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Impact of Indigenous Language on Achievement and Emotional Conditions: A Case Study of East European Students in Utah

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Impact of Indigenous Language on Achievement and Emotional Conditions:
A Case Study of East European Students in Utah

Natalya Georgiyeva

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education

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ABSTRACT

Title: Impact of Indigenous Language on Achievement and Emotional Conditions:
A Case Study of East European Students in Utah

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The importance of using an indigenous language as a medium of school instruction has been discussed in world education for a long time. This study focuses on the influence of the presence of a native language in the learning process of the students and the impact on their academic achievement, emotional conditions, and post-school lives. A qualitative method of research was used in the study, comprising 12 interviews among Ukrainian/Russian adopted and nonadopted students who attended Utah schools. Information obtained through interviews presented language levels of students (both native and English), academic achievement, and emotional conditions of students during the period of adaptation and after several years' living in the U.S. Interviews also provided information about the roles of schools, friends, and families in the learning process for Language Learning Students and their development of native and English languages. All data in this research is the students' perception of their languages skills, academic achievements, emotional conditions, and support (provided or not) from schools and families. In the chosen cases, the study intends to see if presence of the native language during the learning process in the school keeps influencing students' lives after graduating high school and whether it has an effect on continuing education and job opportunities. This work provides some recommendations on how schools can arrange a positive environment for Language Learning Students, support their native language development, and interact with students' families to achieve the common goal of high academic success and emotional stability of students.

Keywords: language learning students, native language, academic success, medium of instruction, Ukrainian/Russian students

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background of the Problem

As I studied different problems in today's global education, I came across the problem of language instruction in schools. I found that many students in the world do not study in their native languages (Brock-Utne, 2000; Ntiri, 1993). Studies show that many of those students struggle academically and emotionally (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984). I myself received my education in three different languages; however, in my case I have never been cut off from my native language. Therefore, studies of other researchers and my own experience confirmed my decision to investigate the problem of multilingualism in schools, including official school policies about language instruction and how these policies influence students' lives.

We must admit that multilingualism is a part of mankind's history and public attitude towards it has changed throughout the ages. Today's attitudes are complicated and cannot be expressed in one phrase. There are many different arguments and opinions from leading linguists, educators, and policymakers on L1 (native language of the student) instruction and the outcomes of students, which will be presented in detail in Chapter 2. Today, there are almost no countries "where everyone speaks, or identifies with, one language" (Mesthrie, 2008, p. 74). This pervasive multilingualism influences education as the number of students in classrooms who do not speak the language of school instruction increases. The presence of language learning students (LLS) should require changes in classrooms language instruction policies in schools to meet the needs of these students.

Relatively recently, there have been many changes in school policies regarding the language of instruction and language learning situations in the world. After World War II, the

world focused on the protection of people's rights, one of which was declared by UNESCO in the field of education. "In 1953, a UNESCO resolution held that every child should have a right to attain literacy in his or her mother tongue" (Wiley, 2002, p. 40). Many other attempts relating to the protection of children's rights to learn in their native language were made by activists, which brought such cases as *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) and *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981). Due to these actions, changes were made in U.S. legislation about the language of instruction for minorities. In spite of the U.S. law and United Nations declarations of children's rights, the situation in public school classrooms in most settings (internationally and in the U.S.) did not change much from WWII to the present (Cummins, 1999; Nieto, 2002; Simich-Dudgeon & Boals, 1996). UNESCO reported about 6,000-7,000 spoken languages in the world; however, in only a few places or countries are mother tongues used as media of instruction at the primary school level (Skutnabb-Kangas, Maffi & Harmon, 2003) and high school level (Mesthrie, 2008).

In most international settings "schools have often downplayed the value of the 'vernaculars' by minimizing their use in classrooms or recognizing them only as means of facilitating competence in the dominant language(s)" (Mesthrie, 2008, p. 74). Governments keep implementing politically dominant languages in public education, destroying indigenous cultures, traditions, and languages in their own countries (Baker, 1996; Ntiri, 1993; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984; Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2003). McGroarty (2008) claimed "that even in nation-states like the US...*political and social factors* shape the climate for individual and societal linguistic ideologies," not the *human rights factor* (p. 99, [italics are mine]).

In developing countries, international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank greatly influence policies in educational systems, which sometimes include policies on language

of instruction. These policies typically involve implementing Western approaches (standardized Western curriculum and languages) and setting new rules which help these organizations keep in step with constantly developing market requirements (Geo-JaJa & Mangum, 2003). “Peaceful” market influence and hegemony of certain political organizations dictate rules for public education curricula (Tabulawa, 2003). Therefore, language policies for public schools are influenced by the economic and political situation in the world.

Governmental organizations and NGOs need a new approach, which should emphasize the needs of local students and thus bring effective changes in their education. The condition of school instruction languages is critical and applies to all countries. For instance, native African languages are still absorbed even at the elementary school level by the dominant colonist English, French, and Portuguese languages (Brock-Utne, 2000; Ntiri, 1993). Native American languages in both North and South America are ignored and terminated by English and Spanish (Nieto, 2002; Schiefelbein, 2006). Even in a leading world country such as the U.S., Native Americans encounter problems in schools. Thus, Medicine (1982) (as qtd. in McCarty, 2002) stated that Native American children face “psychological abuse for ‘reverting’ to the mother tongue” (p. 289). Canada also faces language problems in the province of Quebec (Burnaby, 2002). Asian countries as well have problems of educating children in their native languages (Baker, 1996; Kosonen, 2010).

Ignoring local languages and languages of minority students in schools is caused by economic and social factors. Spreading global market tendencies make the languages of developed countries assume a dominant position in business, economics, and education. In many cases, companies and organizations with a global presence implement English as the language of work, despite the native languages of the countries where they function (Friedman, 2005). In

such a setting, knowledge of the L1 becomes undervalued by learners themselves as well as by policy planners because salaries are higher, work places are safer, and prospects are better in social and economic situations for those who speak the politically dominant language of the area (Friedman, 2005; King & Benson, 2008). King and Benson (2008) define this policy as one which “effectively excludes most of the population from these jobs, exacerbating inequalities and undermining the position of Indigenous Languages” (p. 349). As a result, politically dominant languages are prevailing over indigenous languages, or languages of communities, in public schools and other such settings.

Skutnabb-Kangas et al. (2003) emphasized that monolingualism of the dominant language is seen as normal. “This leads some parents to think that their children have to choose between either learning their mother tongue (and losing out in the labor market) or learning the dominant language (and sacrificing their own language)” (Skutnabb-Kangas et al., 2003, p. 31). As a result, parents choose L2 as the medium for school instruction for their children, to give children higher economic and social returns throughout their lives. Brock-Utne (2000) and Ntiri (1993) noted that in many African countries, only studying the colonial-dominant languages such as English, French, or Portuguese is considered literacy. For example, in Namibia “parents seem to think, and are probably sometimes also being informed by principals, that by using Khoekhoegowab as the language of instruction the child will become stupid” (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 197). As Rassool (1999) (as qtd. in King & Benson, 2008) stated, it is important to determine “whether literacy is defined in terms of any language or a particular (official) one” (p. 343).

The current situation in schools shows that literacy is usually defined by a country or region’s official language. Exacerbating this tendency is the fact that in most of the world’s schools, the curricula are Eurocentric (Mayes, Cutri, Rogers, & Montero, 2007; Nieto, 2002) and

the methods of teaching in schools, in both developed and developing countries, are Western (Tabulawa, 2003). As a result of these policies, minority students who start speaking dominant languages neglect native cultures and lose self-identity and the opportunity to obtain a high quality educationⁱ (Cummins, 1989; Mayes et al., 2007). Therefore, the current language policies in most public schools mean those unable to comprehend and communicate in the dominant language might lag behind in economic achievements and social level.

As previously mentioned, the influence and problems connected with L1 have been studied broadly. These studies have shown a positive influence of native language (L1) on cognitive development of students and on the skills and tools to help students develop ability in the target language. Many researchers have commented on the negative results of forcing L2 as the medium of instruction for students from an L1 background (Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cummins, 1999-2003; Garcia, 2005). Therefore, in my work I intend to study how these L1 and L2 theories are reflected in the lives of LLS in Utah schools, what these schools have done and what should be done to give these students equal studying opportunities, and what role families play in highlighting or minimizing the importance of L1.

Statement of the Problem

Why do I need to study the L1 and L2 situation in the schools? In Chapter 2 I show the spectrum of problems scholars found in school language policies. They claim that problems with language instruction lead to problems such as decreasing cognitive development and both emotional and psychological instability. Students who study in school in their nonnative language cannot fully develop their language skills in either language, and this leads to problems in their academic success, continuing education, and future career success. In addition, many of these students lose their self-identity, which leads to emotional and psychological consequences.

Despite the many studies that have been done, very few things in the U.S. have been changed at the local level. Some schools started ESL (English as Second Language) classes, and others administered language tests, but few schools can be found where the native language of the LLS is supported in its development (Rhodes, Ochoa & Ortiz, 2005). Hence, the adjustment of the LLS to an L2 environment and studying in L2 must be investigated from the different aspects that would make it relevant to the policymakers who could influence the situation in schools. Thus, my study is focused on the impact of L2 (without L1 support) as an instruction language on language minority students' academic achievement and emotional condition. The study will demonstrate that ignoring the supporting role of L1 influences students' academic success and emotional conditions for students for whom the instruction language is not their primary language.

Purpose of the Study

Scholars have done relative studies about the roles of L1 and L2 in students' success, but such studies have never taken place among Eastern European students in the U.S. Therefore, one of the purposes of the study is to collect and analyze the information about L1 and L2 situations among Eastern European students in Utah and evaluate schools' policies and procedures regarding these students. This study intends to fill in the research gap in information about Eastern European students in American schools (specifically Utah) and determine the validity of the theoretical claim that L1 support in an L2 school environment brings success in academic achievement and emotional stability to the lives of LLS. The present study also provides a look at a varied group of research subjects, some adopted to individuals with little or no background in the students' L1, some with varying degrees of interest in helping students maintain L1, and some with native backgrounds in L1 in their biological families. This study will also analyze

how the actions these families take in relation to L1 influence the academic achievement and emotional conditions of students and see if efforts made by families to preserve L1 without school support are enough to achieve academic success and emotional stability. Many studies about L1 and L2 influences have focused on official outcomes of education (tests, grades, drop rates, etc). Although it is impossible to avoid them in the evaluation of student success (Hanushek & Luque, 2003), student opinion is rarely used to gauge the success and language fluency of students. Another purpose of this study is to find out the perception Eastern European students have towards the influence that a lack of L1 has on academic achievement and emotional conditions to see how it might influence their postschool life. The study also aims to see if neglecting L1 puts students in low achievement tracks and decreases expectations of continuing education.

My hope with this study is to help policymakers refocus their attention from efficient education to effective education by providing L1 support in public schools for students for whom the instruction language is not their native language.

The Objectives of the Study

The objective of this study is to investigate the impact of the presence or absence of L1 on the academic success and self-identity of Eastern European students' lives in Utah. The study involves exploring students' ideas and thoughts about the lack or presence of native language in their school experience and their lives. The study aims to formulate guidelines and standards for more effectively integrating LLS and promoting L1 as the instruction medium in schools as it facilitates achieving high academic standards and human rights. Specific issues that the study addresses include:

1. studying the academic success of LLS during forceful implementation of L2 and rejecting L1
2. investigating the connection between the availability of L1 and student academic success
3. researching how rejecting L1 and forcing L2 influence students' emotional conditions
4. examining what help LLS get in school to support L1 while learning L2
5. analyzing the level of influence families have on preserving L1 and its effect on students' academic success and emotional condition
6. finding out the expectations of LLS about life after graduation and the level of life of those who graduated

Researching and studying these objectives helped me to formulate the research design, which is introduced in detail in Chapter 3.

Significance of the Study

Scholars who have previously studied the importance of L1 in the cognitive, social, and emotional development of students showed that the results of the absence of L1 as the school medium of instruction are low literacy levels and high dropout rates. High dropout rates and low academic achievement among language learning students point out the importance of studying this problem. My special contribution to the scholarly world consists of the study of L1 and L2 situation among Eastern European students in Utah. The situation of Eastern Europeans with language school instruction in American schools has never been studied. The unique aspect of this study is that Eastern European students (Ukrainian/Russian) of four different categories were studied: current students and those past high school age among adoptees to American families and those who are living or lived with biological parents. Studying the life conditions of graduates will help reveal if there is a correlation between supporting the native language and the

economic well-being of the students after graduation. The results of my study can be used for changing policies and programs in public schools for students who do not natively speak the dominant language to increase their literacy level, to minimize possibilities for dropouts, and to prevent difficult emotional and psychological consequences.

Limitations and Delimitation of the Study

The study is limited in time and resources. The geographical boundaries of the study are the state of Utah. The size of the area and time limited the researcher to seek out children in every county of the state. The process of finding students is time consuming, which limits the size of the sample. The main weakness of the research would probably be the absence of official documents about students' academic success or witnesses of peers and teachers to support students' statements about their adjustment to school and school life. However, I tried to make the weakness strong by making students' own opinions and perceptions of the problem as a main and unique point of the research.

Definition of Terms

Academic success – in this study academic success is determined by GPA, dropout rate, and continuing education after high school graduation

BICS – Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills: what students learn in a language during the first two years of study, simple communication

CALP – Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency: what students learn from 5-7 years of study, academic knowledge of language

Efficiency – “expression for maximum amount of output possible for an amount of input” (Prichet & Filmer, 1999, p. 224)

Effectiveness – expression for high quality outputs for an amount of input.

ESL – English as a Second Language

HCT – human capital theory, focused on the human skills and productivity to achieve economic growth. It emphasizes the relationship between educational expenditure, human capital, and worker productivity (Shultz, 1993)

HD – human development; this theory includes the enlargement of all human choices: economic, social, cultural or political and helps to see the full picture of the development in countries (Mahlub ul Haq, 2003)

LLS – an abbreviation which I made to define students who are obligated to learn L2. I call them Language Learning Students. I do not want to use LEP (Limited English Proficiency) because I recognize dominant languages not limited to English, but also include other languages depending on the country and conditions

L1 – native language of the student that is or was used at home with parents or daily life (with peers in case of orphans)

L2 – language which is the official or dominant language and not native to the students

Therefore, this work will fill the research gap and contribute new information to the field about the schooling of Eastern European students in the U.S. The research intends to see if the efforts of families are enough to develop L1 or if school support is vital. This study also attempts to attract policymakers who could influence L1 vs. L2 for LLS in the school system. As King and Benson (2008) stated, “despite the fact that most of the world is bilingual or multilingual... monolingual ideologies continue to undergird decision-making in much of the world” (p. 347). Thus, this work is focused on preventing the further development of monolingual ideologies and underline the importance of L1 support in LLS cognitive development, academic achievement, and emotional-psychological stability.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter I will introduce views and theories of scholars about conditions of LLS for study in L2, its influence on their academic achievement and emotional conditions. This chapter will also show scholars' findings about influence of presence L1 in LLS' lives on their cognitive and emotional development

Language Theory: L1 vs. L2

In order to implement language policies in education, many aspects should be considered. For example, consideration must be taken regarding methods to implement language policies, support or hindrances to the implementation of native languages, and the role of L1 and L2 in education.

Scientists discussed the influence of L1 on L2 and vice versa, as well as different approaches to develop them together. Some scientists insist that native language or L1 is a vital aspect in students' schooling and should be kept throughout all school years (Brock-Utne, 2000; Collier, 1989; Cummins, 1989; Cummins 1999; Simões, 1992). Locally, schools take the position that L1 is enough in elementary school with a transition to L2 in later grades.

Language policy debates (such as providing students with L1, years of using L1 as medium of instruction, etc.) take place in scientific as well as political fields (Simich-Dudgeon & Boals, 1996). Governments, scientists, and world organizations actively discuss the problem of time and the period of implementing L1 in schools. Simich-Dudgeon and Boals (1996) acknowledged that language planning and policies should be inseparable from the economic, political, social, and cultural characteristics of communities. Some cultural, moral, and social aspects were considered in these debates. Thus, Brock-Utne (2000) quoted The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO, 1989) liberal movement in Namibia "since it is through

the mother language that infants first acquire social habits, manners, tastes, skills, and other cultural norms, it is important that their formal schooling starts with these languages of everyday life at home” (p. 189).

Pennycook (2002) believes that language policies are linked “with political governance, educational curricula, and systems of morality; in short they are about cultural opportunities and preferences” (p. 93). Tollefson (2002) stated that, using the right approach in language policies, government can reduce social conflict. Decreasing social conflict is possible because language is closely connected to the cultural, mental, and social aspects of life as some scientists (Mayes et al., 2007; Nieto, 2002; Rhodes et al., 2005) emphasized. Language change requires a change to the whole person’s inner world. Thus, Mazrui (2002) quoted Peter Mwaura in explaining the vital influence of language on the thinking process and achievement. Mwaura (1980) said “language influences the way in which we perceive reality. Speakers of different languages and cultures see the universe differently, evaluate it differently, and behave towards its reality differently. Language controls thought and action.” (as qtd. in Mazrui, 2002, p.268). Nieto (2002) also claimed that culture and language do not exist in a vacuum “but rather [are] situated in practical historical, social, political, and economic conditions” (p.11). Language cannot be forced upon or easily cut out of people’s lives.

Theories about the role of L1 are widely discussed in the literature, either as necessary for L2 development or not. One group of scientists, practitioners, and organizations such as UNESCO strongly supports the theory that L1 is the main component of students’ academic, emotional, mental, cultural, and social development. Another group (which mostly consists of some scientists, policymakers, local school practitioners, and some world organizations such as World Bank, IMF, etc.) insists on the theory of implementation of the dominant language (L2) in

early grades and very limited access to the native language (L1). These pro-L2 activists believe that if students are forbidden to speak their native languages in school they will start to speak an official language earlier and become more successful in academic achievement. Nieto (2002), Mayes et al., (2007), McCarty, (2002) and Brock-Utne (2000) revealed in their works the numerous cases of “English only” policies (in case of the U.S.) or other dominant languages worldwide.

Contrary to this opinion, the pro-L1 group insists on high maintenance of the native language. Hudson (2008) showed in his work a conflict of opinions about the development of the mother tongue. On one hand, he claimed that language “grows unaided regardless of instruction, so teaching is ... irrelevant to the growth,” but on the other hand he expressed that language can be “most learned from experience rather than inherited genetically” (p. 55). Hudson (2008) believes that students have to start with learning their mother tongue since that is what they already know. However, they need to improve upon it in an academic way:

Children also need not only the very ‘unnatural’ skills of reading and writing, but also the entire linguistic competence of a mature educated person – a range of grammar and vocabulary that goes well beyond what is needed in normal dealing with friends and family. In short, mother tongue teaching takes over where ‘nature’ stops. (Hudson, 2008, p, 55)

Hence, LLS need to continue to learn L1 academically in school.

Burnaby (2002) expressed “Cummins’ contention that early mother tongue development supports not only the learning of the mother tongue but the second language as well” (p.76). Most of the time, this group of scientists agreed with the theory of bilingual education and did not refuse implementation of the L2. Thus, despite her strong support of native languages in

school, Skuttnab-Kamgas (1995) (as cited in Wiley, 2002) insisted that it is a governmental responsibility to make minority students bilingual if the situation requires it. However, Cummins (1999) insisted that if bilingual education is implemented in both languages it should be a challenging education in order to be effective (as cited in McGroarty, 2002). Policymakers and school practitioners should stop labeling language minorities as students with learning disabilities and treat them like the rest of students (Rhodes et al., 2005; Simich-Dudgeon & Boals, 1996). Rhodes et al. (2005) claimed that an “English only” policy is spread widely and settled among policymakers and school practitioners in the U.S. They defended the theory that L2 can be successfully developed only after or at the same time of the successful development of L1. “The greater the development of the second language learner’s first language, the greater the probability that the child will develop a second language” (Rhodes et al., 2005, p. 70).

Cummins (1989, 1999) is one of the greatest scholars who defended the theory of biliteracy and bilingualism. He mostly worked with the problems of language minorities in schools in the U.S. and the interdependency of L1 and L2 (particularly English as L2). He claimed that reinforcing L1 throughout elementary school and beyond would provide “long-term growth in English academic skills” (Cummins, 1999). However, he stated that the effect of using L1 for studying L2 appears only in the later grades of elementary school. For this reason he disagreed with quick-exit transitional programs which use L1 as a bridge to L2 and do not consider keeping L1 and L2 together to develop biliteracy and bilingualism. He promoted active participation of students in the classroom in order to reach high academic achievement in any language. Cummins (1999) criticized Rossell and Baker (1996), who tried to prove that English immersion is effective for language minority students.

Cummins (1989) also analyzed and refuted the scientists who promoted “English emersion” and “early-exit” programs. He claimed that most scientists opposed to bilingual programs and implementing L1 school instruction for language minority students used disinformation in “pseudo-scientific terms” (p.103). Cummins (1989) refuted the skepticism of Baker and de Kanter (1981) about the effectiveness of bilingual education, which is based on biased pro-English immersion research. He also criticized Epstein’s 1977 report, mentioning that it lacks sociocultural context and fails to adopt a theoretical perspective. He also disagreed with Gersten and Woodward (1985a), who insisted that structured immersion produces high academic achievement among minority students. Cummins (1989) also refuted Glazer’s statement that one year of complete immersion is enough for minority students to be transferred to English-language classes. In the same book, Cummins disproved Rodriguez’s statement that an immersion program is the best educational opportunity for minority students. Cummins (1989) respected Rodriguez’s (1982, 1985) personal experiences but required empirical evidence.

Cummins revealed different levels of language speaking abilities. He stated that many European and North American researchers claimed that “minority students frequently develop fluent surface or conversational skills in the school language but their academic skills continue to lag behind grade norms” (Cummins, 1989, p. 25). In 1979 Cummins defined Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills (BICS) and Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). He proposed that BICS requires about 2-3 years of development for languages minority students while CALP requires about 5-7 years (as cited in Rhodes et al., 2005). He claimed that this is important to know in order to help minority students’ progress and reach academic success (Cummins, 1999). Quick-exit programs do not provide language minority students with enough vital academic knowledge in a language. Cummins (1989) did not consider academic knowledge

of the language the ability to speak. He stated that “academic language proficiency refers to both reading and writing abilities and to content areas where students are required to use their language abilities for learning (e.g. science, social studies, etc)” (Cummins, 1989, p.27).

Collier (1989) supported the theory of the importance of L1 development in the upper grades. He believed that cognitive abilities in language and reading and writing skills continue to develop from age 6 to 12. He stated that “the lack of continuing L1 cognitive development during second language acquisition may lead to lowered proficiency levels in the second language and in cognitive academic growth” (Collier, 1989, p. 511). He insisted that the level of speaking abilities of children do not determine their cognitive development in language. Even though a child speaks like a native, this child might not comprehend science, reading, and writing. Older students are more efficient L2 learners because of their ability to abstract, summarize, analyze, and make common connections with L1 because they are cognitively mature. Collier and Thomas (2004) insisted that the only way to reach effectiveness in teaching L2 students is to keep L1. They supported one- and two-way bilingual programs because they admitted that only these programs support the development of both L1 and L2. “Both one-way and two-way bilingual programs lead to grade-level and above-grade-level achievement in second language, the only programs that fully close the gap” (Collier & Thomas, 2004, p. 11).

Skutnabb-Kangas studied the language situation of minority groups for many years. A main focus in her studies was the influence of the mother tongue on the cognitive development of students, their academic achievement and ethnic and cultural identity. She started her studies with a Finnish minority in Sweden and determined the importance of a native language in a child’s development in the last quarter of the 20th century. She claimed that ethnic identity and language are linked and that it is impossible to transmit cultural tradition into a foreign language

(Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979). In her language theory, Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) showed the development of the mother tongue and a foreign language with the example of two water lilies:

If education in a foreign language poses a threat to the development of the mother tongue, it leads to its neglect, then the roots of the mother tongue will not be sufficiently nourished or they may gradually be cut off altogether. If the foreign language is merely a water lily floating on the surface without proper roots, a situation may gradually develop in which the child will only have two surface flowers, two languages, neither of which she commands in the way a monolingual would command her mother tongue. (p. 53)

She showed the tragedy of the situation when children lacking support in their native language forgot their mother tongue even before they developed L2. She specifically emphasized the importance of the mother tongue in language instruction in schools. As evidence, she showed the results of academic achievement of Finnish minority students in Sweden, who had low scores if they did not have instruction in Finnish and vice versa. Skutnabb-Kangas (1979) also claimed that “linguistic ability in the language of instruction ... shows a high correlation with school achievement” (p. 6). She continued describing that, in Sweden, minority students with poor academic achievement received their instruction in L2 and that the mother tongue was not used in school. If it was used, it was only as a subject with a low level of importance. Skutnabb-Kangas (1979) stated that “according to the Swedish results, it seems that unless minority children have their mother tongue as the medium of instruction, they will not develop it to the same degree as monolingual native speaker” (p. 15).

