in the post-soviet context, a tendency towards higher education became a part of Jewish identity. For example, Ritterband (1997) notes that the high level of education was one of the major factors of self-identification among the Russian Jews as he clarifies that “while this education is not Jewish in content, indeed it is often expressed in the knowledge of Russian high culture, it is a way for some Jews to perceive themselves as Jewish and at the same time to identify with the Russian intelligentsia and its cultural expressions” (Ritterband 1997: 327). Such trends have not been attested for the historically rural SA population.

These factors explain the big difference in the percentage of migrants with higher education within the two migration streams. Although particular numbers vary from study to study, the overall picture shows significantly higher levels of education among the Russian Jewish migrants (to Germany and elsewhere) when compared not only to the SA compatriots, but also to the local population both in the former Soviet Union as well as in Germany (Cohen & Kogan 2007; Kessler 2003). For example, Kessler (2003) found a big educational divide between SA and KF migrants, with the rate of college degrees being 68% among the KF and 19% among the SA community members.

2.4.2.3. Migration scale and type

Due to the fact that the move to Germany was originally seen as a chance to reunite with family for the SA community, this migration stream had developed as a classic case of chain migration, strongly influenced by the requirement (valid until 1980) that only applications of those who had been invited by an immediate relative already residing in Germany were accepted.

Although this requirement was abolished later, it is still the fact that, typically, SA migrants relocate to Germany with their entire families and generally do not intend to return to the former Soviet Union (Dietz 2000). This has significant implications on the formation of immigrant networks within the SA community: due to immediate availability of compatriot contacts and the reliance on the help of family and friends right after migration, most SA migrants have been known to maintain their co-ethnic contacts throughout the years following migration. This tendency was confirmed, for example, by the immigrant sample of the German socio-economic panel (GSOEP). According to Dietz (1999), “in 1995 it found that 73 percent of the ethnic German immigrants lived close to relatives and friends and that 77 percent had close friends from the same country of origin (...) The 1997 GSOPE (...) discovered that in their free time ethnic German immigrants were heavily engaged in contacting (99%) and helping (89.4%) their relatives and friends” (Dietz 1999). The abundance of co-ethnic contacts and migrants’ orientation towards participating in them had led to the creation of a separate SA “society within a society” with its own infrastructure, and even labor and housing market (Dietz 1999).

Although the more recent phenomenon of the KF migration to Germany has not been investigated as much, it differs from the SA migration in its much smaller scale. In addition, it is known that, unlike the SA migration, the KF migration is partially compiled by “young migrants venturing into new territory” (Dietz 2000: 643), single professionals or smaller families who do not bring with them large families. The smaller number of co-ethnics in the new country and a smaller availability of pre-migration contacts after the move might mean that, in order to fill the vacancies in their social networks, the KF migrants would be more likely to reach outside their immediate migrant group to search for network support either within the larger Russian-speaking community or among the local population.

2.4.2.4. Legal status in Germany

The legal status that migrants receive upon arrival in Germany can be seen as another potential factor creating a boundary between the two groups. As mentioned earlier, the vast majority of the SA migrants obtain German citizenship after confirmation of their “Germanness”. The decisions are made on the basis of their ancestry and by the results of the language test. KF migrants, in contrast, retain the citizenship of their country of origin and are granted an unlimited stay visa that allows them to live and work in Germany. This difference in the legal status can potentially affect the way migrants see one’s own or others’ status in the new country, as well as the way they perceive Germany – either as the place of their final destination or as a temporary location before returning to their home country or moving somewhere else. Such differences in long-term plans can in turn affect migrants’ social behavior, such as orientation towards migrant or local networks and language learning and use.

2.5. Conclusions

This chapter provided an overview of the historical background of the two communities and addressed the status of the Russian German and Russian Jewish minorities before migration. It further highlighted the special understanding of ‘Jewishness’ in the context of the Soviet Union as one of the major points that will become crucial for understanding this research. Further, it has been demonstrated that several parallels can be observed in the history of the two communities in the (former) Soviet Union, as well as in their current migration to Germany. At the same time, factors such as geographical distribution in the home country and in Germany, educational and legal status differed between the communities, which will later be shown to be important for the positioning of the two groups in a migrant setting. However, before turning to the data analysis in Chapter 4, the next chapter describes the research tools and addresses some methodological concerns relevant for this research.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1. Research motivations

The particular topic for this dissertation has evolved from my general interest in the dynamics between these groups and the relationship they have to the two languages available in the communities – Russian and German. To date, there is little research about the relationship between these two communities in Germany. Dietz (2000) is, to my knowledge, the only study that looked at the two communities side-by-side, comparing sociological backgrounds of their migration and analyzing issues of their assimilation to German society. At the same time, her overview of the two communities does not provide information on interaction between the groups.

However, from the observations I made during my earlier research in the SA community specifically in 2001 and 2002, as well as through my involvement with the Otto Benecke Foundation,¹⁰ I knew that the two communities were aware of each other's existence and came into regular contact. To my knowledge, these contacts appeared primarily in the context of educational programs, such as the mandatory language course or additional seminars and programs targeting different professional and age groups within both communities. In addition, I have gathered a number of reports from staff members working with both KF and SA migrants in integration programs. Mainly, such reports focused on observations of higher academic success rate of KF migrants in language classes and professional seminars, as well as on an overall faster societal *and linguistic* "integration" of the KF migrants into German society. At the same time, many

¹⁰ Otto-Benecke-Stiftung, e.V. www.obs-ev.de is a government-sponsored non-profit organization that provides integration seminars and other programs to the members of these and other migrant groups.

reporters expressed their lack of understanding of the overall lower German proficiency (and weaker drive for acquiring German) among the SA migrants they believed they observed. This lack of understanding was especially strong in light of the fact that SA migrants enter Germany in the framework of "ethnic German" migration. Following a common ideology of a monolingual nation-state, which equates a specific language with a corresponding ethnicity (as described in Chapter 1), the members of the SA group are often expected to display at least some proficiency in German - both according to public opinion (as reflected in the general media, e.g. "Ohne Deutschkenntnisse kein Spätaussiedler-Status" (Without German knowledge – no re-settler status) in Spiegel-online from 01.02.2003) and in the eyes of professionals working with migrants.

Ultimately, the comments about the apparent differences between migrants' linguistic achievements sparked my interest in investigating the relationship each of the groups had to languages available to them. Were such accounts true? If not, why did they repeatedly come up in conversations with educational professionals working with the migrants? If they were true, what factors might have affected the reported differences in the linguistic adaptation? Was the KF community displaying the signs of a faster shift to German? But even more importantly, considering the apparent mismatch between the expectations of German proficiency among SA migrants on the one hand, and their reported performance in language classes on the other, it seemed that the commonly assumed link between ethnicity and a corresponding language appeared "broken" in this case. At the same time, the relationship between language and ethnicity in this context appeared especially intricate in light of the reported higher inclination towards acquiring German in the KF group, which is not ethnically German. Therefore, the main question that drove my interest in these communities was: how do languages available to both groups relate to their ethnic identities, especially considering that the linguistic resources in this context appeared to be shared?

This was the main question that motivated my choice of data collection tools, which mainly aimed at soliciting information on the reported use of Russian and German, accounts of proficiency in both languages and attitudes toward them among the members of both groups. Specifically, in light of ideologies that tie one specific language to one particular ethnicity (as described in Chapter 1), I aimed at eliciting metalinguistic data

that would bring to light speakers' beliefs about the two languages and their roles in their post-migrant life. In addition, I aimed at eliciting as much information as possible on the use of Russian and German by the members of both groups. Since the analysis of actual language use in various settings and communicative situations would not have been possible for a large number of speakers, this research also relied on participants' reports of their language use with respect to both German and Russian. In order to maximize the accuracy of these data (because any personal report can be rather subjective) I made a deliberate effort to test these reports from different angles by asking more general questions about the use of the two languages together with specific accounts of language use in a number of specific settings and with a number of interlocutors, such as friends and family members. While subjective in nature, the reported data on the use of Russian and German was valuable because in many respects, it reflected participants' beliefs about the different linguistic codes used in the community and thus, helped to paint the overall picture of the ideologies that seemed to drive certain linguistic behaviors of the participants in the two communities.

Participants' reactions to issues related to the use of Russian and German (as well as a number of other issues that emerged as salient from the data) indicated a number of notable differences in the reported linguistic behavior as well in the content of the metalinguistic commentaries, which reflected participants' attitudes towards Russian and German. Even more importantly, communities' members routinely appeared to be using these differences as tools in negotiating their position in the new social landscape and in defining ethnic and social boundaries specifically between the two communities. While the results of the study are discussed in detail in Chapters 4 through 9, this chapter focuses on the methods used in this research, as well as a number of methodological concerns that have affected the choice of research tools and the analytical results.

3.2. Research tools

The data for this dissertation were collected in a large city in southwestern Germany with population around 300,000 during my fieldwork research from October of 2004 through

July of 2005.¹¹ The choice of the larger city was motivated by the fact that it was expected to have a sizable population of KF migrants (who, as reported earlier in Chapter 2 tended to settle primarily in urban areas. This consideration was especially important in the light of the significantly larger size of the SA community also described in Chapter 2). This particular city is also popular among other migrant minorities in Germany due to its large industrial sector, which supplies about a third of all employment opportunities. According to the city's office of foreigners' affairs, in 2000, about 20% of all residents were non-German citizens. In addition, SA migrants (German citizens) were estimated to constitute 10% of city's population, bringing the part of city's population with migrant background to 30%.

I recruited the first participants for the study through visits at a local German course for migrants of both groups. After establishing initial contacts in a rather institutional setting, I recruited the rest of the study participants through the use of a "snowball" or "friend-of-a-friend" approach common in sociolinguistic studies, for example, as described by Johnstone (2000) and applied by Milroy (1987), Milroy and Li Wei (1995) and others. After each of the interviews, I asked participants to introduce me to any of their relatives or friends who would be interested in study participation. In this way, I relied directly on participants' own networks for the purposes of data collection. Being introduced by friends or family (as opposed to approaching migrants at institutional settings) helped to lower the formality of study participation and created a more relaxed interview atmosphere.

Relying on respondents' own social networks proved not only to be well suited for the purpose of participant recruitment, but it also further helped to preview and later confirm some of the results with respect to the social network structures within the communities. As Chapter 4 discusses in detail, there appeared to be only limited contacts between the SA and the KF group that went beyond institutional contexts. This lack of connection was clearly illustrated by the fact that when "being passed" from friend to friend by study participants, there were only a couple times that I "crossed" the ethnic boundary between the two communities. The vast majority of recommendations for

¹¹ I would like to thank the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the University of Michigan for the generous support of this research.

future participants were made within one group in both communities, despite participants' awareness that I was interested in interviewing any migrants from the former Soviet Union independent of their ethnic background.

Sociolinguistic interview

The main tool of the data collection for this research was a sociolinguistic interview based on a standardized questionnaire. The questionnaire is provided in the Appendix. I recorded each of the interviews using a portable MP3 recorder. As an established way to gather sociolinguistic information (e.g. Bailey 2000; Dyer 2002; Heller 2003; Milroy & Wei 1995), the sociolinguistic interview appeared especially suitable for this research as it provided an opportunity to collect both quantitative and qualitative data on the following topics:

Quantitative data:

Demographic information was collected for each of the participants, including age, sex, marital status, number of years spent in Germany, information on education both in the home country and in Germany, professional background, migration status as well as reports on the ethnic self-identification of participants.

A series of questions solicited participants' reports on their linguistic background in Russian (and in some cases Ukrainian) and German, including questions of language proficiency, language learning and the use of Russian and German in the migrant context.

A number of questions targeted specifically speakers' attitudes towards Russian and German, the participants' view of the role assigned to both languages as well as their perception of the importance of Russian maintenance in a migrant context.

Considering the influence of a speaker's social network composition on the language use and language attitudes (Hulsen et al. 2002; Milroy & Wei 1995; Raschka et al. 2002; Stoessel 2002; Wilkund 2002), a part of the questionnaire focused specifically on eliciting information on participants' networks. First, detailed information was collected on family networks, including close family members (as identified by participants) both sharing and not sharing the same household. Further information was collected on the age, sex, frequency of communication as well as languages used with such close family contacts. Further, participants were asked to provide account of their

more distant family members in Germany and answer questions on the frequency of communication and the languages used within these contacts. Similar information was collected on family members in the home countries. Overall, this part of the questionnaire was designed to elicit information on the relevance and strength of the family networks in the participants' social world.

Further, in order to elicit information on participant's networks not related to family, each of the respondents was asked to name five of their most important friendship contacts in Germany. With respect to these contacts, the respondents were further asked to specify their ethnicity, frequency of communication, as well as the languages used in such communications.¹² Additional information was collected on the number of participants' contacts who were in regular contact with each other. The number of links between the network members allowed a calculation of a tightness score for participants' primary network structure. This information was further supplemented by the information on ties between each of the primary network members with (at least one) of the participants' close family members in order to see whether family and non-family contact circles overlapped.

Finally, in relation to participant's network structure, a number of questions solicited information on participant's secondary networks in Germany by collecting information about the frequency of attending religious services, involvement in free time activities, communication with neighbors and so on, each time collecting information on languages used in these settings. Ultimately, the data on the structure of the primary and secondary networks was expected to provide an insight into participants' day-to-day interactions, as well as the languages used in such interactions.

The quantitative data was later transferred to statistical software (SPSS16) for analysis.

Qualitative data:

After providing each of the answers to the quantitative questions of the survey that later could be coded and statistically analyzed, the participants were asked to elaborate on

¹² Although participants were specifically asked for contacts *not* related to family, in some cases respondents (SA group) expressed a wish to include family members as well based on their simultaneous status as friends.

their answers or to explain their reasons for choosing one answer over another. This technique made the interview process appear as a free-flowing conversation rather than an oral survey, due to the fact that issues or topics specifically relevant for each of the participants turned into a springboard for numerous discussions. This approach, on the one hand, made it possible to solicit comparable information from all of the participants, while on the other, helped to create a relaxed interview setting that invited participants to engage into conversations on the topics they themselves perceived as especially relevant. Ultimately, it was this strategy that made it possible to gain a truly deep insight into the ways participants saw their new post-migrant world, the place of their own and the "other" migrant group, as well as the relationship each of the communities had to the two languages in question – Russian and German.

In addition, using an approach in which the respondents were free to engage in discussions of aspects relevant to them personally rather than just following the prescribed interview protocol once again demonstrated that sociolinguistic fieldwork requires a high degree of flexibility. Going into the field, a researcher cannot simply presuppose which specific issues will emerge as *locally* relevant to the communities, as has been demonstrated, for example in Eckert's research on Jocks and Burnouts (Eckert 1989; Eckert 2000). With respect to the present study, the following topics not considered in the original survey emerged as salient for both communities, or, not being stressed specifically, displayed a greater importance to one of the groups:

- Before starting the data collection, I was aware that both Russian and German, although to different degrees, were used by migrants (at least within the SA community I was most familiar with). Therefore, with respect to the reports of language use with friends or family, the participants were presented with answer options that reflected such potentially combined use of languages (e.g. "I speak Russian only, mostly Russian, half and half, mostly German, German only). However, answering these questions prompted participants to engage in discussions of their use of and their attitudes to Russian and German, but also towards the practice of code-mixing specifically. This emerged emphasis, which I noticed in the early interviews, in turn, prompted me as a researcher to adjust to the apparent salience of this phenomenon for both groups and to incorporate direct questions about

participants' code-mixing behavior in later interviews. Ultimately, the issue of code-mixing emerged as one of the most vivid examples of identity negotiations through linguistic means. As such, it is addressed specifically in Chapter 9. However, in contrast to other data chapters, the analysis of the code-mixing practices and attitudes towards it contains no quantitative information, which reflects its status as an issue that emerged during the conversations rather than one included in the original quantitative survey.

- An additional example where the data itself (rather than the original research design) determined the outcomes of the study was the "asymmetrical" distribution of the results, in which one of the groups generated noticeably more comments on a specific issue than the other. The two most vivid examples were 1) the stress on the deliberate language learning efforts in the KF community and the almost complete lack of similar comments among the SA migrants, and 2) the overall unidirectional orientation of comments that dealt with the construction of distinctiveness. (As subsequent chapters show, the absolute vast majority of the comments aimed at characterizing the "other" group came from the KF community. At the same time, SA migrants produced almost no accounts of the KF group.)

The commentary on the issues relevant to this research was later transcribed and is presented throughout this dissertation in the subsequent chapters. Since it was not the purpose of this dissertation to provide detailed conversational analysis of the interview excerpts, a rather loose transcription was adapted. The transcripts are given in their English translation, while the original language of the excerpt is reflected in the formatting: *regular font* represents Russian, while **text in bold** indicates the use of German. Participants' immigration status (KF or SA), gender (M or F) and age are indicated in the first line of every excerpt.

Although the interview format proved to be a very useful tool for gaining insight into issues and topics relevant for both communities, there were a number of issues that needed to be considered with regard to my own position as an interviewer. It has been widely discussed in the sociolinguistic literature (e.g. Briggs 1984; Briggs 1986; Gumperz 1982b; Milroy et al. 1995), that during an interview, a researcher becomes an active participant and co-constructor of the interview discourse. As such, he or she

inevitably affects the outcomes of the interview by pre-determining the direction of the conversation according to his or her own research agenda. Furthermore, interviewers' own positioning and social characteristics (such as age or sex) can influence the ways study participants behave during the conversation, further affecting research outcomes. Milroy et al. point out that due to the interviewer effect, "we need to employ and further develop not only field methods which reduce the prominence of the investigator, but also analytic procedures which account for his/her role in the interaction" (Milroy et al. 1995: 278). Therefore, it was important for me as a researcher to be aware of the ways my own identity could interfere with the data collection and analysis, and (where possible) to try and minimize or to take into account this influence. With respect to the first point, I tried to make a conscious effort during the interviews to allow participants to bring up and discuss issues that appeared especially relevant to them. This meant that while the standardized questionnaire was still used as a base for each interview to allow for comparability of quantitative data, during the "qualitative" discussions, it was me who tried to follow participants' leads in the conversation, deliberately taking a "listening" rather than "asking" position. The fact that a number of unexpected topics and issues emerged as relevant for different groups of participants (as discussed above) can serve as an example of the benefits of a "muted" interviewer position.

With respect to my own identity as the interviewer, some of the factors, such as age and sex, could not be controlled for. As the data showed, in some cases aspects of my identity might have affected some of the study outcomes. One noticeable example was the fact that the majority of comments on the importance of language maintenance in children as well as on the ethnic self-identification came from female respondents. On the one hand, this fact can be explained by the potentially more prominent role of women as "keepers" and "transmitters" of corresponding ethnic and cultural traditions. On the other, even considering that the first assumption is correct, one cannot exclude an explanation that women felt more comfortable engaging in discussion of such topics with a female interviewer, thus causing a higher number of comments on this issue in the overall discourse.

With other aspects of my identity, I made an effort to control for potential effects on the participants' responses. For example, knowing that the level of formal education

differs drastically from participant to participant, I deliberately tried to minimize the emphasis on my educational status as a graduate student working on a dissertation. Although each of the participants received an information leaflet with my contact information and the details of the study participation (as approved by the Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board at the University of Michigan), I was accepted in both communities as the "Russian student who is interested in languages". In this less "threatening" role, I was passed on to friends and family members and was welcomed by participants of all ages and backgrounds. Although the potential effects of educational difference could not be eliminated completely, the following comment given by an older SA participant with one of the lowest levels of formal education in the sample demonstrated her comfort with interview participation despite her reported usual lack of contact with "literate" people:

Excerpt 1

SA F 70

- 1 P135: *And me... You know, I kind of think a literate person... it could be awkward for*
2 *illiterate people. Literate people usually don't mix with those, illiterate people.*
3 *That's what I want to say. And so, I think, you must be a very kind person. Spending*
4 *so much time with me, and I am an illiterate one, a grandma.*
5 I: *Oh no, it was so interesting [to talk] to you!*
6 P135: *Well, it's clear of course, for you it was very interesting, because you are not, how*
7 *should I put it, not arrogant. Very easy going. Well maybe ...*
8 I: *Oh, what is to be arrogant about?*
9 P135: **But** *like that we could speak for so long! And...*
10 I: *It was really very nice talking to you!*
11 P135: *The Germans say "Thank you very much"*

Another issue that could have potentially affected the outcomes of the interviews, especially considering the focus on the relationship between language and ethnic identity, was my own ethnic affiliation. Luckily, I as a researcher found myself in a very valuable position that combined characteristics of an insider with those of an outsider of the two communities. My own Russian (post-Soviet) background, my native Russian (and my proficiency in German) were the key elements that I shared with other members of both groups. As such, they granted me wide access to the community and a warm welcome in participants' homes. At the same time, not belonging to either SA or the KF group on the one hand, minimized the chance of participants holding back comments about each

others' communities,¹³ while on the other hand, positioned me as a "newcomer" in the city, prompting many of the respondents to eagerly share with me their view of the Russian-speaking community in town and the social norms and conventions governing the social relationships between them.

A very small number of interviews were conducted in the city's public places, such as a library or a coffee shop, while the vast majority of the conversations took place at participants' homes. The hospitality of the study participants, which in every single case included tea, coffee or participation in a family meal after the completion of the interview not only provided me with multiple opportunities to observe participants' everyday life in Germany (and their actual language use), but also allowed me to gain further insights into issues related specifically to language, as interview questions were often taken by participants as topics for subsequent informal family discussions. Describing specifics of the ethnographic approach in sociolinguistics, Johnstone points out that "ethnography provides explanations of human behavior that cannot be uncovered through other kinds of research such as experimentation, explanations that have to do with how behavior counts as an action" (Johnstone 2000: 83). To this extent, participation in family gatherings provided me with excellent opportunities to gain insights into respondents' behavior that otherwise would not have been possible if the data collection would have been limited to interview sessions only: for example, interactions between family members, relationships with neighbors and other relatives. Furthermore, these opportunities allowed me to get to know many of the respondents on a more personal level, as well as receive invitations to other events in participants' families (such as birthday celebrations, get-togethers with friends or family), as well as more formal events that attracted many of the Russian-speaking migrants in town (such as concerts and literary readings). In each and every case, these opportunities not only allowed me to enjoy the company of many participants who became friends during my 10-month stay in town, but also provided me with

¹³ However, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the majority of the comments on "other" ethnic group came from the KF participants. While the special positioning of the KF community as the "minority within a minority" emerged from the data analysis as the most plausible explanation for such asymmetry, there is a chance that the lack of comments on the KF migration among SA participants could partially be explained by a potential presence of a certain taboo in approaching the discussion of Jewishness in the cultural context of the former Soviet Union, as indicated, for example in Gitelman (2003).

additional chances for ethnographic observation of the Russian-speaking population in town.

Combining various tools of data collection allowed me to collect extensive data on each of the participants as well as on the Russian-speaking community in town in general. More specifically, the goal of taking advantage of both qualitative and quantitative methods in the framework of one study was to gain insight into the same issue from possibly many different angles – from the point of view of individual speakers, as well as from the information yielded by the statistical analysis of the responses of the survey group as a whole. While not new to sociolinguistic research in general, such combination of qualitative and quantitative methods has not traditionally been used in studies on language and ethnic identity. Mainly, the research on language and ethnic identity has focused on investigation of identity negotiations in the case of a single speaker (Bailey 2000), on a single conversation in the framework of talk-in-interaction approach (Lo 1999; Rampton 1995), or on a small number of carefully selected participants (Giampapa 2001; Urciuoli 1991) each time relying exclusively on qualitative methods of data analysis. However, adding a quantitative approach can not only provide the researcher with a micro-level view of how participants make sense of their social world and how they relate this information to language, but also allows the researcher to see how individual accounts fit into a bigger picture and how the overall trends for each group relate to each other. This approach can be especially valuable in situations like the KF and the SA migrants described in this dissertation, as to date, not much is known about the ways two communities co-exist in their new post-migrant world. Therefore, the combination of the quantitative survey methods with the interview data (supplemented by the results of extensive ethnographic observations) was aimed at gaining a possibly holistic view of the interplay of language and ethnicity in the two communities.

3.3. Participants' demographics

Over the course of my fieldwork, I collected interviews with 167 participants. 134 of them were of a corresponding Russian German or Jewish heritage, thus qualifying as the "original" migrants as defined by the conditions for migration described in Chapter 2. 33

other participants were Russian or Ukrainian family members who followed their Russian German or Jewish spouses. These participants were excluded for analytical purposes due to their special ethnic status. Furthermore, ten initial interviews were also excluded from the analysis for a number of reasons. First, all of them were participants from the language course I used as my first entry point into the community. As such, they tended to be very recent migrants, mainly in their first or second year in Germany. As very recent migrants, they still tended to live in the transitional residence, which limited their social networks to other migrants in the house or in the language course. Furthermore, these participants were different from the rest of the sample as the ones contacted through an official institution rather than through a private network of friends or family, which might have affected the interview outcomes further. Finally, since these were the first interviews conducted in the field, they allowed me to gain the first glimpses into the communities and as a result, demonstrated the need to adjust and fine-tune the research tools used in the data collection (such as including questions on the code-mixing practices as described above).

The remaining 124 KF and SA participants presented a very diverse group, spanning across ages of 15 to 76 years old, including both male and female participants. In order to conduct a reliable statistical analyses that would consider an equal number of respondents from participants of different ages and sexes, the final sample used in the statistical analysis was limited to five respondents of each ethnicity, sex and life-stage category (see explanation of life-stage concept below). The final layout of participants considered for the analysis in this dissertation is presented in Table 3:

Table 3: Layout of participants in the sample

	KF		SA	
	f	m	f	m
Life-stage 1	5	5	5	5
Life-stage 2	5	5	5	5
Life-stage 3	5	5	5	5
Life-stage 4	5	5	3	5
Total:	20	20	18	20
	40		38	

The limitation to five cases per cell was constrained by the fact that it was the highest available number for several sub-categories. The only smaller category was the

oldest group (Life-stage 4) among the female SA respondents, as this was the only subgroup that contained fewer than five respondents. In the subcategories with more than 5 participants, 5 were randomly chosen to be included into the statistical analysis. In this way, the results of the subsequent analysis are based on the data collected from 78 Russian-speaking migrants, including 40 members of the KF and 38 members of the SA group of different ages and sexes.

The concept of “life-stage”, rather than just “age” or “generation” of the participants, was chosen for the purpose of organizing the sample. On the one hand, the rejection of the traditionally used “age” distinction was motivated by the fact that it did not necessarily imply the vast differences in participants' life-styles and daily activities, which were often pre-determined by the migration officials and seemed to differ drastically between migrants of a small number of specific age-groups. In turn, involvement in different institutions (for example, school environment for younger migrants), seemed to a certain degree to pre-determine participants' network structures. As shown by a multitude of studies that looked into the dependence of speakers' linguistic behavior and their networks (e.g. Hulsen et al. 2002; Milroy & Wei 1995; Raschka et al. 2002; Wilkund 2002), the differences in lifestyles could have been expected to influence participants' responses in a significant way.

On the other hand, the concept of “generation” traditionally used in studies of migrant populations (e.g. Giampapa 2001; Milroy & Wei 1995; Zentella 1997) also did not appear applicable in the situation of the KF and the SA communities. Traditionally understood as the generations of migrants either born in the home country and migrated as adults (1st generation) or as young children (2nd generation), or born after migration (3rd generation), these concepts did not entirely apply to the communities described in this dissertation for following reason: despite the fact that the SA migration to Germany has a longer history in comparison to the KF migration, both are fairly recent phenomena (as described earlier in Chapter 2). In this context, it was not surprising that the vast majority of the study participants were fairly new migrants who came to Germany as children, teenagers or (mostly) adults and did not think of themselves in terms of a specific migrant “generation”. Although at times resembling the traditional distinction between “1st” and “2nd” generation in its classic sense, the migrants themselves did not

perceive this distinction in generational terms due to the overall novelty of the migration experience. On the other hand, the generational distinction would not have captured some of the categorization that participants themselves seemed to routinely apply in addressing various groups within communities. Often, when speaking about differences in the social and linguistic behavior within the community, the participants referred to "*small kids who go to school*", "*folks who still can work*", or "*older people, who stay at home*", thus apparently applying a categorization based on the intersection of age-related differences and specific occupations characteristic for each of the group.

Therefore, the concept of life-stage was chosen for the analysis in this dissertation as the one best able to capture such internally driven categorization of the community members. This terminology was motivated by the concept of "life-mode" proposed by the Danish anthropologist Thomas Højrup (1983) and later proven to be relevant to language studies involving social networks (Milroy 2001; Milroy & Milroy 1992). Højrup describes three types of everyday life-patterns (those of a self-employed, a wage worker and a success oriented employee) and provides a detailed illustration of how different life-modes directly influence the everyday life of the various occupational groups. Depending on the occupational type, every member of the society is seen as likely to be involved in a specific set of relationships with other members of the society. Pointing out the relevance of the life-mode concept for the adequate analysis of social networks, Milroy and Milroy state that "different types of network structure emerge from the conditions associated with the life-modes of these subgroups" (Milroy & Milroy 1992: 18). This connection, in turn, exemplifies a link between the individual's involvement in different types of networks and larger social categories, such as occupation, age or gender.

The recurring reported link between participant age and the likelihood of their involvement in specific types of networks appeared to be especially relevant for the KF and the SA communities. One of the reasons for this relevance seemed to be the fact that their educational and professional options in Germany were (to a certain degree) pre-determined by migrants' eligibility for a number of educational or occupational opportunities. In turn, this eligibility was mainly determined by the participants' age and previous educational/professional experience. Thus the concept of life-mode seemed to

be fairly applicable to this migrant setting. However, in order to capture the age-related component in the locally relevant categorization, the concept of *life-stage*, rather than *life-mode* was applied in this research. Overall, four distinct life-stages can be identified in the community, generally corresponding to the increasing age of the participants as described below in Table 4:

Table 4: Distribution across life-stages

Label	Age	Occupation
Life-stage 1: school-age children	15-19	Participants who came to Germany as children and continued their education in German schools. The members of this life-stage usually learned German through additional tutoring courses offered at schools.
Life-stage 2: young adults	22-26	Participants who entered Germany with the equivalent of a German certificate of high school completion (<i>Abitur</i>). Generally it meant that these migrants have graduated from a high school in their home country <i>and</i> either recently finished a professional school or completed one or two years of college. Depending on the area of study, such qualification entitled migrants to either continue their education at a German college or a university (pending successful completion of an entrance language examination, <i>DSH</i>), or to enroll in a professional training program (<i>Ausbildung</i>). A very small number of participants of this life-stage migrated earlier in life and by the time of the interview have graduated from a German high school, also becoming eligible for professional training or college education. Participants of this life-stage were mostly unmarried and very few had children, which accounted for an overall greater social mobility of this life-stage. This group was eligible for government-sponsored language courses for incoming migrants.
Life-stage 3: middle-age participants	28-51	Participants who completed their education <i>and</i> have had professional experience in the home country. In Germany, the members of this life-stage had the choice of directly entering the labor market or continuing their education depending on recognition of their degrees <i>and/or</i> professional credentials. The respondents of this group were mostly married or in a committed relationship, the majority had children. Similar to Life-stage 2, migrants of this sub-group took part in the governmental language training.
Life-stage 4: older generation	55-79	This group was constituted mainly by the participants who came to Germany either already retired or nearing retirement age and thus had no aspirations to either continue their education or to enter the labor market in Germany (except for occasional part-time employment opportunities). This group was also eligible for language training, with the exception of the ones who surpassed the age requirement.

As mentioned above, the final sample consisted of 5 participants of each life-stage/gender/ethnicity, totaling 78 respondents from both communities. In terms of other demographic information, the sample yielded no statistical difference in the number of years participants spent in Germany both between the two communities, as well as between sub-categories within communities (such as respondents' sex or life-stage). The

median length of stay was 4.92 years (with a minimum of three and maximum of ten) for the participants of the KF group and 5.42 (with minimum of two and maximum of 12) for the SA group. Having a sample comparable in the amount of time spent in Germany was especially crucial for this research, as a bigger difference between the groups (especially in light of the overall recency of both migrations) would have been assumed to affect participants' responses. Table 5 below provides additional demographic information on the sample according to the four life-stages:

Table 5: Demographic data by life-stage

	KF	SA
Life-stage 1		
Age (mean)	17.50	17.00
Years in Germany (mean)	5.20	5.30
Enrolled at an educational institution	100% (10)	100% (10)
Employed	-	10% (1)
Married or in committed relationship	-	-
Children	-	-
Life-stage 2		
Age (mean)	23.70	24.10
Years in Germany (mean)	3.80	4.60
Enrolled at an educational institution	100% (10)	50% (5)
Employed	60% (6)	20% (2)
Married or in committed relationship	30% (3)	60% (6)
Children	10% (1)	40% (4)
Life-stage 3		
Age (mean)	42.40	36.10
Years in Germany (mean)	5.60	6.10
Enrolled at an educational institution	10% (1)	20% (2)
Employed	70% (7)	60% (6)
Married or in committed relationship	60% (6)	100% (10)
Children	80% (8)	100% (10)
Life-stage 4		
Age (mean)	65.40	63.60
Years in Germany (mean)	5.10	5.75
Enrolled at an educational institution	-	-
Employed	50% (5)	11% (2)
Married or in committed relationship	50% (5)	100% (8)
Children	70% (7)	100% (8)

The areas where the two communities displayed drastic differences included primarily the distribution of the respondents' pre-migration geographic location, the type (size) of the pre-migration settlement as well as the level of education between the groups. This information is summarized in Figure 2, Figure 3 and Figure 4 below.

Figure 2: Pre-migration region

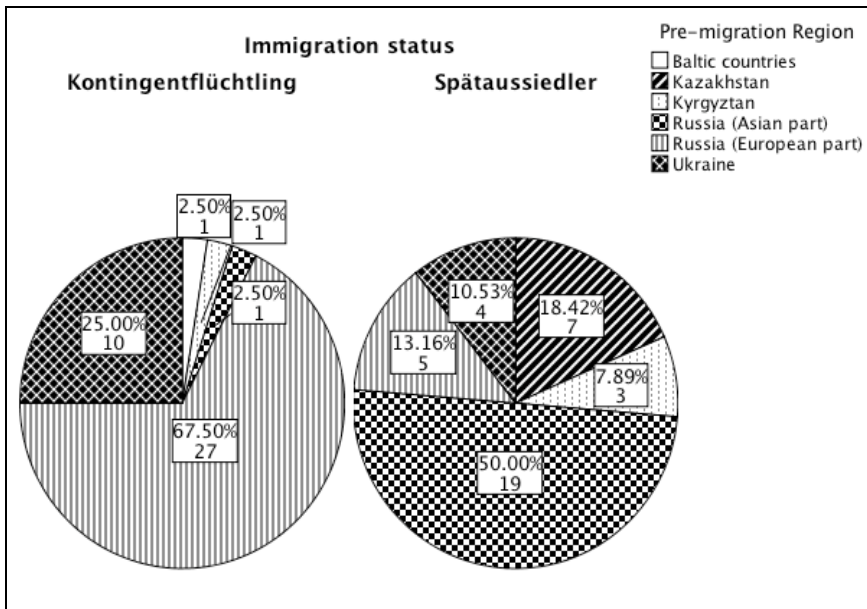
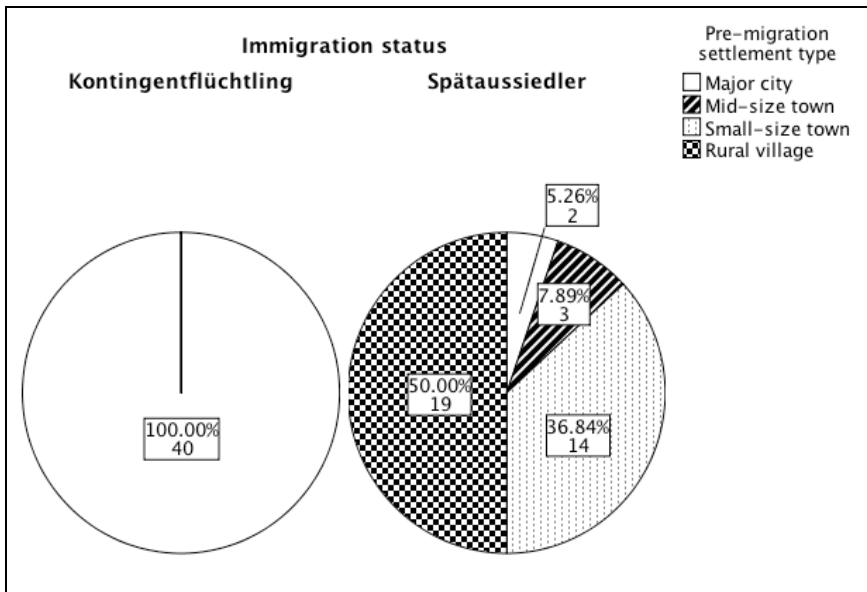


Figure 3: Pre-migration settlement type

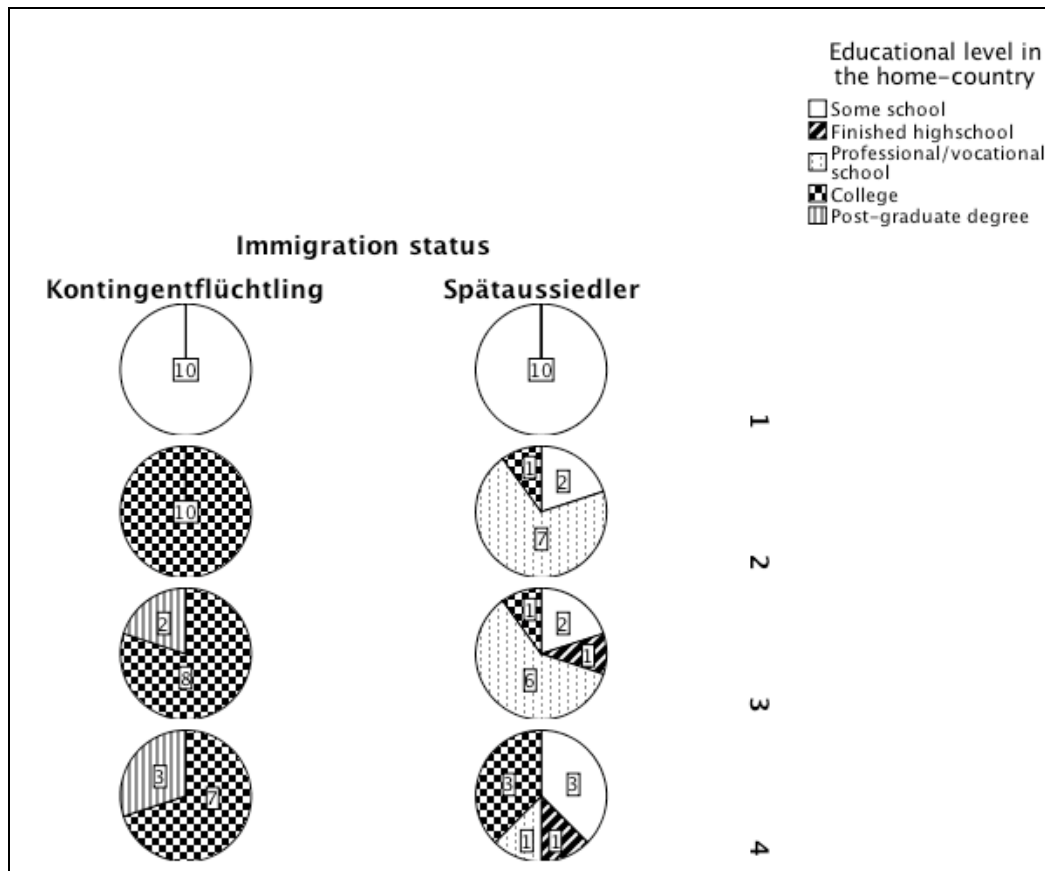


As clearly can be seen from both figures above, the distribution of participants across different regions of the former Soviet Union directly corresponded to the patterns described in Chapter 2. While the majority of the KF participants came from the European parts of Russia or Ukraine (92.5%), the vast majority of the SA respondents came from the Asian parts of the former Soviet Union, including Asian parts of Russia,

Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (76.3% total). In addition, the data showed a strict urban background of all KF participants who reported coming from major cities in their respective home countries (especially Moscow, Saint Petersburg and Kiev), while only 2 of the SA participants reported having lived in a "major city" before migration. The majority of the SA respondents a village-type settlement (50%) or in a smaller town (36.8%) as the type of their pre-migration settlement.

Furthermore, the data on the level of education achieved before migration also confirmed the trends otherwise accounted for in the literature (as described in Chapter 2), and indicated an overall higher level of education in the KF group. This data is presented below with respect to each life-stage:

Figure 4: Level of education achieved before migration by life-stage



While, as expected, there was no difference in the educational background of the participants of the youngest life-stage (as all of them migrated to Germany at school-age and thus completed some schooling in respective home countries), vast differences in

educational background could be observed with respect to life-stages 2, 3 and 4. While all of the KF participants have started or already completed college education in the home country (in some cases bearing post-graduate degrees), the number of college students or participants with college degrees from the home country in the SA sample was limited to only one participant for each of the life-stages 2 and 3 and to three participants of the oldest group. The most widely distributed form of education for the adult SA participants was professional/vocational school, followed by the completion of high school education or unfinished high school education, especially prominent among the oldest SA participants. In this way, the demographic data confirmed the results of sociological studies surveying profiles of the SA and the KF migration in Germany (as described in Chapter 2) that indicated both dominance of the urban life-style and higher educational level in the KF community. At the same time, these data showed that the SA migration was characterized by their rural/small town background from the Asian parts of the former Soviet Union, as well as by the overall lower educational status of the SA migrants.

Being the most prominent characteristics that differed between the two groups, these distinctions proved to be the most salient in the discourse surrounding not only the ethnic and social categorization in the community per se, but also in defining the relationship between this demographic differentiation and the language. As following chapters show, these topics emerged and re-emerged throughout the analysis of participants' comments elicited during the interviews. These distinctions appeared to be especially prominent in the discourse that focused directly on migrants' attempts to position themselves as social and ethnic entities in a new environment. This discourse is the topic of the next chapter that deals with the ethnic categorization in the surveyed communities.

Chapter 4

Ethnic categorization within the community

4.1. Introduction

The most noticeable aspect of the discourse on one's own versus the other's ethnic identity was the multitude of names and labels that participants of both ethnicities used throughout the interviews to describe ethnic entities within their social world. These labels were used at different times during the interview. The choice of a specific label seemed to depend on many factors. To illustrate this diversity, Table 6 lists some of the group names used by the respondents:

Table 6: Ethnic labels used in the interviews

	Used by KF participant	Used by SA participants
Referring to local Germans	German local German German German	
	real German	
Referring to SA	Russian Aussiedler (re-settler) Spätaussiedler (late re-settler) Russian German [person] from the Soviet Union our [people/person] German from Russia	
	our German Kazakh German German from Kazakhstan [person] from Kazakhstan Russian from Kazakhstan Russian German from Kazakhstan German migration	Русак ('Russak', a modified form of the word 'Russian') real German
Referring to KF	Russian Jew Jewish migration [person] from the Soviet Union our [people/person]	

While this list by no means covers all the ways participants described themselves and others in the interviews, it contains the most frequently used labels. Their examination makes clear that ethnic categorization in the wider Russian-speaking community was not a straightforward task for social participants.

First, it became obvious that depending on the context, some of the labels, such as 'German', 'Russian', 'our people', 'people from the Soviet Union', seemed applicable to more than one group. For example 'German' could be used for both local Germans and SA migrants depending on the context and the need to juxtapose it with other groups. Labels such as 'Russian', or 'our people' could be applied to the entire Russian-speaking community in Germany based on a common cultural, linguistic and migrant background, without making any other ethnic distinctions.

Some groups, such as 'local Germans' and 'Jewish migrants' seemed to be least difficult to label, as it becomes apparent from the smaller number (and lesser variety) of

the names applied to these entities.¹⁴ In contrast, the large number of ways to define the SA migration (both by KF and SA migrants) seemed to indicate that its position needed to be specified both with the relation to the local German majority (with whom SA migrants shared an ethnic label 'German') and the KF community (with whom they shared a common Soviet past and linguistic background). Depending on the context, SA migrants could take on quite opposing ways of defining themselves (and being identified by others) - from 'Russian' to 'German'.

Furthermore, it is notable that KF participants, who mainly came from the European parts of the former Soviet Union, often identified the SA migrants as 'Kazakh Germans', or even 'Russians from Kazakhstan', thus seemingly stressing a territorial distinction between self and other.

Some of the interview examples clearly demonstrated that even such a multitude of ethnic labels did not always help the respondents to find an easy way to position a person or a group they were talking about. For example, when talking about SA participants in her language course, one KF participant seemed to struggle to find a suitable ethnic label as she started her description in the following way: "*Many Russians, our [people], well, Germans, well, from Kazakhstan...*" (see Excerpt 48).

Considering this rich and dynamic relationships between the groups, which seemed to be re-defined and re-negotiated by the participants throughout the interviews, it was not surprising that the interviews yielded a large number of comments that dealt directly with defining the boundaries of one's own group and with trying to negotiate its position with respect to the other ethnic entities in the society. Although not directly related to language, these data provided a lot of information on what attributes of identity (and in particular, *ethnic* identity) became salient for the respondents in each particular context. As such, these comments are examined in two different lights in this chapter: first focusing on the ways communities tried to define the own group (Section 4.2), then exploring the attempts to negotiate one's own positioning with respect to the other group (Section 4.3). Finally, Section 4.4 will preview some of the results from the social network analysis in order to see whether the ideological positioning between the groups

¹⁴ Although the number of labels for KF community might have been smaller because it only rarely became the focus of discussion in SA interviews.

discussed in Sections 4.2 and 4.3 found its reflection in the ways the communities maintained (or didn't maintain) connections with one another within their new migrant space.

It is also important to note that the main aspects of the ethnic categorization that emerged from this data will not only be relevant for the question of positioning of the two groups with respect to each other in their social space, but will furthermore be tightly interwoven with the ideologies underlying identity negotiation through linguistic means. The linguistically-based negotiation will be the focus of the subsequent chapters of this dissertation.

4.2. Defining the ethnic self

The multitude of possibilities for self-definition reflected in the group labeling further became apparent in the ways participants talked about their own ethnic identity. During the interview, each of the study participants was asked to identify his or her ethnicity. The question was posed as an open-ended question, without providing the participants with any pre-determined answers. The answers for each of the groups are summarized in Table 7 below.

Table 7: Ethnic self-identification

	KF	SA
German	0	34.2% (13)
Russian German	0	2.6% (1)
Russian	15% (6)	50% (19)
Don't know, hard to say	7.5% (3)	13% (5)
Half Jewish, half Russian	12.5% (5)	0
Jewish	62.5% (25)	0
Other	2.5% (1)	0
Total	100% (40)	100% (38)

Overall, the data showed that even within the two groups participants had very different views of their own ethnicity despite the fact that within the legal framework, they have been accepted to Germany under migrant programs that require an assignment of a defined label directly tied to ethnicity: as a prerequisite to migration, all study participants had to provide evidence of either their German (SA) or Jewish (KF) ethnicity. As the data showed, half of SA participants identified themselves as Russian

and 13% could not define their ethnicity. Only 34% of the SA group identified themselves as "German", while one person specified his ethnicity as "Russian German" specifically.

For the KF group, the data indicated that more than a half (62%) of respondents perceived themselves as Jewish, while another 12.5% reported having a mixed Russian-Jewish ethnicity. Only 15% provided the answer "Russian" (a much lower number than for the SA group), while another 7.5% did not have a clear answer to this question. One person reported "Ukrainian" as her ethnicity, as reflected by the category "other" in Table 7 above.

Although the answers fell into more or less clear categories, the commentary provided by the participants indicated that there were, in fact, different factors that may have caused a person to align with one or another ethnic label. The next two subsections (4.2.1 and 4.2.2) look in detail at the respondents' answers and the commentary provided on the choice of ethnic self-identification by the members of both groups. As they show, these comments can not only illustrate the reasons behind a choice of ethnic identification for a particular person, but also provide an insight into how a group as a whole can define and negotiate its positioning with respect to another in the eyes of an outsider.

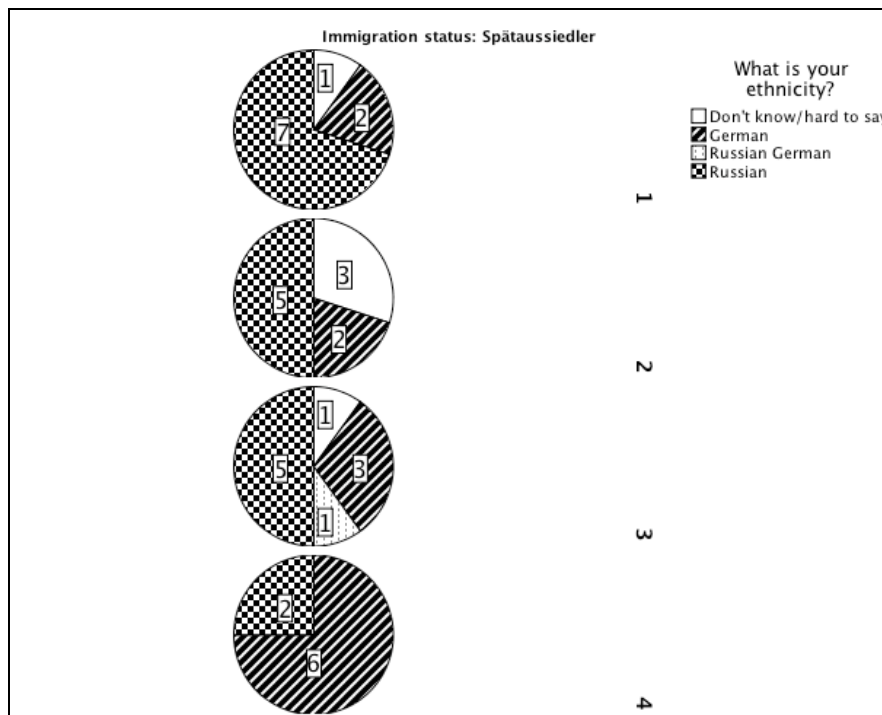
4.2.1. Defining the ethnic self: SA

As mentioned earlier, the migration experience, especially being defined in strict ethnic terms, can be expected to challenge a person or a whole group to actively confront the question of ethnic self-identification. The formalities of the migration process require an individual to formally align or be assigned a specific ethnicity, which, as was shown in Table 6, does not always coincide with the official ascription of such ethnic identification. In addition, a new social environment can challenge and influence the ways a migrant group sees itself depending on the need to position itself with respect to its new "social neighbors". The SA community in Germany seems to be a perfect example of an active conceptualization and negotiation of its members' ethnic identity in changing social and cultural circumstances. As we saw in Table 6 and Table 7, the participants aligned themselves with a wide array of ethnic self-identification labels ranging from clear "German" to a clear "Russian" label. This section looks in detail

at SA participants' choices of ethnic self-identification as it turns to the discourse surrounding this question.

Figure 5 below provides a look at the difference in self-perception among different life-stages within the SA group.

Figure 5: SA ethnic self-identification by life-stage



As one can see from Figure 5, at least half of all respondents in three youngest groups considered themselves "Russian", and only in the oldest group did the majority identified themselves as "German". This clearly illustrated the fact that for historical reasons addressed in Chapter 2, the younger respondents have assimilated greatly to the surrounding culture of the home region. Furthermore, some of the participants in the three youngest groups hesitated to align with any ethnic label, mainly reporting that at this point in their migration experience, they found it hard to describe what their ethnicity would be. At the same time, none of the participants in the older generation provided similar answers. Considering the above pattern, it was not surprising to see mostly older participants commenting on still-perceived feelings of belonging to the German culture and ethnicity, as for example in the account of this 63-year-old participant:

Excerpt 2

SA F 63

1 P 102: *I am German, a real German, my parents are German and all the ancestors are*
2 *German. They lived in Germany in the 40s.*

In fact, having German ancestors was the main factor chosen by many participants as an explanation for their choice of ethnic self-categorization. In the following excerpt, a 50-year-old female participant recalled an incident between herself and a French co-worker, in which she had to define the way she perceived herself as response to ethnic mislabeling as "Russian":

Excerpt 3

SA F 60

1 P 037: *So, we have this guy who works with us, he is French... but when he speaks to me,*
2 *he would say something like... well, you are Russian. And I would reply, no, I am*
3 *not Russian, I am German, but **from Russia!** But he doesn't understand, he thinks if*
4 *[someone is] from Russia, then [he/she is] Russian. Not that I am against being*
5 *Russian, but I am German, I was born German, I say it's just like a goat can't have*
6 *a foal as a child, if it's a goat, it's a goat, if it's a cow, it's a cow, I think so. No*
7 *matter what you do. I just keep telling him, if a sheep hangs out in a herd of cows*
8 *and it has a baby, it doesn't mean it had a calf. It's a sheep!*
9 I: *Did he understand it?*
10 P 037: *Of course he got it, but he was blinking with his eyes. But of course if I am*
11 *German, if my parents are German, my grandfather, my great grandfather, then I*
12 *am German. I was German in Russia, I wasn't hiding it, I wasn't changing my last*
13 *name of my patronymic, I am German. I am German, and that's why I can't ... well,*
14 *yes, I was born in Russia and I grew up among Russians, and most of my life*
15 *happened to be there, my best friends are left there, the biggest part of my life is*
16 *left there, it's hard, well, but I am German. I was German there, and all my friends*
17 *knew that I was German through all the times, although there were times that I*
18 *needed to enroll in college, and they were looking into your papers who you are,*
19 *and in some other cases, I can't deny that, [it was] in the Soviet times.*

Similar to the account in Excerpt 2, this participant presented a strictly essentialist sense of ethnicity based solely on the ancestry principle. Here, ancestry became the major factor in determining and claiming ethnicity clearly overriding such attributes as place of birth and Russian cultural heritage. By using a strong metaphor that illuminated the importance of German descent without further questioning what it means to "be German" (lines 5-6), this participant, similar to the respondent in Excerpt 2, dismissed the

constructive nature of ethnic categories (Fought 2006), demonstrating an understanding of ethnicity based solely on German lineage.

This essentialist approach to defining one's ethnic self, however, was limited to a small number of life-stage 4 participants who were more likely to maintain their German ethnic heritage in the home country. In contrast, the accounts of the vast majority of the SA respondents demonstrated a fundamentally different understanding of ethnicity (and German ethnicity in particular), in which ancestry became just one out of a multitude of factors equally important in determining the meaning and content of the concept of "being German". The following example, in which a 19-year-old SA respondent talked about her ethnic self-identification, presented a clear contrast to the accounts of the oldest migrants, disregarding the ancestry principle shown to be central to the accounts in Excerpt 2 and Excerpt 3. Instead, she founded her definition of ethnic self on more arbitrary and acquired principles, such as time spent in a particular geographical space (line 4), or interest in culture and social life of a particular country (lines 4-5 and 12-13):

Excerpt 4

SA F 19

- 1 I: *What do you perceive your ethnicity to be?*
2 P127: *Hm.. it's rather German*
3 I: *So, you feel like...*
4 P127: *Yes, of course. I haven't been in Russia for a long time, I don't want to go there,*
5 *so... I would rather go to America than to Russia.*
6 I: *Have you been to Russia since you came here?*
7 P127: *Yes, I went to Russia once, and I was very happy when I came back.*
8 I: *Why is that?*
9 P127: *Here I feel like home, and somehow I can't imagine how one can live in Russia,*
10 *or... I don't know. I was bored there and I felt lonely.*
11 I: *Was it because your friends weren't there, so there was no one to talk to?*
12 P127: *Just because I've very much gotten used to living here, I've even gotten used to*
13 *listening to their news, they are completely different from our news. And overall all*
14 *the values, I would say, are completely different from the ones in Russia. And I am*
15 *thinking more their way than the Russian one.*

This participants' answer exemplified an understanding of ethnic identity as a clearly social construct (Fought 2006; Zelinsky 2001) and demonstrated that in contrast to the accounts of the older participants, ethnic membership was seen by this participant as something that could be potentially "acquired" by adhering to the cultural norms and value system of a particular group (lines 12-15).

By stating that she felt “rather German” (line 2), this participant further demonstrated that for her, unlike for the older respondents with a categorical view of ethnic identity, the concept of committing to one or another ethnicity did not appear as clear-cut. Instead, her account demonstrated a transitional position, in which she claimed a newly acquired German ethnicity without having to give up the association with her Russian background entirely. The alignment with Russia and the Russian culture was exemplified by this participant’s pronominal use, which showed that the participant perceived a certain conflict in her positioning between the two cultures. While declaring her emotional distance to everything that was associated with the Russian culture, at the same time she seemed not able to see herself exclusively as a part of the new environment, demonstrated by her repeated use of 3rd person pronouns “their” and “them” with relation to anything related to German cultural space, juxtaposing them with the 1st person of “our” e.g. Russian news. This flexible positioning allowed this participant to evoke associations of multiple positioning at the same time, highlighting the dynamic nature of her view on identity (e.g. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

The constructive nature of ethnicity came to light even stronger in accounts of the adult SA participants of life-stages 2 and 3, who often explicitly engaged in discussions of their German heritage and specifically, of the characteristics that constituted “Germanness”. These discussions demonstrated that in addition to the ancestral principle that dominated the accounts of the older migrants, other factors, such as having a German (or Russian) name, being (or not being able) to speak German etc., were seen as supporting or contesting ethnic identity as “German” among adult SA migrants. Consider, for example the following account of a 50-year old SA participant:

Excerpt 5

SA F 50

1 P116: *There in Russia everyone thought I was German, because I have a German last*
2 *name. But I didn't feel that someone was treating us badly, despite where we lived.*
3 *And we had such a **surrounding**, we had Germans here, and Germans there. And*
4 *when I worked, it was even the opposite, I was always assigned such jobs that*
5 *require special patience and they were saying.. they.. if I was called German, then*
6 *only in the sense that I would do the job well and responsibly. And I came here,*
7 *since I don't speak German, what kind of German am I? My mom is Russian, and I*
8 *always say without hesitation that my last name, **my name is [German last name],***
9 ***my father is German, and my mother is Russian, I am bearing a Russian first***
10 *name. And I perceive myself as Russian, if I am being honest, because I don't*

11 *speak German. If I would integrate fully, if I would have tons of friends among*
12 *Germans then maybe... but I am not offended to be ... how did I deserve it?*

In addition to illustrating how ethnic categorization can be constructed and conceptualized, this excerpt further illustrated how different aspects of one's identity could be highlighted or dismissed depending on the locally defined axes of sameness and difference unique to every specific situation. As this account demonstrated, the German aspect of one's identity was routinely ascribed by non-German others, and accepted and perpetuated by this SA participant in the context of her home country, where it stood out against the backdrop of the dominant Russian majority. During migration, which can be expected to challenge one's identity (Auer 2005), and especially in the context where newly arrived migrants seemed to claim the German identity of the local majority, these claims could be expected to be directly challenged by the local population. This, in turn, would inevitably force migrants to re-evaluate their understanding of own ethnic identity brought from the home-country. The account in Excerpt 5 clearly demonstrated the crucial role of the local oppositions (Irvine 2001) for this individual's view of her own (ethnic) identity, illustrating a direct switch from seeing herself as "German" in the home-country to the self-perception as "Russian" in light of perceiving a clear difference between self and the "German Germans".

