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LANGUAGE BROKERING IN LATINO FAMILIES: DIRECT OBSERVATIONS OF  
BROKERING PATTERNS, PARENT-CHILD INTERACTIONS, AND  
RELATIONSHIP QUALITY

by

Kee J.E. Straits

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Psychology

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2010

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## ABSTRACT

Language Brokering in Latino Families: Direct Observations of Brokering  
Patterns, Parent-Child Interactions, and Relationship Quality

by

Kee J. E. Straits, Doctor of Philosophy

Utah State University, 2010

Major Professor: Dr. Melanie M. Domenech Rodriguez  
Department: Psychology

With the growing percentage of immigrant families in the USA, language transition is a common immigrant experience and can occur rapidly from generation to generation within a family. Child language brokering appears to occur within minority language families as one way of negotiating language and cultural differences; however, the phenomenon of children translating or mediating language interactions for parents has previously been hypothesized to contribute to negative outcomes for children, such as role-reversals and parentification, emotional distancing and lack of communication, increased parent-child conflict, and increased internalizing/externalizing disorders. The current study used direct observations of 60 Spanish-speaking parent-child dyads (30 mother-child and 30 father-child) as they worked on a joint academic task in English to explore: (1) child language brokering patterns, (2) parent-child interactions, and (3) the quality of the parent-child relationship. Children included in the study were between the ages of 4 and 10 years. Instruments used included demographic questionnaires, the

ARSMA-II, and coding of videotaped interactions for language brokering patterns (frequency and prevalence of both child translations and parental prompts), parent-child relationship quality, parental engagement strategies, and the situational power dynamic between parent and child. Observations, descriptive statistics, correlations, and a hierarchical regression were used to analyze data. Results demonstrated that language brokering occurred at a higher prevalence among the youngest age group than prior studies have suggested, parents actively contribute to child brokering behaviors through parental prompts, and mothers and fathers use different engagement strategies. Findings also demonstrated that child language brokering significantly contributed to the prediction of parent-child relationship quality, with more frequent brokering associated with more positive parent-child relationships. There was no significant correlation with child language brokering frequency and the parent-child power dynamic. Results may have limited generalizability due to the exploratory nature of statistics used, the emotional safety of the observed parent-child joint task situation, and the small sample size and specificity of the sample (primarily rural Mexican two-parent immigrant families with children born in the USA). Implications for practice include: normalization of language brokering as a part of bicultural development, facilitation of insight into changing family roles and maintenance of adaptive power dynamics within a context of change, and the enhancement of parent and child communication strategies.

(146 pages)

## DEDICATION

Dedicated to my mother, Beverly Joan Straits, who passed on her love of learning

and

To all families and communities whose children bridge language and cultural transitions.

*And the ground spoke when she was born. Her mother heard it ... She strained against the metal stirrups, and they tied her hands down because she still spoke with them when they muffled her screams. But her body went on talking and the child was born into their hands, and the child learned to speak both voices.*

- Joy Harjo

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation belongs to all those who participated in our study, shared their experiences, and attempted to better themselves as parents and families despite the obstacles put before them. This also belongs to all those who provided me their knowledge and dedicated support, guided my personal and professional growth, accompanied me in my journey, touched my heart, inspired my thoughts and actions, raised me up, and encouraged my tongue to speak and my words to become a voice of our human experiences.

I would like to extend my admiration and gratitude to my academic co-advisors, Dr. Melanie Domenech Rodríguez and Dr. Carolyn Barcus, who together have nurtured and challenged me through my professional development. This dissertation came about due to Melanie's wonderful knack for integrating all her students into every aspect of her research project, and generously supporting us financially for our engagement in her research. She encouraged me to look at her data from my own perspective and interests. It is thus that the language brokering phenomenon rose above all other factors and called me to pursue it. I thank Melanie for modeling to me her love of research, and how to engage in it as a Latina woman. She was never afraid to challenge my own linguistic bridging of Spanish and English. I thank Carolyn for teaching me how to engage in academia as an indigenous woman and how to create the culturally safe spaces for myself and my peers that provide us the strength and centering from which we can engage in academic expectations with our whole authentic selves.

I would further like to extend my gratitude to the Latino families and children involved in this study. I would like to thank Melissa R. Donovick for her contributions and shaping of the initial ideas for the pilot study we carried out and presented at the National Latina/o Psychological Association. I would like to thank Lara Linares, Mailín Miranda, and Nancy Tafoya for their flexibility and assistance with transcriptions.

I would like to thank Dr. Diane Torres Velásquez for being the first academic mentor to inspire me to engage in research. I would also like to thank Dr. Melinda García for her supportive presence and all her behind-the-scenes work to help connect me to a large academic family. Foremost in my academic family has been the Minority Fellowship Program that provided me financial support, training opportunities, and emotional support in the form of their strong belief that the fellows they support will make significant contributions to their communities.

In this respect, I would like to thank my own native and adoptive homes and communities, beginning with my mother, brother, and grandmother. I wish that my mother were still on this earth to acknowledge the honor I give her for raising me and instilling in me the qualities that have helped me to be successful in carrying out this research. My brother, Kell Straits, is the one person who has been with me longest through this life journey, and knows the difficulties I have overcome, and is best at making me laugh. I thank him for being my biggest fan and supporter of all my accomplishments. Beyond my immediate family, I would like to honor my homeland, The Quechua and campesino communities of Qosqo, as well as my adopted communities, the Quichua community of Yana Urco, the Cofan community of the Amazon, the



Rötgesbüttel community in Germany, and the Denver and Albuquerque communities that have all, in their way, taught me about cultural/linguistic transitions.

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Jill K. E. Straits

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Child language brokering, or the phenomenon of bilingual children facilitating communication between differently languaged adults, occurs within immigrant families and other language minority families where parents speak a language other than English as their first language. Despite increasing awareness that language brokering is a common immigrant experience, little is known about language brokering communication patterns and the impact of language brokering on family relationships. Some research theorizes that when children facilitate communication between their language minority parents and people from the dominant culture, children are placed in a role that may have a negative effect on parent-child relationships (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). However, emerging empirical studies on the impact of language brokering also provide evidence which contradicts the assumption of negative child outcomes, especially within the arena of academic achievement (Buriel et al., 1998; Valdes, 2003). There continues to be a lack of empirical studies on language brokering in relation to child development and family well-being. Additionally, a weakness of most of the current research is that it relies on self-report surveys and retrospective reports of older adolescents and young adults while the phenomena of brokering begins at a much younger age (Morales & Hanson, 2005). Thus, not only is it important to determine the impact of language brokering on familial outcomes, but also to increase our basic understanding of typical language brokering exchanges between parent and child (including the parental role in the occurrence of language brokering), family interactions

that may contextualize and influence the impact of language brokering on outcomes, and parent, child, and other situational factors that may influence language brokering patterns.

The purpose of this study was to observe language brokering patterns and co-occurring parent-child interactions between immigrant Latino parents and their elementary school children while jointly engaged in a homework-like task given in English. The joint engagement in an English-based task provided a unique opportunity to observe children handling the potential for brokering texts from the dominant language/culture for parents who may not otherwise have enough language and/or cultural understanding to interact with the text. Language brokering patterns included prevalence and frequency of child translations as well as prevalence and frequency of parental requests for translation. Parent-child interactions included the parental strategy used to assist the child towards the goal of academic task completion, and the situational power dynamic observed between parent and child. Additionally, parent (gender, education, acculturation level, English proficiency), child (gender, age), and situational (type of homework task) characteristics were analyzed for associations with language brokering patterns. This study also investigated whether parent, child, and situational factors, language brokering, and parent-child interactions predict the parent-child relationship quality. This study contributes greatly to current knowledge as few studies have utilized direct observation to inform our understanding of the language brokering phenomena, the parent-child exchanges during language brokering occurrences, and how this type of communication influences parent-child relationships. Furthermore, no studies currently exist with young children at the developmental stage when language brokering incidences begin to emerge and proliferate.

## CHAPTER II

### LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will cover background information on language brokering, findings on the relationship of language brokering to different outcomes, and limitations to the current research. It will include a description of language brokering within the context of larger language and cultural transitions that accompany the immigration experience. A detailed review of empirical studies will include an overview of study characteristics, and will also present general findings from studies concerning language brokering prevalence, patterns, and situations. Outcomes from this core body of literature will also be reviewed across several categories: affective/emotional and behavioral; parentification and other family power dynamics; and, the parent-child relationship. Finally, identification of limitations to previous studies will be followed by a description of how the present study attempted to address these limitations.