King and Benson (2008) also agreed with the theory of strong support of L1 before or while studying L2. They insisted that children learn to read and write in their mother tongue more effectively. The authors outlined the most important evidence they found:

(1) students learn to read more quickly when taught in their mother tongue, (2) students learn to read in their mother tongue also learn to read in a second/ foreign language more quickly than do those who initially are taught to read in a second/foreign language, and (3) students taught to read in their mother tongue acquire academic content and skills more quickly. (Mehrotra, 1998 as qtd. in King and Benson, 2008, p. 345)

Nevertheless, while paying attention to the theory of L1 support, scientists and policymakers became concerned about theory of how to develop L2 on a higher level for LLS. Chomsky, one of the most famous American linguists, developed language theory and defined how it works in the human mind. He sees language as a characteristic that belongs only to human beings. He believes that “language mirrors human mental process or shapes the flow and character of thought” (Chomsky, 1968, p. 1). He claimed that “language is not really learned – and is certainly not taught – but rather develops “from within,” in an essentially predetermined way, when the appropriate environmental conditions exist” (Chomsky, 1968. p. 67). He did not believe (as many theorists did at the time) that

language is a mere “habit structure” or a network of associative connections, or that knowledge of language is merely a matter of “knowing how,” a skill expressible as a system of dispositions to respond. ... rather than [he saw language coming] from deeper principles of mental organization. (Chomsky, 1968, p. 22)

In his language theory, Chomsky distinguished between the different types of grammar – traditional or universal and generative. Universal grammar is a list of rules applied for a specific language. Generative grammar is “concerned primarily with the intelligence of the reader, the principles and procedures brought to bear to attain full knowledge of a language” (Chomsky, 1986, p.7). He believed that once children grasp the universal grammar of one language, they can easily add the grammar of other languages and switch between them when it is necessary.

Krashen was one of the scientists who developed an acquisition theory with different hypotheses about L2 development (Krashen, 1981a). He stated that “learning is conscious knowledge about language” (Krashen, 1981b, p. 51). For this reason he and Collier (1989) insisted that adults have a better opportunity to learn L2 because they are “more able to use first language syntax as a strategy, and with their superior cognitive development, are better to use the conscious grammar to bring their sentences into conformity with second language patterns” (Krashen, 1981b, p. 59). Nevertheless, Krashen (1981a) believed that real language acquisition develops slowly.

He elaborated on five hypotheses of L2 acquisition development. The first hypothesis consists of “picking-up language” without technical interference, which means to study language as children do, through hearing and talking. The second hypothesis is the natural order hypothesis where “acquirers of a given language tend to acquire certain grammatical structures early, and others later” (Krashen, 1981a, p. 12). The third hypothesis is the monitor hypothesis, which implies that “formal rules, or conscious learning, play only a limited role in second language performance” (Krashen, 1981a, p. 15). The fourth hypothesis revealed a new approach to L2 acquisition, insisting that people first recognize meanings and then acquire structure,

instead of learning a structure and then practicing. The last hypothesis referred to people who are asked to develop L2 very early. For support, this group leans back on their knowledge of L1.

These hypotheses were discussed and argued over by many different scientists; I will discuss them later. Along with these hypotheses, Krashen (1981a) was also concerned that policymakers and school practitioners were focused more on the learning process than on acquiring language. He considered acquisition more important than learning the language. He insisted that schools need to help students with their transition from class to the real world and that focusing on acquisition of the language may be helpful (Krashen, 1981b). Horst (2010) supports the theory that L1 strongly supports development of L2. Using an example of the linguistic problem of immigrants in Danish public schools, he found evidence of a connection between mother tongue and acquisition of L2. “If the mother tongue and Danish are developed together one language will reinforce the other. The children actually become better in Danish and obtain higher academic skills and develop better conceptual tools” (Horst, 2010, p. 97).

As I mentioned before, some scientists closely connected development of the language with mental, social, and cultural aspects of life. Garcia is one of them. He studied the problems of Hispanic students fitting into the American system of education (Garcia, 2001). In his theory he insisted that most problems for Hispanic students in American education were connected with language and cultural differences while studying in schools (Garcia, 2001). He believed that knowledge is obtained as a result of interaction between the teacher and the student and is not a fixed idea (Garcia, 2005). If there is no interaction, there is no knowledge. He showed the tragedy of ignoring the cultural and language background of language minority students in education. “Educational practices that ignore or negatively regard a student’s native language and culture could have negative effects on the student’s cognitive development” (Garcia, 2005,

p. 33). He continued, explaining that negative effects include hindering or interrupting language minority students' cognitive development. He revealed that language development depends on social aspects of their environment. Thus, his language theory is that, in order to develop any language skills, a positive social and cultural environment should be created.

Garcia (2005) also stated that "it is through the socialization process that [children] become cognizant of functions and representations...thus, as children develop their ability to use the language, they absorb more and more understanding of social situations and improve their thinking skills" (p. 32). He insisted that children construct a mental framework through culture and "socially mediated process of language development" (p.32). It is imperative to notice Garcia's emphasis that "it is through a child's first language that he or she created mechanisms for functioning in and perceiving the world" (2005, p. 33). He brought evidence for his theory from real life – when language minority students are forced to change their thinking in L2 "it negates the tools the child has used to construct a basic cognitive framework" and automatically pushes the child back in his or her development (2005, p.33). Thus, Garcia (2005) admitted, as Collier (1989) and Krashen (1981b) did, that as children got older they were better able to control their thinking process. "As their language abilities mature, children can ultimately gain control over their own cognitive processes" (Garcia, 2005, p. 33).

Besides social and cultural aspects, some authors examine the psychological aspect in their evaluation of L1 vs. L2 issues in schools. Thus, Padilla and Sung (1992) proposed a "theoretical framework based on cognitive psychology be instituted in the pedagogy of bilingual education" (p. 12). They tried to research where and how the process of using different languages happens in the human brain. The authors recognized two theoretical opinions in the scientific world: the common store hypothesis, which claims the knowledge of languages is

shared in one common space in the human brain, and the separate-storage hypothesis, which claims that different spaces in the brain for different languages. Padilla and Sung (1992) stated that neither hypotheses are proved but both of them have a fair amount of empirical evidence. In their research they used cognitive strategies that showed how the learner assimilates, transforms, and manipulates the present material immediately.

As a result of this research, they did not believe that L2 learners can obtain the language through “indiscriminate language exposure” and “mere attainment of a few words and grammatical rules” (Padilla & Sung, 1992, p.27). They stated that a person “learns a second language through reflecting upon and making explicit one’s knowledge of how language works. This conscious and explicit knowledge of how language works is referred to as metalinguistic awareness” (Padilla & Sung, 1992, p. 27). These statements support the idea that cognitive development of L2 is accessible for older people. They continued, explaining that L2 learners can recognize linguistic patterns in their native language and transfer those patterns to the new language. The authors called using prior knowledge in the acquisition of new knowledge *positive transfer*. They observed positive transfer in students using L1 concepts in acquiring L2. They claimed that “in second language learning, one important strategy is the cross-linguistic transfers of L1 knowledge and skills to L2 acquisition” (Padilla & Sung, 1992, p. 39). Those skills established in L1 do not have to be relearned. Thus, those who are firmly established in L1 knowledge are more successful in L2 learning.

Simões (1992) and Garcia (2001; 2005) supported the theory that language development is not a neutral social act. He emphasized interdependence between L1, L2, and their social construction. He built a theoretical framework on the statement that “second language acquisition is not only interdependent with one’s first language, but may be an integral extension

of its own social construction or first language universe” (Simões, 1992, p. 112). The author claimed that “language proficiency cannot be just a quantifiable entity, but a sociopolitical process based on the social construction of the child’s reality” (Simões, 1992, p. 112). He criticized accepting language development and knowledge only as quantitative objects and ignoring their qualitative aspects. He emphasized that it will become particularly qualitative if scientists and policymakers will view language learning as a socially distributed function.

He disagreed with Cummins and his BICS and CALP classifications of language, insisting that Cummins did not show the distribution of knowledge and language. He called Cummins’s theory politically neutral and claimed that it “does not directly address the social relationship between the first and the second language” (Simões, 1992, p. 117). He stated that we do not know if it is possible to reach CALP in L2 without reaching it in L1. He saw language as a function of knowledge use, which is distributed in society. This knowledge transfers from L1 to L2 when linguistic relationships between the two languages are used. He also criticized Krashen’s input and monitored hypotheses, claiming that they do not “answer the sociological question” (Simões, 1992, p.119).

Regardless of their different approaches to language development, Simões (1992) as well as the previously discussed theories of Cummins, Krashen (whom he criticized), Garcia, Colliar, and others agree that there are strong connections between L1 and L2. For studying L2, he indicated that “the child should remain in the native language until he or she is able to succeed academically in the second or third language” (Simões, 1992, p. 121).

Lindholm (1992) had a theory of language development which supports all the other theories we looked at. He believed that if children study two languages in order to reach a high level of proficiency in both languages, they have to be sustained over a long period of time.

Thus, this high level of proficiency in both languages also requires development of communicative and academic skills in both languages. Lindholm also emphasized that skills and knowledge in one language are accessible in another language. His research supported the theory developed by Cummins (1989; 1999) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1979; 1984) that children have to reach a particular threshold level in a language in order to learn the language and avoid cognitive disadvantages. They insisted that reaching the lowest language threshold would not be enough for long-term cognitive benefits. Lindholm (1992) emphasized that “if bilingual children sustain only a very low level of proficiency in L2 and L1, the range of potential interaction with the environment through that language is likely to be limited and there will not be any positive effect on cognitive development” (p. 207). He also believed that in order for bilingual students to gain cognitive and academic advantages, they have to develop full academic proficiency in both languages.

Environment of Language Learning Students

Many different factors influence successful development of L1 and L2. All scientists who support development of L1 also focused on the environment in which the learning process takes place. Freeman (1996) insisted that before the implementation of language policies, policymakers have to study the local situation and attitudes regarding the language in the community. Policymakers have to “implement the macrolevel language plan within a particular context” (Freeman, 1996, p. 557). They have to evaluate the target population, determine resources for implementing the language for the target population and the opportunity for its further influence in the population. Pousada’s (1996) research of the language situation in Puerto Rico confirmed the statement that for L2 implementation, political, economic, and cultural aspects should be recognized. He used an example of a language situation in Puerto Rico, where

implementing English in the public school provoked the whole country and caused undesirable political and cultural conflicts. He stated that “unsuccessful or partial implementation can cause further disorganization, mistrust, and conflict” (Pousada, 1996, p. 506). In order to avoid these conflicts, all economic, educational, and communicative resources should be mobilized.

Besides the state environment in communities and countries, the classroom environment is equally important in reaching positive results in academic development and fostering emotional stability for language minority students. Garcia (2005) claimed that “if the culture of the classroom negates a child’s first language and accompanying representations of the child’s world, it negates the tools the child has used to construct a basic cognitive framework” (p. 33). Lindholm (1992) showed how additive and subtractive bilingualism influence the classroom environment. He emphasized that additive bilingualism, which brings high levels of proficiency in two languages, leads to positive cross-cultural attitudes. However, subtractive bilingualism, which subtracts L1 at a certain point of study, forces children to put aside their native language in behalf of acquiring a more prestigious language.

Cummins (1999) believed that the study of L2 does not bring positive results for minority students if they do not have a positive classroom environment where they can express themselves, their intelligence, and their identity. Krashen (1981b) claimed that the goal of an L2 classroom should be not creating native speakers, but rather preparing students for life in the realm where L2 is prevalent. This classroom has to prepare the students so that when they hear this language outside of the classroom, they could use it and improve their knowledge on their own. Simões (1992) stated that the quality of education in a multicultural environment mostly depends on a warm, supportive, and familiar educational environment.

Mayes et al. (2007) claimed that culture and learning styles are closely interwoven and influence each other. They believed that if the teacher incorporates the culture of the students in a meaningful way into the classroom, it will enrich the education of minority students and help them to learn the dominant culture and language more effectively and positively. Teachers can create a positive environment in the classroom if they try to understand the emotional and cognitive processes of the minority students connected with their culture and native languages. They posited that a positive environment in the classroom and schools is one of the most influential for the social and academic development of minority students. “If a student feels emotionally and socially validated by his teacher, classmates, and institution, he is much more likely to be successful in his academic performance and general social involvement in the school” (Mayes et al., 2007, p. 48).

Social Conditions in which Language Learning Students Study

Many scientists see a connection between language development and social development (Cummins, 1989; Krashen, 1981b; Simões, 1992; Tollefson, 2002). Simões (1992) thought that studying language development in the context of social variables makes it more complex. Tollefson (2002) considered language policies in education one of the crucial components in creating or reducing social conflict in society. Krashen (1981b) and Baker (1996) insisted that successful education language policies should be connected to social life and the real world outside of the school and classroom. Cummins (1989; 1999) stated that right language policies can empower minority students in society. He claimed that “language must be used to amplify students’ intellectual, esthetic, and social identities if it is to contribute to student empowerment” (Cummins, 1999). Consequently, empowered students can take “control over their own lives and

the ability and confidence to make informed decisions about issues that affect their lives” (Cummins, 1989, p. 73).

On the other hand, incorrect language policies can be disempowering for minority students. Mazuri (2002), Nieto (2002), and Mayes et al. (2007) claimed that social context reflects language construction – the ability of students to speak and understand the world around them. Sapir (1929) stated that “[no] two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality” (as qtd. in Mazrui, 2002, p. 268). Nieto (2002) emphasized and insisted on a special connection between culture and language and historical, social, political, and economic conditions. She did not believe that culture and language exist in a vacuum. Lindholm (1992) considered the social context of language learners critical. He claimed that forcing the new language and ignoring language learners’ home environment and their home language will cause them to lose “the critical linguistic foundation upon which their early conceptual development is based” (Lindholm, 1992, p. 198). Imposing L2 on students frequently leads to losing the tight connection between parents and students, often leading to social problems in the family unit. Although school mostly helps students with academic growth, parents and family are still the most important factor for the motivation, encouragement, and admonition of students. When this family connection is lost, the school is not able to replace the authority of parents. In such circumstances children move to an at-risk category of students who have higher possibilities of low academic achievement and high dropouts rates (Garcia, 2001; Nieto, 2002).

Emotional-psychological Conditions of LLS During the Learning Process

Scientists evaluated the outcomes of both using and neglecting L1 as the medium for school instruction. These outcomes include students’ academic achievement as well as their

emotional-psychological condition. Thus, Cummins (1999) emphasized that “academic achievement indices and the non-academic (but strongly educational) outcomes related to personal and interpersonal growth, development, and harmony” (as qtd. in McGroarty, 2002, p. 32). Scientists see the emotional-psychological result of language policies in students’ lives as one of those nonacademic outcomes. Weedon (1987) stated that the role of language is not only to define “institutional practices, but serves to construct our sense of ourselves and our “subjectivity” (as qtd. in McKinney & Norton, 2008, p. 194).

Scientists recognized that neglecting the native language policy destroys self-respect as well as personal and national identity (Brock-Utne, 2000; Brock-Utne, 2010; Gracia, 2001; Mayes et al., 2007; Nieto, 2002; Pousada, 1996). Along these lines, Brock-Utne (2000) stated that “when the language one uses in daily communication is denigrated...children may feel that a part of themselves is also being denigrated” (p. 150). Pousada (1996) showed that conflict in language policies in Puerto Rico connected with Puerto Ricans’ desire for self-determination and consequently affecting national identification and unity. Pousada (1996) claimed that Puerto Ricans feel that accepting languages other than their native language as the medium for school instruction would be seen as a betrayal of their nationality. Tollefson (2002) considered language “one of the crucial factors (along with religion) forming the complex web of national identification” (p.182). At the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA, 1990: Article 5), it was stated that “literacy in the mother tongue strengthens cultural identity and heritage” (as qtd. in Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 149).

Besides self-respect, self-identity, and national belonging, scientists believe that the availability of native language influences psychological development of the students. Thus, “UNESCO research showed that bilingualism may result in psychological problems if children

are taught in a foreign language and have not acquired a full mastery of their own language” (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 151). Paulo Freire (1985) (as cited in Brock-Utne, 2000) insisted that imposing foreign language on students might lead to the violation of the structure of thinking. McCarty (2000) considered restricting use of the mother tongue a form of psychological abuse. Lindholm (1992) claimed that when L1 is replaced by L2 in early years it can cause psychological disorders, while bilingual students have “mental flexibility, superiority in concept formation, and [a] more diversified set of mental abilities”(p. 206). Therefore, removing L1 and imposing L2 for language learning students leads to serious emotional and psychological problems.

Academic Achievement of LLS

Academic achievement is a quantitative outcome of education which is easy for scientists to measure. Scientists studied how the absence L1 and the forcing of L2 influenced students’ academic achievement. Many of them (Brock-Utne, 2000; Garcia, 2001; Garcia, 2005; Kosonen, 2010; Lindholm, 1992; Ntiri, 1993) consider forcing L2 on students without L1 support as a hindrance to their cognitive development and a direct cause of low academic achievement, illiteracy, and dropping out of school. Lindholm (1992) associated the lack of native language support in academic learning with lower levels of second language attainment, scholastic underachievement, and lost critical linguistic foundation. McCarty, Skutnabb-Kangas, and Magga (2008) also particularly emphasized the danger of subtracting of the native language from the learning process, which leads to underachievement and other socio-psychological problems.

There are a few examples which scientists bring up from the real school world. In one of these examples, Brock-Utne (2000) describes the situation in the African schools, pointing out that most of the educationists in Swaziland consider the language of instruction in elementary

school as one of the main reasons for the high number of dropouts in their country. By her report, one of the main reasons Uganda's officers gave for dropouts in the country was teaching in English and having text books in English even for first graders. Lockheed and Verspoor (1991) (as qtd. in Brock-Utne, 2000) support the version of dangerous subtraction of the L1 from the elementary school:

In the crucial, early grades when children are trying to acquire basic literacy as well as adjust to the demands of the school setting, not speaking the language of instruction can make the difference between succeeding and failing in school, between remaining in school and dropping out. (p. 158)

Brock-Utne (2010) stated that using the “mother tongue ... facilitat[es] the process of learning to read and write” (p. 111). In his work, Ntiri (1993) brought some evidences of language policy mistakes in Africa, showing that literacy depends on the degree of ignoring the mother tongues in favor of colonial languages. Thus, the literacy campaign in Algeria failed because French and written Arabic were used instead of the native spoken language. Baker (1996) also emphasized an especially low percentage of literacy in Southeast Asia, in those areas where the dominant language was used in schools instead of the indigenous one and where the dominant language is not spoken among the local population. She emphasized that there was “tremendous wastage through high dropout due to language incompetence” that took place in the areas (Baker, 1996, p. 4). In the village Mandika in Senegal, 28.6% people were literate, and “62.6% of the population aged 6 – 34 years having had no formal schooling” (Baker, 1996, p. 4). Kosonen (2010) studied the situation in Southeast Asia and claimed that for ethnolinguistic minorities studying in L2 “is a major obstacle in educational achievement” (p. 80).

In the US, Garcia (2001) defined language and cultural difficulties during the studying process as the reason for the increased percentage of dropouts among the Hispanic population. By his statement, instruction in L2 for this population not only causes dropouts but even for the students who stay in school, it results in the students taking lower level classes. Rhodes et al. (2005) brought some statistics from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) for 1997 to prove their opinion about the consequences of the absence of the native language in school instruction. “24.2% students who came from homes in which English was not spoken (i.e., Limited-English-Proficiency (LEP) students) dropped out of school. The dropout rate for students of the same ages who came from homes in which English was spoken was considerably lower 9.6%” (Rhodes et al., 2005, p. 59-60). Collier and Thomas (1997) claimed that without L1 academic support (in the case of the U.S.) for English Language Learners, it is impossible to close the achievement gap, even when such conditions as “content-based instruction in English, students are treated as active learners, student’s language and culture are valued, and interaction with monolingual English-speaking peers occurs” are kept (as qtd. in Rhodes et al., 2005, p.80).

In order to help reverse the underachievement of LLS, Hakuta claimed that “mother tongue education...in itself it can close about 20% of the educational gap” (as qtd. in Horst, 2010, p. 95). Collier and Thomas (2004) supported their claim of the importance L1 in school instruction with observations they made in Texas. Parents insisted on putting their children in the English mainstream without any L1 or L2 special learning programs. Those who remain in school by 11th grade were scoring in the 12th percentile; however, the majority of this group did not complete high school. Cummins also paid attention to the over-representation of diverse students in dropout rates. He emphasized that few school reforms try to address the causes of

these students' academic failure. As he explained, "even fewer contemplate bilingualism and biliteracy as part of the solution rather than as part of the problem" (Cummins, 1999, para. 1).

Cummins (1989) also believed that supporting identity, native culture, and language have more power to keep students in school than coding-decoding skills in L2 or the dominant language (like English in the U.S. for example). He insisted that only active use of authentic language in the classroom can help students to reach the academic level in both L1 and L2; otherwise, both languages will remain somewhat shallow and passive (Cummins, 1999). Garcia (2005) had an even stronger opinion that ignoring students' native language hinders and interrupts the students' cognitive development. "Limiting their opportunities to learn in their first language will limit their cognitive growth and related academic achievement" (Garcia, 2005, p. 33). He cited data from the U.S. National Research Council (1997), which stated that "one-third of Hispanics and two-thirds of immigrant students drop out of school" (Garcia, 2005, 77). Peter Mwaura (1980) (as qtd. in Mazrui, 2002) explained the reasons why the students whose instructional language is not their native language have a high percentage of underachievement:

Speakers of different languages and cultures see the universe differently, evaluate it differently, and behave towards its reality differently. Language controls thought and action and speakers of different language do not have the same world view or perceive the same reality. (p.268)

On the other side, scientists kept emphasizing that using one's native language leads to high academic achievement, staying-in school, and adequate cognitive development (Collier & Thomas, 2004). These scientists are not against studying L2, but they insist that to have successful L2 studies, students must keep developing L1. Garcia (2005), relying on the empirical support of other scientists, stated that "bilingual children outperform monolingual children on

specific measures of cognitive and meta-linguistic awareness” (p.30). Collier & Thomas (2004) emphasized high academic achievement of the bilingually schooled students. Cummins (1989) affirmed that a bilingual program helps students who are obligated to acquire L2 so they “do not fall behind in subject matter content” (p. 21). Brock-Utne (2000) showed that using the mother tongue (L1) at the primary level was the key to reaching high academic achievement in some African countries. She observed that the native language Kiswahili in Tanzania made classrooms more active and interactive than English. Ntiri (1993) emphasized positive results in Ethiopia and Tanzania in literacy after five years of using native languages as school media.

Baker (1996) gave an example in Sri Lanka where the literacy rate is 86% and a “high proportion of the villagers are literate in Sinhalese” with 84% of 5-14 year olds enrolled in school (p. 4). She also pointed out the situation in Zimbabwe with a respectively high literacy rate of 76%. Students use the native language in grades 1-3 and are exposed to English. Cummins (1999) revealed that studying the native language does not interrupt development of L2. However, if the school supports L1 development, it has a higher incidence of parental involvement in the studying process. He stated that “this, together with the reinforcement of children’s sense of self as a result of the incorporation of their language and culture in the school program, contributed to long-term academic growth.” Long term achievement, post-school life, and success in the labor force are what scientists think about when they insist on L1 support in schools (Garcia, 2001; Mehrotra, 1998). Thus, Burnaby (2002) saw that being fluent in both languages had a great economic advantage for young people. Hence the positive influence of L1 on cognitive development and high academic achievement is broadly recognized.

Globalization's Influence on Language Policies in Education

Despite the development of language learning theories and strong evidence of the important presence of L1 in education of LLS, real situations in public schools are determined by other influences. Global changes in economy and politics dictate language policies in education and the situation in the world has rapidly changed in the last 50-60 years. Globalization has occurred in all countries. As Friedman (2005) states, the world became flat because of high technological development. I will not discuss the advantages and disadvantages of globalization in this work; however, I will reveal the scientists' views on the influence of globalization on the linguistic situation in public schools and countries.

Tollefson (2002) states that because of globalization almost all countries in the world are multilingual. He claimed that "the migration of labor that is associated with globalization is likely to increase the presence of linguistic minorities in many contexts, particularly in regions and countries that are relatively well developed economically" (Tollefson, 2002, p. 5). Thus, labor forces immigrate from developing countries to developed countries for better living conditions. At the same time, big companies and international organizations come to the developing countries with their approaches, markets, policies, and strategies (Friedman, 2005; Rassool, 2007), where "language plays a major role in facilitating this global outsourcing of labor" (Rassool, 2007, p. 133). He continued with the example that in India mostly graduates who are fluent in English were hired. As a result they input their languages in the medium of instruction of public schools.

Even though decolonization happened in most countries in the second half of the 20th century, the presence of global organizations is keeping the situation as if it never happened. Geo-JaJa (2005) claimed that "Africa needs to decolonize her educational systems, her curricula,

teaching methods and even her language of instruction” (p.517). In addition, Geo-JaJa and Zajda (2005) showed that globalization brought the world to the growing gap “between rich and poor countries and rich and poor people within countries” (p. 109). Thus, in the last quarter of the 20th century, the mix of cultures, languages, and stratification of society increased because of globalization. Geo-JaJa (2005), Geo-JaJa and Zajda (2005), Tikly (2004), and Tabbron & Yang (1998) emphasized one of the most essential aspects of globalization, claiming that it brought the market into education to make education adjust to the needs of market. The market also dictates which language will be used as the medium of instruction in public schools. Thus, Rassool (2007) stated that

language and communication are central to trade and business negotiations at both macro- and micro-levels, some languages are imbued with more economic power than others within the global terrain... Different linguistic markets prevail, in which some languages, and forms of languages use, have more currency and exchange than others. (p. 131)

Hence, the knowledge of just local or indigenous languages becomes inadequate in the global market environment (Kosonen, 2010). Satisfying global market requirements in education unfortunately ignores the local needs of communities, which affects their development and the academic outcomes of education (Geo-JaJa & Zajda, 2005; McGinn, 1996). Geo-JaJa and Zajda, (2005) showed that globalization brought a growing social inequality and a decreasing economy instead of positive results in Africa. Compared to the 1970s, globalization brought decreasing enrollment in schools. Children receive an education which fits the international requirements, but not local needs. Pattanayak (2000) stated that globalization forces people to choose the

dominant language, which disables them from communicating with locals and destroys their cultures. This position does not help economic development in the regions.