The position of a changing or of a hard-to-define ethnic identification was further reflected in accounts that recalled a flexible attitude to ethnic self-labeling for participants even within one interview depending on the immediate context of the conversation. Often, when middle-age participants identified themselves as German in a direct response to the ethnic-identity question of the survey, their ethnic self-labeling throughout the interview deviated from the earlier answer. The shift in both ascribed and perceived ethnic labeling often lead to a situation where both Russian and German identity was claimed by SA respondents at the same time, allowing them to emphasize or de-emphasize their ties to the heritage German or the Russian identity during the conversations depending on the specific context. In this way, speakers were able to actively construct ethnic representations of self throughout the interviews, making ethnicity very much a "product of an ongoing talk" (Schilling-Estes 2004) by performing a series of separate "acts" and stances highlighting one or another aspect of one's ethnic

self (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Often, this fluidity of one's ethnic positioning led to a direct perception of one's and the group's identity as a "mixed" one, resembling the "hyphenated" identities attested among other migrant populations (e.g. Giampapa 2001), as for example, in the following account of a 48-year-old SA participant:

Excerpt 6

SA F 47

- 1 *I: So, you feel German here?*
2 *P128: In Russia, I wasn't considering myself Russian, and here I don't feel German. It's*
3 *hard to say what I am. I feel neither Russian nor German. What kind of German*
4 *am I? I have so much Russian in me. And back there I thought, what kind of*
5 *Russian am I? I have so much German in me. Now we are mixed. That's it.*

Finally, the SA accounts that dealt with the dynamic and changing nature of their ethnic self-identification in migration demonstrated that following the dominant ideology that saw an ethnic or a national language as the most central component of the formation and negotiation of an ethnic or national identity (Fishman 1999; Piller 2001), the German ethnicity of SA migrants often became challenged by the local population (and sometimes by the migrants themselves as shown in Excerpt 5) precisely because of the lacking German proficiency. In the following excerpt, a 47-year-old SA participant reported an incident where she felt challenged to actively defend her choice of ethnic identification in the eyes of a local German colleague:

Excerpt 7

SA F 47

- 1 *P 128: They don't understand that we are Russian GERMANS, since we speak Russian,*
2 *then we are Russians, such a thing... For example, one well-educated and*
3 *informed lady that we were getting along with in one of the companies, and when*
4 *we came upon the topic that I am **German**, she was just offended. She stopped*
5 *greeting me after that. And she was always looking down upon me after that. We*
6 *were arguing for such a long time. I kept telling her, I am **German, but I came***
7 ***from Russia. I come from a German family, my parents are...** I kept explaining to*
8 *her. **My mother was [German last and first name], my father is [German last and***
9 ***first name]. They only have German names. And that they always spoke only***
10 *German, it's only in our generation we started to speak Russian. And that my*
11 *parents didn't know Russian. So, and here... there is a difference, maybe I wasn't*
12 *explaining it right. **Nationality** – they don't use that word. If you were born here,*
13 *then you are German, no matter what nationality. Maybe that's what was*
14 *confusing. And I even showed them the **passport**, I say, see, I even have a **passport***
15 ***in German.***

This account clearly illustrated what Bucholtz and Hall (2005) call the “intersubjective” nature of identity, which is as much projected by an individual, as it is ascribed and/or contested by other social participants sharing one physical or social space. In this particular case, the ascribed and projected identities of the participant came into a direct conflict when the participant’s claims to Germanness became denied in the eyes of her colleague. In this encounter, ethnic identity negotiation became explicitly expressed, uncovering the very nature of the disagreement between the understanding of what “being German” meant for the local colleague and that of the participant reporting the incident. Namely, in the eyes of the local German, this SA participant lacked an essential quality (or a “badge” of a particular ethnic identity (Aikhenvald 2003)) necessary to be considered as an ethnic German: the ability to speak the German language on a native-like level. In contrast, due to historic reasons of language loss in the Russian German minority in the former Soviet Union, knowing German no longer appeared to be a necessary attribute of Germanness for this (and other) SA migrants, either being dismissed entirely, or, as in Excerpt 7, being substituted by the existence of German proficiency in the earlier generations.

This lack of acceptance as ethnic Germans by the local population was regarded by SA participants as one of the main reasons for the shift in one’s ethnic self-identification. While for most participants, this shift occurred towards starting to perceive themselves as “Russian”, in some extreme cases the denial of claims to German ethnicity have caused a certain withdrawal from attempts to define one’s ethnicity all together:

Excerpt 8

- SA F 35*
- 1 I: *What is your ethnicity?*
- 2 P108: *My ethnicity is German. My mom is German, my dad is Polish, so it's like this, it's*
- 3 *all mixed with me. My mom is half German half Armenian, but more German*
- 4 *because when she was 3 years old, her father left her and she was brought up by*
- 5 *her mom. So, you can say, more German. My dad was repressed, he is from*
- 6 *Ukraine, but somehow in his passport it said that he is Ukrainian, but when we got*
- 7 *the rehabilitation papers he was "Polish" in the pass.. in the documents. And so, it*
- 8 *is a...*
- 9 I: *It's a difficult question...*
- 10 P108: *Yes. But the foundation was mostly German because we were surrounded by... We*
- 11 *only had German relatives.*
- 12 I: *What do you feel like now?*
- 13 P108: *Oh... [laughs] I don't even know, I don't even know now. There I thought of myself*

14 *as German because there was German this and German that, although we didn't*
15 *speak any German, our grandma did. So, more German than... well... well, yes...*
16 *than anything else. And here, here they didn't confirm my paragraph, because I*
17 *didn't apply, I just came here to reunite with my husband, and they call me in*
18 *papers "**Kazakh**" since I am from Kazakhstan..*
19 I: *[laughs]*
20 P108: *Just like that, really. And so I feel here like a foreigner, just like a foreigner.*
21 *Because I don't have any status, I am just like a foreigner here. So, that's how I feel.*

This excerpt demonstrates a direct mismatch between self- and other-ascription of this participant's ethnicity and shows that in addition the views of the local population in Germany, the often random institutional ascription given to migrants during the migration process could add yet another dimension of factors influencing migrants' own perception of their ethnicity. In this case, despite coming from a very mixed ethnic background, the respondent reported having stronger ties to German culture, especially after having been brought up in a mostly German environment in her home country. However, a bureaucratic reluctance to recognize any of her ethnic background led to a paradoxical situation where a completely new ethnicity (Kazakh) had been assigned to her during the migration process based on the place of her previous settlement. As became clear in line 20, this random institutional ascription made this participant to give up her claims to German ethnicity and caused her to accept a de-ethnicized status of a "foreigner" in her post-migrant environment.

Overall, the qualitative data showed the same pattern of ethnic self-identification among the SA participants attested in Figure 5 and indicated that an unproblematic identification as German was rather typical for the participants of the oldest life-stage, who tended to display a rather existential understanding of own identity based on the principle of ancestry. The questions of ethnic self-ascription seemed to become more problematic for the rest of adult participants, who often seemed to have a mixed perception of own identity due to their higher level of assimilation to the dominant Russian culture in the home country and partly due to the shift in self-perception from being "German" back home to appearing "Russian" in the new environment in Germany. This shift in self-perception prompted many adult SA participants to engage in frequent discussions of their own "Germanness" and of the definition of being German unveiling the constructive understanding of one's ethnicity based on a number of qualifications from the place of origin, to family lineage, time spent in a particular country, to the

ability to speak German. Many respondents reported cases where they needed to directly defend their choice of ethnic self-identification and to define their ethnic positioning with relation to the local German population, highlighting certain conflicts between understandings of “being German” in the eyes of migrants and the local population.

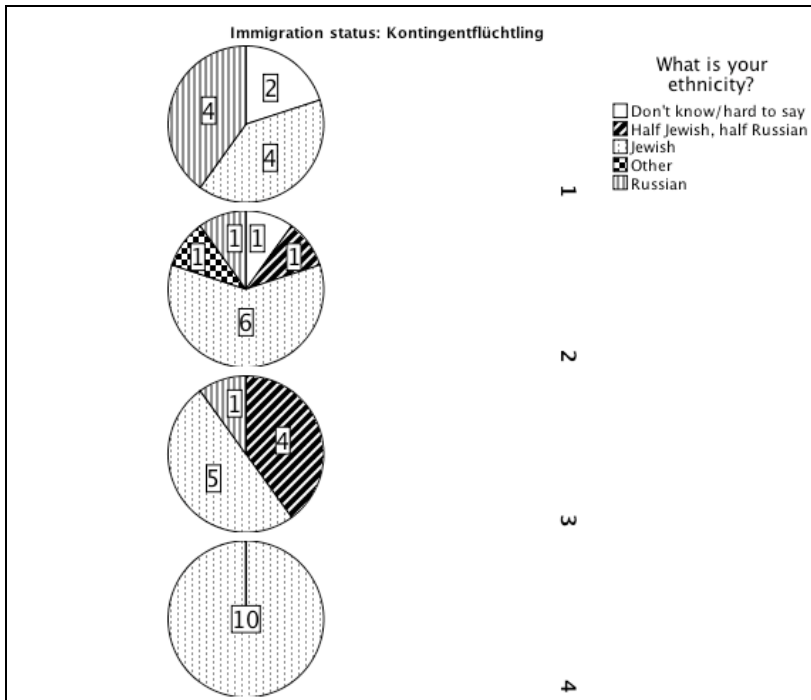
It is also important to mention that many of the issues of ethnic self-identification in the SA community were linked to the question of the participants' own linguistic background, and as such, will become a specific focus of attention in Chapter 5 that deals with the linguistic background of the participants.

4.2.2. Defining the ethnic self: KF

Overall, there was significantly less discussion of one's ethnic self-identification within the KF data than in the SA data. This was not surprising considering that being ethnically German, but differing from the local German population due to the vast acculturation to the (post)-Soviet environment, the SA community seemed to be focused on negotiating its position with respect to the host society. In contrast for the majority of the KF group it did not seem problematic to position themselves as an ethnic entity with respect to the German majority. However, some topics still emerged from the discussions of KF own positioning in the new environment in Germany that seemed to be dominant in community's discourse. This section looks at this data in detail, while trying to piece together a picture of the ways KF participants defined their own group in the migrant setting.

A look at the ways participants responded to the question of their ethnic self-identification revealed a trend similar to the one among SA migrants: as Figure 6 shows, the number of participants who provided the label "Jewish" in response to the question of their ethnicity increased with age:

Figure 6: KF ethnic self-identification by life-stage



Four out of ten youngest migrants (40%) identified themselves as Russian, while two respondents (accounting for 20% of the data) did not specify a particular ethnicity. Only 40% of the youngest respondents claimed Jewish ethnicity, compared to all respondents of the oldest group, who described themselves as ethnically "Jewish" without exception. It is interesting to note that the older generation seemed to ascribe themselves the Jewish ethnic label even in those cases where only one of the parents was of Jewish ethnicity, as reported in the interviews, while for the middle-age respondents, coming from a mixed marriage was likely to prompt a self-definition of "half Jewish, half Russian". Although the commentary on choosing one or another ethnic label was scarce, some of participants' commentaries indicated that, like for many SA respondents, the ethnic identification became not so clear-cut for the younger participants, as in the following example, where an 18-year-old KF respondent acknowledged that for her, the question of ethnic self-identification was not an easy one due to the mixture of different factors, including her place of birth and early residence, parents' ethnic and national identity as well as her proficiency in both Russian and German:

Excerpt 9

KF F 18

1 I: *What would you say yourself, what is your ethnicity?*

2 P113: *None.*

3 I: *None?*

4 P113: *None. This is exactly the problem, because I don't feel like a Ukrainian, I am*
5 *not... I have German citizenship, but I don't really feel German. Well I know that*
6 *I am German because meanwhile I can speak German better than Russian, but*
7 *my roots are not bound to one specific place. I haven't gotten a lot from Ukraine*
8 *in those eight years, but my parents are Ukrainian, but I am German, well,*
9 *they've become German too meanwhile, but it doesn't mean anything, it's just on*
10 *paper, and so I can't say directly what ethnicity I have. Maybe even more Jewish,*
11 *or something like that.*

For this participant, the question of ethnic self-identification appeared to be complicated on many levels. She hesitated to claim her parents' original identity as Ukrainian because she did not "*feel Ukrainian*" after nine years in Germany. The parents' current German citizenship did not seem to be relevant for her (line 9) probably due to their predominantly Russian/Ukrainian cultural heritage. While she reported leaning more towards accepting the label "German" based on her language skills thus supporting the centrality of a language in representation of one's ethnicity (Fishman 1999), at the end of the quote she preferred to lean more towards "Jewish" as a label for ethnicity. This position indicated that similar to the youngest respondents in the SA group, the question of ethnic identity did not appear to be straightforward for this participant, influenced by factors such as family's heritage and the time spent away from the original home country, but also by the proficiency in a specific language.

Although overall, there was comparably less discourse than in the SA group that elaborated on defining one's ethnic identity, the KF comments throughout the interviews still provided an insight into the ways KF group defined itself. Although overwhelmingly, ancestry was the dominant principle of explaining own ethnic identity, two additional themes emerged as the main ways of characterizing the KF group: the non-religiousness of the Jewish migrants to Germany and reported high educational and social level of the group's members. This was not surprising in light of the discussion of the way Jewish identity evolved in the context of the (post-)Soviet society, as described in detail in Chapter 2.

First, I turn to the KF migrants' view of themselves as a rather secular group. As discussed in Chapter 2, being Jewish in the post-Soviet context has been traditionally defined in ethnic rather than in religious terms (Gitelman 2003), and the interview data confirmed this view of Jewishness. In addition to using "Jewish" as an explicitly ethnic label and defining own and other Jewishness based on the legal ethnic ascription of one's parents, participants repeatedly commented on the absence of a religious aspect in their self-definition as Jews, stressing specifically being "*not of Jewish faith*" or being "*not religious at all*". This attitude was characteristic for participants of all age groups, as can be seen, for example, from the following interview excerpts, one with a KF participant from the youngest and one from the oldest life-stage:

Excerpt 10

KF M 22

- 1 I: *Do you ever go to the synagogue?*
2 P073: *I was trying a little bit in Russia, I went to a Jewish school back home for two*
3 *years, tried to become religious, but because of my past, I don't know – the previous*
4 *14 years were all in Russian surroundings with Russian communication, I knew*
5 *very little [about Jewish culture] and it affected me. I couldn't go really. Well, I got*
6 *the basics of the traditions, language, view of life, but to go there... well, because*
7 *there are some Orthodox people, they have pretty strict demands. And it's all*
8 *formalities, I would say, it's just for show. And I don't like it very much.*

Excerpt 11

KF M 69

- 1 P045: *I myself am not religious... well, I go to the synagogue, I sit through the services,*
2 *but inside I am...*
3 I: *Well, not so religious?*
4 P045: *... completely atheistic! It's all theater for me. Well, it's interesting, but... [shakes*
5 *his head]*

It is notable that while the respondent in Excerpt 11 claimed to be "*not religious*", or even "*completely atheistic*", he still reported to regularly go to the synagogue. In fact, the town's synagogue, as well as the Jewish community center at the synagogue, turned out to be quite popular, especially among the older KF respondents. This fact was not surprising considering that, to large extent, local Jewish communities often took the task of integrating new KF migrants into their own structures and the German society in general, thus attracting even some of the migrants who did not attend synagogue in their home country. However, attending synagogue and participating in religious services was

often reported by the KF participants to be not a matter of spiritual necessity, but was rather seen as a meeting and socialization opportunity for the some of the KF migrants. Many of the respondents stressed that they did not see the synagogue as a place of religious worship, but rather a place for meeting friends or attending lectures, courses, fitness classes or other activities often offered in Russian targeting (and often organized by) the KF migrants. In most cases, these activities were seen as a way to keep in contact with other community members from the former Soviet Union. For example:

Excerpt 12

KF F 45

- 1 I: *Do you go to a church or a synagogue?*
2 P055: *Oh... it's for laughs... once a year*
3 I: *And what is the communication language there usually?*
4 P055: *In the synagogue? Well, Russian naturally. Generally I never go there, but recently*
5 *we were organizing a holiday concert there, so I was participating. Oh no! I do go*
6 *there more often because I am have my aerobics class there. It's in Russian*
7 *naturally.*

Excerpt 13

KF F 50

- 1 P038: *[Talking about visiting the Jewish community center] We are all old people the*
2 *ones who go to the community.*
3 I: *Why do you go there?*
4 P038: *To keep in contact. Do you think we are religious? No.*

Not only did most of the KF respondents stress that they do not define their Jewishness through participation in Judaism as a religious practice, but four of the respondents directly stated that they would rather define themselves as Christian (which for them did not contradict their self-description as "Jewish" earlier in the conversation) and that they've traditionally attended either Russian Orthodox or Lutheran religious services in their home country. These accounts once again confirmed that "being Jewish" was defined not in religious terms, and was seen by the participants as an ethnic rather than religious affiliation.

As a second recurrent theme, many participants stressed a high educational level and high social status that members of the KF group used to occupy in their home countries. It was apparent that the pre-migration status served as a strong identification factor in defining community's position towards others, even though migrants' social

status often changed during migration. For example, in the following excerpt, a 40-year-old KF participant recalled her first days in the transitional camp that, in addition to Jewish migrants from the former Soviet Union, also accepted refugees from a number of other countries. In her account, echoed by many others, she directly stressed her educational and professional status as a way to define the difference between herself and other inhabitants in the dormitory for refugees and asylum seekers from around the world:

Excerpt 14

KF F 40

1 P063: *Thanks to a decision of a city mayor the Jewish refugees were placed in an asylum*
2 *house. How much brain do you have to have in your head to put the Jews together*
3 *with Arabs in the same asylum? As well as Kurds, Chechens, Roma and all other...*
4 *ethnic scum of the society, and not the highest one. Softly speaking. I don't*
5 *understand this framework at all, really. If you are accepting people in the country,*
6 *there should be some kind of **institution** overseeing it, what kind of people you are*
7 *taking into the country. You are not taking some kind of garbage like people you*
8 *have to feed and put to bed so that they don't die like a dog. You are taking normal*
9 *civil people, they have a profession, they didn't come down from the mountains.*
10 *Why do you have to do it this way? First shock that I had... We came and they*
11 *brought us here to the [street name]. So we look at it - it was like a jail, like a metal*
12 *cage, you push the button and it goes "beep" and the door opens.... My husband*
13 *says, let's go away from here. You know, I had my school there, I am a teacher, I*
14 *had my own class of students. I had a really good career, we participated in*
15 *competitions, my kids were winning prizes, I like my profession, I am a piano*
16 *teacher.*

Although this account of ethnicities represented in the dormitory initially appeared to be defined in conventional ethnic terms, in line 7, it became obvious that the participant saw strong non-ethnic component to be part of such classification. She clearly stated that she saw her social and professional status as a strong identification factor (line 13) that, in turn, helped her to set her case apart from the other ethnicities in the transitional residence. Later in the same conversation, she continued this juxtaposition when she stressed that the higher social (and even intellectual) level of the Jewish migrants from Russia also should be considered by the authorities in the school placement of the KF migrant children:

Excerpt 15

KF F 40

1 P063: *My daughter went to school without knowing a word [in German]. There were*

2 *Kurdish boys, boys from Chechnya, Roma, Turkish kids... there were no Germans.*
3 *So their social level is clear. And then, there are we. What my child had to live*
4 *through there, you just have to feel sorry for her. It's torture. So, to this topic - for*
5 *the good of the future generation, you need to sort the kids – from what family,*
6 *what is their development, and so on. And not just throw them all together!*

Overall, the high educational status of KF migrants was a common topic in many interviews and the data presented in Chapter 3 clearly supported the interview accounts that characterized the KF group as highly educated. During the interviews, most of the adult migrants who participated in professional life back home reported on occupying mostly white-collar positions and tended to display a certain degree of pride when talking about their own pre-migration professional experiences (as seen, for example, in Excerpt 14) as well as the achievements of the KF group overall.

Additionally, in contrast to the SA respondents, there was not a lot of direct discussion about the relationship between the KF migration and the local population in Germany. From the few comments that participants made on this topic, it was apparent that while the respondents (at least those from the middle-age group who mostly commented on this topic) perceived this relationship to be a friendly one with certain signs of interest on the German side, they still sensed a distance from the local population, mostly attributed to the taboos caused by the German history, Holocaust experiences, and the overall distant position of the local German population towards migrant groups in general. These views can be illustrated by the following comments given by KF participants:

Excerpt 16

KF F 38
Previously, the respondent was talking about some negative experiences she encountered in the language course from the SA migrants.
1 *I: Have you heard any other comments about being Jewish here in Germany,*
2 *except for the course?*
3 *P039: No.*
4 *And in the residence hall?*
5 *P039: No, except for people like that. [Referring to an unpleasant confrontation with*
6 *another Russian-speaking migrant] Here no one will tell you to your face. For*
7 *the Germans it's overall a very delicate question and they wouldn't tell you. I*
8 *know though that a lot of Germans are interested and know much about the*
9 *Jewish question. Maybe they even know more than me. For example, [Name]'s*
10 *friend, he was even.. He even went to learn Hebrew for a half a year in the*
11 ***Evening Academy**, although he is a German and is not related to it at all...*
12 *Germans are afraid to say anything. [Daughter's name] will go on a tour in*

13 *May, she is going to be the only one connected to Jews, the rest are all*
14 *Germans.. well... the local Jews were sent to the concentration camp in France,*
15 *and so they are going on a bus tour to learn about it. So, the Germans are*
16 *interested in it, but for them it's such a topic, they are treating it very carefully.*
17 *They are afraid to say anything aloud, even if someone is thinking something.*
18 I: *So, they are being politically correct about it?*
19 P039: *Yes, yes. So WHAT they are thinking is left out of the picture. The Russians, yes,*
20 *I've heard comments here and there, but again from whom? [makes a spitting*
21 *sound] You can just laugh about it.*

Excerpt 17

KF F 59

1 P091: *Although Germans are good to us, there is still... there is still a kind of a*
2 *barrier... No matter how good the relationship is, they are not, and they would*
3 *never perceive you as one of them. Such a distance, you feel it all the time.*

Excerpt 18

KF F 34

1 I: *And from the local Germans?*
2 P024: *No, from the local Germans .. there ... there it's not all that simple. You know,*
3 *one time I had such an interesting accident, I was in the toy store, in a very big*
4 *one, and our rabbi came in there. He was looking very civil, but he had his*
5 *student with him, [name], the one who had all the payot hanging there, and I saw*
6 *all the people looking at him, and it occurred very clearly to me that they can*
7 *have any attitude towards them, but all of them – both he and them, when they*
8 *look at each other, they think about the same thing, they all think about those*
9 *ovens where 6 millions of Jews were burnt, and it's a part that is not going to go*
10 *away. I don't know, maybe after another 100 years would pass it would even out,*
11 *even despite the fact that there are so many taboos in the German society with*
12 *respect to Jews, very many indecent things, but overall, the relationship to Jews,*
13 *well now it's starting to change now, but overall, the relationship that German*
14 *society has towards foreigners in general is very negative.*

Overall, the KF discourse on the relationship with the local population was noticeably less prominent than comparable discourse in the SA community, which was earlier shown to engage in frequent discussions (and often even confrontations) with the local population contesting their claims to German ethnicity. The lack of similar discourse within the KF data seemed to be caused directly by the absence of such claims within the KF group and also by the lack of challenges to their Jewish identity from the local population (at least in this sample). In most cases, Jewishness was defined by the KF participants as a matter of ancestry and was not discussed further in subsequent conversations. Unlike the SA respondents who focused greatly on defining their Germanness, especially in light of the fact that it often was questioned by the local

population, the KF group did not exhibit a need to defend their Jewish identity specifically in the eyes of the receiving society because it did not seem to be threatened in any way, which, for the most part can be attributed to the existence of historic taboos. In addition, there was not a lot of evidence of sometimes-cited disagreements on ethnic definition of Jewishness among migrants and the religiously-defined local Jewish population. On the one hand, this could have been explained by the fact that those who did attend synagogue chose the one characterized by an overwhelming Russian-speaking majority. Others did not attend either the synagogue or the community center and thus had no contact to the local Jewish population. However, outside of the interviews I observed a number of encounters between KF participants and the local Germans, in which KF migrants tried to explain their ethnicity and their immigration status of the locals. In all cases, these encounters came to a certain misunderstanding when migrants' clearly ethnic definition of being Jewish met with the religious understanding of Jewish identity among local German population. In these encounters, as well as in the interview data, the KF migrants defined themselves as a highly educated, professionally successful (at least in the home country), secular group, thus conforming with the way Jewishness was defined in the post-Soviet cultural space, as was discussed in Chapter 2.

It is also notable that although recalling a “good” relationship with the local German population, KF reports indicated that it would be impossible to be perceived as a part of the local German society (see e.g. Excerpt 17, line 3). This comment made it possible to draw a certain parallel to the SA community who reported a similar lack of acceptance in the host society (e.g. Excerpt 7). Furthermore, the two communities reportedly were often placed in one category of “Russians” or “Russian-speakers” by the local population. This situation was shown to prompt elaborate attempts among the SA community to “rehabilitate” their own ethnic identity with respect to the surrounding majority (Section 4.2.1). As shown in the next section, this misrecognition also seemed to prompt a lot of discussion of the groups' position in the new environment among the KF migrants. However, while the SA community was concerned with defining their position with relation to the German-speaking majority, the KF group did so while defining and positioning the SA group as the social and ethnic entity strictly separate from the KF migration.

4.3. Defining the ethnic self through ethnic other: KF

As mentioned in the previous section, there was not a lot of discussion focused directly on one's own ethnicity within the KF community. Instead, the KF participants gave a truly overwhelming number of mostly unsolicited comments that targeted the positioning of the SA migrants as the "other" Russian-speaking migrant group in Germany. The sheer number of these comments, as well as the wide range of topics discussed by the KF participants when defining the boundary between self and the SA group, was especially unexpected considering that the interview did not contain questions that specifically requested participants to provide their view of the other Russian-speaking group. It was therefore very notable to see that while SAs' comments were primarily focused on attempts to define own Germanness and position themselves with relation to the local population, the discourse of the KFs' commentary was almost entirely focused on the ways to describe the "other" Russian speaking group as one strictly distinct from the KF migration. It is through this relation, and in most cases, a direct contrast to the SA community that the KF respondents seemed to be defining and negotiating their own position within the new social space.

This unidirectional nature of the commentary appeared to be indicative of the dynamics of social positioning specifically relevant to this migrant situation. The relatively scarce commentary of the KF participants concerning the attributes of their own group, and the disproportionately large amount of comments on the distinctiveness of the SA migration directly reflected the argument that individuals and groups identify themselves *in contrast* to others (Barth 1969; Irvine & Gal 2000; Bucholtz & Hall 2005), at the same time highlighting the salience of the boundary between the KF and the SA communities in the perception of the KF respondents. The particulars of the identity negotiations presented in this section highlight specifically how such a boundary can be created and maintained by social participants using locally salient oppositions. The data presented in this section exemplifies constructive (and often arbitrary) nature of ethnicity (Fought 2006) as it demonstrates multiple ways to define one's positioning in a direct contrast to other social participants.

An explanation of this dynamic seemed to be connected to the way the German majority tended to see both migrant groups with regard to each other. As some of the comments in both the SA and the KF sample indicated (Excerpt 7, Excerpt 17), the two communities were perceived in the German society as a one "Russian-speaking" foreign entity, which seemed to prompt the following trends that appear to be crucial for the understanding of the inter-ethnic relationships in this migrant context. First, as was shown in Section 4.2.1, the ethnic labeling "Russian" at times seemed to be challenged by SA migrants who often claimed connection to the German ethnicity. At the same time, it did not appear from the data that the KF community was in any way attempting to reject or contest this ascription. In fact, even among those who were born and grew up in Ukraine, the ethnic label "Russian" was applied at many times throughout conversations when referring to self or other members of the family. What seemed to be problematic for the KF participants, however, was the fact that they had to share the ethnic space labeled by the outsiders as "Russian" with another group, which did not enjoy a high prestige in the eyes of the KF migrants. Therefore, the KF participants seemed to be very much involved in the negotiation of the boundary between the Russian-speaking self and the Russian-speaking other. In negotiating this boundary, they relied on the same mechanisms of ethnic self-identification that were shown to be characteristic for the Jewish minority even before migration (see Chapter 2). One can assume that in the pre-migration context such characteristics served more as means of "passive" self-identification (in accordance with the account provided in Chapter 2). However, in the migrant context described in this dissertation, these tools, readily available to the community, have become central in active negotiations of identity as the KF community tried to position itself with relation to the SA migration. This suddenly acquired relevance of specific identity aspects further stressed the role of *local* oppositions and of *locally salient* dimensions of distinctiveness that were being chosen by social participants in these identity negotiations.

Before turning to the analysis of the KF commentary on this topic, it is important to stress the following point. While the analysis in this section primarily focuses on the mechanisms of ethnic identity negotiation *not* directly related to language (as such linguistically-based negotiation will be the topic of the subsequent chapters), the issues

presented here are central to the discussion of ethnic differentiation through linguistic terms as well. The analysis of the subsequent chapters will demonstrate how the same dimensions of distinctiveness discussed in this section were utilized over and over by KF participants on many different levels in their attempts to explain and construct their difference from the SA group through linguistic means (see Chapters 5-9).

The overall mood of the commentary provided by the KF respondents on their relationship with the SA group was best summed up in the following comment:

Excerpt 19

KF F 45

1 P055: *We came, just like everybody else, first to the transitional camp, we came... we*
2 *came as **contingent refugees**... so, I tell you right away, we have no connections at*
3 *all to the Russian Germans.*

This comment was especially illustrative of the relationship between the two communities considering that it appeared at the very beginning of an interview as a response to my request to tell about the participant's migration experience. At this point, the respondent did not know that in addition to the KF community I was also interviewing the members of the SA migration. However, it appeared to be important for this participant to delineate the distinction between herself and the SA migration at the very beginning of her encounter with a researcher exemplifying the need of being perceived as distinct from another group as means to defining their own identity (Barth 1969; Bucholtz & Hall 2005). A similar motivation seemed to be present in the next comment given by one of the KF participants outside of the actual interview. While having just met me at her door and welcoming me inside, she learned that I had just recently arrived in Germany in order to do my research. The following comment came as a response to this information:

Excerpt 20

KF F 35

1 P019: *Have you already met any Kazakh Germans? It's a horror! A true horror!*

Yet another participant, after learning about the topic of my research in a post-interview conversation, replied:

Excerpt 21

KF F 34

1 P024: *I don't have many acquaintances among Russian Germans, but it would be*
2 *probably also interesting for you. They are completely different people.*

A direct opposition to the SA migration as a way to characterize their own group turned out to be one of the most prominent topics in the entire body of the KF discourse that focused around defining the relationship between the two communities. In part this opposition and the lack of connections were attributed to the pre-migration history of the groups. Some comments given by the members of the KF community stressed that before migration to Germany, there were not only no contacts, but even a lack of information about each other's existence, or at least a lack of awareness of the other Russian-speaking groups moving to Germany simultaneously with the KF migration. Such unawareness of each other before and even at the point of migration was not surprising considering both the historical and geographical separation described in Chapter 2 and the data in Chapter 3 that illustrated the difference in the pre-migration settlement. The following comments, given by the KF participants provided some accounts of this unawareness:

Excerpt 22

KF F 25

1 P144: *First I thought that only people like me come to Germany, the Jews. Then in the*
2 *[language] course I learned that there were also such people as "Germans", the*
3 *German migration.*
4 I: *Already here?*
5 P144: *Yes, already here. Yes, I was coming here like a blind kitten, without knowing*
6 *what it is all about.*

Excerpt 23

KF F 38

The participant asked me how I selected a topic for my research, and I answered that I was involved with the SA community before.

1 P039: *How did you know about Russian Germans? I didn't know anything about them in*
2 *Piter [Saint Petersburg] at all. We don't have a lot of them. I just heard about the*
3 *Jewish migration.*
4 I: *So, did you meet them here for the first time?*
5 P039: *Well, I heard that there were some people that were generally German that live*
6 *here. Such repatriates, but where they came from, how many there were, where*
7 *they were [I didn't know]... So, I knew that Jews were migrating, but I didn't*
8 *relate the two for myself for some reason.*

Considering this seeming unawareness of each other's existence, it was not surprising that the transitional resident halls often became the first point of contact between the two groups.¹⁵ Most of the KF respondents reported their experiences of sharing a dormitory, or in some cases even one room, with the migrants who came through the SA program, in each instance recalling a rather negative experience. One of the older participants from Moscow refers to her experience directly as the "*the biggest shock in her life*", a "*horror*" that she could not get out due to the formalities. Later in the conversation, she explained her reasons for this harsh judgment of her resident hall experience as she recalled the first actual contact with an SA migrant in the following way:

Excerpt 24

KF F 59

1 I: *Were there different ethnicities in the **dorm**?*
2 P023: *First we were just Jews, and then they put one lady into our room who was a*
3 *Russian German from a village.... Well, it was 700 kilometers away from [city in*
4 *the Asian part of the Russian Federation]... [Village name] or something like that.*
5 *She walked in and said: "So, are there only Yids here?" Right when she walked into*
6 *the room. The only positive thing about her was that she was extremely clean,*
7 *impossibly clean. ... But otherwise this person was just ... She didn't even have one*
8 *curvature in her brain. This is... now, I was watching the movie.. Cloud... cloud...*
9 *something... have you ever spoken to such people? Have you? It's just at all, at*
10 *all... there isn't even ANY thought in her mind. Only instincts. It's darkness. Plus*
11 *she was an anti-Semite, it's hard to imagine a non-anti-Semite on such a level. I*
12 *mean it. She was just sick, a psycho, a sick person.*

This particular comment was constructed around a rather personal experience, and thus might be regarded as a reaction towards a single individual rather than the whole SA group in general. However other comments demonstrated that similar individual encounters often shaped an overall negative view of the SA community as a whole.

Generally, the KF discourse about the SA group circled around two major themes, already recognizable in the examples given above: first, all the KF respondents perceived a clear difference between their own and the other group due to the difference in the pre-migration settlement patterns. The theme of coming from large cities (and coming from Moscow and Saint Petersburg as the two major European urban centers in Russia in

¹⁵ In some cases Jewish migrants were being located in different transitional housing together with the migrants entering Germany through asylum and refugee programs. In these cases, the first contacts between SA and KF groups were likely to happen in the governmental language courses, at least for the adult population.

particular) as opposed to migrating from small rural centers in remote parts of the former Soviet Union (especially Kazakhstan) has proven to be some of the most common rhetoric points used by the KF respondents in their attempts to describe and define the difference between self and the SA migration. It was interesting to note that despite SA migrants coming from a number of regions (including different parts of Russian Federation, as well as other former republics of the Soviet Union), it was specifically Kazakhstan that dominated the KF comments about the pre-migration settlement place of the SA group. This was already shown in Excerpt 20 above, the participant even clearly labeled the SA group as "*Kazakh Germans*", thus stressing the geographical and cultural distance between the two groups.

The second major theme that dominated the KF discourse describing the SA group was the theme of the educational level (or rather the lack thereof) among SA migrants. For many KF respondents, this theme went hand in hand with the "*coming from a village*" theme described above. The lack of educational and professional resources in SAs' places of settlement, lack of cultural opportunities, and difference in lifestyles among urban and rural populations were not only seen as factors separating the two groups per se, but rather as something that created a clear difference in mentalities, accounting for the fact that SA migrants were "*completely different people*" (Excerpt 21). This difference was summed up in the following way by one of the KF participants when answering the question whether she thought that she had a rather Russian mentality:

Excerpt 25

KF F 38

- 1 P039: *There are different mentalities in Russia – one is in a big city, and another one is a*
- 2 *small village. If a Russian German says he has Russian mentality and I say I have*
- 3 *Russian mentality, these will be two different mentalities.*

In addition to creating "*two different mentalities*" the urban-rural divide between the groups seemed to contribute to an additional barrier that further problematized the relationship between them: a certain "*jealousy*" from the side of the SA migrants, as reported repeatedly by the KF participants. In fact, one of the accounts given by an SA migrant also supported such observation, as she directly referred to better living conditions in the "Jewish" part of her residence hall, as well as the better social and financial assistance for KF migrants in general. Many KF respondents recalled being

"*envied*" for having spent most of their lives in (especially Russian) European urban centers, and thus for "*having it all easier*", including the migration experience itself. In some cases, these feelings seemed to lead to certain level of resentment and uneasiness between the groups in contexts where they came together. This could be seen, for example, from the following excerpt, in which a participant recalled her experience in a language course:

Excerpt 26

KF F 59

1 P023: *It helped me a lot that I've been in the US, and also the overall level – you are from*
2 *Piter, I am from Moscow, we are of course different people. Of course. It's very*
3 *obvious. And it's another reason for this terrible, horrible treatment you get from*
4 *everyone from our home country towards people from Moscow and Piter. If not*
5 *towards people from Piter, then for sure towards people from Moscow. They hate*
6 *me. Just hate me, even for the fact that I am silent. I am a very talkative person, and*
7 *I like to make jokes, like all normal people, but there I just don't. And still they hate*
8 *me. And you know, there is no one to joke with. The people in the course they are*
9 *all from other parts of the country, I am the only one from Moscow. The majority is*
10 *Russian Germans, and do you know where they come from? Oh my!!!! They don't*
11 *even know what a washing machine is, how to put the laundry detergent in. That's*
12 *why... And very often they speak only argot.*

Similar to the previous excerpt, the participant insisted on the fact that people from larger metropolitan centers are "*different people*", noting that I myself, coming from Saint Petersburg, could undoubtedly relate to her statement. This fact of being "*different*" was, in her view, accountable for the lack of good relationships between the groups, that in her particular case, even resulted in a perceived feeling of "hatred" towards her as a Muscovite. While she did not specify in the beginning of this excerpt that she was talking about the SA group specifically, later in the quote she notes that the majority of the class indeed consisted of migrants who came to Germany through the SA program.

It is also notable that at the beginning of the quote, the participant claimed that being from a big city and having been exposed to other cultures, as for example, having traveled in the US, helped her with learning German faster. The belief that credited migrants from big urban centers (who were therefore more often exposed to academic contexts) with being better able to benefit from a language course and other educational opportunities, was also shared by a number of other respondents. For example, a 26 year old male KF participant commented on the low level of the first language course he

attended, in which the majority of participants were SA migrants. He exemplified this situation by recalling lower social and educational status of other course participants, whom he defined as "*tractor-drivers*", saying that "*There were not a lot of city people there or people from the capital, and I think city people get things faster... they are used to this*". This statement once again stressed the educational and even, in his view, intellectual divide between the urban and the rural residents. In fact, the urban-rural distinction became so prominent in the KF community that often, the respondents used it on its own, by just referring to SA migrants as "*people from the village*" or "*people from the countryside*", without formulating the distinction between the groups in ethnic terms per se. However, especially considering the discussion of what Jewishness meant in the context of the former Soviet Union, this view of "others" fit directly into the traditional perception of self as an 'urbanized' and 'cosmopolitan' ethnic group.

The specifically ethnic labeling of the SA migrants was at times absent in comments given by the youngest respondents as they described "other Russians" in Germany by referring solely to educational and residential factors. It was not surprising considering that the majority of school-age children in both KF and SA samples identified themselves as "Russian" (see Figure 5 and Figure 6), and thus were likely to be less sensitive to the ethnic distinctions within the Russian-speaking community in Germany as it might have been perceived by older migrants. This lack of ethnic "sensitivity" may especially be due to the fact that, having been brought to Germany by their parents, the youngest migrants were often not involved in the migration formalities and thus were less likely to be aware of the legal aspects of the ethnic categorization as a part of their migration process. In this light, it was especially interesting to see that although participants of the youngest life-stage did not always put the contrast between "self" and "other" along the ethnic dimension specifically, it was still very much salient, exactly repeating the pattern observed in the comments given by other age groups. For example, in the following excerpt, an 18-year old male KF participant recalled his difficulties in finding a suitable company in Germany:

Excerpt 27

KF M 18

- 1 I: *Do you feel better in a Russian company?*
2 P145: *Hm... rather not...*
3 I: *Why is that?*
4 P145: *There are some Russians here... They are like... like there are so many Russians*
5 *who are from Kazakhstan, and they... I think our mentalities are somewhat*
6 *different. There are of course Russians here that are nice to talk to, but recently I've*
7 *felt better with Germans.*
8 I: *And what specifically don't you like about those Russian companies?*
9 P145: *There are some companies like... it's not my style. They are .. they have different*
10 *interests, I mean some come from villages, and I have very little in common with*
11 *them...*
12 I: *You mean, things to talk about?*
13 P145: *Yes, things to talk about and interests are different. I mean they listen to different*
14 *music, they speak differently, they dress differently, for me it all is... [shakes his*
15 *head].. That's why I never go to Russian parties.*

Later he also recalled that he could "feel" whether people come from small village or a city, and confessed that it was easier for him to talk to other "city people" like himself, who (according to the demographic data presented in Chapter 3) were most likely to be Jewish migrants like the participant himself. Another 18-years old KF participant recalled her experience in the transitional residence (which, according to her mother's description was shared with SA migrants) as the time where they were put together with "people who don't even know where the Piter [Saint Petersburg] is". In her later comments, however, she also put this distinction along the ethnic lines, as she commented on other Russian-speaking students at her school:

Excerpt 28

KF F 18

- 1 P094: *It is nicer to communicate with Russians who are from big cities, because they*
2 *have a very different set of mind, they are a lot more cultured. And the ones who*
3 *came from villages, somewhere in Kazakhstan, they are very unpleasant to have*
4 *contacts with.*
5 I: *Do you mean there are no common topics to talk about?*
6 P094: *No, there is lots of swear words, I don't like it at all.*
7 I: *Are there a lot of people like that here?*
8 P094: *Yes, very very many. Basically they all are. All the Russian Germans from*
9 *Kazakhstan, who are from villages, it's impossible to communicate with them. With*
10 *very few exceptions.*
11 I: *Do you have any of them at school?*
12 P094: *Yes, there is one in school, well two. I can't find a common language with them.*
13 *Not at all. We just say "Hi" – "Hi", that's it. Absolutely. Absolutely I can't*
14 *communicate with them.*

At the beginning of her comment, the participant used the ethnic label "*Russians*" (which seems to encompass all groups of Russian-speaking migrants in Germany) and specified one subcategory that in her opinion, was nice to communicate with (line 1), thus organizing her discourse of categorization within the Russian-speaking community along the urban-rural dimension. However, in line 8, she turned to contrasting the urban migrants with "*Russian Germans from Kazakhstan, who are from villages*", thus also framing the categorization of the community along the ethnic lines.

In addition to seeing the pre-migration educational level as a divider between the groups, KF participants also referred to plans and ambitions to educational pursuits after their migration to Germany as something that was clearly different between the two communities. While topics surrounding the importance of a good education for themselves or their children were prevalent in the KF discourse, the SA migrants were often characterized by the KF participants as the ones lacking similar drive. Consider, for example, the following comment given by a 15-year old KF participant when she talked about her preferences of Russian-speaking versus German-speaking company:

Excerpt 29

KF F 15

1 P025: *Well, since the last year I don't hang out with Russians anymore, because there is*
2 *this one girl – [Name], she is very smart, but she started to hang out with Russian*
3 *Germans, and when I saw these friends of her, our paths split. We have different*
4 *interests now, I am interested in studying, going to the university, good future, and*
5 *for her now it is important where to ... how shall I say it... just hang out.*

The statement that starting to hang out with SA peers was enough reason for this respondent to end the relationship with her former friend illustrates a strong stigma attached to the SA community that connected SA migrants with such characteristics as lower educational and professional ambitions. This view also highlighted a certain “totaling vision” (Irvine and Gal 2000) that seemed to erase possible differences within the SA group resenting it as a homogenized entity characterized by overall lower (or absent) educational and professional aspirations.

It was also interesting to see that ascribing the drive to education for themselves and their children as an attribute of Jewish ethnicity was not only expressed by the KF

participants themselves, but also shared by a number of SA respondents as, for example in the following comments:

Excerpt 30

SA F 47

Talking about the experience in the language course:

1 P128: *With one teacher we had to talk a lot, and once we had to tell about an event. I was*
2 *talking about going to visit relatives when I didn't speak any German and we got a*
3 *wrong ticket, and it was the last train... And everyone was listening to me, even all*
4 *the Jews. We had a lot of Jews there. Those Jews, it's so important for them to*
5 *learn. I just adore that. They are so focused on that – to learn, to learn, to learn.*
6 *Even more than Lenin said. They are good at that. I would not be able to do so*
7 *much. I am more a working person, I would say. I don't know where I got that*
8 *drive to learn a little bit. Most of the group were Jews, we only had a couple of*
9 *Germans. From Kazakhstan a couple of families, and me. But it was really good*
10 *we had Jews in the group, we had such a high intellectual level in the group. We*
11 *could hear so many interesting things from them. I was happy about that. Because*
12 *in the camp, the surroundings were... let's say, there were very simple people. I*
13 *would say rough people. It was really draining our... well, our soul. When there*
14 *was no Russian TV, nothing, it was emptiness. And when I heard them [Jewish*
15 *course participants], it was something to fill up, it gave us energy.*

Excerpt 31

SA F 24

Recalling the set up of the residence hall she lived it upon arrival in Germany:

1 P084: *In our town it was different – one **dorm** with Germans and only one entrance with*
2 *Jews. But they were shielded from the others. If all the Russian Germans had to*
3 *use 5 washing machines and put their names on the list to do their laundry, the*
4 *Jews had their own washing machine. If there is one dryer for Germans, one for*
5 *everyone, the Jews had their own. The Jews had their own phone, they were*
6 *isolated as much as possible.*
7 I: *Why is that?*
8 P084: *Why? I don't know, everything was separate, maybe because of [different]*
9 *migration lines. Of course they communicated with the other dorm, but by far not*
10 *with everyone. My parents lived in the entrance next to them and my mom was very*
11 *communicative, and she only communicated with Jews, because all of her own*
12 *neighbors were such “market women” who were always fighting, swearing and*
13 *such. And those [Jewish residents] were like – they were buying kids computers*
14 *and were trying to move them towards education, and now as well, we basically*
15 *have a Jewish circle. Almost all are Jewish, except ones from the [name of the*
16 *language program]. There are no Germans.*

It was interesting to note that both comments above were given by SA respondents, who, in one or another aspect, felt a certain distance from the own group. While in Excerpt 30, the respondent still reported being a "working person", she admitted to having a certain "drive to learn a little bit" that, in her view, sets her somewhat apart

from the other SA migrants, at least the ones that she recalled having encountered in the first transitional camp, as she referred to them as "*very simple people*". In contrast, she recalled a "*high intellectual level*" of the KF migrants whom she encountered in the language course, stressing that she "adored" their drive towards education.

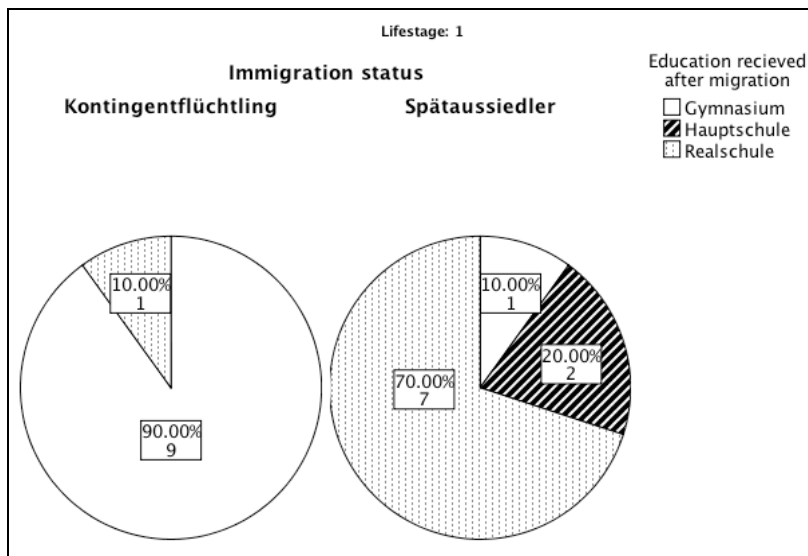
In Excerpt 31, the respondent, who also happened to come from a major Ukrainian city, reported on deliberate attempts to align herself with the Jewish migration (line 15). As she recalled, the alignment with the KF group went back to her experience in the resident hall, where her parents tried to establish contacts with the KF residents rather than with their own SA neighbors, whom she referred to as "*market women*". In contrast, she defined the Jewish migrants as the ones concerned with children's education, expressed through providing them with computers and trying to place them in better schools. This excerpt once again demonstrated how a discussion of ethnic distinctiveness could become directly intertwined with such concepts as class or educational status, all together acting as a single multi-faceted dimension of distinctiveness in the process of identity negotiation.

The observation made by the respondent in Excerpt 31 (that the Jewish migrants are trying to "*move their kids towards education*") found its support in the quantitative data collected on type of the education pursued by the migrants in Germany. As discussed in Chapter 3, the two youngest groups of migrants were the ones that were expected to continue their education after migration. It is interesting that although the migrants of the two youngest groups entered Germany with comparable educational background, the data seemed to indicate significant differences in the further educational pursuits of youngest migrants.

In the case of school-age children, one has to consider different tiers within the German school system, which offers three major school types depending on the future educational and professional pursuits of the students. The highest tier, the *Gymnasium*, allows its successful graduates to enroll into institutions of higher education, which is not possible after a graduation from the less challenging program of a *Realschule*. The lowest tier, *Hauptschule*, is primarily prepares students for subsequent training in vocational schools. The decisions about a student's placement into one of the tiers happens upon completion of an elementary school education and is based on the student's scholastic

abilities combined with teachers' recommendations for one or another type of schooling for each particular child. Although it is possible to switch between different school types at a later time, such switches are relatively rare as they are complicated by (sometimes large) differences in the curriculum between different school tiers. Upon their arrival in Germany, the migrant school-age children are usually enrolled in German-speaking schools where they receive supplemental language training in addition to the regular school curriculum. Due to their lack of German proficiency, the decision is often made to place the incoming students in one of the two lowest tiers (*Haupt- or Realschule*) with a simpler curriculum than *Gymnasium*. While both KF and SA children were initially placed into the German school system based on the same principle, many of the young KF respondents and their parents reported deliberate attempts to move up to a higher-tiered school within one or two years of the initial enrollment. Ultimately, most of the KF participants tried to their children attended a German *Gymnasium* as the only school type that would allow a subsequent college enrollment. This trend was clearly attested in the following data on the type of school attended by the study participants of the youngest life-stage at the time the interviews were conducted:

Figure 7: School type attended by the life-stage 1 participants at the time of the interview

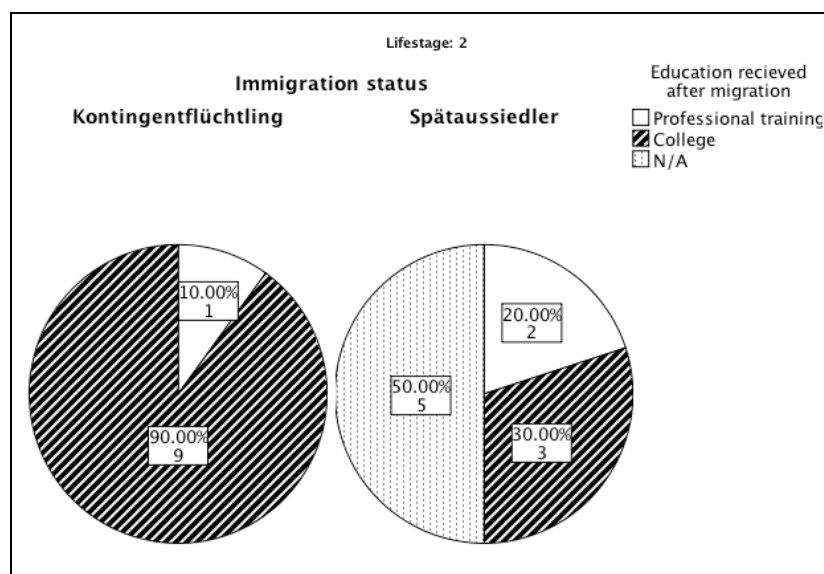


As one can clearly see from Figure 7, *Gymnasium* turned out to be the dominant school form attended by the KF school-age children at the time of the interview. In fact, only

one out of 10 KF respondents attended *Realschule*. At the same time, *Realschule* was the main form of the school education for the SA life-stage 1 participants, attended by 7 out of 10 respondents, followed by *Hauptschule* (2 respondents). Only one person from the youngest SA group reported attending a *Gymnasium*. These results became especially significant considering the overall distribution between the three school types among the general student body in Germany. According to a recent governmental education report (Avenarius et al. 2003), 22.5% of all students in Germany attend *Hauptschule* and 24.5% *Realschule*, while only 29.6% go to *Gymnasium*. In light of these statistics, the youngest life-stage among KF migrants seemed to occupy an elite educational status, by far surpassing even the national average.

A similar tendency was attested among the second life-stage that was primarily eligible for pursuing college or professional education in Germany. As can be seen from Figure 8, the KF group was not only characterized by a higher enrollment in institutions of higher education in Germany (90% of life-stage 2 KF participants), but also by a higher involvement in education/professional training overall: only 50% of SA life-stage 2 participants were pursuing education or professional training at the time of the interview (30% as college students and 20% as students at various training programs).

Figure 8: Type of education pursued by young adults at the time of the interview



On the one hand, the data discussed in this section provided evidence that the difference between the two groups was perceived by the KF migrants primarily as the difference in educational and social characteristics. On the other hand, the data also suggested that these socially-based characteristics were very much intertwined with the ethnic distinction between the two groups in the eyes of both KF and the SA migrants. Consider, for example, the following comment:

Excerpt 32

KF F 38

- 1 I: Do you have any contact with Russian Germans?
2 P039: Yes, I have a friend, she is a nice girl from the dorm. We went to [city name]
3 together to see about studying and I was helping her – not with the language, but
4 just because she is younger. So later people told her that she looks like a Jew, like
5 "You always hang out with Jews and you always want to achieve something. You
6 are like a Jew, maybe you are not a German, maybe you are a Jew?" [Name] was
7 telling me about it and she was saying – "Maybe it would be better for me if I were
8 a Jew". So, we are closer to each other than to a regular Russian German.

In telling this story, the participant stressed that her friend's educational plans not only set her apart from the other SA migrants but also prompted them to comment that it was this person's attempt to "*achieve something*" that made her look rather like a member of the Jewish minority. This position, once again, demonstrated how an attribute conventionally not related to ethnicity (here, educational status and educational aspirations) can "acquire" ethnic meaning in a specific context. In the process of ethnic identity negotiations between the SA and the KF communities it became such a strong instrument in the formation and negotiation of one's alignment with SA or the KF group that it was presented and even capable of overriding the formal SA or KF ethnic labeling. Thus, this example serves as an additional reminder that a researcher cannot presuppose what aspects of social reality would be chosen by participants as tools of ethnic identity negotiation (De Fina 2007) as it further highlights the arbitrary and constructive nature of establishing, maintaining and negotiating ethnic boundaries (Fought 2006).

The analysis in this section indicated that the KF group appeared extremely active in defining its boundary with the SA group by directly positioning of self in a clear contrast to the SA group as a social and ethnic "other" (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). In doing so, the KF participants went beyond the traditional definition of ethnicity, especially in light of the fact that some of the ethnic attributes appeared to be shared between the

communities (e.g. “Russianness” in the eyes of the German majority and the common post-Soviet background). Therefore, in defining its own ethnicity, the KF community routinely applied rather non-traditional dimensions of distinctiveness that became especially important in light of the local migrant context. Although non-ethnic in their nature, in the local environment these characteristics coincided (or were made to appear to coincide) with the pre-existing ethnic distinctions and, as such, were treated by the community members as the main aspects of their own and others’ ethnicity. While this way of defining one’s ethnic community might have been rather passive before migration (as discussed in Chapter 2), it came to prominence in the light of the new migrant experience, becoming the most salient and potent tool in the process of delineating a boundary between self and other, when the “other” appeared to be threatening the KF communities’ image.

4.4. Contact between the groups

Considering the discourse of difference prevalent in the KF responses, one could expect that this ideological distinctiveness would be translated into the real-life distance between the groups. This section looks specifically at the results of the social network analysis that provided an indication of the actual relationship between the two groups,¹⁶ and at participants’ comments that directly addressed the question of ties between them.

During the interview, participants were asked to identify five people whom they considered to be their most important contacts outside of the immediate family. For each of the contacts, they were asked to identify the ethnicity of the contact as well as the language(s) used in communication with these contacts. I will turn to the discussion of the language preference within the network in Chapter 6, but at this point, I would like to discuss the data on the network composition with regard to contacts between the two groups as reported by the participants.

The results of the ethnic composition analysis of participants’ networks are summarized below in Table 8 showing the average numbers and percentages of different contact types in the primary networks of participants from both groups. An independent

¹⁶ See Chapter 6 for discussion of other aspects of the SA and KF networks and especially, the issue of the relationship between the language and the network structure.

samples t-test was performed in order to compare numbers for contacts in each category between the two communities.