#### **Language Transitions and Child Language Brokering**

Language transitions within families have recently become a subject of interest in cultural research given its wide prevalence. For example, according to the Pew Hispanic Center, although 52% of Latino immigrants speak only Spanish at home, 11% of their adult children speak only Spanish at home (Hakimzadeh & Cohn, 2007). In fact, fully one third of the second generation respondents do not speak Spanish at all. By the third generation, only 25% still speak some Spanish in the home. Data on the rapid language assimilation across three generations demonstrates how quickly and thoroughly English is being acquired by Latino immigrant families. Despite our knowledge of language



transitions, little is understood about the influence of these transitions on immigrant family dynamics.

One way that immigrant families have coped with transitioning into a new culture has been to rely on other family members who may know the host language and culture better. In the United States, children of immigrants are frequently the more knowledgeable family members since they are immersed in American culture when they go to school; whereas, their immigrant parents have less direct access to the dominant culture, thus they acquire the second language and culture at a slower pace (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

The phenomenon of children translating for adults has been referred to in the literature as “language brokering.” Tse (1995a, 1996b) described language brokering as not simply a translation of a message into another language, but as an active mediational process between individuals of different language and cultural backgrounds. Tse further proposed that a child language broker interprets the messages in a purposeful manner to influence the outcome. This is different from a formal translator or interpreter whose job is to merely convey the message. Dorner and Orellana (2008) further add to the definition stating that “mothers and fathers work together with their children to construct the meaning” (p. 538) of language brokering situations, thus emphasizing that language brokering occurs within a relational context. Although children’s translations often originate in the simple need to convey a specific message, the child’s own perception of the situation, the child’s emotional connection to family, and the child’s dependence on innate bilingual abilities all combine to produce a brokering of language and culture. In fact, Trickett and Jones (2007) have referred to this role as a “cultural translator or

broker” which more directly links the communication of language to one intimately tied to cultural bridging.

More recently, emphasis has been placed on the necessity of child language brokering to immigrant family functioning, access to resources, institutional knowledge/negotiation, and work stability (Hall & Sham, 2007; Orellana, 2001; Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003). Several researchers have explored the nature of the child language broker role. Valenzuela (1999) interviewed parents and children of Mexican-origin households in Los Angeles to further define how children influence immigrant family settlement. Valenzuela discovered notable gender-related patterns, and identified three primary tasks of the child: tutor for parents and siblings (including translating, interpreting, teaching); advocate (intervening, mediating or advocating during financial, legal or other complex interactions); and, surrogate parent (consulting about and parenting younger siblings). Hall and Sham (2007) argued that their research with Chinese adolescent language brokers in England demonstrated significant economic contribution to the family. Furthermore, they concluded from interviews and discussions with families that the children “exert agency in their own right, exercise independently high level of cognitive and social responsibility, handle complex technical, legal and administrative problems, and operate decision-making behavior sensibly and productively for the benefit of their families” (p. 26). Thus, language brokering may be viewed as more than the action of translation, but a legitimate role that might be needed and/or may facilitate cultural transitions normative to immigrant families.

Earlier research discussed aspects of the immigrant experience, but children’s roles and the parent-child dynamic arising out of experiences specific to immigration has

not been a focus of this research. The significant and powerful role that children of immigrants may take on within their families has led researchers to question how this role affects traditional family roles and functioning.

### **Theories/ Accounts of Family Disruption Applied to Language Brokering**

Immigration represents a transition during which roles, responsibilities, and family practices change considerably. Partida (1996) provided an account of Mexican immigrant families' experiences and noted that the process of integrating into the new host society is accompanied by "strained family relations, isolation, misunderstandings, poor communications and the clashing of values, morals, cultures and ideals" (p. 244). Partida suggested that the child's ability to acquire English more quickly, along with the accompanying power that mastering the language affords them, may leave parents feeling disempowered and may hamper their ability for limit-setting and discipline. The sense of disempowerment that comes from children taking on greater roles of mediation, advocacy, and caretaking in family transactions may impact more heavily on immigrant parents who adhere to traditional familial hierarchical systems. Ethnographic and longitudinal data examining the immigrant experience as a whole have often noted this "role-reversal" in families (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Other researchers have focused on the differential rates of acculturation in families and have found that the "acculturation gap" between parent and child may contribute to parent-child conflict, ineffective parenting, and increased child behavior problems (Harris & Chen, 2004; Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980; Vega, Gil, Khoury, Warheit, & Zimmerman, 1995; Yasui & Dishion, 2007). Although language differences between

parent and child have been included as a measure of acculturation, less research has focused specifically on the psychological impact of language transitions that occur within immigrant families. Emerging research (Usita & Blieszner, 2002) has attempted to elucidate family strengths that may counter identified problems of differential language transition rates between family members, including loss of parental authority, child resistance to share private information, parental frustration at being unable to express their thoughts, and emotional distance between grandparents and grandchildren.

As a result of the assumption that differential acculturation rates between immigrant parents and their children may contribute to disrupted family cohesiveness, the phenomena of language brokering among children of immigrants has also been questioned as to whether it facilitates disruption or adaptive functioning. What research there is regarding language transitions in the immigration experience has mostly been addressed in educational and communication research, but this has not involved a close look at the psychological aspects that may accompany family language shifts, nor does it address the unique interactional relationship between parent and child as the family transitions. The existing literature predicted a picture of family disruption and potentially negative psychological outcomes when extrapolated to include child language brokering. Only recently have more empirical studies been published to expand our understanding of child language brokering and its impact on family and child outcomes.

### **Review of Child Language Brokering Studies**

Studies on the phenomena of child language brokering began to emerge and grow after the mid-1990s (Morales & Hanson, 2005). Prior to this time, there existed few

empirical analyses that examined the occurrence and impact of children interpreting for others as the primary research question. What did exist in the literature were stories of personal experiences, observations and analyses from in-depth qualitative studies of bilingualism in sociolinguistic and educational research, and increasing interest in child interpreters from translation and linguistic studies (Harris & Sherwood, 1978; Kaur & Mills, 1993; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991; Ramirez & Castaneda, 1974; Schieffelin & Cochran-Smith, 1984; Shannon, 1990; Vasquez, Pease-Alvarez, & Shannon, 1994). These researchers challenged the prevailing popular myth that bilingual children were somehow “abnormal” by bringing to life their experiences, questioning how learning and speaking two languages impacted cognitive development, and investigating connections to school literacy and academic achievement. Tse (1995a, 1995b, 1996a, 1996b; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse & McQuillan, 1996) was one of the earliest researchers to begin systematically investigating and quantifying prevalence rates of children’s language brokering experiences, as well as effects on children’s cultural identities, language development, school achievement, and affective responses utilizing descriptive and correlational methodologies. Tse, as well as other ground-breaking researchers in language brokering (Orellana, Dorner, et al., 2003b; Valdes, 2002), based their works in educational research and applied their findings to language and literacy development. Yet, the question of language brokering, and cross-language communication in acculturating families is a growing interest in understanding the psychological impact on children’s development and family relationships.

Studies included in this review were selected based on several criteria: (a) published in a peer-reviewed journal or definitive methodology demonstrated, (b)

investigations with language/cultural brokering experiences and/or outcomes specified as the primary research question, (c) information/data collected from child language broker and/or parents directly, and (d) investigation focus on child brokering for parents and family members. A search on PsycINFO using the search terms “language brokering,” “cultural brokering,” “culture broker,” “child translation,” and “child interpreter” produced 22 articles meeting the criteria. Additional articles were sought by consulting those cited in a comprehensive review of the language brokering literature (Morales & Hansen, 2005); however, almost half of the literature cited were not from peer-reviewed sources (although some authors of conference papers and unpublished manuscripts had published articles at the time of this review which were included), did not have a definitive methodology, or otherwise did not meet criteria. Multiple articles from PsycINFO were excluded for various reasons such as: focus on the perspective of other professionals (e.g., doctors, teachers) and interactions with child brokers, personal reflections or accounts of brokering experiences (no specified empirical methodology), theoretical articles or book reviews, or incorporated a discussion of language brokering as one of several findings of the study rather than as the subject of the study. For the purposes of comparing results across the different studies, the investigation carried out by Chao (2006) was separated into three separate studies due to the large sample size with three distinct subgroups. Chao carried out the largest-known survey of language brokering with a total of 1601 subjects. Mexican, Chinese, and Korean participants roughly composed one third each of the total sample size, and Chao reported her results with respect to ethnicity. Thus, including her study as three different studies allowed for

better comparison of ethnic similarities or differences between studies, and brought the current review to 24 studies.