McGinnis (1996) gave a very clear explanation of the influence of globalization on education. He stated that globalization “affects the consensus about the proper task of education” (McGinnis, 1996, p. 350). He strongly suggested that globalization changes the role of communities and new cultures from other countries persuade people to change their opinions and start to train for the economies of other countries. This requires changes in schools’ curriculum and implementation of globally dominant media instruction in schools, which differ from languages necessary for the community (Baker, 1996). Phillipson & Skuntnabb-Kangas, (1999) (as cited in McGroarty, 2002) stated that language policies are connected with issues of globalization and, by extension, students and language learners. Through incorrect language policies and curricula which do not reflect local needs, people lose connections with their communities and become disempowered.

Apple (2000) also believed that globalization influences education through the “invisible hand” of the free market. However, despite this “invisible” influence, some international organizations made “visible” decisions. Zajda (2006) stated that the World Bank and International Monetary Fund define the neoliberal form of education in globalization and determine the shape and the direction of educational reforms in countries. Another scientist, Stewart (1996), who supported the Human Capital Theory (which I will discuss later), claimed that education is key to the economic development of the countries but was disrupted in many African and Latin American countries by globalization and policies of international organizations such as IMF and World Bank. Therefore, human resources were unable to develop

there as much as possible, and for this reason, these countries are in a period of economic stagnation.

Scientists such as Stewart (1996) and Geo-JaJa & Zajda (2005) recognized that globalization is inevitable, considering the current situation in the world. However, they stated that it must be managed and controlled and be customized to the regions it enters. Every continent, country, and even region within the country differs from others in history, culture, religions, and economic situation. The advantages for education and linguistic policies can be found in globalization if policymakers use the correct approaches. Thus, Geo-JaJa & Zajda, (2005) claimed that government, policymakers, and world organizations have to understand “the impact of misused globalization, and a response to this understanding in ways that will advance the positive potentials of globalization on education and training” (p. 125).

The Situation of LLS around the World

With the spread of global economic and political influences, scientists have become aware of the critical situation with language policies in education. They intensively discuss and study them in different areas of the world: Africa – (Baker, 1996; Brock-Utne, 2000; Brock-Utne, 2010; Geo-JaJa, 2005; Mazuri, 2002; Ntiri, 1993; Samoff, 1993), Asia – (Baker, 1996; Coulmas, 2002; Jung & Norton, 2002; Kosonen, 2010; Mehrotra, 1998; Morris, 1996; Pannycook, 2002; Sonntag, 2002), America – (Burnaby, 2002 – Canada; Garcia, 2001; Garcia, 2005 and Nieto, 2002 – Hispanic population in U. S.; McCarty, 2002; Wiley, 2002), Latin America – (Bonal, 2004; Pousada, 1996; Schiefelbein, 2006), and Europe – (Horst, 2010; Tollefson, 2002). The language situation in schools is at least as complicated in developing countries as it is in developed countries. The result of enforcing L2 without supporting L1 for students is failure. Nevertheless, as a consequence of globalization it is impossible to avoid

studying L2 and many countries implement L2 as the medium of classroom instruction or as a separate subject and have positive results in studying L2, but only with strong L1 support. Political, financial, national, and economic aspects influence language policies in countries all over the world. McGraorty (2008) expressed herself clearly about factors influencing linguistic policies in the U.S. when she said “even in nation-states like the US lacking an officially articulated language policy, political and social factors shape the climate for individual and societal linguistic ideologies” (McGraorty, 2008, p. 99).

In developing countries the situation is the same. Thus, Brock-Utne (2000) claimed that even when western organizations suggest using vernacular languages in school they “were inspired by racial prejudices regarding the supposedly intellectual inferiority of Africans” (p. 147). She continued that many times, native languages in Africa are used “not for development but for breaking the development for native people.” It seems as if schools do not prepare children to survive in a global world. However, African scientists emphasized that “the African child’s major learning problem is linguistic. Instruction is given in a language that is not normally used in his immediate environment, a language which neither the learner nor the teacher understands and uses well enough” (Obanya, 1908 qtd. in Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 141). At the same time Brock-Utne noted that Africa has too many languages (1,995) and choosing one or two of them may lead to conflicts or even civil war. Regardless of all these complicated situations, scientists continue to insist that Africa must use indigenous languages in order to adjust to local needs, increase literacy among the population, and consequently move to a higher level of development (Baker, 1996; Brock-Utne, 2000; Mazrui, 2002; Ntiri, 1993).

Globalization causes the languages of less developed countries and small nationalities to diminish. Thanks to globalization, the English language is spreading all over the world and has

become the dominant language, displacing vernacular languages. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996) described the language policy all over the world as “basically monolingual when it linguistically allocates resources primarily to one language and correspondingly idolizes and glorifies this dominant language while demonizing, stigmatizing, and rendering invisible other languages” (p.437). Hence, scientists (Brock-Utne, 2000; Garcia, 2001; Nieto, 2002; Ntiri, 1993; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996) questioned the intent of language policies: do policymakers want people to become literate or learn a certain language? Krashen (1981a) required that language policies comply with people’s life needs.

In both developing and developed countries, students who do not speak the dominant language are considered illiterate. “There is a general understanding in society that a person who does not know English [any other dominant language] is useless and unimportant in society” (Brock-Utne, 2000, p. 201). If a person speaks several African languages but not the dominant one in a given society, this person is considered uneducated (Brock-Utne, 2000). What scientists want policymakers to pay attention to is that literacy is effective in any language, and if people are educated in their native language they will be educated in any language (Mayes et al., 2007; Nieto, 2002).

Human Rights and Mother Tongue in Education

In this era of globalization the critical situation with language policies all over the world has resulted in some progressive changes designed to protect people’s rights. UNESCO played an influential role in the movement of protecting children’s rights in the sphere of education. One of the areas of protection by law became the right to get an education in their mother tongue. In 1960 UNESCO ratified the Convention against Discrimination in Education. In this document they emphasized avoiding discrimination based on “race, colour, sex, language, religion, political

or other opinion, national or social origin” (UNESCO, 1960, Article 1). They also made a requirement “to give foreign nationals resident within their territory the same access to education as that given to their own nationals” (UNESCO, 1960, Article 3, e).

In 1974 UNESCO wrote the “Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.” They directly demonstrated their position towards people’s rights in obtaining education. “Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms” (UNESCO, 1974, Guiding principles, 3). It is necessary to emphasize that already in 1974 they considered the influence of globalization on education and the increasing needs of cultural awareness. Their objectives as major guiding principles of educational policy were

- (a) An international dimension and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms;
- (b) Understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilizations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations;
- (c) Awareness of the increasing global interdependence between peoples and nations. (Guiding principles, 4)

UNESCO’s 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights recognized education as a human right. UNESCO emphasized that education “shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups” (UNESCO, 1948, Article 26, 2). The U.S. legislation made major changes in 1964 to provide equal opportunities for all people. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 declares

No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to

discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

(Section 601)

Tollefson (2002) claims that “language is specifically linked to human rights. Along with race, sex, religion, political conviction, and nationality, language is one of the categories given official human rights protection” (p. 193). Understanding the importance of human rights protection, the American government made some changes in law to protect language minority students. In 1974, the U.S. Congress ratified the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (20 USC Sec. 1703). This act protects equal rights in education for all students including those for whom the English language is not native. It states

No State shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin ... the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs. (Sec. 1703, par. f)

Alexander & Alexander (2008) stated that this act “requires that school system[s] develop appropriate programs for limited-English-proficiency students” (p. 408). Some U.S. Supreme Court cases helped to establish legislative support for LEP (Limited English Proficiency) students. *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) required school districts all over the U.S. to either provide bilingual education or an ESL (English as a Second Language) program. In 1974, the San Francisco school system failed to provide English language instruction to 1,800 students of Chinese ancestry who did not speak English. As a result, students who do not have a high level of proficiency in English could not get a diploma, which created inequality among students and limited the possibilities for them to enter the tertiary level of education and obtain high-level job opportunities.

Thus, the case *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) showed that California law allowed the educational system to provide bilingual instruction in schools if “it does not interfere with the systematic, sequential, and regular instruction of all pupils in the English language” (414 U.S. 563, p. 566). Hence, according to the U.S. legislation, school districts have a legitimate obligation to provide instruction for students who do not speak English in their own languages or teach them English. Unfortunately, the U.S. legislation registered more cases in school districts where the law was violated and children’s rights were infringed upon: *Serna v. Portales Mun. Schs.* (1974) in New Mexico; *Rios v. Reed* (1977) in New York, *Castañeda v. Pickard* (1981).

Regarding the situation in the U.S. public schools, Mesthrie (2008) emphasized the words of one presiding judge that “the children’s home language is not itself a barrier, but becomes one when it is not taken into account in teaching standard English” (p. 78). Problems appear in public schools all over the U.S. because the home language is not taken to account in education. Simich-Dudgeon and Boals (1996) reported problems in Indiana, where bilingual education law aims for the Americanization of the language minority and not its literacy. They stated that the “state’s official language law is largely symbolic and seemingly has had no real effect in governmental practice in the state, particularly in the conduct of language-in-education policy” (p. 552). Another problem which Simich-Dudgeon and Boals (1996) pointed out, together with Rhodes et al. (2005) is broadly placing language minority students into special education programs.

Garcia (2005) also discussed U.S. federal education policy and local policies, specifically the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) and its reauthorizations. He noted some legislative actions in favor of language minority students, but federal acts and laws are sometimes not fully enforced in localized areas. All state and federal attempts to help language minority students focus more

on equal opportunity for education access than on the language policies. Only 17 states have a policy to implement instructional programs that allow or require instruction in a language other than English.

Cummins (1989) talked about changing the classroom environment and teaching approaches for minority students. The main focus of all policymakers should be on empowering students. However, the “educational reform in the United States proclaims these ideals but the classroom reality reeks of disempowerment” (Cummins, 1989, p. 73). The situation in the EU in regard to protection of children rights to study in the mother tongue also requires improvement. Horst (2010) stated that children who live within and are citizens of the EU are entitled to receive education in their mother tongue “according to EU-Directive 77/486/EEC” (p. 90). Children who came to EU from ‘Third Countries,’ however, are not entitled to this directive. “The ethnic minority children coming from Third countries...become subject to...discrimination, in education and embedded in a public discourse of underdevelopment” (Horst, 2010, p. 91).

The situation is difficult in developed countries, even with all of the attempts of legislative bodies. In developing countries the situation is even harder, because they need to overcome the ignorance of local governments towards language policy in the public schools and the constant presence of foreign agencies and governments and their language policies. Brock-Utne (2000), Geo-JaJa (2005), Ntiri (1993), and Tabulawa (2003) uncovered outrageous injustice in Africa towards students for whom the language of school instruction is not native. Brock-Utne (2000) showed that policymakers believed that instruction in native African languages makes students stupid. Native languages are repressed by colonial English, French, Portuguese, or other languages (King & Benson, 2008). “The 1991 census figures on main languages spoken in

Namibia showed that only 0.8% of the total population speaks English as a mother tongue... why was English made the official language?" (Brock-Utne, 2000, p.186).

The situation is also complicated in developing Asian countries with regard to rights to native language instruction. Annamalai (2000) stated that the Constitution of India provides citizens the right to have a distinct language and culture. The author claimed that "use of mother tongue in primary education is not a right of the citizen, but is an obligation of the State" (Annamalai, 2000, p. 88). However, this obligation is not fulfilled most of the time. Kosonen (2010) showed the situation of language rights in Southeast Asia's educational system. All the countries the author discussed in the research have major problems with policies regarding language of instruction. Cambodia's law failed to mention the necessary languages used by most immigrants. Laos, despite some improvements in law, has a literacy rate lower among language minorities than the national average. Thailand does not have a written language policy, and education laws do not touch on issues about language of instruction. Vietnam is not using L1 as a language of literacy. Myanmar's 2008 constitution "no longer has statements on the language of education, though it reconfirms the minorities' right to use and develop their languages and the State assistance in such process" (Kosonen, 2010, p. 78).

The current situation in the world with language policies in education shows that policymakers, governments, and local authorities do not understand the unique role of language. Fernand de Varennes (2000, p. 69) said that:

The importance of language rights is grounded in the essential role that language plays in human existence, development and dignity. It is through language that we are able to form concepts; to structure and order the world around us. Language bridges the gap between isolation and community, allowing humans to delineate the

rights and duties they hold in respect of one another, and thus live in society. (Re Manitoba Language Rights, 1982, 1 Supreme Court Reports 721, 744, Canada)

Laws for human rights are written and ratified. However, human rights relating to using the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in public schools are broadly infringed all over the world.

Equity and Equality for LLS

After researching the legislative side of the language situation in public schools, the question seems to be one of the equity of access to education for all children. Do they have equal opportunities in obtaining an education? How do modern language policies reflect equal opportunities for education?

Equity and equality in access to education for all people are necessary, as are rights to education. UNESCO recognized in 1960 that “while respecting the diversity of national educational systems, [it] has the duty not only to proscribe any form of discrimination in education but also to promote equality of opportunity and treatment for all in education” (Preamble).

Scientists all over the world emphasized equity and equality as a main aspect of providing and spreading education. Levin (1994) has emphasized the necessity for equality and equity in American education. He focused on the need to provide equal opportunities for all students, especially for low socioeconomic status (SES) students, and insisted on additional resources for at-risk students. Levin (1989) also suggested that “economic and educational inequality in conjunction with equal political rights suggest future polarization and intense conflict” (p. 50). However, he affirmed that the biggest problems with inequality and inequity happen on the state and local levels.

Monk (1992) suggested that in order to reach equality and equity in education on the local level, particular states need “to allocate additional resources to support educational development in the less developed regions, and for disadvantaged groups” (p. 563). Brantlinger (2003) specifically focused on revealing the local level of inequality in education. Her gigantic work included interviews with parents, principals, and superintendents to show inequality in access, attitude, and school outcomes for different SES and ethnic students. Geo-JaJa (2006) claimed that unjust resource allocation and utilization brings inequity in education and influence on children, not just during school, but also in their outside lives. He defined social injustice or inequity “as a way of life characterized by high illiteracy, inaccessibility to adequate education facilities, low quality of education, and inequity in the distribution of educational, social, and cultural capital” (Geo-JaJa, 2006, p. 131).

Banks (1993) especially focused on the distribution of equal access for ethnic and linguistic minorities. He examined the problem of limited access to education and inequity for minority students. He insisted that limited educational access for minority students predisposes them to fail in academic achievement. He suggested implementation of new approaches and methods in the multicultural classroom. “Multicultural education incorporates the idea that all students – regardless of their gender and social class and their ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics – should have an equal opportunity to learn in school” (Banks, 1993, p.3).

Tollefson (2002) insisted on links between language policies and inequalities among populations. Together with Tollefson (2002), Brock-Utne (2000, 2010) does not believe that “education for all” will be possible to implement if the linguistic environment is ignored as a vital aspect of education.

In his work “Accessing Language Rights in Education: a Brief History of the U. S. Context,” Wiley (2002) broadly explored the linguistic situation in education in connection with people’s rights and equal access for ethnic and linguistic minority students. He stated that the majority of the world’s languages (between approximately 6,000 and 7,000) are not used in schools or used as language literacy. He sees inequality in access to education in that “many children in the United States and a majority of children around the world enter schools where the language of instruction is different from the language spoken in their homes” (Wiley, 2002, p.39). He insisted that educational policies often fail to address the special needs of language minority students, exclude them from education, or make them “systematically disadvantaged in learning academic subjects” (Wiley, 2002, p. 52). Another evidence he gave of the inequality of access to education for language minority students is “a chronic undersupply of certified bilingual teachers for several decades” (Wiley, 2002. p.41).

Unequal access to education also takes place in developing countries. Along these lines, Geo-JaJa (2006) stated that “equity in education in most developing countries is either limited or negative” (p. 133). Teaching an official language does not empower people. Baker (1996) studied the situation in Southeast Asian countries, where implementing an official language in the local village schools leads to dropouts and detracts from equal opportunity in education. She described a Mandinka village in Senegal where “French remains the language of the elite, and the masses partake but sparingly of its fruits while clinging to a dream of equality” (p.4). According to Baker (1996), the literacy level among Mandinka people is only 28.6% as a result of unequal access to education in the native language.

Kosonen (2010), describing the situation in Southeast Asia, claimed that many students “do not have sufficient knowledge of the languages used as media of instruction in the national

systems of education, and consequently, they experience inequalities in access, quality, attainment and achievement in education” (p. 73). Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996) saw imposing a dominant language in the Australian and Pacific regions making their world not equitable and less socially just. They clearly connected language policy with human rights, stating that human rights are meaningless if they are not applicable for speakers of all languages. They insisted that a “human rights, equity-oriented perspective should be an integral part of any language policy” (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996, 442).

Africa is a continent of inequalities in education. Geo-JaJa (2005; 2006), along with Mangum (2001) and Zajda (2005) described the difficulties of social injustice in poor regions of African countries, specifically Nigeria. Ntiri (1993) vividly showed the language situation in Africa, revealing how ignoring native languages as media instruction in schools limits the African population’s access to education and leads to illiteracy and inequality. Tikly (2004) criticized the Eurocentric approach in education in Africa and other developing countries. Imposing colonial languages as the instruction medium in schools leads to inequality in access to education. Samoff (1993) also supported the idea that Africa needs a unique approach in implementing the goal of education for all. In studying eastern African countries, he emphasized that limitation of access to social services such as health and education means more significant inequality than differences in income. Bonal (2004) pointed to the situation of education in Latin America as an example of one of the biggest regions of poverty and inequality.

Even the best intention to provide equal opportunities for students all over the world is impossible to fulfill without spending additional money and resources to implement new policies. Hanushek (1981), however, believed that adding new financial resources in the school system in order to reach equity does not always mean increasing students’ performance or school

efficiency. Supporting equal opportunities for students, he suggested other improvements in the system together with adding financial resources. Berne and Steifle (1994) conducted important research about equity on different levels of the school system. They studied how differences in financing influence equal opportunity for students and their conclusion supports Hanushek's (1981) position that the amount of money injected into the system does not determine equal opportunity for students. They also stated that "the line of inquiry is consistent with the recognition that measures of dollars alone are not sufficient in an equity analysis and that to some degree the education process must be examined" (Berne & Steifle, 1994, p. 419).

According to Levin (1989), equity in education involves additional resources as well as addressing the needs of at-risk (low SES students, cultural and language minority) students. He stated that failure to meet their needs financially as well as methodologically "will have national repercussions for the nation's economic robustness and competitiveness" (Levin, 1989, p. 56). Geo-JaJa and Mangum (2001) also considered reaching equity in the educational system a step to development individually as well as on the community level. They stated that "education must be based on a commitment to equity, sensitive to the role of technology in the modern world, and based on the removal of adverse influences that inhibit employability and development" (Geo-JaJa & Mangum, 2001, p.45).

Efficiency and Effectiveness of Education for Language Learning Students

After defending equal rights for every student and equity in access to education it is vitally important to decide how to financially implement language policies in education. The representatives of HCT (Human Capital Theory) and HD (Human Development) theory set different expectations of education, and, as a result, their views on operating education also differ. Human Capital theorists hold up efficiency as their goal, while Human Development

theorists focus on the effectiveness of the studying process. Scientists choose different approaches to analyze outcomes of education. Levin and McEwen (2002) discussed cost-benefit analysis (CBA) and cost-effectiveness analysis (CEA) in their work. The first (CBA) is connected with schools' efficiency analysis and the second (CEA) with schools' effectiveness. Hanushek and Luque (2003) claimed that the world focused on individual productivity and earnings and the distribution of economic success by adopting HCT. In other words, efficiency became the main aspect of schools' work analysis. Prichet and Filmer (1999) described the production function as "an expression for maximum amount of output possible for an amount of input" (p. 224). Thus, inputs of the production function determine its outputs.

Efficiency requires using resources in the most economic way, reaching the highest quantitative results. Lockheed and Hanushek (1988) and Samoff (1993) revealed internal and external efficiency in schools. Samoff stated that internal efficiency is concerned about unit cost per student, while external efficiency is connected to the value of workers in the labor market. He continued that the notion of efficiency is to reach goals with the smallest expenditure. However, he did not believe that the learning process in schools develops through efficiency. He noted "that while efficiency might be assessed in terms of learning rather than expenditures, that is rarely done" (Samoff, 1993, p. 207). The author believes that focusing on expenditure per unit is less fruitful than focusing on effectiveness per unit. Samoff (1993) insisted that focusing "on internal and external efficiency as commonly defined is to undermine education's efforts to achieve the broader goals" (p. 208). He believed that focusing on efficiency only brings a technical solution to education, which creates issues in public policies. He criticized approaches that ignore the human aspect and focus solely on efficiency. He insisted that analysis should be concerned primarily with human potential, "nurturing curiosity or encouraging innovation or the

creative expression of ideas and insights” (Samoff, 1993, p. 212). He defined the problem of balance between efficiency and effectiveness in schools. He admitted that failing to determine efficiency, it might “cripple promising initiatives.” However, he continued that “to focus single-mindedly on costs and financing may prove even more disastrous. Seeking to increase efficiency by ignoring learning cannot improve the quality of education” (Samoff, 1993, p. 216).

Rice (2002), Levin and McEwen (2002) believed that the cost-effectiveness analysis is more important than ever, particularly in education. Rice (2002) offers three criteria which educational researchers should consider: first, the analysis should address real policy trade-offs faced by education decision makers; second, the interventions should have clear and measurable outcomes; and third, costs should be unpacked in a way that lays out the ingredients and values and tracks their distribution across different individuals and organizations so that decision makers can assess costs and effects relative to their local circumstances.

Language policy in education has yet to be included in an analysis of education. Correct language policies increase the effectiveness of education. Education language policies should be evaluated through local conditions and the needs of the population. Mehrotra (1998) discussed the influence of native language on effectiveness and efficiency of schools’ work, particularly in Asian countries. He claimed that reading abilities and academic skills come faster if they are learned first in the native language. As a result, repetition of school years and the amount of drop-outs decrease for students studying in their native language. Providing education in native language requires money for schools, which increases costs and decreases efficiency. At the same time, using the native language produces positive academic results, increasing effectiveness. Samoff (1993) showed the struggle of policymakers to make decisions. To

increase efficiency, they need to decrease dropouts and repetition; however, in order to do this, they must increase effectiveness, which requires additional costs.

The same dilemma of balancing efficiency and effectiveness is examined by McNab and Stoye (1999) as they discuss the situation with the mother tongue in education in Ethiopia. The policy of “one language for everybody” leads to the risk of high dropout rates and undermining local cultures. On the other hand, providing education in the mother tongue for every student causes increased expenses for teacher training and development of educational materials. However, the authors revealed that choosing the mother tongue can lead to increased participation and higher school retention rates. Hence, both approaches require a trade-off. McNab and Stoye (1999) gave an example of a problem of increasing costs for the publication of additional textbooks in minority languages. They specifically discussed increasing the number of book titles, decreasing the pupil/book ratio, and the inefficiency of teaching in the mother tongue for some very small groups of minority pupils. However, they believed that “the provision of education in the mother tongue is likely to improve the quality of education. This should more than compensate for the extra costs of providing educational materials in a number of languages” (McNab & Stoye, 1999, p. 155). In summary, they preferred effectiveness over efficiency in education.

King and Benson (2008) summarized the analysis of researchers of bilingual education that encourages nondominant languages in education. They showed that although “bilingual programs appear to raise per-pupil expenditure (due to inputs of teacher education and materials, especially for previously lesser developed languages), costs are actually lower when balanced against the benefits of lower dropout and failure rates” (King & Benson, 2008, p. 348). Quoting Vawda and Patrinos, who had done analysis in Guatemala and Senegal, they explained that the

cost of publishing in local languages is “recoverable within three years” (in King & Benson, 2008, p. 348).

Lewin (1999) studied language policies in Mauritius. He asserted that implementing mother tongue policies in schools leads to greater “complications in administering and resourcing schools, training teachers, and channeling students” (p. 163). These things require additional cost. The author maintained that there are many ways to satisfy the needs for implementation of language policies in schools. The right one will answer the economic question, “Which options offer the most effective satisfaction of these needs and at what cost?” (Lewin, 1999, p. 164). He continued, saying that providing education in mother tongues in Mauritius leads to decreasing pupil/teacher ratio, increasing teachers’ salaries and cost per child, and having additional examination subjects. These actions jeopardize the goal of policymakers to achieve high efficiency in education.

However, Lewin (1999) stated that despite decreasing efficiency, a pro-mother tongue language policy in education “satisfies needs for cultural affirmation” and it is “the result of non-economic arguments being given precedence over narrower considerations of cost and efficiency” (p. 169). He said that it is possible to change the situation in Mauritius and increase efficiency by decreasing the number of teachers for minority students; however, he noticed that it would contradict the expectations of staff and parents. Caring about parents and staff more than costs showed that the author used a cost-effectiveness analysis approach to consider the schools’ work. Lewin (1999) suggested ways to choose between effectiveness and efficiency for school policies as well as their language policies. He recommended answering such questions as “which stakeholders have a legitimate claim to speak and on behalf of whom; which interests are to be placed above or below others; how self-interest is to be reconciled with collective benefit; how

effective demand for educational services is to be accommodated even if it appears developmentally regressive; and how, in the competition for resources, are the interests of the marginalized to be promoted?" (Lewin, 1999, p. 181).

Answering these questions will lead policymakers to find the right approach to achieve either efficiency or effectiveness in a particular situation. Levin and McEwen (2002), evaluating the cost-analysis, also wanted to find which approach would be better for educational development. Therefore, they came to the conclusion that the cost analysis alone cannot determine whether a particular alternative would be more desirable than another, or whether the alternatives are worthwhile in an absolute sense. Incorporation of information on the effectiveness and efficiency of educational alternatives can help policymakers find the answers that suit their situation.

Human Capital Theory and Human Development as Approaches for LLS

After understanding the vital importance of L1 support in providing equal rights and access to education for all students and after realizing that the implementation of these theories can be fulfilled with different approaches (efficiency and effectiveness), the question arises – how does it all come together? Which approach should be taken in order to provide the right language policies with rights and equity, being efficiently effective?