Table 8: Primary network composition (out of 5 possible contacts)

	KF	SA	t-value	p-factor
KF contacts	3.05 (61%)	0.18 (3.7%)	11.163	.000* ¹⁷
SA contacts	0.22 (4.5%)	3.82 (76.3%)	-18.356	.000*
Local German contacts	1.28 (25.5%)	0.53 (10.5%)	2.981	.004*
Other Russian-speaking contacts	0.22 (4.5%)	0.13 (2.6%)	.919	.361
Other German-speaking	0.22 (4.5%)	0.34 (6.8%)	-.929	.356

As one can see, the majority of the networks for both groups consisted mainly of the contacts sharing the same ethnicity. Out of 5 possible contacts, on average 3.05 contacts for the KF respondents and 3.82 contacts for the SA respondents came from the same ethnic group, accounting for 61% and 76.3% of the participants' networks respectively. The data clearly indicated a strong preference for contacts of the same ethnicity in both groups overall, while showing that the number of contacts from the opposite group was relatively small, with a mean of only 0.22 SA contacts within KF networks and 0.18 KF contacts within the networks of the SA respondents. This result clearly indicated that the overall contact between the groups seemed to be only minimal, at least at the level of the participants' immediate networks.

The commentary given by participants throughout the interviews¹⁸ provided a full confirmation of minimal contacts between the two groups shown by the quantitative data. It became clear that despite the two groups often sharing the initial residence halls and being involved in a number of common social programs (including a language course for adult participants), lasting contacts between the groups were rather scarce, if not non-existent, both within the participants' immediate networks and in terms of their wider interactional spheres. The following excerpt showed that while KF respondents

¹⁷ Here and elsewhere in this dissertation statistically significant results are marked with an asterisk.

¹⁸ Here again, the comments came mainly from KF study participants.

maintained contacts with the members of their own group met at the initial resident hall, the same could not be said about the SA contacts:

Excerpt 33

KF M 65

1 P040: *When we lived in the dorm, part of it were Russian Germans, part of it – Russian*
2 *Jews. We knew each other.*

3 I: *Do you still maintain those contacts?*

4 P040: *Of course!*

5 I: *With the Germans?*

6 P040: *No, with those we only knew each other from looking and said "hi" and "good bye"*
7 *What is offered in stores, how is the weather. That's it.*

In some cases, participants even explicitly expressed an attempt to avoid contacts with the other group, as, for example, in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 34

KF M 25

1 P134: *[There were] very many Russians. Very many, and the majority was not the nicest*
2 *Russians.*

3 I: *Why is that?*

4 P134: *Well, very many were like, many criminals, you know, they came from the*
5 *Kazakhstan, they all came here and were happy without limits, driving around in*
6 *new cars.*

7 I: *Really?*

8 P134: *Yes, so generally, I am trying to avoid contacts with about 70 percent of Russians*
9 *here.*

10 I: *Really?*

11 P134: *Especially from small towns.*

12 I: *Why is that?*

13 P134: *Because we have completely different interests. Because it is even dangerous with*
14 *them, well not really dangerous, not that I am afraid but it is just unpleasant. Very*
15 *often. Like when they party...*

Although in this excerpt the participant did not specifically state that he meant SA migrants in particular, referring to them as "Russians", earlier in the conversation he specified that the residence hall described in this excerpt was indeed shared with the SA migrants.

Furthermore, it was not only that the KF participants reported a lack or even avoidance of contacts with SA migrants themselves but many further expressed that their children as well should not, or would not have any contacts with the SA group. The following discussion of ties between the younger members of KF and SA groups was

prompted by the question about whether the respondent had ever thought about a preference for a Russian- or a German-speaking partner for her 14-year-old daughter. In the excerpt, she stressed directly that in her view, there was "no danger" of a possibility that her daughter would be interested in a partner from the SA group:

Excerpt 35

KF F 34

- 1 P024: *Yes and no because, because as I said, if we take Germany, it's quite*
2 *problematic because there are very many Russian Germans, who differ greatly*
3 *from the Jewish migration not only because their educational level is lower,*
4 *but also having migrated from very small places, generally the vast majority is*
5 *from Kazakhstan or Middle East, so if they didn't come from some kind of a*
6 *traditional German village that preserved that structure, all of them are*
7 *bringing with them all.. all drawbacks of the deep Russian province.*
8 Daughter: *[unintelligible]*
9 P024: *[to the daughter] Be quiet. If you are sitting here, just sit quietly. Or leave. [to*
10 *me] All prejudices – the racial ones, all what is typical of a Soviet person, of a*
11 *provincial Soviet person, they all bring it with them. And so, correspondently,*
12 *the children as well. How can they be different? Although of course they clean*
13 *up here a little, but still. They... And even the motivation to study is very low*
14 *for some reason, like that... But of course there are exceptions. So, that's why,*
15 *because if it is a Russian boy, a Russian German, then no, but I think that we*
16 *are not in danger of that anyway because there wont be any points of contact.*

Later in the same conversation she came back to same topic when discussing their family's ties with local Germans, reporting that her daughter, whose friend circle consisted primarily of German teenagers, even had certain difficulties in connecting with other Russian speakers in Germany:

Excerpt 36

KF F 34

- 1 P024: *Like my daughter's best friends are all Germans, it's just not happening for*
2 *her. Well, with Russian Germans it is clear why, there are no common points*
3 *there at all,*
4 Daughter: *They are not completely German, they are half Italian*
5 P024: *oh well, Italian, it is not important. It's just – she reads a lot, she does this and*
6 *she does that, and .. of course I don't understand completely what she is*
7 *talking about with her German friends either, but with the Russian girls, the*
8 *Jewish ones, she also doesn't have very strong ties.*
9 I: *So, it's just not happening?*
10 P024: *Yes, it's just not happening. She had one RG friend, their ways split because*
11 *that girl went to a **Hauptschule** [school type], and the other girl – they had*
12 *one in their class, [Name], such a nice girl, from Piter [Saint Petersburg],*
13 *also from a Jewish family, so they have a very good relationship, but they are*
14 *not really friends.*

It was interesting that ethnic affiliations appeared to be rather flexible for this participant, as she stressed the importance of some ethnic distinctions while downplaying the others. Being corrected by the daughter, who stated in line 4 that her friends were not German, but "*half Italian*" the participant directly dismissed the German-Italian ethnic distinction as "*not important*", at the same time categorically stressing her earlier point that there were "*no common points*" between her daughter and SA children. This, once again, demonstrated a strong salience of "being different" from the SA community prevalent among KF respondents, who, at the same time, often dismissed, or "erased" (Irvine & Gal 2000) other ethnic distinctions similar to the participant in this excerpt if they did not appear threatening for the representation of their own ethnic identity.

Only a small number of KF participants commented that there were in fact some contacts between the groups, but the majority of the comments indicated that there was "*no closeness*" or "*no big love*" between them. In this way, the interview data directly supported the quantitative data on network composition for both communities described earlier in this section, which showed only minimal connections between the groups. Summarizing the relationship between the two communities, one could cite one of the KF participants who described this relationship as a "*kind of co-existence without significant points of contact*".

4.5. Conclusions

Considering both the results of the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the ways migrants understood and structured their ethnic landscape in the post-migration environment, it became clear that the two groups indeed perceived themselves as two separate ethnic and social entities. In terms of the actual contacts between the groups, the following could be said with respect to the relationship between the two communities at different stages of their migration experience:

There was evidence that suggested no contacts, and in some cases, no awareness of each other's existence before migration (Excerpt 22), or at least unawareness migrants would be facing one another after moving to Germany (Excerpt 23). Upon migration contacts between the groups were generally restricted to formal situations, such as the

necessity to share the temporary residence (Excerpt 24) or to participate in the same language training programs (Excerpt 26). However, such institutional contacts did not survive past the initial months spent in Germany, dissolving after the migrants moved out of the residence halls, or upon completion of the initial language program (Excerpt 33).

The two communities displayed a strikingly different behavior in defining their positions in the new migrant environment. While the SA participants generally focused their attempts on defining and describing their position with respect to the local German population and their own “Germanness” (Excerpt 3, Excerpt 5, Excerpt 7), the discourse of the ethnic identity negotiations among the KF participants focused primarily around attempts to define and describe their relationship to the SA group. During these negotiations, the KF community seemed to apply their own understanding of what ethnicity was about, which on the one hand, was based on the traditional understanding of Jewishness in the (post-)Soviet context, but on the other, was shaped by the real-life contrasts in the background and demographics of the two communities, further highlighted by their juxtaposition in the local migrant context.

The discussion in Chapter 1 stated that this research was built on understanding of identity as a social *construct*, created in *locally* meaningful *opposition* to others and negotiated through *linguistic* means. Looking back at these basic assumptions one can see that the dynamics of identity negotiation between the KF and SA ethnic groups presented here clearly demonstrated how these fundamental principles came to light in this migrant context. This chapter has illustrated how certain aspects of identity were highlighted and put to the forefront in light of a sudden need to negotiate one's own positioning with respect to a new social neighbor. It has also shown how depending on the actual or perceived locally salient contrasts (in this case educational and geographical divide between the two groups), individuals and communities used a variety of tools readily available to them in negotiating their positioning, while injecting these tools with new social meanings depending on the circumstances of identity negotiations in each particular case.

While this chapter has dealt with the aspects of identity negotiation not related to language, the rest of this dissertation turns specifically to investigating how the processes of identity work described here were related to and expressed through linguistic means.

As the subsequent chapters show, the ideologies applied by the communities in creating such an unconventional ethnic distinctiveness were extremely potent in creating, explaining and negotiating ethnic boundaries within the Russian-speaking community in Germany through language specifically. In looking at attitudes towards language and participants' reports of their own and others' linguistic practices, the discussion in the next chapters turns specifically to the linguistic background of the two communities (Chapter 5), followed by the current role of German in Chapter 6 and its dependence on the social networks of participants in both groups. Chapter 7 discusses the discourse of L2 learning, followed by the analysis of attitudes towards and practices of Russian maintenance in Chapter 8. The final data chapter (Chapter 9) addresses specifically the attitudes towards code-mixing among the participants of both groups.

Chapter 5

German: pre-migration experience

5.1. Introduction

When comparing the ways two communities negotiate their identities through linguistic means, it is important to understand what role each of the available codes plays in both communities. As each of the migrant groups brings in their own understanding of these roles based on the group's linguistic history, it is necessary to provide an account of the "linguistic luggage" that each of the migration streams brings to Germany. This chapter looks specifically at the issue of the status of German in the two communities before migration. It addresses in particular issues of German proficiency levels in both communities (Section 5.2), as well as the status of German as the mother tongue in the SA group (Section 5.3), as seen by both the SA migrants (Section 5.3.1) and by the KF participants (5.3.2).

5.2. "Linguistic luggage" – German proficiency at the time of migration

Before looking at the role that German and the issues surrounding it play in the ethnic negotiation between the two communities, I would like to talk about the general status and the proficiency level of German among the respondents. As discussed in Chapter 2, members of both communities could be expected to be dominant speakers of Russian, mainly due to historical factors that led to the loss of German and Yiddish as respective community languages in the Soviet Union. A look at the participants in the current research seemed to support the claim that the majority of migrants indeed entered Germany as either Russian monolinguals, or as dominant speakers of Russian, sometimes having learned additional languages (mainly English or German) in academic settings.

During the interviews, participants were asked to rate their proficiency in German on a 10-point scale both at the time of their migration as well as the time of the interview. The self-ratings were collected for the four main language skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing. Although highly subjective, this self-reported judgment of language proficiency can nonetheless be used as an indicator of the respondents' comfort level with using German and, in combination with additional information addressed later in this chapter, is used here in order to puzzle together a picture of the pre-migration linguistic background of the two groups. Table 9 presents information on means and standard deviations across respondents of different migrant groups and life-stages.

Table 9: Self-rating of German proficiency before migration (scale 0 to 10)

Speaking	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	1.10 (1.835)	0.70 (.823)
Life-stage 2	.60 (1.35)	.80 (.92)
Life-stage 3	.70 (1.25)	1.10 (1.37)
Life-stage 4	1.80 (2.35)	5.62 (3.29)
Listening	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	1.10 (1.449)	.60 (.966)
Life-stage 2	.70 (1.49)	1.20 (1.23)
Life-stage 3	.80 (1.48)	.90 (1.20)
Life-stage 4	1.50 (1.84)	5.88 (3.72)
Reading	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	1.10 (1.449)	0.80 (1.03)
Life-stage 2	1.10 (2.42)	2.40 (2.12)
Life-stage 3	1.20 (1.81)	2.40 (2.46)
Life-stage 4	2.10 (2.47)	5.38 (3.58)
Writing	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	1.20 (1.684)	.70 (.823)
Life-stage 2	1.00 (2.11)	2.40 (2.40)
Life-stage 3	1.20 (1.81)	2.50 (2.68)
Life-stage 4	2.00 (2.40)	5.38 (3.58)

A two-way ANOVA was performed to determine effects of ethnic group and life-stage on the level of reported German proficiency before migration for each of the language skills. The results are summarized in Table 10:

Table 10: Two-way ANOVA for self-rating of German proficiency before migration

	df	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	6.321	.014*	7.693	.007*	7.255	.009*	7.490	.008*
Life-stage	3	12.255	.000*	11.406	.000*	5.175	.003*	4.966	.004*
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	5.328	.002*	7.095	.000*	2.009	.121	2.343	.080
Error	70								

* Here and elsewhere in this dissertation statistically significant results are marked with an asterisk

The ANOVA found a significant main effect of the ethnic group factor across all four language skills indicating that on average, the SA group displayed significantly higher self-proficiency ratings than the KF group. There was also a strong effect of the life-stage factor showing that a significant difference in German proficiency ratings for the time before migration was attested between participants of different life-stages in the sample. For two of the language skills (speaking and listening) there was also an interaction effect between the two factors. A look at the distribution of the results within each ethnic group revealed an interesting pattern of the life-stage effect in both migrant groups. A multiple comparison test indicated no significant life-stage effect within the KF sample specifically. At the same time, it demonstrated that within the SA data, it was only the life-stage 4 that stood in a clear contrast to the rest of the SA sample having produced significantly higher self-ratings than other SA participants. This difference was especially significant for the speaking and listening skills (significance factors =.000 for contrasts between life-stage 4 and all other life-stages). With respect to reading and writing skills, the difference between life-stage 4 and the rest of the SA sample proved to be less prominent and ranged from being highly significant (p-factor =.003 and =.004) for the difference to life-stage 1 to approaching significance for life-stage 2 or not being significant in the case of life-stage 3 participants.

These findings can be seen as a clear illustration of a rather residual maintenance of German as a native language among the Russian German minority in the former Soviet Union as described in Chapter 2. The fact that the oldest SA speakers differed from the rest of the sample in spoken German skills in particular seemed to indicate that this generation was more likely to have spoken German in the family domain in contrast to

the younger community members. These data further indicated that with the exception of the oldest SA migrants, the two migrant groups seemed to enter Germany with compatible levels of German knowledge, mostly learned in academic settings rather than acquired through family communication. It was also interesting to note that the respondents of the oldest life-stage within the KF group seemed to report a higher knowledge of German at the time of migration, although their results did not differ significantly from the rest of the KF sample. This difference could be potentially explained by the overall higher educational level of the oldest KF respondents that in many cases required a foreign language training component.

In order to take a further look at the status of German and German learning in both communities before migration, the respondents were asked to name all ways they learned German, both in their home country and in Germany. With respect to the pre-migration types of German learning, this information was expected to show whether the German language was acquired in the family domain or was primarily learned in formal institutional settings. The replies to the question of learning German *before* migration are summarized in Table 11. The numbers represent the percent of all respondents within each migrant group that reported learning German in one way or another, while the actual numbers of respondents are given in parentheses. A chi-square test was performed for each of the responses in order to see whether the responses differed significantly between the SA and the KF samples. While some participants named more than one method of learning the language, some reported never having had any experience with German.

Table 11: Types of German learning in the home country

	KF	SA	Chi-Square value	p-factor
I learned German in my family	-	23.7% (9)	1.071E1	.001*
I learned German in school	22.5% (9)	68.4% (26)	1.661E1	.000*
I learned German in a language course	20% (8)	-	8.469	.005*
I learned German with a private teacher	17.5% (7)	-	7.306	.012*
I learned German on my own	20% (8)	5.3% (2)	3.787	.088
I have never learned German	45% (19)	24% (9)	3.912	.059

The pre-migration data on language learning indicated that overall, 45% of the KF group and 24% of the SA group entered Germany without any prior exposure to the German language. Among those who were familiar with German at least to some degree, only

23.7% of all SA participants reported having learned some German in their family. A look at the age of these participants revealed that the majority of them (7 out of 9) belonged to the oldest group, while the remaining 2 participants were from the middle-age group. This data once again confirmed the loss of German as a family language in the younger generations of SA migrants and explained higher scores for primary language skills (speaking and listening) among life-stage 4 SA participants. Only in this sub-group German was acquired by the participants in a family setting, as opposed to a school environment with its emphasis on literacy skills, such as reading and writing. At the same time, all KF respondents and the life-stages 1-3 among the SA respondents indicated that in cases they learned German, they learned it as a foreign language in various academic settings. However, the preferred ways of learning German differed between the two groups. While 68.4% of all SA respondents reported learning German as a part of their school or college curriculum, the number in this category was significantly lower for KF respondents (22.5%). This difference could be explained by the fact that German was often offered as the only available foreign language of the school curriculum in the regions densely populated by the Russian German minority. In contrast, English (mainly learned as a foreign language by the KF respondents) has been the main foreign language offered as a part of the school curriculum elsewhere. At the same time, a number of the KF participants reported enrolling in language courses (20%), arranging for a private teacher (17%) or engaging in deliberate self-study (20%). In comparison, none of the SA participants reported having regularly attended a German language course (except for two respondents who reported visiting one session of a free German course in preparation for the language test), or hiring a language tutor in preparation for migration. Only two of the SA participants reported having deliberately studied German on their own. This difference in approaches to learning German in the home-country seemed to indicate that having had no exposure to German through family or school curriculum, the KF migrants were much more likely to get involved in deliberate language studies in preparation for migration compared to the SA participants, who tended to rely on the German language they learned either in the family or as a mandatory part of their secondary education.

Overall, similar to the information on proficiency ratings in German presented in Table 9, these data indicated the loss of German as a native language of the Russian German minority in the former Soviet Union, considering that it was almost exclusively the oldest life-stage within the SA group that acquired German in their homes. It further illustrates the comparability of the KF and the SA groups (with the exception of the oldest speakers) in their linguistic background, as it indicates that in both groups, German was acquired as a second language. However, what seemed to be striking, was the difference in the overall approach in language learning strategies between the KF and the SA communities that interacted with a number of other issues. For example, considering this difference, one might ask what specifically caused KF migrants to pay more attention to deliberate language learning in preparation for migration, and why this drive seemed to be absent in the SA community. This question became especially interesting in light of very comparable pre-migration proficiency scores provided by both groups. One possible explanation seemed to be linked to issues of ethnicity and the social network structure of the participants. As will be shown in the next chapter (which looks specifically at the composition of the social networks and their influence on the linguistic behavior of migrants) a strong family network providing newcomers with social and linguistic support was typically available for the SA migrants after their arrival in Germany, which, in turn, might have caused the lower interest among the SA migrants in improving their language skills before migration. On the other hand, having no ethnic ties to Germany and not expecting strong net of co-ethnics to be readily available in the new country, the KF migrants saw migration as a move into a *foreign* country, where, in contrast to the SA migrants, they could not rely on a comparable family network and thus were more likely to prepare "linguistically" for their life in a foreign environment.

5.3. German as the mother tongue

Although not many respondents from the SA group reported having learned German as their mother tongue, its perception as such, or the memory of its past status as the community's main language was very much a part of the discourse surrounding the questions of ethnic negotiation between the KF and the SA migrants and of German ethnicity. In this sub-section, I look in more detail at the reports showcasing the

perception of German as the mother tongue by the SA and the KF participants, and explore how the role of German in the history of the Russian German minority played out in the participants' responses to the interview questions as well as in the negotiation of the ethnic categorization of between the two groups in general.

Overall, the data on German learning and German proficiency discussed in the previous section indicated that German was still likely to be seen as the mother tongue by the oldest members of the Russian German minority in the former Soviet Union. At the same time, the overall lower scores of German proficiency among the rest of the SA respondents, as well as the fact that only the older generation reported having learned German in their families, showed that at the time of migration, for the majority of the SA group (similar to the KF respondents), German acquired the status of a foreign language learned in academic settings. This fact was further supported by the answers given by the participants to the question "Do you agree with the statement that Russian/German is your mother tongue?", on a scale from 0 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree), with intermediate options of 1 (somewhat agree), 2 (neutral) and 3 (somewhat agree). The responses to this question are summarized below, showing the means for each of the life-stages and standard deviations in parentheses:

Table 12: Do you agree that Russian/German is your mother tongue? (scale 0=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree)

	KF	SA
Russian		
Life-stage 1	3.80 (.63)	3.90 (.32)
Life-stage 2	3.90 (.32)	3.50 (.71)
Life-stage 3	3.90 (.32)	3.70 (.48)
Life-stage 4	4.00 (.00)	2.75 (1.58)
German		
Life-stage 1	.80 (.79)	1.10 (1.37)
Life-stage 2	.40 (.70)	1.50 (1.43)
Life-stage 3	.40 (.52)	1.40 (1.27)
Life-stage 4	.30 (.48)	3.38 (1.42)

As these data show, the overall higher numbers for Russian and lower numbers for German suggested a stronger, and in most cases a dominant position of Russian as the native language at almost all life-stages across both ethnic groups except for the oldest SA speakers. The two-way ANOVA was performed in order to test for main and

interaction effects of the ethnic group and life-stage on these responses. The results are presented in Table 13 below:

Table 13: Two-way ANOVA for Russian and German as the mother tongue

	df	Russian		German	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	8.548	.005*	32.535	.000*
Life-stage	3	1.934	.132	3.356	.024*
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	3.575	.018*	5.864	.001*
Error	70				

With respect to Russian, the ANOVA showed a significant main effect of the ethnic group indicating that the scores of the KF group on average were significantly higher than for the SA group. In addition, an interaction effect between ethnic group and life-stage was attested. A post-hoc multiple comparison test revealed that the difference between the two ethnic groups was only significant in the case of the oldest life-stage, where KF participant provided the highest, and the SA – the lowest scores across the sample (p-factor = .023). At the same time, the difference between the two ethnic groups did not show significant difference in the other three life-stages, indicating that Russian was likely to be considered the native language to the same degree in three youngest life-stages of both ethnic groups.

With respect to German as the native language, the ANOVA found significant main effects of both the ethnic group (indicating that the SA scores were on average significantly higher than the scores of the KF participants) and the life-stage, as well as a strong interaction effect between the two factors. A multiple comparison test checking for significance of the variation within each ethnic group showed that it was again the life-stage 4 among the SA participants that mainly accounted for the life-stage effect across the whole sample, as it was the only life-stage whose responses differed significantly from other life-stages within the SA sample (p-factors between .002 and .032). At the same time, no life-stage effect could be found in the KF sample specifically as all of the KF respondents provided comparably low scores with respect to German as the native language. A post-hoc life-stage by life-stage comparison test between the ethnic groups indicated that the scores between the KF and the SA responses were significantly different in all life-stages except life-stage 1, as the adult SA participants of life-stages 2

– 4 repeatedly provided higher scores than the same groups within the KF sample. This was quite interesting considering the fact that according to the results on pre-migration language learning presented in Table 11, German was primarily learned as a second language among life-stage 2 and 3 participants in the SA sample similar to the KF participants. However, despite having learned German in academic settings, these SA participants still were more inclined to see German as their native language. This attitude was likely to be attributed to the historic status of German within the Russian German minority and the experiences of having native German speakers among older family members in the home country.

In addition, the results presented above seemed to preview the discussion concerning the co-existence of both Russian and German within the linguistic repertoires of both communities. The fact that the adult KF participants tended to almost categorically deny the status of native language for German, simultaneously providing the highest scores for Russian, seemed to directly correlate with the fact that German was considered strictly as a language of the out-group communication (as is discussed in detail in Chapter 6, Section 6.4). At the same time, a less categorical distinction between the "native" label assignment in the SA community corresponded with the fact that Russian and German tended to co-exist within the SA bilingual repertoire as two accepted languages for in-group communication.

5.3.1. Discourse on German as the mother tongue in the SA group

The interview data also supported this observation on the distribution of German, as it was exclusively the older generation of respondents who reported on using or hearing German in their family, especially before entering school. For example, one 70-year old SA participant recalled the great difficulty she had when integrating into the school system in the early 1950s, as she recalled to have been "*painfully*" learning Russian when she first went to school in Russia. At the same time, she contrasted her experience with her current life in Germany, where, according to her account, she paradoxically spoke more Russian than German despite the fact that she did not consider Russian her native language. Other comments focused on explaining the reasons for the rapid loss of German in the home country, among other things addressing tragic circumstances of

deportation and hardships of the war and the labor camps, the reluctance of some parents to teach their children German, as well as the reluctance of children to learn the often stigmatized German while being surrounded by a Russian-speaking majority. The excerpts provided below can serve as illustrations of these factors. Although each of these examples focused on a specific topic, together they present an excellent example of the wide range of factors that affected the decline of German in the former Soviet Union further supporting the discussion of the overall loss of German in the Russian German community in the former Soviet Union presented in Chapter 2:

Excerpt 37

SA F 46

1 P070: *My mom used to speak German to us, but my dad spoke Russian. But there was*
2 *more talking to mom though. But when school started, dad said that the kids needed*
3 *to speak Russian, because German would interfere with school, and after that*
4 *Russian became our family language, although both my dad and my mom were*
5 *German. But after the deportation my dad landed up in a more Russian village, so*
6 *he became russified there.*

Excerpt 38

SA M 76

1 P136: *Our parents were German, but they passed away early. My mom died in 1943, and*
2 *my dad in 1963. Well, he was 70 years old, but mom, she was 44, she was still*
3 *young. You can say she died of hunger back then, it was bad. So, there were five of*
4 *us left, we only spoke German to each other. We knew the mother's tongue. So, it*
5 *went on and on like that, and then we all spread out, started to grow up. We started*
6 *to get out into society, one person works here, and the other there. Someone got*
7 *married here or there. And so we were among Russians – "hi – hi", "good day –*
8 *good day". So, we learned Russian. And then we could speak it so that you don't*
9 *even notice when you start speaking Russian.*

Excerpt 39

SA M 76

1 I: *When the kids were growing up, did you speak German to them?*
2 P136: *Our kids didn't want to speak German! No, no, no. Our youngest one, he went to*
3 *school... and the teacher told him, [teacher's name], she taught German, so every*
4 *time she would see me, she would start talking German to me and she would say:*
5 *"Look, you are speaking German so well, and your kids, those bastards, they just*
6 *don't want to do this!" They hated this German language.*
7 I: *Why? They didn't like it? Was someone teasing them?*
8 P136: *Oh well who knows, it's just you have to break [conventions]. I tried speaking*
9 *German to them at home, and they were all like "What? What? What? What?*
10 *What? I don't have time, I have to go and study".*

These excerpts illustrate a range of family-related situations that have negatively affected intergenerational transmission of German in the Russian German community in the former Soviet Union, especially after the World War II, from negative ideologies about German-Russian bilingualism that might interfere with academic success (Excerpt 37, line 3), different attitudes towards German and possibly different proficiency levels among participants' parents (e.g. in Excerpt 37, where the participant refers to her father as becoming "*russified*" during the deportation), to involvement in Russian-speaking networks due to urbanization and professional activities in predominantly Russian-speaking environments (Excerpt 38), or negative attitude towards German among younger generations of Russian-German community members in the former Soviet Union (Excerpt 39).

A series of other comments showed that not only the situation within families, but also the abrupt change in the educational policies, could be held responsible for the drastic decline of German in Russia and other former republics of the Soviet Union. As reported by some of the older SA participants, during their childhood, many of the ethnic German schools – with the exception of some schools in predominately German villages – were transformed into Russian language instruction schools. This change caused elimination of German as a native language from the school curriculum or as instructional language, also drastically reducing the number of hours German was taught, in its new role as a foreign language. This change was reflected, for example, in the following comments:

Excerpt 40

SA F 70

- 1 *P135: When I went to school, it was in Russian, but our parents, they went to the same*
2 *school, back then it was in German.*

Excerpt 41

SA F 47

- 1 *I: In your family, did your parents speak German to you?*
2 *P128: In my early childhood, I spoke German well, even grammatically. And when I was*
3 *in the second grade, I went to school in Siberia, in a German village. And in one*
4 *quarter, I already got my grade in German - a "5".¹⁹ I was good. I just was able to*

¹⁹ Equivalent of an "A" in the American educational system.

5 *get it quickly. It just came by itself. I didn't even have to learn it, it just came to me,*
6 *it was so easy. And then I compared it and felt how much easier it was for me to*
7 *learn German in the second grade rather than later in the 5th. I finished the second*
8 *grade there and then I went back to the normal school in the [name] region for the*
9 *third grade. It was a normal Russian school, there was no German there. And there*
10 *it started again like normal... like the foreign language in the fifth grade. And I felt*
11 *how difficult it was going for me then in the 5th grade. Although we also did the*
12 *alphabet. To write sentences, to build them. Somehow I completely forgot that from*
13 *the second grade. Although it was easy for me back there, but somehow I forgot it*
14 *all, unfortunately.*

Excerpt 42

SA M 64

1 *I: When you went to school, was it in Russian?*
2 *P115: Of course, when I went to school, we had .. I went late because we were poor... I*
3 *went to school in 1950. And till the 5th grade we didn't have any German. In the 5th*
4 *grade, that's when German started, back then they were starting it earlier. We had*
5 *it Wednesdays and Fridays, just one hour. But it didn't match at all. It was really*
6 *different.*

All of these comments illustrated the decline of German-medium schools due the switch from German as the instructional language to teaching subjects in Russian (Excerpt 40), which, in turn might have led to situations where Standard German has replaced the Russian German dialects leading to situations similar to the one in Excerpt 42 (line 5), where the participant's German "*didn't match*" the German language taught in the schools. When a 48-year old SA participant in Excerpt 41 recalled her experience of learning German (first when it was offered as a native language in a German village school and later when she learned German at a "*normal Russian*" school), she also referred to the great difficulty she experienced in this subject when it was taught as a foreign language. While she herself attributed it to the fact that she might have forgotten German in the meantime, one might suspect that, as in Excerpt 42, this difficulty could be also attributed to the difference in approaches between teaching German as a native versus as a foreign language, as well as to the difference between the local Russian German dialects and the Standard German usually taught in foreign language classrooms.

The accounts of the difference between the Standard German and the local Russian German dialects spoken in the older participants' families also came to light in a series of comments given by participants who tried to characterize their own language, usually by contrasting it with the Standard German. In this contrast, the Russian German dialects

tended to be characterized as simpler and unsophisticated, non-literary varieties, compared to "correct" High German, which the older participants seemed to first encounter after their migration to Germany. Consider, for example, the following comments:

Excerpt 43

SA M 64

1 P115: *When I came to Germany, I had problems talking in **High German**, but I didn't*
2 *have problems speaking our own language, I can talk in it. But overall, the*
3 *language... if you don't learn anything, then about 50 percent is the same, but it's*
4 *the dialect. Here, it is **High German** – higher language, and ours is the simple one.*
5 *Our language is such that you can't find letters to capture it, but for Germans –*
6 *they have letters, so they get such a literary language.*

Excerpt 44

SA F 63

1 P102: *When we came, I could speak the dialect... but a lot of scientific words, those I*
2 *didn't know, and my brother neither, he lived with my mom, we were in the course*
3 *together, he was also saying that things are like... when we were saying **Kartoffl**..*
4 ***Krumbere** [potato – RG dialect], and here it is **Kartoffel** [potato – Standard*
5 *German], you see? ... what else, **TV** – that we didn't know, all scientific words. But*
6 *to say "bread", and "I am cooking", "I want to eat this or that", **this all I could***
7 ***understand**. But **other things** like the problems we have now, **when I go to social***
8 ***services, many** [words] **we don't understand**, but **my son, he can always***
9 ***understand it**. Do you see what I mean?*

The participant in Excerpt 43 directly contrasted his "simple" dialect to the "higher" Standard German (line 4), attributing its correctness to the fact that the speakers of standard German "have letters" (referring to the available written form), which, in his eyes, was the reason for the status of the Standard German as a literary language. His account was further echoed by the participant in Excerpt 44, who stressed the difference between (in her eyes) the more sophisticated Standard German and the simple Russian German dialects.

Although it was only the participants of the oldest SA life-stage who commented on the particulars of the historic Russian German dialects, some of these comments also showed that the prescriptive view of the Russian German dialects as a "simple", "unsophisticated" or even "wrong" language was shared by the younger generations of the SA community, as it can be seen for example from the two following comments given by the same participant at two different points in the interview:

Excerpt 45

SA F 70

1 P135: Here is this woman who lives two doors down, she came from the same village I am
2 from. And her daughter said: "Mom look, there is this lady who speaks exactly just
3 like you". And her daughter hasn't spoken any German before. But they keep telling
4 her: "Mom, you are saying this wrong and that wrong". And she says: "What can I
5 do now, if we spoke like that back home, you can't re-learn it right away!"

Excerpt 46²⁰

SA F 70

1 P135: Мы на немецком... с маленькими... **aber** уже осторожно, чтобы они уже
2 поняли. Вот, например, я не знаю, что-то так сказала, маленькая-то шесть
3 лет, пять ей было тут. Вот мы сказали, вот например "**Jetzt fahrn wir**
4 **nunner**". Вот **Fahrstuhl**. "**Fahrn wir nunner**". Oder "**Jetzt fahren wir nuf**." **Nuf**.
5 Вообще нет такого слова. [unintelligible]: "**Oma, jetzt fahren wir HOCH. Und**
6 **jetzt fahren wir nach UNTEN**". Она это. А я бы сказала "**Jetzt fahre wir**
7 **runner**". Oder "**Wir fahre jetzt nuf**". **Nuf**, такого слова нету. А мы вот видишь,
8 мы вот так разговариваем. Да, мы с ними по-немецки говорим, но я уже
9 знаю, что "**Wir fahren jetzt hoch**", так уже говоришь, как они. Или она вовсе
10 поправит.

1 P135: We [speak] in German... with the little ones... **but** already carefully so that they
2 would understand. Like for example, I don't know, what did I say, so the little one,
3 she is six, she turned five here. So, we said for example: "**Now we are going**
4 **down**". It's **the elevator**. "**Let's go down**". Or "**We are going up now**". **Up**. There is
5 no word like that at all. [Unintelligible]. "**Grandma, now we are going UP. And**
6 **now we are going DOWN**". And I would have said "**We are going down now**" or
7 "**We are going up now**". **Up**, there is no such word. But you see, that's how we
8 speak. Yes, we do speak German with them, but I know that [you have to say] "**Now**
9 **we are going up**", so we already start speaking like them. Or she would even
10 correct you.

In both excerpts above, the participant reported on the cases where Russian German dialectal features of the older generation have been corrected by the younger speakers – by an adult neighbor's daughter in Excerpt 45 and by the 6-years old granddaughter of the participant in Excerpt 46. In both cases, the younger speakers pointed out differences between the Russian German dialects used by this older participant or her neighbor, and the (“correct”) Standard German acquired by the younger speakers in Germany after migration. As this participant attested, she herself was now trying to adjust her German

²⁰ Since this excerpt contains direct comparisons between High German and Russian German dialectal features, it is given in its original version followed by the English translation. The discussed items are underlined in the translation. Again, German is highlighted in bold.

when talking to her grandchildren in order not to be corrected. Also in other cases, older participants reported avoiding using German with the members of younger age groups unfamiliar with Russian-German dialects. This trend also repeated itself in the comments of members of younger age groups who also reported being more comfortable using Russian with their German-speaking grandparents, attributing it to the fact that it was difficult for them to understand the dialect spoken by the older members of the SA community.

Concluding this section on the status of German among the SA respondents, it is important to stress again that the comments on the status of the historical Russian German dialects and their role as mother tongue came almost exclusively from the participants of the oldest life-stage. None of the younger respondents reported having any proficiency in or direct relationship with this form of German, except participant 128 quoted in Excerpt 41. However, she also claimed to have forgotten her native German by the time she was a teenager, as mentioned in her commentary. All of the participants from the three younger groups reported either not being familiar with German before migration or having learned it in an academic setting in their home country. This fact once again stresses that although German may still be considered a native language among the older SA respondents, the vast majority of the SA study participants entered Germany with a rather lower level of German proficiency, mainly acquired in school in the form of Standard German. The loss of native German signified that proficiency in Russian German dialects was less likely to be a required attribute of group's identity for the younger SA migrants. However, considering the lack of proficiency in Russian German dialects among the speakers of life-stage 2 and life-stage 3 it was interesting to see that according to the data in Table 12, the adult SA participants still reported a stronger perception of German as their native language in comparison to KF participants, likely due to the preservation of German as a native among their parents or their grandparents' generations.

5.3.2. Defining the other through linguistic past

Chapter 4 demonstrated that the vast majority of the comments related to ethnic categorization in the larger Russian-speaking community in Germany was produced by

the members of the KF migration. In a continuation of this pattern, the comments focusing on "otherness" with relation to linguistic matters also seemed to come from the KF migrant group. This sub-section discusses specifically the KF discourse surrounding the status of German in the SA community and the ways in which differences in linguistic past were utilized by KF respondents in creating and negotiating a boundary between the two groups.

The most striking observation that could be made from the qualitative data was an apparent mismatch between the very limited proficiency in Russian German dialects among the SA migrants (as discussed in Section 5.2) and the role attributed to the status of the Russian German dialects in the SA community in the eyes of the KF respondents. Namely, while the data presented in the previous section indicated that proficiency in the Russian German dialects could be found almost exclusively among the oldest SA migrants (life-stage 4), the common ideology within the KF group generally seemed to ignore this age differentiation. Overall, KF comments circled around the belief that in general, SA migrants come to Germany with a significantly higher competence in German than the KF migration. This difference was usually attributed to the assumed availability of German as a family language in the home country. As such, this assumption was interesting, showing a notable difference between the linguistic behavior observed among the SA migrants and the KFs' perceptions of it. Overall, this belief seemed to be rooted in the same common ideology that linked a particular ethnicity and the corresponding language, once again illustrating "monolingual bias" informed by the nation-state ideologies that sees a specific language as a "'natural' reflex of nationhood" (Auer 2007: 320): as ethnically German, the SA migrants were portrayed as being proficient in German without regard to the actual lack of German proficiency among all but the oldest speakers.

The following examples can provide illustrations of accounts given by the KF participants. For example, in the following comments, KF respondents referred to their encounters with SA migrants during their attendance in a language course and recalled that the SA course participants generally displayed a higher level of German proficiency, directly attributing to the use of German in the Russian German families.

Excerpt 47

KF F 59

- 1 P091: *When we went to the courses, it was hard if everything is in German. But thanks to*
2 *the fact that there were Germans, well, our Germans, Russian ones, from*
3 *Kazakhstan, who knew... well they know that language, the colloquial language,*
4 *they were helping us, translating for us what the teacher was saying.*
5 I: *So, they were translating what he says?*
6 P091: *Yes, translating. Well just to help. And anyway they couldn't translate for us all the*
7 *time because they had to listen to the teacher themselves. But they... they... of*
8 *course if they... if their parents spoke it, and if in the family they spoke it, then of*
9 *course...*

Similar to SA comments characterizing the Russian German dialects as simple, non-standard variety, the KF participant also stresses that the SA migrants, in her experience, knew "that" German, which she refers to as "colloquial". This and similar comments reflected a very prescriptive position similar to the attitude attested among the dialectal speakers themselves (as described in Section 5.2), contrasting the "beautiful" or "correct" High German with the "broken" or "wrong" Russian German dialects. This view of the dialect ascribed to the SA community, in turn, was directly connected by the KF respondents to the perception of the SA migration as a rural, less educated provincial group as described in Chapter 4. In this context, the real or assumed proficiency in Russian German dialects among SA migrants was directly tied to the lack of proper education and a lower social status. The following comments can serve as an illustration of this point:

Excerpt 48

KF F 38

- 1 P039: *Many Russians, our [people], well, Germans, well from Kazakhstan, the ones in the*
2 *program from **department of labor affairs**, this half-year **language course**, they*
3 *went there only because they were paid money. They didn't give a damn about it, I*
4 *am serious. That's scary!*
5 I: *So, how do they do it without learning the language?*
6 P039: *Well they have this kind of dialect, they can't even communicate in it. They don't*
7 *accept any explanations either. They forgot how to hold a pen in their hands! They*
8 *have probably never held a pen at all! So, we had one, she was constantly like*
9 *"blah blah blah blah", without an end, I was just in shock! "I haven't ever written*
10 *anything in Russian, so why should I be writing in German now?" So, I kept just*
11 *looking at her... "[Participant's name], why do you ask all the questions? We are*
12 *on a break now!" So, you go to your break, go! See? I was just "lucky" with all the*
13 *[language] groups I was in, I will tell you later. I met [Name] there, she was*
14 *teaching in that group. 7 teachers changed. The people were just on a zero-level.*
15 *No one had a higher education!*

In this comment, the Russian German dialects were presented as an obsolete variety, which, in the view of this participant, could not be used by SA migrants for successful communication in Germany. In fact, difficulties in using Russian German dialects have been reported also by some SA migrants, who gave examples of differences between the Russian German dialects and the Standard German similar to the ones presented in Excerpt 43. During my fieldwork, I also witnessed situations where communication between speakers of a Russian German dialect and Standard German appeared to be problematic, as, for example, in the case where an older SA migrant was asked to "please speak German" in one of the institutions after having addressed a local official in the Russian German dialect. For the KF participant in Excerpt 48, this apparent inability to utilize the dialect in the migrant context seemed to be directly connected to such attributes ascribed to SA migrants as the lower (or even lacking) educational status (lines 14 and 15) and the lack of literacy (line 7).

Excerpt 48 also provided an excellent example of the "totaling vision" of ideologies at work (Irvine & Gal 2000), as it demonstrated how the SA group appeared as strictly homogenized in the perception of this KF participant. Despite the fact that her account seemed to be built specifically around her observations of the SA migrants she met through the language course, she provided a rather unified account of the SA group, referring to the overall lower educational level of the SA community as a whole. This basis for categorization further became projected on the "level" of German spoken by the SA migrants, as its nature also appeared to be linked for this participant specifically to the lower level of education and literacy in the SA community.

The following excerpt provided another account of the variety of German used by the SA migrants:

Excerpt 49

KF F 22

- 1 I: *Do you like the dialects that are used here?*
2 P077: *No, no. First of all, it is very hard for me to understand it. The dialect itself. And*
3 *then, I can't understand at all why Russians who learn **High German**, why do they*
4 *speak Dialect? I can't get it at all.*
5 I: *That happens as well?*
6 P077: *Everywhere! "**Twenty**", "**thirty**" [both pronounced with exaggerated dialectal*
7 *features], all the time, all the time, very often.*

- 8 I: I haven't heard it, I guess.
 9 P077: Well, maybe they don't speak the strong dialect as is, but all the "sh-s", it's a given,
 10 almost 90 percent of them. I don't understand it. If you know **High German**, why
 11 would you mess up the language? Of course it is much more beautiful to speak
 12 **High German** than the dialect.
 13 I: I guess I haven't heard it.
 14 P077: Oh... very many. Mainly those who came as **late re-settlers**. They also spoke a
 15 dialect back then, then they come and bring their own dialect, and mix it with this
 16 one, and it's just a horror! Just some kind of sounds coming out, I don't understand
 17 them at all! At all. At all. Not a word! At all. It just sounds horrible.

It became obvious from this excerpt that the negative attitude toward German ascribed to SA migrants (which this KF participant seemed to describe not as a language, but rather as a string of random sounds in line 16) could be seen as a part of an overall negative attitude towards any non-standard variety, including the local German dialects. This attitude was further attested in a number of other KF comments that expressed strictly negative views of any variety of German deviating from the standard, including local dialects and other migrants groups' non-native German. As shown later in Chapter 9, the attitude in clear favor of the standard form exclusively was very characteristic for KF adult participants in general, and became especially apparent during the discussion of code-mixing.

Surprisingly, despite the fact that the KF attributed the SA group with a lack of "proper" German and a lack of motivation to achieve a better level of German proficiency, at the same time, some of the KF participants stated that in their view, the SA group experienced fewer problems communicating in Germany. However, this greater ease of communication was attributed not so much to their ascribed proficiency in German but rather to lower educational level of SA migration. The following excerpt can serve as an explanation of this position. Here, a 45-year-old KF participant recalled her own and other KFs' difficulties in learning German after the migration:

Excerpt 50

- KF F 45*
- 1 P055: So, of course, all the people are quite intellectual/educated, from our contingent,
 2 and they, of course, all have complexes that their language is like such... on such a
 3 zero-level... so for them it becomes even more difficult. For Russian Germans it is
 4 of course much easier, much easier...
 5 I: Easier?
 6 P055: But of course! Many spoke in their families, so, many of them speak already, well,
 7 yes, they speak it as primitively as they speak Russian, but they speak, they don't

Using the educational factor discussed earlier in Chapter 4 as the basis for differentiating between SA and KF groups, the participant defined the KF group as "*quite educated*". What became interesting in this quote, was that the higher educational level of the KF migration was seen as an obstacle in the (linguistic) integration of the KF migrants, as it was held responsible for a certain block that prevented the KF migrants from communicating freely in German. In her words, the highly educated members of the KF community were not used to communicate on a "*zero-level*", which probably referred to the seeming level of sophistication of such conversations. At the same time, according to this excerpt, this kind of communication seemed not to be a problem for SA migrants, who, in the view of this respondent, did not hesitate to use their "*primitive*" level of German for everyday communication in Germany, just as they were used to using their "*primitive*" level of Russian. In this case, the respondent did not further specify her reasons for describing the Russian of the SA group in these terms.

5.4. Conclusions

This chapter addressed the status of German in both communities before migration, and showed how the difference in each community's historic relationship with German played out both in participants' linguistic actions (such as language-related preparation for the migration experience) as well as in the mechanisms of ethnic categorization and identity negotiation in the post-migrant world. Overall, the results of this chapter confirmed the loss of German as the native language of the Russian German minority in Germany, both with respect to the lower German proficiency among all but the oldest SA migrants (Table 9) as well as with respect to the ways German had been learned by participants of different life-stages in Germany (Table 11).

However, despite the fact that the status of German as the native language has declined over time in the SA community for all but the oldest speakers, an awareness of this former status still seemed to exist and to play a role in SA participants' understanding of being German and in assigning native status to both languages (Table 12). The tendency of a higher acceptance of German as the (native) community language appeared to indicate that overall, the SA community was slightly more inclined to let

German share the role of the current in-group language with the migrants' dominant Russian. In fact, as the analysis in the subsequent chapter will demonstrate, additional data confirmed this prediction (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4 in particular).

Furthermore, despite the demonstrated decline of German as the historic native language of the SA community, the KF group's responses indicated the presence of a persistent ideology that consistently characterized the SA community through the ascribed use of Russian German dialects. Although seemingly based on isolated observations, this perception tended to characterize the SA migration *as a whole* as capable of speaking German brought from the home-country (Excerpt 47). Following a common ideology that linked Russian German dialects and their speakers to the lower educational status (and in this case, even to the dialects' apparent uselessness, as for example in Excerpt 48), this ideology was also routinely utilized by the KF migrants as one of the tools in establishing and negotiating the boundary between the own and the "other" group. This negotiation performed through linguistic means directly reflected patterns of ethnic categorization discussed earlier in Chapter 4, drawing from such locally salient contrasts between the groups as participants' educational and social status.

However, not only the linguistic past, but also the ways in which German was reported to be used in the communities after migration, seemed to play an important role in the process of identity construction within both communities. Therefore, the next chapter addresses issues of the current status of German in KF and the SA communities, and provides a detailed analysis of how this current status not only seemed to depend on the relationship each group had to the German language historically, but also on more pragmatic factors, especially the structure of participants' post-migrant social networks.

Chapter 6

Language and the post-migrant network structure

6.1. Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the historically different status of German in the two communities seemed to influence the relationship to German in each of the groups. Specifically, it seemed to affect the way both communities saw the role of German in their post-migrant life. However, it became apparent from the data that the ideological perception of German as either historically "own" or "foreign" language was not the only factor affecting the respective statuses of German and Russian in the respondents' post-migrant world. As became obvious from the analysis, beliefs about the role of both languages in the current migrant context and language use (as reported by participants) to a large extent seemed to be pre-determined by a number of social realities from participants' post-migrant lives. In particular, such factors as the overall type of migration as well as the structure of participants' networks appeared to play a central role in shaping the respondents' linguistic reality.

The concept of social network has been used in sociolinguistics for several decades. It has not only proven to be a powerful tool in explaining language change in monolingual speech communities, but was also demonstrated to be capable of explaining mechanisms of language maintenance and shift in communities where two or more languages are spoken. Gal (1979) used the social network approach in explaining dynamics of shift to German in the traditionally Hungarian speaking Oberwart, Austria. She found that due to economic changes in the region, women were more likely to create social contacts outside of the local, traditionally peasant community, thus gaining more opportunities to use German in comparison to their male partners. More recently, the

concept of social network was successfully applied in explaining mechanisms of language maintenance, shift and loss in bilingual migrant communities. Several studies (e.g. Hulsen et al. 2002; Stoessel 2002; Wei 1994; Zentella 1997) documented that a close-knit network among L1 speakers (both in the host society as well as in the home country) can be seen as one of the major factors of language maintenance in immigrant communities. A strong co-ethnic network has been shown to help migrants to withstand strong pressures to assimilate to the monolingual majority by slowing down the gradual shift to the majority language. On the other hand, involvement in local networks has been shown to weaken migrants' resistance to language shift.

This framework appears especially promising for the analysis of the reported language use and language attitudes in the KF and the SA communities, as both groups seemed to display notable differences in the composition of their primary as well as secondary networks. Based on the models used in previous studies of language and social networks cited above, one could expect that the analysis of the participants' network structure would help to uncover possible differences in language use and language attitudes in both communities. With respect to this specific set of migrant populations, such potential differences could be expected to be especially telling considering the very comparable linguistic "start up" repertoire of both groups at the time of migration (with the exception of the SA life-stage 4 participants, as discussed in the previous chapter).

At the same time, the analysis in this dissertation could be expected to further add to the existing models by demonstrating how the network factor could potentially be shown to interact with other factors influencing language use and language shift in a migrant setting, such as, for example, strong ideological positions taken by the speakers towards language issues in the process of negotiating their ethnic and social identities, both with respect to German as well as to the Russian language.

When approaching the question of the relationship between language and social network in migration, this chapter addresses specifically the following issues: Section 6.2 provides an account of the overall migration type characteristic for both groups and demonstrates how it became a pre-determiner of the migrants' network structure in the host country. This discussion is followed by a detailed analysis of network structures characteristic for both migrant groups and the reported language use within these

networks (Section 6.3). Finally, Section 6.4 looks specifically at the question of how these factors interacted with participants' beliefs about the status of Russian and German in the post-migrant context.

6.2. Migration style as pre-determiner of social network structure

Looking at the data reflecting the specifics of the migrant process, it is safe to say that the KF and the SA migration streams displayed two very different migration patterns. It became undoubtedly clear from both the quantitative as well as qualitative data that the SA community presented a classic case of chain migration, in which migrants arrived in Germany as a part of a larger family, including both close relatives as well as more extended family members. Often, migration was undertaken with the intention of reuniting with distant family members who, due to historic factors such as deportation, happened to live in different parts of the home country. In most cases, SA migrants were following relatives who migrated to Germany before them, and expected more family members to move to Germany at a later point in time. In contrast, similar role of family was not evident from the KF data.

During the interviews, participants were asked several questions about the way both groups migrated to Germany. Probably the most striking indicator of the chain migration among the SA migrants and the lack thereof within the KF sample was the answer to the question of whether the participants had other relatives who had migrated to Germany before them. All SA participants, without exception, answered this question affirmatively, while for KF participants, in all instances, the answer was "no". Considering this migration pattern, one might expect that in Germany, SA migrants were likely to join a larger SA migration network of extended family, which not only could serve as a support and safety net in the new country, providing information and often translation services (as reported by a number of participants), but also opportunities to socialize and spend free time with other family members. In this way, SA networks could be seen as pre-determined even before migration, as SA migrants were highly likely to fall into a strong family net once they arrived in Germany. On the other hand, KF participants, who seemed to lack similar family network in Germany, could be expected

to fill their needs for social support and socialization elsewhere, be it the network of other Russian-speaking friends, social institutions or speakers of other languages in Germany.

This apparent prominence of pragmatic factors shaping participant's post-migrant social space meant that the research model needed to be able to account for the fact that a preference for one or another language in each case would not only be a matter of ideology in favor of one or another language, but could also be driven by possible pressures (or lack thereof) from participants' post-migrant networks. To this extent, the analysis in this chapter aims at a better understanding of the network structures characteristic for each of the migrant streams, as it demonstrates the role of these networks in shaping language use and language attitudes in both migrant groups.

One of the first indicators of this influence was the analysis of the data on participants' family size. In order to collect information on the overall size of respondents' families (both in Germany and in the home country), participants were asked about their current household size, as well as the number of other family members also residing in Germany. For this series of questions, participants were asked specifically first to name relatives they considered to be "close" family, followed by more "distant" family members. Thus, this classification was based on participants' own judgments of emotional closeness to each of the family contacts, and as such was also likely to reflect the frequency of communication with family members of each category.

The data on the overall reported family size for both groups is summarized in Table 14. The numbers represent the mean number of family contacts reported by the participants. Standard deviations are given in parentheses. A T-test analyzing the responses of the participants from both groups was performed in order to compare the reported family sizes:

Table 14: Reported family size

	KF	SA	t-value	p-factor
How many people live in your household?	2.55 (1.19)	3.13 (1.12)	-3.362	.001*
How many other close family members do you have in Germany?	1.40 (1.43)	6.58 (3.01)	-9.785	.000*
How many distant family members do you have in Germany?	.42 (.71)	3.55 (.55)	-21.559	.000*
How many family members do you still have in your home country?	1.70 (.85)	2.63 (1.07)	-4.247	.000*

As one can see from the table, in all categories, the mean of the answers given by the KF participants was significantly lower than in the case of the SA respondents. Not only was the household size itself smaller for the KF group, but also the number of additional family members living in Germany proved to be smaller than in the SA sample, with only 1.4 close relatives and .42 distant relatives for the KF groups, compared to 6.58 and 3.55 for the SA group. Numerous comments given by the participants throughout the interviews also fully supported these data. In fact, some of the comments from the SA participants clearly indicated that the data reported in answers to the questions above in fact only included distant relatives who kept in regular contact with the respondents, as many of the SA participants stated that it would be impossible for them to list *all* of the family members residing in Germany. At many points during the interviews, SA participants also referred to large family gatherings (such as major celebrations) that routinely attracted more than a hundred members of the family from all parts of Germany who migrated at very different points in time. In contrast, the comments of KF participants in each case clearly indicated that the results presented above included all of their family members living in Germany.

Not only the mere size, but also the importance of family contacts seemed to differ drastically between the groups, which indicated a predicted high reliance on family networks in the SA community. In fact, each of the SA participants talked in detail about their family connections, common celebrations or other family-related matters at one or another point of the interview, touching on such aspects as attempts to live close to the family members, regular meetings and frequent communication with other family in Germany, as well as mutual social and language support. The following excerpts represent a very small selection from this large pool of comments highlighting the importance of family connections for SA participants of different ages:

Excerpt 51

SA F 24

- 1 P041: *We were aiming at this area because all the family lives here. They all lived around*
2 *Germany here and there first, but one by one they all moved down here. And so we*
3 *knew that we would come right here.*

Excerpt 52

SA F 37

- 1 I: Did you want to come to [city name] specifically?
2 P080: Yes, we have family here, my cousin went [to the authorities] to ask for this
3 specifically. When we first came, they were trying to decide, because there were a
4 lot of us – 11 people came together. We didn't want to split, so upon this request we
5 all stayed together.

Excerpt 53

SA F 70

- 1 P135: Now all my children are around me. I am like a chicken on a nest, it wouldn't have
2 been possible back in Russia. They wanted [to live] next to their mom, they got a
3 place next to the mom. They wanted [to live in] the same house entrance, they got
4 the same house entrance. So, we live here like neighbors – two daughters and the
5 parents in one building entrance.

Excerpt 54

SA M 50

- 1 P099: We didn't pick the place to live. Whenever relatives called us – here we came. We
2 didn't know anything, the relatives led us around on a leash. They got us the
3 apartment, so now we are climbing onto the fourth floor!

Excerpt 55

SA M 76

- 1 I: Was it hard to decide whether to move or not to move?
2 P136: My dear, we didn't even consider it. We didn't want to move. The son came and
3 said: "Pack up". He took all the papers and submitted an application, and then the
4 acceptance papers came, so there was no choice anymore. Well, all our kids are
5 here... all of them.

In this way, the commentary given by the SA participants not only indicated that the migration was motivated by relatives who migrated to Germany earlier (Excerpt 52, Excerpt 54) but also was seen as a chance to reunite with close and extended family after the migration (Excerpt 52, Excerpt 53 and Excerpt 54). As the participant in Excerpt 53 put it, she felt like a "*chicken on a nest*", because the migration not only allowed her to live in the same city with her children, but even to move into the same section of an apartment building, becoming neighbors with her daughters and their families. Moreover, as it became clear from the rest of the interview, her other adult children with their respective families also lived nearby. It was also interesting to note that the pressure to reunite with the family was sometimes seen as the only driving force behind moving to

Germany, especially for the older generations, as can be seen in the last excerpt from this series. In this example, the older participant felt that he had "*no choice*" but to move because he was the last one in his family who still stayed in Russia. Also a number of other respondents (not necessarily from the oldest generation) reported being the "*last one*" to migrate, recalling a lack of choice in following the family even in cases where participants were initially opposing migration.