### **Study Characteristics**

All of the studies generally focused on the characteristics of child language brokers and their families. These studies investigated child language brokering patterns (prevalence, frequency, situations, associated family demographics), feelings associated with brokering, child affective outcomes (e.g., depression, stress), family and social relationship outcomes, acculturative/ethnic identity outcomes, and academic/cognitive outcomes. The studies selected utilized both qualitative and quantitative methodologies: 18 quantitative, 1 mixed method, and 5 qualitative. Qualitative methodologies included ethnographic field observations (including notes/recordings), focus groups, and in-depth interviews. Quantitative studies primarily quantified descriptive data from self-report instruments and provided descriptive data (means, standard deviations, percentages), and correlational results. Hierarchical or multiple regression analyses to determine the weight of influence of given factors on outcomes were also used in some quantitative studies. Sample sizes among the studies varied greatly with six large ( $N > 175$ ), nine medium ( $75 < N < 175$ ), and eight small studies ( $N < 75$ ). One qualitative study did not report a sample size, but was assumed to have a small sample size. A comparison of study characteristics are presented by sample size (small, medium, large) in Table 1.

Of the 24 studies, 16 obtained data on Latino families only, and 12 of these studies had samples that were primarily of Mexican heritage. Six of the studies included Asian families (Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean). One of the studies included a mix of both Latino and Asian participants. One study had a sample of immigrant families from

Table 1

*Language Brokering Study Characteristics*

Study size	Authors	N =	Child foreign-born (%)	Child grade	Mean age	Study location	Child ethnicity	Mexican (%)	Avg. age arrival	Qual/quan
Small										
	Tse (1996a)	64	96.9%	high school	17	Major metropol.	Chinese/ Vietnamese	0%	unkn.	Qualitative
	Tse (1995a)	35	28.6%	high school	16 (SD=1.0)	Major metropol.	Latina/o	45.7%	9.7 (est.)	Quantitative
	Tse & Mcquillan (1996)	9	100%	beyond college	adult	unkn.	Cambodian, Cantonese, Korean, Latina/o, Vietnamese	unkn.	unkn.	Qualitative
	Weisskirch & Alva (2002)	36	5.6%	5 <sup>th</sup> grade	10.53, range 9.9- 11.4	Southern CA	Latina/o, Afr. Amer., Amer. Indian, Multiracial	91.7%	unkn.	Quantitative
	Weisskirch (2005)	55	11.0%	6 <sup>th</sup> grade	11.7 (SD=0.3), range 11- 12	Central CA, suburb	Latina/o	71%	unkn.	Quantitative
	Castañeda (2005)	13	46.2%	College & beyond	29.2, range 18- 52	California	Latino	100%	unkn.	Qualitative

*(table continues)*



Study size	Authors	N =	Child foreign-born (%)	Child grade	Mean age	Study location	Child ethnicity	Mexican (%)	Avg. age arrival	Qual/quan
	Hall & Sham (2007)	unkn.	unkn.	unkn.	unkn.	England	Chinese	0%	unkn.	Qualitative
	Dorner, Orellana, & Jiménez (2008)	12	16.7%	high school <sup>a</sup>	unkn.	Chicago	Latina/o	91.7%	unkn.	Qualitative
	Martinez, McClure, & Eddy (2009)	73 (mother, father & child)	50%	middle school	12.74 (SD=1.0)	Lane County, OR	Latina/o	90%	6.18 (est.)	Quantitative
Medium	Buriel, Perez, DeMent, Chavez, & Moran (1998)	122	15.6%	9 <sup>th</sup> & 10 <sup>th</sup> grade	14.8	LA county	Latino	90%	4.1 (range 1-10)	Quantitative
	Díaz-Lázaro (2002)	159 (child) 105 (parent)	unkn.	Unkn.	15, range 12-19	Buffalo, NY; Boston, MA; Houston, TX	Latino	23.10%	7.3	Quantitative
	Mercado (2004)	90	32.0%	13th-16th grade	23.2, range 17-30	NYC	Latino	0%	unkn.	Quantitative
	Acoach & Webb (2004)	89	>90%	junior & senior high	range 13-18	S.E. USA	Latino	Unkn.	unkn.	Quantitative

(table continues)

Study size	Authors	<i>N</i> =	Child foreign-born (%)	Child grade	Mean age	Study location	Child ethnicity	Mexican (%)	Avg. age arrival	Qual/quant
	Buriel, Love, & De Ment (2006)	157	36.3%	10 <sup>th</sup> & 11 <sup>th</sup> grade	15.29 ( <i>SD</i> =1.2)	Los Angeles	Latino	85%	7.93 (est.)	Quantitative
	Dorner, Orellana & Li-Grining (2007)	87	53% <sup>b</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup> & 6 <sup>th</sup> grade	11.2 (=0.8)	Chicago	Latino	"mostly" Mexican	unkn.	Mixed (longitudinal)
	Love (2007)	117	21.4%	6 <sup>th</sup> grade	11.3 ( <i>SD</i> =.05)	Woodburn, OR	Latino	100% (assumed)	4.49 (est.)	Quantitative
	Trickett & Jones (2007)	147 (child & parent)	74% (1st gen.)	Unkn.	15.9, range 12-20	Washington D.C.	Vietnamese	0%	8.2 (est.)	Quantitative
	Weisskirch (2007)	98	25.5%	7 <sup>th</sup> grade	13.14 (= .42) range 12.5-14.3	central CA	Latino	100%	5.75 (est.)	Quantitative
Large	Jones & Trickett (2005)	226 (child & parent)	98.7%	6 <sup>th</sup> -12 <sup>th</sup> grade	14.8 ( <i>SD</i> =2.0)	Unkn.	Former Soviet Union (50% refugee)	0%	9.8 (est.)	Quantitative
	Chao (2006)	463	26.3%	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	15.72, range 15-16	Los Angeles	Latino	100%	4.95	Quantitative
	Chao (2006)	557	30.5%	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	15.72, range 15-16	Los Angeles	Korean	0%	8.76	Quantitative

(table continues)

Study size	Authors	<i>N</i> =	Child foreign-born (%)	Child grade	Mean age	Study location	Child ethnicity	Mexican (%)	Avg. age arrival	Qual/quant
	Chao (2006)	581	33.2%	9 <sup>th</sup> grade	15.72, range 15-16	Los Angeles	Chinese	0%	7.31	Quantitative
	Love & Buriel (2007)	246	30.1%	7 <sup>th</sup> & 8 <sup>th</sup> grade	12.58 (SD=.64)	Los Angeles	Latino	100%	3.8	Quantitative
	Wu & Kim (2009)	256	30%	11 <sup>th</sup> & 12 <sup>th</sup> grade <sup>c</sup>	unkn.	Northern CA	Chinese	0%	unkn.	Quantitative

<sup>a</sup> longitudinal case studies with children entering study primarily as fifth/sixth graders; <sup>b</sup> data categorized by: first/second gen. (birthplace unspc.), third/fourth gen., and unkn. gen. status; <sup>c</sup> two-wave prospective longitudinal study with children at wave 1 being in seventh/eighth grade.

the former Soviet Union. In regards to age, three studies utilized college age or older adult participants. Seven studies utilized high school age participants, while two had a mix of high school and middle school students. Another study used a two-wave longitudinal design where participants entered the first wave of the study in middle school and were high school age by the second wave. Five drew from middle school samples (sixth-eighth grade), and one had a mixed fifth-sixth grade sample. Additionally, one study reported on youth currently in late middle school or high school, but who started in the study as primarily fifth and sixth graders. In this review, one study was included with a sample of children from elementary school (fifth grade). Finally, studies included both foreign-born and native-born participants. Thirteen of the studies identified percentages of foreign-born subjects between 5% and 35% of the total sample size. Three of the studies had over 90% of the study consisting of foreign-born subjects, while another six studies had between 36% and 89% of the sample born outside of the USA. Two studies did not specify the percentage of children born outside of the USA. Of all the studies reporting on nativity of children or generational status, seven clearly differentiated between first and second generation participants and included generational status in the analysis (Chao, 2006; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Trickett & Jones, 2007; Tse & McQuillan, 1996; Weisskirch, 2007). Additionally, one study ran preliminary chi-square analyses between first and second generation participants, but collapsed the sample when no differences were present between the two groups on variables included in their study (test scores, bilingual education, and gender; Dorner, Orellana & Li-Grining, 2007).

An overview of the studies carried out on language brokering indicated that the majority of studies were carried out with Latino communities, and these Latino

community were largely of Mexican origin. There are an increasing number of studies conducted in different Asian communities. Studies have largely utilized adolescent and adult populations (sixth grade to adult). Although the immigrant status of students is often reported, it is not often included in analyses. Only four quantitative and one qualitative study included parents as participants (Díaz-Lázaro, 2002; Hall & Sham, 2007; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Martinez, McClure, & Eddy, 2009; Trickett & Jones, 2007) despite the fact that over half of the studies reported on aspects of familial relationships. Thus, many studies used self-report data from the child broker's perspective as a measure of parent-child relationship quality. A majority of the studies included some component of observational or descriptive data regarding language brokering characteristics (e.g., prevalence, broker gender, brokering locations, brokering participants). Only three studies incorporated direct observation of language brokering as a part of their study (Dorner et al., 2007; Dorner, Orellana, & Jiménez, 2008; Hall & Sham, 2007). The mixed-method study (Dorner et al., 2007) used observations to inform the development of quantitative measures and research questions without specifically reporting on qualitative findings. Another defining characteristic of most studies was their selection of more established immigrant communities in large urban areas with two exceptions (Love, 2007; Martinez et al., 2009).