Researchers are divided into two groups of understanding the development of the communities and countries: those who support Human Capital Theory (HCT) and those who support Human Development (HD). These two groups focus on different developmental influencers. Tickly (2004) revealed how education came to play the main role in development after the World War II and built the relationship with economic growth and poverty reduction. He showed how the world is divided into developing and developed countries and major and

minor cultures and languages. HCT developed after World War II and became very popular to help less developed countries, communities, and ethnicities. In the early 1950s, scholars came to a consensus that the Human Capital approach would lead countries to success. This theory focused on developing the human skills and productivity leading to economic growth, which equals success (Schultz, 1993). Theodore Schultz (1993) emphasized the relationship between educational expenditure, human capital, and worker productivity. He also stated that education is the main component of human capital as well as being a major influence on the development of families and communities (Schultz, 1993). Streeten (2003) pointed out that productivity is a key word in HCT. His position is that, according to HCT, the way to raise productivity is to reach higher education. The author summarized the intention of HCT by describing that “better educated people are more likely to innovate and to be more efficient in general... better education benefits others who can now earn more, in addition to the educated person” (Streeten, 2003, p. 100).

Stewart (1996) clearly supported HCT. He claimed that “there are many determinants of labor productivity, including management skills, technology, capital and workers’ experience and training as well as formal education. But for any given level of management, technology and capital, workers’ education is key” (Stewart, 1996, p. 330). For this reason, he focused on education as a factor which can “enrich human lives,” “raise human wellbeing,” and “raise people’s economic productivity” (Stewart, 1996, p. 328). The author held up the development of Asian countries as an example of the success of HCT, explaining that their greatest potential was in their human resources because they coped with educational problems in the 1970s. He stated that these students became attractive resources for other countries because of their education. Stewart said that the “general conclusion is that human resource is a critical element in

determining the rate of development generally.” From this example, HCT clearly only considers human beings as resources for economic development, where education makes them more productive for the economy.

Tickly (2004) was one of the many scientists who criticized HCT. He accused HCT of not paying attention to the “social nature of many skills of people and to the cultural context of skills acquisition” (Tickly, 2004, p. 189). He insisted that the HCT theory did not consider that education can also reproduce social inequality and suggested that educational approaches be carefully chosen. He talked about imposing a western type of education and that HCT and western agencies did not let low-income countries develop their own educational agendas. He emphasized that the World Bank uses education as the main principle for the implementation of the Human Capital theory. Education became a tool for raising ‘human capital.’ However, Tickly (2004) believed that education “serves as a site for the potential development of social as well as human capital with all of the cultural baggage that that entails” (p. 190).

It is necessary to notice that Rassool (2007) convincingly showed the importance of a connection between the language of the people and economic development of their communities and countries. He saw that in redefined technological labor processes, not only are knowledge and skills important, but the language of the people also strongly factors in. He explains that by improving the economic status of the country, the language gains value. “The economic strength/buying power/exchange value of a language can be gauged by a country’s national income, its Gross Domestic Product (GDP)” (Rassool, 2007, p. 138). Thus, there is the chain: language, communication skills, and knowledge – redefined technological labor process – high GDP – high economic status of the language. The process works just as powerfully in reverse as well. If local or nondominant languages are ignored and do not participate in the process,

Rassool (2007) stated that they “are further marginalized” (p. 138). Using marginalized languages, people cannot break the bounds of poverty, get a desirable education, and increase GDP.

Time and more precise analysis showed that the Human Capital Theory cannot accomplish the goal of reaching full development in all aspects of life using all resources. Some economists, politicians, and scientists (not including most world international agencies such as World Bank or International Monetary Fund) focused on finding a way of successfully developing for countries (Mingat, 1998; Mehrotra, 1998; Morris, 1996).

Mahlub ul Haq (2003) worked on this very problem: what is more vital for countries – economic growth or human development? He stated that the difference between economic growth and human development schools is “that the first focuses exclusively on the expansion of only one choice – income – while the second embraces the enlargement of all human choices – whether economic, social, cultural or political” (Mahlub ul Haq, 2003, p.17). The author tried to find out what real wealth is. He stated that there is no automatic link between economic growth and human lives. He said that many human choices are far beyond economic well-being. Mahlub ul Haq (2003) emphasized that real wealth for a country is its people. He did not insist that economic growth is unimportant. On the contrary, he thought that it is essential, but the quality of this growth is just as important as quantity. The author emphasized two sides in human development: the formation of human capabilities and the use people make of their acquired capabilities. He also revealed four ways to create the link between economic growth and human development: (1) emphasis on investment in education, health, and skills; (2) equitable distribution of income and assets; (3) significant improvements of human development; and (4)

the empowerment of people. The author claimed that human development is the most holistic development model that exists today.

In addition, Rains, Stewart, and Ramirez (2003) believed that in order to reach enhanced economic growth, human development should be the first step. They state that a country can reliably reach success; if it focuses first on Human Development (HD), Economic Growth (EG) will come. Stated another way, EG cannot lead to HD by itself. “Economic growth will not be sustained unless preceded or accompanied by improvement in HD” (Rains et al., 2003, p.78). Hence, the Human Development (HD) approach is one which scientists (Mahbub ul Haq, 2003; Jolly, 2003) use to see the full potential of the development in countries. Human development analysis is a reliable tool used to examine the economic, religious, health, and educational situation in countries. Fukuda-Pa and Kumar (2003) claimed that “the goal of human development is to create an enabling environment in which people’s capabilities can be enhanced and their range of choices expanded” (p. 52). Thus, human development focuses on the capabilities that people have reason to value. The authors stated that it also focuses on enhancement of capabilities and freedoms that the members of the community enjoy. Human development cannot ignore the importance of political liberties and democratic freedoms.

The linguistic aspect of education also takes an important place in HD and can enhance and expand people’s choices, increase equity and influence communities’ and countries’ development. Unfortunately, nondominant languages and ethnic minorities are ignored most of the time by policymakers, endangering the development of communities and countries, including their economic development. As Horst (2010) described the situation in Denmark, the majority of political parties reject the multicultural version of the development of society. By rejecting this multicultural development, they reject the potential of development and support for the

languages of ethnic minorities. Most of the time, these minorities are the lowest socio-economic levels of the society.

Brock-Utne (2010) asked an important question about the development of the societies and countries: “how is it possible to reduce poverty when the language of the poor is being denigrated and not used for development purposes?” (Brock-Utne, 2010, p. 119) Only the HD approach can highlight the importance of these aspects in the development of communities and countries. In order to reach the high economic development that HC theorists aim for, Bodomo (1996) (cited in Brock-Utne, 2010) claims that the entire population (including ethnic minorities – immigrants and indigenous population) should be involved. This approach will put “the indigenous languages right at the center of the development discourse” (Bodomo, 1996, qtd. in Brock-Utne, 2010, p. 119). Bodomo saw development as harnessing people’s indigenous knowledge and their initiatives, and he saw individual people as agents of development. Therefore, the language of development should be the language of these particular people in order to get the most intelligent reaction from the population. He sees that to achieve development goals, language policies should be oriented and enacted to support nondominant languages (Brock-Utne, 2010).

Mehrotra (1998), in evaluating rapid growth of the Asian countries, recognized factors that influenced development such as health care and nutrition, which leads to stabilization in demographic aspects of countries. He analyzed the role of women, their ownership rights, income and independence. As a crowning factor above all others, he placed the role of education and spreading it across the population. Mehrotra (1998) emphasized the importance of the linguistic aspect of education, which influences consequent development. He also insisted that if “the medium of instruction in school is a language that is not spoken at home the problems of

learning in an environment characterized by poverty are compounded,” leading to increased drop-out rates (Mehrotra, 1998, p. 479). He analyzed Asian countries’ high achievers and called their experience “unequivocal: the mother tongue was used as the medium of instruction at the primary level in all cases” (p.479). He admitted that the educational language situation in developing countries is a critical issue for development.

Geo-JaJa (2005) asserted that education has to be connected to the local and national needs. He also saw education as an essential input to human resource development. One of the connections with communities is to use the native languages of students as a medium of instruction. He stated that “the language of delivery remains foreign except in some localities that use indigenous language at some primary grade levels” (Geo-JaJa, 2005, p. 526). Therefore, he claimed that “the Nigerian education system and its basic orientation seem grossly mismatched with the future needs of their students and with the development needs of society” (p. 526). Development can also increase through cultural unity in the society, which Psacharopolous (1989) saw in teaching in a national language.

Morris (1996) also examined the role which education has played in the rapid development of the “Asian Tigers.” He believed that the influence of education upon economic output should be seen through the lens of history and the sociological perspective. He determined that other factors of development (besides raising productivity as HCT) include infant mortality rates, family size, life expectancy, population growth rates, income distribution and political stability. He saw education as a social structure “which needs to be provided as a basis for development” (Morris, 1996, p. 99). He recognized that in HD, economics is not the dominant discipline, but shares importance with sociology, history, psychology, and anthropology. These disciplines include the presence of a healthy language environment. Morris (1996) stated that in

“Asian tigers” the school curriculum oriented on minimizing ethnic conflicts. Another main difference between HD and HCT that Morris pointed out is that education has provided possibility for personal socioeconomic advancement rather than just common high productivity.

Jolly (2003) emphasized that equity is the guiding principle of HD. Thus, Jolly (2003) insisted that human development “recognizes education and health as human rights, while neo-liberalism considers them investments with high return” (p. 109). The Human Development Theory is unique because it considers all possible circumstances of the people in the different situations. There is no single best approach in the development for people in Malaysia, Botswana, or Paraguay. Jolly (2003) stated that the “neo-liberal paradigm focused on market conditions to ensure free choice...the human development paradigm keeps the emphasis on people and on the human and social conditions for achieving free choice” (p. 112). Therefore, he revealed such characteristics of HD as “empowerment of the poor, through strengthening their capabilities, gender equity, access to assets, pro-poor growth, and international action to enhance opportunities for poor people and poor countries” (Jolly, 2003, p.111).

In this chapter, I retraced the connection of language policies in public schools with globalization, human rights, different developmental theories (HCT and HD), and approaches informing education (efficiency and effectiveness). I revealed differing opinions of scientists about language theories and the role of L1 and L2. I showed statements, claims, and evidences from many scientists about the influence of L1 on students’ cognitive development and specifically the absence of L1 on academic achievement, social identity, and emotional and psychological conditions.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of this study is to determine the influence of L1 on both the academic achievement and emotional condition of students who do not speak the school instruction language. To achieve this purpose I focused my study on Ukrainian and Russian students in Utah. From the literature review, it became apparent that native language support influences students' academic achievement, cognitive development, self-esteem, and self-identity. This statement is also supported by UNESCO (1948, 1974): providing native language as a medium of school instruction supports students' rights and provides equal access to education. Thus, this study investigates whether the principles of support of L1 for LLS are true among both Ukrainian/Russian adoptees and children with biological parents in the state of Utah. This chapter contains information about how the study was conducted: the nature of the research, research questions, the method of the research, and components of the research design.

The Nature of the Research

When the researcher starts conducting a study, its objectives should be considered. These objectives can focus on different goals, such as to explore, describe, understand, explain, predict, change, or assess (Blaikie, 2003). The purpose of the study decides which of these goals or objectives are focused on. Objectives which explore and describe answer the question 'what is going on?' and determine the descriptive nature of the research. Objectives which explain and understand the situation answer the question 'why is it going on?' and determine the explanatory nature of the research. Objectives which predict, change or evaluate answer the question 'how will it influence or intervene?' and determine the interventional nature of the research (Blaikie, 2003). This study is descriptive in nature, specifically the case of the Ukrainian/Russian students in Utah and the situation with L1 and L2 and their influence.

However, besides describing intent, I focus on evaluating the problem and on ideas to change the complicated L1 situation in schools. As Blaikie (2003) stated, “To predict is to use some established understanding or explanation of a phenomenon to postulate certain outcomes under particular conditions” (p. 12). Hence, this research attempts to ask what is happening to LLS academically and emotionally during their school years and after high school graduation. Based on the interviewees’ answers and propositions, this research provides some recommendations on how to improve the situation in schools for LLS. Blaikie (2003) continued, “To change is to intervene in a social situation by manipulating some aspects of it, or by assisting the participants to do so, preferably on the basis of established understanding or explanation” (p.12). Results, ideas, and conclusions made in this research may be helpful to see important changes necessary in educational policies concerning LLS.

Research Design

Creating appropriate research design is as important for a researcher as creating a blueprint is for an architect. Research design that is suitable for the study will give valid and reliable results. To complete the research design for this study I identified research questions, design type and method of research, and method of data collection.

Formulation of the research questions. As it is already known from chapter 1, the statement of the problem is that ignoring the importance and the supporting role of L1 during the studying process of students for whom instruction language is not native negatively influences students’ academic achievement and emotional condition. The research questions are:

1. How do Ukrainian/Russian students perceive school support for their language development L1 and L2?
2. Is there a relationship between L1 support and students’ academic achievement?

3. What are some of the larger, extra-academic social contextsⁱⁱ that have influenced respondents' L1 and L2 development and academic achievement?
4. How do family attitudes towards, and level of proficiency in, L1 influence L1, L2, and academic performance? How do adoptive v. natural families differ in this regard?
5. What are the subjects' perceptions of the consequences of the lack of support for their L1?
6. Does ignoring the L1 in public schools for language minorities have consequences on students' lives after school?

To answer the research questions it is necessary to determine the design type, which determines the method of research. The next step is to consider the population and data collection (sampling), instruments of research, possibility for generalization of the study, and the audience that will be interested in the results. The finishing point of the research is data analysis.

Design type and method of research. Since the research is focused on the opinions, thoughts, and school and family matters of the Ukrainian/Russian students in Utah public schools, I chose the case study as the design type that helped me use an individual approach.

The research questions and chosen design type determine that the research will be qualitative. The Qualitative method of research perfectly helps to show the “view points of the subject” and disclose the situation on a micro level (Flick, 2007a). Flick (2007a) stated, “Qualitative research should engage in changing the world...there is a more pragmatic approach to qualitative research, which sees it as an extension of the tools and potentials of social research for understanding the world and producing knowledge about it” (p. 7). Thus, to make this qualitative research able to describe an LLS' situation, produce knowledge about it, and suggest ways to change education, the Human Development approach (which was introduced in the

previous chapter) is used in the study. Mahbub ul Haq, (2003) and Jolly (2003) stated that Human Development theory broadens all human choices.

It helps see the full picture of the development of the person, society, and country. Education is a component of HD and plays the important role of broadening human choices socially, economically, and emotionally. As mentioned earlier, Mahbub ul Haq, (2003) emphasized two sides in human development: the formation of human capabilities and the use people make of their acquired capabilities. Using the qualitative method helps show the formation of L1 and L2 skills and infers links between the HD approach and the students' academic success and emotional development. The qualitative method using HD approach helps show each Eastern European language student as a whole: his/her academic achievement, social and emotional development with people outside the family, and family interactions. The quantitative method of research cannot be used in this study because it is focused on numerical data and not on any particular aspect of the problem and cannot show particular cases of people's lives. However, I claim that it is vital in the educational field to see real people behind the numbers, which the qualitative method together with HD theory successfully does.

Interview as a method for data collection. Since the research is qualitative and the research questions are focused on the personal thoughts, understandings, and ideas of the students, interviews are the method which complies with the research design. This method helps to provide case studies with a personal approach and with versatile information about the students; it helps us see every student as a whole. As Kvale (2007) stated:

Interviews can have explorative or hypothesis-testing purposes ... In this case the interviewer introduces an issue, an area to be charted or problem complex to be

uncovered, follows up on the subject's answers, and seeks new information about and new angles on the topic. (p. 38)

For these reasons, "the interview has become a common research method in the last few decades" in education (Kvale, 2007, p. 5).

There are other methods which could be used, but they would not be as effective for this study as interviews. For example, observation of students in school life during classes and their interaction with peers could be an alternative to interviews. However, observation requires a long time, because it cannot quickly give a complete picture of the students' academic success and social interaction. In addition, since students are not collected in one group which can be observed all at once, observation of each student's study habits and their consequences would take years. From an observation study, conclusions could be made based only on what the researcher sees. Certain assumptions in the observation might be wrong, because it is difficult to see the inner desires, pain, or struggles of the students without asking them directly. Therefore, observation would not be the best option for this study.

Survey would be another option in researching the situation of the LLS. Although a survey could be designed to ask all the questions which are necessary for the study, it does not give the researcher an opportunity to clarify the answers, to restructure the questions if a subject has difficulty answering, or to observe the reactions of the interviewee to the questions. Hence, interviews are the most effective for this given study.

Ethics in Qualitative Research

When any research takes place, *ethics* is one of the main principles to guide the investigation. Flick (2007a) claimed, that "The ethical problems in qualitative research run throughout the whole process of designing and then doing it" (p. 69). People's rights and

confidentiality have to be protected during the investigation. I will keep ethical norms on a high level, because as Kvale (2007) stated, “The human interaction in the interview affects the interviewees, and the knowledge produced by an interview inquiry affects our understanding of the human condition” (p. 23). Confidentiality is an ethical norm of qualitative research. “Confidentiality in research implies that private data identifying the subjects will not be reported” (Kvale, 2007, p. 27). Hence, all private information (names, addresses, etc.) from interviews will not be disclosed. Only the principal investigator will hold the interviews and will have access to the data. The information will be stored on the principal investigator’s computer and nobody besides the researcher will have access to it. The computer has a password and nobody can reach the data. Data will be erased when the study has been completed.

Interview Construction

Ethical norms are easier to keep if the researcher is prepared for the interview. Preparing for the interview starts with creating interview questions. Kvale (2007) described an interview as “a conversation that has a structure and a purpose determined by the one party – the interviewer. It is a professional interaction, which goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views as in everyday conversation, and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge” (p.7). Therefore, I created a list of questions which I asked the LLS during the interview. I conducted semi-structured interviews (Flick, 2007a). That is, I prepared structured questions; however, my questions were open-ended, to provide for moments when interviewees felt like saying something additional that would help me see the bigger picture.

Bogdan and Biklen (2007) claimed that open-ended questions in interview have a personal and inviting approach and treat the interviewee as an expert. The interview questions, in

Appendix A, are divided into two groups: group one provides demographic information and the background of interviewees, and the second group elicits information which helps answer the research questions. The second group of questions is divided into six categories which correspond to the certain information in research questions:

Category 1: L1 level of LLS pre-/post-moving to the U.S.

Category 2: L2 level of LLS pre-/post-moving to the U.S.

Category 3: Self-reported students' academic achievement: a) level of academic achievement in Ukraine/Russia; b) level of academic achievement in the U.S.

Category 4: Self-identity: a) socially (how well they fit into their environment); b) expectations for the future.

Category 5: Class or school environment of LLS: a) Teacher – student relationship; b) Student - student relationship; c) academic help to LLS.

Category 6: Family environment.

In order to see if my interview questions are effective and help me answer my research questions, I see how they reflect the six categories. In Table 1, I chart questions for each category and which research questions they address. The table also shows two sides of the study: academic (categories 1 through 3) and socio-emotional (categories 4 through 6) and helps me see if there is a balance between these two directions.

In analyzing Table 1, it is easy to see that all research questions are reflected through interview questions. There is also a moderate balance between the number of questions for information about the academic achievement and language situation and the number of questions inquiring about the socio-emotional conditions of students. In addition, questions about school and family environment helped round out the picture of the LLS situation completely. Table 1

shows that interview questions for this study include information which covers all aspects of students' lives: the situation in school and at home with their L1 and L2, their academic achievement, and socio-emotional conditions. Therefore, answers given by the interviewees on the interview questions helped collect information to ascertain the stated problem of the study and achieve the purpose of the research.

Table 1

Correspondence of Interview Questions with Categories and Research Questions

Category	1	2	3	4	5	6				
			a	b	a	b	a	b	c	
Interview questions suitable for the category	2	3	1	11	4	22	8	10	8	20
	5	7	2	12	9	23	10	21	10	
	6	14	12	15	13	24				
	17	15			18					
		16			19					
					21					
Total	4	5	6	9	9	6	6	1		
Research questions	2, 5	2	2	3	5, 6	1, 3		4		

Table 1 demonstrates that all research questions are reflected through interview questions. There is also a moderate balance between the number of questions for information about the academic achievement and language situation, and the number of questions inquiring about the socio-emotional conditions of students. In addition, questions about school and family environment helped round out the picture of the LLS situation completely. Table 1 shows that interview questions for this study include information which covers all aspects of students' lives:

the situation in school and at home with their L1 and L2, their academic achievement, and socio-emotional conditions. Therefore, answers given by the interviewees on the interview questions helped collect information to ascertain the stated problem of the study and achieve the purpose of the research.

Kvale (2007) stated that it is necessary for an interviewer critically to follow up on the answers, be specific in questions and confirm the validity of the information through counter-questions. Thus, during the interview I will provide follow up questions in order to confirm the accuracy of the interviewees' answer and to avoid ambiguity. "The task of the interviewer is to clarify, as far as possible, whether the ambiguities and contradictory statements are due to a failure of communication in the interview situation, or whether they reflect genuine inconsistencies, ambivalence and contradictions of an interviewee's life situation" (p.13). For instance, question 2 follows up the answer of question 1; question 9 checks the accuracy of the answer to question 4; question 14 checks question 3; and questions 15 and 16 check question 14. As Kvale (2007) claims, such leading and checking questions are good to check the reliability (dependability) of the interviewees' answers. Reliability (dependability) and internal validity (credibility) of the interview questions and answers are vital parts of the data analysis, which I'll discuss later in this chapter.

Participants

The next step in conducting the study was to find Ukrainian and Russian students to interview. The snowball method helped me build the network and gave me students whom I wanted to interview.

Identifying the population. Utah has a Ukrainian/Russian population of 3,260 people (*Russian, Ukrainian, 2010*). It is not known how many of them are children under 18 years and

how many adopted Ukrainian/Russian children are in Utah. It is also not known if adoptees are registered as Ukrainian/Russian speakers or English speakers. Only the number of Ukrainian/Russian speakers who officially claimed to be such are known. Thus, I had to take a sampling of this Ukrainian/Russian population in Utah.

Determining the sample. Flick (2007a) stated that “taking sampling in qualitative research seriously is a way of managing diversity so that the variation and variety in the phenomenon under study can be captured in the empirical material as far as possible” (p. 27). He, with references to Patton (2002), determined alternatives of the sampling types such as extreme, typical, maximum variety, intensive, critical, sensitive, and convenience cases. Miles and Huberman (1994) (as cited in Flick, 2007a) determined different types of the sampling for qualitative research such as homogeneous sampling, stratified purposeful sampling, and snowball sampling. In my research I will use three different types of sampling in succession: snowball, maximum variety, and stratified purposeful sampling. Snowball sampling consists in going from one case to another, asking interviewees about other possible interviewees relevant for the research. Snowball sampling is the first step in my data collection period. It is a vital method of sampling for this study, because the population of Ukrainian/Russian children is spread out and difficult to determine.

Through the Snowball method I found families with children (adoptees and non-adoptees) whose L1 is Ukrainian/Russian. The first step is taken through my personal network of Ukrainian/Russian people in Utah. I am a Ukrainian who lives in Utah and I know other Ukrainian/Russian people who live in this state, who know other Ukrainian/Russian families and American families with adopted children from Ukraine/Russia. When I find a family with Ukrainian/Russian children I ask them for references of other families with Ukrainian/Russian

children, because it is common that families with common interests (such as children of the same age and from the same country) know each other. Thus, through snowball sampling I built my network of families with Ukrainian/ Russian adoptees and children with biological parents to include 20 Ukrainian/Russian students/adults. From them I chose 12 interviewees who met the following requirements for the research.

- Adoptees under 18 that came to the U.S. after 6 years old;
- Children under 18 who came to the U.S. with their biological parents after 6 years old;
- Adult Adoptees who came to the U.S. as children over 6 years old;
- Adults who came to the U.S. with their biological parents as children over 6 years old.

(Age limitation is necessary because interviewees had to experience public education in Ukraine/Russia and that is impossible earlier than 6 years old.)

After building a network through the snowball method, I started using the maximum variety method to choose whom to interview. As Patton (as cited in Flick 2007a) stated, the maximum variety sampling method integrates cases as different as possible to disclose the range of variation in the field. The maximum variety sampling in this research (besides the aforementioned age groups) distinguishes between students who had differing support for their language: either supported L1 at home or in school or rejected L1 at home or in school; forced L2 in school and home by the “English only” policy or supported bilingualism at home and school; differing socio-economic levels, both genders (male and female helps ensure equity in gender selection); students with different cognitive development and family circumstances. Therefore, by reflecting all aspects of students’ lives, maximum variety sampling helps us see in this research the whole picture of the linguistic situation for LLS: positive and negative and seeing a student as whole. This sampling method helped me follow up on the information that

got from different sources: if two different sources state the same it is most likely true. At the same time contrary information might bring doubts and require more precise search.

Together with the maximum variety sample, I used stratified purposeful sampling which is used to create subgroups for comparison. I got two subgroups in the sample of this study: one group consisted of six interviewees of Ukrainian/Russian adoptees and another group was six interviewees of Ukrainian/Russian with biological parents. Each group consisted of two categories: current school students and adults who were former students. I compared the results of the interviews to see if there were any differences in the support of L1 and as a result, differences in academic achievement and emotional conditions between these two groups. I conducted 12 interviews in sum: six for each group. There are no specific requirements for the sample size of qualitative research. Sandelowski (1995), for example, claimed that “an adequate sample size in qualitative research is one that permits ... the deep, case-oriented analysis...and that results in... a new and richly textured understanding of experience” (p. 183). With my limited time for research I decided that to achieve the purpose of the study, it was more necessary to do high quality interviews with detailed analysis of the obtained data, than to accumulate a larger number of interviews, especially when all essential information was received from the sample size of 12.