The commentary given by SA participants on the actual involvement of their family members in their lives after migration provided additional evidence of the importance of the family network. Many SA participants reported having found housing and work opportunities through referrals and with active help from their family members who had moved to Germany earlier. In addition, all of the SA participants reported having received help with translation and interpreting from their relatives, who accompanied them on their visits to different institutions and organizations. In addition, many SA migrants reported that their network even tended to be restricted mainly to family members and more distant relatives, as there was not enough time left for non-family related contacts.

In striking contrast, any comments of this type were absent from the KF discourse, which was not surprising considering that the data indicated clearly that the KF migration could not be characterized as chain migration. As a more recent phenomenon, KF migration was not built around joining family members who migrated to Germany earlier. Instead, KF respondents reported either being the first members of their family to ever migrate to a foreign country, or reported having relatives who earlier chose USA or Israel as the country of their migration. Therefore, KF migrants consistently gave different explanations of their decision to migrate to Germany. One example of this difference could be found in the discourse centered on the choice of the settlement place. The excerpts below showcase the typical explanations given by KF participants on their choices of a particular town:

Excerpt 56

KF F 23

- 1 P011: *I picked [city name] because I wanted to continue to study music and there was a*
2 *suitable department at the [city name] music school.*

Excerpt 57

KF F 38

- 1 P039: *Why did we pick [city name]? Well, we took the map and looked what big cities are*
2 *within this **federal state**.*

Excerpt 58

KF M 51

- 1 P079: *We were trying to settle here because this particular region was better off*
2 *economically and because we believed that it would be better for my profession to*
3 *be close to the port of [city name] with all the ships and the shipping industry.*

Excerpt 59

KF M 69

- 1 P045: ***I didn't have a big choice. [City name] or a small village. I've already heard about***
2 ***the [city name] from the Turgenev's novels, that Turgenev said that he is proud of***
3 ***[city name]'s university, so I came to [city name].***

As one can see from these comments, KF responses differed drastically from the ones given by the SA respondents presented earlier in this section. In fact, having almost no other relatives in Germany, most of the KF participants provided reasons such as a desire to live in a "*big city*" as opposed to a "*small village*", a fact that once again stresses the importance of "*urban life*" as part of a KF member's self image. Furthermore, educational or professional intentions served as an additional strong factor in the choice of settlement (Excerpt 56 and Excerpt 58) or even a mere familiarity with a particular city and its educational institutions from the classic Russian literature of the 19th century (Excerpt 59).

In addition to the difference in numbers of family members residing in Germany and their importance to SA migrants when selecting a place to settle, the data further indicated that the SA group was more involved in active communication with their relatives than the KF participants who had other family members in Germany outside of their immediate household. The question "How often do you communicate with your close and distant relatives in Germany?" yielded the following response from the two groups:²¹

²¹ Similar to the family-related questions discussed earlier, the distinction between "close" and "distant" family members was based on participants' own perceptions and represents the degree of kinship, rather than the territorial proximity, of these contacts.

Table 15: Frequency of family communication (average days per year)

	KF	SA	p-factor
How often do you communicate with your close relatives in Germany?	123	239	.001*
How often do you communicate with your distant relatives in Germany?	26 ²²	37	.609

When answering this question, participants were offered five possibilities for defining the frequency of their contacts: never (which was coded as 0 for the purposes of the analysis), once a year (coded as 1), once a month (coded as 12, representing contacts occurring 12 times a year), once a week (52), every other day (182) and every day (365 days a year). Thus, the numbers in the table represent the average number of days within a year when particular contacts occur. An independent samples T-test was performed to test the difference in the frequency of family communication between the two samples. As one can see, there was a significant difference between the frequency of close family contacts in the KF and SA communities, indicating that in the SA group such contacts occurred almost twice as often as in the KF one. However, it is important to keep in mind that the difference in the inter-family contacts was in fact more drastic because this analysis considered only the answers of those respondents who did have close family members in Germany living outside their immediate household. Since only 25 out of 40 KF participants had such close family connections, this means that for the rest of the KF respondents (15) this communication opportunity was not present at all. The same pattern, but even more drastic, applied to communication with distant relatives in Germany, where only 12 out of 40 KF participants reported having any distant family members in Germany. For the SA group, all 38 participants with no exception reported having both close family members outside of their immediate household and distant relatives living in Germany.

6.3. Social network structure in the communities

The previous section addressed the role of the migration type on the strength of family networks in both communities showing a drastic difference in the family dynamics and

²² The data represents the answers only of those KF participants who did have close family (25 participants) and distant relatives (12 participants) in Germany. All of the SA respondents reported having both close and distant relatives in Germany.

the importance of the family network for regular interaction. However, the difference in the network composition between the KF and the SA participants went beyond the domain of family life. This section discusses the details of the primary and secondary networks of both groups beyond the family sphere, and demonstrates how the network composition directly affected migrants' linguistic practices.

The differences in communities' network structures were previewed earlier in Chapter 4 (Table 8). On the basis of those preliminary results, it was possible to see that although co-ethnics still dominated the networks of both groups, there were differences between the two communities that might potentially influence speakers' linguistic behavior. Excluding the data on "other Russian-speaking" and "international" contacts (as there was no difference between the groups in these types of networks), the table below summarizes the other three types of participants' contacts: contacts of the "same" ethnicity, of the "opposite" ethnic group (SA for KF respondents and KF for SA respondents), as well as local German contacts. Table 16 demonstrates the mean numbers (and standard deviations) of contacts of a particular ethnicity among the primary networks of the participants of the four life-stages (out of 5 possible contacts total):

Table 16: Number of co-ethnics, members of the opposite group and local Germans in participants' networks

	KF	SA
Number of contacts of the same ethnicity		
Life-stage 1	1.50 (1.27)	2.70 (1.06)
Life-stage 2	3.60 (.84)	3.70 (1.16)
Life-stage 3	3.00 (1.05)	4.20 (.63)
Life-stage 4	4.10 (1.10)	4.88 (.35)
Number of contacts of the opposite ethnicity		
Life-stage 1	.30 (.48)	.10 (.32)
Life-stage 2	.50 (.52)	.50 (1.27)
Life-stage 3	.10 (.32)	.10 (.32)
Life-stage 4	.00 (.00)	.00 (.00)
Number of local German contacts		
Life-stage 1	2.60 (1.35)	1.50 (1.18)
Life-stage 2	.60 (.52)	.20 (.42)
Life-stage 3	1.00 (1.05)	.20 (.42)
Life-stage 4	.90 (1.10)	.12 (.35)

Overall, one can see that the number of contacts of the same ethnicity rose with age in both groups, showing that the youngest participants tended to have more diverse

networks. At the same time, the number of the "opposite" contacts seemed to be minimal for all life-stages in both groups. With respect to the local German contacts, the KF group seemed to report consistently more local contacts than the SA group, and in both SA and KF samples the youngest life-stage predictably reported having the highest numbers of local Germans in the primary networks. A two-way ANOVA was performed to test the main and interaction effects of the ethnic group membership and the life-stage on the number of contacts of each type. The results are presented in Table 17:

Table 17: Two-way ANOVA for number of co-ethnics, members of the opposite ethnicity and the local Germans within primary networks

	df	Same ethnicity		Opposite ethnicity		Local German	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	13.290	.001*	.156	.694	14.257	.000*
Life-stage	3	19.357	.000*	2.899	.041*	14.893	.000*
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	1.378	.257	.159	.924	.511	.676
Error	70						

With respect to the contacts from the same ethnic group, the ANOVA found a strong main effect of the ethnic group, indicating that on average, SA participants had significantly more contacts from their own group than the KF respondents. At the same time, there was also a strong main effect of life-stage. With respect to the life-stage differences in the samples, a post-hoc multiple comparison test showed that in both samples, there was a significant difference between the participants of life-stage 1 and the rest of the sample, showing that the youngest participants, being involved in school system in Germany, indeed had significantly less co-ethnics in their networks than the adult population. Furthermore, among the adults, life-stage 4 among SA migrants displayed significantly more co-ethnics in their primary networks than any other subgroups in the entire sample.

With respect to contacts of the opposite ethnicity, the ANOVA found a significant life-stage effect. A post-hoc test indicated that this effect was caused specifically by the difference between the life-stage 2 participants in the KF sample that showed a significantly higher number of contacts of the opposite ethnicity than other life-stages, probably due to their involvement in educational programs that often targeted members of both groups.

With respect to local German contacts, the ANOVA showed both main effects of ethnic group and life-stage, with no interaction effect between the two. This result indicated that the numbers of local Germans in the KF sample were indeed significantly higher than the numbers of the local contacts in the SA sample. At the same time, there was a similar pattern in the distribution of the local German contacts across life-stages: a post-hoc multiple comparison test showed that in both SA and KF groups life-stage 1 participants reported having the highest number of local Germans in the primary networks.

Overall, these results indicated that the KF participants displayed significantly more diverse networks characterized by the lower numbers of co-ethnics and the higher numbers of local German contacts in the primary networks. At the same time, in both ethnic groups, the younger participants of life-stage 1 differed significantly from the rest of the sample, predictably displaying less co-ethnics and more local contacts (which, in the KF life-stage 1 even accounted for over 50% of participants' primary networks), thus displaying similar pattern to the one found in other migrant populations where younger migrants showed a faster integration into local networks (e.g. Milroy and Li Wei 1995).

In addition, an interesting difference between groups was observed, which not only indicated a further disparity between the KF and SA network composition, but also directly supported the importance of the family for the SA migrants discussed in the previous section. Although, when answering the questions about their five most important contacts, participants were asked to focus on their friends, and not to include family members (as the information on family communication was collected elsewhere), a number of the SA participants insisted on listing some family members in their friends' network as well. A further analysis of the distribution of this intersection of kinship and friendship contacts indicated a significant difference between the communities: the number of primary contacts who were also related the participants added up to 0.53 contacts on average in the SA community, compared to .00 in the KF group (see Table 18 below; standard deviations are given in parentheses). Also, partially due to this inclusion of family in the primary networks, SA respondents scored significantly higher when answering additional questions that tested network orientation and tightness, indicating that 3.97 of their primary *non-family* contacts on average also kept in contact with at least

one (and in many cases all) of their close family members (compared to only 1.97 in the KF group). Finally, the analysis of interpersonal connections within the reported network contacts (10 possible links between 5 identified contacts) indicated an overall tighter network structure of the SA participants (6.74 out of 10 possible links) compared to the KF group, for whom this score only reached 4.62 connections.

Table 18: Network tightness indicators

	KF	SA	p-factor
Number of family members among primary contacts (max = 5)	.00 (.00)	.53 (1.00)	.001*
Number of primary contacts known to participants' families (max = 5)	1.72 (1.78)	3.97 (1.24)	.000*
Number of links between primary contacts within network (max = 10)	4.62 (2.80)	6.74 (2.23)	.000*

A number of additional questions tested participants' involvement in German-speaking networks beyond the primary close-knit networks. These data further indicated that, the KF respondents seemed to be more likely to engage in various activities with the local German population. For example, the following table represents the answers to the questions about the frequency of involvement in activities, which were likely to prompt contacts with the local German population, such as spending free time in German-speaking environments, visiting or receiving visits from local German speakers and communicating with German-speaking neighbors. The average number of days per year on which a particular activity occurred is presented in Table 19:

Table 19: Frequency of local German-speaking contacts (average number of days per year)

	KF	SA
Spending free time with local Germans		
Life-stage 1	297	203
Life-stage 2	199	78
Life-stage 3	101	44
Life-stage 4	130	96
Attending religious gatherings where German is spoken		
Life-stage 1	12	7
Life-stage 2	2	6
Life-stage 3	17	16
Life-stage 4	51	27
Receiving visits from local German speakers		
Life-stage 1	136	44
Life-stage 2	44	10
Life-stage 3	57	13
Life-stage 4	6	62
Visiting home of local Germans speakers		
Life-stage 1	96	74
Life-stage 2	9	5
Life-stage 3	17	8
Life-stage 4	13	7
Communicating with German speaking neighbors		
Life-stage 1	142	52
Life-stage 2	112	55
Life-stage 3	141	70
Life-stage 4	128	81

Table 20: ANOVA for frequency of local German contacts

	df	Free time with local Germans		Religious gatherings in German		Visits from German speakers	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	8.617	.005*	1.223	.273	3.251	.076
Life-stage	3	8.687	.000*	6.187	.001*	3.426	.022*
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	.540	.657	.994	.401	3.561	.018*
Error	70						
	df	Visiting German speakers		Comm. with German neighbors			
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.		
Ethnic group	1	.779	.380	5.482	.022*		
Life-stage	3	10.589	.000*	.135	.939		
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	.123	.946	.144	.952		
Error	70						

Overall, these data seemed to indicate that for both groups, contact with the German-speaking majority in Germany still remained somewhat limited and was more likely to happen outside of participants' homes – both visiting homes of local German speakers and receiving visits from them (which would indicate a rather close and personal connection to local German population) was highly limited for both groups. A two-way ANOVA showed a strong main effect of life-stage on the results with respect to these two questions. The post-hoc multiple comparison test indicated that this effect was caused by the significant difference between the life-stage 1 and the rest of the sample in KF group with respect to receiving visits from local Germans and similar difference in both KF and SA samples with respect to visiting homes of local German speakers. These results, once again, confirmed the pattern shown with respect to primary networks earlier in this chapter that on the one hand, showed that both KF and SA groups were mostly involved in co-ethnic networks. On the other hand, the results presented above once again indicated that the youngest participants in both groups were more likely to establish connections with local German speakers. This difference was also attested with respect to spending free time with German speakers outside of home, where the ANOVA also showed a strong main effect of life-stage, again indicating that with respect to this question, younger participants were displaying a significantly different pattern from the rest of the group.

At the same time, with respect of spending free time with German speakers, the ANOVA showed a strong ethnic group effect indicating that on average, KF participants were engaged in such activities more often than the SA group. Similarly, the results also indicated that KF group was significantly more engaged in contacts with local German neighbors than the respondents from the SA sample. With respect to involvement in religious activities in German, both SA and KF groups displayed only minimal engagement.

The same series of questions further asked the participants to indicate the frequency of their involvement in Russian-speaking networks. These results are presented in Table 21:

Table 21: Frequency of Russian-speaking contacts (average number of days per year)

	KF	SA
Spending free time among Russian speakers		
Life-stage 1	264	278
Life-stage 2	222	347
Life-stage 3	224	347
Life-stage 4	266	365
Attending religious gatherings where Russian is spoken		
Life-stage 1	1	0
Life-stage 2	1	50
Life-stage 3	16	11
Life-stage 4	59	26
Receiving visits from Russian speakers		
Life-stage 1	95	31
Life-stage 2	56	261
Life-stage 3	100	154
Life-stage 4	79	247
Visiting homes of Russian speakers		
Life-stage 1	57	32
Life-stage 2	58	114
Life-stage 3	61	124
Life-stage 4	35	181
Communicating with Russian-speaking neighbors		
Life-stage 1	26	48
Life-stage 2	35	162
Life-stage 3	65	269
Life-stage 4	102	272

Table 22: ANOVA for frequency of Russian contacts

	df	Free time with Russian speakers		Religious gatherings in Russian		Visits from Russian speakers	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	13.221	.001*	.009	.923	15.365	.000*
Life-stage	3	.524	.667	2.425	.078	4.017	.011*
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	1.166	.329	1.837	.148	7.098	.000*
Error	70						
	df	Visiting Russian speakers		Comm. with Russian neighbors			
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.		
Ethnic group	1	8.290	.005*	26.244	.000*		
Life-stage	3	1.678	.180	7.201	.000*		
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	2.726	.051	2.396	.075		
Error	70						

These results strengthened the observation made with respect to the results in Table 19 that indicated that on average, the SA participants were less involved in German-speaking networks. As this data shows, instead, the SA migrants were likely to be involved in frequent communication with members of their own ethnic group: in all questions except the one related to religious gatherings in Russian, ANOVA showed a strong main effect of ethnic group indicating that the frequency of Russian-speaking contacts in the SA sample was significantly higher than in the KF group. Additionally, a main effect of life-stage was attested with respect to receiving visits from Russian speakers (where a multiple comparison post-hoc test showed that SA life-stage 1 participants were significantly less likely to be engaged in such contacts than the SA life-stage 2 and 4 participants), and with respect to communicating with Russian-speaking neighbors (where both life-stage 1 and 2 within the SA sample differed significantly from the SA adults). This distribution of results within the SA sample, once again, illustrated that the youngest participants were likely to display a network pattern different from the adult participants, demonstrating a higher involvement in local, and lesser involvement in migrant networks.

With respect to the data presented in Table 19 and Table 21, it is necessary to note that the results were especially striking with respect to the question of communication with local German and Russian-speaking neighbors, where SA and KF groups displayed clearly distinct patterns. Also in the interviews, the topic of communication with neighbors turned out to be a sensitive issue for both groups. Even more than the statistical data discussed above, the comments given by the participants on their neighborhoods and relationship with their neighbors presented a clear picture of the difference in the network composition and life styles of the SA and KF respondents and ultimately, of its impact on the linguistic orientation of migrants. As such, this issue, along with other commentary that was illustrative of participants' view of their networks, is discussed in Section 6.3.1 and Section 6.3.2 below, first with respect to the SA and then to the KF community.

6.3.1. Network discourse: SA

The SA comments regarding close-knit family connections discussed earlier and the role of these connections in selecting neighborhoods indicated that unlike among KF

migrants, it appeared to be strongly desirable among the SA respondents to settle close to relatives. Moreover, the comments indicated that in many cases, SA migrants were not only likely to live closer to their relatives, but also generally in areas with a very high density of Russian speakers overall. The following comments can illustrate this trend:

Excerpt 60

SA F 60

- 1 I: *How often do you speak with your neighbors in German?*
2 P037: *Never! There are no German neighbors here.*

Excerpt 61

SA M 60

- 1 I: *When you speak with your neighbors, is it more in German or in Russian?*
2 P048: *It's all in Russian. So, they live under us, they live here [points to the side], they live*
3 *here [points to the other side], they live here [points up] and over there. All our*
4 *people live here. So, when you go onto your balcony in the evening, you sit down*
5 *and start to listen: "Ahh... [mimics Russian swear words]..". And so it goes. All the*
6 *TVs work in Russian. And all of them smoke until midnight, they argue and you sit*
7 *there, listen and think oi oi oi, how do people live their lives! It's just like that.*

Similar to the participant in Excerpt 61 many SA respondents also reported only using Russian when communicating with their neighbors. It was interesting to note that the participant in Excerpt 61 specifically referred to the fact that "*all the TVs work in Russian*". Throughout the interviews it turned out that having TV in Russian was one of the important issues for SA migrants that sometimes even helped other migrants to visually identify the location of their compatriots,²³ for example:

Excerpt 62

SA M 50

- 1 P099: *Right after we came there was not as much communication in Russian, it's just*
2 *people didn't know yet that we were Russian, so we were speaking German here*
3 *and German there. And then one by one it all added on, you get to know [people]*
4 *here, and here, and here, and here. And you can also see by the balcony, where*
5 *there is a dish, a satellite, and four of these [things] on it, those [people] are*
6 *Russians.*

In this example, the participant referred to the satellite TV dish as a direct way to identify which of the families in his apartment building were Russian speakers. While a lot of

²³ See Chapter 7 for more discussion on the role of the TV programming in German and Russian.

migrant families in Germany install similar satellite dishes to receive programming from different countries, the ones with four attachments, as this participant referred to it, always clearly indicated that the television inside has been set up to receive programming in Russian. With most migrants occupying larger apartment buildings where the only place to set up an antenna is the balcony, the satellite dish often became one of the potential visual identifiers of the occupants' ethnic affiliation.

In some cases, SA participants did report contact with the German-speaking residents in their neighborhoods. However, these contacts were almost always portrayed as very limited and restricted to short occasional greetings and situations where a certain disagreement or a conflict needed to be resolved, as for example, in the following excerpts:

Excerpt 63

SA F 70

- 1 I: *Do you communicate with Germans a lot?*
2 P135: *No, no. We don't even bump into each other. Well, rarely you meet someone, and*
3 *you can say something like "Good Morning" or something like that. Well, where*
4 *our kids live, their German neighbors would sometimes come out of the house and*
5 *we would greet them. [It's] all, anything else – no.*

Excerpt 64

SA M 22

- 1 P015: *The only time I speak with German neighbors is when I turn up my music too loud.*
2 *Then they come out and yell "Please [make] the music quieter" or something like*
3 *that.*

Furthermore, a lot of SA comments indicated that the high concentration of SA families was not only limited to one particular apartment building, but was more widespread, as participants referred to certain parts of town that have especially high concentrations of SA migrants as "Russian" districts:

Excerpt 65

SA M 64

Talking about the current neighborhood with a lot of SA migrants and comparing it to his previous one where the density of the SA migrants was even higher:

- 1 P115: *Where I lived before, it was called "Cheremushki" [Well-known name of one of the*
2 *districts in Moscow], there were 6 big houses and they were 98 percent Russian.*

Excerpt 66

SA M 35

- 1 I: How often do you happen to be in situations where you have to speak German?
2 P087: Never! This whole part of town is Russian. Practically all Russian. Look at our
3 house – practically everyone is Russian. And at my brother's as well – one, two,
4 three, four – everyone is Russian. At grandma's also, in every house entrance [there
5 are] three or four families of Russians. Very many.

In addition, one should note that the high concentration of Russian-speaking migrants in one place was seen by the SA respondents in a positive light, as many recalled being "*pleasantly surprised*" to find a neighborhood with a lot of co-ethnics.

Considering the high density of the Russian population in some parts of the town, it was also not surprising to hear some participants comment that even outside the immediate family and the direct neighbors, their environment seemed to be predominantly limited to contacts with other migrants. Commenting on services provided in the community, many SA respondents stressed that they could satisfy almost all their needs without leaving the neighborhood – from doctors' appointments to such services as manicures, hair stylists, etc., which seemed to be provided privately by other Russian-speaking migrants. One of the town parts printed its own newsletter in Russian. Some participants even referred to their local branch of the Germany-wide chain of grocery stores Lidl as "*our dear own Lidl*", stressing that not only the majority of the customers were Russian-speaking, but also the staff working at the store. In fact, many of SA participants stressed that the rare occasions when they did have to communicate in German usually involved taking care of some formalities that required them either to go downtown and talk to the officials in person or to call and try to resolve an issue over the phone.

In addition to the lack of contacts with local Germans within the neighborhoods, the SA migrants further reported not having a lot of contact with other migrant groups that often co-occupied the same buildings and thus could have been a potential domain for communication in German. While some of the SA participants indicated that the communication between them and other migrant populations (such as Turkish, Albanian or Polish immigrants) was definitely easier than with local Germans – because, as one of the participants put it, "*they are like us*", referring to their coming migrant experience –

there also seemed to be no significant contact between the SA group and other migrants in Germany, as one can see for example from the following comment:

Excerpt 67

SA F 70

- 1 I: Do you feel at home in Germany or does it still feel like a foreign country for you?
2 P135: Now I feel at home. At home. And won't probably move anywhere else anymore. I
3 already know that we will never go back... **But**... Now I am at home, yes. There are
4 so many of our [people] here, the Russians, lots. So, you meet with them. With
5 Germans, we have very, very little in common. I think they don't live in this part of
6 town, in [name of the district]. Here there are these... well, all nationalities. But of
7 course you get together with your own [people]. It's like when I am talking to you, I
8 keep thinking, it is something so familiar, so much like home. [laughs] Like that.
9 Just like we are used to.
10 I: So, it is easier to communicate, to find things to talk about?
11 P135: Yes, although everyone is from a different place, but we all find something in
12 common. All the holidays are the same, celebrations. Like that.
13 I: So, do you often communicate with your neighbors or friends?
14 P135: Oh, that we do every day – we go for walks. Here, usually up to 5 or 6 grandmas
15 get together. There were benches outside, when it was warm, there were three
16 benches. So, there would be 4 or 5 people on each of them They were usually full.
17 I: [laughs]
18 P135: Yes, that's how our [people] get together. Then I see, the Polish ones are sitting on
19 a different bench. And the Turks sit somewhere else. Like that. Well, **yes**. It's like we
20 all live together, but everyone likes to stay in contact with their own [people].

Although it seemed that in this excerpt the participant was talking primarily about her own age group, mentioning that all the "grandmas" in the neighborhood got together, she (as well as other participants) also reported that the same trend could be noticed in the younger generations as well. Later in the conversation, she expressed surprise that even after some of her grandchildren had spent 17 years in Germany after migrating at a very young age, they were mainly involved in Russian-speaking migrant networks rather than networks consisting of the local German population or other migrant groups. The accounts given by the younger SA respondents themselves, who were expected to be more involved in local German networks, often reported having no interest in joining such networks, as they either recalled being labeled as "re-settlers" in school and thus were not accepted by the German majority, or cited differences in mentality between local Germans and the members of the SA migration as one of the major factors preventing the establishment of contacts with the local population. Consideration of this attitude might help to explain the results in Table 19, which indicated a slightly lower

engagement of the youngest SA participants with local Germans than among their KF peers.

Also the middle-aged generation of SA migrants, who might have been expected to be involved in networks outside the immediate family or neighborhood through work, often mentioned that their lack of local German contacts extended to the workplace. For example, the following responses were given by middle-aged SA participants as answers to the question of whether they used a lot of German in their work environment:

Excerpt 68

SA M 55

1 P099: *Where I work, there are 5 Russians, and the rest of the team is really hostile to all*
2 *of them. So, they always try to stick together. Nobody would come up and talk to*
3 *you.*

Excerpt 69

SA F 47

1 P128: *It's too bad we don't know German! Because to know it you have to really study.*
2 *You have to finish a university and have to practice it, and just to live here it's not*
3 *enough, just a **language course**, what is it – 6 months? When the **language course***
4 *is over, it turns out that you don't need your German for a long time. And even*
5 *when you go and work, you don't need the language there. Because you just sit*
6 *there all day and stare at your work, and there is no talking. And there is nothing to*
7 *talk about with Germans.*

As these comments indicated, in many cases contact with local Germans in the workplace did not happen even if there were local Germans working in the same environment. Either hostility toward migrants (Excerpt 68) or differences in interests and mentality (Excerpt 69) was mainly blamed as the reason for the lack of contact. In such environments, the SA migrants reported to either "*stick together*" or "*just sit there*" and "*stare at [their] work*" thus limiting communication with the other co-workers. In many cases the possibility of contacts was reported to be missing in the workplace entirely, as SA participants either worked in predominantly Russian-speaking environments, or did not have an opportunity to communicate during their workday. This could be explained by two factors. On the one hand, many of the SA migrants from the middle-age groups were occupying blue-collar positions that only required low-skilled manual labor (due to the fact that the job search was complicated by a mismatch between the professional requirements in Germany and professional training in the home country, as well as by

their low level of German proficiency). In many cases, these occupations were mainly filled with other migrants rather than the local German population. On the other hand, the high dependence on family networks as a social support system also led to a situation where the work was often found by the respondents through referrals from other relatives. Due to this several family members often worked at the same place. In this way, the tight-knit family networks of the SA migrants could be further extended beyond the private sphere, often also encompassing the work environment.

In the framework of social network models discussed at the beginning of this chapter, this extension of co-ethnic family networks into the professional sphere in the SA community would be connected to a less frequent use of the majority language and a slower shift to L2 in migration. It was not surprising, therefore, that many of the SA participants stressed repeatedly throughout the conversations that for them, the use of German with local Germans was limited only to occasional situations which were mainly restricted to formal environments, such as social institutions or formal educational or professional contacts. For example, in the following excerpt, the participant directly linked spending the majority of time among other SA migrants with his lack of German proficiency:

Excerpt 70

SA M 55

1 P099: *Of course there is no way of learning German here – there is no communication. If*
2 *there were communication, it would have been possible. For example, I was in the*
3 *hospital for 5 days – me, and a Polish guy, and a Turkish guy. So, we were*
4 *speaking as we could in broken German, but we still understood each other. So, you*
5 *need something like that for half a year.*

In some cases, this lack of communication seemed to prompt SA respondents to stop their pursuits of learning German after reaching a level of German proficiency enough to satisfy their daily needs of navigating the German society. This tendency was reported even among some older participants proficient in Russian-German dialects, as they felt that, although their speech deviated from both the local German dialects and Standard German (thus somewhat complicating communication), their own dialect would be enough for survival in the new migrant context:

Excerpt 71

SA F 70

- 1 P135: *When you get here, they get you all together and tell you that whatever you spoke*
2 *back there, the mother tongue, they would understand it. So, we stopped worrying,*
3 *but, well, there weren't a lot of chances to speak it anyway. Only very simple things,*
4 *like when the letters came we had to go and pick them up [at the office of the*
5 *transitional residence hall], but that was something we could do.*

Overall, the analysis of the network within the SA community indicated clearly that the SA group could be characterized by a close-knit network structure dominated by co-ethnics in many spheres. This network composition came into being from the interplay of a number of factors. The fact that the migration was primarily seen as a way to reunite with close and distant relatives created a situation where family acted as the primary support network, reinforced by the proximity of other family members and by dependence on their help, at least during the time immediately following the migration experience. This led to a situation in which SA migrants lived to a large degree unconnected to the German-speaking majority. This separation, in turn, caused a relative withdrawal of the SA community from the domains where German was used as the language of communication with the other migrant groups or with the local population. While this situation was primarily typical for older respondents, it also proved to be true to some extent for younger participants, who (even after a longer period of time spent in Germany) reported preferring to make friends within the SA community and lacking friendship with local Germans beyond formal contact in school or the workplace. Overall, the withdrawal from network structures where German would be used as an out-group language with local German speakers could be summarized by the following comment given by a 35-year old SA participant:

Excerpt 72

SA F 35

- 1 I: *How often do you find yourself in situations where you have to speak German?*
2 P108: *Oh... that's a difficult question. We don't do anything like that.*
3 I: *Maybe once a month?*
4 P108: *Oh, no, not even. Probably once a year or something like that.*

6.3.2. Network discourse: KF

At the same time, the KF discourse about network and orientation towards Russian-speaking and German-speaking contacts presented a strikingly different picture. The significantly smaller household sizes and lack of family relations in Germany seemed to be one of the determining factors for a different orientation in the participants' networks and ultimately, for providing KF migrants with opportunities to use German in communication with the local German population. This section analyzes comments given by the KF participants on their network orientation and discusses in detail what can be concluded about the network of the KF migration beyond the statistical data presented earlier in Table 16 and Table 19.

First of all, the small family size, which could be seen as the core factor in causing differences in the networks, was also acknowledged by the KF participants themselves. Additionally, many expressed their awareness of the difference between the KF and the SA migration, sometimes even referring to the large SA families as "clans". For example, one of the KF participants presented the following picture of the connection between the KF and the SA groups:

Excerpt 73

KF M 51

Earlier, the participant told me that there were two major groups within the Russian-speaking migration – the SA and the KF migrants.

1 I: *Are there many contacts between the groups?*

2 P079: *Russian Germans, when they come, they have very many family members, just like*
3 *clans. They all stick together, they have their own gatherings, meetings, and their*
4 *own values. Jewish migrants are on the side of all that, of course some*
5 *communication happens depending on their interests, but they are on the side of all*
6 *that.*

This description of SA family networks was fully supported by the accounts of the SA migrants discussed in the previous section as well as by the observations made by me in SA community. At the same time, this participant mentioned that the KF migration was "on the side of it all", stressing a relative lack of contacts between the groups and the general lack of involvement of the KF migrants into the SA networks. Another participant laid out this difference in the family network structure between the two groups in the following way:

Excerpt 74

KF M 47

- 1 I: *Are there different groups here among the Russian migration?*
2 P060: *Well, yes. But it is explainable. You can compare [them], there are two big groups*
3 *here. ... Actually they are incomparable – the Russian Germans, there are about 3*
4 *million of them here, and the Jews – only 200.000 people. But you can compare*
5 *them, these two groups. The Russian Germans – they come with a couple of families*
6 *at the same time. And they live together, they visit each other all the time, they build*
7 *houses together, they exist in their own world, it's easier for them to withstand the*
8 *stress, of course there are difficulties as well, but they bear it better – all the stress*
9 *of an immigrant life. There is nothing like that in Jewish families, the ones who*
10 *came through the Jewish line. Many just exist on their own, they lead their life on*
11 *their own. I even notice it with myself. I think, it's because of stress and depression.*
12 *There is no big communication circle.*

In this example, my question was prompted by the previous conversation, in which the participant indicated that, in his view, there were different groups within the larger Russian-speaking community in Germany, which for him coincided with the two migrant streams. When comparing the two he presented the family size and involvement in family networks as a factor able to account for the different life-styles of the KF and SA migrants in Germany. At the same time, this participant directly contrasted the SA families and communication within them with the lack of similar connections in the KF networks, saying that many of the KF migrants "*existed on their own*" and "*led their life on their own*" (lines 10-11). As shown earlier, this statement fully supported the statistical data on KF family sizes in Germany presented in Table 14.

In other aspects of the network constellation, the KF participants also differed drastically from the responses of the SA group. For example, as shown in Table 21, communication with Russian neighbors seemed to be significantly less frequent in the KF group than in the SA group, and the comments given by the respondents fully supported this data. In part, this could be explained by the higher tendency of the KF migrants to prefer downtown areas with a lot of local German residents due to their pre-migration urban background. But, in addition, many KF respondents expressed a special sense of pride specifically with respect to living among the local German population, seemingly taking it as a symbol of their own higher "incorporation" into local neighborhoods. One participant's family even reported deliberately moving into an upscale area of town that was known to be inhabited exclusively by the local German population. To some degree,

this move appeared to be an expression of a (projected) upward social mobility in this particular family (see Excerpt 77, in which another KF community member comments on this move). Otherwise, it was not unusual to hear the answer "*There are no Russian neighbors in our house*" to the question of whether participants maintained contact with their Russian-speaking co-residents. Even more, some respondents specifically stressed that they were deliberately looking for contacts with their local German neighbors, as for example in the excerpt below:

Excerpt 75

KF F 70

Talking about how important it is for her to be open for communication with the local Germans:

- 1 *P129: It's very important. I am even communicating with the neighbors here. I am*
- 2 *communicating with them just fine. We have common problems, like ones related to*
- 3 *the knee... So I can call to him from my balcony "**Mister Schmidt, this is so good,***
- 4 *you are walking without a cane now!" That's me telling him. Like that.*

Furthermore, the fact that KF respondents lived in areas with an overall low density of the Russian population was sometimes reported with a certain degree of pride and was considered by respondents themselves as a striking difference between them and the SA group:

Excerpt 76

KF M 51

- 1 *I: Do you communicate with Russian neighbors often?*
- 2 *P104: No, I don't have any.*
- 3 *I: So, never? Really? I've been to a Russian German family in [part of the town]*
- 4 *recently, they were saying: "We don't have German neighbors".*
- 5 *P104: They have Russians in all the houses. It's a Russian village out there.*

The settlement pattern of SA migrants who mainly clustered on the outskirts of the city in "*Russian villages*" (as they were referred to by the KF participant in the excerpt above) was also contrasted directly with the tendency of the KF migrants to settle closer to the town's center. For example, the same participant who talked about the difference between the KF and SA migration in Excerpt 74 continued his account of the differences between the groups in the following way:

Excerpt 77

KF M 51

1 I: Are the different parts of town where there are a lot of Russian-speaking migrants?
2 P079: Well, it depends on the possibilities, but generally there is [name of a district on the
3 outskirts of town], where there are Russian Germans, yes, mainly Germans. Jewish
4 migrants are in the [name of a downtown district], around the synagogue, the
5 house around the synagogue especially. Especially the older Jews. And there are
6 also a lot of Russian Germans in [name of a district on the outskirts of the town]. It
7 is a practically Russian part of town. There are some parts where no one lives –
8 [downtown district]. One of my friends moved there, but she is all fancy: a school
9 teacher and she is from Moscow. So, if someone really wants to live only with
10 Germans, it is possible

This statement was fully supported by my own observations during the data collection process, as almost exclusively, all of the SA respondents lived in the two parts of town named in the excerpt above where the density of the Russian-speaking population indeed seemed to be high. At the same time, the KF study participants tended to live closer to downtown in more diverse neighborhoods that seemed to be populated by the non-Russian-speaking migrant and the local populations alike. In addition, "*not having too many Russian neighbors*" was even named by KF participants as one of the factors in selecting a neighborhood, as for example in the case of the KF family that moved into a German-only part of town as mentioned in the excerpt above. In addition, preferring an urban setting closer to downtown could be also potentially explained by the fact that all of the KF migrants came from urban environments in their home countries and therefore seemed to see the post-migrant settlement pattern as a continuation of a pre-migrant urban-rural divide between the KF and the SA migration discussed in Chapter 4 (e.g., see Excerpt 76 above, where the participant directly referred to the part of town with the high density of SA migrants as a "*village*").

Excerpt 75 above, in which the speaker addressed the importance of communicating with her local German neighbors, outlined yet another aspect of the network orientation that turned out to be strikingly different between the SA and the KF groups. Although according to the data in Table 16, the majority of the close network contacts consisted predominantly of co-ethnics in both groups, the number of local German contacts was higher for the KF participants. The comments given by the respondents further indicated that this trend extended itself into the secondary networks, as KF participants not only reported having more ties to German speakers and German-speaking environments beyond their immediate network connections, but also reported

actively seeking such contacts within their new environment. Especially a number of the youngest KF respondents reported with pride that they "*don't have any Russian friends*". One of the respondents from the school-age group was even considering the need to communicate with his local German friends in German as an important factor in selecting a partner:

Excerpt 78

KF M 17

- 1 P033: *I don't think I would have a wife that I would speak Russian to.*
- 2 I: *Why is that?*
- 3 P033: *Because if we go to visit friends and need to speak German there, it would be more*
- 4 *complicated to switch between [the languages].*

The active search for German contacts was not only limited to younger KF migrants who were more likely to be involved in various structures and institutions of the German society due to their daily engagement in German-speaking schools. Also respondents from other life-stages in the KF sample reported deliberate attempts to connect with German speakers. For example, in the next excerpt, a life-stage 4 KF participant told about his attempts to increase his opportunities to speak German during his visits to the synagogue:

Excerpt 79

KF M 71

- 1 I: *How often do you speak German?*
- 2 P064: *Well, I go to the Synagogue every week, and there is this lady, she is German, so I*
- 3 *always try to sit next to her at the table afterwards.*

Similar trend was entirely missing from the life-stage 4 participants in the SA sample who reported staying strictly within a small group of co-ethnics even when attending services at a local German-speaking church.

Furthermore, some of the KF participants' comments provided an additional confirmation of the data in Table 16, further indicating that the KF participants indeed were more likely to be involved in personal and friendship contacts with the local German population, visiting them in their homes, as well as inviting them to come over, as for example, in the following comment:

Excerpt 80

KF F 50

- 1 I: *Was it hard to find a circle for communication here?*
2 P038: *Well, no. It's through my interest in music. I got to know one person first, and her*
3 *circle became my circle, and through them another circle, and another circle. So*
4 *now I know a lot of Germans. They were inviting me to come and visit, and so I had*
5 *German friends before I found Russian friends.*

For this participant, the connections to German speakers even occurred before she ever established similar ties to other Russian speakers in Germany, as she reported finding a lot of friends through her special interest in music allowing her to gradually get involved in more and more connections within the local German population. Similar comments also came from a number of other KF participants who recalled finding German friends through personal interests or sport activities. The higher likelihood of personal ties between the KF participants and the local German population was further supported by the additional quantitative data, as it showed a significant difference in SA and KF respondents' reaction to the statement "I have friends among local Germans". The means and standard deviations of the answers to this question are presented in Table 23:

Table 23: Agreement with the statement "I have friends among local Germans" (scale 0=strongly disagree to 4 =strongly agree)

	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	3.40 (1.08)	2.90 (1.29)
Life-stage 2	2.30 (1.25)	1.50 (1.58)
Life-stage 3	3.00 (1.16)	1.70 (1.64)
Life-stage 4	1.90 (1.66)	1.62 (1.60)

Although the average agreement with this statement among KF respondents as a group was rather weak (between "neutral" and "somewhat agree"), the data still showed consistently higher agreements in the KF group. A two-way ANOVA testing for effects of ethnic group membership and life-stage factors showed the following results:

Table 24: Two-way ANOVA for "I have friends among local Germans"

	df	I have friends among local Germans	
		F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	4.982	.029*
Life-stage	3	3.785	.014*
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	.470	.704
Error	70		

Predictably, the ANOVA showed a strong main effect of life-stage indicating that the agreement with this statement among the youngest participants as shown in Table 23 was indeed significantly higher than among the older participants in the sample. At the same time, the ANOVA also showed a main effect of ethnic group membership, indicating that the higher agreements with this statement among the KF participants differed significantly from the SA responses. Furthermore, an additional look at the commentary provided by the KF respondents, who claimed to have no friends or contacts in the local German population, indicated that the lack of such contacts was usually seen by the KF migrants in a negative light. The following comment can provide an illustration of this attitude:

Excerpt 81

KF F 23

- 1 *P011: I don't have any Germans! [Imitates a crying sound] It's our misfortune that there*
 2 *are no Germans in our communication circle.*

Furthermore, unlike the SA participants, who often referred to a lack common interests with the local German population (as, for example in Excerpt 69, in which an SA respondent recalled that there was " *nothing to talk about*" with her German co-workers), the KF participants often stressed that they would, in fact, be very interested in having such communication opportunities. For example, in the following excerpt, a 73-year old KF participant elaborated on her statement that she felt more comfortable in a Russian-speaking company:

Excerpt 82

KF F 70

- 1 *I: Why do you feel better in Russian company? Is it just the language?*
 2 *P129: Yes, the language. It would be so interesting to get to know Germans, to listen to*
 3 *them, but it's the language.*

By attributing the difficulty in communication with the local German population specifically to the low level of her German proficiency, this participant stressed that otherwise, would be very interested in establishing some contacts. This interest was characteristic for many KF respondents, who, acknowledging the difficulties in communication due to low level of language proficiency, still stressed that such factors as difference in mentalities, value systems and interests would not be a problem in communication with local Germans for them, which directly contrasted accounts of many SA respondents. Many KF participants expressed interest and ease of finding a common language with German speakers, as for example in the following account:

Excerpt 83

KF F 31

Speaking about differences between the Russian and German mentalities

1 P030: *The German mentality... Unfortunately, I don't know what it is. We often talk with*
2 *my friend's husband, he is German – by the way, it is very good for the language.*
3 *And we only speak German, he is a great guy, and I feel like he has a Russian*
4 *mentality. And we went to his parents' house, and although his dad went to war*
5 *against Russia, he is a wonderful person too. He was playing on the floor with my*
6 *baby and was showing him some kind of a crazy rooster, and they were cutting*
7 *something out of paper, and he was speaking to him in German. And he was asking*
8 *him "How are you?" and [baby's name] was answering "Good". It was very good. I*
9 *can't say that he has a German mentality. A normal person, playing with his*
10 *grandsons, he was a simple worker before, a great guy. And this husband of my*
11 *friend, he is also a great guy, very hospitable. A German, a real German. That's*
12 *why what I've heard about the German mentality does not match with what I am*
13 *seeing.*

The position of this participant that stressed absence of cultural or other barriers for communication with local Germans was also shared by a number of other respondents, including the ones for whom the contacts with the local German population seemed to happen on a less personal level. Many of the KF respondents who were not involved in close friendship relationships with local German speakers still recalled multiple occasions where, having found some communicative opportunities, KF participants viewed them as very pleasant, noting a feeling that their German communication partners showed a friendly and interested attitude towards such encounters, for example:

Excerpt 84

KF F 59

1 P023: *I have many examples of communicating with Germans on the bus. People talk to*
2 *me very often, it's just something. When I was in America, I was tortured there*
3 *constantly, and here it's the same. Somehow they pick me out of the crowd and I*
4 *answer whenever I can. If I know what they are asking about, this is a way to start*
5 *a conversation all the time. Like when I go by bus to [name of the town] this*
6 *happened twice already! Some German **lady** next to me would start talking about*
7 *something, and I would say something back. Then she understands what kind of*
8 ***High German** I speak and starts asking me all kinds of questions about this and*
9 *that. This is very good, it's always very nice contact. I've never had negative contact*
10 *here.*

Also in many other reports KF respondents felt that the local Germans were "friendly" and "nice" towards them during such contacts. Only one KF participant reported having had a specific negative experience, having been called a "foreigner" by a local German man at the store. However, she reported having been "rescued" by the rest of the store customers (also local Germans, according to her report), who came to her defense.

Overall, the KF comments on their network orientation and their accounts of regular or occasional contacts with the local population illustrated that the perception of local Germans in the eyes of the KF respondents was likely to be positive and in this way differed drastically from the accounts in the commentary given by the SA participants. Ultimately, this difference was reflected in the higher number of local German contacts within the participants' primary networks, and the higher likelihood that the KF participants would have Germans in their secondary networks as well. This proved to be noticeably different from the SA accounts on their involvement in local networks discussed in Section 6.3.1.

Considering the outcomes of previous studies on language and social network structure quoted at the beginning of this chapter, this different orientation of participants' networks can be expected to directly affect the linguistic practices of SA and KF migrants in different ways, and possibly also their respective attitudes towards languages. The next section discusses the interplay between the network structures described in this chapter and the reports of the language use in the both communities and looks how these results can be related to existing models of language and social networks in migration.

6.4. Interplay between network structure and language

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the classical model of the interdependence between language and social network structure in migrant situations assumes that a higher involvement in a strong network of co-ethnics acts as a counter factor to the strong pressure to shift to the language of the local majority. At the same time, the looseness and a smaller size of co-ethnic networks can be expected to accelerate this shift (e.g. Hulsen et al. 2002; Stoessel 2002; Wei 1994; Zentella 1997).

With respect to the results of the network analysis presented above, it would be easy to conclude that the higher involvement in family networks and the high reliance on other Russian speakers would inevitably cause the SA community to display a higher tendency to maintain Russian. At the same time, within this model, the KF community would be expected to show more signs of shift to German. However, the analysis of reported language use in the two communities showed that a straightforward application of this model was rather problematic, as the data on language use indicated a more complicated relationship between networks and language in the two groups. As the analysis indicated, besides being influenced by the participants' networks, this relationship was also closely tied to different ideologies about language in the two groups, especially with respect to assigning the status of the in-group and out-group language to Russian and German. This section provides a detailed look at the reported language use within the networks and presents an adjusted model for explaining how the language use appeared to be affected both by participants' networks and language ideologies prevalent within those networks.

When providing information on the number of family members otherwise residing in Germany, the participants were further asked to specify what languages they usually spoke when communicating with each of the named family members. The responses were coded as (0) Russian only, (1) mostly Russian, (2) half Russian, half German, (3) mostly German and (4) German only. Thus, the scale from 0 to 4 correlates with the increasing amount of German in the interaction. The average score was then calculated for the language use in family communication for each of the life-stages. The mean scores for each group are presented in Table 25 below, accompanied by standard deviation (in

parentheses).²⁴ Table 26 shows the results of the two-way ANOVA testing for main and interaction effects of the ethnic group membership and life-stage:

Table 25: Reported in-family language use (scale 0=Russian only to 4=German only)

	KF	SA
Life-stage 1 speakers	.72 (1.12)	1.47 (.47)
Life-stage 2 speakers	.03 (.08)	.96 (.70)
Life-stage 3 speakers	.00 (.00)	.98 (.67)
Life-stage 4 speakers	.00 (.00)	1.76 (.88)

Table 26: Two-way ANOVA for reported in-family language use

	df	In-family language use	
		F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	44.691	.000*
Life-stage	3	3.823	.014*
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	1.432	.242
Error	70		

The lower scores overall demonstrate once again a dominant position of Russian in the family domain among the participants of both groups. However, Table 25 illustrates that there were clear differences in reported scores among respondents of different subgroups. The ANOVA showed a strong main effect of life-stage, which indicated that in the sample overall, the difference between participants of various life-stages was significant. A post-hoc multiple comparison test of whole sample showed that overall, life-stages 1 and 4 reported using significantly more German in their family communication than the rest of the participants. However, a further multiple comparison test within the two groups indicated that no significant difference between life-stages could be attested within the KF group specifically. In the SA community, the difference between life-stages 1 and 4 versus life-stages 2 and 3 was approaching statistical significance (significance factors .081 and .091). With respect to life-stage 4, the higher use of German in the family could be explained by the higher likelihood of German being the native language of the older SA participants as discussed with respect to the data in Table 12. With respect to life-stage 1 SA participants, the higher use of German could be

²⁴ Here, the responses represent the language use with respect family as a whole. For detailed account of the language use with family members of different life-stages, see Chapter 8.

attributed to the higher involvement in the local networks than for older SA participants as illustrated earlier in this chapter - a pattern, which would support the traditional models of language and social networks discussed earlier in this chapter.

However, at the same time, the ANOVA showed an even stronger main effect of ethnic group membership indicating that the SA group was more likely to use German in their families than the KF group. In contrast, the rejection of German as family language became especially apparent in KF participants of life-stages 2, 3 and 4, who displayed an almost categorical preference for Russian in the family domain (this point will become especially important with respect to the discussion in Chapter 8). Overall, these results indicated that German was gaining the position of an accepted family language within the SA community, while at the same time, being strictly denied this position in the KF group. However, this pattern appeared to directly contradict the prediction that a higher involvement in co-ethnic networks would slow down the acceptance of and a shift to L2 in a migrant setting, a prediction which would be made by the existent model of interdependence between language use and social network structure. In particular, the existent framework would not be able to account for the higher scores observed in the SA community, which indicated a higher use of German *within* their co-ethnic networks and thus an acceptance of German as their in-group language. At the same time, the KF groups, which showed a higher involvement in local German-speaking networks, seemed to reject German as the in-group language, at least, according to the data in Table 25, with respect to its use within the family.

Further confirmation of this somewhat unexpected pattern was found in the analysis of the language use within primary networks described in Section 6.3. Due to the fact that the persons listed in the primary network represented the most important contacts in the participants' post-migrant life, they could be seen as one of the most important communicative domains for the respondents. In addition to the information on the ethnic affiliation of the primary contacts presented in Table 16 the participants were further asked to identify languages usually used in communication with each of the listed contacts, again, choosing from the options of "Russian only" (coded as 0 in the subsequent analysis), "mostly Russian" (coded as 1), "both Russian and German" (3) and German only (4). The means of the reports on language use within the networks and

standard deviations are presented in Table 27 below. Table 28 shows the results of the two-way ANOVA testing for main and interaction effects of the ethnic group membership and the life-stage:

Table 27: Language use within primary networks (scale 0=Russian only to 4=German only)

	KF	SA
Life-stage 1 speakers	3.06 (1.31)	2.76 (.74)
Life-stage 2 speakers	.70 (.50)	.98 (.58)
Life-stage 3 speakers	1.14 (.82)	.92 (.60)
Life-stage 4 speakers	.72 (.88)	1.73 (1.01)

Table 28: Two-way ANOVA for language use within primary networks

	df	Language use within primary networks	
		F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	1.013	.318
Life-stage	3	25.817	.000*
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	2.391	.076
Error	70		

First of all, a strong main effect of life-stage was demonstrated by the results of the two-way ANOVA. A post-hoc multiple comparison test showed that this effect was caused by the significant difference between life-stage 1 and the rest of the sample within both groups, once again, demonstrating a more advanced shift to German among the youngest participants. At the same time, no significant effect of the ethnic group could be observed with respect to the amounts of German used within the primary networks of KF and SA participants, which was surprising considering the differences in the network composition between the two groups discussed earlier in this chapter.

However, a further analysis of the answers to these questions indicated that while there was no significant difference between the two groups in the *amount* of German reportedly used with the primary contacts, there were significant differences in the *way* and *with whom* German and Russian were used. As mentioned above, when answering questions about their primary networks, the participants were asked to specify what language(s) they usually speak with each of their contacts by choosing one of the given options. While Table 27 illustrated how much German was used on average, the data in

Table 29 provides information on how many out of 5 possible contacts in participants' networks fell into any of the communication patterns as reported by the participants:

Table 29: Type of language use within primary networks (out of 5 possible contacts)

	KF	SA
Number of contacts with whom "Russian only" is spoken		
Life-stage 1	.60	.10
Life-stage 2	3.90	2.30
Life-stage 3	3.20	1.90
Life-stage 4	4.10	.75
Number of contacts with whom "Mostly Russian" is spoken		
Life-stage 1	.50	1.20
Life-stage 2	.20	1.90
Life-stage 3	.30	2.60
Life-stage 4	.00	1.50
Number of contacts with whom "Both Russian and German" is spoken		
Life-stage 1	.30	1.10
Life-stage 2	.10	.20
Life-stage 3	.30	.00
Life-stage 4	.00	1.50
Number of contacts with whom "Mostly German" is spoken		
Life-stage 1	.20	.00
Life-stage 2	.10	.10
Life-stage 3	.00	.00
Life-stage 4	.00	1.00
Number of contacts with whom "German only" is spoken		
Life-stage 1	3.4	2.6
Life-stage 2	.70	.50
Life-stage 3	1.20	.50
Life-stage 4	.90	.25

Table 30: Two-way ANOVA for type of language use within primary networks

	df	"Russian only" contacts		"Mostly Russian" contacts		"Both Russian and German" contacts	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	31.897	.000*	26.072	.000*	6.496	.013*
Life-stage	3	16.783	.000*	1.040	.380	2.598	.059
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	3.866	.013*	1.221	.308	3.603	.018*
Error	70						

	df	"Mostly German" contacts		"German only" contacts	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	2.538	.116	5.585	.021*
Life-stage	3	2.953	.038*	22.513	.000*
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	4.399	.007*	.294	.830
Error	70				

This data pointed to some interesting trends in the ways Russian and German were used in both communities. On the one hand, the main life-stage effect was attested with respect to some of the categories. In the case of the contacts with whom "Russian only" and "German only" was spoken, it was the life-stage 1 that differed significantly from the adult participants in both samples according to the results of the post-hoc multiple comparison test. This finding once again clearly illustrated a significantly higher involvement of the youngest life-stage in the local networks and at the same time, a lesser involvement in the migrant networks, as demonstrated throughout this chapter. With respect to "Mostly German" contacts, it was the life-stage 4 in the SA sample that differed significantly from the rest of the sample, once again demonstrating that the participants of this subgroup were more likely to use German with other migrants from the former Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the ANOVA results showed a strong effect of ethnic group in all but the least popular "Mostly German" category. This result indicated that the KF group consistently reported having significantly higher numbers of contacts with whom either "German only" or "Russian only" was allegedly spoken, where the first group consisted of the local Germans in their networks, while "Russian only" was the most frequent language option with co-ethnic contacts. At the same time, the SA sample showed significantly higher numbers of contacts with whom both languages were used at the same time. Without exceptions, these were contacts with other Russian-speaking migrants in Germany. These results indicated that the SA community appeared to be

more inclined to accept German as the language of communication within their own ethnic group in striking contrast to the KF respondents, who, similar to the reports of in-family language presented in Table 25, were likely to show a strict preference for one or the other language. This seeming acceptance of German as the new community language in the SA sample might not appear surprising considering the historic status of German as the native language of the community and the higher proficiency in German among older family members. Also, as will be discussed in Chapter 9, there seemed to be an additional factor that influenced the higher acceptance of German within the SA community. Due to specifics of ongoing SA migration and the importance of family reunification, the long-term migrants more proficient in German were likely to introduce at least some German with newcomers and in this way often lead a shift to German in the SA community. Thus, a shift towards or at least a higher acceptance of L2 seemed to partially originate from *within* their own group in contrast to more common migrant situations where the shift to the language of the surrounding majority is traditionally seen as a result of the pressures to use L2 as an out-group language. In fact, due to the lack of pre-existing family networks for the KF group, this trend was not attested at all in the KF community, which seemed to follow a more traditional pattern of a shift to L2 in migration.

The commentary given by the participants on the languages for in- or out-group communication further supported this observation. Here, it was mainly the KF group that provided metalinguistic comments on the language use among SA migrants and speculated about the motives behind language choices in the SA community. These comments mainly focused on observations of acceptance of German as an in-group language among SA migrants, a practice that was directly contrasted with reported linguistic behaviors in the KF's own group. A number of KF participants discussed their observations of the use of German both in SA families as well as in communication with other Russian speakers in Germany, often directly questioning the purpose and the motives of such practices. For example, the next excerpt came from a KF participant who was actively involved in the larger Russian-speaking community through a cultural center for Russian-language children's activities. Having had professional contacts with members of the general Russian-speaking migrant population in town, he claimed a great deal of familiarity with the SA group in the town. Having learned that I was also looking

for study participants among SA migrants, he expressed his concern that it might be difficult to find SA study participants willing to talk about their migration experience because, in his view, they were likely to try and forget about their own migrant background and blend into the German society. As one of the strategies in doing so, this participant explicitly stressed the use of German as the means of communication within the SA families he knew:

Excerpt 85

KF M 51

1 P079: *They are Russian, but they decided to quit all the Russian stuff altogether. Since we*
2 *are Germans, let's be German. But the paradox is that it is impossible to ever*
3 *BECOME a German, a local one. Here is an example. There is this family, [name],*
4 *[name], I told you about her, we have this children's center, she was teaching a*
5 *course there, she has a husband and two children who don't speak Russian, they*
6 *were born here, two boys. And when I... And they have a German last name, [last*
7 *name], and when I needed [to find] them, I didn't know where exactly they lived.*
8 *So, I started to look for them and rang the first door bell, and asked "Where are*
9 *[last name]?" and the Turkish guy says: "The Russians?" And they don't even*
10 *SPEAK Russian! They speak German with their kids, and he, the Turk, tells me:*
11 *"Ah, the Russians, they're right here." So, you can't become German. It's normal,*
12 *and it is an illusion that is... is somewhat negative, this illusion. It's just in vain*
13 *that people are trying to forget all the Russian culture, there are people that say*
14 *"That's all, we will be integrating" and still they are not accepted.*

This comment showcased a perceived tendency among SA migrants to try and reclaim their German ethnicity (lines 1-2) by adopting German as the language of the in-group communication (line 10) in the family domain (according to this excerpt) and as a language of the professional sphere (according to the accounts of this and other KF participants). At the same time, this comment also illustrated a lack of acceptance of this practice among the KF participants, who repeatedly expressed their disagreement with the choice of German as a means of communication with other migrants capable of speaking Russian. In Excerpt 85, this lack of acceptance was exemplified when the respondent dismissed the possibility of "*becoming German*" through the use of German language or otherwise (lines 2-3) and pointed out that it was impossible to be accepted as a local even for the SA migrants who "*try to forget*" their Russian cultural background.