### **Language Brokering Prevalence**

Prevalence rates of language brokering ranged from 57% to 100% across studies, with most studies reporting greater than 80% of their sample engaged in language brokering. Thus, there is agreement that most language minority children have language brokered at some point in their lives, and that language brokering is a common

experience. This holds true across ethnic groups, first and second generational status, and age groups. One issue in comparing results from these studies is that there is no clear definition of how much translation experience constitutes “language brokering.” Most of the studies do not differentiate between the amount of brokering, as evidenced by Buriel and colleagues’ (1998) report that all of their participants had “some brokering experience” with no further specification of what is meant by “some.” Weisskirch (2005) noted that one of his study limitations was that most of his participants reported brokering “a little bit.” Martinez et al. (2009) used a proxy measure of whether both parents were monolingual or at least one parent was bilingual to determine likely demand for brokering within the family rather than direct measures of language brokering frequency.

Only one study (Dorner et al., 2007) established criteria for amount of language brokering (active broker, partial broker, nonbroker). Thus, children who reported having limited brokering experiences (e.g., only translated for family members sometimes or never, only provided language brokering in one place), were considered non-brokers. Despite the fact that 90% of the first/second generation children in her sample reported translating at least a little bit, re-categorization identified 40% of first/second generation children as non-brokers. The percentage of children categorized as non-brokers was even greater (68%) among children of 3<sup>rd</sup>/fourth and unknown generation status. This study’s more critical look at the amount of language brokering that may occur would indicate caution in whole-heartedly accepting Tse’s (1995b) conclusions that “nearly all language minority students are brokers” and cites 90% of her Chinese and Vietnamese sample and 100% of her Latino sample reported brokering. The various ways which studies have

defined “language brokering” also point to the need for clarification on how to measure language brokering and when a child may be considered a language broker.

Three studies (Chao, 2006) that analyzed language brokering characteristics and outcomes by generational status, also attest to the need for caution in reporting prevalence rates. Chao measured language brokering prevalence by participant reports of having “ever translated” for either parent, and by frequencies of translation for mothers and for fathers (5-point scale for various items and situations). Her results with Mexican, Chinese and Korean youth indicated that first generation youth report having “ever translated” for their parents significantly more than second generation youth. Thus, there appear to be differences in prevalence rates of language brokering according to generational status. Additionally, significant differences in translating frequency for mothers and for fathers existed both across generation and ethnic group. Chao found that first generation immigrant youth reported more brokering than second generation youth regardless of ethnic group. Chao also found that first generation Mexican youth translated more for their parents than first generation Chinese youth. It must be noted that most of the other studies utilizing Asian participants were dominated by first generation participants whereas studies with Latino participants frequently included mixed generation groups without differentiating between them.

### **Average Age of Language Brokering Initiation**

Children from language minority homes are exposed to and begin rapidly acquiring English from the point that they enter the U.S. school systems. Despite the pervasive knowledge that language brokering begins at some point after sufficient English skills are acquired, there are few studies that provide information on the average

age at which children's language brokering begins to emerge. A review of language brokering studies (Morales & Hanson, 2005) concluded that children may begin brokering as young as age eight or nine. Of the studies in this review, only three reported on the average age at which language brokering began. A small study by Tse and McQuillan (1996) found the average age to be around 10.9, while two medium size studies reported average ages of 7.5 and 10.4 (Buriel et al., 1998; Mercado, 2004) with individual participant reports from all studies ranging from ages four to twenty-one. Morales and Hanson (2005) also reported that children began brokering within 1 to 5 years of arrival in the USA. Although studies in this review did not identify the average age that children began brokering after arrival, most studies including foreign-born participants reported average ages at arrival ranging from 4 to 10 years. Thus, although language brokering may more commonly begin between ages seven to ten, children enter school much earlier, and at least some participants reported beginning brokering as young as age four. More studies are needed to determine the age at which brokering begins, and this age may differ between US-born and foreign-born children in language minority homes. Previous reports have also relied on retrospective reporting and thus, may not have captured the extent to which language brokering occurs at younger ages.

### **Language Brokering Situations**

Previous studies have identified different brokering situations which have added to our current knowledge of where brokering occurs, for whom children broker, and what things children broker. Qualitative research and field observations by Orellana and colleagues (2001, 2003b; Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, 2003a) have contributed greatly to an understanding of the types of brokering situations that children encounter.



Orellana (2001) divided brokering situations into four categories: face-to-face (translating between two differently languaged individuals), written documents (translating texts), one-way (e.g. translating radio programs, TV), and doing/speaking for others. These categories are useful in considering the social rules that may govern each type of brokering situation; however, most language brokering literature has analyzed brokering situations by the categories set forth in a measure created by Tse (1996a), and later modified by Buriel et al. (1998). Tse (1996a) developed a brokering scale that reported on children's frequency of language brokering for different persons and in different places. She also included a section regarding children's attitudes and feelings towards brokering experiences in the scale. Buriel et al. (1998) later expanded the survey with additional items under each of four dimensions: persons (10 items), places (12 items), things (12 items), and feelings (12 items). Their modified survey also included a weighted scale for the "places" dimension to reflect the relative level of translation skill or difficulty of each situation. Subsequent research has most frequently included the revised language brokering survey as a measure. Several exceptions include research by Jones and Trickett (2005; Trickett & Jones, 2007), who based their seven-item 4-point Likert scale survey off of a survey in an unpublished manuscript, and Chao (2006) who included a 10-item 5-point survey of which the development and origin is unknown. Separately, Orellana et al., (2003b) developed a brokering scale grounded in the qualitative results of 18 case studies and influenced by the person/place/things categorization of Buriel et al. (1998) and Tse (1996a).

Most current empirical research has results that reflect the categories provided above. Persons for whom children have brokered include parents, grandparents, siblings,

other relatives, friends, teachers, neighbors, school personnel, store personnel, and strangers. Places where children have brokered include parent-teacher conferences, dentist office, restaurants, school, doctor's office, on the street, stores, home, post office, hospital, bank, parent's work, restaurant, government office, and church. Things that children have brokered include legal documents, radio shows, newspapers, bank statements, bills, report cards, signs, mail, conversations, TV shows, homework, other school information, movies, phone calls, notes/letters from school, credit card bills, phone bills, insurance forms, immigration forms, job applications, rental contracts, appliance instructions, and words.

A review of results across eight studies that assess the frequency of children's participation in various language brokering situations indicate that children most frequently report brokering for parents, with brokering for relatives, friends, and on the phone following close behind in frequency (Dorner et al., 2007; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Trickett & Jones, 2007; Tse, 1996a; Tse & McQuillan, 1996; Weisskirch, 2005, 2007; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Home was the place where language brokering occurred most frequently, with school and store also being highly prevalent (Dorner et al., 2007; Tse, 1996a; Tse & McQuillan, 1996). Things most frequently translated was not consistent across surveys, in part due to difference in surveys; however, notes/letters to school, words, forms, and applications were the most frequently translated things across different studies (Dorner, Orellana, & Li-Grining, 2007; Trickett & Jones, 2007; Tse & McQuillan, 1996; Weisskirch, 2005; Weisskirch, 2007; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002).

Although studies use similar variations of language brokering survey, they do not all consistently report results. Studies that do report results may only provide prevalence

within the sample, whereas others report frequency of brokering that occurs in different types of situations. One of the most valuable aspects of the current language brokering survey is its possible use to differentiate between children who translate occasionally, and children who take on a language brokering role. Love (2007) found it difficult to differentiate the extent to which children language brokered from the survey results. Instead, she assessed children's amount of brokering by asking children to rate themselves and their siblings for who most often language brokered in the family. Martinez et al. (2009) categorized brokering frequency into high language brokering (HLB) and low language brokering (LLB) contexts, with HLB families consisting of both parents being monolingual while in LLB families, at least one parent was identified as bilingual. Validity of this categorization was based on responses from mothers, fathers, and youth to one 5-point Likert scale question on brokering frequency. Although there was significant correspondence between the brokering question and the categorization in LLB/HLB contexts, the study authors recommended more direct measures of language brokering frequency and context in the future.