Obtaining IRB approval and consent. After I created interview questions I submitted them for the IRB's (Institutional Review Board) consideration. I needed to obtain IRB approval that my research was appropriate for human subjects. Documents for IRB approval contain a Consent Form (see Appendix B, C) which explains the research, ethics, and subject's rights plus the interviewee's agreement to give the interview.

I contacted the students or their families to determine if the interviewee fit the above-mentioned age requirements and possessed the necessary mental abilities. During my contact with the interviewees or their parents, I explained to them the purpose of my research. If interviewees were under 18 years old, I asked the parents to confirm if their children agreed to the interview. When I met with interviewees before the interview, I brought a copy of the Consent Form and adult interviewees or parents with their child signed their assent there.

Data Collection

The process of data collection of this research consists of administering interviews with nonadopted and adopted Ukrainian/Russian students of different.

Administering the interviews. After obtaining the required approval from the Internal Review Board, I began collecting data. Data was collected through a series interviews. I held the interviews either at the participants' homes when they could do so or in another familiar environment. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) advised to gather data in a natural environment, because it will engage natural behavior of the interviewees. I always had a short conversation with them before the actual interview in order to build a friendly relationship and make the interviewee comfortable. Everything that I observed in the environment and in the interviewees' behavior was essential for the study. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) said about qualitative research that it "demands that the world be examined with the assumption that nothing is trivial, that everything has the potential of being a clue" (p. 5). It includes gestures, jokes, tone of voice, verbiage, décor, response time, body language, and a multitude of other details noticed during interviews. Therefore, using both outer and verbal expressions of the students during the interviews gave me a more complete picture of them. In addition to the interviews, I also used information from scholars who have done research similar to my topic.

Grouping and coding the interviewees. Interviewees were divided in two groups: adopted and nonadopted Ukrainian/Russian speakers who live in the state of Utah and have experienced the school system. Both groups got the same interview questions. I compared their answers to see if there are any similarities or differences in the answers of these two groups, who have the same eastern European language (Ukrainian/Russian) background.

In order to keep confidentiality, I gave a code to each student. This code will be used to refer to students' answers in these results. I assigned the group of the adopted children the number 1 and the group of the nonadopted children the number 2. Each individual student was assigned a letter. Thus, adopted students have codes 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D, 1E, and 1F; nonadopted students have codes 2A, 2B, 2C, 2D, 2E, and 2F.

Determining the demographic information of the interviewees. At the beginning of each interview, I found out demographic information for each of the students. All students were born outside of the United States: six were born in Ukraine, and the other six were born in Russia. Some of the adopted students were adopted together with their siblings; others were adopted alone.

The nonadopted students came to the U.S. with their parents. Some parents came to the US to get an education, some came because of a change in their marital status, and some just immigrated. The range of the years the nonadopted students lived in the U.S. is the same as the range of the years the adopted students lived in the US and it varies from 1.5 to 11 years.

All students attended public education in Ukraine/Russia. When the children arrived in the US, they studied in the public schools.

Narrative Analysis

One of the most important steps to take after acquiring data is to choose right approach for its analysis and check its validity and reliability. The researcher can focus on analyzing the meaning or the language of the interviews; however, it requires different techniques (Kvale, 2007). Language analysis fits this research more than meaning analysis because it shows the level of L1 and L2 of LLS. Language analysis consists of different types such as linguistic, conversation, narrative, discursive, and deconstruction (Kvale, 2007). Narrative analysis fits the data of this research better than other methods because the data consists of the life stories of the subjects given by them during the interviews.

Hence, during the data analysis I focused on language analysis, using narrative analysis for the interviews. “Narrative analysis focuses on the stories told during an interview and works out their structures and their plots” (Kvale, 2007, p. 112). It is necessary to use narrative analysis in research with these students, listening to their thoughts, expressions, and ideas to obtain the real picture of the situation. Thorne (2000) stated that “human experience is shaped, transformed, and understood through linguistic representation” and narrative analysis is a strategy which can provide such insights about lived experience through stories told by interviewees. Yukawa (2005) claimed that “A story can be a tool for thinking that allows students to express thoughts, feelings, and judgments regarding causes and resulting actions or effect” (p. 733). Thus, through students’ self-reports and answers, I was able to analyze students’ academic achievement and socio-emotional conditions both during the enforcement of L2 and separation from L1. Hence, the narrative method of the analysis was able to fit the purpose of the study.

Students’ academic achievement was analyzed through self-reported grades, GPAs, dropout rate, and employment rate after graduation. As Hanushek and Luque (2003) said,

although measuring academic achievement through standardized tests is controversial, it is the best available indicator of educational quality right now. Even though I used grades and GPAs in my research, it retains its qualitative character because reported GPAs and grades are the students' perceptions or vision of their academic achievement. I obtained the information about the students' grades directly from them; hence, the correctness of it depends on interviewees' honesty and ability at self-evaluation.

In my research, I focus on impact of the knowledge of L1 and L2 on academic achievement. The level of students' L1 and L2 will not be analyzed through tests. Standardized language tests are the least effective approaches to measure the real language and cultural adjustment to L2 and the new cultural circumstances (Rhodes et al., 2005). Thus, the level of L1 and L2 will be also determined by the students' self-report and by the personal experience of the interviewer. In this case, biases will be eliminated because the interviewer has no personal relationship with the interviewees and is not personally interested in their level of language development. In addition, during the analysis, besides the impact of the level of L1 and L2 on the students' academic achievement, other influences were considered. Through the stories, answers, and personal perceptions of the subjects, I considered such impacts on their academic achievement as school environment and attitude of families, friends, and interviewees.

It is important to emphasize that the same factors influencing the students' academic achievement also determine their emotional conditions. Hence, students' emotional conditions were analyzed through stories, answers, and verbal and nonverbal reactions to their language level, and through their interaction with friends, and family and the school environment.

Validity and Reliability

In order for this study to be useful and valuable for the field, it has to have reliable and valid data. Checking internal validity (credibility) and reliability (dependability) constantly while interviewing, transcribing, and analyzing is a vital part of the research, because they are the main indices of the data analysis. Kvale (2007) advised that for checking validity and reliability researchers should ask themselves if the transcribing material is useful for a research purpose.

To see if my data was useful for the purpose of the study, I started analyzing interviews as soon as I took them. After transcribing them, I analyzed the answers of the interviewees and checked if they were reliable (dependable). I checked the reliability (dependability) through answers I received for the follow up questions as mentioned above. Following up and clarifying questions during the interview helped me to return interviewees to the topic, avoid any misunderstanding, and clarify vague answers. If the information is not reliable it cannot be used for drawing conclusions. "Reliability pertains to the consistency and trustworthiness of research findings; it is often treated in relation to the issue of whether a finding is reproducible at other times and by other researchers" (Kvale, 2007, p. 122). In order for reliability (dependability) to be trustworthy, I had to pay attention to the details of the interviewees' background information as this can essentially influence the outcomes of the interviews.

While analyzing data I also had to be careful with some social variables which can influence results. Adopted children are "at-risk" as Levin (1989) characterized them. They differ from nonadopted interviewees with more extreme family, social, and educational experiences. Back in their home countries, they usually lived in very low socio-economic conditions, were taken from their parents, sometimes separated from their siblings, and put in an orphanage. Later they were taken again from their "regular" orphanage environment and sometimes under forceful

circumstances had to leave their friends, (and sometimes their siblings) and move to a new environment with a new language and culture.

These changes in the adoptees' lives could lead them to cognitive and emotional instability that might influence research results. Two social aspects rapidly changed in their lives: they were put into families with a higher socio-economic status compared to their previous experience, and they moved to families in Utah where all of them were introduced to a new religious culture. These circumstances in adoptees' lives might influence the research results. The age at which students came to the U.S. is also an important variable for the research because it influences the L1 level. It also reflects the level of cognitive development and knowledge they have already gotten in their native languages. However, it is impossible to avoid lurking variables completely. In different research it could be a single-parent family, working parents, extremely low socio-economic status, etc.

While transcribing the interviews, I accentuated the six categories into which I divided my interview questions and I looked specifically for answers which disclosed the purpose of my research and research questions. As Patton (1990) (as cited in Hoepfl, 1997) stated "Credibility depends less on sample size than on the richness of the information gathered and on the analytical abilities of the researcher" (p. 59). In analyzing the answers, I found common features but also disagreements in the answers of the interviewees.

In order to keep internal validity (credibility) on a high level in qualitative research, it is necessary to confirm that a theoretical conception of the problem is involved in the chosen research method. Thus, during the analysis I compared theories about the influence of support of L1 and the forcing of L2 on students' academic achievement and emotional condition with the

answers of the interviewees. Through comparison I intended to find if the results of my research supported or opposed the theories described in Chapter 2, “Literature Review.”

Generalization (transferability) is the final step of data analysis. However, in the opinion of many scholars, it is a questionable characteristic in the qualitative method of research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) (as cited in Hoepfl, 1997) stated, “The researcher cannot specify the transferability of findings; he or she can only provide sufficient information that can then be used by the reader to determine whether the findings are applicable to the new situation” (p.59). Nevertheless, some scholars believe in the possibility of generalizing in the qualitative method in education (Niaz, 2007). As Flick (2007a) stated, “Qualitative research is aiming less at a numeric generalization than at theoretical generalization” (p. 42). Thus, in my work, only one claim can be generalized: the theoretical claim that L1 support in an L2 school environment brings success in academic achievement and emotional stability to the LLS. Generalization can be extended to Ukrainian/Russian students for whom the instruction language is not native and which belongs to a different language group than the Eastern Slavic language group.

However, Hoepfl (1997) claimed that “In the naturalistic paradigm, the *transferability* of a working hypothesis to other situations depends on the degree of similarity between the original situation and the situation to which it is transferred.” Thus, the utility of these research findings to inform other situations will depend on the degree of similarity between these research subjects and any other setting or subjects with which these are compared. However, this research did uncover relatively consonant findings that fit a large body of research regarding principles of language development and learning. Kvale (2007) stated, “Analytical generalization involves a reasoned judgment about the extent to which the findings from one study can be used as a guide to what might occur in another situation” (p. 127). When, generalizing results for groups of

students other than the group in this research study, a scholar has to consider the different experiences, the environment of the students, and the language groups to which L1 and L2 belong. These aspects can most likely influence the outcomes.

This chapter focuses on methods and procedures in designing research, and also in collecting and analyzing data. One of the main research norms is to keep it on a high ethical level and to provide valid and reliable information.

Chapter 4: Results

Following the research design, I held interviews among Ukrainian/Russian adopted and nonadopted students who live in the state of Utah. Students' responses provided information to answer the following research questions:

1. How do Ukrainian/Russian students perceive school support for their language development L1 and L2?
2. Is there a relationship between L1 support and students' academic achievement?
3. What are some of the larger, extra-academic social contexts that have influenced respondents' L1 and L2 development and academic achievement?
4. How do family attitudes towards, and level of proficiency in, L1 influence L1, L2, and academic performance? How do adoptive v. natural families differ in this regard?
5. What are the subjects' perceptions of the consequences of the lack of support for their L1?
6. Does ignoring the L1 in public schools for language minorities have consequences on students' lives after school?

The rest of the chapter summarizes the information discovered during the interviews that relates to the research questions.

Ukrainian/Russian Students' Perception of School Support L1 and L2

This research question will give results about how LLS perceive school policies about L1 and L2 situation and different resources of help with languages' development.

Perception of L1 situation in schools for LLS. The perception of the L1 situation for LLS in schools will be introduced here as official school policies towards students' L1 and students' desire to get help from schools.

Schools' L1 policies. Both adopted and nonadopted students claimed that they did not get any kind of help or major support for their native languages in Utah schools.

Among 12 interviewed students only two reported some type of L1 encouragement by schools in Utah. One Utah school tried to help student 2D with L1 by providing a Russian-English dictionary. Teachers in this school also allowed the student to find new study material on the Internet in L1 and study it first in L1 before studying it in English. This assistance was probably due to the insistence of the student's mother, because this student had strong parental support to preserve L1. In another school, the English teacher allowed student 1C to read Harry Potter in student's L1 and in English simultaneously with a student teacher, while holding the class with the rest of students.

Students' desire for schools' help with L1. All adopted students and one nonadopted student (2A) expressed the opinion that it would be helpful for them to have somebody who spoke their L1 in the school—any adult, any student, any worker, maybe not even a teacher, but somebody whom they could approach and talk to when they have problems.

For example, answering the question 'Would it be good to have in school someone who could talk student's L1?' 1B student said "I would go and ask questions [person who speak student's L1] and that would be more comfortable talk to him and plus learn English at the time" (personal communication, June 11, 2010). Student 1C claimed that "so we [student 1C and student's sister also adopted from Ukraine] didn't know any English it was scared for me to go to school" (personal communication, May 27, 2010). This student further explained that fear of school was caused by the situation that nobody in school spoke the student's L1. Student 2A said that if there were a person in school with whom the student could speak L1, the student would feel more confident in school. 2D and 2E did not express desire to have somebody in school

speak L1 because they had this support at home, but expressed the desire that school would provide their L1 as a class.

Some students (who first came to schools outside of Utah and later switched to Utah schools) who got help with L1 have positive reflections on it. Student 1Dⁱⁱⁱ, whose parents got permission from school to hire a tutor for the student during school time who spoke 1D's L1, said "When I was with her [tutor] everything was fine in school" (personal communication, August 12, 2010). Student 2F^{iv} said "there was one guy [student's same age] who spoke Russian and if I needed something, he helped me [not academically]...he helped me a lot with school mechanism, because school in America is very different than in Russia" (personal communication, September 8, 2010).

Overall, students could hardly imagine that L1 support in school could be provided. For example, when I asked student 1F if the school could help to preserve L1, the student said, "yes, but school don't teach Russian" (personal communication, October 8, 2010). Then student paused for a while. The interviewee looked at me as if I know whether the school teaches Russian and the student asked with hope and surprise, "Do they?" As soon as the student asked the question, interviewee answered it without waiting for my answer, "No" (personal communication, October 8, 2010). That 'no' was 100% definitive that the school does not provide Russian and it was a kind of sorrow, because the student wanted to learn it but needed the help of somebody with more authority than the interviewee's sisters who spoke L1 with each other.

Students claimed that the U.S. school did not provide any L1 support for them, although all adopted students and some nonadopted students desired that their school would help them keep their language.

Perception of L2 situation in schools for LLS. The perception of L2 situation for LLS in schools will be introduced here as official school policies and unofficial personal help from teachers, friends, etc.

Schools' L2 (medium of the instruction) policies. School policies of L2 for LLS were mostly introduced through ESL classes and immersion policy.

ESL classes. For both groups of students, adopted and nonadopted, the ESL (English as a second language) class was a rear program.

Among adopted students only two (1B and 1F) out of six were assigned for ESL-pull out class when they came to school in Utah in 3rd grade. The quality of the ESL class students got in elementary school is not known because students barely remembered this class. Only after additional questions did they even recall having such a class. Students reported that as soon as they moved to junior high they did not have ESL classes anymore and nobody checked the level of their English when they entered it. Thus, these students did not stay in ESL classes until they developed the academic level of L2 (CALP). As soon as students attained the conversational level of L2 (BICS) they were not put in an ESL class anymore. Therefore, some students were deprived of support of both L1 and L2.

Instead of ESL classes, one adopted student (1E) got a computer program which taught the student English for one year and the student did it without any adult help while other students studied new material in class. This student is currently in an ESL class in junior high, which the student explained is mostly for Spanish speaking students.

Three adopted students reported that they did not have any help with studying L2. Student 1A said that the teacher just spoke slower to the student or repeated the information.

Situation with ESL classes among nonadopted students was not perfect either. Two nonadopted students (2B and 2F) were placed in an ESL program. 2B claimed that the ESL class was a couple of levels lower than the student's English, so it was boring and not useful. Student 2F was in ESL classes for 4 months and moved to an English honors class in 8th grade. Thus, both students rated ESL classes as not challenging their English acquisition. These students had attained a BICS level and they needed academic help which was not provided.

The rest of the nonadopted students never experienced ESL classes or any other official form of help with their transfer to an L2 environment besides some private help of separate individuals.

From students' reports it could be concluded that the school system was not helpful with the development of the L2 either. Students who had ESL classes did not confirm this class as a significant aid for their L2 development but they rated it as an easy class.

Immersion policy. Immersion policy is one of the ways students mentioned their schools supported L2 development. For example, student 2C stated that administrative officials suggested replacing the desire to speak in the native language with sport games. Every time the student wanted to speak in the native language, the officials suggested the student should go and play sports. 2C claimed that after following this advice the student started forgetting about the desire to speak in native language. The student said,

I had desire to speak my native language, but when we were told to do something else like sports or something that our desire would disappear. They somehow compelled us to lose desire and I have begun to forget about it [desire to speak native language]. (personal communication, May 22, 2010)

The rest of the students (except 1C, 1D, and 2D) confirmed full immersion in the English language in school.

Other sources of help with L2 development in schools for LLS. Some students mentioned other sources of help for their language development than official school policy. These sources include some teachers and classmates in schools who helped them academically and added explanations of the material. Unfortunately, like school policy, these sources could only provide help with L2 (English) development.

Teachers. Some students, both adopted and nonadopted (1A, 1F, 2A, 2B, 2C, 2F), mentioned one or -two teachers who made a difference in their school experience. Among all the subjects they have had in school, students chose as their favorite subjects those where teachers spent additional time with them and explained difficult material again in an easier way and made them feel comfortable in the new environment. These teachers showed interest in students' lives and gave suggestions. As a result, during the interviews students remembered only these teachers and recognized them as an important factor in their adjustment to L2. However, not all students had teachers who helped them. Some students (1E, 2D) had enough courage to approach teachers by themselves and ask them all their questions to clarify the class information.

Therefore, the main influence in helping interviewees to understand the material taught in schools in students' L2 was not a school system or classes but rather some passionate teachers who had the desire and patience to help LLS and took initiative to do so.

Friends and classmates. It is obvious from the interviews that children of the same age in schools played a vital role in students' lives for those who were fortunate to be in a positive school environment.

Some students, both adopted and nonadopted (1A, 1E, 2C, 2E), claimed that the crucial help to adapt to L2 came from classmate-friends. These students were fortunate to find a friend very soon after they came to school. Their classmate-friends understood them better than their teachers. For example, 1E said, “my teacher helped me, it was kind of hard for her, because she doesn’t know any Russian... (but my friend) she kind of went okay with that, she kind of used to it” (personal communication, September 3, 2010).

As shown in this example, for some classmate-friends provided better help than official school programs to learn L2 and adapt to the new situation.

Therefore, partial ESL classes for some LLS, talking slowly, and complete immersion in L2 (English) are official helps provided by the school system for LLS in Utah public schools that cannot be considered high quality techniques for acquiring L2. Responses from students show that some personal interface and additional efforts of some classmates and teachers sometimes made the process of learning L2 more effective than official school policies.

Information derived from interviews with students about policies in Utah schools towards Ukrainian/Russian students indicates that schools did not provide support for the students’ L1 and did not have a complete and meaningful ESL program to help students develop a high level of proficiency in L2. If any help with L1 and L2 was provided, it was on the personal level and through personal initiatives of students and teachers.

The Relationship between L1 Support and Students’ Academic Achievement.

I could not state a relationship between L1 support and student academic achievement if I looked solely at students’ level of L1 and GPA. When I analyzed these two criteria I could not see a direct influence of the absence of L1 on the students’ GPA. However, I noticed that students’ grades in certain subjects are very different from GPA. Therefore it might be

summarized that GPA does not reflect students' L1 and L2 development, comprehensive abilities, and writing and reading skills.

In order to establish connections between level of L1 support and students' academic achievement, this study used not only students' direct answers about their GPA but also analyzed their thoughts about their language development; their success in subjects such as writing, reading, math, history, and science; ACT scores; and continuing education after high school.

Only through the secondary information can I formulate a supposition that there is a relationship between L1 support and academic success in L2. In addition, there are different levels of L1 support and as a result, different consequences.

Thus to answer the question about the relationship between L1 support and academic success, the information about students' L1, L2, grades, and GPA will be introduced. In this case, the L2 level is necessary to know because it is the medium of instruction in Utah schools and any grades received by students also depend on the level of L2 knowledge. Therefore, I introduce how language development influences academic achievement as shown in Figure 1.

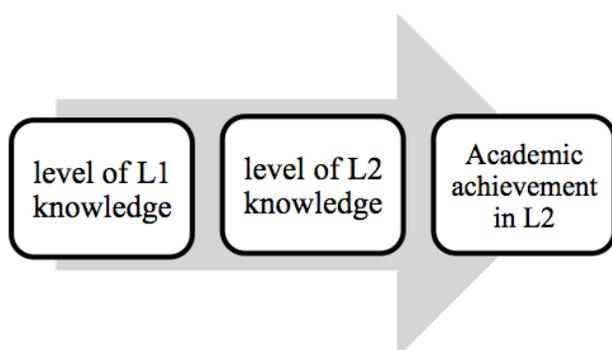


Figure 1. *Relations between L1 level and academic achievement of LLS in L2*

Students' level of L1 skills. All students came to the U.S. speaking either Ukrainian or Russian. Some of them who came from Ukraine spoke both Ukrainian and Russian. During the interviews I looked at how students' native languages skills progressed or regressed during the

time they have been in the U.S. and involved in public education by talking to them in L1 and asking them to evaluate themselves.

The very first analysis of L1 knowledge was in which language the interviewee gave the interview. All interviewees had the option to choose the language of the interview.

Nonadopted students. I found out how well students can manipulate their native languages, what activities they still hold in the native languages, and how they evaluate their level of L1.

Activities nonadopted students do with L1. All nonadopted students chose their native language (L1) as the language of the interview, although the level of their English (L2) was high enough to understand and answer the questions. All nonadopted students (besides 2A) came to the U.S. able to read and write in L1. These students read books at the level of their age and had an academic level of L1 appropriate for their age. While in the US, all nonadopted students speak L1 to their families and friends. They keep reading books and watching movies in L1. Three (2D, 2E, 2F) of the 6 students keep reading textbooks or high academic level books in L1. The other three students read books in their native language from time to time. As a result they evaluated their L1 skills lower and were concerned about the necessity to work to reach levels of higher quality of their L1 skills.

Evaluation of the level of L1 of nonadopted students. From my own perceptions, all nonadopted students were conversationally fluent in L1 and five out of six (student 2A is excluded from the evaluation because of the young age (8 years, 10 months old)) had developed a proficiency level of L1 academically appropriate for their age. Although interviewees used some English words during the interviews (especially in the references about their school lives), as soon as they said it in English they tried to fix it and say it in the native language. This might

exemplify that students' L1 and L2 are developing simultaneously. New information from L1 was added to L2 and vice versa.

Students' self-evaluation of their L1 skills differed from the researcher's evaluation. Interviewees evaluated their L1 skills *lower* than the researcher did; students evaluated themselves strictly. Their evaluation might be due to parental influence or direct influence of friends from native countries, books, or TV shows in L1 when students compare their knowledge of L1 with the L1 found in these other sources. Five students stated that since they do not have a high level of academic support for L1, their language is not highly developed and they graded their L1 skills between 3 and 4 although their speaking level was very high. Only student 2D self-evaluated L1 skills as 5 out of 5. Only this student confirmed frequent writing exercises aside from reading classical literature and text-books in L1. The rest of the nonadopted students claimed a lack of writing practice (not on as regular a basis as 2D) and emphasized it as a factor which decreases their L1 abilities (see Table 2).

Adopted students. As well as about nonadopted students, I found out about activities in the native languages and self-evaluation of L1 of adopted students.

Activities adopted students do with L1. The situation with L1 among adopted children differs greatly from nonadopted children. Five out of six adopted students wanted to conduct the interview in English. Only one student (1D) agreed to give the interview in L1. All adopted students came to the US able to read and write in L1. These students had read books at their age level and had developed a proper academic level of L1 in their home countries.

While in the US, only one student (1D) speaks L1 to the siblings who were adopted by the same family (4 out of 6 adopted interviewees had that opportunity in their families). None of

the adopted students kept reading or writing in L1 while in the U.S. except 1D who keeps writing letters to a grandmother in Russia.

Evaluation of the level of L1 of adopted students. Three students claim that they still can write and read in L1, but they have not done it for the years they have been in the U.S. I did not ask them to write or read for me, but based on absence of practice in writing and reading during 1.5 – 6 years, their inability to talk to me in their L1 (1C, 1E), and grammatically poor speech (1D), I cannot concur with their assessment of a high level of performance of these skills.

Two students (1A and 1B) completely forgot their native languages and could not understand the simplest words like ‘yes’, ‘no’, or ‘hi’. They evaluated their skills as 0 on the scale from 0 to 5 (See Table 2). Their evaluation coincides with my evaluation of their L1 skills.

If adopted students kept some skills of the L1, they evaluated themselves higher than they were able to perform in L1 contrary to the nonadopted students. Their higher self-evaluation of L1 might be connected with the absence of access to L1 resources other than siblings, one or two books, or TV shows adopted parents provided for them. Limitation of access to L1 resources possibly gave them limited understanding of the true range of L1 skills, so they evaluate themselves according to the level and resources of L1 they have access to.

For example, student 1F self-evaluated L1 skills as 2 on the scale from 0 to 5 (See Table 2). However, interviewee could not understand the phrase said in L1: “If I speak Russian to you, will you understand?” Student could say some words in L1 not connected to each other and they were very simple words like ‘no’, ‘good’, ‘yes’. These words were mostly used by the student when people asked 1F to say something in Russian and it is what the student was able to keep from L1.

Student 1C also claimed speaking L1 and self-evaluated L1 skills as 3.5 on the scale from 0 to 5. However, interviewee did not say a word in L1 although I asked and spoke the student's L1. Thus, I cannot confirm 1C skills of L1.