A similar discontent with the choice of German as an in-group language became obvious from the following comment, in which a 60-year old KF participant reported an encounter with an SA acquaintance at a bus stop in the following way:

Excerpt 86

KF F 70

- 1 P129: *And I asked her how is she doing, and she answers me IN GERMAN! Then I tell her*
2 *“Speak Russian to me”, and she turns like this and says “I’ve spoken enough of this*
3 *already!” Can you imagine this? “Enough already”!*

The choice German by an SA acquaintance prompted the KF participant to directly demand her conversational partner to switch to Russian, which, in turn, led to an explicit rejection of Russian by the SA acquaintance. In retelling this story, the KF participant even repeated this answer twice, conveying her disbelief with respect to (in her view) a very unusual language choice.

While this and other comments demonstrated the overall acceptance of German as the in-group language in the SA group, they also showcased the direct opposite position taken by the KF participants who were seen to view the use of German in conversations with other Russian speakers as a marked, or even impossible, choice (e.g. "*Can you imagine this?*" in line 3 of the excerpt above). Overall, the use of German by the SA group was perceived by the KF migrants as an attempt to "*become more German*" or to "*look cool*" rather than a matter of a neutral choice. This attitude clearly demonstrated that the use of German as an in-group language was rejected in the KF community and was restricted to communication with community outsiders not otherwise proficient in Russian. At the same time, this position did not mean that the KF group completely rejected the use of German turning to Russian exclusively. On the contrary, German and German proficiency were seen by many KF participants as a crucial component of their new life in Germany. What seemed to be a fundamental difference between the groups, however, were the roles allocated to German and Russian within the everyday communication contexts of the SA and the KF communities. While German seemed to be gaining importance, or at least acceptance, as the in-group language within the SA community, for the KF migrants German was seen as a language used strictly with "linguistic outsiders" – local Germans and speakers of other languages who were not proficient in Russian (as illustrated by the data presented in Table 29 and by the multiple comments on language use among migrants).

Summarizing the results of this section, it is possible to say that in the KF community, Russian was seen as the (strongly) preferred language of communication

within family domain and with Russian speakers in the primary networks and as such, seemed to become an attribute of the KF's migrant identity in trying to withstand the outside pressures from German. At the same time, German was used with the local German contacts, which were significantly more frequent in the KF than in the SA group. In contrast, SA group consistently reported on using both Russian and German in the family domain as well as in the migrant co-ethnic networks. This pattern directly contradicted the existing models (e.g. Hulsen et al. 2002; Stoessel 2002; Wei 1994) that would have predicted a higher shift to German for the KF group, as the one involved in more diverse and loose networks than the SA community. At the same time, according to the outcome of the social network analysis, SA migrants would have been expected to maintain Russian and resist a shift to German. However, a directly opposite pattern emerged from the data, indicating that with respect to these communities, additional factors that went beyond the traditional network analysis should be taken in consideration when accessing the patterns of language use in the two communities.

Particularly, the following aspects seemed to play an important role in this specific context. First of all, one has to consider the historical status of German as the heritage language of the SA community that made it more likely for German to be accepted as migrants' "own" language even by the speakers not otherwise proficient in German (see e.g. Table 12). Second, one has to keep in mind the longer history of the SA migration to Germany and heavy reliance on family networks. Here, it seemed plausible to assume that the same factor responsible for withdrawal of the SA migrants from the local German-speaking networks might at the same time have been responsible for the acceptance of German as the in-group language: since it was possible for the migration of one family to be spread over a number of years (and in some cases, even decades), the use of German within the family was likely to be promoted through communication with the relatives who had migrated to Germany at a significantly earlier point and thus might have exhibited higher proficiency in German. Finally, as further discussed in Chapter 8, the strict preference for Russian in the KF group was likely to be triggered by the need to negotiate its position with respect to the SA group by adhering to a distinctly different pattern of language use in the in-group domain and thus creating a clear locally salient

contrast in the linguistic behavior as one of the ways to further delineate a boundary between "self" and "other" (Bucholtz & Hall 2005).

6.5. Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated the interdependence of the migration type and social networks (to a large extent shaped by the realities of migration) on the one hand and the attitudes toward German and Russian and the language use in the two communities on the other. Overall, the analysis demonstrated a high reliance on the family and other co-ethnic networks among the SA community, while at the same time showing the lack of similar extensive co-ethnic networks in the KF group, which reported higher involvement in local German social life.

As discussed in this chapter, this difference in the networks might have suggested a tendency to maintain the minority language in the case of the SA community and a higher tendency to shift to German among the KF migrants. However, due to the differences in the historic status of German for both communities, the conditions and the difference in length of migration, this assumption did not prove to be true in this particular migrant setting. As became clear from the data analysis, the SA group was likely to use German *within* migrant networks. In contrast, the pressure to shift did not cause the KF community (with the possible exception of the youngest speakers) to accept German as their "own", thus further deliberately flagging its distinctiveness from the SA community. As will become clear from the discussion in subsequent chapters, the position taken by both communities with respect to the role of the two languages in their post-migrant life became especially important for the questions of Russian maintenance and the discussion of code-mixing practices and attitudes that will be addressed in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 respectively.

Before turning to these issues, however, it is important to address one more aspect of groups' understanding of the role of German in the migrant experience. As mentioned above, the lack of acceptance of German as the community language within the KF group did not mean a complete rejection of German. In fact, the direct opposite was observed from the data that indicated a high importance assigned to learning German among the KF migrants. Therefore, the next chapter looks specifically at the vast commentary on

learning German that emerged as a prominent part of the KF discourse throughout the interviews.

Chapter 7

Discourse on language learning

7.1. Introduction

Considering that both communities entered Germany with comparably similar knowledge of German (except for SA migrants of life-stage 4 as discussed in 5.2), and were entitled to similar governmental language programs, it was surprising that the themes of learning German, its importance, the ways of achieving higher German proficiency etc. proved to be extremely prominent specifically in the KF discourse, which saw German proficiency as one of the major prerequisites (and sometimes even a goal) of a successful migrant experience. At the same time, only a few the SA participants brought up the topic of targeted language learning during the course of the interviews. This chapter looks in detail at the discourse of language learning in the responses of the KF study participants. Furthermore, it demonstrates how the ideology of German learning seemed to further affect differences in the network structure among the SA and the KF participants, and even more importantly, how language learning ideology appeared to be used by the KF participants as a tool to further delineate the ethnic boundary between the two communities.

7.2. Motivation for language learning

There has been a large amount of literature that tried to determine what factors (in addition to personal aptitude) seem to affect the motivation of a group or an individual to learn a second language (see, for example, Barkhuizen (2004) for a summary of such research). Among other factors, learners' attributes such as sex or social class (see e.g.

Ellis 1994), speakers' ethnicity or "ethnolinguistic identity" (Giles & Johnson 1987), and learners' readiness to "invest" in a specific language (Norton 2000) were all shown to affect individual's attitudes toward learning a specific language, including languages in migration. In a migrant situation, this question becomes especially important, as proficiency in a language of the majority holds instant access to a wide variety of resources available in the new society. The urgency to acquire German as the majority language became strikingly apparent in the comments produced by the KF respondents, which seemed to be directly tied to the very reasons they migrated to Germany. In addition, the differences in the networks discussed in the previous chapter further seemed to affect the approaches and attitudes to learning German in both communities.

As discussed in Chapter 6, one of the main reasons for moving to Germany in the SA group was the desire to follow relatives and to reunite with the family, in some cases even despite the seeming ambivalence to the prospect of migration to Germany (see, for example, Excerpt 55). Although a number of SA respondents also cited reasons of economic hardship in the home country as well as the hope of providing better opportunities for their children, the topic of family reunification dominated the overall SA discourse. At the same time, it was interesting to note the absence of the ethnicity-based motivation in the SA answers to this question, especially considering the ethnically *German* nature of this migration.

In contrast, the comments given by the KF participants brought up a number of motivational factors not observed in the SA community, primarily the pursuit of specific educational or professional goals. In addition, KF comments suggested that some respondents saw their migrant experience as a potentially temporary enterprise. As one of the KF migrants put it, their family "*didn't even take the garbage out and didn't make the beds*" when leaving their Moscow apartment on the way to Germany. In the view of another, his status in Germany was that of a "*long-term tourist*" rather than a migrant who had arrived at his final destination. In light of these accounts, many of the KF migrants appeared to see their migration experience as a specific "*chance*" to experience a new culture, society and language. Although many stated that – due to practical reasons, such as children's schooling or dependence on the family – they could not imagine themselves picking up and moving again in the near future, these reports indicated at least a

perception of migration as a temporary experience for the majority of the KF respondents. Potentially, the fact that not all KF participants saw Germany as the final place of their destination might have been expected to affect the ways migrants approached the questions of their integration (including linguistic integration) into the new society.

However, it would be incorrect to say that these accounts reflected a categorical difference between the two groups. Although no similar comments were found in the SA interview data, the answers to some of the survey questions indicated that an intention to potentially move back or to move to a different country was present in both groups. Table 31 below presents the average agreement scores for two statements: "I might move back to my home-country" and "I might move to a different country", on a scale from 0 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Standard deviations are given in parentheses. Table 32 provides the results of the two-way ANOVA that tested the effects of the ethnic group membership and the life-stage on the responses:

Table 31: Further migration plans (on the scale from 0 to 4)

	KF	SA
I might move back to my home country		
Life-stage 1	.80 (.63)	1.70 (1.83)
Life-stage 2	1.80 (1.62)	1.80 (1.61)
Life-stage 3	2.00 (1.60)	1.90 (1.45)
Life-stage 4	1.60 (1.50)	.25 (.71)
I might move to a different country		
Life-stage 1	2.70 (1.33)	2.00 (1.41)
Life-stage 2	2.10 (1.19)	2.00 (1.49)
Life-stage 3	2.00 (1.41)	1.60 (1.27)
Life-stage 4	1.30 (1.57)	.50 (.76)

Table 32: Two-way ANOVA for further migration plans

	df	Move back to the home country		Move to a different country	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	.176	.676	4.848	.105
Life-stage	3	2.078	.111	7.233	.010*
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	1.921	.134	.483	.847
Error	70				

Overall, these results suggested that neither of the ethnic groups showed a very strong inclination to stay in Germany as their final place of destination since the results of most subgroups were clustered around the neutral position (score of 2), demonstrating that in general, the opportunity to move again could not be categorically ruled out. The ANOVA results showed no significant effect of ethnic group on answers of either questions, indicating that there was no significant difference between KF and SA participants with respect to their future migration plans. However, the ANOVA showed that the life-stage was a significant factor with respect to the question of moving to another country. A post-hoc multiple comparison test showed that this was most likely to be caused by the scores of the life-stage 4 within the SA group, which proved to be significantly lower than for the rest of the sample. It was not surprising to find the strongest desire to stay in Germany among this particular sub-group considering the strongest sense of identification with the German culture and ethnicity among SA life-stage 4 participants (see e.g. Figure 5). For other subgroups within both KF and SA community, the results showed that there were no definite plans to stay in Germany.

The comments made by participants when answering these questions further indicated that there was no strong emotional attachment to Germany, as many of the respondents of both groups indicated that their reasons for migration were often quite pragmatic. Many indicated that such factors as a declining economy in Germany or better opportunities in other countries would potentially make them move. Another interesting observation could be made about the youngest life-stage in the KF group specifically, which scored the lowest within the KF sample for the possibility of moving back to the home country, at the same time displaying the highest score in the entire sample when contemplating a move to a different country. This result seemed to indicate a stronger detachment from the home-country on the one hand, and a certain sense of cosmopolitanism and self-perception as a "European" or even a world citizen on the other hand, as many of the younger KF respondents commented on considering educational or professional opportunities in other European countries or in the US, or on having already made arrangements for such plans.

Returning to the multitude of responses given by the KF participants on the motivation for their move and the potential influence of these motivations on the

approaches to language learning, it is important to stress that with absence of extensive family networks in Germany, the reasons for migration in the KF group in many ways differed from the SA responses. On the one hand, similar to the SA community, migration was seen by some of the KF respondents as a way to escape a tight economic situation in the home country and find better educational and professional opportunities in Germany (especially in the case of the younger respondents). On the other hand, the KF data showed kinds of responses that were not (at least explicitly) stated by the SA migrants, such as not "*passing up*" an opportunity to experience a new country and new culture, to learn about Germany, and to have a chance to live in the heart of Europe. Consider, for example, the following comments given by some of the KF participants when explaining their motivations to migrate:

Excerpt 87

KF M 26

- 1 P010: *I didn't come to work on some kind of dirty job here. I came to get an education, get*
2 *a good job, and if that doesn't happen, I might go back to Ukraine.*

Excerpt 88

KF F 59

- 1 P023: *I thought while I am still young, I still have strength, I have to go and see Europe.*
2 *So, I came here as if I am going on vacation, or so I told myself. I came here to*
3 *experience things that I wouldn't be able to see when working [back home] as a*
4 *nanny, even as a loved and respected one.*

The position presented in the first excerpt was very prominent among the young KF participants who often stressed their own educational or professional plans, or providing them for their children. Also the oldest KF participants often expressed a position similar to the one in Excerpt 88, stressing that they saw the migration as an opportunity to spend time in a foreign country and learn about its culture. For some of the KF respondents, the decision to migrate to Germany was facilitated by earlier professional trips to Germany, for example as a part of a documentary film crew or as an orchestra member.

Overall, having in mind clear educational and professional goals, or goals of "learning about a new country", seemed to be a key factor for the high importance placed on L2 learning across all life-states in the KF group. Many respondents saw the terms of this learning success clearly tied to achievement in the German language, and a high level

of proficiency in German as the key element in the migrant's overall success. Many of the participants directly stressed that they saw progress in learning the German language as one of their primary goals in the migration:

Excerpt 89

KF M 25

1 P134: *When I speak, of course I mess up my grammar. But I realize that I have to do*
2 *something with this, because if my ambition is to get a good engineering position, I*
3 *need to speak the language well.*

Excerpt 90

KF F 31

1 I: *Was it hard to decide to move or not to move to Germany?*
2 P030: *I never thought about moving to live here. I came to learn the language and to get*
3 *another degree. I don't have the feeling that I have to stay anywhere, I don't feel*
4 *that I am a migrant like in the 70s when people were moving for good.*

In this way, learning the language was reported to be an inherent part of the migrant experience for the KF group, and was perceived as "needed" in order to be able to attain professional success. For the second participant above, it was even one of the main goals for migration itself (line 2), seen as a prerequisite of continuing her education at a German university. These and similar comments clearly demonstrated that overall, the KF migrants seemed likely to see proficiency in German as a key factor that would allow them to pursue other goals, not related to language per se. In this way, KF respondents appeared ready to make a deliberate "investment" into learning a language. As Norton (2000) states, "If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners expect or hope to have a good return on such investment, a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources" (Norton 2000: 10). In agreement with this assumption, many of the KF comments stressed explicitly that a level of proficiency in German, which would allow successful incorporation into German educational and professional networks, was seen by KF migrants as a cornerstone of the migrant experience, without which the whole migration would not be desirable. For example, in the following excerpt, a KF respondent talked about some of the failing participants in the language course she attended after migration:

Excerpt 91

KF F 31

1 P030: *This is a gate to nowhere. If you haven't learned the language here, what are you*
2 *going to do? You will clean the streets. And why would you move then – you could*
3 *have swept them back there. I repeat again, I am not saying that everyone should be*
4 *a professor, but at least to find their own spot under the sun. This is my opinion, not*
5 *everyone should be a programmer, not everyone should teach at the university, but*
6 *at least to find a job that... Like I had a wonderful job back there and very good*
7 *perspectives – like potentially a private school. I would have earned enough money.*
8 *I am looking at the situation here like that – if tomorrow I don't have a husband, am*
9 *I able to survive on my own money here?*

Presenting good command of German as a way to financial and social independence, this comment further illustrated a clearly "instrumental" approach to language learning rather than a "integrative" one (see, for example Lambert 1963), as KF participants tended to see language proficiency as a tool in pursuing educational and professional aspirations, rather than viewed language acquisition as a way to potentially become an integral part of the receiving society.

While the comments above could be viewed as a reflection of the position taken by the participants of the younger life-stages as the ones actively pursuing educational and professional involvement in Germany, the following examples show that the older life-stages of the KF group also entered Germany often carrying clear goals or a desire to learn the language at least to some degree, despite the lack of specific professional ambitions:

Excerpt 92

KF M 65

The participant was asked to express his agreement/disagreement with the statement "German is my native language".

1 P047: *No, no. But I want to learn it... I do, I want to. I read in it. I like it very much.*

Excerpt 93

KF M 69

1 P045: *My goal was, in relation to the language, not perfect German. Not perfect High*
2 *German. My main goal was the spoken language. The street language, like on the*
3 *street, on the street car, on the bus so that I could speak freely with Germans. But*
4 *I haven't reached this goal yet in three years. This is my... a disappointment.*

In addition to these and similar participants' comments demonstrating that attaining proficiency in German was seen as an inherent part (or even the main goal) of the migrant

experience among KF participants, the quantitative data showed a significantly stronger tendency within the KF group to actively get involved in specific language-learning activities both before and after migration. As already demonstrated in Table 11, there was a significant difference between the groups in the history of learning German in the home country, as the KF group appeared more likely to be enrolled in independent language courses or practice the language with a private tutor before coming to Germany. This tendency was further confirmed by KF participants' qualitative comments about preparing for the upcoming migration. Many reported using the time between receiving the acceptance letter and the actual migration time (maximum of one year) to learn German in various ways. Consider, for example, the following comment:

Excerpt 94

KF M 46

- 1 *P111: When we learned that we were going to Germany, I went and enrolled in a*
2 *language course. It didn't give me much, but it took away the fear I guess. And then*
3 *my wife read that the Goethe Institute had open enrollment, and I went there too.*

A number of other participants also reported taking similar deliberate steps to learn or improve their German before coming to Germany. This apparent higher tendency to enroll in language courses among the KF participants prior to migration in comparison to the SA respondents could be partially explained by the differences in demographic profiles of the two groups. Living in major cities with multiple educational opportunities, this group was more likely to have a wider access to a number of language learning resources, such as, for example, language schools and language courses. In contrast, fewer opportunities were likely to be readily available for the less-urban SA group. However, some of the comments given by the SA participants indicated that although opportunities to learn German were available to them before migration, SA respondents did not always seem to make use of them, as, for example, seems to be the case in the following excerpt:

Excerpt 95

SA M 35

- 1 *I: Did you learn German before coming here?*
2 *P087: Where we lived back there, there was a German course offered free at the German*
3 *consulate. For the ones who are moving. I didn't go though, my wife and my mom*
4 *tried, but not really.*

As the continuation of the trend that showed a higher tendency among KF migrants to engage in deliberate language learning in preparation for migration described in Chapter 5, the quantitative data on the L2 learning activities *in Germany* also showed a comparable difference in the post-migration L2 language learning practices. During the interview, the participants were asked to list all ways they learned German after migration. The summary of this data is presented in Table 33 below, accompanied by the significance factors yielded by a chi-square test performed to evaluate differences between the groups:

Table 33: Language learning after migration

	KF	SA	Chi-Square value	p-factor
I learned German in school in Germany	25% (N10)	37% (N14)	1.283	.328
I learned German in a language course for incoming migrants	70% (N28)	50% (N19)	3.255	.105
I enrolled in an additional language course on my own	60% (N24)	0% (N0)	3.293E1	.000*
I had a private teacher	15% (N6)	0% (N0)	6.127	.026*
I deliberately learned German on my own	57% (N23)	0% (N0)	3.099E1	.000*

As one can see, the data showed no statistically significant difference in participants' reports on learning German in German schools as well as in the number of respondents who participated in German courses for migrants. This is not surprising, considering the fact that the first option was the default for life-sage 1 migrants involved in the German school system, at the same time receiving additional language training. With respect to adult participants, almost all of the adult migrants in both groups had participated in the standard 6-month language training available for both KF and SA migrants, with the exception of a very small number of migrants who either exceeded the age limit for obtaining a spot in such a course or were not eligible for the course due to their migration status.²⁵ However, the data showed a drastic difference in the groups' language learning

²⁵ The language training is not available for the SA migrants who obtain the status of an *ethnic German* (as opposed to the status of the *family member of an ethnic German*, or a status of a *foreigner*), as they are

practices past the required initial language training, where none of the respondents of the SA group reported taking any further steps in L2 acquisition. These results were clearly contrasted by the KF reports of enrolling in additional language courses (60%! of all KF respondents), hiring a private tutor (15%) or reporting on a deliberate and systematic self-study (57%!). For example, a number of KF participants reported having used time prior to their first language course to prepare themselves for the course, or to supplement their first experiences in a German school system by rigorous attempts to learn the language on their own, for example:

Excerpt 96

KF M 19

1 P155: *I remember this additional training [in German], it was comical, all the Russians*
2 *would get together after school, already really tired, so we were just joking around*
3 *there. But I started right away to translate my homework, word by word. I would*
4 *take the notebook and I would write down all the words like a dictionary. And then*
5 *I kept reading them, like in the evening, I would just take it and read it – the right*
6 *column and the left column. Then later I added English, because I needed English,*
7 *so I learned two languages at a time. And since I have a good visual memory, even*
8 *if I heard a word somewhere, I remembered it right away and even knew where in*
9 *the notebook I wrote it down. So, I still have all these notebooks. I've filled three*
10 *full notebooks. So, I was learning and studying it all on my own.*

Attempts of this kind were not only limited to the participants from the youngest life-stage as in the example above, but also were popular among older participants. The methods of self-study ranged from regular reading and writing to focused vocabulary learning or solving crossword puzzles in German. Among adult participants, these attempts were often supplemented by additional formal language training in various non-required language classes. Some of the participants who initially exceeded the age limit for the introductory language course reported requesting individual exceptions allowing them to participate in the language training. In other cases, KF participants reported asking for transfers to course groups composed of non-Russian speakers in order to avoid communicating in Russian during the breaks.

As a reflection of the higher focus on L2 learning in the KF community, the KF data yield a truly impressive amount of comments on this topic. The most prominent types of this discourse are discussed in the next section. This section will once again deal

believed to have proven their German proficiency during the language test preceding the migration and thus are expected to have a command of German sufficient for successful integration into German society.

with the responses of the KF participants as (as noted earlier) discourse on focused and deliberate language learning was missing almost entirely from the SA responses.

7.3. Language-learning practices in the KF community

7.3.1. Restricting the use of Russian: reading

Although, as shown earlier in Table 25, Russian had a stronghold as an in-group language in the KF group, one repeatedly reported strategy of improving proficiency in German among the KF respondents was a deliberate restriction of Russian use in such activities as reading and watching TV. The following excerpts that represent a small part of a very large pool of similar commentary provide examples of this practice with respect to reading:

Excerpt 97

KF F 40

- 1 P063: *I read in Russian very very rarely. Very rarely. I am trying to read and hear*
2 *everything in German, so I read Russian newspapers really rarely.*

Excerpt 98

KF M 16

- 1 I: *Do you read any books in Russian?*
2 P154: *No, not yet. I just want to improve my German first to a good point, and then I will*
3 *allow myself to read in Russian. That's my plan.*

Excerpt 99

KF M 69

- 1 P045: *One year long I didn't read any Russian newspapers. Only German ones. Even*
2 *the advertising. I was going for walks through the streets carrying a dictionary.*

All of these participants reported deliberate attempts to restrict the time they spend reading in Russian – from only allowing themselves to read in Russian rarely, to banning all Russian reading until their German improves "to a good point". Similar attempts to maximize exposure to written German were also reported for other media, as, for example, in the account of the following participant:

Excerpt 100

KF M 47

- 1 P060: *When I was installing stuff on my computer, I thought first I would do the Russian*
2 *version, but then I decided to go with the German one. It really helps. Now if I*
3 *search stuff, I also go through Google [in German], and not through the Russian*
4 *search engines anymore. It helps in general to communicate on the German*
5 *Internet. The technical texts and things like that.*

This practice was especially notable considering the strong position in favor of Russian as an in-group language of the KF community discussed in Chapter 6. In this context, preference for reading in German was reported as a deliberate and marked choice that directly targeted the improvement in German proficiency, and as such, was seen as a temporary measure.

7.3.2. TV as a source of spoken German

In addition to minimizing reading in Russian, there was a strong tendency to intentionally limit the exposure to Russian-speaking television, at the same time maximizing the use of German TV programming as one of the main and readily available sources of spoken German. This was especially true for participants with limited involvement in German-speaking educational or professional networks. However, KF participants of all ages and occupations offered commentary on the role of television in the process of language learning. The following comments represent a small selection from this discourse:

Excerpt 101

KF M 16

- 1 I: *How often do you watch Russian TV?*
2 P154: *Maybe once a month, there is this video rental.*
3 I: *And the TV? Do you have TV in Russian?*
4 P154: *No, we didn't install it on purpose, to learn the language.*

Excerpt 102

KF F 40

- 1 P063: *I start watching German TV as soon as I open my eyes in the morning. [It's]*
2 *because I need to start speaking German.*

Excerpt 103

KF F 25

- 1 P144: *Because I didn't have German, I couldn't understand anything. But then I was*

2 watching cartoons, because I could only understand cartoons back then, and even
 3 with that – not everything. And then I watched the Teletubbies: "Hi!" - "Hi!" "Good
 4 morning!" - "Good morning!". 10 times in a row. Oh my!
 5 I: So, it was to learn the language?
 6 P144: Yes. You know, it played a very big role It goes slowly like that. One thing on top of
 7 another. Sometimes I didn't even understand the words but I tried to figure it out –
 8 like "Oh, that's what he means!". This and that. Sometimes I would even grab a pen
 9 and write down the word and in the morning I would try to translate it to see
 10 whether I was right. And then it was like – yes! I am good!

The majority of these comments showed that there was a strong tendency among the KF participants to limit TV exposure to German programming only by not installing equipment for Russian TV reception "on purpose", or "as a matter of principle". The significance of this deliberate practice could be seen in the mere extent of the commentary on this matter provided by the KF participants. In each case, the participants made it clear that the decision to do so was clearly conscious and driven by their desire to have regular access to spoken German rather than by financial aspects of obtaining equipment for Russian-speaking programming.²⁶ In most cases, this decision was also reported to have been made by the whole family rather than as a matter of individual choice. Some of the commentary gave a direct insight in how exactly TV programming was used by the respondents for language learning purposes, for example in Excerpt 103, where the participant recalled her first attempts to improve her German by watching children's programming (in her case, the *Teletubbies*) and repeating simple lexical items thus practicing her first German words.

It is also important to note that the KF comments indicated that despite the overall agreement on the importance of German TV programming for L2 learning, this measure was usually seen by KF participants as a temporary one. Many stressed explicitly that this choice was motivated solely by the desire to learn the language and did not indicate any disinterest in Russian programming, especially in the case of the adult participants. Furthermore, some KF respondents stressed that they would consider installing Russian TV in the future, when their German would be at a "certain level". This attitude illustrated that the approach to watching TV in German among the KF group could be

²⁶ In contrast, when SA participants reported not having Russian TV, the explanation given was rather of a financial nature. At the same time, these participants reported regularly visiting their family members living nearby with the purpose of watching their favorite programs in Russian.

characterized as an instrumental one used primarily for language-learning purposes, and did not indicate an overall disinterest in receiving news and TV programming in Russian.

This attitude was clearly reflected in the statistical data on the frequency of German and Russian TV time presented in Table 34 below. The numbers represent how many days in a given year this activity occurred:

Table 34: Frequency of Russian and German TV watching

	KF	SA
Russian TV		
Life-stage 1	13.8	135.3
Life-stage 2	71.2	181.1
Life-stage 3	139.3	229.2
Life-stage 4	97.8	234.5
German TV		
Life-stage 1	328.4	280.1
Life-stage 2	302.4	244.8
Life-stage 3	328.4	297.1
Life-stage 4	265.0	296.5

Table 35: Two-way ANOVA for frequency of Russian and German TV watching

	df	TV in Russian		TV in German	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	15.375	.000*	3.852	.054
Life-stage	3	2.824	.045*	.819	.488
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	.112	.953	.089	.966
Error	70				

The results showed that the main effect of ethnic group proved to be significant with respect to Russian programming and approached significance with respect to programming in German. These results indicated that on average, the SA group reported to watch significantly more TV in Russian (almost twice the frequency of the KF group across life-stages), while displaying lower frequency with respect to German programming. At the same time, the life-stage was shown to have a significant main effect on the frequency of Russian TV-time, indicating significant differences between participants of different life-stages. On the one hand, predictably, the youngest life-stages within the two samples tended to watch less Russian programming. On the other hand, it was surprising to see a noticeable drop in the numbers for Russian TV-time among life-stage 4 KF participants. However, this statistics appeared to be in agreement with the

discourse on the importance of German TV programming as a source of spoken German provided by this sub-group and presented in this subsection.

7.3.3. In-group communication in German

While the overall data on language use clearly indicated that German had a status of out-group language in the KF group, a number of participants reported allocating a certain time for deliberate practice of German within their family or friends' circle. However, these reports stressed explicitly that German was not in any case chosen as a default language of the in-group communication (with the exception of a number of participants in the youngest age group who reported to use German among peers with a Russian-speaking migrant background, similar to the youngest speakers in the SA sample). For the rest of the KF sample, the use of German with other Russian speakers was explicitly agreed upon by conversational partners and appeared limited to specific "learning" environments, thus not threatening the position of Russian as an in-group language.²⁷ Many participants described setting up such conversational practice opportunities with their spouses and grown-up children. However, all of them reported specifically that these attempts did not cross into everyday language use, and that usually, such sessions ended as soon as participants needed to discuss something from the "real life", and switched back to Russian as the main communication language. The most vivid example of this attitude was an interview with one of the older participants who, having greeted me in Russian and having discussed all the preliminary matters before the interview in Russian, specifically asked to conduct the interview in the German language in order to practice it. Furthermore, having learned that I have worked as a German instructor before, the participant stressed that he would like to be corrected if he made any mistakes during his interview (KF M 69, P045). As one can see, all of the excerpts from this interview presented in this dissertation were in German (e.g. Excerpt 59 and Excerpt 93).

²⁷ For discussion on status of Russian as an in-group language see Chapter 6.

7.3.4. Using migration formalities as a language learning opportunity

Another specific type of L2 learning attempts reported by the KF participants seemed to be caused by the differences between the SA and KF migration types discussed in Chapter 6. While most of SA participants were able to rely on a wide network of relatives for dealing with migration formalities and communicating with local officials, comparable extensive support network was clearly absent for the KF migration. While on the one hand, the lack this resource could be expected to be seen in a negative light by migrants not proficient in the language of the majority, many of the KF participants stressed that in fact, they considered it to be a good factor, at least with respect to language learning opportunities, as some of KF participants directly attributed their motivation to learn German to the fact that they could not rely on language support provided by family, for example:

Excerpt 104

KF F 22

- 1 P095: *I think it is good that I live here without my family. I think I wouldn't have gone out*
2 *so much and wouldn't have done things for myself. So, it's a plus for the language.*

As this quote illustrated, the lack of family contacts was recognized by the KF participants as a motivation to learn German and to be able to function in German society without the support of a family network. Many comments illustrated that the anticipation of inability to rely on family in migration seemed to cause KF migrants to learn German already in the home country in preparation to the move. Similar to the account above, some KF migrants stated explicitly that having a supportive family network in Germany would have slowed down their L2 learning process.

The fact that the migration experience brought about the necessity to visit multiple institutions in Germany (from governmental agencies providing social services to employment assistance) was also welcomed by many participants, as they saw in these visits additional conversational opportunities, as for example in the comments below:

Excerpt 105

KF M 25

- 1 I: *Are there a lot of formalities you have to take care of for your studying?*
2 P134: *No, fortunately. Although it used to be a good way of learning German before.*
3 I: *Is that right?*

- 4 P134: *Yes, I used it.*
 5 I: *So, you were the one to take care of stuff for your family?*
 6 P134: *Yes, it was the only way to learn German before, so I went for my own formalities,*
 7 *for my family's formalities and for my dorm neighbors' too. First without knowing*
 8 *any German, only with English, but then step by step....*

Participants who did not have sufficient (or even any) command of German reported trying to exploit the necessity of such official contacts to start practicing German even (as in Excerpt 105) by taking care of the formalities for other migrants. Furthermore, even in situations where the help of friends and family was available, many participants reported deliberate attempts not to rely on it fully, with the purpose of facilitating their own language learning. These reports stood in some contrast to the accounts of *language brokering* commonly performed by bilingual children in migrant communities, who tend to serve as 'liaisons' between the (monolingual) parents and host societies' institutions (see for example, Del Torto 2008; Hall 2004; Hall & Sham 2007; Valdés 2003: for a variety of accounts of this practice). Although the comments below indicated that language brokering was common in the KF community to some extent, at the same time, there appeared to be a deliberate and conscious attempt among adult speakers to limit their reliance on children in order to learn German:

Excerpt 106

KF F 38

- 1 P039: *I decided that I need to go myself to all the agencies. I took [daughter's name] with*
 2 *me, and told her: "[Daughter's name], you will be standing next to me and listen.*
 3 *When I don't know how to say something, I will ask you." And then she started to*
 4 *get all upset, like "Why are you taking me? You say it all yourself".*

Excerpt 107

KF F 59

- 1 P023: *When I go somewhere, I take [name of a younger friend] with me. But I don't let her*
 2 *speak, she always would say something not the way I want it. So, I always speak*
 3 *myself, maybe it's in broken German, maybe it is incorrect, but I speak myself. If I*
 4 *don't understand something, I say: "[Name of the friend], translate it for me but*
 5 *don't answer. Just translate." So, I don't allow anyone to answer for me.*

In both cases, participants stressed that the primary function of younger speakers as translators was not to take over the task of official communication altogether, but merely to serve as a backup in case the participants themselves would not be able to complete the communication task due to their lower of German proficiency. Having this backup

allowed the respondents to feel confidence in approaching German officials even with a lower level of German proficiency (Excerpt 107, line 3) by gaining a sense of security because of the translator's presence. However, as both participants reported, the actual help received from the younger speakers was either minimal (Excerpt 107, lines 4-5) or was not utilized at all (Excerpt 106, line 4).

Although during the study, participants were not specifically asked about using the younger speakers as translators, a series of questions elicited information on the general facts of using friends and family members as language assistance in formal settings (both right after migration and at the time of the interview), and about acting as language support to other friends or family members. No significant difference was attested between the KF and the SA groups related to their use of a translator at the time of the interview (18% KF, 26% SA) or acting as a translator (60% KF, 68% SA). The answers about acting as a translator right after migration likewise did not differ between the groups (18% KF, 21% SA), and showed that this practice was not so widely distributed due to the migrants' overall lower language skills at the time of migration as described in Chapter 5. However, a significant difference was attested in the answers concerning the use of friends and family at the initial stages after migration as presented in Table 36 below. The data presents the result of the chi-square test comparing the answers of the two groups:

Table 36: Use of friends or family as translators

	KF	SA	Chi-Square value	p-factor
I have used friends or family as translators	65% (N26)	92% (N35)	8.400	.005*

This result showing a significantly higher use of family and friends as translators at the time of migration, was not surprising considering the large family size of the SA migration and its higher reliance on family networks. In addition, due to the wide availability of adult family members with longer stays and higher German proficiency, these services did not need to be necessarily performed by younger speakers, but seemed to be equally distributed among migrants of all ages.

7.3.5. Active pursuit of German-speaking contacts with the goal of L2 learning

The previous sub-section addressed the perception of the formalities of the migration process as opportunities to practice German in the KF sample. In addition, the data demonstrated a trend that seemed to take the pursuit of language learning to the next level, as many KF participants reported deliberate, and sometimes even strategically planned, steps in acquiring native German-speaking contacts with the purpose of raising own L2 proficiency.

As discussed earlier in Chapter 6, the quantitative data as well as participants' commentaries indicated that overall, the KF respondents were more likely to report native German speakers both within their primary contacts, as well as within their more extended networks. While this could be attributed to the absence of wide-reaching co-ethnic network that was available for the SA migrants, further analysis of the comments given by the KF participants indicated that in many cases, this tendency was explained by active attempts to gain access to native speakers and to contexts where German was spoken with the deliberate purpose of mastering the language. The sheer number of such comments among the KF responses indicated that this practice seemed to be quite widespread, reaching across different age groups.

In the case of younger KF participants, who was more likely to be exposed to German-speaking contacts in school, this tendency was expressed in attempts to limit the number of Russian speakers within their network and to reach out to the local German classmates, for example:

Excerpt 108

KF M 17

1 I: *Do you have friends among Germans?*

2 P033: *Of course, only local Germans. Because non-locals don't speak German to each*

3 *other.*

Further contact opportunities, such as sports and other free-time activities, provided additional contexts where younger generations seemed to deliberately engage in establishing German-speaking networks:

Excerpt 109

KF F 18

- 1 I: *When did your German improve the most?*
2 P049: *Oh, it was when I decided not to hang out with the Russian girls when I went to the*
3 *recreation center. Not that it wasn't interesting for me, but just for the sake of the*
4 *German language.*

Excerpt 110

KF M 19

- 1 I: *When did you feel that your German improved?*
2 P155: *Oh, I was lucky, because since I played chess I found a lot of friends in this sphere.*
3 *And just in general, I tried not to stay away from other guys, I went to play soccer*
4 *with them and I still do in the park, so there were connections there as well.*
5 I: *You mean with Germans?*
6 P155: *Yes. Of course, with Germans.*

Similar accounts were also provided by older participants, who reported attending dance classes or choir practices with German-speaking partners, again, stressing language learning as the main motivation for such activities.

Additional attempts to connect with native speakers with the goal of L2 learning ranged from finding a conversational partner at a local university, to offering free music classes to the children of a German-speaking friend in order to extend professional vocabulary in German, to persistently inviting a private language tutor to stay after the time allocated for the German class to have tea and chat in an informal setting. One popular place of contact, especially among mothers carrying for small children, was the playground, as a number of female participants in the young adult and middle-age groups reported actively seeking contact with the local parents:

Excerpt 111

KF F 31

- 1 I: *Have you ever had any negative contacts here?*
2 P030: *You mean whether I saw something in Germans that I don't like? No. Like I always*
3 *communicate with this guy on the playground, he is bringing up his son all alone, 5*
4 *months old! We speak German very very much. He is a simple guy, and his German*
5 *is not **High German**, so I ask him to repeat a lot. So, he repeats. And I also meet a*
6 *German lady on the playground, we also walk together a lot and speak German.*
7 *She also has a boy.*

This comment directly stressed the value of this participant's German contacts obtained through the neighborhood's playground, as the participant emphasized that on the

playground, she speaks "*German very very much*" (line 4). This attitude stood in direct contrast to a comment provided by one of the SA participants of similar age in a similar family situation. When asked whether she had a lot of chances to use the German language in Germany, she replied:

Excerpt 112

SA F 35

1 P108: *I usually get caught off-guard if someone starts speaking German to me. Like on the*
2 *playground, a Turkish woman came up to me and started to say something, I*
3 *completely freaked out, because how can it happen? Who can start speaking*
4 *German to me here?*

This quote also fully supported the discussion of the differences in the choice of the neighborhood between the KF and the SA participants, with the latter group clearly preferring to settle in the areas densely populated with other Russian speakers.

Moreover, KF participants reported deliberately using more formal settings, such as religious institutions, as a way to find conversational practice. This tendency was shown before in Excerpt 79, where a participant reported trying to deliberately sit at the table next to the few native German speakers at the synagogue, or can be illustrated by the following conversation, which was prompted by my question whether the participants attended any kind of religious services in Germany:

Excerpt 113

KF F 31 (P030), KF M 33 (P031)

1 I: *And here in Germany, have you attended any religious services?*
2 P031: *Well, we usually go to some kind of pornography.*
3 I: *What do you mean?*
4 P031: *Well... So... This one time we went... hm.. we went to the Baptists*
5 P030: *Yes*
6 I: *Mm....*
7 P031: *Then we went to the synagogue*
8 P030: *There are so many places we went*
9 P031: *But I think we will continue*
10 P030: *We need now... Listen, can you find us a community so that there would be some*
11 *kind of ... Baptists or something like that, but so that the service would be held in*
12 *German, and then the tea afterwards would be in German or something like that*
13 P031: *Or even without the service, just the tea [laughs]*
14 P030: *It doesn't matter, we are completely immune to religion, that's for sure. We even*
15 *went to... what was it? something like.... well, they were all praying there, but they*
16 *were good people, they would invite you to their home afterwards and you could*
17 *chat with them in German*

This attitude demonstrated an extremely utilitarian approach to selecting and visiting a religious community, as both the wife and the husband directly stated the lack of spiritual component in their attempts to find a suitable religious organization. From the description of their past experiences, which the husband summarizes as "*pornography*" in line 2, stressing once again the lack of emotional and spiritual involvement, it became clear that attending religious services was strongly perceived by both participants primarily as a way to learn and practice German. Although they were not attending any services at the time of the interview, the couple described an ideal community that would fit their purposes in lines 11 -12: "*that the service would be held in German, and then the tea afterwards would be in German*". In this way, the excerpt stressed once more an approach in which many of the KF participants saw involvement in German-speaking networks as an instrument in attaining a higher level of German proficiency.

An additional illustration of this approach could also be seen in the next comment provided by a KF participant, in which she described her attempts to purposefully learn German through participation in a different type of formalized meetings – in this case, the Green Party. Surprisingly, this comment was also prompted by my question regarding whether the participant attended any kind of religious services in Germany:

Excerpt 114

KF F 38

- 1 P039: *I don't need a church. I have my own relationship with God. But for example, I*
2 *recently went to a meeting of the Green Party.*
3 I: *So, you go to their official meetings?*
4 P039: *I need German. And in the church, there is the wrong German. And at the Green*
5 *Party meetings, all their **meetings**+PLURAL, it's what I need. They discuss all*
6 *these questions of economics, there are all the party members, and I sit and listen to*
7 *all of them. At least it's **High German**, and it also applies to all the terminology I*
8 *am studying. I hope to go there at least once a month. It's a friend of mine, he asked*
9 *– do you want to meet from time to time to drink coffee? I said yes. Do you want to*
10 *go to the Green Party meetings, you would be like a guest there? I said yes.*

Not only did this participant make a deliberate decision to attend such gatherings in order to improve her German, but she also explained the specific reasons why she chose this venue for learning the language over other possibilities, such as attending religious services. In her words, the church would have provided her with the "*wrong German*" (line 4), dealing with themes and topics she did not consider relevant for her current

professional goals. In contrast, political meetings seemed to provide access to the language domains she was specifically looking for, as it apparently "*applied to all the terminology*" this participant needed for her studies of economics.

Overall, this and other comments of the KF participants highlighted a strictly utilitarian approach to finding exposure to German language, both through deliberate reading and watching TV in German to seeking occasional and regular contacts to local German speakers in various communicative domains. This phenomenon observed consistently in the KF community, which seemed to influence the way KF participants went about the composition of their networks, called for a need to consider the strong ideological position in favor of the L2 learning in the KF community as a factor that had to be taken into account in the model of interdependence of language and social network structure. Specifically, the ideological component KF migrants seemed to bring into the picture made a strong argument for adding an additional dimension to the models of social network analysis that tend look at migrants situations through the prism of language shift and maintenance (e.g. Hulsen et al. 2002, Li Wei 1994) and see bilingualism of a migrant group rather as a temporary condition when the group moves away from L1 to the use of L2. The analysis in this and the previous chapter demonstrated that the higher involvement of KF respondents in the local German networks did not necessarily mean a faster shift to German (as shown, for example, by the strict rejection of German as an in-group language). Instead, while getting significantly more involved in contacts with German speakers, the KF community displayed a strictly instrumental approach to L2 learning, at the same time maintaining a strong ideology in favor of Russian as the community language. This behavior, indicating the overall community's preference for "additive" bilingualism (see e.g. Lambert 1974) was clearly contrasted with the prevalent ideology in the SA community, which seemed to be characterized by a rather "subtractive" character, displaying clearer signs of shift from Russian to German. While this chapter as well as Chapter 6 have demonstrated these tendencies with respect to the communities' attitudes to German and practices of its use, Chapter 8 will provide additional evidence for this distinction with respect to ideologies and practices of Russian maintenance.

7.4. Discourse of language learning and defining the "other"

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the comments on deliberate language learning and active pursuit of German-speaking contacts with the purpose of German practice was restricted to the KF community and was absent from the SA discourse. This apparent difference between the two groups also was a frequent topic of discussion in the KF responses and seemed to serve as additional means to negotiating distinctiveness between the two groups. A number of KF participants reported that they have observed clearly different learning practices between the KF and SA groups in governmental language courses (as the one context where they were able to directly observe other groups' language learning behavior). In these reports, the different behaviors associated with the two groups were presented as something that characterized the difference between the KF and the SA communities in the eyes of the KF respondents.

As shown earlier in Chapter 5, the SA group was very likely to be perceived by the KF groups as the one that had (at least some) proficiency in the German language, at least in the form of Russian German dialects. The German spoken by the SA migrants in the courses was perceived as a non-standard variety and even sometime downgraded to the label "*primitive*" (see Excerpt 50), following the common ideology that contrasted "*correct*" High German with the "*simple*" dialects, including the Russian German dialects likely to be spoken by the older SA migrants. As one KF participant reported, she noticed that SA migrants tended to mix the Russian German dialects with local dialectal features, a practice which she presented in a very negative light (Excerpt 49). But even more than the negative attitude towards the Russian German dialects spoken by some of the SA migrants, the KF discourse repeatedly emphasized the differences in motivation to learn (standard) German, noting a lack of interest in pursuing German by SA migrants. This seeming disinterest was partially attributed to the fact that SA migrants were believed to be already "*better off*" in the German environment due to the history of German use in the home country (e.g. "*many spoke in the families*", Excerpt 50), but partially to the fact that participation in the course was perceived to be motivated in the SA community not by the desire to improve German, but by the governmental stipend accompanying the course enrollment, e.g.:

Excerpt 115

KF M 42

- 1 P104: *This group was so boring, it was impossible to learn German! These people were*
2 *interested only in getting money from the **office of labor affairs** to participate in*
3 *the course. Language was not at all interesting for them.*
4 I: *What were they going to do afterwards then?*
5 P104 *I have no idea. There was one who was nicer to me, he went to a construction*
6 *company and was doing something on the machines there, there are all Russians*
7 *working there.*

In this excerpt, the participant replied to my inquiry about his experiences in the first 6-month-long language course. Earlier in the interview, this participant reported that the group mainly consisted of SA participants. In this excerpt he recalled that his progress in the course was slowed down by the fact that the rest of course participants appeared rather disinterested in the course content, which he attributed to the fact that the SA classmates were attending the course only because it was a requirement for receiving social support. The difference in attitudes to L2 learning was presented as something that stressed the divide between the KF and the SA course members, causing the participant to clearly distance himself from the rest of the group (line 5).

A similar belief that course participation among the SA migrants was often motivated by the financial support attached to it, was also the topic in Excerpt 48, which stressed the role of the stipend in SAs' course attendance noting a seeming disinterest in language learning among SA classmates. Additional accounts provided by the KF participants cited a practice among SA migrants to purposefully perform poorly on the placement test preceding the course enrollment, in order to be assigned to a group with a lower level of German proficiency and lower course load. In each case, the attitude attributed to SA migrants was directly contrasted with KF's reported behaviors, thus stressing that this difference was seen by the KF participants as an additional factor delineating the difference between the groups.

Even more than in Excerpt 48, the difference in attitudes and behavior between the SA and the KF participants in the classroom environment was stressed by a KF participant in the following conversation, which provided a very detailed personal account of direct disagreements (and even confrontation) between course members from the two migrant groups:

Excerpt 116

KF F 31

1 P030: *I had a lot of chances to meet Russian German girls, but strangely enough,*
2 *relationships don't work out. And now in the course as well, it's very strange, as if*
3 *the group is divided into two parts, according to the Jewish line, and the German*
4 *line. And so much [divided] that those two don't communicate with each other.*
5 *Today they were even rude toward me. Don't remember why, it looked ugly. There*
6 *is no communication.*

7 I: *So, you mean no communication at all?*

8 P030: *Right, there is no communication. How it happened in two months, I don't*
9 *understand. And, it is so interesting, all the girls who came through the Jewish line*
10 *sit closer to the teacher, they are not made-up, they don't even use any make-up,*
11 *you know, they sit and take notes. And all the other ones, they sit at the back, they*
12 *chat and disturb us. All made up. I told them: "You girls are so made-up just like*
13 *for a parade, but the boys won't care about it here, don't worry, there are enough*
14 *nice asses otherwise." Like that. And so they sit, first, they disturb us. And then they*
15 *scream in German. The teacher is very well educated, quiet, he doesn't stop them.*
16 *Plus, they are so different, I am not saying they are that much different than I am,*
17 *but they differ so much from the normal Jewish mass, that it is so...*

18 I: *What is different?*

19 P030: *Don't know how to put it. I guess everything! I would say their intellectual level is*
20 *lower. For some reason. I am not saying that all Germans are stupid. But they're*
21 *all from Kazakhstan, you know, they are like... But there are even girls who went to*
22 *college, more or less did something. I can't really understand why it happens like*
23 *that. But today it even came to an unpleasant scene.*

24 I: *And what did you mean when you said they "scream in German"?*

25 P030: *No, I meant they scream in Russian.*

26 I: *Oh, you mean in Russian?*

27 P030: *Yes, in Russian. In Russian. Yes, they scream in Russian. They disturb. They*
28 *disturb. They don't study themselves and don't let others do so. They paint their*
29 *nails in the course...*

30 I: *Right in the course?*

31 P030: *Yes. Or eat a sandwich. It disturbs me. The teacher said that you can't eat during*
32 *the class. I asked him specifically. It's not that I was going to eat in the classroom.*
33 *To eat in the classroom is piggish. If you are learning a language your mouth*
34 *should be free. And not like that – to eat a sandwich and then follow it up with*
35 *chewing gum.*

This conversation, centered on the atmosphere in a language course visited by both SA and KF participants, touched on a lot of issues, while presenting a picture of a strictly divided classroom environment along the ethnic lines based on seemingly contrasting attitudes to L2 learning and class participation. According to the participant's account, this division appeared to be so severe that in addition to the lack of communication between migrants of the two groups in the course, there seemed to be even spatial

separation, as the KF class participants²⁸ were reported to sit towards the front of the class, actively engaging in the class content (line 10), while the SA class members tended to gather toward the back and demonstrate less interest in course participation (lines 11-12). Although this account did not allow any conclusions to be drawn about whether similar behavior was characteristic of the SA group in general or was restricted to a small number of this participants' classmates, overall, this comment provided a clear example of this respondent's very strong belief that attitudes towards language learning and the importance assigned to achievement in L2 learning were very acting as a dividing issue in the two groups within one particular classroom.

7.5. German proficiency at the time of the interview

Considering the strong emphasis on deliberate language learning in the KF group on the one hand, and the reported absence of it in the SA group one might ask whether this apparent difference in attitudes had any effect on the language proficiency of migrants.

As discussed in Chapter 5, during the interviews participants were asked to rate their German proficiency at the time of migration. Similar scores were also elicited for their German proficiency at the time of the interview. When looking at these data, it is important to keep in mind that these answers do not represent the ratings of actual proficiency in German, but are a subjective assessment of the participant's own proficiency score. Nevertheless, these data can serve as a good indication of participants' feeling of *comfort* or *confidence* when using German, and thus can indirectly provide information on the development of German skills in the participants of both groups.

In order to see how participants perceived their progress in learning German, the difference was calculated between the participants' self-ratings of their initial German skills and their current German proficiency (both on a scale of 0–10). These data are provided in Table 37 below, and represent the increase in German proficiency across the four skills as reported by participants of different life-stages in both groups. Standard deviation is given in parentheses for each of the scores:

²⁸ In this excerpt, the participant is talking primarily about the "girls", as, according to her later report, the group was mostly female, with only three male course participants.

Table 37: Improvement in self-ratings of German proficiency over time

Speaking	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	7.00 (2.29)	6.80 (2.04)
Life-stage 2	4.70 (1.70)	4.40 (3.24)
Life-stage 3	4.70 (1.83)	3.60 (2.32)
Life-stage 4	2.80 (1.55)	1.38 (1.40)
Listening	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	8.40 (1.43)	8.50 (1.65)
Life-stage 2	6.70 (1.64)	5.30 (2.80)
Life-stage 3	5.30 (2.67)	4.90 (2.56)
Life-stage 4	2.40 (1.26)	.88 (2.42)
Reading	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	7.50 (2.32)	8.40 (1.65)
Life-stage 2	5.30 (2.95)	4.10 (2.51)
Life-stage 3	5.00 (2.75)	3.60 (2.67)
Life-stage 4	3.40 (2.01)	1.50 (1.41)
Writing	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	7.00 (2.75)	7.30 (2.05)
Life-stage 2	4.10 (2.02)	3.70 (2.58)
Life-stage 3	4.70 (3.02)	2.60 (1.90)
Life-stage 4	3.40 (1.71)	1.62 (1.60)

Table 38: Two-way ANOVA for improvement of German proficiency over time

	df	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	2.367	.128	2.798	.099	2.815	.098	3.705	.058
Life-stage	3	15.729	.000*	33.051	.000*	17.960	.000*	14.874	.000*
Ethn. group * Life-stage	3	.367	.777	.665	.577	1.334	.270	1.222	.308
Error	70								

As one can see, although across life-stages and skills, the KF group displayed a slightly higher sense of achievement in L2 learning, the ANOVA did not show a significant ethnic group effect on the improvement in German in any of the four skills. At the same time, the ANOVA showed a strong effect of life-stage indicating that in all four skills, there were significant differences in reported progress between the four life-stages. As Table 37 demonstrated, the life-stage 1 participants consistently reported higher improvement scores in both groups, which differed significantly from the rest of the sample according to the post-hoc multiple comparison test. At the same time, the lowest improvement scores were attested for the oldest life-stage, which could be partially

attributed to the lesser exposure to native German networks for life-stage 4 participants in both groups, but also by the initially higher scores for the oldest SA migrants.

These data also demonstrated that despite the lack of discussions on the importance of German learning and deliberate steps taken for doing so, the SA group displayed a comparable perception of their own improvement with the one in the KF group despite lacking reports of formalized and deliberate language learning activities. An explanation for this situation might once again come from the differences in the migration patterns described in Chapter 6 and the differences in the status of both Russian and German in each of the communities. As discussed earlier in Section 6.4, the SA community reported being more inclined to use German as one of the in-group codes in communication with other Russian-speaking migrants, especially the ones who had migrated to Germany earlier. Despite the fact that this in-group use of German still was rather limited for most respondents in comparison to the use of Russian, it inevitably presented the SA community with more chances to hear and speak German on an everyday basis within their own network of family and friends. This style of communication, which would inevitably increase the German proficiency of migrants over time, could be considered as a tool for attaining language proficiency by the SA migrants, despite the lack of more "structured" approaches to German learning popular in the KF group. Chapter 9, which deals with the issues of code-mixing within both communities, provides further evidence in support of this assumption of specific in-group L2 learning among SA migrants (see Excerpt 165 specifically).

While the improvement data presented above provided information on the way participants saw their own progress, the scores given below represent the actual self-ratings of their current German proficiency across the four skills on the scale from 0 to 10. The table provides the mean rating scores and standard deviations in parentheses:

Table 39: Self-ratings of current German proficiency (scale 0 to 10)

Speaking	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	8.10 (1.79)	7.50 (1.58)
Life-stage 2	5.30 (1.70)	5.20 (3.20)
Life-stage 3	5.40 (1.71)	4.70 (2.58)
Life-stage 4	4.60 (2.37)	7.00 (2.93)
Listening	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	9.00 (.70)	9.10 (.88)
Life-stage 2	7.40 (1.51)	6.50 (2.83)
Life-stage 3	6.10 (2.23)	5.80 (2.82)
Life-stage 4	3.90 (1.73)	6.75 (3.06)
Reading	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	8.60 (1.65)	9.20 (1.31)
Life-stage 2	6.40 (2.60)	6.50 (3.21)
Life-stage 3	6.20 (2.35)	6.00 (3.05)
Life-stage 4	5.50 (2.46)	6.88 (2.59)
Writing	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	8.20 (2.15)	8.00 (1.70)
Life-stage 2	5.10 (1.97)	6.10 (3.14)
Life-stage 3	5.90 (2.33)	5.10 (3.24)
Life-stage 4	5.40 (2.31)	7.00 (2.73)

Table 40: Two-way ANOVA for self-ratings of current German proficiency

	df	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	.232	.632	.423	.517	.697	.407	.499	.482
Life-stage	3	6.042	.001*	13.212	.000*	5.770	.001*	4.679	.005*
Ethn. group * Life-stage	3	1.862	.144	3.001	.036*	.362	.781	.920	.436
Error	70								

Considering that the two ethnic groups produced comparable improvement scores discussed with respect to Table 37, it was not surprising to see that with exception of life-stage 4 SA participants (who displayed a higher knowledge of German initially), the data did not show any significant difference between the current self-ratings of L2 proficiency of the SA and the KF groups. The two-way ANOVA results demonstrated that ethnic group membership did not have any significant main effect on the answers in any of the four language skills. At the same time, a strong main effect of the life-stage factor was attested across all four categories. A post-hoc multiple comparison test indicated that with respect to current German proficiency ratings, the youngest participants once again produced significantly higher scores compared to the adult respondents in speaking,

listening, reading and writing, even surpassing the scores of the initially proficient in German life-stage 4 SA participants.

These data, once again, somewhat challenged the expectation of a higher level of L2 acquisition for the KF group as the one more likely to participate in local German-speaking networks and even deliberately seeking such participation with the goal of language acquisition. The fact that both SA and KF migrants reported comparable ratings of their L2 abilities despite the focused KF efforts to improve their German skills (as described in this chapter) and despite higher involvement in L2 networks (as described in Chapter 6) indicated that the dynamics of L2 acquisition in these communities could not be explained within the model that tied rising L2 proficiency of migrants solely to participation in local networks. A feasible explanation needed to account for the comparable levels of L2 proficiency in the SA group, which seemed to be improving at the same rate as in the KF community despite of the apparent withdrawal of the SA migrants from the contact with local German speakers.