On the other hand, Dorner et al. (2007) provided a useful model for utilizing a language brokering survey to categorize children as non-brokers, partial brokers, and active brokers. Additionally, their research identified situations which necessitated a higher level of brokering ability and weighted them accordingly. The relative difficulty of translating in different situations may not only help to distinguish between different levels of brokering, but may also help to differentiate between different affective outcomes associated with brokering. For example, occasional informal translating for siblings or friends on schoolwork may provide a low-stakes, high-reward emotional

context whereas translating rental agreements or in a doctor's office for an ill parent may be a high-stakes, low-reward emotional context. The lack of measurement in the quality and extent of translations/interpretation that children provide in different contexts remains a weakness, as well as differentiation between low-stakes and high-stakes affectively laden brokering situations.

### **Outcomes: Affective/Emotional and Behavioral**

Almost all of the studies on language brokering investigated some aspect of affective/ emotional and psychological outcomes in relation to language brokering. Qualitative research characterized children's brokering experiences as stressful and burdensome (Hall & Sham, 2007; Tse & McQuillan, 1996). Hall and Sham provided vivid quotes from Chinese adolescents they interviewed in England. Children illustrated the stress they experienced from brokering situations when assisting at their parents' restaurant: "I could not sleep for nearly a week," "I was shaking with fright," "I get all stressed up and worry if I have done the correct translation or interpretation." Some of the adults interviewed by Tse and McQuillan also admitted to being embarrassed by parents for their lack of English skills. A study by Usita and Blieszner (2002) echoed these sentiments as the adult daughters of mother-daughter pairs acknowledged frustration and embarrassment when parents used "wrong words and expressions" (p. 274). Yet, when interviewed, children could also report on benefits they perceived, such as feeling useful and a sense of competence in being able to help parents (Hall & Sham, 2007). One of the most rigorous in her approach to analyzing results from qualitative interviews, Castañeda (2005) found that her thirteen Latina participants recollected mixed emotional responses, including dislike of brokering and embarrassment, as well as enjoying brokering, feeling

more self-confident, articulate, motivated to succeed, and prepared for life. Castañeda reported that positive outcomes were most often reported, and perhaps even more significant, participants repeatedly brought up a theme of “transformation” in how they perceived their brokering experiences. Although participants remembered several difficult instances characterized by negative responses, the negative perceptions transformed as participants gained maturity. An equally rigorous qualitative study that followed 12 children for 5 years from elementary to high school (Dorner et al., 2008) found that young people reported less nervousness and more confidence in their language brokering as they matured. Youth also reported instances of tension (e.g., parents requesting translations during movies/television watching) and distrust (e.g., majority culture individual in a public space responds to child brokering in a negative way). Overall, though, youth in this study reported feelings of pride, responsibility, and helpfulness in relation to their language brokering experiences.

A summary of frequencies of responses and mean responses for strength of agreement/disagreement to the feelings subscale of the revised Language Brokering Survey is provided in Table 2 for those studies that reported this data. For the purposes of comparisons between studies, age groups were identified as child (up to fifth grade), adolescent (6<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> grade), and adult (college-age and older). The table provides a mixed picture of children’s affective responses towards language brokering. Although about half of youth agree that they feel proud to translate and like to translate, half of the youth provide another response. Of the two studies that report means along an agree/disagree scale, one study’s youth tend towards agreeing with these statements while the other study youth tend towards disagreeing. Responses regarding caring more about

Table 2

*Agreement with Affective Statements: Comparison of Findings Across Studies*

Affective statements	Díaz- Lázaro (2002)	Weisskirch (2005)	Weisskirch & Alva (2002) <sup>a</sup>	Tse (1995)	Tse (1996) <sup>a</sup>
	Latino 1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup> Adolescent Medium	Mexican 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen. Adolescent Small	Mexican 2 <sup>nd</sup> gen. Child Small	Latino 1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup> Adolescent Small	Asian 1 <sup>st</sup> gen. Adolescent Small
Feel good about myself/ proud		$M=3.20$ , $SD=.79^b$	$M=1.74^c$	46%	near 50%
I like to translate		$M=3.15$ , $SD=.91$	$M=1.85$	54% (23% dislike)	52% (18% dislike)
Helped me to care more about parents		$M=3.11$ , $SD=.85$	$M=1.74$		
Feel more grown up/ independent & mature		$M=3.04$ , $SD=.82$	$M=2.06$	31%	45%
I feel embarrassed	25%	$M=2.30$ , $SD=1.02$	$M=2.59$	9%	11%
I feel nervous	53%	$M=2.23$ , $SD=1.01$	$M=2.26$		
I translate even when I don't want to/ I feel burdened		$M=2.02$ , $SD=1.03$	$M=2.09$	9%	17%

*Note.* Means re-calculated to reflect inverted scale for greater ease of comparison to Weisskirch (2005) study

<sup>a</sup>Means re-calculated to reflect inverted scale for greater ease of comparison to Weisskirch (2005) study results.

<sup>b</sup> 1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree.

<sup>c</sup> 1=strongly disagree, 4=strongly agree.

parents, feeling more grown up, feeling embarrassed, and feeling nervous also appear to have contradictory findings across studies. The only item with some level of agreement across studies is that children and adolescents appear to disagree with the statement that their language broker when they do not want to or that language brokering is a burden. In

comparing these studies, the sample population ethnicity, age, and generational status might have influenced the results. Age especially might have been a factor as the study with the youngest population (fifth graders) clearly had an overall negative affective response to language brokering while the other samples had a more balanced affective experience. Weisskirch and Alva (2002) suggested that underdeveloped language skills of younger children might influence a child's experience of language brokering interactions, while Love and Buriel (2007) proposed that positive developmental outcomes arising from language brokering may not emerge until adolescence. Morales and Hanson (2005) emphasized the need for further developmental studies of language brokering.

In three other studies, the feelings subscale was either not separated out from the total brokering score, or did not significantly correlate with or predict any outcomes under study (Díaz-Lázaro, 2002; Love & Buriel, 2007; Mercado, 2004). A fourth study (Buriel et al., 1998) found that the feelings subscale of the brokering survey correlated more strongly with all other variables in the study (biculturalism, academic self-efficacy, social self-efficacy, and academic performance) than the total brokering score; however, feelings about brokering did not significantly contribute to predictions of academic performance, while academic self-efficacy, the places brokered subscale, and biculturalism together accounted for 31% of the variance in academic performance among high school Latinos. Weisskirch (2007) explored adolescent children's feelings towards brokering in more depth, and found that Mexican-born participants reported more extremes of negative and positive feelings about brokering than US-born participants. Additionally, he found that adolescents that reported more positive feelings

towards brokering and less problematic family relationships, were more likely to have higher self-esteem. Weisskirch suggested that family context shaped the impact of language brokering.

Wu and Kim's (2009) research took an even closer look at family context and how it influenced children's feelings towards language brokering experiences. Their research expanded on Tse's (1996a) feelings towards brokering subscale to develop a language brokering experiences scale that measured two factors: sense of burden and sense of efficacy. Results indicated significant fit with a structural model where language brokers with a stronger Chinese orientation had a stronger sense of familial obligation and were more likely to perceive that they mattered to parents. In turn, a strong sense of mattering to parents was associated positively with a sense of efficacy generated from language brokering and associated negatively with a sense of burden from brokering. On the other hand, child language brokers with a weak sense of familial obligation (thus, weaker Chinese orientation) were more likely to feel a sense of alienation from parents, and consequently were more likely to have a sense of burden towards brokering. Wu and Kim also found significant differences in language brokering experiences by parent gender, with language brokers more likely to perceive a sense of burden and a stronger sense of efficacy when translating for mothers than for fathers. Their findings were groundbreaking in suggesting the directionality of cause/effect where language brokering experiences do not necessarily shape family relationships, but that family relationships and ethnic identity shape children's experiences of brokering. This study found that effects of this structural model held regardless of frequency of brokering. It did not take into account the difficulty or nature of materials or situations being brokered.



Stress is another aspect of affective experiences related to brokering frequency that was measured in two studies. Mercado (2004) used the total brokering scale, without separating out the feelings subscale during analysis, to better assess the frequency and difficulty of brokering situations. He found that neither the total brokering score nor the subscales for persons, places or things contributed to college students' reports of stress. Mercado hypothesized that the age group surveyed may have affected his results. This author also felt that students who have made it to college have already demonstrated a degree of adaptability and success that may have led to an inherent bias in their reports of stress related to language brokering. Mercado suggested that it would be important to question whether language brokering has a different effect on stress levels and family interactions depending on the developmental stage of the child language broker. On the other hand, Jones and Trickett (2005) did find a significant positive correlation between adolescent student reports of stress and the amount of cultural brokering. Additionally, even after controlling for parent and adolescent characteristics, and acculturation, cultural brokering significantly contributed to increased distress. This study was quite large, utilizing Russian immigrant families, half of whom were refugees. In comparison to Mercado's study, participants were younger, more likely to be foreign-born, and were perhaps more likely to experience isolation. All these factors may have affected the different outcomes.