Student 1E self-evaluated L1 skills as 4 on the scale from 0 to 5. To check the accuracy of the student's evaluation, I asked some questions in the interviewee's L1. Although the student understood them (I know that because the student answered the questions appropriately), 1E answered them only in English. Interviewee has not said a single word in L1, despite my encouragement. Thus, because I spoke slowly and used simple words and have not heard the student speaking L1, I cannot confirm student 1E's L1 self-evaluation. It took only 1.5 years for 1E to stop being able to speak L1, although some comprehension skills in L1 are still intact.

Only one student (1D) gave the interview in L1 and this student self-evaluated L1 as 5 on the scale out of 5. However, during the interview the student often switched to the English words the student could not remember or know the equivalent of in L1, contrary to the nonadopted interviewees who also switched to English sometimes during the interview. Inability of the interviewee to find equivalents of the English words in L1 proves that student's L1 did not fully develop and stayed at the same level as at arrival to the U.S. or even lower. Although the interviewee keeps communicating with one of the siblings in L1, the student does not read books (neither classical literature, nor academic text-books) and does not have academic support in L1. As a result, the level of L1 grammar in 1D's speech was low with multiple mistakes in the same sentence.

Therefore, the L1 situation between nonadopted and adopted LLS seems to differ radically. It is manifested in differing levels of access to L1 resources and amounts of practice in L1 between these two groups of students. Thus, nonadopted children try to keep the L1 language

under the influence of needs to talk to family and friends back in the motherland. Even though many of them try to perform all language skills, including reading, writing (not on a regular basis, except 2D), speaking, and listening, students understand that they need to work further to improve those skills.

Contrary to nonadopted students, the predominant majority of the adopted children have tendencies of complete loss or progressive loss of L1 skills because of lack of practice of L1, access to L1 resources, and any adult support. For most of the adopted students it took less than two years to lose reading, writing, and speaking skills in L1. Three students who have some L1 skills do not practice reading or writing in L1 and those skills of L1 that partially remained do not have any academic value.

From the literature review (Rhodes et al., 2005; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984) it is known that development of L1 influences development of L2 and since L2 is the medium of instruction in Utah schools, it consequently influences students' academic achievement. Therefore, it is necessary to find out students' L2 level.

Students' L2 level (the English language). Evaluation of the students' L2 is important to see if they had any initial knowledge of it before they came to the school with L2 as medium of instruction and how L2 progressed or did not progress during the years of studying.

The level of L2 before arriving in the U.S. The level of English of adopted and nonadopted Ukrainian/Russian students at the time they arrived to the U.S. was approximately the same. They went through public education in Ukraine/Russia and had English classes at schools that gave them knowledge of some topical vocabulary and grammar construction of sentences. Students 1B, 1F, and 2A did not have English classes because they did not reach the age of studying a second language in the public education in Ukraine/Russia, so they had no

previous knowledge of English. Among the rest of the students, 2B had reported high level of English (self-evaluation of 4 out of 5) at the time of arriving, while others reported struggling quite a bit.

Evaluation of nonadopted students' L2 level after living in the U.S. and attending school. Despite years spent in the U.S. (1.5 to 11 years), students still use dictionaries to see the meanings of the unfamiliar words they find when they read books in English. Some of them who have a lower level of L2 keep using English-Russian dictionaries; some of them with higher level of L2 are using English-English dictionaries. Students evaluated their English level skills mostly between 3 and 4 on the scale from 0 to 5 (See Table 2). However, student 2F claimed no difference in English language skills compared to the people of the same age (23 years old).

The common frame of mind of nonadopted students was that there is still room for progress and development in their L2 by expanding vocabulary and improving L2 language skills through thoughtful study.

Evaluation of adopted students' L2 level after living in the U.S. and attending school. After being in the U.S. a certain period of time (between 1.5 and 11 years) they as well as nonadopted kids admit that they do not know “some” words when they read books, but contrary to nonadopted students only students 1F and 1B periodically check the meaning of the unknown words with a dictionary if “that is the bigger word I use the dictionary” while other students just skip those words or ask native English speakers of the same age (friends or siblings) (personal communication, June 11, 2010). The sources of information about the meanings of words should be reliable and that is impossible to claim if the sources are just peers of the same age, even if they are native English speakers. It is plausible that if such a native speaker is not around then a language learning student just skips the word as earlier reported. This approach to

language study, constantly skipping unfamiliar words might lead to freezing the process of the language development.

None of the adopted students evaluated their English language skills less than 4 out of 5. Students were persistent on the high evaluation of their English (L2) skills. For example, student 1B insisted on a score of 5 out of 5 for English skills. Only after some follow up questions, the student mentioned that punctuation in grammar and using new words in oral communication require more attention and for these reasons, the student evaluated these two sections of the English language knowledge as 4 out of 5. 1C self-evaluated L2 as 4 of 5, realizing their limitations in understanding “bigger words” in listening and reading. However, students 1A, 1D, 1E, and 1F did not report differences in the evaluation of reading, writing, speaking, and listening in L2.

Even though some adopted students noticed some missing knowledge of L2, overall they were satisfied with their level of L2 (English) knowledge as far as people understand them and they understand people. Thus, 1F student stated

sometimes I don't understand everything 100% but I don't feel like I'm behind everybody else. I feel like there's at least a couple of kids that don't understand it like me so I don't feel like I'm you know behind. (Personal communication, October 8, 2010)

Student 1B claimed:

1B: reading 5, I read a lot and good at it

Researcher: so you give yourself 5 as your English teacher, the same level as he or she, right?

1B: yea, writing like a 4 just... cause I don't my grammar, the punctuation stuff, that is my problem I have good sentence structure and stuff

Researcher: What about listening? Do you understand everything what she says?

1B: mg, I am good at it, I understand most stuff she is talking about. (personal communication, June 11, 2010)

And in talking to Student 1E about English skills, I learned that this student understands most of what the teacher says without needing to use a dictionary (Personal communication, September 3, 2010).

Only through following up with questions that were formed differently than the direct questions, adopted students admitted their lack of abilities to fully comprehend or write in English, which will be shown in the academic achievement section.

The common frame of mind of adopted students contrary to nonadopted students was that they know English very well and they were mostly satisfied with their English language skills.

Self-evaluation of students' language knowledge of both L1 and L2. To see easily students' self-evaluated levels of both L1 and L2 I tabulated data in Table 2 (see page 98).

Table 2

*Self-evaluation of the Language Skills by Adopted and Nonadopted Ukrainian/Russian**Interviewees*

Adopted students	Self-evaluation: Level of English	Self-evaluation: Level of L1 (Ukrainian/Russian)	Nonadopted students	Self-evaluation: Level of English	Self-evaluation: Level of L1 (Ukrainian/Russian)
1A	4.5	0	2A	Equal to native-speaking peers (8.5 years old)	3
1B	4.8	0	2B	4	3
1C	4	3.5	2C	4	3
1D	5	5	2D	3	5
1E	4 or 5	4	2E	3.5 – 4	4
1F	Equal to native-speaking peers (21years old)	2	2F	Equal to native-speaking peers (23 years old)	4

Table 2 shows that nonadopted students, generally as a group, were stricter with themselves in L1 evaluation and evaluated their English skills lower than adopted students, although their level of L1 stayed higher than adopted students' L1. In addition, students who keep developing L1 academically had tendencies to rate their L2 level lower than students who keep L1 only on the conversational level (1C, 1D, 1E students as they claimed so) and vice versa. This process might take place because nonadopted students who kept their academic L1 skills required a higher level of L2 development from themselves than adopted students who did not keep L1. This supports theories of scholars (Collier & Thomas, 2004; Cummins, 1989; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984) introduced in the literature review that level of the development of L1 influences the level of L2 development.

Even though adopted students reported a high level of L2 proficiency, it would be not accurate to claim an academic level of the language. Thus, Cummins (1989) stated that the academic level of language is determined through abilities to read, write, and be able to use these skills in content areas such as science, social studies, etc. and not just speaking skills. Therefore, I show how LLS could apply their L2 during the learning process in Utah schools in the following section.

Students' academic achievement. All grades, test scores, and GPAs used in this study were self-reported by students and reflect how they see themselves in terms of academic achievement. Self-reported data might not show real grades, but shows how students reflect on themselves in the school environment and on success. This becomes a great indicator to recognize if LLS are attentive, satisfied, or indifferent about their academic achievement. Students' attitude towards their academic success plays one of the most important roles in motivation to reach high achievement. I gathered together data of students' grades and GPAs from their native countries and from the U.S. in Table 3 (see page 100).

Data in Table 3 shows that tendencies in academic achievement for adopted and nonadopted students (students who do not have L1 support and who do have L1 support) are the same. Students (except 2B) have close to or similar GPA or grades as they had in their native countries. Thus, judging from obtained information it is possible to claim that there is no correlation between L1 support and academic achievement. However, looking at academic achievement by subjects through students' reports, the obtained results differ from the data represented in GPA. The following examples support this claim.

Table 3

Self-report of Academic Achievement by Adopted and Nonadopted Students

Adopted students	GPA in Ukrainian/Russia schools	GPA in schools of the U.S.	Nonadopted students	GPA in Ukrainian/Russia schools	GPA in schools of the U.S.
1A	C student	B- (some As, Cs, math is D)	2A	Not applicable kindergarten	Not applicable elementary school
1B	A, B student	3.9	2B	A, B student	C student
1C	A, B student with D in math	3.76 with D in math	2C	A, B student	3.5
1D	C student	C student	2D	B student	B student with C in Geometry
1E	A, B student with C in math	A, B student with C in History	2E	B,C student	3.6 (ACT 13)
1F	Felt was good student	3.3, English –D, F.	2F	A	3.7 (ACT 32-33)

Academic problems of the students in schools in the U.S. The students who gave general GPA results also mentioned specific academic struggles they faced in schools in the U.S. Analyses of the specific cases of the students by subjects and not GPA give clearer picture of their real academic situation.

Adopted students. Although all adopted students (excluding 1D) generally have good grades and GPA in the U.S. schools, they always have a subject or a group of subjects which students reported they struggle with. Although student 1B did not mention any grades, the interviewee reported having a difficult time with writing and math. Students 1A, 1C, and 1D reported struggling with math, illustrated in D and F grades; 1E was struggling with history, getting C grades. Student 1F had academic problems with English course, got Ds and Fs in junior

high, got a very low score (student refused to say specific score) on the ACT and struggled with English in college.

Adopted student 1D admitted having low academic achievement. Student claimed that it was difficult to study in L1 in the native country and became impossible to do so in L2 in the U.S. The student got higher grades (some As and Bs) when the school let the family hire a Russian-speaking tutor for the interviewee and adopted a special program for the student. However, 1D moved to a different area right before the last year of high school and was scared to return to the conditions in school without the aid of the tutor, so 1D dropped out of school. L1 support in school was vital for 1D student's academic success. Missing the opportunity to get L1 support in Utah schools resulted in the student dropping out of the educational process.

Nonadopted students. Contrary to adopted students, among nonadopted students only 2D emphasized struggling with certain subjects: geometry and typing. It is important to notice that the student did not study either of these subjects in the native country. The rest of the students did not report struggling with any particular subject, but 2B reported overall decreases in grades from A or B-level in the native country to C level in the U.S. It is important to notice that this student was keeping L1 only to communicate with parents, rarely did any reading, and has not done writing in L1, although speaking, listening, and comprehension level is high. Despite parental support, the student started to experience a deficiency in the academic level of L1. In addition, L2 academic level was also not developing, according to the student's own report about ESL classes.

Contrary to student 2B, student 2F continued to develop academic reading, writing skills, speaking, and listening skills in L1 and as a result the student was already in an English honors class in 8th grade (in half a year, after arriving to the U.S.).

Influence of knowledge in L1 on GPA in schools with L2 as medium of instruction.

While interviewing students, I found a very important fact on how students were able to study in L2 at the beginning of their studies in the U.S. All students, adopted and nonadopted, emphasized that the first year in school they were able to study only because in the U.S. schools they studied the same material they had already learned in Ukraine/Russia. This fact supports the argument made by Cummins (1999), Lindholm (1992), Padilla & Sung (1992), Skutnabb-Kangas (1979), and Simões (1992) that academic knowledge, skills, and linguistic relations are transferable from L1 to L2. It is a factor that more of these aspects are obtained in L1 making it easier to learn and comprehend them in L2. All students recognized that the math and science in the U.S. schools, at the time they started studying, were the same material which they had already learned in previous years in Ukraine/Russia. If they could utilize L2 by the time they reached new material, then they were on the high academic level; if not, they fell behind like students 1A, 1B, 1C, and 1D reported.

The importance of obtaining knowledge in L1 is demonstrated in that subjects which had never been studied in the native language brought problems to the students, even if the students seemed to be proficient in L2. For example, student 1E earned an 'A' in History of Ukraine studying it in L1 in Ukraine and a 'C' in history of America studying it in L2 in the U.S. The student claimed that the newness of the material and lack of the L2 knowledge (1.5 years in the U.S.) made the assignment impossible. Student 1E had never studied the field of American History in L1. In addition, the level of the student's L2 did not grow to the necessary level to comprehend the material the student had never heard before in the native language. Therefore, the student did not have a foundation of the specific knowledge (American history) in L1 and as

a result, could not obtain new knowledge about American history in L2, despite developing a basic speaking level of L2.

Student 1B, for example, did not know why math and writing are so hard after so many years in U.S. schools, because the student claimed it was easy at the time the student first arrived. It seems to me that at the beginning of studying in the U.S., the student used all of the knowledge obtained in Ukraine in math. However, when the new material in math class was taught, the student did not understand it because of the lack of knowledge of the new material in L1 and inadequate L2 knowledge. The student was not able to catch up even after seven years of being enrolled in school in the U.S. As a result of a lack of L2 knowledge and the absence of study material in L1, as the student stated, 1B copied everything from other students for the first three years because of the lack of understanding. Consequently, the student did not develop skills in writing, which caused problems in writing classes in further education. This situation supports Thomas' and Collier's (1997) (as cited in Rhodes et al., 2005) argument which was given in Chapter 2 that without L1 academic support for English Language Learners it is impossible to close the achievement gap.

The example of student 2F shows that it is possible to close the achievement gap. This student has kept a high academic level of L1 since the arriving in the U.S. (11 years ago) and received the highest ACT score among all interviewees who took the ACT test.

It is important to accentuate the difference in attitude towards problematic subjects between students who do not keep L1 and those who do keep L1 on the academic level. As an example, student 2D had problems with geometry and stated that these problems arose because the subject matter was not learned in the native language first. As soon as it is learned in L1,

geometry will not be that problematic in L2. Students who did not keep L1 considered their problems with certain subjects a result of a lack of L2 knowledge or their low ability to study.

The relationship between L1 support and students' academic achievement. There seems to be a positive correlation between L1 support and academic achievement. First, looking at the surface, the GPA of both groups of students – adopted (with no L1 support) and nonadopted (with L1 support) – is on the same high grade level. However, under careful observation and after analyzing students' answers it becomes clear that adopted students (without L1 support) with high average grades admitted that they struggle academically in certain subjects, mostly English and mathematics. Nonadopted students (with L1 support) did not report struggling with particular subjects, except 2D, who emphasized not knowing the subject in L1 as the main reason for struggling.

As confirmation of 2D's opinion, the students overall admitted that subjects that were learned in their native language were much easier to understand in L2 than those which were not explored in L1, even after students developed a high level of communicative skills in L2.

In addition, students who did not maintain the academic level of L1 earned low scores on the ACT test^v, which causes them trouble after graduating high school. Only students who kept their academic L1 progress through the post-school period well. Students who did not have L1 support and passed high school age were not currently enrolled in college studies. This may be seen as a sign of the possible relationship between L1 development and academic success.

Student 1D, who did not graduate from high school, claimed that the fear of not having L1 support during the last year of school caused the student to get intimidated and drop out of school. Two other students (1C and 1F) explained that they are not enrolled in college studies because they had to earn money for their studies, although nonadopted students had to work and

study at the same time in order to be able to pay tuition. Through the interviews with 1C and 1F it seemed that it was difficult for them to study in L2 and keep up on the high academic level, so the “necessity” to earn money for tuition could be an excuse for delaying college study.

Another thing to consider is that, if academic success is measured not only in grades and test scores but also as knowledge which students can accumulate and reproduce in the appropriate time, place, and life circumstance and the value of the information students have, then students who kept both languages are definitely more successful academically. They read, write, speak, and comprehend in both languages, which expands their knowledge beyond the English-speaking world and makes them more skillful and knowledgeable in their fields than monolingual students.

Based on these facts, I observe tendencies of positive correlation for Ukrainian/Russian students between support and development of L1 and development of L2. L2 is directly connected to academic achievement, because study for LLS at the U.S. schools was held in L2. As a result, this study shows a positive correlation between support and development of L1 and academic achievement in L2.

The Effects of Extra-academic Contexts on Language and Academic Functioning

In this section, I will analyze how students’ emotional conditions influence L1 development and academic achievement. Since I could not ask students directly about their emotional conditions, because this topic is very sensitive and could cause some emotional and psychological complications, I analyzed the emotional conditions of the interviewed students through their answers, remarks, and stories about themselves. The following section describes the emotional aspects of LLS’ lives in such spheres as language environment, language choice and importance in students’ lives, and their self-identity.

Language environment for the students' first arrival in the U.S. Since the study takes place in the United States, L2 means the dominant instruction language of the schools is English. Both adopted and nonadopted students noted that the first time they came to the U.S. people did not understand them and they did not understand people. Even those students who knew some English words, phrases, and grammar from their previous school experience in their native countries struggled to understand people or to talk to them. The hardest part for them seemed to be communicating with adults. Students stated that if adults did not understand what students were saying, they had such an expression on their faces that kids were scared to repeat it. Adults in schools and in the communities were not culturally accepting or patient with the new arrivals' accents and language difficulties. Under the fear of saying something wrong or not being understood, most of the students just kept silent at school initially. The period of silence varied from a couple months to a year and the younger the student was, the longer the period of silence was. Here are some examples from students' lives expressed in their own words.

From the conversation with student 2A.

Researcher: Did you understand everything what they said?

2A: (shaking head no)

Researcher: No? So, can you tell me what you felt about that? How did you feel?

2A: Shy. (Personal communication, May 7, 2010)

Student 1B: "I went to school that's when I got shy, because they spoke English and I didn't understand it and they couldn't understand me, so I was very quiet" (personal communication, June 11, 2010).

From the conversation with student 1C, student said:

People scared me. So we [student and a sibling] didn't know any English. It was scared for me to go to school and everyone asked me questions and I didn't know how to answer them because I didn't know any English. (Personal communication, May 27, 2010)

Only native speaking children their age (if they were friendly) or younger could understand them and tell adults what was happening. Children (friendly ones) acted more flexibly to the circumstances of the foreign children and were willing to understand them.

Therefore, when students first arrived in the U.S. they felt shy and scared and kept silent even if they knew some L2. Only those students who were fortunate to find good friends of their own age or younger adjusted to the situation and had a short period of silence and fear to speak in L2.

Factors influencing students' languages choice and emotional conditions. Analyzing students' answers I paid attention to students' backgrounds, which often causes some emotional tendencies. It is vital to note some circumstances in lives of the adopted students before I start analyzing their emotional conditions.

From the researcher's experience as a Ukrainian and person who spent 26 years in Soviet and post-Soviet Ukraine and Russia I know that many adopted students came from a low socio-economic level. Coming to a country with a higher socio-economic level, the students like the new way of life and new richer standards of living are associated with a new language. The native language for these children is associated with old, bad, and poor lives and they intuitively refuse that old, native language. When adopted children come to the US, some of them get new American names and their old names are neglected and refused, which subtextually becomes the first and important warning to forget everything old.

Fear of not being able to learn L2. When adopted children arrived in the U.S they found themselves in the situation where L1 was not helpful for surviving in an L2 environment. Contrary to nonadopted children, adopted students had to choose between the two languages: which one to keep and which to drop. All adopted students got the idea that if they will not stop speaking their native language they will not be able to progress, study well, and live in the U.S. Four adoptees insisted that they themselves wanted to stop speaking their native language and their parents or school did not influence this decision. For example, students 1A, 1B, 1E, and 1F claimed that by their own choice they had to stop speaking L1 so that school would become easier.

Students got the idea that they cannot keep two languages. Student 1F explained how the choice was made:

I wanted to know both. But, you know, for me for me I think at that time, it would- it would have been easier if I just what is it called? I had to kind of- because I was still learning that learn stage so I had to make a choice. And I felt like ... I either could learn English or Russian and that time, I think it- it was probably better for me to learn English. (Personal communication, October 8, 2010)

Other students like 1F did not express their feelings and thoughts that directly, but throughout the interviews there was an idea that the students would like to speak their L1 but because they did not see how their L1 was going to help them adjust to the new situation, they decided to drop it.

It is important to note that students, who claimed stopping speaking native languages as their own decision and not being influenced by outside factors, were at the age between 9 and 11 years old when they made that decision. In contrast to them, students (1C and 1D) who arrived to

the U.S. at the age of 15 years old reported a different situation. These students were already at the age when they could recognize the forceful compulsion of L2 learning and forbidding L1. They tried to resist the circumstances compelling them to refuse their native language but failed to fight the system. 1C student was very upset about having to choose which language to keep. Student 1C said, “Because it is my language... I grew up, cause I learned all that stuff, I wasn’t happy with that. My parents what they say told us what to do, like speaking only English and I didn’t want it to” (personal communication, May 27, 2010).

It is important to note that this student’s mother is a school teacher. The students’ parents and school were united in the idea to make students speak English only. The parent brought into the family the idea she got from the education system that the student must drop the native language in order to learn a second language.

From these examples it appears that adopted students who came to the U.S under age 15 years old claimed it was their own choice to drop L1, although it most likely happened under the pressure of the circumstances. This presumption is based on reports obtained through the interviews of adopted students who came to the U.S. at the age of 15 years old and their perception of the factors that influenced the students’ choice of language.

Friends and school environment. The school environment also influenced the emotional conditions that led these Language Learning Students to make life decisions on the use of a certain language. Although there is no consistency in interviewees’ answers about their school environments and other students’ attitudes towards them as LLS, there are significant observed tendencies. For example, some interviewees (1C, 1D, 1F, 2A, 2B, 2C) emphasized that there were students in school who mocked them. It was so hard for some of them that they did not want to go to school (1C, 1D). 2A claimed that the teasing led to crying, being shy, and not

talking to anybody. Bad attitudes were expressed to students 1C and 1F in laughing at their accents and making some comments like “Russians came to blow up our country” (1C, personal communication, May 27, 2010), “We will not mess up with you because you will bring Russian mafia” (1F, personal communication, October 8, 2010). Other students (1F, 2B, 2C) tried not to pay attention to mocking.

However, some nonadopted students (2C, 2D, 2E) really liked people in their schools, the schools themselves and the education system in Utah generally. One of the reasons they liked U.S. schools was that some people showed interest towards their cultures and languages in spite of others who laughed at them. Interviewees claimed this positive experience at school happened due to the personal efforts of some students and teachers and was not caused by school policies. It is important to note that these students who had people at school interested in their languages and cultures could keep L1 despite the academic and social difficulties they faced during the learning process.

Unfortunately, an unhealthy school environment became a factor that influenced 5 adopted interviewees’ attitude towards rejecting their native language and 1 adopted student rejecting school (which is to say dropping out) instead of rejecting the native language. One more factor influenced children’s choice of language. All (6) adopted students mentioned that they did not have friends until they started speaking the English language and refused L1. For example, student 1B said that students did not really talk to the interviewee until one year passed, when the student started becoming fluent in English and could respond. During that time, the student felt alone and kept silent. The same situation happened to students 1A, 1C, 1D, and 1F. In answer to my question “When did you get friends in school?” student 1C answered, “When we started to understand in English” (personal communication, May 27, 2010). These

adopted students wanted to be accepted by the society and be like everybody else. 1A stated, “I wanted to learn English, because everybody speaks it. I didn’t have needs to speak Ukrainian” (personal communication, May 7, 2010). 1E stopped speaking L1 in order to “not be weird” (personal communication, September 3, 2010). This student explained that they stopped speaking L1 because “I just wanted to speak just one language. Be like everyone” (personal communication, September 3, 2010). Thus students became concerned about their immediate need to speak to other people at school and lacking any encouragement about their L1 either at school or home, came to the conclusion that the best way was to drop L1 and speak only L2.

From this situation with adopted students, it is clear that they did not have L1 support and were put in the situation to make an emotional choice between L1 and L2, where most of them rejected their native language. From the reactions and answers of the students it is obvious that this situation influenced their emotional conditions (such as to be shy in class (1A, 1E), keep silent (1B, 1F), or be scared to come to school (1C, 1D)). As a result, it influences their academic success, because when students are scared, shy, or keep silent and do not ask a teacher when material is not clear, their academic achievement decreases. As I mentioned before, all these students struggled, mostly with English writing and math. Contrary to the adopted students, none of the nonadopted students had to choose between two languages and did not have problems connected to lack of L2 knowledge in finding friends at the early stages of their schooling in the U.S.

Students’ self-position in the society and self-identity. The persistent emphasis throughout the interviews of adopted students on the fact that they are like other American students made me curious about students’ self-esteem and how they see their position in the new

society. Self-esteem, cultural self-identity, and position in society influence the choice of the language people speak, know and develop or want to learn.

I asked students if they considered themselves different (worse or better) from other children. I could feel tension from adopted students when they rapidly answered that they are the same as anybody else. Students did not openly express their feelings about being at a disadvantage, but silence, hesitation, and some tones of voice brought doubts in my mind about their feeling equal with other native English speaking children. Even though student 1F persisted as other adopted students on similarity with other native English speaking children, at one point in the interview the student said, “I am special you know because I'm Russian” (personal communication, October 8, 2010). The student said this with a negative intonation in the voice, with context implying the meaning of ‘disabled’ in the word ‘special.’