The most plausible explanation of this situation seemed to be tied to the difference between the two communities' attitudes to the roles assigned to Russian and German discussed in Chapter 6, and specifically to the fact that the SA community seemed to see German as a possible in-group code and used it to a higher degree in communication *within* the co-ethnic networks. In contrast, the use of German in the KF group was limited either to out-group local contacts or to specifically "framed" language-learning contexts, which did not extend to the regular communication within migrant networks. The difference between these ideologies became even more apparent with respect to the questions Russian maintenance and - as one of the aspects of it - the issue of code-mixing, which will be specifically addressed in Chapters 8 and 9 respectively, and will provide additional evidence for the difference in dynamics of language shift and maintenance in the two communities.

7.6. Conclusions

This chapter looked at the discourse on language learning that proved to be highly prominent in the responses of the KF community, at the same time, being almost entirely missing from the comments provided by the SA migrants. Among other strategies, the

KF participants reported deliberate attempts to limit their own exposure to Russian (at least during the early stages of migration) by minimizing reading in Russian as well as exposure to Russian-speaking television. In addition, although the community was shown to reject German as an in-group language in the previous chapter, KF participants reported designating time slots for speaking in German, albeit always flagged as non-normative linguistic settings designed specifically to improve language proficiency. Furthermore, KF migrants seemed to see German-speaking contacts in Germany (both institutional as well as personal) as specific language learning opportunities that allowed them to gain a wider access to practicing their German with local German speakers.

In this way, it became clear from the discussion above that the KF respondents displayed a strictly instrumental approach towards language learning, as they saw German proficiency in the migrant context as a springboard to a wide variety of educational and professional resources. At the same time, this effort to learn German did not mean giving up access to resources of the home country. The fact that while learning German, the KF community did not diminish its affiliation with Russian language and culture, found its direct support in multiple discussions of the importance of Russian maintenance in the KF interviews. Furthermore, the ideologies of Russian maintenance also proved to be another salient aspect used by KF participants in delineating the distinctiveness between the two groups, and as such this issue is addressed in the next chapter.

In addition, the contrasting ideologies and practices of L2 learning were further used by the KF respondents as a tool in creating and explaining the difference between self and other in addition to other points of distinctiveness discussed earlier. The ideology that granted the KF community with higher social and educational status (Chapter 4) seemed to enable the KF group to create a special dimension of distinctiveness between the own formalized and deliberate attempts to learn the L2 (explicitly emphasized by the KF respondents) and the informal in-group practice of L learning in the SA group. Some of the SA practices of L2 learning, as, for example, the acceptance of the German as an in-group code, was not regarded by the KF respondents as a way to achieve a higher German proficiency, but was rather characterized as a way of "showing off" or distancing themselves from the Russian part of migrants' identity. This view allowed KF

respondents to directly contrast their own formalized strategies of L2 learning with the lack of similar practice in the SA community, creating yet another way to position themselves as different from the SA "other".

Chapter 8

Russian and Russian Maintenance

8.1. Introduction

As discussed earlier in Chapter 5, Russian played an important role in the linguistic repertoire of migrants from both communities, being mainly considered the native language of both KF and SA migrants. As such, Russian seemed to play a certain unifying role in the larger Russian-speaking community in Germany, serving as a symbol of a unity defined through common cultural and linguistic background. This status, for example, was clearly reflected in the slogan of one of the major Russian-speaking newspapers targeting all of Russian-speaking migrants in Germany: “Our homeland is the Russian language”, positioning Russian as an emblem of a certain nostalgia towards the common linguistic past (especially in light of the non-existence of the Soviet Union, which was considered home land by many adult migrants). Russian was also shown earlier to dominate the family domain in both communities notwithstanding its apparently weaker position in the SA group (see Table 25).

Despite the dominant status of Russian among most respondents, the analysis indicated that the two groups displayed strikingly different ideologies about the role of Russian in the migrant context, not only showing different attitudes to Russian maintenance, but also indicating that these attitudes were directly reflected in different linguistic behaviors associated with the two groups, as shown in this chapter.

The two issues that arose as especially relevant were the transfer of the Russian knowledge to migrants' children and code-mixing as a potential threat to the status and integrity of Russian in migration. While the issue of code-mixing is addressed

specifically in Chapter 9, the attention in this chapter turns expressly to the questions of Russian maintenance in migration.

Before turning to particular results, it is important to mention that the answers to questions regarding Russian maintenance in children displayed a certain skewness in their distribution between different genders. It was noticeable throughout the interviews that female participants were more likely to engage in discussion of the importance or non-importance of one or another linguistic code for their children, overall producing noticeably more such accounts than men. Two possible explanations of this unequal distribution seemed plausible. First, one cannot exclude that women were more likely to engage in such discussions with a female interviewer than men. Second, it seemed understandable that women (in their roles as mothers) generally displayed stronger feelings about their children's upbringing and saw linguistic choices as one part of this overall process. In fact, earlier sociolinguistic research conducted among women in migrant contexts addressed the influence that childbearing may have on the ways migrant women saw their role in the process of language maintenance. For example, Stoessel attests that the event of childbearing can have a direct and far-reaching effect on a woman's linguistic behavior in migration, highlighting her role as a shifter or maintainer with respect to the heritage language she wants or does not want to pass on (Stoessel 2002: 112).

With respect to the SA and KF samples, not only the amount of the comments, but also the position of participants of different genders indicated that, in fact, the issue of language maintenance in both communities seemed to attract stronger opinions from female participants than from male ones. For example, the data in Table 41 reflects participants' agreement with the statement "I want my children/grandchildren to speak Russian" on the scale from 0 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree) for different genders in the both groups (mean scores and standard deviations). Table 42 presents the results of the two-way ANOVA testing for the main and interaction effects of the ethnic group membership, life-stage and gender on these results:

Table 41: "I want my children/grandchildren to speak Russian" by life-stage

	KF		SA	
	male	female	male	female
Life-stage 1	3.80 (.447)	4.00 (.000)	3.20 (1.304)	2.80 (.837)
Life-stage 2	4.00 (.000)	4.00 (.000)	4.00 (.000)	3.80 (.447)
Life-stage 3	3.80 (.447)	4.00 (.000)	3.80 (.447)	4.00 (.000)
Life-stage 4	4.00 (.000)	4.00 (.000)	3.60 (.548)	3.67 (.577)

Table 42: Two-way ANOVA for preference for Russian maintenance among children

	df	I want my children to speak Russian	
		F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	9.475	.003*
Life-stage	3	4.321	.008*
Gender	1	.006	.940
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	3.434	.022*
Ethnic group * Gender	1	.682	.412
Life-stage * Gender	3	.428	.734
Ethn.gr * life-stage * gender	3	.459	.712
Error			

Although the ANOVA did not indicate any strong effect of gender, the results in Table 41 showed an interesting pattern that demonstrated that while all of the KF females including life-stage 1 rated the importance of Russian maintenance in the younger generations with the highest possible score, the youngest female respondents in the SA sample displayed the lowest agreement across the two groups. This difference between the KF and SA female responses was further confirmed by an additional ANOVA that tested the effects of ethnic group and life-stage *within* each gender. While no significant effect of ethnic group and life-stage was attested in the answers of male participants, both ethnic group and life-stage were shown to have significant effect on the responses of the female participants (significance values .000 for ethnic group and .007 for life-stage). These results indicated that the female KF and SA participants indeed tended to rate the importance of Russian maintenance differently, where SA females were significantly less inclined to assign importance to maintaining Russian SA in their children than the females in the KF sample.

With regard to other results presented in Table 42, the ANOVA showed that overall, ethnic group membership, and life-stage (as well as interaction between the two)

were attested to have significant effect on participants' answers as a whole. These results indicated that across genders and life-stages, the KF community showed significantly stronger position in favor of Russian maintenance. At the same time, a significant difference was attested with respect to the answers of different life-stages, which (according to a post-hoc multiple comparison test) could be attributed to the difference in agreement scores between the participants of the youngest life-stages, where the affirmative answers of the KF life-stage 1 participants were contrasted with the lowest agreement scores of the SA life-stage 1 participants, as well as by the lower agreement scores among the oldest SA migrants.

Considering the role of mothers as main proponents of shift or maintenance in the younger generations and the fact that the youngest participants displayed such distinct attitudes towards the question of maintenance and shift, it is possible to assume that on the one hand, the contrasting answers of the life-stage 1 KF and SA participants might preview the future orientation of the communities towards either shift or maintenance of Russian. On the other hand, with youngest speakers still potentially being “recipients” of the opinions and orientations of their parents, one can expect these contrasting attitudes among life-stage 1 participants to be, to a certain degree, reflective of the ideologies towards Russian maintenance present in both migrant communities. Assessing the role of parents' attitudes in the linguistic development of bilingual children, De Houwer (1999) states:

"In both monolingual and bilingual contexts children's linguistic environments are to a large degree shaped by the beliefs and attitudes of the people who constitute these environments. These beliefs and attitudes partly determine how adults will interact with children and what language(s) they will be addressing children in. These interactions patterns in turn affect children's language use, thus ultimately contributing to more macrosociological processes of language shift." (De Houwer 1999: 91)

Considering this dependency, it is possible to assume that the difference in the answers of life-stage 1 participants directly reflected the difference in the views towards Russian maintenance among adult migrants in KF and SA groups.

Although the quantitative scores of the adult respondents were overall not as extreme as the scores of the girls in both communities, the commentary given by the adult participants throughout the interviews indeed indicated that the ideologies of Russian maintenance among KF and SA participants generally fell into the same pattern,

demonstrating strong feelings towards Russian maintenance within the KF community, and displaying an overall relaxed attitude with regard to this question within the SA group. Below, these comments are discussed specifically with respect to motivation for Russian maintenance and reported practices of L1 maintenance in both communities.

8.2. Russian maintenance within the SA community

8.2.1. SA: Motivation for Russian maintenance

As a follow-up question to the quantitative assessment on the importance of Russian maintenance, the participants were asked about the reasons why they would prefer (or not prefer) their children or grandchildren to speak Russian. In some cases, SA respondents did not provide any specific reasons for their answers and just re-stated its importance or the lack thereof, while in others, they provided additional comments that explained their attitude.

Overall, for the participants who supported the idea of Russian maintenance in the SA community, this choice seemed to be motivated by one of two factors: 1) the necessity to communicate with Russian-speaking relatives and 2) possible advantages in the professional sphere. For example, the following comment demonstrated the latter attitude:

Excerpt 117

SA F 60

- 1 I: *So, you said you want your children to speak Russian?*
2 P037: *Sure, it would be good for them. It would be their foreign language, but I think it is*
3 *good to know an additional one. See, people try to learn languages in Russia to*
4 *have a normal job, so maybe they also would find a job somewhere in a consulate.*

Many SA comments stressed an advantage (although somewhat elusive) that knowing Russian might bring potential benefits, such as earning a higher salary or finding a job at an institution that would require Russian proficiency. At the same time, the participant in Excerpt 117 stressed that she did not expect Russian to be the dominant language or the mother tongue of the younger generation (line 2). This and similar accounts indicated that many SA participants expected the younger generations to become a part of the German society, and as a consequence of this, did not expect them to be fully proficient in

Russian, but rather become monolinguals or passive bilinguals. At the same time, confirming the importance of the family communication in the SA community, many expressed that they would anticipate difficulties in communication between their German-dominant children and the other adult relatives, for example:

Excerpt 118

SA M 39

- 1 I: *Why do you feel that the children should know the Russian language?*
2 P042: *Well, I don't know. After all, I guess, the child should know the Russian language.*
3 *The mom and the dad are speaking [it], so she should, well, understand it. But*
4 *whether she would be able to speak it, I don't know.*

A similar position that doubted full (or even any) Russian proficiency among children born and growing up in Germany, was also characteristic for those who did not see Russian maintenance as a necessity even for communication with other family members. While still hypothetically stating that passive understanding of spoken Russian might be beneficial, these participants explained that it would not be critical. Considering the results presented in Table 41 above, it was not surprising that this opinion was especially prominent among SA participants of the youngest life-stage. In the following comment, a 19-year old respondent illustrated this attitude, as he discussed his own proficiency in Russian and his attitude towards its maintenance:

Excerpt 119

SA M 19

- 1 I: *Is it important for you overall to maintain Russian or it wouldn't be so bad if you*
2 *would forget it one day?*
3 P119: *Actually, no. I am in Germany now. So, it is good if you understand it, that's for*
4 *sure, I don't think I would ever forget it, but to speak, it can well happen, I would*
5 *say.*

While this and similar attitudes could be seemingly explained by a potential sense of belonging to the German ethnicity, it was interesting to see that the attitude in favor of German was presented by SA participants in other terms, which did not appear related to exclusive use of German as a necessary attribute of projecting a German identity. Instead of motivating their choices by a possible answer "*because we are German*", the answer was rather "*because we live in Germany now.*" The participant in Excerpt 119 presented a clear example of such attitude. As one can see, this excerpt (as well as the rest of the

interview) was in German, as the participant claimed to have limited proficiency in spoken Russian. Furthermore, it was one of the participants who spent the longest time in Germany (11 years), having migrated at the age of 8 and having gone through schooling in Germany. Despite the long migrant history that could have potentially made him the "best" candidate for integration into the German-speaking majority and despite his family's German heritage, he did not claim or perceive himself as German. In addition, he reported having no local German contacts within his primary network (and only sporadic contacts in his secondary network), at the same time strongly disagreeing with the statement of having good friends among local Germans.²⁹ This suggested a clear lack of affiliation with the German majority, and displayed this participant's strong marginalization within the new society. Considering this fact, it became apparent that the lack of support for Russian maintenance was not motivated by his association with the German culture or society, but rather by the practical choice of living in Germany (line 3).

This position was echoed in the following example where an SA participant reported an apparent decline of Russian proficiency among members of the youngest generation in her brother's family and recalled the reasons for her sister-in-law's decision not to teach her children Russian:

Excerpt 120

SA F 47

- 1 P128: *My brothers' girls, they don't speak Russian at all. I want to talk to them, but I can't.*
2 *I don't speak German like that, and they don't understand me in Russian anymore.*
3 *It's kind of sad, not only because they don't understand me, just in general. I don't*
4 *know why.*
5 I: *The parents don't speak Russian to them?*
6 P128: *No, they don't.*
7 I: *Why, they just don't want to?*
8 P128: *The mom doesn't want to. And the mom, the grandma even tells her to do so, but she*
9 *says: "No, it's not necessary". It's the mom.*
10 I: *And why? Because they live here now?*
11 P128: *I would say yes. She thinks: "Why would they need Russian here?" It's like that.*

²⁹ The absence of contacts with local Germans even in the case of migrants who grew up in Germany and displayed native-like German proficiency could be also related to the comment in Excerpt 85, in which a KF participant described an SA family perceived and labeled as "Russian" in their neighborhood even despite the apparent linguistic and social integration into the German society.

Similar to the previous excerpt, this participant also agreed that the fact of living in Germany was the reason for one of her relatives not to maintain Russian language among her children, opting for German monolingualism. At the same time, it was interesting to see that not all family members shared this position, as she reported that the family's grandmother had an opposite opinion, even deliberately telling the mother to use Russian, although unsuccessfully. Such a position of a life-stage 4 SA migrant was quite unexpected considering the data in Table 41, which indicated that the oldest SA migrants were less likely to see importance of Russian maintenance in children, presumably because of the stronger sense of "Germanness". It was therefore even more surprising to find examples of support in favor of Russian maintenance similar to the one reported in Excerpt 120 in the comments provided by two other older study participants, a husband and a wife (not related to the family described above):

Excerpt 121

SA M 76

- 1 I: *So, do you think children shouldn't forget Russian?*
2 P136: *Yes, the kids should not forget Russian. Just like we learned Russian very quickly,*
3 *they will get it here. They will get German and shouldn't forget their own.*
4 I: *And your grandchildren, do they speak Russian?*
5 P136: *No, they don't speak a word of it. The older grandkids, they do speak Russian, but*
6 *the ones from my youngest son – nothing.*

Excerpt 122

SA F 70

- 1 I: *What would you say – for the kids who come here, is it important not to forget*
2 *Russian or not?*
3 P135: *I would say, it's important not to forget. Like people say, who would have thought*
4 *that one day we would come here? And we don't know, maybe in 10 years, maybe in*
5 *50 years, maybe sooner or later everything will start to change again. And there*
6 *are very many people who try very hard to make their kids not to know the*
7 *language. But like we didn't know any language, and we are 60 or older, because*
8 *we didn't know or think that one day we would go to Germany. Never in our lives!*
9 *And you see now... So, I think especially if someone is Russian in a family, and of*
10 *course if there are some family members back there, it would be good for a child to*
11 *know the Russian language. And overall, it is not bad to know an extra language.*
12 *It's not bad generally. That's why I wanted that - I told [daughter-in-law's name]:*
13 *"[Name], why wouldn't you try to speak Russian at home? The kids will learn*
14 *German here, they go to a daycare, and to the school, they would learn it quickly."*
15 *"No", she says, "I am not used to speaking Russian at home anymore, I won't". So,*
16 *she doesn't. But she speaks a better German than us, she went to a **language***
17 *[course]. She was 22 when they came here. I mean 20, I guess, my God! She is 29*

18 *now, they have been here for 8 years. So, she is like that.*

On the one hand, these excerpts highlighted once again the attitude towards Russian maintenance prevalent among the younger SA parents who did not assign any importance to the transfer of the Russian language on their children and also attested the loss of Russian among children in the SA community. On the other hand, it showed that the attitude of younger migrants was not always shared by older community members who motivated their views in favor of Russian maintenance by the need of family communication (Excerpt 122, lines 9-10) or by a potential plans to re-emigrate again in the future (lines 4-5). This attitude among older speakers could be possibly explained by their own bilingual history (Excerpt 121, line 2) absent in the younger generations who, having grown up monolingual, did not seem to make an effort to actively promote bilingualism among their children in Germany. This attitude directly translated itself into the practices of family communication and children's socialization in the SA community, which are discussed in the next section.

8.2.2. SA: linguistic practices relevant to Russian maintenance

After looking at the comments provided by SA respondents of younger life-stages who had children or who talked about teaching Russian to their children in the future, it became apparent that overall, even in cases where SA participants indicated positive feelings towards maintaining Russian, the data showed a rather neutral attitude to promoting Russian-German bilingualism. This was noticeable both in the reports on using less Russian in the family domain (see Table 25), and in the tendency to let the children decide for themselves, which language they would prefer to use in the communication with parents. Throughout the interviews with the SA group, these observations were reinforced by the multiple accounts of ambivalence towards maintaining Russian in children, for example:

Excerpt 123

SA F 18
1 *I: If you were to have children here, would you like them to preserve the Russian*
2 *language, or is it not necessary?*
3 *P071: Sure, I would like that, but to insist on it... if the child himself would want it, if he*
4 *will be showing an initiative. Because I know some who were born here and they*

5 *still know the Russian language, but it is because the children themselves expressed*
6 *a wish to do so. So if parents would insist on it, I don't think that it would produce*
7 *any results. So, it will be up to them.*

Excerpt 124

SA F 23

1 *I: Have you practiced Russian with your daughter on purpose?*
2 *P026: No, not on purpose, no. It's just the communication around her is in Russian, and*
3 *there are videos in Russian. But we don't do anything special, like writing or*
4 *something. First, you have to know it yourself, and then there are things that you*
5 *need, like the time.*

These and similar accounts demonstrated a position, which was not necessarily against, but also not actively for Russian maintenance (Excerpt 123, lines 3 and 7, and Excerpt 124, line 2). Acknowledging that Russian still dominated family communication, SA parents often expected the children to acquire Russian through communication with relatives, and were not actively pursuing full language proficiency. To this extent, none of the SA parents reported promoting literacy skills specifically (similar to the respondent in Excerpt 124), a position which will prove to stand in a clear contrast with the attitudes towards and practices of Russian maintenance in the KF community discussed later in this chapter.

Taking this position, the SA group did not extend promoting Russian beyond using it in the family alongside German, while letting children choose which language they preferred to speak. In most reported cases – quite predictably - the choice was made in favor of German due to the children's higher German proficiency. Thus, the communication with children in the SA community seemed to become yet an additional "source" or German use in the SA community in addition to communication with German-dominant relatives with longer migration history as discussed in Chapter 6. Consider, for example, the following comments:

Excerpt 125

SA F 24

1 *P041: With all the relatives I use more Russian, except with the kids. Because when you*
2 *start, they answer in German, and then you just continue in German because it is*
3 *easier.*

Excerpt 126

SA F 24

- 1 I: Does your daughter speak more Russian or more German?
2 P041: More German. Practically German. She doesn't even know a lot of words in
3 Russian. So, she asks how to say this and this. The common, in-house language is
4 still OK, but if she needs to say something about the school, she automatically
5 switches in German. She doesn't even notice.

In these accounts, the use of Russian with children appeared to be restricted due to the perceived insufficient Russian proficiency among younger speakers (e.g. Excerpt 126, lines 2-3) and children's general preference for German as the dominant language spoken at school or among friends. In some cases, as, for example, in Excerpt 125, the children seemed to be the ones even insisting on the use of German in the family communication, ultimately bringing their parents to accepting their language choice, and in such way driving the overall shift to German in the rest of the SA community. In addition, Excerpt 126 also touched on the phenomenon attested in other migrant communities where children were shown to facilitate L2 learning among parents and other family members through their engagement with L2-speaking school environment (see e.g. Durán 2003). Similar to Duran's findings, that showed the increased proficiency in L2 among parents involved in their children's school work and communication about school contexts, the participant in Excerpt 126 stated that the use of German was routinely prompted specifically by school-related contexts. This particular practice could also be seen as one of the driving forces behind the reports of more frequent German use in the SA family domain provided earlier in Table 25, not only supporting the reports on higher German use in younger generations, but also explaining the increasing amounts of German in otherwise Russian-dominant adults through their practice of following the linguistic choices of younger speakers.

In a number of cases, SA participants reported not only letting children decide which language to use, but even, deliberately avoiding Russian in communication with children with the goal of preparing them for the German-speaking environment outside the house, even when relying on own (reportedly) insufficient German knowledge:

Excerpt 127

SA M 35

- 1 P087: Of course, with our daughter, we try to speak German, even like using books with

2 *pictures. Like **wolf** or something like that. Sometimes she would mix it up and say*
3 *something, but I know these words as well.*

Excerpt 128

SA M 61

1 *P036: With the grandkids, of course we try to speak German so that they can hear it. Well,*
2 *of course, we speak it badly, crookedly, but at least like that.*

This acceptance (and in some cases even strong preference) for German in communication in the family was reflected in the quantitative data on the use of Russian and German in communication with the family members (Table 25), which indicated an overall stronger preference for German in SA families compared with the KF data. A re-evaluation of these data with consideration of the life-stage of respondents' interlocutors provided a further confirmation of the ideology dismissing the need for Russian maintenance apparent from the SA comments presented in this section as it showed significantly higher use of German with children in the SA families. The results of this analysis are presented below in Table 43. When participants were asked about their close family members living in Germany, additional information was collected on reported language use with each of the family members using options "I speak Russian only" (coded as 0), "mostly Russian (1), "both Russian and German" (2), "mostly German" (3) and "German only" (4). The results in Table 43 can be interpreted in the following way: the higher the number in each cell, the more German (and less Russian) was reported to be used by participants with family members of each of the four life-stages. Table 44 presents the results of the two-way ANOVA for communication with interlocutors of different life-stages:

Table 43: In-family language use by life-stage³⁰

		Speaking to:			
	KF	Life-stage 1	Life-stage 2	Life-stage 3	Life-stage 4
	SA				
Participant:	Life-stage 1	1.80	1.00	.50	.00
		2.40	1.88	.90	.43
	Life-stage 2	.00	.33	.00	.00
		2.00	.89	.56	.44
Life-stage 3	.00	.00	.00	.00	
	1.67	.75	.70	.50	
Life-stage 4	-	.00	.00	.00	
	2.43	1.86	1.25	1.62	

Table 44: Two-way ANOVA for in-family language use by life-stage

	df	with L-S 1		with L-S 2		with L-S 3		with L-S 4	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	17.410	.000*	12.233	.001*	15.782	.000*	9.033	.005*
Life-stage	3	3.942	.014*	2.328	.093	1.713	.175	.868	.456
Ethnic group * Life-stage	3	1.553	.224	1.047	.374	.776	.512	.868	.466
Error	70								

Looking at the overall pattern, it is safe to say that German indeed seemed more likely to become accepted as a family language in the SA than the KF group. With the exception of the youngest life-stage, KF participants reported on using no or very little German in communication with the family members overall. At the same time, unlike the KF responses, none of the subgroups within the SA data showed a categorical preference for Russian, indicating that in each case, a certain amount German was consistently used in

³⁰ With regard to the data in this table, Life-stage 1 in the category "Speaking to:" also included small children not yet attending schools, but mostly attending German-speaking daycare facilities.

communication with family members in Germany. The ANOVA results showed a significant main effect of ethnic group membership with respect to communication with family members of all four life-stages, indicating that on average, the KF community reported on using significantly less German and more Russian than the SA community. The life-stage of the participants reporting these data was proven to be a factor with respect to communication with life-stage 1 speakers only, which was explained by the fact that life-stage 1 participants (especially within the SA group) reported to use significantly more German with peers than with adult family members according to the post-hoc multiple comparison test.

What was especially relevant to the above discussion of the attitudes to and practices of language maintenance in the younger generations was the difference between the KF and the SA group in the speech directed to their youngest family members (Speaking to: Life-stage 1). Both SA young adults and middle-age participants (the two groups who were most likely to be parents) consistently reported using more German in their communication with children in their households (with scores reaching 2.00 for the life-stage 2, indicating similar amounts of Russian and German, and 1.67 for life-stage 3), which directly supported the qualitative reports discussed earlier in this section. These data presented a striking contrast to the KF participants of the same age, whose scores indicated a reported exclusive use of Russian as the language in communication with children. While no data was available for the language used with children by the oldest KF speakers (as none of the respondents had or lived close to grandchildren in Germany to be engaged in frequent communication), their overall pattern of language use with other life-stages, as well as the attitudes towards the Russian maintenance in younger generations (which is discussed in the next section) can serve as strong indicators that the ideology of Russian-only in communication with children would continue in this subgroup as well.

As has been shown in literature, parents' attitudes and their linguistic behavior driven by these attitudes can be expected (at least to a certain degree) to influence the processes of language shift and maintenance in younger generations (e.g. De Houwer 1999). Considering the difference in in-family language use with younger generations discussed above, one can expect that the SA group would be more likely to shift to

German over time in comparison to the KF community. At the same time, it became obvious that the strong ideological position in favor of Russian among the KF migrants did not exclude the use of German in the KF families, as (especially with respect to life-stage 1) it was shown to enter the family domain, although to a lesser degree than in the SA data.

The fact that life-stage 1 participants of both groups reported to use more German in communication with their siblings (with life-stage 1 interlocutors) demonstrated that German was becoming (or became already) the dominant language of the youngest respondents. These results may well be interpreted as an early evidence of an ongoing shift to German, driven by the mechanisms similar to ones attested in earlier studies for non-migrant (Gal 1979) and migrant (Wei 1994) communities alike. In both studies, the authors demonstrated how patterns of individual linguistic choices associated with different groups within a given society (united for example, by such characteristics as gender or generation as in studies cited here), over time can make a change on a more general level, by gradually driving the shift of an entire community to another language. In SA and KF communities, it was life-stage 1 that appeared to lead the shift to German, which in the SA community seemed to be further encouraged by the status of German of as the heritage language of the adult participants.

Furthermore, the data in Table 43 demonstrated that especially in communication with children in SA families, both Russian and German were used alongside each other. This simultaneous use of the two languages was further confirmed by a number of SA comments to be the main context for "*using both languages and the same time*", or for code-mixing, as, for example, reflected in the comments below:³¹

Excerpt 129

SA M 33

- 1 I: *And with your kids, what language do you usually speak?*
2 P107: *Both. Russian, German, half and half actually.*

Excerpt 130

SA F 23

- 1 I: *What language do you usually speak with your daughter?*

³¹ See Chapter 9 for detailed discussion of code-mixing practices and ideologies.

- 2 P026: *Two languages. German and Russian. When her friends come over, we speak*
 3 *German, and sometimes she would speak German to me and I would speak Russian*
 4 *back. So, she is like that all day, she walks around and speaks one language with*
 5 *one person, and another language with another person the whole day.*
 6 I: *So, do you answer in German to her or in Russian?*
 7 P026: *Like that – half, half.*

Excerpt 131

- SA F 63
 1 P102: *Whenever my nephews come to visit, they all speak both German and Russian. The*
 2 *young ones don't even understand everything in Russian, so they mix.*

Similar to the comment in Excerpt 131, the use of German was often motivated by the limited Russian proficiency of younger speakers. Overall, the discourse on the decline of Russian, became another recurrent theme in the discussion of in-family communication. In addition to many SA participants who referred to the lack of Russian proficiency as the reason to choose German in communication with the German-dominant younger generations (Excerpt 125, Excerpt 126), the comments given by the participants of the youngest life-stage often referred to their perception of own declining proficiency in Russian, as, for example in the following comments:

Excerpt 132

- SA M 18
 1 I: *Has your Russian changed?*
 2 P123: *Yeah. Like, I forget it already. Like **vocabulary** for example, like when you have to*
 3 *speak **freely**, I forget the **vocabulary** already. Yes, I understand many things in*
 4 *Russian, but my **vocabulary**.... Well, I am like **noticing**(Russian 1stP.SINGULAR)*
already.

Excerpt 133

- SA M 15
 1 P165: *My Russian has changed already. It's kind of going down now.*

Overall, the data from the SA group indicated that as a consequence of the increasing acceptance of German as an in-group language, there seemed to be a steady decline in a use of Russian in the family domain, especially with regard to communication with younger generations. Although proficiency in Russian still seemed to be viewed as somewhat desirable due to the need to communicate with Russian-speaking family members or due to potential advantages in professional life, overall, the SA adult

speakers did not seem to be inclined to take any deliberate steps to promote language maintenance in children beyond the every-day use of Russian as one of the family languages.

At the same time, although the higher orientation to German seemed to be potentially explainable through a certain degree of affiliation with the German culture and ethnicity (as it was also often assumed by the KF participants commenting on SA preference for German as an in-group language, e.g. Excerpt 85), no direct evidence in support of this assumption was found in the SA discourse. Instead, preference for German in communication with children was routinely explained through practical need of "*being in Germany*".

Finally, it is important to mention that the KF responses indicated a clear awareness of the ideologies and practices of Russian maintenance prevalent in the SA community and described in this chapter. For example, in the following excerpt, a 54-year old KF participant commented on the code-mixing of the SA community, attributing its wide spread to the more frequent use of German among the SA families (and children specifically):

Excerpt 134

KF M 47

1 P060: *The language of the Russian Germans, it is a special language. It's a mixture of*
2 *Russian and German, and it is clear why – because many of their kids don't speak*
3 *Russian at all anymore. And they speak like that – the parents speak Russian, and*
4 *the kids answer in German. Just like some kind of language game. Here one speaks*
5 *Russian, here German, just like a language game. They understand, but they don't*
6 *speak.*

This view was shared by a number of other KF respondents and was often presented in contrast to the KFs' own ideologies and practices of L1 maintenance in the KF community, which are discussed in the next section.

8.3. Russian maintenance within the KF group

The analysis of the ideologies and practices surrounding Russian maintenance in the KF community displayed a strikingly different picture. Although seemingly to an exaggerated degree, the following comment provided by a 35-year-old KF participant

seemed to best summarize the dominant attitude towards Russian maintenance within the KF community:

Excerpt 135

KF F 35

- 1 P019: *In Russian Jewish families here, people believe that a child should definitely speak*
2 *Russian very well, read and write in Russian, and almost write poetry in Russian.*

In line with this attitude, KF participants in this study displayed a significantly higher orientation towards promoting Russian maintenance that very much differed from the one attested in the SA community, as KF group not only displayed different beliefs about the reasons for language maintenance but also reportedly adhered to different practices of language use and language preservation within families. As discussed in Chapter 6, Russian was seen as the only acceptable language for in-family communication, and this position became especially prominent in KF participants' discussion of Russian maintenance in younger generations. The two following sub-sections look at the ideologies and reported practices of Russian maintenance in the KF community and demonstrate how KF respondents approached this issue in the interviews in comparison to the SA community.

8.3.1. KF: Motivation for language maintenance

The first striking contrast to the SA group became obvious from the way the KF participants first responded to the question whether they believed Russian should be maintained in future generations. While the overall tone of the SA responses was rather non-decisive, indicating that "*it would be good*" to maintain their Russian, the KF participants displayed much stronger opinions in favor of Russian maintenance, stating that "*of course*", "*naturally*", or "*absolutely*" they would wish the younger generation to maintain Russian. For example, the following comment provided by a 16-year old KF participant can serve as an example of this decisive position:

Excerpt 136

KF M 16

- 1 I: *Would you want your children in Germany to know Russian?*
2 P154: *Yes, it is important.*
3 I: *And if it is important, why specifically?*

4 P154: *First, I believe it is a good language. And overall, let's say, it is necessary... It is*
5 *necessary to know it. It's complex, and if there is such an opportunity, if for*
6 *example, I would be a father, and there is such an opportunity, why wouldn't you do*
7 *it?*

Furthermore, not only the strength of the desire to preserve Russian, but also the reasons for this proved to be different between the two communities. As shown earlier, professional advantages and communication with Russian-speaking family members were named by the SA participants as the two main reasons for Russian maintenance in younger generations. The same reasons also proved to be present in the comments given by the KF participants, who stressed that an additional language might improve one's chances in a job search, and that they would also prefer the younger generations to preserve their Russian in order to communicate with relatives both in Germany and in the home country.

At the same time, the KF respondents tended to name additional reasons for maintaining Russian not attested at all in the SA group. Here, the following ideologies proved to be dominating the KF discourse: first, the strong perception of Russian as the mother tongue, which in turn was firmly tied to the high importance of language maintenance as the way to preserve the Russian culture at large, and second, the general beliefs about the benefits of bilingualism (as already indicated by the comment in Excerpt 136), including the benefits in speakers' overall mental development.

As shown in Table 12, the KF community displayed a stronger perception of Russian as their native language, and this position was directly reflected in the KF comments regarding the reasons for Russian maintenance among children. Both young and adult participants indicated that even in migration, proficiency in Russian should be maintained exactly because of the status of Russian as the mother tongue. The following comments can serve as example of this attitude:

Excerpt 137

KF M 17
1 I: *Do you want to keep your Russian?*
2 P033: *Yes, because it is my native language and because it might turn out [to be] useful.*
3 *There are so many Russians living here, for example in [city name]. It might turn*
4 *out [to be] useful.*

Excerpt 138

KF F 59

- 1 I: *And for grandchildren, is it important to speak Russian?*
2 P091: *Well, this is the mother tongue. You shouldn't forget your mother tongue, this is*
3 *culture.*
4 I: *But if they would be born here, would you still say it would be important?*
5 P091: *But of course! The language should be preserved, of course.*

The first comment, provided by a 17-year old KF respondent stood in striking contrast to the comment in Excerpt 119, where a young SA respondent contemplated a possibility of eventually losing Russian, at least with regard to speaking it, motivated by the fact that he now lives in Germany. The young KF participant above seemed to represent an exactly opposite position, as he motivated the preference for Russian maintenance by the fact that it might be useful, but even more so, because he considered Russian to be his native language (line 2). As illustrated by Excerpt 138, this status of Russian as the native language was projected even onto future generations that would grow up in Germany. With respect to this comment, it is notable that the prospect of maintaining Russian in not questioned even for the generations not yet born, demonstrating the strength of this attitude. Again, this position presented a clear contrast to the SA data, in which the necessity to teach children German appeared to be self-evident and was not questioned by the parents (see e.g. Excerpt 120), and where Russian was not expected to be the native language of the youngest speakers.

Additional comments showed that it was not only the language per se, but also the rich cultural content represented and expressed through the Russian language that was seen by the participants as the ultimate heritage that they wanted to pass onto younger generations, as many respondents directly tied proficiency in Russian to familiarity with Russian cultural traditions and the possibility to pass them onto their children and grandchildren, for example:

Excerpt 139

KF M 19

- 1 I: *If you think that one day you will have children here in Germany, do you want them*
2 *to speak Russian?*
3 P155: *Yes... 100 percent.*
4 I: *Is it because the more languages the better or because of the professional reasons?*
5 P155: *No. I want them to feel Russian.*
6 I: *I see, so it is important for you to pass this on?*

7 P155: *Of course.*

Excerpt 140

KF F 59

- 1 I: *You said that you would want your grandchildren not to forget Russian.*
2 P023: *Of course.*
3 I: *And is it more so that they don't lose the culture or...*
4 P023: *The culture, yes...*
5 I: *... or is it because of some professional reasons?*
6 P023: *No, it's the culture, its very rich. And the mentality, it would be sad for me if they*
7 *[lose it]. But they take something in already, I think they are not going to be 100*
8 *percent German... So, of course I would like to. It's the roots, the homeland, the*
9 *language, a very rich culture.*

Next to the belief that Russian language, as the native language of the community and the carrier of the Russian culture, should be maintained in future generations, the KF participants also displayed a wide-spread view that bilingualism in general could benefit an individual, and especially a child, on many different levels, from being exposed to more opportunities in life to the ease of learning an additional language later, to increasing their mental abilities in general, as can be illustrated by the following comment:

Excerpt 141

KF F 22

- 1 I: *You said when you would have children, you want them to speak Russian.*
2 P095: *Of course!*
3 I: *And why exactly?... Is it more because of practical reasons, like advantages in a*
4 *job...*
5 P095: *It's like all together, because when a person, a child hears two languages since*
6 *birth, it is much easier for him to learn a third or a fifth or a tenth language later in*
7 *life. This is first. And then, it is also that it would of course be different for the*
8 *mental development of the child, he would develop faster and better, I would say so.*
9 *And then, maybe somehow, one day it would happen that he could use his Russian*
10 *in some way. And of course we all speak Russian in the family. How is he going to*
11 *talk to my grandma who doesn't speak any German? Of course. Russian is my*
12 *mother tongue, I grew up with Russian language, I read books. Maybe of course I*
13 *would learn German to the same level I know Russian now, right? But a lot of*
14 *things are much easier for me to say or to explain in Russian than in German. That*
15 *is why of course the child in ENTITLED to know the Russian language.*

This position, once again, stood in clear contrast with many of the SA comments that stressed the desire to expose children to German in order to avoid confusion in school. In contrast, none of the KF participants expressed hesitation to promote bilingualism in their

children, instead repeatedly stressing the benefits of growing up bilingual for the overall mental development of younger speakers (see also Excerpt 136).

Despite this strong ideological position in favor of Russian maintenance in both adult and school-age KF participants, this migrant group seemed not at all to be an exception from the gradual generation-related shift to the majority language typical for migrant populations elsewhere (Haugen 1989; Wei 1994). Although seemingly less prominent than in the SA data (as discussed in Section 8.2.2), this early shift seemed to be reflected in participants' comments on the decreasing language proficiency of their children despite parents' efforts to maintain Russian. In each case, KF participants expressed their negative feelings towards the loss of Russian. Just as language maintenance was seen as a way to pass the Russian culture and mentality onto children, a loss of Russian was seen as a disappearance of a possibility for the transfer of Russian heritage, as, for example, highlighted in the comment below:

Excerpt 142

KF F 45

- 1 I: *So, you want your son not to forget the Russian language...*
2 P055: *Of course!...*
3 I: *And is it more because of the culture, so it doesn't get lost, or is it more because of*
4 *the profession, that it might be better for him in the future, or ...*
5 P055: *But of course! Because of such reason that it is his **mother tongue**. And whether he*
6 *would even need it for work or not, it is very hard to say. But he is losing the*
7 *language because he doesn't have a need to read in Russian. He is not as well*
8 *educated as the children of his age somewhere in Russia. To my greatest pity. He*
9 *has a very diff... diff... different-sided education. Unfortunately, he doesn't know*
10 *either Russian classics, or the literature, or the poetry. Of course, when he was*
11 *little, I was reading him Pushkin, he liked it a lot. And now I can't make him do it*
12 *anymore.*
13 I: *So, he is not interested in it anymore?*
14 P055: *No, he is not interested, I can't make him. Absolutely. So he doesn't know any*
15 *Russian history, unfortunately, or the Russian literature. He doesn't know anything*
16 *of this sort. Alas. And he doesn't want to read in Russian anymore, he doesn't want*
17 *to. I think it is because it is already harder for him. Since he is putting the stress on*
18 *the wrong syllable, he doesn't recognize the words and so he doesn't know what*
19 *they mean. But in German it is easy. And so the child does not read, unfortunately,*
20 *like the majority of his peers here.*

When elaborating on the reasons for her teenage son to maintain Russian, this participant explained that although she considered Russian to be his native language, she also noticed an inevitable decline in his Russian proficiency since migration. In her view, this

decline was causing a loss of access to a wider Russian culture, specifically to the world of the Russian classical literature and history (lines 9-10). Comparing her son to Russian children going through the standard school curriculum she stated that the loss of Russian proficiency and the unfamiliarity with the high Russian culture have caused him to be *"not as well educated as the children of his age somewhere in Russia"* (lines 7-8). Chapter 2 addressed the self-perception of the Jewish minority in the former Soviet Union as an active producer and consumer of the high Russian culture (Levinson 1997), and the participant's account in the excerpt above illustrated how this self-perception played out in the post-migrant ideologies of L1 maintenance in the KF community. This (and many other) KF respondents reported a strong emphasis on L1 maintenance not only through adhering to Russian in the family communication, but also through deliberately promoting literacy skills (consider, for example the exaggerated comment in Excerpt 135). In this way maintaining the link to the high Russian culture through literacy skills became for KF participants a specific aspect of the KF group identity in migration. Many participants reported trying to pass the connection to the Russian culture through the Russian language onto younger generations just like any other attribute of identity, similar to an "ethnic" language, customs or traditions. With respect to this attitude, an interesting parallel could be found in the status of Yiddish literacy described by Fishman for the secularist Jewish communities in the USA. As he states, "Yiddish secularist literacy is almost universal and stressed even more than oracy" (Fishman 1991: 206). According to Fishman, although seemingly unusable in a practical sense, Yiddish proficiency came to serve as a special symbol of belonging, as it provided a "sense of world-wide perspectives and of a far-flung community of interests and orientation" (1991: 206). The literacy in Russian in the KF community, seen as an access to a somewhat elite community united by interest in high Russian culture appeared to serve a similar purpose. In the context of the KF community, preserving and transmitting L1 through literacy seemed to act as a sign of a special unity, not only connecting the migrants to one another within the migrant context, but also allowing them to preserve the connection to the home country and to community's pre-migration understanding of their own ethnic identity. At the same time, KF migrants showed awareness of the difference between their own and the other group's linguistic behavior and attitudes with

respect to this question. Due to this awareness, the difference in the attitudes became yet another dimension allowing KF migrants to establish a boundary between their own and the SA group.

At the same time, Excerpt 142 also demonstrated that the pre-migration value system of the adult KF migrants did not always seem to reach into the younger generations who grew up in the context of contemporary Germany and did not necessarily share the same terms of self-identification as the parents' generation, as witnessed for example by the participants' sons' loss of interest in reading Russian. However, this was presented as a fairly recent phenomenon, as the participant reported to have purposefully read with him Russian classical literature before (line 11), as well as indicated that she made attempts to promote reading in Russian, but failed (line 14).

This excerpt can serve as a preview for the next section, which looks at specific practices reported by the KF parents as means to promote Russian proficiency in children. As the next section demonstrates, in line with the ideologies described here, KF participants also consistently reported to adhere to linguistic behaviors that directly contrasted practices of language maintenance (or rather the lack thereof) within the SA community described in Section 8.2.2.

8.3.2. KF: Practices of Russian maintenance

In contrast to the SA group that put a deliberate effort into promoting German among younger generations specifically, the main belief that determined the family-related linguistic practices in the KF community was the clear ideology that children, who grow up in Germany, would not have any difficulty in acquiring an adequate linguistic competence in German outside the home. At the same time, the exact opposite could be said about proficiency in Russian, as many of the KF parents saw an immediate need to maintain and promote Russian in the family domain and beyond.

Perceiving Russian maintenance as essential, KF parents saw the family domain as the main carrier of the Russian language *and* culture (and as indicated in Excerpt 142 above, high culture specifically). To this extent, the KF respondents often saw their own task as parents to maximize children's exposure to Russian within the family in order to counteract the strong pressure from the German-speaking outside world. This strong

ideological position was shared even by the relatively young participants who did not yet have children on their own but planned to implement the Russian-only policy at home in the future, for example:

Excerpt 143

- KF M 22*
- 1 I: *If you have children here in Germany, would you like them to speak Russian?*
2 P132: *Naturally!*
3 I: *Is that right?*
4 P132: *This is what I told myself right away.*
5 I: *And because of what reasons? Like it might be useful in professional life or in ...*
6 P132: *Yes. In principle, in life in general it might be useful to know two languages.*
7 *Especially if the communication at home would be only in Russian, you would be*
8 *speaking freely. And the German – the child would learn it naturally, there is no*
9 *way out of it. Especially since they are small, they just soak it up like a sponge. This*
10 *is not a question. But the Russian – it is necessarily. It's a must.*
11 I: *So, it's for sure...*
12 P132: *Yes. I don't want to speak German in my family, in my home. I believe that we are*
13 *like... Russians, because we all came from the [Soviet] Union, and you shouldn't*
14 *forget your native language.*
15 I: *So, it is important for you to maintain it.*
16 P132: *Yes, yes.*

In contrast to many SA accounts, this participant believed that a strict adherence to Russian would not in any way hurt children's ability to integrate into the wider German-speaking society. His position on learning German in Germany presented in lines 8-9 was echoed by many others who believed that small children born in Germany would acquire German without any problems on their own due to their young age and an ability to "*soak it up like a sponge*" (line 9). In addition, this comment also reflected a general non-acceptance of German as an in-group and family language in the KF community (line 12). Again, this position stood in a clear contrast to the ideologies of language maintenance and language acquisition in the SA families described in Section 8.2.2, where migrant parents often reported to deliberately use L2 in the families in order to teach their children German even despite their own non-native proficiency levels (Excerpt 127 and Excerpt 128).

Following the ideology that saw the immediate family as the main carrier of the cultural and linguistic Russian heritage, many of the KF families who had children and were facing real-life linguistic choices in contrast with a hypothetical situation in Excerpt 143 also reported their strict adherence to the "Russian-only" practice for the in-home

communication, especially in the child-directed speech, as can be shown in following comments:

Excerpt 144

KF F 26

- 1 P012: *Now we have a little one. I want him to speak Russian first. Because he will start*
2 *speaking German later inevitably. There is no way around it. That's why we only*
3 *teach him Russian.*
4 I: *So, you try to speak only...*
5 P012: *Yes. Yes.*

Excerpt 145

KF F 35

- 1 I: *What language do you speak to your children?*
2 P019: *Russian. Well, sometimes, even quite often I read them books in German, but it is...*
3 *just like... for reading. But of course recently [Name of the oldest child] comes*
4 *back from his daycare and starts to perform in German, so I am trying to smoothly*
5 *bring him back to speaking Russian, because he is the most bilingual of us anyway,*
6 *since he goes to a daycare for half a day.*

While once again acknowledging the inevitability of German acquisition by children, both comments demonstrated the in-family practices aiming to counterweight the dominance of the majority language by only teaching Russian to an infant (Excerpt 144) or to explicitly steering child's language preferences towards Russian (Excerpt 145). At the same time, the second excerpt demonstrated that even with a strong preference for L1 in the family domain, the KF community could not withstand the pressures of the L2 dominance completely, as the participant reported to regularly read in German with her older son. However, there appeared to be a striking difference between the SA and the KF groups in the way German and the use of German in the family was approached by the parents. While the SA community seemed to accept both languages giving them similar status of an in-group code, the KF community routinely reported to draw a clear distinction between Russian as the family language and German as a (although important) language of the outside world. In Excerpt 145, the participant stressed that the use of German at home with her older son did not conflict with the use of Russian as the family language, as she strictly distinguished the practice of reading books in German from the overall use of Russian as an interactional language with the children, thus resembling the strategy of German learning attested for the adult KF migrants in Chapter 7. A number of

other comments showcased similar practices in other families that were focused on the efforts to "keep the languages apart" in children's perceptions, not allowing them to mix up their functions as the in-group and the out-group language.³² The following comment can provide an example of this practice:

Excerpt 146

- KF F 31*
- 1 P030: *With my husband I speak only Russian.*
2 I: *And with your child?*
3 P030: *Only Russian.*
4 I: *Do you mix?*
5 P030: *No. Never. I only tell him "This is what it is called in German". "This way it is*
6 *called in German". "And in German, the house is called **the house**". "What is the*
7 *house called in German?" ... Only in this way. And everything is divided, there is*
8 *no mix in his head.*

While the comments presented so far illustrated the practice of Russian-only as an interactive language in the family, other comments demonstrated KF parents' attempts to further strengthen the position of the Russian language through a number of additional maintenance practices. First, in support of the ideology that stressed literacy skills as an inherent part of language proficiency, many KF parents (and future parents alike) reported investing time and money into promoting literacy skills in children (or planning to do so in the future). For example, in the following excerpt, an 18-year old KF participant talks about her plans to maintain Russian in her future children, stressing that she sees literacy as a part of complete proficiency in a given language:

Excerpt 147

- KF F 18*
- 1 I: ***Once you have children, are you planning on speaking Russian to them or you***
2 ***think...***
3 P113: ***Yes, yes. I mean, they will have to speak Russian with my parents. It is good this***
4 ***way. And I will try to speak with them as much Russian as possible.***
5 I: ***Do you think you will be doing any additional things, like Russian classes for***
6 ***children, reading and writing, or is it just important for you that they***
7 ***understand?***
8 P113: ***No, no. It is very important to be able to read and write. Because I have friends, I***
9 ***have some friends who can... who understand, but they speak it wrongly, and***
10 ***they can't read or write. But this is not enough, this is not language proficiency.***
11 ***It is important to at least be able to read and write.***

³² See Chapter 9 for detailed discussion of code-mixing practices and ideologies.

This account was especially interesting considering that at a different point of the interview this participant reported that German was her dominant language and also considering that she chose German to be the language of the interview. It demonstrated that even in cases of own declining Russian proficiency, KF young respondents were likely to plan promoting literacy in Russian among their future children, furthermore demonstrating the strength of this ideology.

In the case of current parents, many KF respondents reported investing time (and sometimes money) in order to maintain reading and writing skills in their children. For example, the following discussion was prompted by the participant's comment that her child did not seem to be getting an adequate education in his German elementary school and that this participant was taking her own steps to supplement his education by additional efforts at home:

Excerpt 148

KF F 26

- 1 P012: *In the school, they only assign all kinds of nonsense. So we are learning with him*
2 *on our own.*
3 I: *And what do you learn with him?*
4 P012: *Oh my God... [laughing at the younger child, who was present during the interview*
5 *and did something funny]. Oh, I forgot, what did you ask?*
6 I: *What do you learn with him?*
7 P012: *Oh, with [Name of the older child]?*
8 I: *Yeah*
9 P012: *To read in Russian, to write in Russian, to count, the multiplication table, and to*
10 *read in German too...*
11 I: *And with [Name of the younger child], are you speaking Russian?*
12 P012: *Yes, with him it's all the time in Russian. [To the child:] Come here, I will wipe off*
13 *your mouth, come here. [unintelligible] Go draw something. Go draw something.*
14 *Go draw a beep beep. Give it to Daddy, he will draw you a beep beep. [To the*
15 *interviewer:] With him we are learning Russian letters as well... For now we will*
16 *be only learning Russian. Because later he will feel that he doesn't want to, he will*
17 *stop wanting it. So, for now, it's Russian. Then later he will get German*
18 *automatically.*

This excerpt provided an insight in this family's practices of language maintenance with respect to two children of different ages – one attending an elementary school and one who has just turned two years old. In addition to this mother's earlier report of Russian-only policy with her older child, this comment showed that this practice was further supplemented by additional in-home lessons in reading and writing in Russian, as well as

math (which were also practiced in Russian). While she also practiced reading in German with her oldest son, since this skill was required in school, her 2-year-old was exposed exclusively to the Russian language, including early lessons of the Russian alphabet.

This excerpt further allowed to make an observation of the actual linguistic practices in communication with children. As the conversation was interrupted by the actions of the youngest child (who was present in the room during the interview) the mother turned her attention away from the interview and addressed the child directly (lines 12-14). As one can see from the transcript, the child-directed speech was in Russian, which confirmed the Russian-only policy in child-directed speech reported by this and other KF families. In contrast, a different practice could be observed in the SA community, where children-directed speech often occurred in German, as, for example, in the following excerpt, illustrating a case where a SA mother was interrupted during an interview by her husband and her 2-year old daughter:

Excerpt 149

- SA F 30*
- 1 *Husband:* *You are not done yet?*
2 *P044:* *[To the husband] Almost, almost. Go away, I am concentrating. [To the child]*
3 ***Mama is coming now.***
4 *Husband:* *What are you concentrating on?*
5 *P044:* *I am telling a story.*

As seen in this excerpt, the exchange with this SA participant's husband was performed in Russian, which she reported earlier to be the main language of the communication with adult family members and which was also the language of the interview. However, in line 3, this participant switched to German when addressing her young daughter who entered the room together with the husband. After that, she returned back to Russian in line 5 when turning her attention back to her husband. This example of German use in child-directed speech also supported reports given by other SA respondents who claimed to deliberately use German with younger generations as discussed earlier in Section 8.2.2.

Coming back to conscious efforts to promote language maintenance among KF children, it is important to mention a practice that, on the first sight, might seem contradictory to a linguistic practice that was attested among KF adults. As described in Section 7.3.2, many KF respondents reported on limiting or excluding Russian TV

programming in order to learn German. However, at the same time, an opposite practice was reported with regard to language maintenance in children, as many families brought up the importance of Russian-speaking children TV programming as an additional source of Russian besides parents' speech. Often, parents made deliberate attempts to either buy Russian-speaking DVDs or to access Russian-language online resources in order to provide their children with additional opportunities to hear the Russian language. The following comments can serve as an example of this practice:

Excerpt 150

- KF F 15*
- 1 I: *How often do you watch Russian TV or movies? ... Or maybe cartoons?*
2 P025: *Since my little brother came along, he is watching cartoons every day. They are all*
3 *in Russian. So, I sometimes go and sit with him and watch some. And otherwise... I*
4 *sometimes watch videos... maybe... it's like more... once a month or something like*
5 *that.*

Excerpt 151

- KF F 35*
- 1 I: *How often do you watch Russian TV?*
2 P019: *Once a month maybe. Well, I do play Russian cartoons and stuff for the children,*
3 *but I don't watch them really. It is just so that they can watch it and then we can*
4 *talk about it later.*

In both examples, parents appeared to deliberately promote Russian TV programs among young children. In the second excerpt, a KF mother reported to use Russian-speaking TV specifically as a base for later conversational practice in Russian, at the same time, reporting a relatively rare Russian TV time for herself. This practice of Russian TV viewing with children, to some extent, resembled the way German TV was reported to be utilized by adult KF migrants in their pursuit of learning German described in Chapter 7.

Finally, in addition to Russian-only policy at home and promoting literacy skills and Russian-speaking TV for children, a number of participants reported enrolling their children in formal Russian classes or working with a private tutor. For example, in the following excerpt, a KF mother described arranging sessions with a Russian speech pathologist in order to practice her 3-year old child's Russian pronunciation and in order to develop Russian literacy skills before he entered a German-speaking daycare in the following year:

Excerpt 152

KF F 31

- 1 *I: You said you definitely want [Child's name] not to forget Russian.*
2 *P030: Yes, he will be working on his Russian, no question. He has already started with a*
3 *teacher, with a speech pathologist. And they will continue, first as with a speech*
4 *pathologist, then as with a teacher. It's so that he writes in Russian. Not just speaks*
5 *Russian, but reads and writes in Russian. Psychologists say that if a child speaks,*
6 *writes and reads in a language before he is 10 years old, this language becomes*
7 *forever his mother tongue. And after 10 years, it is impossible to forget a language.*
8 *OK, you can, maybe you won't be speaking as well, but you can't forget it*
9 *completely, you will be reading in it and you will understand it, so it is possible to*
10 *improve it again. Plus, [Child's name] has a grandma in Saint Petersburg. He will*
11 *be going there too. He will be going there, I think, most certainly and probably for*
12 *longer periods of time, for moth or two. I don't want him to feel like... Our grandma*
13 *will never learn German. That's why he has to know Russian.*

Besides demonstrating that in this case Russian maintenance was taken beyond the family domain, this comment also showed that this family had a certain long-term plan for developing and maintaining their child's Russian proficiency that involved speaking and listening, as well as the literacy skills. Setting a goal of making Russian a native language for her child, this participant employed a number of strategies for achieving it, including a formal training with a teacher, planning long-term visits to the home-country, and (as the participant reported later) attending Russian-speaking music and dance classes available at the city's Russian children's center. As it became clear from a number of other interviews, as well as from the visits at the children's center itself, the center's services and classes (which were opened to all Russian-speakers in town) primarily attracted children from KF families, whose parents were actively seeking an opportunity to support their child's Russian skills outside of the family domain.