Finally, six studies analyzed the relationship between total brokering and internalizing and externalizing symptoms with some positive findings. Chao (2006) reported that as language brokering increased for both mothers and fathers among Korean and Chinese adolescents (ninth grade), internalizing symptoms also increased.

Externalizing symptoms increased with greater frequency of language brokering for mothers and fathers among Korean adolescents only. Neither Chinese nor Mexican adolescents demonstrated associations between language brokering for mothers and fathers and externalizing symptoms. Mexican adolescents (ninth grade) also did not demonstrate an association between internalizing symptoms and brokering. Although Chao did not encounter a significant relationship between internalizing symptoms and brokering for Mexican adolescents, two other studies with primarily Mexican samples found that more language brokering was predictive of increased depression.

Love and Buriel (2007) found that the Persons subscale of the brokering survey significantly predicted variance in depression for seventh- and eighth-grade boys and girls, meaning that the more people for whom youth reported brokering, the higher their reports of depressive symptoms. In addition, for boys, greater parent-child bonding, biculturalism, and privileges in the family helped to reduce depression while more responsibility appeared to increase depression. For girls, an interaction effect was also found where girls who brokered in more places and received more responsibilities were less prone to depression.

In a study by Martinez et al. (2009), although no significant differences were found with middle school children's reports of depression in low and high language brokering contexts, parents of children in low brokering contexts reported significantly less internalizing behavior problems and less alcohol and substance use compared to parents of children in high language brokering contexts. No differences were reported between the two language brokering groups in externalizing behaviors. Another study (Buriel et al., 2006) with high school Latino students found that parent-child bonding and

child English proficiency significantly contributed to predictions of depression for girls, but language brokering did not significantly add to the model. For boys, only the Places subscale of language brokering and parent-child bonding significantly predicted depression.

Conclusions are difficult to draw given that studies varied by ethnic group, age group, sample size, and location. Only one study collected data from parents as well as children, which provided different results on reports of internalizing symptoms. The way in which language brokering frequency was measured differed across studies, and different aspects of brokering were significantly related to outcomes. It is likely that there is a relationship between language brokering and internalizing/externalizing symptoms, but that this relationship may be influenced by other contextual factors, including parent and child gender, child age, cultural factors, and the parent-child relationship. As pointed out by Martinez et al. (2009), language brokering may also be serving as a proxy for other factors not measured, such as employment, discrimination, and poverty that are related to level of familial stress and resources available for adaptability/adjustment.

In summary, feelings about language brokering appear to be an important construct that warrants further investigation as there is a wide array of affective reactions to the language brokering experience. It would be informative to know whether feelings about language brokering are influenced by generational status and child age. Explorations regarding language brokering and internalizing and externalizing outcomes also suggest that ethnicity, and specifically the perception of the child's role within that child's cultural context, might be an influential factor in how children cope with language brokering experiences. There is growing evidence that the act or experience of language

brokering, and specifically children's feelings about brokering, does have a relationship with child outcomes, but it is not yet clear what factors may mediate the positive or negative impact of language brokering on children's emotional health. Furthermore, there are no systematic studies on the emotional impact of language brokering for parents, nor the effects of language brokering on parent-child interactions. Regarding effects on the child, numerous factors have been suggested but not systematically looked at across studies, including child factors (number of siblings, child age, child gender, biculturalism) and parental factors (English fluency, education, age of arrival). Hall and Sham (2007) proposed that a child's affective response to brokering might be mediated by the given ethnic group's cultural beliefs (e.g., saving face, keeping family problems in the family), as well as the relative isolation of the child's experience given the immigration patterns and status of immigrants in the host country. Other researchers (Trickett & Jones, 2007) suggested that family adaptability, problem-solving skills, and recognition of the child role may mediate the child's language brokering experiences. Regardless, no study has looked at parent-child communication as it occurs to identify types of communication that may indicate greater adaptability to and support of the language brokering role and types of communication that may indicate greater conflict or negative emotional impact. The research does speak to the fact that language brokering has the potential to facilitate both positive and negative affective responses.

### **Outcomes: Parentification and Other Family Power Dynamics**

Some researchers have suggested that language brokering leads to a reversal of roles between parent and child, as well as unsolicited power that may have negative

effects on family and child outcomes (Umaña-Taylor, 2003; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Two of the qualitative studies (Hall & Sham, 2007; Tse & McQuillan, 2006) included comments from child brokers and individuals reflecting on child brokering experiences that demonstrated children's sense of agency, exercise of decision-making capacities, and the control they took in brokering situations (see Table 3).

Tse and McQuillan cited one woman who reported that she often "felt like the adult", and two other female participants declared that they took on school-related communications for younger siblings where parental input was bypassed. Several of the participants even admitted to taking advantage of parental trust on occasion. Although two other descriptive studies (Tse, 1996a; Tse & McQuillan, 1996) did not directly address family relationships, researchers interpreted the prevalence rates of language brokering (90%; 100%), high rates of brokering for parents (89%; 92%), high rates of brokering at school (80%; 65%) and high rates of brokering school notes/letters (not reported; 97%) as clear support for the "surrogate parent" role that children appeared to be taking on, at least in regard to school-home communications. Hall and Sham's (2007) qualitative findings from interviews with Chinese immigrant youth in England supported Tse's observations of child decision-making on behalf of adults when translating. Hall and Sham provide poignant quotes that illustrate children's relationships with their parents, such as the following: "I cannot consult my parents all the time. The situation does not allow you to do it. I know what my parents want anyway. I took decisions on behalf of them and they did not even know"; "Sometimes I am in control because I can make a decision on behalf of my parents or a person I help as an interpreter. They all depend on me." Some of the children interviewed also admitted to misinterpreting for a

Table 3

*Comparison of Language Brokering (LB) Study Findings on Family Power Dynamics and Parent-Child Relationships*

	Study variables			Outcomes
	Ethnic group	Age group	Gen. status	Family power dynamics and parent-child relationship
Small studies				
Tse & McQuillan (1996)	Asian	Adult	1 <sup>st</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Subjects reported taking on parental duties for selves /siblings.</li> <li>• Often "felt like the adult", by-passing parents in writing letters to school, contacting teachers, etc.</li> </ul>
Castañeda (2005)	Latino	Adult	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Few participants explicitly reported negative effects of LB. Only 1 participant stated a negative family outcome, referring to her experience as "a parentified child"</li> <li>• Participants articulated many positive effects, with one of most common being closer relationships with parents and siblings (62% of participants endorsed closer relationships with parents). Phrases used to describe closeness to parents included: "partnership", "you become a part of them"</li> </ul>
Hall & Sham (2007)	Asian	Adolesc.	(likely 1 <sup>st</sup> )	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strained family relationships: "stress and responsibility puts strain on family relationship, and can cause great resentment":</li> <li>• Role-reversal: "Sometimes I am in control because I can make a decision on behalf of my parents"</li> <li>• Parental shame/ mistrust/dependency: "a question of language ... hard to translate into Chinese from English without putting my own interpretation"</li> </ul>
Dorner & Orellana (2008)	Latino	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family relational task: "Translating and interpreting are not solitary activities; they are social and relational events in which families engage together and in relation to society"</li> </ul>

*(table continues)*

	Study variables			Outcomes
	Ethnic group	Age group	Gen. status	Family power dynamics and parent-child relationship
Medium studies				
Díaz-Lázaro (2002)	Latino	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Nonsignificant: LB, acculturation, gender and ethnicity variables did not contribute to variance in <i>family authority</i></li> <li>• Nonsignificant: Amount/ type of LB, feelings about LB, acculturation, gender and ethnicity variables did not contribute to variance on <i>parental locus of control</i>.</li> </ul>
Mercado (2003)	Latino	Adult	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: Total LB and <i>parentification</i> (<math>r=0.59, p&lt;.01</math>).</li> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: All subscales of LB correlated with <i>parentification</i></li> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: <i>Parentification</i> and reported <i>stress</i> (<math>r = 0.33, p = .001</math>).</li> <li>• <i>Nonsig.</i>: Total LB and subscales not correlated with reported <i>stress</i></li> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: Multiple regression, <i>parentification</i> (<math>\beta = -.22, p = .041</math>) predicted perceived <i>stress</i> above reported number and impact of negative life events, but LB was not a significant predictor.</li> </ul>
Buriel, Love, & De Ment (2006)	Latino	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: 3-step hierarchical regression with LB subscales, language proficiency, and educational aspiration variables entered as predictors showed that only subscale feelings LB explained significant variance in <i>parent-child bonding</i> for boys (<math>\beta = 0.36, p &lt; .01</math>)</li> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: 3-step hierarchical regression with LB subscales, language proficiency, and educational aspiration variables entered as predictors showed that subscale feelings LB (<math>\beta = 0.31, p &lt; .01</math>) and educational expectations (<math>\beta = 0.28, p &lt; .05</math>) explained significant variance in <i>parent-child bonding</i> for girls.</li> </ul>