In response to my question “Did student feel in school as equal to other students or different or everything was normal?” 1C answered that “Not everything was normal. Sometimes children laughed at us (1C and a blood sibling), because we were from Russia. They were scared of us. It was very difficult” (personal communication, May 27, 2010).

Nonadopted students very calmly reacted to the question and admitted that they are different and that they have an accent. They stated that they not worse or better, just different. Contrary to adopted students, they have never expressed any embarrassment because of their Ukrainian/ Russian accent when they speak English; they sounded confident.

Interestingly, on the question about nationality, adopted kids roughly and firmly stated that they are Americans. Student 1E claimed to be American after 1.5 years being in the U.S. 1A also felt, “Mostly American ...” (personal communication, May 7, 2010). 1F stated the same: “I felt like well like I felt like as soon as I came here I felt like I was an American now” (personal

communication, October 8, 2010). 1F wanted to feel American because from a previous comment it is clear that the student felt that to be Russian means to be disadvantaged. At the same time, on the question of whether they miss something about Ukrainian/Russian culture, these adopted students answered that they miss food, friends, relatives, and nature.

The question about nationality was not significant in the lives of the nonadopted students. They reported themselves as Ukrainian/Russians who live in America. They accepted differences in the cultures and languages and embraced parts they like from both cultures. Students claimed that even though they live in the U.S. they cannot deny being Ukrainian/Russian and cannot refuse their Ukrainian/Russian heritage. Aside from preserving their language, all nonadopted students kept traditions in holidays and the traditional food they consume.

Thus adopted students strive to be recognized as Americans in order to be accepted in the new society. Under this influence they wanted to drop L1 and speak only L2, while nonadopted students positioned themselves as Ukrainian/Russians in American culture, which encouraged them to keep their L1 and develop L2 in order to be successful in American society.

Emotional dependency on L1 support. None of the six nonadopted students expressed any regrets of knowing their native language. They enjoyed speaking it and were happy that they could give the interview in their native language. When I asked student 2D, “Are you proud that you speak Russian?” the student answered, “Yes, because I think that Russian is harder than English and I am lucky to be born in Russia because it was easier for me to learn this language” (personal communication, August, 12, 2010).

To get a better understanding of the emotional dependence on L1 and the influence of the absence of L1 on the emotional conditions of the students, I asked them about their desire to have somebody speaking their L1 in school to them (this is an important note: not even teaching,

just speaking to them). Among nonadopted students only the youngest (2A) expressed the importance of someone speaking Russian in school. 2A claimed that speaking Russian to any adult in school and being able to take books from library in Russian made student feel special. The same tendency 2A had was found among all adopted children. For example, 1A said, “I would love somebody in school to speak Ukrainian. Fun and cool” (personal communication, May 7, 2010). Student 1D’s family was able to persuade school administration to let them to hire a Russian tutor for the student, who helped during the school time while living in Washington State. 1D claimed that this tutor was a refuge for the student when misunderstandings and academic and emotional problems had arisen. 1D shared “It was easier [academically and emotionally] for me to be with her...We loved her a lot. She understood us always...We talked to her openly and about everything. Besides her we did not have anybody in school” (personal communication, August 12, 2010). When the student moved to Utah, the absence of such a tutor in a new place became one of the main reasons for dropping out of school.

In addition, all adopted students except 1B expressed a desire to learn their L1 if the opportunity arose. Normally schools offer several languages to study in addition to the language of instruction. However, Ukrainian/Russian adopted students who lost their L1 skills preferred to study their L1 over the languages proposed by schools. For example, student 1A explained that school offers “only Spanish and German. I don’t like it. But Ukrainian I would study it” (personal communication, May 7, 2010). Student 1B also wanted to relearn L1, but the interviewee claimed that L1 is too hard to relearn without additional help. Even though the student tried to relearn it through some Russian programs downloaded on the computer, 1B gave up under the difficulties of learning a “new” language without additional professional help and support.

All students including 1B but excluding 1D (who speaks L1) expressed sorrow for the loss of the native language. For example, on the question “What level of the Russian does student have?” 1B said: “Zero.” The researcher asked: “Don’t you remember a word?” to which the student answered “I wish I could” (personal communication, June 11, 2010).

Therefore, through interview analysis it appeared that keeping, developing, and supporting L1 brings students confidence, strength, and knowledge of their roots. LLS who have developed L1 do not fear making mistakes in L2 or do not need to speak only English or even good English to have friends among peers. Students who did not have L1 support lacked confidence, were confused about their cultural identity, and were unsure of their positions in society. Their desire to become like everybody in order to be accepted by others led them to artificial renunciation of the culture and language and even suppressed the desire to speak L1. These conditions made them less confident in the school environment and uncompetitive in class work. They were more vulnerable and sensitive to other people’s comments about their accents, cultures, and home countries. As a result students have low self-esteem, which impacted their motivation toward high academic achievement and increased their disbelief in possible academic success in school.

The Influence of Family Attitudes on Development of L1

Since the school does not provide any help with students’ L1, it is necessary to know to what extent families helped with the development of students’ L1.

From the analysis of the interviewees’ answers it became clear that families have a strong influence on children’s language development, specifically L1. Parents’ attitude towards L1 influences children’s desire to keep and study L1 or discourages them to do so. It is important to note that siblings do not influence L1 development as much as parents do. Four out of six

adopted interviewees had blood siblings adopted with them who knew and spoke interviewees' L1, but they didn't help to keep L1 or keep it on the academic level. Only 1D used the opportunity to talk to them because parents encouraged this.

The two groups of students (adopted and nonadopted) are very different regarding their L1 support from families.

All nonadopted children keep the language in their families in the forms of communication with parents and siblings, reading books, watching movies, writing letters to relatives and friends in their original countries, etc. Parents of 2D, 2E, and 2F were consistently persistent about keeping the academic level of the students' L1, making their children read classical literature in L1 and write in L1.

Among adopted students, only 1D mentioned active support of the native language by the family. They hired a Russian tutor and supported the children speaking Russian. The family also arranged for the native English speaking children to learn Russian from the adopted Russian children and vice versa.

However, not all parents who kept L1 were able to keep students' L1 on the academic level. In order to keep the language on a high academic level, parents have to require students to constantly keep up with academic level reading, writing, speaking, and listening practices of L1. This assignment can be too complicated for some parents, especially if they have never been trained how to direct children in such studies without school help.

Among adopted children only 1C mentioned open antagonism of the parents against the language. Student 1C reported: "we don't speak usually, because my mom and my dad do not want us, cause they think we are arguing, cause it sounds like we are arguing, but we not, so they don't want us to speak it" (personal communication, May 27, 2010).

Other adopted students also reported such tendencies in families, when parents characterized students' L1 as arguing or strange and funny-sounding language. Although the rest of the students did not mention open antagonism of the parents against students' L1, they either did not have active support of L1 from their families or the families showed an unfriendly attitude towards students' L1, mostly because parents did not understand the language the adopted children spoke.

Throughout the interviews, adopted children reported that parents encouraged them to speak English only when they had just arrived in the U.S. However, after years of them speaking only in English, these parents expressed their surprise that children had forgotten L1 and suggest that they restore their knowledge of L1. In such situations, children feel guilty twice: first, at the time of arrival to the US, when they spoke their L1 and the second, after years spent in the U.S. and they are not able to speak L1 anymore. However, the requirements from parents to restore L1 only consists of a mention it that it would be good and do not actually help the students to restore the language.

Some families of the adopted students (1A, 1B, 1E) limited their attempts to support children's L1 development by buying one or two books in L1 for them. Student 1B's parents tried to find somebody who speaks Russian, but all those people were adults and as the student claimed, it was awkward and embarrassing to talk to them. The student claimed feeling more comfortable if there were children the same age who spoke interviewee's L1.

L1 support does not simply mean that parents expressed their desire that the student should keep L1. Those parents who sometimes mentioned L1 and did not actively help children to keep it did not have any effect on the children's L1 development. Having a couple books and meeting once a year with somebody who speaks child's L1 is not enough for active development

of L1. L1 support happens through acts like bringing materials for language study, showing an interest in the student's development, controlling children's performance, and encouraging them in acquiring language knowledge. Parents who actively supported children's academic level of L1 were able to help them keep L1 at a high level.

Therefore, based on the reports of the students about the language situation in their families, I can claim that the position of the family is influential on the child's decisions about language choice and study. However, family can rarely provide language support on an academic level, even if they use L1 in their daily conversations. Unless parents are specifically concerned with their child's academic level in L1 (2D, 2E, 2F), the child cannot get it without additional school (professional) help.

In the cases of the interviewed students, families had tendencies to play an important role in the students' keeping or rejecting L1. The school environment and policies either deepened those intentions or neglected them. Thus, school also played a role to enhance the situation with support or lack of support of L1 through its environment, policies, and interaction with parents.

The Subjects' Perceptions of the Consequences of the Lack of Support

Students whose life circumstances put them in an L2 environment did not get support from school to develop and keep their native languages. Unfortunately, schools offered these Ukrainian/Russian students classes to study Spanish, French, or German instead. Students reported that studying these languages (besides studying English as a second language at the same time) was not successful. Students added that native languages are their roots, and it is not logical for them to study Spanish, French, or German, when they once knew and have since lost their native language. All adopted students and three of the nonadopted students expressed the desire that school would provide them native language help. To have L1 as a class seemed to

them an unrealistic dream, so students were even happy about the idea to have somebody at school to talk with in L1. They were determined that if there is an opportunity to study an additional language, it should be the students' native language.

All students – adopted and nonadopted – who were past high school age added that the knowledge of L1 would give them more career opportunities. Students who did not have L1 support reported that after losing their L1 skills and facing adult life after high school, they realized that they lost opportunities for valuable positions in the labor force.

For example, one adopted student (1F) who experienced one semester in college radically changed positions about the knowledge of L1 due to information the students got in college about the importance of knowing additional languages. The interviewee earlier reported on the necessity to choose between languages and English was chosen, and now the student regrets not keeping both languages. Student 1F very precisely expressed a desire to study L1 for better career opportunities. The student said,

I just want to like understand it more because I feel like as a Russian. I mean I feel like as a like born Russian, you know, I should, I want to know more languages because you know. Especially today, you know, people are willing to pay you more money in the careers if you know more languages, so I want to know Russian.

(personal communication, October 8, 2010)

It is important to note that understanding the full meaning of the loss of the native language came to the interviewee during a semester of college, studying business. The student was taught in college about the importance of knowing different languages and realized that knowledge of several languages is valuable in the labor market and increases the possibility of receiving a better position. However, the student understands that this chance is lost and now

studying the student's own native language looks more like a wish than reality. In the conversation about L1, student used words like 'if', 'might', 'would', 'could', and 'wish'. Sadly, there are doubts of the student's ability to learn L1 to the level of fluency.

Students who are currently enrolled in the K-12 school system also can find ways to use L1 skills. Student 1E wanted to restore L1 in order to be useful in society and translate for people who come to the U.S. from Russian speaking areas and cannot speak English. However, the student cannot restore the language without the assistance of parents and school. At the current moment, the student already does not speak L1, but still understands it and without major help cannot restore it.

The Consequences of Ignoring of L1 on Students' Lives after School

Consequences for ignoring L1 in schools are broad. They have social, emotional, and economic dimensions. Students who neglect their native languages and cultural identities have tendencies toward low self-esteem, low confidence, and fear that their "undesirable" origin might harm their social status in the community in the future. Under the influence of the negative comments and reaction of others, these students refused their native languages, but even after 5 to 11 years being in the U.S. they know and remember that they are different. However, they are different in a negative way. People still notice their not-American accents and point it out. In addition, their L2 is not appropriate to their age academic level and, unfortunately, they do not notice it. Students do not know their L1 anymore. If there are some remainders of L1, it remains on the very low level; most of the time it is not even on a speaking level.

Students with L1 support are confident in their abilities to learn, to speak, and to get jobs. They know and note the weak aspects of their L2 and work on it constantly. They are proud to speak their native language as they work on development of L2.

As it was mentioned earlier in the study, L1 support influences both academic achievement and emotional conditions of the students. Another sphere that the absence of L1 support might influence is the lives of the students after high school, which consist of continuing education after high school and opportunities in the labor market.

Plans for life after school of the students who are currently enrolled in K-12. All adopted and nonadopted students of the age of K-12 declared their plans to go to college after high school graduation, although they have different desires and interests: medicine, arts, design, acting, etc. One nonadopted child already plans to not only get a bachelor's degree but continue schooling to earn a master's degree. Thus, adopted (without L1 support) and nonadopted students (with L1 support) have similar desires and aspirations about plans after high school graduation.

Life after high school graduation. The situation of the students who passed high school age radically differs from their plans. Table 4 shows data about adopted and nonadopted students' situation after high school.

Nonadopted students. Two nonadopted students (2C and 2F) got their bachelor's degrees and one (2E) is in college. This student knows their plans for the major and has already picked a master's program. One student (2F) is in the master's program.

Table 4

Post-high school Comparison between Adopted and Nonadopted Children

Adopted students	Age	Schooling after high school	Nonadopted students	Age	Schooling after high school
1C	20 y. 2 m.	not enrolled in college education, fast food job	2C	27 y. 9 m.	bachelor's degree right after high school, full-time job (manager)
1D	21 y.	dropped out high school, failed GED	2E	19 y. 4 m.	enrolled in 4 th semester in college right after high school
1F	20 y. 8 m.	had 1 semester of college, currently on break, fast food job	2F	23 y. 5 m.	Bachelor's degree right after high school, 3 rd year in Master's program

Adopted students. One student (1C) graduated from high school but has not been enrolled in a college program, even two years after high school graduation. The student works at a grocery store and in a fast food place and is planning to go to a trade school to become a dental assistant.

Student 1F has been in college for one semester and was not permitted to take English 101 because of a low ACT score, so the student had to take the preparatory class, English 90. At the moment of the interview, the student was not enrolled in classes, explaining it was necessary to earn money for education.

During the interviews I observed that both students (1C and 1F) had a sincere desire to study and go to college, but I also observed doubts, expressed in gestures, tones of voice and use of certain words such as 'maybe'. Therefore, students' plans mostly look like dreams than a near future reality.

The extreme case among adopted students is student 1D. The student dropped out of high school because of difficulties with the language, as the student self-reported. The student had to change schools for the last year because of moving to Utah from Washington state. In the previous state, 1D got permission through many efforts of the family to have a Russian speaking tutor at school. Student 1D claimed to be afraid that the new school would not be able to provide the same level of help with the language as the previous school. Student 1D added that as a result of the fear of being in school without an L1-speaking tutor at the school, the student dropped out of the last year of high school. Later, the student tried to pass the GED, but failed and is not planning to retake it.

Students who do not have L1 support are at a higher risk of dropping out of school before earning a high school diploma. If they get a high school diploma and get accepted to college, then they are at risk of struggles in college and a higher possibility of dropping out of college.

Results of analyzing the interviews show that students after high school age who lacked L1 support all got low paying jobs in fast food places, groceries stores, and cleaning jobs in nursery homes. Thus, students who did not have L1 support have a narrower spectrum of job opportunities than those who kept L1.

Knowing an additional language opens up opportunities for people, especially when the native speaker level is mentioned. The positions of students with L1 support differ from students who do not keep the language. They worked in positions such as managers, research assistants, technical assistants, marketing directors, etc. Two of the nonadopted students see themselves using L1 in their future career. Student 2F is working on a master's degree in physics and chemistry and is interested to work in Russia on projects connected to the student's degree. Student 2E is planning to get a master's degree in teaching Russian as a second language.

Interviewee 2C had a job where fluency in Russian was a major requirement. This specific requirement gave the interviewee a higher salary compared to monolingual employees. These students either already used or plan to use their L1 knowledge for their professions. These opportunities opened for students who had L1 support.

Therefore, only students with the academic level of L1 successfully continued education after high school in order to get a college degree. These students also got higher-paying job positions than students without L1 support. In view of the examples of the interviewed students past high school age, it is possible to state that ignoring L1 in public schools for LLS has significant negative consequences for these students after they pass school age.

Items for Policy Consideration

Some of the information about students' academic achievement obtained from interviews is very important but does not fit this research; this information requires a more detailed study. However, some results, thoughts, ideas, and observations can already be considered and discussed by policymakers.

Students' self-reported reasons for academic struggle. It is important to notice that most students felt that they were overall good students and doing well in school according to the grades they got. However, three students (1A, 1D, and 2B) admitted that they were not doing well in school overall. Student (2B) claimed to have lower grades in the U.S. than in the native country (see Table 3). This student's academic achievement dropped from A and B to C level. As I have already mentioned, 2B self-evaluated the fluency level of L2 (English) as 4 out of 5 at the time the student arrived in the U.S. If this student's L2 level is so high, than why there is such a big drop in GPA compared to the interviewee's GPA in the native country? A high level of L2 should secure this student in academic success. If the student was successful and motivated

in the native country and does not have problems with L2, the environment, and a family in a new country it would be logical that such a student would stay on the same academic level as in native country. Where is the problem?

2B claimed that there was no motive to get good grades because student 2B claimed that junior high grades are not important and will not influence later education.

Another reason the student gave for low grades is lack of time and a large amount of assignments, with a lack of clarity on the assignment which discourages completion of all homework, also leading to low grades.

1A (the same age as 2B) gave the same reasons for low grades in school as 2B. Although parents of both students encourage them to get higher grades it has not brought results yet.

Therefore, LLS do not see lack of L1 support and L2 development as the reasons for their academic struggles but point to the amount of assignments and lack of clarity as the reasons. However, my perception of the situation and the students' perceptions are different.

Possible reasons for students' academic struggle based on the analysis of their answers. There are several possible reasons for the academic struggles of LLS. One reason is that students do not notice their academic struggles on their own because of a lack of knowledge about the educational system as well as psychological, social, and emotional processes. However, I can derive them from analyzing students' interviews and objectively studying situation as a whole.

Low awareness about real language skills (L2.) I believe that the time crunch and lack of clarity about assignments as students mentioned actually stems from missing L1 academic knowledge and lack of L2 understanding. This gap is apparent in the incorrect self-evaluation of LLS' language skills. Students evaluate their speaking abilities of the language on the

conversational level (BICS), but they do not understand the importance of mastering the language on an academic level (CALP) in order to keep up with schoolwork (Cummings, 1989; Cummings, 1999; Rhodes et al., 2005). Therefore, when they start facing problems with classes they do not realize that the problem is primarily in the lack of L2 (language of instruction) academic knowledge, because their conversational level is high. Thus, if we take the example of student 2B, whose situation with low grades I already showed from the student's point of view and look at it differently, we can get a more accurate picture. I think that when student 2B reported an English level 4 out of 5 at the time of arriving in the U.S., this student mostly self-reported conversational abilities of English. The conflict arises because the school program of the 8th grade requires some academic language knowledge, which was not developed by student in L2. At the same time, this particular student was not concerned to keep L1 on an academic level appropriate to the student's age, and for this reason, the student could not transfer content knowledge from L1 to L2. Thus, lack of continuing to develop academic L1 and the absence of an academic level of L2 influenced the student's knowledge, ability to study, and motivation for study.

Therefore, students (both adopted and nonadopted) whose conversational level in L2 was high and academic level of L1 was low or even absent might struggle with subjects because with the absence of academic L1 they did not realize what level of L2 they should have in order to be academically successful. At the same time students who kept developing the academic level of L1 might realize that their struggles come from the lack of L2 knowledge and that they need to get their L2 to the level of their L1.

Low awareness about academic success. Another reason of the low awareness of students about their language skills might be the “inflated” grades they get in schools. Talking to

students, I got the impression that GPAs and grades do not reflect a completely accurate picture of their knowledge. For example, students 1B, 1C, 1E, 1F, 2C, 2D, and 2E started getting As and Bs in English class at the very beginning, when they had just arrived to the U.S. and did not know the language and those grades continued throughout their time in school. Inflated grades make education not challenging for students. Thus, Cummins (as cited in McGroarty, 2002) stated that education should be challenging in order to be effective. A non-challenging education leaves LLS on the low level of the language skills of L1 and L2. Researchers called this language development surface or conversational skills of the language with lagging academic language skills (Cummins, 1989). As a result of inflated grades, students reported that despite high grades, English and writing were still difficult for them.

A shocking example of inflated grades comes from the example of student 1F. Student 1F was getting an 'F' in English class in junior high and 'A' in high school. There was no change in knowledge over one summer break, just in the grade. The fact is that later, when 1F took the ACT exam, this student got such a low score in the English section that college administration did not let the student take English 101 and obligated the student to take English 90 (which is generally for foreign students, while student 1F has been in the U.S for 11 years) in order to prepare for English 101. Student 1F claimed to be shocked and embarrassed by the results of the ACT and the college's reaction and even did not want to say the score. Having students who are originally not from the U.S. take tests like the ACT might bring some complicity, because some researchers might claim that the student should be adapted to the taking test system in the U.S. Studying in a different country and in a different educational system requires major adaptation to and understanding of the testing system, where lack of this understanding might influence results of the test. In the case of student 1F, adaptation to the American test taking culture cannot be the

reason because the student had been in the American educational system for 10 years by the time the student took the test.

However, the lack of cultural adaptation combined with the lack of L2 knowledge could take place with student 2E, who had been in the U.S. only one year by the time the student took the ACT. Student 2E got 13 out of 36 on ACT, having earned an 'A' in high school English class.

I see a discrepancy in the evaluating systems, which leads to confusion among students. There is some problem either with the grading system in schools or with the ACT test, but for most students they were not consistent and students struggled after all. Looking at their grades, students thought that they were academically successful and they did not need to add additional efforts to master their weak subjects.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This chapter is a summary of the study of Ukrainian/Russian students in Utah currently attending or having already attended public schools.

Summary and Interpretation of Results Addressing the Research Questions

The purpose of the study is to discover the influence of L1 on academic achievement and the emotional condition of students who do not natively speak the instruction language of the school. Both the Qualitative method of research and Human Development approach were used in the study: the first approach helped to personalize the study and the second helped to see as many influences on students' lives as possible, including their language development, academic success and emotional condition and this approach helped analyze each interviewed student as a whole. After reviewing the results of the research questions, I have compared my findings with information from the literature review, drew final conclusions about the problem, and have formulated some recommendations about the treatment of Ukrainian/Russian students.

Ukrainian/Russian students' perception of school support for their L1 and L2 development. Answering this research question I can state that students were generally agreed that school did not provide L1 support for them. Analyzing students' answers about L2 support, it appeared that L2 support was occasionally provided in schools and was not valuable for full development of the language. Complete immersion policy was actively implemented by school administrations and teachers, following the ideas of some scholars such as Rodriguez (1982, 1985) and Glazer (1985) (as cited in Cummins, 1989), who believe that this approach brings quick and positive results in students' progress of English language learning. However, despite results of researchers such as Brock-Utne (2000), Garcia (2001, 2005), Ntiri (1993), Kosonen (2010), Lindholm (1992), McCarty, Skutnabb-Kangas, and Magga (2008) that show that the

subtraction of the native language from students' study process leads to underachievement and decreases cognitive development, schools continue to use complete immersion policies in order to make LLS become fluent in L2.

Several schools in Utah, 4 out of 12, narrowed L2 development to pull-out ESL classes for students, while scholars such as Rhodes et al. (2005) emphasized that an ESL pull-out program is the least effective program for LLS, both academically and emotionally.

Nevertheless, not even this program was provided for all interviewed students to overcome the language barrier, to say nothing of the lack of L1 support to get equal learning opportunities as described in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, 1948, article 26 and the Equal Educational Opportunity Act (20 USC Sec. 1703) in 1974) (See Chapter 2). Therefore, schools not providing L1 support and help in L2 development run contrary to laws and flout research about the importance of L1 support during meaningful L2 studying in academic achievement, cognitive development, and emotional stability of the students. This statement is supported by the answers of the next two research questions.

The relationship between L1 support and students' academic achievement.

Answering the first of them, it appeared through analysis of the interviews that there is a relationship between L1 support and students' academic achievement.

In trying to find a relationship between language support and academic success, I was forced to focus on the levels of both languages (L1 and L2) of students. During the study, it appeared that adopted students who did not have L1 support (from either families or schools) forget their mother tongue even before they develop an academic level of L2, which supports the findings of Skutnabb-Kangas (1979, 1984) about children who do not have academic support in their native language. On the other hand, there were students who had L1 support in families but

there was a difference even among them. Students whose families practiced or focused only on speaking a portion of L1 lost the academic level of L1, but students whose families were determined to keep a high level of L1 seemed to understand that they have to practice language skills other than just speaking activities, such as reading literature and academic books and writing in L1. This goes together with Hudson's (2008) theory that development in L1 should constantly be learned. My study showed that academic level reading and writing in L1 seemed to have an effect on L1 development, in contrast with only speaking practice with parents, occasional verbal communications and watching L1 TV shows.

Apparently, students who have kept development of the academic level of L1 compare their L1 and L2 levels, and thanks to this comparison, they most likely have a better understanding of what level of L2 they must reach in order to be successful in school and the labor force. That implies that students with academic support of L1 (nonadopted students) are concerned about the quality of their L2 development contrary to students without academic L1 support (adopted students). The reason might be that students who had not gotten L1 academic development while living in their motherland and still do not have it now, being in an L2 environment, do not have a foundation on which they can build to develop academic skills in L2. In their native language they reached the basic level of speaking, listening, and reading non-academic children's books, which they perceived as understanding the language. Now reaching this level in L2 may make them think that they have already reached the highest possible level language development, and although none of my research subjects specifically stated this, such may be their internal analysis.

Lindholm (1992), McCarty, Skutnabb-Kangas, & Magga (2008) claimed that subtracting L1 during L2 study is directly associated with lower levels of second language attainment,

scholastic underachievement, and losing a critical linguistic foundation. In addition, Collier (1989) claimed that the level of speaking abilities of children does not determine their cognitive development in language. In support of the literature about the problem, there were indications in the information from the interviews that despite satisfactory L2 speaking abilities, students who did not have L1 academic support still struggled in school in content areas.