As it became evident from the data, the practice of taking Russian classes was not only limited to the youngest children, as in the excerpt above. A number of school-age participants as well as some parents of older children also reported attending (or sending their children to) Russian classes with the goal of promoting literacy skills in the Russian language. For example:

Excerpt 153

KF F 17

- 1 *P120: I have learned to write in Russian from my parents, I know the letters, but I don't*
2 *have a feeling for them. For example, things like soft sign or similar. I am*
3 *learning it now, I am in a Russian course.*

Excerpt 154

KF F 50

- 1 I: *Do you want your children not to forget Russian?*
2 P038: *Absolutely. Now I am working on it with the young one, because the older one*
3 *doesn't have any problems. And the little one has some problems.*
4 I: *Has he been here for a long time?*
5 P038: *Since he was seven year old, so he didn't go to school in [home city in Russia]. The*
6 *older one did 8 grades in the Russian school there, so he doesn't have any*
7 *problems.*
8 I: *And so you want them to keep the language?*
9 P038: *Yes, the older one even got this little diploma that says he has Russian, so thank*
10 *God, in this sense he is... And the younger one is trying step exactly into the*
11 *footprints of the older one, so he is doing everything just the same way, that's why*
12 *he is taking the same course now, and I am helping him. So, I would like to... They*
13 *themselves speak to each other only in Russian, so in this sense... and overall, why*
14 *not know a fourth language? Why? Nobody ever felt worse because of it. [Laughs] I*
15 *would like to speak a fourth language myself, but unfortunately I speak only three,*
16 *which is also not bad.*

Overall, the KF community provided accounts of beliefs about and practices of language maintenance that drastically differed from the beliefs and practices in the SA community. First, due to the apparent lack of emotional connection to German and due to seeing German as an out-group language, the KF community did not make attempts to promote German in the family, letting children acquire it on their own. At the same time, Russian was heavily promoted as the native language and the language tightly intertwined with the KF group identity. In addition, the KF group seemed not just to associate itself with the use of Russian, but more so with the use of "high" Russian as the code connected to the classical Russian culture, and as one of the most important attributes of defining Jewish minority in the countries of the (former) Soviet Union. In this light, the strong desire to maintain high registers of Russian among KF migrants could be interpreted directly as a part of the general process of KF's identity negotiation between the Russian-speaking self and the Russian-speaking "other".

8.4. Russian proficiency ratings

Considering the strong emphasis on Russian in the KF community and at the same time, lack of similar emphasis among the SA participants, one might wonder whether such strict ideological divide found its reflection in the levels of Russian proficiency of

members of both communities. On the one hand, as shown for example in Table 43, Russian was losing its positions among the younger participants of both groups. On the other hand, one might ask whether the contrasting ideologies and practices of Russian maintenance in fact had effect on the levels of Russian proficiency in the two communities. Especially considering the promotion of literacy skills among young KF migrants, which has been shown in other migrant contexts to have a notable effect on L1 maintenance overall (e.g. Schwartz (2008), who attests a crucial role of literacy for the L1 proficiency among Russian-Jewish migrant children in Israel), one can expect that the KF community might display a higher levels of Russian maintenance than the SA sample.

A look at the following data might provide some insights into this question. Similar to the levels of German proficiency discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7, the participants were asked to rate their current knowledge of Russian on a scale from 0 to 10 according to four skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing. The results of this series of questions (means and standard deviations) are presented in Table 45 below, followed by the results of the two-way ANOVA testing the effects of the ethnic group and the life-stage on the reported scores. Although the results of this series of questions showed a subjective perception of one's linguistic abilities rather than a reflection of actual language proficiency, the data still can tell a lot about the status of Russian within each of the communities, as it can be read as a subjective assessment of one's comfort level when speaking, listening, reading, or writing in Russian.

Table 45: Self-rating of Russian proficiency (scale 0 to 10)

Speaking	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	8.10 (1.37)	6.90 (2.38)
Life-stage 2	9.30 (.66)	9.30 (1.16)
Life-stage 3	9.80 (.42)	9.40 (1.08)
Life-stage 4	9.90 (.32)	8.88 (1.46)
Listening	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	9.60 (0.52)	9.00 (1.25)
Life-stage 2	9.90 (.32)	9.70 (.44)
Life-stage 3	9.90 (.32)	9.70 (.95)
Life-stage 4	10.00 (.00)	9.75 (.46)
Reading	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	8.50 (1.65)	5.50 (3.43)
Life-stage 2	9.90 (.32)	9.60 (.70)
Life-stage 3	9.70 (.48)	8.90 (2.60)
Life-stage 4	10.00 (.00)	7.88 (1.96)
Writing	KF	SA
Life-stage 1	7.20 (2.44)	4.40 (3.44)
Life-stage 2	9.50 (.71)	8.50 (1.72)
Life-stage 3	9.80 (.63)	8.40 (2.55)
Life-stage 4	9.95 (.32)	8.56 (1.83)

Table 46: Two-way ANOVA for self-rating of Russian proficiency

	df	Speaking		Listening		Reading		Writing	
		F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.	F	Sig.
Ethnic group	1	5.231	.025*	4.434	.039*	14.410	.000*	16.524	.000*
Life-stage	3	11.760	.000*	3.226	.028*	8.991	.000*	12.704	.000*
Ethn. group * Life-stage	3	.952	.420	.435	.729	2.312	.084	.801	.497
Error	70								

With respect to all four skills, the ANOVA predictably found a strong effect of life-stage, which indicated significant differences in proficiency ratings between participants of different ages. An additional post-hoc multiple comparison test revealed that in each of the skills, this effect could be attributed to the significantly lower scores produced by younger participants, which was not surprising considering the more advanced shift to German attested for the younger speakers.

In addition, the ANOVA also found a strong effect of the ethnic group membership, which indicated that the overall higher scores for Russian proficiency in the KF sample differed significantly from the lower scores of the SA respondents. This finding indicated that the difference in ideologies and practices of L1 maintenance

seemed to influence the overall proficiency status in the two groups in a significant way. While the difference between the KF and the SA groups was the smallest for the passive listening skill, it became especially drastic (significance factor of .000) with respect to the two skills directly related to literacy: reading and writing. The ratings of the youngest life-stage with respect to these two skills appeared especially illustrative of the contrasting approaches towards L1 maintenance in children described in this chapter, as not only the scores of life-stage 1 participants were much lower than the scores of the rest of the sample (indicating lower literacy skills in all younger respondents who went through schooling in Germany), but there was also a clear difference between the KF and the SA life-stage 1 respondents. The fact that life-stage 1 participants produced the lowest scores overall seemed to be a direct reflection of the reported ambivalence among SA parents to maintaining Russian literacy in their children. At the same time, although also lower than for other life-stages and skills, the literacy scores of the KF life-stage 1 participants proved to be consistently higher, apparently reflecting KF parents' efforts to promote and maintain proficiency in their native language.

8.5. Conclusions

A choice of a particular language, both in specific communicative situations, as well as a community's general preference for one or another code, has long been recognized in sociolinguistic research as an "essentially social phenomenon" that is "derived from and determined by higher-order social structures" (Wei 1994: 4). The preferences of language use and language maintenance in the SA and the KF communities described above were no exception to this assumption, as they seemed to be directly shaped by the communities' understanding of their social place in their new post-migrant world and the need to position themselves with regard to other social and ethnic entities around them. In this way, the overall tendency of the SA community to accept German and to promote it in the younger generations was seemingly connected to the community's attempts to reclaim its ethnic heritage and to position itself with relation to the local German community, as well as by practical needs of living in a German-speaking environment. At the same time, the KF's preference for Russian seemed to reflect an attempt to define the boundary between self and the other still mainly Russian-speaking ethnic group, which,

in contrast to the KF community, appeared to be disinterested in maintaining Russian as a part of their own identity. Yet coming back to the non-traditional understanding of being Jewish in the post-Soviet context, which saw Jewishness as an *ethnicity* defined through *non-ethnic* attributes such as higher social and educational status, it became evident why the KF community, in its attempt to define own identity in migration, made a special emphasis on maintenance of literacy skills in Russian, such as reading and writing. With high Russian culture being a traditional attribute of the Russian Jewish identity, it was not surprising that the literary Russian language, seen as a carrier of classical Russian literature and history, was so prominent in the L1 maintenance efforts of the KF parents.

Relating the results of this chapter to the analysis of the prominence of German learning in the KF community, one can also state that overall, the KF group seemed to pursue a certain form of "additive" bilingualism (Lambert 1974). By putting strong emphasis on maintaining Russian, while simultaneously orienting itself towards learning German, KF group routinely tried to make the two languages coexist in one community without endangering each other's status or integrity. In contrast, by not putting emphasis on Russian maintenance on the one hand, and by orienting themselves and their children towards accepting German as an in-group language on the other hand, the SA migrants seemed not to reject a potential situation, in which Russian would be eventually replaced by German as the new community language.³³ At the same time though, the SA community did not report taking significant steps to learn German formally.

However, even despite contrasting attitudes toward Russian maintenance, both communities displayed the first signs of the classic generational language shift often attested in migrant communities (Haugen 1989; Wei 1994) especially with respect to the linguistic preferences and first signs of language loss among the youngest participants. A particular issue that was seen by many (especially KF migrants) as a direct effect of such loss, was the issue of code-mixing between German and Russian. Overall, this practice attracted a lot of attention in both SA and KF discourse, uncovering even greater

³³ However, considering the strength of SA family networks (discussed in Chapter 6), and the fact that Russian still was the dominant language for the most respondents, it would be not surprising to find the positions of (spoken) Russian strengthened by such networks.

differences in linguistic practices and language attitudes in both communities. As such, the issue of code-mixing is the focus of attention in the next chapter.

Chapter 9

Ideologies and practices of code-mixing

Code-mixing (or code-switching) has long been attested as a common practice in bi- and multilingual communities and, as such, has become a "central issue in bilingualism research" (Milroy & Muysken 1995: 7). Since it first attracted the interest of researchers, it has been shown to perform numerous functions, from being a pragmatic tool, used as an interactional strategy (Auer 1984; Gumperz 1982a), to becoming a symbolic resource in individuals' and groups' identity construction (Chen 2008; Clachar 2000; Migge 2007)

The symbolic value of code-mixing comes to life through speakers' strong beliefs about what language is, where one language ends and another begins, and also, how language(s) should be used. As an easily noticeable phenomenon, code-mixing attracts much attention, often being stigmatized (even by its users) as a imminent sign of language loss. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) state that "language mixing, code-switching, and creoles are often evaluated as indicating less than full linguistic capabilities, revealing assumptions about the nature of language implicitly based in literate standards and a pervasive tenet that equates change with decay" (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994: 63).

Being deeply rooted in powerful ideologies of language and its relationship to societal (especially ethnic) groups, code-mixing practices have been demonstrated to be used by groups and individuals to "establish, cross, or destroy group boundaries" (Gal 1988: 247) and to contribute to negotiation of social positioning in a number of contexts. For example, Migge (2007) shows how structurally different patterns of code-mixing in the Eastern Maroon community of Suriname and French Guiana are used by different groups of speakers to project and negotiate different types of identities. Chen (2008) demonstrates how bilingual speakers apply their awareness of and attitudes towards

different styles of English-Cantonese code-mixing in the process of negotiating social boundaries between local Hong Kong community members and those who have returned to Hong Kong after an extensive stay abroad.

Although investigating code-mixing in the SA and KF communities was not included in the original study design, it became clear early in the data collection process that the issue of code-mixing was highly salient for speakers of both communities. It became apparent that SA and KF respondents tended to have defined ideas of what code-mixing was, why it occurred in their and others' speech, how mixing two languages should be regarded in the migrant context, and, most of all, who in the community mixed Russian and German and who did not. Put differently, it became apparent that practices and ideologies of code-mixing were important tools in participants' ethnic and social categorization of the world around them and in the negotiation of their positioning within it. As such, these practices and ideologies constitute the focus of this chapter.

The discussion in previous chapters already indicated certain recurring differences in the reported linguistic practices, proficiency self-ratings, and language attitudes between participants of different life-stages within each group. These differences appeared especially prominent with respect to the issue discussed in this chapter. Namely, within each community, the youngest participants (life-stage 1) reported either different code-mixing behaviors (SA group) or both code-mixing behaviors *and* attitudes (KF groups) from the adult participants (life-stages 2, 3 and 4). In doing so, life-stage 1 participants of both groups displayed no notable differences between each other in the ways they saw and reported using code-mixing in their everyday lives. In contrast, code-mixing appeared to be one of the main linguistic means of understanding (and creating) ethnic and social categorization among adults in both samples. Considering this distributional pattern, this chapter first looks at ideologies and reported practices of the life-stage 1 speakers within both communities, followed by a comparison of attitudes and reported use of code-mixing between adults in SA and then in the KF groups.

Before turning to the analysis, it is important to note that the main focus of the subsequent discussion will be on the ideologies and *reported* practices of code-mixing rather than the analysis of the actual linguistic practices within the communities. This choice was determined by the limitations of the data collection that was mainly designed

to elicit metalinguistic comments about language rather than to obtain natural data for primary linguistic analysis. Therefore, following Muysken (2000), the term "code-mixing" will be applied loosely to refer to "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence" (Muysken 2000: 1) or even within one conversation. Without fully engaging in a structural typology of the code-mixing in the two communities, this chapter uses data indicative of different types of code-mixing practices in some cases, to make certain generalizations of the structural aspects of reported code-mixing examples. Therefore, wherever it seemed plausible to make a judgment about a specific type of code-mixing, the following discussion employed Muysken's code-mixing classification terminology in order to capture some of the structural differences in reported styles of code-mixing. Namely, the distinction is made between *insertional* and *alternational* code-mixing. The former refers to insertion of material of one language into the structure from another language, and the latter concerns the alteration between the structures of the two languages, as well as *congruent lexicalization*, where lexical inventories of two languages are used as a part of a shared grammatical structure (Muysken 2000: 3).

9.1. Code-mixing among school-age children (life-stage 1)

What primarily set the life-stage 1 participants apart from the rest of the sample were speakers' reports of a generally more positive attitude towards code-mixing and on its extensive use among young speakers. Overall, the reports of life-stage 1 participants illustrated a wide variety of code-mixing practices in their linguistic repertoire that mostly seemed to be used as a neutral code, especially in communication with Russian-speaking peers. It was not surprising, considering that participants of this life-stage were more likely to be involved in regular school activities in German and seemed to have achieved a higher level of German proficiency among participants of all life-stages (see Table 39). The wider distribution of reported code-mixing practices among the youngest participants further supported similar findings in studies conducted in other migrant bilingual communities, which also consistently showed a comparable pattern of both increasing L2 proficiency in younger generations of speakers and the increase of L2 use, including practices of code-mixing (Milroy & Wei 1995; Raschka et al. 2002; Zentella

1997). For both KF and SA life-stage 1 participants, these reports indicated that code-mixing practices could take a full range of forms from single word insertions of German into Russian, to inserting phrases, sentences, or at times, switching completely into German. The specific amounts of German in each case seemed to be determined both by the content of the interaction (for example, using German to re-tell conversations that were originally in German or talking about school-related content) and by the German proficiency or code-mixing preferences of the conversational partners:

Excerpt 155

- SA M 15
- 1 I: Does it happen that you speak Russian and then insert German?
2 P165: Yes, a lot.
3 I: And are these single words or even sentences and phrases?
4 P165: Both, words and phrases.
5 I: Is it more with your parents? Or with your brother? Friends? What do you think?
6 P165: With my friends, I speak only German. With my parents [I speak] with German phrases, and with my brother, we sometimes switch the whole sentences already.
7

Excerpt 156

- KF M 19
- 1 I: When you talk with your family, like with your dad and mom, do you speak Russian as well?
2
3 P082: Yes, of course.
4 I: And do you insert any German words or phrases?
5 P082: The ones like **train station** or something similar. But with friends, of course, I would say, the circle of such words is wider because, again, they know more. And sometimes it can happen that you do a sentence in Russian, then in German, then in Russian. With the parents, of course, there is less of it because they don't understand. And, in general, it is a custom [to do it] like that. I would say so. And with the brother, it varies. For him sometimes, for him, in some situations is easier to say it in German.
6
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12 I: In German. So, you do 50/50 with him then or is it more Russian?
13 P082: It's more Russian, no matter what. I would say, 70 and 30. Like that.
14 I: Like that. I see.

In Excerpt 155, the SA participant gave an account of varying amounts of German he used with different conversational partners: "only German" with his friends,³⁴ "whole sentences" with his brother, and isolated phrases with his parents. In the interaction with his parents, he seemed to practice an insertional type of mixing with varying amounts and

³⁴ It is not clear from this excerpt, whether he is talking about friends with Russian-speaking migrant background or local German speakers.

sizes of German items. The KF participant in Excerpt 156 echoed the account of utilizing just single commonly used German words (like *Bahnhof* ‘train station’)³⁵ with his parents because of their lack of German proficiency, while reporting that he used larger German insertions and sentence-level alternation between the languages with his friends and his brother. Deliberately making this distinction, this participant demonstrated that, in both cases, the choice of the code-mixing strategy depended on the interlocutor's preference and language proficiency.

Even as the participants reported a wide acceptance of code-mixing practice, they often connected it with their or others' seemingly declining proficiency in Russian, stating that often, they employed German elements in their Russian when they could not "recall" a specific lexical item, for example:

Excerpt 157

- SA M 15*
- 1 I: *Do you speak Russian to your parents?*
2 P121: *I try to, but if I don't know some words, I say them in German and try to explain*
3 *them somehow.*

Excerpt 158

- KF F 17*
Speaking about her Russian proficiency
- 1 P120: *Sometimes I don't have the words. Sometimes I would switch to German, because*
2 *I don't know the translation.*

Similar reports (being characteristic exclusively for the life-stage 1 participants) provided additional evidence for the lower scores of Russian language proficiency among the youngest participants (see Table 45) and further supported their parents' observations of the overall decline of Russian in both SA (Excerpt 126) and KF (Excerpt 142) life-stage 1 migrants.

Although the overwhelming majority of life-stage 1 participants reported positive or neutral attitudes to code-mixing, the data showed that a small subset of younger speakers nevertheless expressed negative feelings towards it. For example, the following

³⁵ This particular lexical item was repeatedly named as a frequent code-mixing element by both KF and SA participants of all ages and will be addressed again later in discussion of attitudes towards code-mixing among adult KF respondents.

comment came from a 19-year old SA participant – the only participant in the SA life-stage 1 group who expressed a clear negative stance towards this practice.³⁶

Excerpt 159

- SA F 19*
- 1 I: *Do you mix?*
2 P127: *No, I try not to do so.*
3 I: *Mm...*
4 P127: *I believe it is not nice.*
5 I: *Is that right?*
6 P127: *I believe that you should speak one language.*
7 I: *Mm..*
8 P127: *To mix languages, it is not nice.*
9 I: *So, it's either one or the other?*
10 P127: *In German, and in Russian, and in English.*
11 I: *So, you don't... have such a habit?*
12 P127: *No.*

In this exchange, the participant explained her seeming lack of acceptance of the code-mixing practice, as she stressed that, in her opinion, mixing Russian and German together was “*not nice*”. At the same time, despite such a negative ideological position, she herself unexpectedly switched to German in the last line of the excerpt, diverging from Russian that was otherwise used as the language of the interview. Outlining the way language ideologies are being used by speakers in explaining social (and linguistic) phenomena around them, Irvine and Gal (2000) point out that ideologies have “totaling vision”, allowing an individual to overlook facts that are inconsistent with his or her personal position. The fact that the participant in this excerpt did not seem to be aware of her own use of German in an otherwise Russian interaction (simultaneously stating her rejection of this practice) clearly demonstrated this erasure process. This comment also illustrated that linguistic ideologies do not always directly reflect speakers' linguistic practices and, as such, should be interpreted with caution.

A slightly stronger negative view became apparent from a small number of KF responses. Some of the participants who reported regularly using code-mixing in their

³⁶ The second SA life-stage 1 participant who reported on not using code-mixing, after being directly asked about it, explained this not through his negative attitude, but by referring to his lower level of Russian proficiency and preference for using German only. At the same time, he reported on using “both Russian and German” in communication in his family, thus indicating possible use of code-mixing in the family domain.

speech expressed their negative feelings towards such practice. The account of the participant in the next excerpt (who was quoted in Excerpt 156 earlier in this section, where he described his wide use of code-mixing practices with different interlocutors) illustrates this attitude:

Excerpt 160

KF M 19

- 1 I: Does it happen that you speak Russian together with German?
2 P082: Yes, yes, very often. And at the same time I believe that it is not good. But it is
3 easier in some cases. For example, with friends it happens very often, this **mixture**.
4 So, again, I don't find that it is good, but that's what happens, it is easier.

While stating that code-mixing was a common practice in his communication and explaining that it was easier to speak this way (which echoed the attitude of the SA community), he repeats twice in this short excerpt that he believed “*it was not good*”. In line with the same attitude, another participant reported on trying to avoid this practice all together, although it was evident from her account that the rejection of code-mixing was a fairly recent phenomenon:

Excerpt 161

KF F 18

- 1 I: Now I have a question like that. Do you think that since you came here, your
2 Russian has changed in any way?
3 P094: Yes, a lot! Everyone tells me that I have an accent now, a village [accent]
4 I: When you are on the phone speaking with...
5 P094: On the phone and just like that. And the words, I confuse them, I forget them, I mix
6 them with German. I mix it a lot.
7 I: Really?
8 P094: Yes. But I try not to do it anymore. I try to speak only Russian, because before it
9 was just horrible. And now I try.
10 I: So, you don't like when the two languages are together?
11 P094: No, I don't like it. Before I kind of thought “Oh, to show that I know German!”,
12 although I didn't. And now, when I know more, I think “No. I shouldn't insert
13 words”. Only very rarely. Like “**although**” [German 'doch'] or “**train station**”.
14 Easy ones like that.
15 I: So, just single words, right?
16 P094: Mh. And those are also rarely.
17 I: And you said, you got a village accent, why a “village” one?
18 P094: Oh, it happened to me a couple of times, me and my mom, we went somewhere, and
19 a woman asks us “Where are you from?” And my mom says: “From Piter” [Saint
20 Petersburg]. “What do you mean from Piter? I can tell by your girl, she has some
21 kind of provincial accent”.
22 I: Really?
23 P094: Oy, I was so angry. And many told me here that [I have] some kind of village

- 24 *accent. That I am not from Piter.*
25 I: *It's interesting.*
26 P094: *It's not interesting, it is annoying/hurtful.*

While reporting that she used (or had previously used) code-mixing in her speech to demonstrate her German proficiency, she stated her negative attitude towards this practice, thus adding to the negative voice in the KF life-stage 1 data that distinguished the youngest KF participants from their SA peers in their attitude to code-mixing. This position among some KF young respondents was not surprising, considering a very strong negative attitude towards code-mixing in the adult KF community that is discussed later in Section 9.2.3. Notably, the discussion of code-mixing practices in this particular case was directly jumpstarted by my question about changes in her Russian proficiency showing that the participant saw code-mixing as a sign of language loss, next to other changes, such as her newly acquired "accent".

Code-mixing, as one of the attributes of language loss, seemed to be placed by this participant in the same category with another reported change in her native Russian – an acquired “*village*” accent. Further analysis revealed that a number of other young KF participants also reported similar changes in their Russian pronunciation, especially the young KF migrants from Russia who recalled that they started to use features of Russian spoken in the Ukraine (which was the second-largest source of KF migrants in the city). Such accounts might suggest a possible dialect-leveling between young Russian speakers from different regions, as participants attributed these changes to borrowing phonological features from speakers of different varieties of Russian, specifically Ukrainian Russian. Following the strong ideology of the distinction between urban and rural, metropolitan and provincial described earlier as prominent within the KF community, the comments on the "accent change" were taken by this participant in a strictly negative light, and, as such, were viewed as one of the damaging changes in her Russian next to code-mixing.

As a final issue with regard to the data from life-stage 1 participants, it is important to mention that the overall higher proficiency in German seemed to make it possible for young speakers to use their code-mixing abilities in a somewhat creative way. The KF data presented an interesting case where two participants (two brothers) independently reported using code-mixing specifically for creating a humorous effect – both within their family and also among their friends. The excerpt below presents one of their accounts:

Excerpt 162

KF M 19

- 1 I: *And among your friends, do you mix German and Russian?*
2 P155: *Yes, generally, sometimes even to make a joke, because it just sounds so different. If*
3 *we are joking around, and you have to show a Turkish guy, you just start like “Are*
4 *you looking for a conflict or what?”, something like that. That’s the phrase my*
5 *brother introduced. This one you can’t say in Russian, Russian has its own jokes.*
6
7 *Later in the conversation:*
8 I: *Do you speak Russian with your family – like with your parents?*
9 P155: *Well, we make a lot of jokes all the time. Especially me with my brother, and with*
10 *my dad. Not so much with my mom because she doesn’t do it back. And my dad, he*
11 *has been working for a long time in this company where they have a German who*
12 *knows several dialects, so he teaches him things. And I teach my dad all the slang*
13 *words and so we jump to German sometimes. Well, it is not really for*
14 *communication, it is for having fun.*

The participant reported on using German in his otherwise Russian in-group communication with the purpose of “*making a joke*”. The humorous result, however, seemed to be achieved not only through using Standard German insertions (in which both participants reported to be highly proficient), but also by appropriating other varieties of German that neither of the brothers could claim to be their own. Examples included the local German dialects that their father’s German colleague taught him and the stylized Turkish German phrase introduced into the family by the younger of the two brothers. At the same time, the older brother reported teaching his father “*all the slang words*” used among his peers, thus providing the father with additional opportunities to cross into linguistic codes that he otherwise would not be exposed to. The excerpt demonstrated also that this practice was restricted only to the male members of the family, as the participant reported that he did not use it with his mother because she did not “*do it back*”.³⁷ The reports of using stylized German in a playful way were especially interesting considering the recent research in Germany that showed popularity of similar practices (especially with respect to Turkish-German) among both local German young speakers (Deppermann 2007) and other migrant communities (Dirim & Auer 2004).

³⁷ Similar accounts of deliberate linguistic crossing into German with the purpose of achieving a humorous effect were further attested among three other male KF participants (two young adults and one older speaker). Although the adult speakers reported only on using single Standard German insertions in comparison to more creative ways reported here, this data might indicate that this phenomenon could be a common practice among the male speakers (at least within KF group), rather than an isolated incident within this particular family.

Deppermann's (2007) study demonstrates that such "*fun-code*" based on crossing into stylized Turkish-German can be used by native German adolescents for achieving a number of interactional goals, such as providing humorous quotations or animations (similar to the reported instance in the excerpt above). Through this practice, according to Deppermann, speakers can display their affiliation with a specific type of youth culture. These instances of crossing seem to acquire their specific social meaning of "coolness" from an ongoing shift in the image of Turkish migrant population from the one primarily associated with the uneducated guest worker to an image of a new "ethnic urban youth" (Dirim & Auer 2004: 2). Considering this shift, one can hypothesize that finding such use of code-mixing in the reports of KF participants may be attributed to the more urban orientation of the young KF respondents (see discussion of the settlement patterns in Germany in Chapter 6). Yet, lack of such reports in the SA sample can be well explained by the small sample number of only 5 young male SA participants (who were more likely than girls to participate in this linguistic trend). In addition, as both Deppermann and Dirim and Auer point out, linguistic resources used in such crossings are more likely to come from the media, as opposed to personal encounters, and as such, they would also be available to the possibly less urban SA youth.

What seems to be certain, however, is that the evidence of the youngest speakers' participation in the latest linguistic trend, otherwise attested among local German speakers and other minorities, seemed to indicate higher involvement of the youngest migrants in German societal structures. This was not surprising considering their daily school contacts with not only local Germans, but also with other migrant populations, especially in the context of this particular city. This assumption was also supported by the reported frequency of German-speaking contacts in Table 19. This observation also allowed to draw certain parallels to research in other migrant communities. For example, investigating speech patterns among different generations of the Chinese migrant community in Britain, Milroy and Li Wei (1995) found that the difference in participants' networks (which roughly correlated with the generational division) could be directly linked to distinctively different ways that participants used the community's languages, in which younger speakers consistently used higher amounts of English and Chinese-English code-mixing with a wide variety of interlocutors. In turn, this consistency of

personal communicative preferences was credited with motivating a gradual change in the overall community's patterns of language use from Chinese to English. Describing the role of individual speakers in the community's shift from one to another language, Gafaranga (2007) states that "language shift is talked into being in everyday interaction" and that "certain patterns of language choice and language alternation mediate language shift" (Gafaranga 2007: 179-80). The situation described here with respect to the reported code-mixing practices among school-age participants seemed to point towards a similar development in both the KF and SA communities, where the youngest community members appeared to be leading the ongoing shift from Russian to German.

Although such reports seemed to indicate a shift from Russian to German that was already on the way in both communities, one could hypothesize that the speed of this process might differ in SA and KF groups, considering the sharp contrast in the attitudes towards L1 maintenance in both communities described in Chapter 8 and the difference in the attitudes to code-mixing specifically among adults of both groups, which are discussed in the next section.

9.2. Code-mixing among adults (life-stages 2, 3 and 4)

A first look at the data revealed that adult participants seemed to provide consistently different reports on the *structural* types of code-mixing from the accounts of the younger participants in the sample. The reports on life-stage 1 participants described the subjects' use of a wide range of amounts of German, ranging from single-word insertions into the matrix of Russian to completely switching to German. In contrast, the reports of the adult respondents were mainly restricted to German insertions into the matrix structure of the Russian language in both SA and KF communities.³⁸

However, what differed drastically between the SA and KF adult responses specifically was 1) the general attitude to their own and others' code-mixing practices and 2) the rules that determined which elements should be seen as "acceptable" and which as "unacceptable" candidates for mixing. In addition, especially KF participants seemed to

³⁸ This was true with the exception of older speakers who grew up speaking German in their families and also one SA young adult participant who has come to Germany as a child and claimed equal proficiency in both languages.

be able to clearly articulate the reasons for their own and others' code-mixing behavior. The approach to these questions once again drew from the ideologies of social and ethnic categorization salient for the social participants in this context that were shown to be used by the community members in the earlier chapters.

The framework that appeared especially suitable for capturing this dynamic between the groups was Irvine's (2001) notion of style as a way to create and explain distinctiveness between groups and individuals. In her model, speakers can use a specific linguistic style to negotiate one's social positioning by contrasting it directly with other groups' styles, and by ideologically linking the contrasting linguistic characteristics with the social characteristics tied to its users in the eyes of social participants.

The analysis in the subsequent sections provides an overview of participants' accounts of what appeared to be two specific styles of code-mixing, to a high degree associated with and ascribed to each of the groups. It also discusses what rules and regulations seemed to define acceptable style of code-mixing in each community. Furthermore, the discussion in this chapter demonstrates how, in the KF case, the community's own practices were set into a clear contrast of the practices that were observed or assumed as characteristics of the "other" group. In order to explain such distinctiveness, KF participants routinely applied the same persistent ideologies also used in negotiating other aspects of their positioning towards the SA group addressed in Chapters 5 through 8.

Sections 9.2.1 and 9.2.3 below focus directly on the discussion of the attitudes to code-mixing among adults in both communities, while Section 9.2.2 presents a case of an SA community outsider, whose detailed account of code-mixing practices in both groups can provide an overview of different approaches taken by the SA and the KF migrants.

9.2.1. Code-mixing in SA adults

The attitude towards code-mixing among adult SA speakers can be characterized by the fact that a number of participants directly referred to code-mixing as "*our language*" or "*our way to speak*", acknowledging the wide acceptance of this practice and the status of code-mixing as a neutral code in the SA community. With respect to the types of mixing used, in the case of young adults (life-stage 2) and middle-age participants (life-stage 3),

as well as for older speakers not proficient in Russian-German dialects, the reports of code-mixing practices seemed to indicate that – at least with regard to the speech directed at other adult speakers – the amount of German was clearly restricted to isolated elements that predominantly included single words or phrases in the otherwise Russian communication.³⁹ Mainly, the limited amount of such insertions seemed to directly depend on SA participants' lower German proficiency. However, even those SA adult participants who reported on very limited proficiency in German and considered themselves predominantly Russian speakers, repeatedly reported that German “*crept into*” their everyday communications, and just “*came out*” or “*popped out*” every time they spoke. Although participants reported on having no special restrictions on what particular elements could be inserted, there was a number of specific lexical items that seemed to be extremely prominent among other potential mixing elements. Specific lexical items routinely brought up by respondents included such functional elements as *aber* ‘but’, *egal* ‘it doesn’t matter’, *doch* (which can be translated into English as ‘but’, ‘still’, ‘however’, ‘though’ etc. depending on the context), *dazu* ‘in addition’, *trotzdem* ‘in spite of’, as well as greetings and obscenities. Popularity of such words was usually explained through ease of use and the contenance of these German elements, illustrated by the following comments:

Excerpt 163

SA F 35
 1 I: Do you mix German and Russian?
 2 P108: Sure, it always happens if we are with friends or with family, and of course at
 3 home. We just communicate like that... How shall I put it? Of course, my daughter
 4 goes to the daycare and she decided to speak Russian at home and German with the
 5 kids at the daycare, and if I ask her to speak German, she won't. But **but** no matter
 6 what, we insert such short phrases all the time. Overall, we have simplified our
 7 speech now – we take the simplest German words and the simplest Russian words,
 8 and that's our language, see? And everything else goes out of the window.
 9 Sometimes I even think we are starting to forget Russian language. Only what we
 10 are using in our circle, that's what we know, but anything beyond it, no. Sometimes
 11 you take a Russian newspaper and realize that a lot of things you don't get already.
 12 Especially for young people, they don't understand a lot. Of course there is not so
 13 much time had passed, what 5... 6 years? And we use all these “**but**” and “**savings**”

³⁹ As discussed in earlier chapters in relation to the use of Russian and German in child-directed speech, the amount of German insertions could be expected to be higher in communication with children than in the speech directed at other adults.

14 *bank*”, such short things, or at home “*Come to eat*”, or some other things.
15 Sometimes we say it this way, sometimes in Russian, just whatever is faster.

Stressing that she saw code-mixing as the normal way of the in-group communication between family and friends, this participant directly called this practice “*our language*” (line 8). According to her report, even during the attempts to speak Russian only, as for example, in communication with her daughter, who seemed to prefer Russian as the family language,⁴⁰ the respondent commented on regularly inserting German elements into her speech. Drawing from the resources of the two languages simultaneously allowed speakers to “*simplify*” the communication by choosing “*the simplest German words and the simplest Russian words*”. Giving specific examples of typical German insertions, this participant echoed other reports that stressed the prominent place of German conjunction (for example *aber* ‘but’) and short instructional phrases (especially the ones addressing children) in the code-mixing practices of the SA community. In addition, the commentary itself contains an example of such insertion in line 5, where the participant uses the German conjunction *aber* alongside its Russian equivalent. Paradoxically, this seemed to contradict her view of code-mixing as a tool for achieving linguistic economy. It was even more intriguing to find additional examples of such apparent mismatch between beliefs about economical benefits of code-mixing and the apparent lack thereof in the participants’ responses as, for example, in the comment below:

Excerpt 164

SA F 50
1 P116: *In order to speak with Germans better, I started to use very many German terms*
2 *and **term**(+PLURAL), and so on. My mom is purely Russian, she is now 77, 78, she*
3 *probably learned about 200 German words here, but she didn’t even want to... So*
4 *sometimes it becomes hard for me to talk to her. Because I would start to use some*
5 *term, some **term** in German, I just want to. Or like, for example, with my friends, I*
6 *want to talk only in pure Russian, but my speech contains at least 10 percent of*
7 *German, no matter what, because sometimes, to say things in Russian, you have to*
8 *use 2, 3 or 4 words in Russian, there is no such expression in Russian. And so you*
9 *insert German, it’s easier for me to insert a German word here and there.*
10 I: *So, it’s for economy purposes?*

⁴⁰ Note that the participant reports on asking her daughter to use German, which also supports the tendency discussed in 8.2.2 that showed a higher inclination of SA parents to introduce German in communication with their children.

11 P116: *Yes, for the economy, and then it is easier for me to speak with Germans later.*

As evidenced in line 8, the participant stressed that the German insertions in her Russian discourse allowed her to avoid using two or more Russian words when one German lexical item would capture the same meaning. However, twice throughout the conversation, in line 2 and 5, she used both the Russian and the German equivalents together, apparently contradicting her explanation of her own code-mixing practices.

Providing both Russian and German versions of a particular word, was also observed in a number of other comments, for example, “*I came from Russia, **Russia***” (SA M 39, P042), “*All congregation is from Russia, **Russia, Kazakhstan***” (SA F 32, P108), or “*And then this nurse came, **the nurse...***” (RG M 64, P115). Although seemingly contradicting the motivation to use code-mixing as a way to simplify communication, this practice could be explained by another reason also repeatedly named by SA respondents, namely, that code-mixing was often reported to be used as a specific way to learn German and to prepare for the out-group communication with the German-speaking majority. In Excerpt 164, the respondent started her account of code-mixing practices by saying that using German insertions helped her later to “*speak with Germans better*”. A number of other participants directly stated that they saw using “*both*” languages with their relatives as a specific learning opportunity. Such practices presented a striking contrast to the language-learning practices within the KF community, which were mainly conducted in one of the domains outside of the family, mostly in academic settings (such as a formal language course or a private tutor, as described in Chapter 7). At the same time, it could explain the striking lack of discourse on formal language learning addressed in Chapter 7, as it became apparent that the need for German instruction could have been informally satisfied for SA migrants within their own group. In contrast, this practice did not fit the profile of the language learning activities common in the KF community, due to the fact that the KF community not only lacked such German ‘experts’ among own network contacts (because of the smaller family size and shorter migration history), but also seemed to be oriented more towards formal educational settings in general because of a longer history of involvement in various educational institutions.

While code-mixing has been a widely studied topic in sociolinguistics, such ‘instructional’ use of code-mixing observed in the SA community has not yet attracted

interest of researchers within the field. The accounts of comparable phenomena seem to be confined specifically to the area of applied linguistics and language acquisition, where a small number of authors addressed potential benefits of code-mixing in facilitating language learning in formal instruction (see e.g. Celik 2003; Lin 2006). Despite the lack of literature on the use of code-mixing as a tool in non-formal language instruction, one can well imagine that the case of the SA community presented here is not unique among migrant communities elsewhere. In this way, attention to this issue could be a potential research area that could enrich our understanding of code-mixing and its functions in society.

The comments of the adult SA participants that described the instructional benefits of code-mixing showcased a number of ways in which German insertions were utilized by the speakers as a L2 learning tool, such as learning German from relatives who came to Germany earlier and were more proficient in German, practicing German words and phrases with their spouses of the same level of German proficiency, or by purposefully using German in child-directed language as described in the previous chapter. The following example provides an illustration of this practice, while showing that speakers could take on different roles in such informal instructional contexts depending on the relative levels of German proficiency among family members who have spent more (or less) time in Germany:

Excerpt 165

- SA F 46*
- 1 *Speaking about language preference with one of the relatives:*
- 2 I: *Do you also speak Russian with this cousin?*
- 3 P070: *Yes.*
- 4 I: *And do you insert German with her too?*
- 5 P070: *Yes. Yes. I try to insert so that she would remember some words. So that they keep*
- 6 *beating her eardrums, let's say it this way.*
- 7 I: *Has she been here for long or not?*
- 8 P070: *Let me see, it will be probably a year soon. Yes, a year.*
- 9 I: *So, do they still need to learn German?*
- 10 P070: *Yes, it's necessary to beat their eardrums with that. Sometimes I would tell her*
- 11 *about something that happened at work, and I would do it in German, or I would*
- 12 *say something and insert a word, and she would be like "What is that?" and I*
- 13 *would translate it for her, and this helps her more actually.*
- 14 I: *So, step by step like that?*
- 15 P070: *It's also, my sister was communicating with us the same way, she was doing the*
- 16 *same to us, and I liked it back then, so now I am doing it to her [cousin].*

Speaking about her language preference in communication with a family member who recently migrated to Germany, this participant (who had been in Germany for four years at the time of the interview) said that she purposefully used German insertions in order for her cousin to be exposed to the German language, or, as she put it, so that German words “*kept beating her eardrums*”. As the one who seemed to be exposed to more situations where German was spoken as primary language (at work, for instance), this respondent felt responsible for taking on the role of an in-group language teacher, in order to help her newly arrived family members to get adjusted to the post-migrant life. To this extent, she reported either using German when telling what happened at work or using isolated German insertions in her otherwise Russian speech, and translating them upon her cousin’s request. As became clear in line 16, she voluntarily took on these language-teaching responsibilities because of her previous similar position of a language learner through code-mixing when she first came to Germany four years ago.

When discussing code-mixing in the adult SA community overall, it is important to point out that the reported practices of (but not attitudes towards) codemixing differed somewhat for one specific group of participants: older respondents who have grown up speaking German in their families in the home-country. In their specific case, a more balanced proficiency in two languages than among other adult participants seemed to result in the situation, where some of the older speakers were less likely to demonstrate awareness of their own language choice. As attested both by older participants themselves and by their family members, this subgroup often seemed to be inattentive to the code used at different points in conversations. For example, a 76-old SA participant recalled an incident in a transitional residence upon his arrival in Germany, in which he first noticed his own “wrong” language choice only after he had finished telling his whole life-story in Russian to a monolingual German speaker. Similar lack of awareness of own linguistic choice was also echoed in the account given by the following participant, who explained her code-mixing practice by the fact that she didn’t usually notice which of the languages she was using:

Excerpt 166

SA F 70

1 I: *And at home, do you speak German or Russian? What would you say?*

2 P135: *I would say, it's more Russian. Yes, I would say. But in general, when we speak, we*
3 *wouldn't even notice what language it is. Sometimes you listen to yourself like from*
4 *the side, and you can say, it's like two or three words in Russian and than a word in*
5 *German again, we would insert it. Like that. But we understand each other.*

In yet another account, a middle-age participant recalled the need to constantly correct the code-choice of her German-native grandmother in her home country who repeatedly switched to German despite her interlocutors' Russian monolingualism.

The fact that some of the SA participants were likely to be exposed to German use and frequent code-mixing practices by their parents and grandparents even before migration was named among one of the reasons for the wide acceptance of code-mixing in the SA community. For example, in the following excerpt, a 60-year-old participant, who was a language teacher and an active member of the Russian-German community in his home-country, commented on the ways two languages could be mixed together, as he recalled similarities between code-mixing that he had observed in Kazakhstan before migration and the one he now noted in Germany:

Excerpt 167

SA M 60

1 P048: *In a Russian sentence, it can be German words and the other way around. There*
2 *are some sentences here, very interesting, like "When you*
3 *visit(+3rdPersonPLURAL) our granny(+DIMIN+ACC) don't forget to*
4 *greet(+INF) her". Right? Like that...*
5 I: *[Laughs]*
6 P048: *[Laughs] Right? This means the German words are equipped with Russian suffixes*
7 *and endings, and so you build this phrase like that. And that was exactly the other*
8 *way around back in Kazakhstan. There [people] used Russian words in their*
9 *German...*
10 I: *In German...*
11 P048: *And the German function words, all the particles, so people used to say "Go into*
12 *the pantry, **there on** the shelf, **there is** a jar **with** jam, **and this** jar, **you bring it**".*
13 *And here it is the other way around.*
14 I: *So, the same phenomenon but the opposite way.*
15 P048: *Yes.*

These examples (which seemed to suggest the use of congruent lexicalization in Muysken's (2000) terms) were presented in this account as two sides of the same phenomenon, widely distributed among the member of the Russian German minority in the home countries and among the SA migrants in Germany. This observation was especially interesting considering a view of code-mixing as a transitional stage between

exclusive use of one language and the exclusive use of another language on the way to a total language shift, especially in migrant settings. Gal (1979) states that "conversational language-switching can be explained as the middle and variable step in the process of which (communities) change from categorical use of one language to categorical use of the other. It occurs in contexts where the old form is no longer invariably used and the new form is not yet invariably used" (Gal 1979: 173). To some respect, the bilingual situation in the SA community both in the home countries and in Germany presented a certain challenge to such a unidirectional position. Considering the history of Russian Germans and the linguistic background of the Russian German minority in the former Soviet Union, it appeared that the shift from German to Russian has never been completed in the Russian German minority in the former Soviet Union, and now, in light of the current SA migration to Germany, it seemed to go into reverse. At the same time, considering the difference between the Russian German dialects and the standard German acquired by the younger generation of SA migrants today, the trajectory of this shift appeared to be even more intricate and presented a situation where linguistic varieties of German spoken by the oldest migrants did not match the standard German of their grandchildren.

However, the long history of the ongoing shift and the use of code-mixing associated with this process could largely explain the status of code-mixing as a neutral code in the SA community described in this study. In addition, the data provided evidence that, in the long process of language shift away from original German dialects, the oldest SA community members have developed emotional attachment to Russian, which somewhat contradicted persistent signs of the readiness to give it up, as discussed throughout this dissertation. That is, while one might have expected the oldest native German SA participants to stress the emotional attachment to German, it was, in fact, Russian that was stressed in one of the commentaries as the language critical for the self-identification of this migrant group:

Excerpt 168

SA M 76

- 1 I: *So, when people come and visit you, do you speak more Russian or more German?*
- 2 *Maybe when your children come, or friends?*
- 3 P136: *Well, my dear, how should I say it? It's just whatever happens each time. As I said,*

4 *when we speak, we don't even notice what it is. The Russian words jump out, so you*
5 *start speaking Russian, and then you start speaking German, that's the mixture we*
6 *have. I don't know, I guess it will stay with us till we die...*
7 I: *So, this and that, right?*
8 P136: *Well, it was our fatherland, no matter what. My God. Whatever people say. It was*
9 *difficult, good or bad, but it was the fatherland. There the sky is completely*
10 *different, just like Nekrassov writes.*
11 I: *Mm*
12 P136: *It's like that.*

Once more confirming his earlier observation that the older speakers did not always pay attention to a particular code used in regular communications, in line 8 this participant turned to an explanation why, in his view, the Russian language would not disappear from his repertoire. As one can see, he directly positioned Russia as his "*fatherland*", where he had spent all his life until he came to Germany at the age of 70 and stated his sentimental attachment to Russian as the language representing the connection to his home country. This position could also help to understand this participant's support of promoting Russian maintenance among his grandchildren (Excerpt 121) that went against the overall tendency among the SA migrants to focus their attention on helping their children to adjust to the life in Germany.

9.2.2. Exceptions from the general pattern: the case of three life-stage 2 participants

Although the vast majority of the SA participants' expressed positive or at least neutral attitudes to code-mixing practices, three of life-stage 2 participants deviated from this pattern and as such, they will be discussed in this sub-section.

The responses that deviated from the overwhelming majority of the SA accounts were interesting in a number of ways. While all of them reported on trying to deliberately avoid code-mixing, their accounts differed in the motivation, the extent of the attention they paid to the issue and their general understanding of the code-mixing practice in the migrant community they were part of. For example, the report of the first SA life-stage 2 participant with negative attitude towards code-mixing revealed that her conscious reduction of mixing was a fairly recent phenomenon and was limited to communication with one specific person in her network. As mentioned earlier, it was the only adult Life-stage 2 participant who reported on fairly extensive amounts of switching due to her longer stay in Germany and native-like proficiency level:

Excerpt 169

SA F 25

1 *Speaking about language preference with one of the network contacts*

2 I: *What language do you speak?*

3 P027: *Currently we are trying to speak clean Russian... because for some time we haven't*
4 *paid attention to it and we had a jumble. And then [people] made remarks about*
5 *it...*

6 I: *And who made them?*

7 P027: *With me, it was like that. A friend came to visit, there was a demonstration not so*
8 *long ago here in [City name], and a very good friend of mine came to this*
9 *demonstration, my very good friend from school, [Name], I haven't seen her for*
10 *about two years. Like that. She studies in [City name]. So, she called me, I was so*
11 *happy, she said she wanted to come and visit me, and there is this demonstration,*
12 *so, we wanted to do it all together. I say, "Yes, very well, you come." So, and then*
13 *she started to ask me something, and I started to tell her something, and she says*
14 *"[Participant's name], I don't understand you." And I say, "What do you mean you*
15 *don't understand me?" "Please speak either Russian or German", she says, "I can't*
16 *understand what you want to say", because sometimes it even comes to the point*
17 *that I would say Russian words with German grammar. Like these verbs, like "**in***
18 ***order to carry**" I can say "**in order** to carry", or something else. So, it is such a*
19 *nonsense that comes out, that it is like, if I would have listen to myself from the side,*
20 *I wouldn't have understood it either what I want to say. So, and then I felt really*
21 *awkward, so, I thought, that's it, I have to do something about it. So, since then we*
22 *really try.*

In her report, the practice of code-mixing, referred to as "jumble",⁴¹ appeared to have been very common in her speech until recently, until another Russian speaker made her aware of apparent difficulties in communication caused by excessive code-mixing, ultimately changing her attitude about mixing. Despite this change in attitude and the reported avoidance of mixing with this specific contact, this participant clearly indicated throughout the interview that this example did not characterize her usual behavior. She reported not only to code-mix with her parents, but also displayed multiple instances of mixing in the otherwise Russian-speaking interview. In addition, there seemed to be a specific reason behind choosing the mix-free attitude with one particular contact. Namely both the participant and her contact were students majoring in Russian at the local university, and thus, were likely to see the opportunities to speak "clean" Russian as a certain professional practice.

⁴¹ The original Russian word used by this participant, as well as by a number of KF participants, whose comments will be discussed later, was *каша*, which can be literally translated into English as a *dish made of (any) cooked grain*. Used in its secondary meaning, this word can also denote a *mess, a mixture, a jumble*.

A firmer and more decisively negative attitude to code-mixing was found in the account of a 24-year-old male SA participant who provided the following answer to the question about his code-mixing practices:

Excerpt 170

- SA M 24*
1 *The participant reports on using Russian with his family members*
2 I: *Do you insert German words into your Russian?*
3 P133: *No, I try to never insert.*
4 I: *And why?*
5 P133: *Well, why should you spoil your speech?*
6 I: *So, you think...*
7 P133: *“But” “vava”, all that, right? No. I don’t insert.*

When asked about mixing German into his Russian (also beyond the communication with his family members), this participant reported on trying to avoid it as it, in his words, “spoiled” the language. Further in the excerpt, he provided specific example of unaccepted mixing, as he identified a particular lexical item (the German coordinating conjunction *aber* ‘but’) as typical code-mixing element. This example was followed by a mock German “vava” that seemed to ridicule such practice and to position it as something he avoided.

The final participant presents a special case in many aspects as she stood apart from the rest of the SA sample due to her apparent affiliation with the KF rather than the SA group. This was motivated by a number of factors, such as the fact that she came from a major Ukrainian city, has nearly completed her college education in the home country and was also working towards attaining a college degree in Germany. This background, as well as the opportunity to connect to compatriots from her home-city (who were likely to be KF migrants due to geographical distribution of the two migrant streams describe in Chapter 3) in many respects caused her to align herself strongly with the KF community. In addition to her background, she also chose downtown as a place of her settlement, further following the trend observed among KF migrants. As another sign of the overall alignment with KF rather than with the SA community she further reported that all of the contacts in her primary network were KF migrants. It was not surprising then that her detailed account of her own and others' code-mixing practices presented below in Excerpt 171 could serve as a direct preview of the reported practices and attitudes towards this

issue in the KF community that is addressed in 9.2.3. According to this account, she had a distinctly negative attitude towards code-mixing. But even more, her account demonstrated that she played special attention to code-mixing practices in the community overall, as her report reflected a well conceived categorization of who in the local Russian-speaking community switched and how this was done:

Excerpt 171

SA F 24

- 1 The participant speaks about Russian being her main language of communication
2 with family and friends.
- 3 I: And does it happen often that you insert German words or phrases into your
4 Russian?
- 5 P084: Well, I try not to do it, it is horrible to me. When [people] say “**it doesn’t matter**
6 where” or “**but of course**” [exaggeratedly Russian-accented] for example, I can’t
7 hear that.
- 8 I: So, you don’t like that.
- 9 P084: No, this is terrible. Well, I can see if a person can’t pick the right words if someone
10 is furious and then he is like that, it’s ok. Or if someone says a clean German
11 sentence, a normal one, a congruent one. That I can understand. But if it is a
12 conversation like “**but**”, “**or I**”, “**but I will tell you...**”, all that [shakes her head]
- 13 I: And does it happen often? I mean do you hear it often?
- 14 P084: 100 percent!
- 15 I: Is that right?
- 16 P084: Yes, 100 percent. Especially, it is the whole Kazakhst... Well, I have analyzed it all,
17 overall, it is the people, who... who either have been here for a very long time, or
18 the ones who have been here for not so long, but whose lexicon is not very rich.
19 Especially those kids. Kazakhstan. Especially. They come as small children, well, I
20 mean small – 6 or 8 years old, and after a year or two, they can’t say anything in
21 Russian. Because they are not very developed. In their case, one language pushes
22 away the other. They were already speaking a simple language before, and here,
23 the other [language] kicks in, and the first one goes away.
- 24 I: Is being replaced...
- 25 P084: Yes.
- 26 I: And the adults, do they also insert often? German into Russian?
- 27 P084: The adults, yes. They insert too. But in their case it happens somewhat differently.
28 It’s just, it is much harder for them to learn it, and they are, sometimes even try to
29 do it on purpose, to show “My God, yesterday I did my homework”. Like when they
30 go to the 150th language course, so, they are like showing off in front of each other,
31 who knows one word more than others. So, it’s like that with them.
- 32 I: So, they insert like that. I see. Well, I don’t know, here are people who came as
33 Russian German and also as the ones who came through Jewish immigration,
34 right? Do both of them mix the languages, or... do some do it more than the others?
- 35 P084: It’s more the Russian Germans I think [smiling]. Yes, because it is 90%
36 Kazakhstan. And less is Russia and the Ukraine, those are practically all who came
37 through the Jewish line. So, no matter what, the intellectual level is somewhat
38 higher. For example, in our **dorm** there were such ones who... well, they have never
39 seen a toilet bowl before... Yes. There are a lot [of people] like that. It was like

40 *that. So, here they are, they were herding cows back there, now they came, they*
 41 *can't walk into the **Kaufland** [name of the shopping center], because there is this*
 42 *moving stairway, and it makes everything go around in their eyes, and they can't.*
 43 *Like that. There were grandpas who would go to the bathroom where people are*
 44 *washing themselves, so, like that, people like that. But for that, they had this*
 45 *German, they... no, they didn't, I should say, those were the wives and the husbands*
 46 *of the ones who had it. Like that.*
 47 I: *Of the ones who had German still...*
 48 P084: *The half of them were slant-eyed, and all that. So, they all have been mixed,*
 49 *whoever could.*

Overall, this excerpt was extremely rich in ideologies about linguistic practices among migrants in both SA and the KF communities, especially with respect to the practice of code-mixing. Making exception for code-mixing in emotionally-charged situations or in cases where alternational-style mixing would not violate respective grammars of both languages, this participant expressed her overall negative attitude to the code-mixing practice. Specifically, she referred to "banning" the same lexical items (such as *aber* or *egal*) that were reported by the rest of the SA group as the most frequently mixed items. The fact that these items appeared unacceptable in the view of this participant also previewed the strong stigma attached to this item in the eyes of the KF participants who, as will be demonstrated in the next section, frequently pointed out strict rejection of these and similar elements as clear signs of ungrammaticality. In this case, the participant stressed her negative attitude to these items by adopting an exaggerated Russian/Ukrainian accented German (line 12), which specifically allowed her to quote these items in someone else's voice. Interestingly, a similar practice was used by the participant in Excerpt 170 where he seemed to use a mocking German "vava" to flag his lack of acceptance for such elements.

The use of the stylized accented speech was remarkable in this context, as it seemed to engage a number of contrasting ideologies about language ownership and authenticity of speakers and of language use. By quoting the German code-mixing items with a recognizably exaggerated accent, the participant in Excerpt 171 seemed to question the authenticity of speakers using these insertions, as the accented representation put a spotlight on their dominant Russian-speaking or Ukrainian-speaking identity. Hence, this participant denied what she perceived as their claim to Germanness, professing that for her, the use of German elements by dominant Russian speakers

reflected neither the migrants' true proficiency in German nor their German ethnicity. At first sight, her understanding of such German insertions by Russian-speaking migrants appeared as a classic example of "language crossing", in which speakers appropriate the use of a linguistic code that is not believed to "belong" to them (Rampton 1998). However, in this situation such seemingly straightforward concept appeared complicated by the fact that different social participants would bring their own understanding of "belonging" and "authenticity" to the code-mixing in the SA community. Interpretation of this linguistic act as "crossing" could be challenged by special notions of ethnic belonging, ethnic language, and understanding of what counted as "own" and "others'" linguistic code in the SA community. All of these questions were complicated by the historical and linguistic background of the Russian German minority in the former Soviet Union described in Chapter 2. Considering these factors, the exaggerated use of a Russian-accented element triggered numerous questions that seemed relevant to the ethnic and social categorization within SA community specifically, such as: Who is German? How do we know he/she is German? Whatever ethnicity you are, what language are you supposed to speak? And with whom? And which language should you avoid? By implying these questions, the use of the exaggeratedly accented element in the excerpt above directly problematized the notion of crossing by showing that, what might be considered as crossing by one social participant was not necessarily seen as such by the other. Considering the special ethnic positioning of the SA community, it became apparent that one could "cross" into a language, which is both "one's own" and "not one's own", depending on who was assessing the situation and what specific ideology of the relationship between language and ethnicity was applied by each social participant.

Similarly ideologically "charged" was this participant's account of the distribution of code-mixing practices among the community members. She credited the SA community, especially migrants from Kazakhstan, with the most frequent mixing practices, and she demonstrated that her explanation of this distribution was rooted in her understanding that code-mixing was directly tied to a lower developmental level (e.g. "*whose lexicon is not very rich*" in line 18 or "*because they are not very developed*" in line 21), as well as to speakers' place of origin ("*because it is 90% Kazakhstan*" in line 35). For this participant, Kazakhstan did not merely represent a geographical area, but

rather a generalized remote place, far from Russian and Ukrainian urban centers, that was characterized by a lack of educational opportunities and, what is more, of civilized life (e.g. examples of the "toilet bowl" in line 39, and "Kaufland" in line 41). In direct contrast, she explained the observed lack (or a lesser amount) of code-mixing among KF migrants primarily by attributing it to their ascribed higher intellectual level.

Overall, the account given by this participant directly previewed the general attitude to code-mixing and the ways to explain its prevalence in the KF community, which unanimously expressed a negative attitude to code-mixing, as shown in the next section.

9.2.3. Code-mixing in KF adults

As already indicated with regard to the previous excerpt, the KF sample differed from the SA respondents in the unanimous negative attitude towards code-mixing expressed at some point of the interview by all KF participants. The typical accounts of KF migrants either denied using code-mixing practices in their own speech or reported on limiting the amount of code-mixing instances according to a number of "rules" that seemed to delineate what was an acceptable element for mixing.