(table continues)

	Study variables			Outcomes
	Ethnic group	Age group	Gen. status	Family power dynamics and parent-child relationship
Trickett & Jones (2007)	Asian	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: Amount of LB contributed to # of <i>family disagreements</i> (reported by adolescent, non-significant when reported by parents) <math>\beta=.038</math>; <math>R^2</math>change = 0.112; <math>p &lt; .001</math></li> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: Amount of language LB contributed uniquely to level of <i>family adaptability</i> when demographic and acculturation variables taken into account <math>\beta = .23</math>; <math>R^2</math>change = 0.04; <math>p &lt; .05</math></li> <li>• <i>Non-sig.</i>: LB not related to any other adolescent or parent report of <i>family functioning</i> (family adaptability, cohesion, satisfaction or disagreements)</li> <li>• Increased length of time in U.S. contributed to less parent-reported family cohesion.</li> <li>• Increased parental American acculturation was related to greater family cohesion, fewer reports of family disagreements.</li> </ul>
Weisskirch (2007)	Latino	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: Forward regression found that Mexican born (<math>\beta = -.17, p &lt; .05</math>), male (<math>\beta = -.21, p &lt; .01</math>), negative emotions to LB score (<math>\beta = .23, p &lt; .01</math>), and self-esteem (<math>\beta = -.50, p &lt; .001</math>) were predictive of <i>problematic family relationships</i> (<math>R = .67, Rsq = .45, F(1, 93) = 37.36, p &lt; .001</math>)</li> </ul>

(table continues)



	Study variables			Outcomes
	Ethnic group	Age group	Gen. status	Family power dynamics and parent-child relationship
Large studies				
Jones & Trickett (2005)	White	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: Two separate hierarchical regressions indicated that amount of CB predicted both <i>frequency and intensity of problems</i> at home as reported by <i>adolescents</i>, even when controlling for demographic and acculturation variables. (<math>\beta = 0.22, p &lt; .01</math>; <math>\beta = 0.27, p &lt; .001</math>)</li> <li>• <i>Non-sig.</i>: Two separate hierarchical regressions indicated that amount of CB did not predict <i>frequency/ intensity of problems</i> at home as reported by <i>parents</i>, when demographic and acculturation variables controlled for.</li> </ul>
Chao (2006)	Latino	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: As LB increases, <i>respect for mother</i> was enhanced <math>\beta = .17, SE = .07, p &lt; .05</math> (also, being bilingual)</li> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: LB for father related to increased <i>respect for father</i> (also, being bilingual &amp; father's English fluency) <math>\beta = .17, SE = .07, p &lt; .05</math></li> </ul>
Chao (2006)	Chinese	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: LB for mother positively associated with <i>respect for mother</i> <math>\beta = .13, SE = .04, p &lt; .01</math> (also, mother's English fluency)</li> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: LB for father marginally related to <i>respect for father</i> <math>\beta = .15, SE = .08, p &lt; .05</math> (father's English fluency related to respect for father)</li> </ul>
Chao (2006)	Korean	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Non-sig.</i>: LB for mother not associated with <i>respect for mother</i> (but being bilingual, older adolescents, &amp; mother's greater English fluency are associated)</li> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: LB for father related to <i>respect for father</i> <math>\beta = .13, SE = .05, p &lt; .01</math> (also, being bilingual &amp; father's English fluency)</li> <li>• (single-parent household negatively related to respect for father and for mother)</li> </ul>

(table continues)

	Study variables			Outcomes
	Ethnic group	Age group	Gen. status	Family power dynamics and parent-child relationship
Love & Buriel (2007)	Latino	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: Strong <i>parent-child bond</i> correlated with positive feelings about LB for boys &amp; girls.</li> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: Hierarchical regression, boys who LB for more people report more <i>depression</i>, and <i>parent-child bonding</i> significantly adds to model (<math>\beta = -.26, p &lt; .01</math>) with strong bonding related to less depression.</li> </ul>
Wu & Kim (2009)	Asian	Adolesc.	1 <sup>st</sup> & 2 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: Structural model where (1) stronger ethnic orientation (Chinese) related to greater sense of efficacy as language broker with increased <i>sense of familial obligation</i> and perceived <i>sense of mattering to parents</i> partially explaining relationship; (2) weaker ethnic orientation related to sense of burden as language broker with weak <i>sense of familial obligation</i> and <i>sense of alienation from parents</i> partially explaining relationship</li> <li>• <i>Sig.</i>: stronger ethnic orientation related to stronger <i>sense of familial obligation</i>. Stronger <i>sense of familial obligation</i> related to stronger <i>sense of mattering to parents</i>. Weaker <i>sense of familial obligation</i> related to stronger <i>sense of alienation from parents</i>. Stronger <i>sense of mattering to parents</i> positively associated with sense of efficacy as language broker and negatively associated with sense of burden. Greater <i>sense of alienation</i> positively associated with sense of burden as language broker with no correlation to sense of efficacy.</li> <li>• Number of significant mediated paths in the model involving mothers outnumber the model involving fathers, thus children have different language brokering experiences with each parent.</li> </ul>

variety of reasons, including finding it difficult to translate without including personal interpretation, attempting to avoid conflict, or providing a positive image of parents or protecting parents from perceived harm.

Hall and Sham (2007) carried out extensive observations among a few Cantonese-speaking families whose children were highly involved in helping out with their parents' take-away (take-out) restaurants in England. Unfortunately, Hall and Sham provided little context or description of the observational methods used and how he approached analysis of qualitative observations. At times, it was difficult to determine which quotes and summaries arose directly from observations in his study, and which were general summaries and quotes from other studies. Tse and McQuillan also appeared to provide general impressions of subject responses and occasional direct quotes from subjects without a specific methodology or providing insight into contextual factors (age, ethnicity, brokering experience) of the subject being quoted. Importantly, although one of the qualitative studies was carried out with adults who retrospectively reflected on experiences (Tse & McQuillan, 1996) and the other included children currently engaging in language brokering (Hall & Sham, 2007), both studies reached similar conclusions.

On the other hand, Castañeda (2005) clearly specified the use of open-ended interviews and a grounded theory approach to uncover core themes that emerged from all thirteen interviews with Latina women who brokered as children. She found that participants referenced many positive outcomes related to their language brokering experiences while negative outcomes were few. Only one participant described her experience using the term "parentified," and this participant was a mental health technician. More frequently, participants described their language brokering as a

necessity rather than a choice, and also remarked on benefits or special privileges that came with their role as brokers. Developing closer relationships with parents, siblings, and families overall as a result of brokering was a significant theme. Castañeda's research also highlighted participants' remembrances of embarrassment, dislike, and discomfort in association with their increased awareness of others' (individuals outside of the family) responses to brokering. For example, one participant described having to translate at an employment office and being aware of employees' change in tone of voice and refusal to make eye contact. Several other participants described seeing their parents and themselves treated as inferior. Awareness of others' reactions was referred to by some participants as racism and discrimination that induced a sense of shame and a disinterest in brokering. This research provides the possibility that brokering in public may induce differential power hierarchies based on the influence of others' reactions to brokering. Otherwise, changes in power hierarchies among family members was not a significant theme that emerged from Castañeda's research.

Only two quantitative studies attempted to investigate family power dynamics in relation to language brokering. Mercado (2003) found that participants who reported more language brokering were more likely to score higher on a parentification measure. These results lend credence to narrative accounts indicating that children who translate for their parents and families frequently experience a more adult-like role with greater familial responsibility than children who do not have such a significant role in their families. Indeed, work by Hall and Sham (2007), Orellana (2001), and Valenzuela (1999) indicated that the language brokering role places the child in a powerful position to help their families economically. In Western culture, obligations towards a family's economic

well-being is often what distinguishes the child's role from the parent's role. Also in Western culture, when lines between parent and child roles become blurred, it is often considered a potential detriment to family relationships. However, further evidence from these core studies contradicts this assumption.

Although Mercado (2004) found a correlation between language brokering and parentification, he did not find any relationship between language brokering and levels of stress. Taken at face value, these findings could suggest that although language brokering may be linked to increased parentification, it is not necessarily a causal factor.