Although average school grades were similar between adopted and nonadopted students (in other words between students with and without L1 support), the overall results seemed to be different. At first glance, grades gave the impression of being high; however, they may differ in subjects. Adopted students and students without L1 support reported more problems with core subjects such as English, math, science, history etc. However, during the interviews students who had L1 academic support sounded like they could transfer academic knowledge from one language to another, as Padilla and Sung (1992) observed in their own study. This confirms other researchers' claims that LLS can transfer knowledge obtained in L1 to L2.

Making conclusions about a correlation between L1 support and academic achievement based on my findings, there seems to be a consistent positive correlation between academic L1 support and academic achievement. This success consists of a higher rate of high school graduation, continuing education after high school, getting or planning to get an advanced degree, and getting high-level jobs.

The effects of extra-academic contexts on language and academic functioning.

Answering this research question, I found a difference in the influence of some of the larger, extra-academic social context on the L1 and L2 development and academic achievement between students who had L1 support and those who did not have L1 support.

This research found support in a theory described by Garcia (2005), Mayes et al. (2007), and others about the influence of social aspects of the environment on the language development of LLS and consequently on academic achievement. It appeared that students who did not have L1 support in families and at schools were ashamed to talk in L1, even though they loved the language. In reference to students' interview responses I found several hints of feelings of shame among those students without L1 support within their families. The first possible explanation of this shame is that people showed a negative reaction toward students' accents, especially when they did not understand what students wanted to say in L2. This caused students to develop a desire to stop speaking L1. Interviewees thought that by doing this they would be able to get rid of their accent in L2. The second common explanation of feelings of shame was that students who did not have L1 support reported that they could not make friends at school until they stopped speaking L1 and started speaking only L2. The reason for this could be that they were not getting confirmation from any source (either family or school) of the importance of keeping their native language and as a result, they could not withstand the peer and adult pressure against their retaining L1.

Therefore, students who did not have L1 support apparently formed the idea that their L1 was an obstacle to their social success and emotional stability, so they chose to forget L1 in order to fit into society. Thus, students were compelled to refuse their language and culture under the circumstances of the environment and indirect actions of people, while from their reports it appeared that they loved their native languages and secretly wanted to speak them.

Emotional and psychological consequences of such failure to develop a students' native language can be profound and should be studied further. I observed in this study that students who lost their L1 lacked self-confidence and struggled with self-identity. Pousada (1996),

analyzing the situation of language minority students, emphasized that together with refusing to develop L1 “children may feel that a part of themselves is also being denigrated” (p. 150). It appeared in this study that, trying to fit into the new L2 society by denying the native language, these students realized that they still have an accent after years living in the U.S. and they still differ from other English native speakers. These students seemingly got stuck in an interlingual limbo; they are Ukrainians/Russians who forgot their native language or Americans who do not speak and understand English the same way as people around them.

Apparently, the situation with the students just discussed differs from that of the students who kept and developed L1 further. While some of these students still struggled because of an occasional unfriendly environment (adults and students who made comments about students’ poor L2 skills), I believe that because these students did not experience rejection of the language and culture at home, they could withstand such rejection in an occasionally unfriendly school environment, without feeling they needed to abandon their L1. Having confirmation of the importance of keeping the native language, these students appeared more resolute in their desire to keep the language than did the group of students who did not have L1 support, and as a consequence they were accepted in the school setting and broader society for who they were. None of these students complained about not having friends even when they just arrived. None of them (except the youngest one) mentioned a silent or shy period like the students who did not have L1 support did.

Although students who preserved their L1 had an accent like those who did not preserve L1, they apparently did not struggle because of it. It seems to me that the reason they did not struggle as much stems from their high level of confidence and self-identity; they knew that they were Ukrainians/Russians who came to the U.S. and they were “supposed” to have an accent.

Coming to an L2 environment and being confident in themselves, they used their L1 as an advantage over other students by showing that they are interesting and that they can offer society their L1 skills, which monolingual students do not have.

This difference in reactions on keeping or rejecting L1 in L2 environment can also possibly be due to different family background of students. Living without parents in an orphanage and going through the adaptation process might have some influence on the emotional and psychological conditions of the adopted students and can have the potential to be a confounding variable in this research. The influence of these aspects of adopted students' lives is not studied in this research.

It appears that for many of my research subjects, the first two years were the hardest in for LLS in both groups, both those who preserved L1 and those who did not. In this period, the students learn their BICS and have to go through the misunderstanding and impatience of people towards them about their poor L2 skills. It is vital to note that if nobody supports students' L1 during this hard period of time, they may potentially abandon or lose it. Students may benefit from encouragement to endure through that period of adaptation while keeping L1 and learning the new L2. I observed that ironically, after these first years passed, the attitude of the society towards LLS changed and society started accepting those who kept L1 better than those who did not keep the native language. The reason these students who kept L1 might be seen as valuable is that these students have a special skill that others did not have (other language skills). In contrast to this, students who lost the skill of speaking their native language became less valuable because they did not speak either English on a native level or their L1.

Despite the different levels of proficiency in L1 among the students interviewed, for both types of students, a desire to fit into their cultural milieu played a role in motivating them to

study L2. Students who did not have L1 support were satisfied with their level of L2 (English) as soon as children of the same age started understanding them. As a result, motivation to learn L2 decreased. In contrast, students who had support in L1 seem to have developed L2 to the level of L1 and gradually developed academic L1 and L2 simultaneously. Students without L1 support did not have L1 as a guideline for their L2 development. Therefore, their L2 stopped in a BICS level and these students experienced difficulties in progressing to the CALP level, which influences students' academic achievement. Garcia (2005) explained that in these situations, the negation of a child's L1 and a child's world "negates the tools the child has used to construct a basic cognitive framework" (p. 33), hindering development and lowering academic success. Scholars Cummins (1999), Garcia (2005), and Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) insisted that keeping L1 for LLS at least throughout elementary school provides a solid foundation for cognitive development and emotional stability.

The influence of family attitudes on development of L1. Answering this question, it appeared that families can play an important role in support in LLS' lives and in the development of L1. Apparently, adopted (except one family) and natural families had different approaches and attitudes towards development of L1 and L2 of LLS.

Often, parents of adopted children preferred that children eliminated L1 in order to learn L2. At the time of the students' initial arrival to the U.S., adopted parents (except one family^{vi}) supported complete immersion of students in L2. However, years later, after students had already lost their L1 skills, parents expressed a wish that the students could speak their L1. It appeared to adopted students that they could not meet their parents' requirements and it seemed to me they were dissatisfied with themselves, knowing that they still do not know L2 at a native level and had lost L1 too. If adopted parents were not actively antagonistic towards L1, they were typically

passive about it and did not provide active support to children to preserve and develop L1. This attitude of adopted families towards L1 may have been instrumental in causing fading L1 knowledge and may have jeopardized the foundation for building L2 knowledge for LLS. It appeared from the study that the lack of both L1 support and age-appropriate academic development of L2 negatively influenced the students' academic achievement and continuing education.

Natural families and one adopted family supported their LLS in improving their L1 skills. In this case, the difference between natural families and the adopted family was in their methods to provide support for L1. If natural families encouraged speaking, reading, writing, and watching TV in L1, an adopted family only encouraged speaking and watching TV shows in student's L1. It seems to me that differences in methods led to differences in the final results of the level of L1 and consequently of L2. Students of the natural families who engaged in speaking, reading, writing, and listening in L1 were able to keep the language on the academic level of their age, while those who had only speaking and occasionally listening exercises dropped L1 to the BICS level. It is important to note that families who strived to support L1 did not refuse the necessity of learning L2 and promoted adding L2 learning to L1, obtaining knowledge of the new language (English) based on the knowledge formed in L1. In this study, analysis of the academic achievement of two groups of students showed that students who had constant academic support for L1 in their families had higher success in schools and continuing education than students who did not have such support.

Despite the efforts of some parents to provide L1 support to the students, not all parents can provide high academic support of L1. Therefore, as Garcia (2001) and Nieto (2002) stated,

the responsibility for development of L1 is shared between the family and the school, and it is critical for these families to get help with L1 from schools.

Although it seemed that all of the parents desired high academic achievement for their children (adopted and nonadopted), the different methods and approaches chosen by families towards the students' language apparently played key roles in the results.

The adaptation factor might play a role of the confound variable, and other sources connected to the family situation also might influenced academic achievement and emotional conditions of the students. However, through the study it appears that language change is a big issue.

The subjects' perceptions of the consequences of lack of support for their L1. This research question aims to find out students' own opinions about their language situation. It is important to note that the differences in answers do not primarily differ between adopted and nonadopted students, rather between those who are still in the K-12 school system and those who are past high school age.

Across all interviews, I observed that support of L1 mostly has social value for students who are currently involved in the K-12 system. Students with L1 support in school feel that L1 supports their authority and value among peers. Some of these students also wanted to help their communities with their knowledge of L1. However, adopted students had to cede this idea as they lost their L1 due to lack of support in it.

For students who passed high school age and did not have L1 support, it seems that the lack of L1 support in school and subsequent loss of it brought professional or career regrets for them. After facing the labor market, these students came to understand the need to know more than one language and to know English on a higher level in order to be successful in the labor

force. At this moment of their lives they regretted not preserving and developing their L1 and having support of it from school and families. Comments of students who have passed high school age regarding the consequences of the lack of L1 support are directly connected to the next research question.

The consequences of ignoring of L1 on students' lives after school. As a researcher, it was vital for me to learn not only if there is a correlation between L1 support for students and their academic success, but also to try to follow students' lives after school to see if L1 support continues to influence post-secondary education and work, and further on their socio-economic status. Findings from this particular question were striking.

Thus, at the moment of the interviews, students without L1 support who passed high school age were not enrolled in college, although they claimed that they wanted to be. One of these students had completed one semester in college and struggled with English on the college level. Another student who did not get L1 support after moving to Utah dropped out of school and did not graduate high school. None of the students (both school age and past high school age) without L1 support even mentioned any thoughts about beginning a master's program.

Contrary to the situation of students without L1 support, students with L1 support who passed high school age either graduated from college or were currently enrolled in college courses. Some of these students were currently working on, or planning to get, master's degrees.

Moreover, it was important to find that already at the early stage of students' adult lives, jobs these students got after school drastically differed; the students who had L1 support found jobs as a manager, administrative secretary, technical assistant, research assistant, and marketing director and the students who did not have L1 support worked as a cashier, custodian, or a fast food service worker.

It is possible to say that it is just a coincidence, but facts are facts, and students who at least had L1 support in their families are college students after high school, are getting master's degrees, and have jobs in a higher social level than those who did not have such support – even though adoptive families, from which these subjects were drawn, tend to be from higher SES levels and backgrounds than the other families.

Recommendations

The findings of the current study indicated some problematic aspects in the study process of LLS that can be corrected by school reforms. Organization of the LLS' studying process must be implemented in a different way than it is currently implemented in Utah schools. Analyzing results of the interviews and observing the life situation of LLS, I propose some changes in schools to make LLS' studying process more effective than it is now. These recommendations suggest some steps that could lead to the improvement of students' academic achievement and emotional stability, which might consequently positively affect the course of student's life after high school graduation.

Become culturally oriented schools. Schools in Utah should be more culturally oriented. This could help to reduce the initial stress and fear in students when they first arrive to school. Lessons for students about different cultures and languages, about the importance and advantages of different cultures and languages might make students more accepting of new LLS.

In order to make schools more culturally oriented, lectures, lessons, and workshops about cultural and language diversity for teachers should be provided in schools. Culturally sensitive teachers would tend to not let other students bully LLS, would tend to pay attention to students' adaptation to the environment, and would tend to not diminish but rather encourage and support students' L1 development.

Create collaboration of schools and parents. Culturally oriented teachers should provide support for LLS' parents by explaining to them the importance of L1 development and its link to L2 development at the academic level (CALP) and should involve parents in the learning process of LLS. Many parents need reassurance about their language aspiration for their children from some official organizations. Because most parents see school as an organization that has answers regarding the education of their children, parents more easily adopt suggestions of teachers and school officials. If teachers constantly tell parents that the right decision for the student is an "English only" policy, adoptive parents generally follow it. Native parents in the same situation might lean towards just talking to children in L1 but might stop encouraging them to read and write in L1, losing their academic level of L1. In such a situation, schools need culturally oriented teachers who accept different cultures and languages and are able to support parents of the students in continuing academic L1 development. Schools and teachers can invite parents to school for some cultural activities, workshops, lectures, celebrations etc. and teachers could explain to parents the importance of students' cultural and native language support and its influence on students' academic achievement and emotional condition. Schools can also encourage adopted parents in L1 development by providing information about additional learning materials in L1.

Provide additional language resources for LLS by their families. Parents must understand that expectations from LLS without providing help to fulfill those expectations will not bring the desired results. Throughout the study, it seemed that adopted children expressed that their adopted parents had high aspirations for them – a high level of academic achievement, plans for college, reaching the level of fluency in L2 (English) quickly and retaining their

fluency level of L1 without using it – all appeared to be parts of those expectations. For these reasons, parents have to find resources that can help students reach those high expectations.

Provide possible L1 resources by schools for LLS. According to the law, schools have a responsibility to provide an appropriate level of educational assistance to allow language learners to benefit from and participate in education. Ideally, schools should provide a teacher who speaks the students' L1, teaches L1, translates for students, and teaches L2 based on L1 knowledge. However, many school districts do not have budgetary resources for this. One of the ways schools can help students with L1 development is to provide books, videos, magazines, and games in L1 in the school library. Even teachers who do not speak students' L1 can direct LLS in using these materials.

Provide bilingual education for LLS in schools. Bilingualism is the way language learning students should be served in educational programs. Implementing true bilingual programs would help LLS to preserve and develop L1 and learn and develop L2. The question then is how to implement it? From the interviews it is known that children trust other children and are more open to them than to adults. They find a way to communicate and understand each other faster and better than adults, even if they speak in different languages. Friendly children were more patient with LLS who struggled with L2, and were interested to help and explain L2. When one child helps another to learn the language, it is more effective. In a bilingual program, children can exchange knowledge of the languages they know; English-speaking children would learn the native language of LLS and vice versa. They will not immediately speak L2 well but they will learn it through their L1, giving their L2 strong roots.

Prevent discriminatory policies in schools towards LLS. Schools have to avoid discriminatory policies by avoiding any restriction of using L1 for LLS. McCarty (2000)

considered restricting students from using their mother tongue a form of psychological abuse. Lindholm (1992) claimed that when L1 is removed from studying and replaced by L2 in early years, it causes psychological disorders, while bilingual students have “mental flexibility, superiority in concept formation, and [a] more diversified set of mental abilities” (p. 206).

Promoting these recommendations may lead LLS to improve their level of academic achievement and emotional balance. Findings of the research were expected and follow statements of the scholars compiled in the literature review chapter. McCarty, Skutnabb-Kangas, and Magga (2008) stated that “subtractive, submersion approaches, in which the dominant language is learned at the cost of the mother tongue, can cause serious harm and result in low school achievement, over-representation in remedial tracks, underemployment, youth and other criminally, alcoholism, suicide, and mental illness (Lomanwaima & McCarty, 2006, see Magga et al., 2005 for how subtractive education violates IMSs’ human rights). In contrast, in additive teaching, a dominant language is added to the child’s linguistic repertoire while the mother tongue is maintained and developed” (p. 301). Although this study did not observe criminal activity, alcoholism, suicide, and mental illness among interviewees (either because of the active religious life of the subjects and surrounding culture or because of the small sample size), low school achievement and underemployment among students who did not have L1 support was apparent.

Questions to Consider for Further Study

The current study is limited by several factors such as time and resources. Several additional questions about LLS, the development of their languages, family and school circumstances arose during the study but could not be answered because of the time limitation and different purpose of the study. However, these questions can spearhead further study.

How truly do grades of LLS in the U.S. schools reflect their skills and knowledge in L2? Throughout the interview I noted that grades and students' knowledge did not match with each other. Many times students reported struggling with a subject in the sense of not understanding it, performing it poorly, falling behind the rest of the students in the class etc., but still having high 'A' or 'B' grades in that subject. It would be useful to find out by what criteria teachers evaluate LLS, justifying giving them high grades for low performance.

How do inflated grades influence LLS' attitude towards study and their academic achievement? Receiving inflated grades for poor performance might put LLS in the situation of believing wrong information about their academic success. It is possible that inflated grades might pacify students' motivation to study better by sending them a signal that they have already performed well and additional efforts to study in school are not required. Therefore, such an approach may negatively influence LLS' attitude towards study and consequently influence their academic achievement. To fully explore this would require more detailed research with additional information.

Does the prerogative to influence L1 development belong only to parents or also to siblings? Studying adopted and nonadopted students, I noted that families' policies influence students' level of L1. Several adopted and nonadopted students had blood siblings, who spoke students' L1; however, simply having these siblings did not help adopted students to keep L1. I suspect that simply having siblings who speak L1 is not as important a factor as having parents who support students' L1 development. However, before claiming such a statement, further research should be done in LLS families.

How does economic background influence LLS' L1 and L2 development and continuing education? Through interviews I noted that categories of adopted and nonadopted

students were tied to different economic backgrounds. Adopted students had families with high economic status; nonadopted students belonged to families with low economic status. In the current study I noted tendencies where students whose parents had low economic status had higher levels of fluency in both L1 and L2 than students whose parents had high economic status. In addition, these two categories of students had different results about their continuing education – students whose parents had a low economic background got a college education and pursued master's degrees, while the other category of students did not continue education after high school or even dropped out of high school. Therefore, it would be important to find out how the factor of economic status of parents influences L1 and L2 development in students and continuing education.

How does the mothers' background and attitude influence LLS' languages development? Throughout the study, I observed that students most frequently mentioned their mothers in their interviews as those who most influenced the students' studying process and L1 and L2 development. It would be important to study mothers' social and educational background to find out if there is a correlation between them and students' language development.

Notwithstanding the limitations of the current study and multiple options for further studies, the results of this research should not be minimized. Its findings indicate that L1 support has a direct, positive influence on Ukrainian/Russian LLS' academic achievement, emotional condition, and socioeconomic status graduation. Recommended interventions of school administration aim to bring cultural and linguistic recognition that would lead to emotional stability among LLS and should promote among them interest in school and successful academic achievement.

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Appendix A

Questions for Interview

Introduction

Hello, first name of the interviewee. Thank you very much for agreeing to meet with me for our interview. I appreciate your time. You will help very important study about role of language in people's lives. This interview will be conducting with recorder.

We are going to talk with you about school, your classes, and your language abilities. The purpose of this interview is to see how your life is going in school with a new language. The interview will take about an hour or less.

It is very important to answer the question in the way you understand, believe, and feel. Please, feel safe to be honest in your answers. Please, do not say what you think adults: teachers or parents want you to say. If you know that you think one way but adults want you to think in different way please, let me know about it.

First name do you have any questions before we start?

List the Demographic Variables That I Will Collect for Each Person I Interview.

- Name : Last First Middle
- *Student:* What grade are you? When is your birthday DD/MM/YYYY
- Where were you born?
- Did you go to school back in Ukraine/Russia? How many grades did you finish?
- What language did you speak in Ukraine/Russia? How did you learn it?

- When did you move to US?
- What language do you speak at home in the U.S.?
- Does anyone in your family speak Ukrainian/Russian?

Open-ended Questions for Interview

I am going to ask you about your school life in Ukraine/Russia

- 1) Do you do feel you did well in school in Ukraine/Russia (socially and academically)?
- 2) Did you read books in the Ukrainian/Russian language? (If the answer is 'yes' I will continue to ask about books.) Please, name some titles that you remember.
- 3) Did you speak English before you came to the U.S.? (if yes, what was the level of English (self-evaluation: on a scale from 1 to 5)) Note: I am going to explain the scale. 5 is the level like your parents speak or teacher in the school. 1 is the level when you can say a couple phrases.
- 4) When you came to the U.S. what were your feelings about language and culture? When I say culture I mean food, friendship, they way people talk to each other, music, media, etc.
- 5) Did you want to speak the Ukrainian/Russian language, when you moved to the U.S.?
- 6) Have you had opportunities to read, write, or speak the Ukrainian/Russian language in the U.S.?
- 7) Was it easy or difficult to start speaking a new language? Can you describe what was easy and what was difficult?

- 8) Have teachers done anything here to help you learn English?
- 9) When you came to the U.S. what did you like here and what you did not like?
- 10) How did teachers/students react at first when you could not speak fluent English?
- 11) Tell me about your success in American school. (Do you consider yourself a good student?)
- 12) Compare your experience in Ukrainian/Russian schools with your experience in Utah Schools. Do you understand material on the same level, more, or less?
- 13) How do you consider/identify yourself: as American or Ukrainian/Russian?
- 14) What is the level of your English now? Evaluate your writing, reading, and speaking skills on a scale 1 to 5. (Note: explain, that 5 is the level of the parents and teachers in the school and 1 is only a couple of phrases in English)
- 15) When you read books in English do you use a dictionary for translation or ask adults to find out the meaning of the word? When a teacher is speaking in the school do you understand every word?
- 16) How much of the material do you understand when you read the books? What type of books do you read?
- 17) Please, tell me how well you now speak Ukrainian/Russian language on a scale 1 to 5. (Note: explain that 5 is the level of the teachers back in Ukraine/ Russia, 1 is the level when you remember couple phrases).

- 18) What do you consider as your home?
- 19) Do you miss things about the Ukraine/Russia?
- 20) Does your family support your first language and your

Ukrainian/Russian culture (let you watch cartoons, movies in Ukrainian/Russian, buy books for you in Ukrainian? Russian, invite friends in your house who speak Ukrainian, Russian.

- 21) Describe your friends?
- 22) What are your plans for future: graduation from high school and college?
- 23) What's your job, what schooling do you have (interviewee who is older than 18)
- 24) What would have helped you during your school years to be more successful in life after school?

Appendix B

Consent Form for Subjects under 18

Title of Research: The academic and emotional effect of the absence of L1 instruction on the East European children in several Utah schools.

Consent to be a Research Subject

Introduction: This research study is being conducted by Natalya Georgiyeva, a Masters Student at Brigham Young University to determine the role of native language in students' academic achievement and emotional conditions. You were invited to participate because you have a child/children in your family for whom Ukrainian/Russian language once was native and their school language of instruction is now English.

Procedures: Your child/children will be interviewed. The interview will take approximately one hour and may be held in your house for your convenience. Questions will be about their knowledge and ability to use their native language compared to the English language, their thoughts about both languages, and their classes in school. The interview will be tape-recorded and then transcribed.

Discomfort: There are minimal risks for participation in this study. However, children might feel some discomfort when answering questions about personal thoughts and language skills. It is possible that children may feel embarrassed when talking in front of parents or other siblings. I will be sensitive to those situations and will stop interviewing if desired.

Benefits: There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study. However, it is hoped that through your participation the researcher will learn more about the role of native language in education.

Confidentiality: All information provided will remain confidential and will only be reported as data with no identifying information. All data, including answers to the questions and tapes/transcriptions from the interview, will be kept on computer with password and only I, Natalya Georgiyeva, will have access to them. After the research is completed, the records will be destroyed.

Participation: Participation in this research study is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at anytime or refuse to participate entirely.

Questions about the Research: If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Natalya Georgiyeva at (801) 473-1190, natalyageorgiyeva@yahoo.com

Questions about your Rights as Research Participants: If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you may contact the BYU IRB Administrator at (801) 422-1461, A-285 ASB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602, irb@byu.edu.

I have read, understood, and received a copy of the above consent and desire of my own free will that my child can participate in this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I give my assent.

Child name _____

I give my consent

Parent name _____

Appendix C

Consent Form for Adults

Title of Research: The academic and emotional effect of the absence of L1 instruction on the East European children in several Utah schools.

Consent to be a Research Subject

Introduction: This research study is being conducted by Natalya Georgiyeva, a Masters Student at Brigham Young University to determine the role of native language in students' academic achievement and emotional conditions. You were invited to participate because once you were child for whom Ukrainian/Russian language was native, but your school language of instruction was now English.

Procedures: You will be interviewed. The interview will take approximately one hour and may be held in your house for your convenience. Questions will be about your knowledge and ability to use your native language compared to the English language, your thoughts about both languages, and classes in school. The interview will be tape-recorded and then transcribed.

Discomfort: There are minimal risks for participation in this study. However, you might feel some discomfort when answering questions about personal thoughts and language skills. I will be sensitive to those situations and will stop interviewing if desired.

Benefits: There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study. However, it is hoped that through your participation the researcher will learn more about the role of native language in education.

Confidentiality: All information provided will remain confidential and will only be reported as data with no identifying information. All data, including answers to the questions and tapes/transcriptions from the interview, will be kept on computer with password and only I,

Natalya Georgiyeva, will have access to them. After the research is completed, the records will be destroyed.

Participation: Participation in this research study is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at anytime or refuse to participate entirely.

Questions about the Research: If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Natalya Georgiyeva at (801) 473-1190, natalyageorgiyeva@yahoo.com

Questions about your Rights as Research Participants: If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, you may contact the BYU IRB Administrator at (801) 422-1461, A-285 ASB, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602, irb@byu.edu.

I have read, understood, and received a copy of the above consent and desire of my own free will to participate in this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

I give my assent.

Endnotes

ⁱ High quality education in this work means the education instruction of which students can comprehend completely and apply in the lives in such a way that it would give them high social, economic, and emotional returns.

ⁱⁱ Extra-academic social contexts in this study include environment in school and community, friends, and cultural and language self-identity

ⁱⁱⁱ 1D student started school in the U.S. in Washington State and moved to Utah State in 11th grade.

^{iv} 2F student started school in the U.S. in California State and moved to Utah State in 9th grade.

^v Applied only for students who were after high school age

^{vi} Adopted family of student 1D provided L1 support.