In line with the account of the difference in code-mixing behavior of KF and SA communities in Excerpt 171, there seemed to be a general agreement in the KF sample that the extensive code-mixing practices were associated strictly with the SA migration and that specific distribution of code-mixing between the two communities could be directly explained by differences in educational (or even intellectual) level of the two communities, as, for example, in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 172

KF F 25

1 I: *And in general, who is mixing more?*

2 P144: *The Russian Kazakhs.*

3 I: *Is that right?*

4 P144: *It's them who mixes. Very much.*

5 I: *Really? So, like...*

6 P144: *Well, but [Boyfriend's name, who is a SA migrant] is a big exception. But in*
7 *general.... But I think that it is just because of the insufficient level of the inner*
8 *development. Something like that.*

Excerpt 173

KF F 70

1 *Speaking an article in a KF community's newsletter*

2 *I: You mentioned you read that mixing is a sign of bad taste, was it an article?*

3 *P129: Yes, that .. it was, no, it was, I didn't say there that it is a sign of bad taste, it said*
4 *that it is a specificity of the immigrant language. That very many migrants start to*
5 *talk in a "French and Nizhne-Novgorod-ish" dialect.⁴² Especially it was pointed*
6 *out about the Russian Germans. But there, of course, the educational level is lower,*
7 *it is a known [fact]. And that they abuse this practice much more often. I mean, they*
8 *know... the young generation, they don't know it [German language?- not clear*
9 *from the interview]. It is the old women. The young ones - they don't know it. But*
10 *that they all do such **mixture** more often.*

Explaining code-mixing behavior through the lower educational status of the SA migration, these excerpts not only drew from the same ideologies that were shown as underlying the ethnic and social categorization in the community throughout this dissertation, but also demonstrated that KF community's views of code-mixing was conceptualized within the same normative view found in other communities. For example, Gumperz (1982) gives a similar account of speakers considering code-mixing to be the consequence of proper education, or lack of control of one's language. In the two excerpts above, similar views were presented in two different ways. In the first excerpt, the participant stated that it were "*Russian Kazakhs*" who should be primarily credited with using code-mixing based on their ascribed "*insufficient level of inner development*". When using this label she meant the entire SA community independently of their exact home country, which became apparent from the fact that she viewed her boyfriend (who was an SA migrant from Russia) to be a member of this community. At the same time, she "explained away" (Irvine & Gal 2000) his seeming mismatch with the rest of the SA group by positioning him as an "exception", while fortifying her view that directly associates the code-mixing practices with the SA community. The second excerpt revealed that the tendency to ascribe code-mixing practices specifically to the SA as the "other" Russian-speaking group in Germany was not only characteristic for the individual speakers, but was also represented in the KF community's newsletter. In this case, as well, the use of these practices was explained through the same differences in the

⁴² The participant refers to a well-known quote from a 19th century Russian play, in which the author refers to the code-mixing practices between French, the court language, and the local Russian dialects, which was common in many provincial Russian towns at that time.

educational status that were quoted elsewhere in this chapter and in the rest of the dissertation.

Predictably, the community's own rejection of code-mixing practices was often explained in the KF discourse by quoting high educational, professional and intellectual capacities of their own community. In the next excerpt, a 22-year old KF participant gave account of a very strong position against code-mixing in his entire family, providing an especially interesting account of why code-mixing was banned from the family communication:

Excerpt 174

KF M 22

- 1 I: *When you talk to your girlfriend, do you speak Russian?*
2 P132: *[Nodding]*
3 I: *And do you insert German words?*
4 P132: *No. And even if this happens, we always correct each other.*
5 I: *So, in order to only speak Russian?*
6 P132: *Yes.*
7 I: *And when you speak with your family?*
8 P132: *The same. My father... My parents are doctors. And even of the highest category.*
9 *And my father is a member of intelligentsia in fourth generation, and he has an*
10 *excellent Russian, very rich one... And he himself says: "I will never insert".*
11 I: *And so he doesn't insert?*
12 P132: *No.*
13 I: *And your mom?*
14 P132: *He is a very much a person of principle. And my mom also – never.*
15 I: *Also never inserts...*
16 P132: *No.*
17 I: *And when you are speaking with your brother? What language?*
18 P132: *Ah... Brother. The brother is 13 years old... It's like... His German..., in German*
19 *he doesn't have any difficulties anymore. In these almost three years. He goes to*
20 *high school [Gymnasium], the grades are suffering somewhat, of course, but it is*
21 *because he is lazy.*
22 I: *Are you all like that? [Referring to participant's earlier self-labeling as lazy]*
23 P132: *Yeah, it runs in the family [laughs]. Like that. Well... With him it happens that*
24 *German phrases pop up, but... I always correct him in Russian, if this happens. And*
25 *the parents correct him as well... And he doesn't protest... It just happens to him*
26 *automatically somehow...*
27 I: *So, some German phrase comes out that is more convenient to say?*
28 P132: *Yes, and that's it.*

Providing an account of a highly negative attitude towards code-mixing practices, this participant demonstrated that not only he himself, but also his entire family, including his girlfriend, adhere to strict practices of avoiding even occasional switches into German in

their every-day communication, even explicitly correcting each others' language choices (line 4). As a 22-year old, this participant also took over the responsibilities of monitoring the speech of his 13-year old brother, pointing out and correcting his “*automatic*” German insertions.

What became central in this excerpt, was the explicit social motivation for the rejection of code-mixing in the family, as the participant tied the linguistic behavior of his parents (specifically their negative attitude to code-mixing) directly to their professional and social status. The fact that they were doctors of the “*highest category*” and the members of intelligentsia became for him an unquestionable explanation for the rejection of code-mixing practices as hurtful for the integrity of the “*excellent*” and “*rich*” Russian language associated with the family’s social status. Moreover, in the eyes of this participant, the social characteristic of belonging to intelligentsia was being transformed into an inherited, almost genetic condition (“*he is a member of intelligentsia in fourth generation*” in line 9) that prevented his father (and himself) to engage in linguistic behavior seen as inappropriate for members of the group.

The exact reasons why the code-mixing practice should be banned coincided with the attitude documented in Haugen's (1989) account of the code-mixing practices in the Norwegian community in the USA. The study reported on the reaction of the monolingual visitor from Norway first encountering code-mixing practices of the local community, who described the mixed local variety as "no language whatever, but a gruesome mixture of Norwegian and English, and often, one does not know whether to take it humorously or seriously" (Haugen 1989: 97). In line with this attitude, the practice of mixing Russian and German was characterized by the KF participants as a variety that threatened the integrity not only of the Russian but also of the German language:

Excerpt 175

KF F 59

- 1 P023: *I think, for our generation, who don't know the language [German] well and*
2 *communicate mainly with Russians, it is not characteristic. It is for the ones who*
3 *are speaking well already, and who are indifferent towards the language, I think.*
4 *Do you see? If you love a language, you won't do it. Because it disfigures the*
5 *language, this one and the other one as well.*

For this participant, one of the central components allowing code-mixing for others was their apparent "indifference" towards the language, while her rejection of code-mixing practices was strongly associated with her affection towards the language ("*if you love a language, you won't do it*" in line 4). This position that pertained to protecting the integrity of language was not surprising, considering the strong orientation of KF community towards the maintenance not only of Russian, but specifically towards the maintenance of the literary Russian as a representation of and a gate to 'high' Russian culture described in Chapter 8. At the same time, this (and a number of other) participants made it clear that, with relation to code-mixing, their strictly normative approach not only applied to the protection of the integrity of Russian, but also of the German language, as she stated that code-mixing "*disfigured language, this one and the other one as well*" (See also a similar account in the comments of the SA participants aligning with the KF community in Excerpt 171). This normative position towards Russian and German was further expressed in the strict preference for both formal educational setting for learning German and for informal language acquisition through the native local speakers in the case of the KF participants described in Chapter 7, as opposed to SA participants acquiring German from own migrant community members as illustrated earlier in this chapter.

With respect to the specific linguistic features of code-mixing, it was obvious that the same particular characteristics of code-mixing patterns that were seen as a norm in the SA sample were the ones that primarily attracted negative attention of the KF participants. These characteristics included the practice of supplying German lexical items with the morphological features of Russian (e.g. in Excerpt 167) and the use of German function elements (specifically *aber*, *oder* and *egal*) in otherwise Russian communication (see Excerpt 163). For example, the next excerpts illustrate the strict negative stance against the first practice in one of the KF families:

Excerpt 176

- KF F 34*
- 1 *Speaking about her own code-mixing practices:*
- 2 P024: *Oh, I insert... maybe only sometimes, if there is some kind of a special little phrase,*
- 3 *or the names of these institutions and the notions that are hard to translate. So, of*
- 4 *course, we say **office of labor affairs**, we don't say job office. And things like that.*
- 5 I: *So, some kind of realia?*

- 6 P024: *Yes, realia, yes. And we don't decline. Those ones, you know? And we I don't allow*
7 *my child to do it, [to decline] the German words according to the Russian*
8 *paradigm.*
9 I: *Mm..*
10 P024: *Well, now Like ... Recently I heard from my neighbor [earlier identified as*
11 *SA]... I was going up the stairs, and I heard her speak, the neighbor [in a crying*
12 *voice]. She was on the phone, and she probably had it close to the door, so I hear*
13 *her from behind the door. "And I **wish**(PAST) him **health**(GEN) for his*
14 ***birthday**(DAT)". We don't have anything like that in our house.*
15 I: *No?*
16 P024: *No. No. It's just being rooted out because of the kids. I especially don't allow*
17 *[Daughter's name] to do this.*
18 I: *And this happens with her sometimes?*
19 P024: *With her it happens sometimes. Yes. But she does it sometimes not because she is...*
20 *lazy, but because she doesn't know the Russian word. Rarely-rarely. And then in*
21 *that case she uses German in such a distorted way, and we start to [yell] at her:*
22 *"Ra ra ra ra ra!"*
23 I: *I see.*

Telling about an incident during which she witnessed a code-mixing practice of her SA neighbor this participant adopted a "crying" voice, demonstrating her negative view of such practice. In this way, this participant quoted it as an example of code-mixing that was not allowed in her family, stating that examples like this did not occur in her house (line 13), especially because of her concerns for maintaining Russian proficiency in her teenage daughter. In her answer to the question about code-mixing, she replied that their family "didn't decline" (line 6) and even "rooted out" (line 16) this practice in actively correcting her daughters' occasional code-mixing behavior that this participant attributed to a certain decline in her daughters' Russian proficiency. This ban of code-mixing, which appeared to be enforced specifically with the purpose of slowing down the shift to German among family's children allowed to draw clear parallels to similar practices attested in other migrant communities facing the prospect of shifting to another language. For example, Collins (2005) demonstrates how codemixing avoidance between Mam and Spanish in Guatemala is strategically used by speakers with the purpose to slow down, or even reverse language shift to Spanish on a community level. Similar to the situation in the KF and SA communities, the negative attitude to code-mixing among Mam speakers was shown to directly correlate with the level of the speakers' education, creating a situation where educational divide directly corresponded with a categorical ban or acceptance of code-mixing by the community members.

With respect to the second code-mixing feature that seemed to be prominent in the SA community, and as such, seemed to be stigmatized even more in the perception of the KF migrants, was the use of German functional elements in the matrix of the Russian language. The following example not only provided additional evidence to the strict and categorical rejection of this practice in the KF community, but also presented an interesting view of the ideologies underlying the stigma attached to this specific type of mixing and one lexical item in particular:

Excerpt 177

KF F 31

1 *Earlier in the interview, the participant was talking about using Russian only with*
2 *her child.*

3 I: *And when you talk [with your husband]?*

4 P030: *ONLY in Russian.*

5 I: *And do you insert anything?*

6 P030: *No. Well, how shall I put it, sometimes it is hard to say the word **appointment** in*
7 *Russian. In Russian I say it as “number”. To the doctor. And **office of labor affairs***
8 *as well. So, there are words that are generally really falling out. So, **office of labor***
9 ***affairs, office of minors’ affairs, social services office.** In Russian, to translate this*
10 *[word] office, it is ... Sometimes when I talk to Russians, I would call it a ministry,*
11 *but it is not a ministry. It is an organization of the type of our district committee. So*
12 *I am trying to explain it to them, but when I say, I have a meeting at a district*
13 *committee, nobody understands. Why? People in Russia usually don’t go to district*
14 *committee. And here, people go to the **office of minors’ affairs** very regularly if*
15 *they need something. So, that’s why it is somewhat... But, when I talk to Russians, I*
16 *don’t insert words into my speech, I don’t have this crazy **but**, “abyrvalg” that’s*
17 *what I usually call it. Because this **but**, it is just something, of course. I try not to*
18 *have that. I believe that the Russian language should be pure.*

When in line 13, the participant specified instances of an unacceptable code-mixing, she directly stated that she did not use a specific element - the "crazy *aber*". The name she gave to the use of the German conjunction *aber* – *abyrvalg* – was especially interesting. The word *abyrvalg* comes from a well-known satire “Heart of a Dog” by Mikhail Bulgakov. In the story, which takes place during the early Soviet times in Moscow, a stray dog, Sharik, is turned into a human being during a medical experiment. Soon after, he successfully starts to climb the political and professional ladder. The character presents a bitter satire of a new “homo sovieticus”: Bulgakov demonstrates how a good-natured dog starts to resemble the uneducated but obnoxious proletarian (whose organs were implanted into the dog), and despite the lack of education, professionalism and even intellect, starts to quickly rise to power in the Soviet system. The word *abyrvalg* is one of

the first words that Sharik learns to pronounce while becoming a human, and it stands for the name of a particular store, *Glavryba*, ‘central fish’, read from right to left. The caretakers explain Sharik’s acquisition of this particular word through the fact that, as a dog, Sharik used to regularly run by the store, always “reading” the label from the direction he came, without understanding its meaning. Due to the high popularity of Bulgakov’s story (which was also turned into a well-known film), the character of Sharik became a prototype of a new Soviet man, an uneducated and rude proletarian, battled by alcoholism. At the same time, the word *abyrvalg*, which was repeated by the character over and over on his way to becoming a human, came to be associated strongly with the type of person he became. In this way, when using the word *abyrvalg* (which resembles the German conjunction *aber* ‘but’) as the label for the unaccepted and ungrammatical code-mixing practices that threatened the purity of the Russian language, the participant in Excerpt 177 further projected the characteristics associated with this specific lexical item onto the practices of such, in her view, ungrammatical code-mixing and, furthermore, on its users.

The two examples cited above also provided an insight into the question of what kind of code-mixing behavior was seen acceptable (although still not desirable) in the KF community. Even describing the strictly negative attitudes towards code-mixing in general, many participants indicated that it was impossible to completely eliminate the code-mixing practice from their own speech when living in a German-speaking environment. Both Excerpt 175 and Excerpt 176 above provided an example of the most common explanation of what specific items were allowed in the KF community and why. All of these reports were generally confined to describing types of different realia that were only known to KF migrants in the context of their life in Germany. In addition, the list of specific elements were more or less constant in each of the participants' accounts indicating the existence of a generally accepted set of items, that included the names of local places, such as *Bismarckplatz* ‘Bismarck plaza’, local official organizations, such as *Arbeitsamt* ‘office of labor affairs’, *Jugendamt* ‘office of minors’ affairs’, *Sozialamt* ‘social services office’, as well as names of specific documents and formal actions the participants were facing on the regular basis (*Termin* ‘(formal) appointment’, *Antrag* ‘application’, *sich anmelden* ‘to enroll/to register’). At the same time, all of the

participants motivated the insertion of such terms exclusively through the absence of direct Russian equivalents. As stated by the participant in Excerpt 177, attempts to find or create a Russian version of such German lexical item even caused a certain miscommunication, as her explanations of the regular visits to the office of minors' affairs in Germany met with the lack of understanding on the side of her friends in Russia. Such misunderstanding was caused by the mismatch of both functions and names of German and Russian institutions. It is this unavailability of a Russian equivalent – both linguistically and also as an institution - was seen as a legitimate reason for the use of the German term.

This explanation also directly contrasted the code-mixing practices attested in the SA adult community, and the tendency to not only use words also available in Russian (such as functional elements or any other lexical items), but even to use both variants side by side in the same sentence, sometimes (as, for example, in Excerpt 164) even supplementing the Russian word by its German equivalent for the purposes of learning or teaching German.

The only exception to the rule, which only allowed insertions of specific German realia in the KF community, seemed to be the word *Bahnhof* 'train station'. According to the participants in Excerpt 156 and in Excerpt 161 (as well as a number of other accounts), this lexical item was used by many migrants independently of the level of their German proficiency, even despite an available equivalent *вокзал* in Russian. However, the unique status of this allowed insertion might be explained by a particular status of the main train station in most German towns. Usually located in the heart of downtown, the train station often serves as a meeting place, a center of regional and local transportation system as well as city's commercial (and often cultural) life. This status, as well as the prominently frequent use of the printed word *Hauptbahnhof* 'main train station' in a numerous types of printed materials, such as city maps, bus and train stops or public transportation schedules, might have caused the higher acceptance of the German lexical item *Bahnhof* among the KF community members.

9.3. Conclusions

The fact that attitudes towards code-mixing and practices of mixing Russian and German were widely discussed in both communities highlighted the importance of this issue in the post-migrant world for members of KF and SA communities. It showed that similar to other issues discussed in the earlier chapters, the discourse of code-mixing added yet another aspect to the process of ethnic and social negotiation in the Russian-speaking community in town.

Except for the participants of the youngest life-stage, KF and SA migrants seemed to have distinctively different beliefs of what code-mixing was, how it should or should not be used, and what purposes it served in the community. While the SA community seemed to have accepted code-mixing as a neutral variety (partially because of the long history of code-mixing practice both in the home-country and in Germany and partially due to using it as a specific in-group learning strategy), the KF participants strictly rejected code-mixing as a practice that was strongly associated with lower educational (and even intellectual) level of its users and was seen as a threat to the integrity of not only the Russian, but also the German language.

Both the rejection of code-mixing in the KF community as well as the association of this practice with the SA community specifically was motivated by ideologies of social, rather than ethnic nature. However, the almost clear-cut correspondence between educational and ethnic boundaries within the larger Russian-speaking community in Germany once again has demonstrated the elusive and blurred relationship between the system of ethnic distinctiveness and other aspects of personal and group identity between the SA and the KF communities described in this dissertation. Similar to other aspects of linguistic beliefs and behaviors discussed in the earlier chapters, the contrasting code-mixing practices and ideologies between the KF and the SA migrants became yet another dimension of distinctiveness between the two. As such, they were shown to be routinely utilized by the KF community members as an additional tool in creating and negotiating a boundary between the two ethnic groups.

Chapter 10

Discussion and Conclusions

This dissertation began as a project that aimed to investigate the relationship between language and ethnic identity in two communities that were "divided" by ethnicity but "united" by the linguistic resources available to them. Seen in this way, the communities described here presented an understudied case where a specific ethnicity could not be definitely linked to one specific linguistic code, thus creating a potential problem to the model that has been traditionally applied to the study of language and ethnic identity (and language and identity in migration especially) described in Chapter 1. In the framework of the models widely used when approaching questions of ethnic identity, a group or an individual is usually seen as negotiating own position along one dimension, demonstrating affiliation with one of the cultures. Either the group (or an individual) adheres to the language of the surrounding majority, thus giving up the alliance with the previous group, or he or she signals specific ethnic identity through the use of the language (or at least some of its linguistic features) that is directly associated with the ethnic minority. Such affiliations can be signaled through the choice of a particular language (Fuller 2007), through differences in code-mixing practices (Clachar 2000; De Fina 2007), the use of single lexical items (Childs & Mallinson 2006), or through a wide variety of linguistic features of a particular language (Giampapa 2001).

By considering the inapplicability of this rather straightforward approach to the situation within the KF and the SA communities, which apparently shared linguistic resources while being ethnically distinct at the same time, this dissertation sought to answer the following questions: how can ethnic identity be negotiated in the situation where no specific ethnolinguistic code sets apart one community from the other? What linguistic means, if any, do community members employ in order to negotiate their

identity in this situation? And how do the tools used by community members come to represent ethnic distinctiveness, if this distinctiveness is being negotiated through linguistic means potentially available to both ethnic entities?

This chapter summarizes and discusses the results that showed how each of the two communities seems to utilize linguistic resources available to it in the process of positioning itself as an ethnic group in the new post-migrant environment. Furthermore, the chapter discusses some theoretical and methodological implications of this study that should be considered in approaching questions of language and ethnic identity in general, and specifically questions of ethnicity and language in situations similar to the one described in this dissertation.

Looking at the results of this research in general, it is possible to see how the special focus on participants' *beliefs* about language and its connection to social reality rather than a focus on actual language use enabled us to see directly the ideological processes, through which participants attached locally salient social meanings to linguistic resources available to them.

Before discussing specific details of these groups' ethnic identity negotiation, it is important to stress that, overall, the results showed an asymmetrical direction of this process. As became apparent from the discussion in all of the data chapters, the KF group produced numerous commentaries that dealt with attempts to characterize the SA group and to define its own position in relation to the SA migration. At the same time, similar commentaries among the SA respondents were virtually non-existent. This disproportion seemed to be the direct result of the significantly smaller numbers of KF migrants to Germany and the relative novelty of KF migration for German society, in comparison to the SA migration. Due to these factors, the KF participants appeared to be taking a clear position of a "minority within a minority". In this way, while the SA migrants seemed to be primarily engaged in the discussion of their positioning with relation to the local German population, the KF community seemed to be engaged in identity negotiations at two "fronts" simultaneously – on the one hand, in relation to the local German majority, and on the other, in relation to the SA group as the other Russian-speaking entity sharing its social space. The need to delineate the boundary between self and the SA community among KF migrants was especially pressing in light of the fact that the KF community

perceived itself to be, in many respects, fundamentally different from the SA group. At the same time, the German majority tended to "mislabel" the KF migration as a part of the SA community due to 1) having been more experienced with the SA migrants because of a longer history and the sheer size of the Russian German population in Germany, and 2) seeing more similarities than differences between the two communities because of the shared Russian (or post-Soviet) cultural and linguistic background of both communities. The following comment directly expressed the general feeling in the KF community, best capturing the necessity to delineate the distinctiveness of the own ethnic group in order to avoid being misperceived as members of the SA migration. Reporting about the overall unattractiveness of Russian-speaking community in town (dominated by SA migrants) this participant said:

Excerpt 178

KF F 45

1 P055: *I feel ashamed for the Russians here. Of course. They use obscene words; it is not*
2 *pleasant. They are hicks, and you just think: "Oh my God, we are being judged*
3 *according to their behavior". Although I can't say that I am such an intellectual.*

In addition, one has to consider an overall negative image of the SA migrants within contemporary Germany, tied to higher crime rate and alcoholism routinely associated with this migrant group (see e.g. Strobl & Kühnel 2000). Because of the danger of being judged by another group's behavior, it became critical for the KF community to distinguish itself strictly from the other group and to position itself in such a way as to possibly prevent being mislabeled by the local population.

With respect to the question whether linguistic means were used in the negotiation of ethnic identity despite being shared by both communities, the discussion in Chapters 5 through 9 demonstrated that (similar to other communities) for both SA and KF groups, language became one of the central means in the definition and negotiation of this multi-layered and multi-dimensional positioning. Migrants of both groups engaged in elaborate discussions of their beliefs about Russian and German, as well as in discussions of their use of these languages. Therefore, neither KF nor SA migrants differed dramatically from other communities that tried to negotiate their ethnic identity within a new migrant environment. However, what became especially interesting with regard to these two communities in particular was an apparent mismatch between the ways in which the two

groups approached the very notion of ethnicity. While finding a position with relation to the larger German-speaking majority, the SA migrants mainly seemed to be involved in defining their own ethnic identity along the binary axis that spanned between the Russian and the German ethnic affiliations. In this process, they were negotiating their own status with relation to the "German Germans" by touching on the issues of their (at times strong, at times almost elusive) Russian German heritage. At the same time, in delineating the ethnic boundary between self and the "other" Russian-speaking group, the KF community seemed to apply a view of ethnicity that not only entailed a primarily ethnic component, but also included a combination of attributes not traditionally associated with ethnicity per se, such as distinctions in class, educational status and also a certain measure of cosmopolitanism (expressed, for example, in the salience of the urban-rural distinction).

As Bucholtz and Hall (2005) argued, identity in general should be viewed as a "relational and socio-cultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories" (Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 585-86). The discrepancy between the understanding of ethnic identity among the KF and the SA migrants investigated in this dissertation provided a vivid example of such locality. The different notions of ethnicity operating in the two groups described here demonstrated that even within a community (such as the larger Russian-speaking community in town) that might be perceived as one in the eyes of the receiving society, the individuals and sub-groups routinely defined and negotiated their identities based on the locally salient axes of distinctiveness. In the case of the SA and the KF groups, this extreme locality led to a situation where the same category of ethnicity was conceptualized and operated differently in each of the groups, yielding a highly interesting and dynamic picture of the ethnic identity negotiations within the larger Russian-speaking community.

Before turning to the question of how this specific understanding of the concept of ethnicity in the KF group developed in the process of ethnic boundary negotiation between the two communities specifically, Sections 10.1 and 10.2 below outline how each of the communities seemed to approach their understanding of what ethnicity meant to them and how this understanding was reflected in participants' beliefs about language and their reported linguistic practices discussed in detail in Chapters 5 through 9.

10.1. The concept of ethnicity and its interplay with language in the SA group

Overall, ethnicity in its "classical" sense (i.e. based primarily on the shared biological and cultural heritage, expressed, for example in specific ethnic customs and language) seemed to play an important role in the SA discourse, as the feeling of being a part of a group with a German heritage dominated many SA responses that tried to define the community's place in the context of contemporary Germany. Despite differences among individual cases, a connection to the German descent was apparent from personal stories of SA participants of all life-stages. For older participants, it entailed accounts of their own childhood experiences and preservation of German traditions (including the German language) in their families. For younger respondents, this connection to German lineage was visible from reports on witnessing (already disappearing) signs of German ethnic affiliation among their older family members in their home-countries, or sharing memories of such roots. In the context of migration, this reminiscence of "Germanness" as a part of the groups' identity was likely to become one of the factors that affected a community's views on the place of both the Russian and German languages as the symbolic representation of the members' Russian or German ethnic affiliation in their post-migrant life. Although, as demonstrated by numerous comments of SA participants on their current linguistic choices, none of the respondents explicitly stated that their higher acceptance of German as the new community language was motivated by this connection to the ethnic German heritage, the historically German component of group identity could well be believed to have facilitated the higher acceptance of German as the in-group language or a weaker stress on Russian maintenance. One of the examples that seemed to directly indicate the connection between the cultural (and linguistic) past and linguistic present of the SA group was the fact that the SA community at large showed a higher acceptance of code-mixing practices, especially as the direct continuation of a similar practice attested among the German-speaking community members in the home-countries (Excerpt 167) and also more use of German between family members and with young children specifically.

However, it would be incorrect to say that the SAs' observed beliefs about the place of Russian and German in their post-migrant life, as well as their greater tendency to accept German as a means of in-group communication, were motivated solely by the attempts to (re-)claim their German ethnicity. A direct and unproblematic connection between the classical sense of "ethnicity" and the ideologies about language and its role in establishing ethnic affiliations would be an oversimplification of the picture that emerged from the data, as it would ignore a number of additional factors that seemed to affect language attitudes and linguistic behaviors of the SA migrants.

First, the link between the German "ethnic" language and German ethnicity was extremely complicated in the community by the numerous ways in which speakers themselves perceived the relationship between ethnicity and language (and specifically German as the historically ethnic language of the Russian German minority in the former Soviet Union). The vast loss of German as the language of the Russian German community in the home countries caused a drastic re-evaluation of this link, at times dismissing the relevance of language in definition of one's ethnicity, and at times bringing about a change in the ethnic self-identification of the community members caused by the loss of German as the ethnic language. The fact that dominant Russian speakers commonly identified themselves as ethnically German, and that participants who learned German as their first language in the families identified themselves as Russian already demonstrated a complexity of the interplay between language and ethnic affiliation, prevalent in the community. The disarray of views on this relationship was further complicated in the migrant context, where, according to the dominant ideology that saw an "ethnic" language as an inherent attribute of an ethnic minority, Germanness of SA migrants was routinely questioned both by the state officials (for example, by the need to pass a German test in order to attain a specific migration status),⁴³ as well as by the local population, which routinely refused to accept migrants as Germans on the base of their linguistic and cultural assimilation to their home-countries' environment (Dietz 1997; Pfetsch 1999).

⁴³ See Struck-Soboleva (Struck-Soboleva 2006) for details.

Second, the participants' accounts indicated that, in addition to other factors, their attitudes towards both the Russian and the German languages as well as linguistic practices shaped by these attitudes were deeply influenced by more pragmatic reasons, such as the necessity of living and functioning successfully in the new German-speaking environment. The salience of the pragmatic factors was evident from the multiple references to the "need" to learn German in Germany, from attempts to pass the knowledge of German from more proficient family members onto the newly arriving migrants. In addition, the importance of practical reasons also appeared in the aim to prepare children linguistically for the world outside of the family domain by promoting in-family German learning among the younger generations. The fact that the choice of German as the language of communication with children was motivated by the statement "We live in Germany now" (Excerpt 119, Excerpt 120) as opposed to a potential "We are Germans" served as an illustration of a pragmatically motivated linguistic choice rather than one strictly defined in ethnic terms. It is interesting that, also with respect to questions of Russian maintenance, the practical reasons for communicating with Russian-speaking family members or potential advantages for Russian-German bilinguals in a future profession dominated the SA discourse over the reasons of preserving Russian because of the affiliation with the Russian culture or society. Lastly, the SA discourse of the code-mixing practices in the community also favored pragmatic reasons, as SA participants repeatedly referred to the convenience of some German expressions (Excerpt 163) over their Russian equivalents, linguistic economy (Excerpt 164), and the practicality of the mixed mode of communication for language learning and teaching purposes (Excerpt 165). This utilitarian position towards linguistic choices on a personal as well as on a community level can potentially complicate existing models of language and ethnic identity as it adds a component usually overlooked in the research on language and ethnicity. However, considering pragmatic needs of a community as a factor in its overall linguistic behavior seems crucial for understanding the mechanisms driving the processes of language maintenance and shift in this and other migrant settings.

Finally, as the analysis in Chapter 6 illustrated, the language use and attitudes towards German and Russian in the SA community were formed to a great extent by the realities of the migrant life itself. The SA community presented a classic case of a chain-

migration, in which different units and members of the extended family have been migrating to Germany at different points in time. In this way, migration was often seen as the chance to reunite with relatives, which ultimately caused a situation where newly arrived migrants were more than likely to fall into a close-knit family network upon their arrival in Germany.

On the one hand, the dependence on the other group members was seen to slow down the process of cultural (and linguistic) adjustment of the SA community members to the German-speaking majority. The data demonstrated that SA migrants overall were less likely to establish close personal contacts that went beyond the boundaries of their own group (see, for example, Table 8). With relation to the less personal contacts, the SA community also demonstrated a notably weaker involvement in activities that would potentially encourage the migrants to establishing German-speaking contacts with the outside world (see Table 16, or the comment in Excerpt 112 where the participant directly stated her surprise when being addressed in German at her local playground).

On the other hand, the existence of (even distant) family members who migrated to Germany earlier seemed to be a specific facilitator of an in-group-driven language shift to German. As the data illustrated, in light of the lower number of out-group German-speaking contacts, many of the SA migrants reported using code-mixing and conversational opportunities within their family (especially family members who migrated earlier and were reported to have higher competency in German) as a way of learning the German language within the group (see Excerpt 165).

In addition, having relatives in Germany who were perceived to be "more German" than the newcomers, also appeared to serve as a living example of a multitude of possibilities for one's positioning along the ethnic line spanning between "Russian" and "German", without the need to fully commit to either of the extremes. Seeing different levels of affiliation with either of the two ethnicities among family members of different ages and lengths of stay seemed to allow SA migrants to realize that a position "in-between" the two ethnic poles was also possible – culturally, as well as linguistically. To this extent, the overall discourse on language shift and maintenance within the SA community was characterized by a rather non-prescriptive tone, which appeared to be the direct result of the fact that, even within their own extended family, SA migrants were

likely to observe multiple examples of language shift at different stages of completion and thus were more likely to see and accept the inevitability of this process. This observation might be able to explain the overall neutral tone of comments that brought up examples of declining proficiency in Russian among SA children, which showed that a gradual shift from Russian to German was perceived in the SA community as a normality rather than being associated with a tragic loss of the pre-migration cultural heritage (Excerpt 140). Furthermore, although the participants themselves did not articulate a direct link connecting the "in-between" ethnic affiliation with the practices of code-mixing common among the community members, the parallels in the terminology used by the SA respondents in describing these two phenomena indicated that a strong similarity could be established between the ways SA migrants seemed to accept their own "mixed" ethnicity (Excerpt 6, Excerpt 8), on the one hand, and a "mixed" language (Excerpt 163), on the other.

10.2. The concept of ethnicity and its interplay with language in the KF group

When outlining the relationship between language and ethnicity in the KF community, it is necessary to bear in mind the historic factors that shaped a very specific understanding of "Jewishness" within the context of the Soviet Union. As mentioned earlier in this chapter and described in detail in Chapter 2, the notion of "being Jewish" had mainly lost its original religious component in the context of the former Soviet Union and was considered an ethnic category, enforced by the formalities of the Soviet passport system, where ethnicity (including "Jewish" ethnicity) was defined in the personal identification documents of all citizens, becoming a part of the official discourse. At the same time, due to its history, the Jewish minority in the former Soviet Union could be seen as the most acculturated ethnic group (Kessler 2003), becoming an active consumer and even producer of Russian culture. In this way, Jewishness came to be defined by a specific set of social and cultural characteristics rather than exclusively by the ones conventionally associated with ethnicity, e.g. maintaining specific cultural rituals and traditions, including a designated ethnic language (Gitelman 2003). As discussed in Chapter 2,

Jewishness was defined according to a certain life style and social position, while the most prominent attributes of Jewishness in the Soviet and post-Soviet context centered around the notions of being "able", "talented" or "cultured" (Levinson 1997; Ritterband 1997), reflecting the overall tendency to upward social mobility and higher educational and social status of the Jewish minority. These attributes, which were traditionally not seen as characteristics of an ethnicity, have lost their original "non-ethnic" connotations among the Jewish minority in the former Soviet Union and were conceptualized directly as attributes of the Jewish ethnicity by both members and non-members of the Jewish minority alike.

Even not being "traditionally" ethnicity-related, these attributes were routinely perceived and articulated as inherent attributes of own or other group's ethnicity within the KF discourse. Understanding of these attributes as part of ethnic identity was apparent from the number of comments given by the KF migrants, which described SA migrants not fitting into the usual profile of a KF ethnic group. In Excerpt 32, a KF participant reported a case where her SA friend's ethnicity was questioned by the members of the SA group because she had greater interest in pursuing higher education in Germany. They commented that she, in fact, "*may be a Jew*". The opposite was also true. A KF participant characterized one of her KF friends as an "*interesting girl who is trying to study*" and, at the same time, described the girl's family, which came from a smaller Russian town, as "*very simple*". Contrasting her friend's educational ambitions with the lack of support from her family, this KF participant commented that "*they have a family like Russian Germans.*" Thus, she directly defined the ethnic affiliation in the terms of social and educational status as in the previous example. This non-conventional view of ethnic identity was further apparent from the multiple comments in which the KF migrants as a group were characterized by both SA (Excerpt 30, Excerpt 31) and KF migrants (Excerpt 26) not only as better educated and cultured, but also as generally more interested in educational pursuits for themselves and their children.

It is critical to consider this specific concept of ethnicity in interpreting the beliefs about language and linguistic practices in the KF community, as this concept directly explained the massive emphasis on issues of grammaticality, literacy, and language maintenance *and* learning that emerged from the KF responses. The comment in Excerpt

174, in which a participant reported with pride that the status of an "intellectual" has been maintained in his family for generations, demonstrated that, comparable to the traditionally "ethnic" characteristics, the higher social, educational, and cultural level was perceived as a specifically inherited category. Similar to a biological characteristic (i.e. stressing that a German/Italian/Spanish heritage goes back for generations), he stated that his father was an "*intellectual in fourth generation*". This almost biological perception of a specific social and educational status can shed light, for example, on the importance assigned by the KF migrants to the maintenance of not just the Russian language, but a "*clean,*" "*correct,*" and literary Russian language in their children, as such attempts represented a desire to transfer to the next generation a specific intellectual heritage as the inherent attribute of their own ethnicity, similar to a transfer of a heritage ethnic language or cultural traditions in other ethnic minorities. As the participant in Excerpt 142 demonstrated, a loss of Russian in her teenage son would signify for her the loss of access to the classical Russian literature and history. Both were the main attributes of the high Russian culture and have become a perceived inherent attribute of the Jewish minority in the post-Soviet context as well. The same reason could be seen as a factor in protecting the status of Russian as the in-group language as addressed in Chapter 6.

On the other hand, just like in the case of the SA community, a number of the themes that emerged from the KF participants' answers demonstrated that many aspects of linguistic behavior in the community could undoubtedly be explained by the mere pragmatic factors of living in a dominant German-speaking environment, as, for example, the strong desire to acquire German for successful functioning in the German-speaking host society attested by the KF group. However, the strategies of this pursuit were demonstrated to differ drastically from the SA community, as German was acquired by adult respondents strictly as a foreign language in formal settings, i.e. in a way that did not (or was hoped not to) endanger the status of Russian as the designated community language.

Finally, similar to the situation in the SA group, the linguistic behavior of the community was further constrained and shaped by the specifics of the KF migration to Germany itself. As a more recent phenomenon that was mainly limited to small families or single individuals, the KF migration lacked the vast social network of co-ethnics that

was demonstrated to be so prominent in the SA community. While the SA migrants largely relied on their earlier-migrated relatives (and their German language skills) in order to find assistance and social support (along with a specific system of in-group language training), no similar networks were readily available for the KF community. The absence of the close-knit safety net appeared to be an additional factor in a stronger tendency of the KF participants to find contacts (including local German contacts) outside of their own group (see Table 8). This tendency ultimately changed the circumstances that shaped the group's linguistic behavior towards more frequent use of German outside the home (see Table 19).

In addition, being part of the first wave of Jewish migration from the former Soviet Union to Germany, the KF community was not exposed to any in-group examples of an in-between positioning between the German culture and the culture of the Russian Jewish minority similar to the ones confirmed for the SA group (with the exception of the youngest generation that came to Germany at a young age and was much more likely to have adjusted to the culture of the host society, as with the respondent in Excerpt 9). The lack of such examples among adult community members, together with the absence of an ancestral connection to the German ethnicity, caused KF migrants to see the ethnic categories of "(local) German" and "non-German" as two strictly separate entities rather than two points on the same continuum evidenced in the case of the SA community. This strict separation of the two ethnic affiliations was further directly reflected in the KF migrants' linguistic ideologies that perpetuated attempts to keep the two languages representing Russian/Jewish and German ethnicities as strictly separate. For instance, this delineation occurred with relation to the "in-group" and "out-group" designation for Russian and German respectively, as well as with respect to the strict aversion to the practice of mixing the two language together.

10.3. When two constructs of ethnic identity "collide": construction of distinctiveness

The difference between the ways the two communities conceptualized the notion of ethnicity became especially relevant for the understanding of the complex and dynamic

relationship *between* the groups. In the process of the ethnic identity negotiations between the SA and the KF migrants, this conflict became especially apparent because these negotiations showcased directly the mismatch in each community's understanding of interdependence of language and ethnicity. As this dissertation demonstrated, the KF community, as the smaller of the two groups, actively negotiated its positioning in relation to the more prominent SA community. In doing so, the KF participants were repeatedly seen to apply *their own* understanding of what ethnicity was about and how it was related to language in order to explain language ideologies and linguistic practices of the SA group. In doing so, the KF group as a whole often tended to overlook the fact that the linguistic ideologies and practices of the SA group were in fact motivated by a fundamentally *different* understanding of what the concept of ethnicity entailed and how it was related to language. This conflict of two ideological systems within a community that, on the first sight, might appear homogenous if judged by its common linguistic and migrant background, clearly illustrated the importance of bearing in mind the *locality* of ideologies that inform language use and attitude towards languages in each and every case.

On the one hand, the KF data demonstrated that the purely "ethnicity-driven" motivation of linguistic behaviors ascribed to the SA community was at times accepted and recognized by the KF migrants. For example, a number of responses demonstrated that such linguistic choices as deliberate attempts to shift to German and frequent code-mixing among the SA migrants were often seen by the KF respondents as a direct consequence of the German heritage of the SA group, as well as attempts to re-claim German ethnicity in migration (Excerpt 50, Excerpt 85).

On the other hand, this dissertation demonstrated that the *non-ethnic* component of the ethnicity model undeniably dominated the KF discourse on negotiating the boundary between their own and the other group. Projection of KF group's beliefs about language on others' linguistic practices created a situation where the ethnicity-based linguistic choices of SA migrants were often misinterpreted by the KF respondents as motivated by the distinction in social class and education. In this light, the linguistic behavior of the SA migrants that was shown to be motivated by the attempts to position themselves on the binary continuum between German and Russian ethnicity, was routinely misperceived by

KF migrants to rather index a lower educational status and provincial background of the SA migrants. The strictly negative views of SAs' code-mixing practices and the KF's evaluation of it can serve as a clear example of this mismatch. Similar interpretations were also applied to SA's linguistic choices possibly motivated by pragmatic reasons, such as the tendency to teach children German rather than Russian in light of "living in Germany", or the smaller focus on maintaining Russian overall.

At the same time, it is important to stress again that in line with specific KF's understanding of own ethnicity described in Section 10.2, such attributes as the lower social and educational level were seen by the KF respondents not just as class distinction in the traditional sense, but more so as inherent attributes of the Russian German *ethnic identity*. This view was evident, for example, from the tendency to completely ignore the existing educational and class-related differences *within* the SA community (as well as the difference in linguistic practices of individual SA migrants), and to see the whole SA group as a homogenous entity, characterized by the same recurrent set of attributes. Defining the process of *erasure* as one of the mechanisms of creating distinctiveness by overseeing the variation and by rendering some of the persons or activities as invisible, Irvine and Gal (2000) state that "a social group or a language may be imagined as homogeneous, its internal variation disregarded. Because a linguistic ideology is a totaling vision, elements that do not fit its interpretive structure – that cannot be seen to fit – must be either ignored or transformed" (Irvine & Gal 2000: 38). The KF perception of the SA ethnic identity as unquestionably linked to such attributes as lower social class, lower educational status and the lack of cosmopolitanism presented a classic example of this process. The totaling vision was also routinely applied by the KF respondents to SA's linguistic practices that were perceived as homogenized and were linked directly to ethnic characteristics of the whole SA groups (as, for example, in the ascription of the proficiency in Russian German dialects to the community as a whole despite its actual restriction to the SA's oldest speakers (as in Excerpt 50), or in positioning an SA boyfriend as a "big exception" in the totality of the code-mixing practice in the SA community, which, in turn was linked to insufficient education and "*insufficient level of inner development*" of the SA group (Excerpt 172).

Thus, the analysis in this dissertation demonstrated that by routinely interpreting SA's linguistic behavior through the prism of their own understanding of ethnicity (which entailed a prominent "non-ethnic" component), the KF community was able to create a mechanism, in which observed (and imagined) differences in other's linguistic behavior were used as a powerful tool in negotiating ethnic boundaries within the larger Russian-speaking community in Germany, despite sharing linguistic recourses available to both groups.

10.4. Implications for future research

The results of this dissertation have a number of theoretical and methodological implications for sociolinguistic research and the study of language and ethnicity specifically.

First, the analysis presented in this dissertation highlighted the extreme importance of approaching ethnicity as a social construct. As pointed out in Chapter 1, this understanding of ethnicity has already established itself within the sociolinguistic research, following a number of studies that demonstrated social constructivist nature of other identity aspects such as gender and sexual identity (Barrett 1998; Cameron 1997; Hall 1995; Kiesling 2005a) or race (Bucholtz 2001; Cutler 2007). The social constructivist understanding of identity also established itself as a common knowledge within the study of ethnic identity, where ethnicity has long been understood as a "socially constructed category, not based on any objectively measurable criteria" (Fought 2006: 4). However, while taking the constructivist approach, the investigations of ethnic identity negotiations have so far predominantly relied on the model where ethnic identity was shown to be bound to conventional "ethnically-marked" characteristics, such as specific language directly associated with an ethnic group, or some of its linguistic features. For instance, while demonstrating a constructed nature of ethnicity, such studies as De Fina (2007), Giampapa (2001), Bailey (2000), or Lo (1999) primarily explored situations where identity was constructed exclusively through the use of conventional "ethnically-bound" linguistic means, such as features of Italian language used (although to different degrees and in various ways) in constructing "Italianness", or by using English-Spanish code-mixing in projecting a "Spanish" identity.

In contrast, this dissertation has demonstrated that negotiation of ethnic identity does not have to be bound to traditional "ethnically-marked" features, such as a distinct *ethnic* language, which directly denotes a corresponding *ethnicity*. As this research has shown, scholars interested in the interplay of language and ethnicity should be alert to more subtle and arbitrary mechanisms capable of creating ethnic distinctiveness. In approaching ethnic identity negotiation in each new community, the researchers have to be prepared to find tools that are not necessarily recognized as tied to ethnicity specifically, but acquire "ethnic" meaning locally in each particular context. In this respect, the non-traditional concept of ethnicity observed in the KF community and its implications for ethnic identity negotiations within the Russian-speaking community in Germany can serve as an example of this scenario. In a situation like this, a more traditional approach to the ethnic identity negotiation might have failed to correctly evaluate and interpret the dynamics of the ethnic identity negotiation between the two communities described in this dissertation.

Second, the analysis in this dissertation demonstrated that the application of existent frameworks that explain relationship between language and social structures calls for a critical evaluation of their applicability to each specific context. For example, the case of the SA and KF communities described in this dissertation clearly demonstrated the need to re-evaluate the social network model widely used in the sociolinguistic research today (e.g. Gal 1979; Hulsen et al. 2002; Milroy 1987; Milroy & Wei 1995; Stoessel 2002), as the pattern of language maintenance and shift demonstrated in this dissertation did not seem to fit into the traditional model of the interdependence of language and social network structure. Contrary to the expectations based on the dominant model, the SA community, which displayed a stronger involvement in close-knit co-ethnic networks in all domains, demonstrated a clearly stronger orientation towards German not only through the ideological acceptance of German as the new community language, but also through the more advanced shift to L2 as witnessed, for example, by the higher German use within the family (Table 25). In contrast, the KF group that would have been expected to show higher shift to L2 as a result of its looser networks that included a significantly higher number of local German speakers, displayed a directly opposite pattern from the SA group. Despite its stronger involvement in L2

networks, the KF community demonstrated an almost categorical rejection of German as the possible community language (at least in the case of the adult respondents) and overall showed a strong desire to withstand the pressures of shift to L2 in the migrant context. At the same time, this position did not mean a complete rejection of German, which was perceived by the community as a highly desirable, but foreign language, providing instrumental access to social and cultural resources of the host society.

This situation clearly demonstrated that more factors than the mere involvement in migrant or local networks needed to be taken into account with respect to these communities. On the one hand, it was not only the type of the networks (migrant versus local) that mattered, but also more subtle characteristics of these networks. Specifically, the analysis has shown that it was important to consider the difference between the *migrant* networks of the SA and the KF community when talking about the effect of these networks on the communities' linguistic behavior. Due to the longer history of the SA migration, as well as to the residual German knowledge among the oldest generations, there was a higher possibility of *German-speaking co-ethnic migrant* contacts within the SA networks. In this way, the language of the surrounding majority was likely to "seep" into the SA network communication through the German-speaking "insider" contacts even despite the groups' apparent withdrawal from the local social life. In contrast, similar in-group German speaking contacts were not available in the KF community, causing it to draw a clear line between the Russian-speaking in-group networks and the German-speaking local networks, thus clearly delineating the roles of L1 and L2 as the "own" and the "foreign" language.

At the same time, the analysis demonstrated the need to consider the role of ideological factors that appeared to shape the communities' attitude to the shift to L2 in the migrant context. As the KF community demonstrated, despite the high status and desirability of German, and despite the higher involvement of KF migrants in local networks (often with the direct purpose of learning the majority language), the community persistently tried to resist the pressures to shift. This resistance could be clearly tied to the ideological position that saw Russian (and the literary Russian in particular) as an important attribute of the groups' identity (see Section 8.3.1 in particular). At the same time, the SA community was more likely to accept German as

the new community language and thus did not show any attempts to resist language shift to German typical for many migrant communities, which are likely to complete the shift to L2 by the third generation (e.g. Zentella 1997). In addition, the KF community demonstrated a clear awareness of the difference between the ideological positions towards the L1 maintenance in the two groups (Excerpt 86, Excerpt 134) and seemed to utilize this distinction as an additional tool in negotiating its positioning towards the SA migration.

Overall, the analysis of the network structure in the two communities and its interplay with linguistic behavior of migrants demonstrated that the traditional social network model needed to be adjusted to consider the specific circumstances of the KF and SA migration in order to fully understand how the migrants' network structures interacted with the early processes of language shift and maintenance in this migrant context.

Third, this dissertation exemplified the benefits of investigating ethnic relationships in less obvious and thus less studied societal hierarchies, in comparison to the classic migrant "minorities" within a dominant "majority" of a particular host society. Following such studies as Urciuoli (1991), Bucholtz (1995) or Kiesling (2005b), this dissertation built a case for the importance of looking beyond the majority-minority dimension in order to emphasize a potentially rich dynamics of social (including ethnic) identity negotiations within minorities. The case of the KF community presented in this dissertation demonstrated that special situations like this give rise to new societal hierarchies and as such can reveal unexpected aspects of ones' identities that are otherwise unarticulated or backgrounded in a process of identity negotiation in a more traditional setting. Situations like this might further illustrate how structures related to social class can emerge and be linked to notions like identity in specific kinds of local contexts.

For instance, the special attention given by the KF migrants to the "non-ethnic" component of their ethnic identity could be seen as an example of such aspect of identification, as it was shown to come to particular prominence *specifically* through the group's unique positioning as "minority within a minority". As Heller states, "in times of change, we can see how social construction of categories, value and relations of power

work only by identifying sites that are revealing and examining how actors draw on available resources to conduct their daily lives" (Heller 2007: 342) In a migrant situation that changes both position of a group and social environment around it, one can expect social participants to become especially creative in selecting and utilizing resources that would help them to re-state or re-define who they are. As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, social and educational status was demonstrated to be a part of ethnic identity of the KF community even before migration. In a migrant situation where the KF group members found themselves on the same rung of social ladder with another Russian-speaking migrant group, such component of the own identity proved to become especially salient.

The newly experienced change in social hierarchy caused by migration (and with relation to the "other" migrant community - even a lack of hierarchy in the eyes of the receiving society), seemed to threaten the whole basis of the ethnic self-identification of the KF group. In this situation, the main efforts of the KF migrants were seen to be directed towards re-establishing and re-emphasizing this social component in distinguishing themselves from the SA community. From a non-linguistic point of view, such attempts were noticeable, for instance, in the higher striving of KF community to upward social mobility in the new environment (as for example, in selecting better schools for their children). In relation to language, the emphasis on re-establishing such distinctiveness was obvious from the extreme prominence of language ideologies and linguistic practices associated with the higher social and educational status. In this way, the special positioning of the KF group against the other Russian-speaking minority allowed a particularly clear view of some of the ethnic identity components that might not have come to light in a more common migrant setting. Going beyond the scope of studies that account for the traditional majority-minority dimension can thus allow researchers to comprehend identity aspects, which otherwise may have stayed ignored or overlooked.

Finally, from the methodological point of view, the analysis in this dissertation has demonstrated how research focusing on language and ethnic identity can be improved by combining methods, which allow the researcher to collect both qualitative and quantitative data on participant's views and beliefs about language and its role in the negotiation of ethnic identity. Traditionally, the research in this field made use of

qualitative methods, providing a close-up look at structural features of contact varieties or ideologies and beliefs of individual speakers, trying to compose a possibly full and detailed picture of the issues involved in identity negotiation on a personal level (see, for example, studies of language and ethnic identity quoted in the previous section). Combining such "micro"-approach with attempts to see a bigger picture can undoubtedly enrich the studies investigating the interaction between language and ethnic identity. On the one hand, this approach can still provide invaluable close-up view of speakers' accounts, allowing the researcher to reconstruct local ideologies engaged in each specific case of identity negotiations. It can enable the researcher to hear the stories of individual participants, tracing motivations behind particular linguistic decisions. On the other hand, the qualitative component can help researchers to take a step back from the micro-level analysis in order to see how accounts of individual speakers fit into a more global picture. By looking at the general trends within a particular community, researchers might find a confirmation or a dismissal of some of the theories emerging from the analysis of the individuals' accounts, and see how personal stories interact with each other, ultimately contributing to a more comprehensive analysis of the dynamic around the questions of language and ethnic identity in a particular community. By combining two types of data, this dissertation has attempted exactly that: to enable the reader to see the overall picture of the ethnic identity negotiation between the Russian German and Russian Jewish communities in Germany, and, at the same time, to hear individual voices of real people who so willingly donated their time and effort in order to share the stories of their lives.

Appendix: Survey Questions

How long have you lived in Germany?	How old are you?
Where have you lived before migration?	M/F
Where did you spend most of your life?	Are you married?
Are you the first one in your family to migrate to Germany?	Do you have children?
What is your immigration status?	What is your ethnicity?
Education before migration	Education received in Germany
Where did you work in your home country?	Do you work now? Where?
How would you rate your German proficiency before migration? (0-10, speaking, listening, reading and writing)	How would you rate your German proficiency now? (0-10, speaking, listening, reading and writing)
How would you rate your Russian proficiency now? (0-10, speaking, listening, reading and writing)	
How and for how long did you learn German both before and after migration?	
Have you used family/friends as translators when you came?	Did you accompany your friends/family as a translator when you came?
Do you use family/friends as translators now?	Do you accompany your friends/family as a translator now?

Who else lives in your household?

	Person	Age	What languages do you speak?					
			Only German	mostly German	50/50	mostly Russian	only Russian	other
①		()	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
②		()	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
③		()	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
④		()	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
⑤		()	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
⑥		()	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
⑦		()	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Do you have other close relatives who live in Germany?

	Pers on	Age	Where do they live?				What languages do you speak with them?						How often do you communicate?					
			Neighbors	this city	this state	elsewhere in Germany	German only	mostly German.	50/50	mostly Russian	Russian only	other	every day	twice a week	once a week	once a month	once a year	never
①			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
②			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
③			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
④			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
⑤			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
⑥			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
⑦			<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other (more distant) family members in Germany

Do you have more distant relatives in Germany?					These relatives live ..					
<input type="radio"/> none	<input type="radio"/> 1-2	<input type="radio"/> 3-5	<input type="radio"/> 5-10	<input type="radio"/> 10+	<input type="radio"/> in neighb.	<input type="radio"/> in this city	<input type="radio"/> in this state	<input type="radio"/> in diff. state		
How often do you communicate?					What languages do you speak?					
<input type="radio"/> every day	<input type="radio"/> twice a week	<input type="radio"/> once a week	<input type="radio"/> once a month	<input type="radio"/> once a year	<input type="radio"/> only German	<input type="radio"/> mostly German	<input type="radio"/> 50/50	<input type="radio"/> mostly Russian	<input type="radio"/> only Russian	<input type="radio"/> other

Family in the home country:

Do you have family in the home country?				
<input type="radio"/> none	<input type="radio"/> 1-2	<input type="radio"/> 3-5	<input type="radio"/> 5-10	<input type="radio"/> 10+

Do you call them?					
<input type="radio"/> every day	<input type="radio"/> twice a week	<input type="radio"/> once a week	<input type="radio"/> once a month	<input type="radio"/> once a year	<input type="radio"/> never

Do you write to them?					
<input type="radio"/> every day	<input type="radio"/> twice a week	<input type="radio"/> once a week	<input type="radio"/> once a year	<input type="radio"/> once a year	<input type="radio"/> never

Do you visit them?		
<input type="radio"/> once a month	<input type="radio"/> once a year	<input type="radio"/> never

Name 5 most important people in your network:

Name:	Age:
Sex: <input type="radio"/> f <input type="radio"/> m	Known from home country?: <input type="radio"/> yes <input type="radio"/> no
Ethnicity:	Is it a family member?: <input type="radio"/> yes <input type="radio"/> no
What language do you speak? <input type="radio"/> German only <input type="radio"/> mostly German <input type="radio"/> 50/50 <input type="radio"/> mostly Russian <input type="radio"/> Russian only <input type="radio"/> other	

Friends in the home country:

Do you have friends in your home country?				
<input type="radio"/> none	<input type="radio"/> 1-2	<input type="radio"/> 3-5	<input type="radio"/> 5-10	<input type="radio"/> 10+

Do you call each other?					
<input type="radio"/> every day	<input type="radio"/> twice a week	<input type="radio"/> once a week	<input type="radio"/> once a month	<input type="radio"/> once a year	<input type="radio"/> never

Do you write to them?					
<input type="radio"/> every day	<input type="radio"/> twice a week	<input type="radio"/> once a week	<input type="radio"/> once a month	<input type="radio"/> once a year	<input type="radio"/> never

Do you visit each other?		
<input type="radio"/> once a month	<input type="radio"/> once a year	<input type="radio"/> never

How often do you....	Every day	Twice a week	Once a week	Once a month	Once a year	never
go shopping	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
speak to teachers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
help someone with homework	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
visit governmental institutions	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
do household work	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
spend your free time among local German speakers						
spend your free time with Russian speakers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
attend religious activities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are visited by Russian speakers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
are visited by local German speakers						
go and visit Russian speakers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
go and visit local German speakers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
communicate with Russian-speaking neighbors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
communicate with local German-speaking neighbors	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
watch TV in Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
watch TV in German	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
read periodicals in Russian						
read periodicals in German	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
read books in Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
read books in German	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Do you agree with the following statements?	Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	neutral	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
German is my mother tongue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Russian is my mother tongue	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I want my children/grandchildren to speak Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is easier for me to speak German than Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is easier for me to understand spoken German than Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is easier for me to read in German than Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is easier for me to write in German than Russian	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have friends among local Germans	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have Russian mentality	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I wish a Russian-speaking partner for my children	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel better in a Russian company	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I might return to my home country	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I might move somewhere else	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

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