Additionally, language brokering itself was not directly associated with negative outcomes. Mercado presented the idea in his literature review that parentification did not necessarily lead to maladaptive family outcomes. Instead, "ethical parentification" may occur when the parentified individual receives appropriate levels of support, validation, and reciprocation for the role. Thus, parentification in this study may have been more indicative of a greater need for interdependence within an acculturating family that is reflected in the child carrying more responsibilities in general, without the specific action of language brokering being directly associated with negative outcomes. In fact, results from Trickett and Jones (2007) indicated that more language brokering was associated with increased family adaptability. Adaptability assessed the degree of family negotiation around discipline, leadership, and family roles, with greater ability to negotiate considered a more positive family outcome. Taken together, these results suggest that, despite the shift in family dynamics that may occur with language brokering and the child's potentially more vocal role, families appear to demonstrate greater adaptability

and parents continue to maintain a level of authority and cohesion that is neither positively nor negatively influenced by the child's language brokering role.

Mercado's study (2004) did not provide sufficient information to know whether and which families were able to balance out the parentified child's role with sufficient support. There were several other weaknesses that may have affected his findings. First, the study included only participants in college who were asked to reflect back on their childhood so the sample may not have reflected the language brokering experiences of children who do not go on to college, and retrospective data may not be as reliable. Second, Mercado used self-report measures that were not consistently reflective of experiences from a specific time period. For example, the parentification scale referred to childhood experiences, the stress scale referred to the last month, the significant events scale referred to the past two years, and the language brokering scale included the time period from childhood up to the present. Finally, there was no way to evaluate the extent of brokering experiences in which participants engaged as children, although Mercado did report that the age at which language brokering began ranged from age four to age twenty one. Thus, Mercado's results are useful in thinking how to investigate power relationships in the family as they relate to language brokering; however, they would be even more powerful if the time frames for the experience of each variable were more clearly linked.

Díaz-Lázaro (2002) carried out the only other study to include family power dynamics as one of the major hypothesized outcomes for language brokering. He found no significant relationship between language brokering and family authority structure, nor did he find any significant relationship between language brokering and parental

locus of control. Strengths in his study included a medium-sized sample and analyzing parent and child perspectives (parental locus of control; child-reported family decision-making scale) on family power dynamics. His interpretation of results included the suggestion of “paradoxical misuse of power” where parents reported exercising greater parental authority in response to threats of losing control, and that both the parent locus of control (LOC) and the family decision-making (FDMS) scales may not be applicable to Latino families. However, other research (Domenech Rodríguez, Donovanick, & Crowley, 2009) would support Díaz-Lázaro’s findings that Latino parenting styles are characterized by high warmth, high demandingness, and low autonomy granting. Thus, it may be that the occurrence of language brokering itself does not significantly impact the family power structure, but that other aspects of acculturation (e.g., acculturative stress, family stability) are responsible. Alternatively, language brokering may only change family power structures if other factors are also present. Additionally, Díaz-Lázaro suggested that parent authority style and the influence of adolescents on family decisions may be two separate constructs. Findings in his study may have been affected by being unable to control for whether the parent providing feedback had also been brokered for by the adolescent. Additionally, participants came from large cities where Latino immigrant communities are well-established, and thus, community support and normalization of brokering may lessen its impact on families.

Too few studies have been carried out to clarify whether language brokering is associated with inverted hierarchies, or other changes in family power dynamics. It is also unclear whether changes in family power dynamics have the expected negative effects on family and parent-child well-being. The most consistent evidence across

qualitative and quantitative studies is that increasing amounts of language brokering is indicative of a shift in family roles where the child takes on greater responsibility and adult-like tasks. Less certain is whether this shift causes negative developments in parental authority, family conflict, and experiences of stress. Part of the uncertainty concerning these aspects of family relationships are the somewhat contradictory results that may be due to an overly negative initial conceptualization (i.e., assuming the process would be negative and studying it that way), inappropriate assessment instruments, and self-report methods. Additionally, changes in family power dynamics may be influenced by the family's social, political, and economic placement within the larger societal structure within which it is trying to adapt and integrate. Power dynamics may also vary according to the different levels of support and discrimination which a family might encounter. At least one study suggested that even if language brokering is associated with more family disagreements, it may simultaneously be associated with greater levels of adaptability. More studies are needed to understand the association between language brokering, changes in family power dynamics, and family well-being.

### **Outcomes: Parent-child Relationship**

When studies looked at associations between language brokering and relational outcomes, results varied widely (see Table 3). Of the nine small studies, three included outcomes directly related to family relationships (Castañeda, 2005; Hall & Sham, 2007; Tse & McQuillan, 1996). Tse and McQuillan (1996) found from a qualitative study with nine ethnically diverse adults who brokered as children that participants reported being entrusted with independently handling school responsibilities and communications. Although direct emotional effects on family well-being were not assessed, conclusions



drawn appeared to infer the presence of inverted hierarchies within families that were potentially problematic. Hall and Sham (2007) reflected on their findings suggestive of child role reversal as indications of parental dependency. They concluded that role-reversals might cause parents to become suspicious of their children and induce parental shame regarding dependency. At the least, language brokering appeared to transform family dynamics in a way that caused stress to family relationships and threatened traditional power and competence structures. Castañeda's results (2005) contradicted the first two. She found no negative familial outcomes from in-depth interviews with thirteen Latina women. Instead, one of the most frequently endorsed positive outcomes of brokering included closer relationships with parents and siblings. Participants shared that their brokering experiences helped them to feel like valued members who functioned in partnership with their families. Although Dorner and Orellana's (2008) study did not directly address relational outcomes as a result of child language brokering, they found a consistent pattern across twelve case studies suggesting that language brokering was "embedded in relationships" (p. 525) and occurred with active parental and familial involvement that suggested the creation of collaborative and mutually beneficial parent-child interactions that engendered in children a sense of pride, responsibility, and accomplishment. Implications of such findings support Castañeda's results that brokering lends itself to building stronger parent-child relationships.

Among the medium studies, two addressed aspects of familial power dynamics, which were discussed above. Four of the nine studies utilized quantitative analyses to investigate parent-child bonding and family problems in association with language brokering. Trickett and Jones (2007) found that Vietnamese adolescents who brokered

more also reported more family arguments. There was no significant association between adolescent brokering and parent reports of disagreements. This study also found that increased amounts of language brokering significantly contributed to family adaptability levels when demographic and acculturation variables were taken into account. Additionally, no relationship was found between amount of adolescent brokering and either family cohesion or family satisfaction. Within-study findings appeared to be conflicting. They suggested that family outcomes may be quite diverse depending on whether negative outcomes, such as more frequent arguments, became more pronounced, or positive outcomes such as adaptability aided in providing a positive framework to new roles. Trickett and Jones also hypothesized that cultural norms might have impeded participants from reporting family problems.

Another study (Weisskirch, 2007) did not utilize brokering frequency as a predictor, but instead focused on adolescents' positive and negative emotions experienced when brokering. This study found that negative emotions while brokering were a significant predictor for problematic family relationships. Similarly, a study by Love (2007) found that only the subscale for feelings about language brokering was significantly and positively correlated with parent-child bonding for boys and girls. A third study (Buriel et al., 2006) found that only the subscale feelings towards brokering was a significant predictor of parent-child bonding for adolescent boys and girls. All three studies agreed that assessing children's feelings towards brokering provided more insight into family relationships than the amount of brokering. These studies did not address whether feelings about brokering preceded and shaped family relationships, or whether the quality of the family relationships shaped the type of emotional experience

children were likely to have while brokering. Two of the studies (Buriel et al., 2006; Weisskirch, 2007) did not specify how much variation existed in the sample regarding the amount of brokering, and measures were not clear in differentiating the quality or difficulty of brokering situations. The third study (Love, 2007) included a recommendation for measuring actual language brokering activity as the language brokering scale was found to be lacking in this area. Another unexplored possibility that may have affected results was whether the emotional experiences of brokering differed in relation to the type of brokering experiences to which children were exposed (level of difficulty, amount of emotional/familial support, perceived rewards, and external environmental pressures).

Evidence from large studies was also mixed regarding family relationships and language brokering. Chao (2006) found a positive effect on parent-child relationships across three studies. Among first and second generation Mexican ninth graders, Chao found that as language brokering increased for both parents, the adolescent's respect for mother and father was also enhanced. Chao found similar results among the Chinese adolescents she surveyed. With Korean youth, Chao found no relation to respect for mother and language brokering for mother, but she reported a significant positive correlation with language brokering for father and respect for father. Love and Buriel (2007) reported a positive correlation between parent-child bonding and Mexican adolescent reports of feelings towards language brokering. Wu and Kim (2009) found that the quality of the perceived relationship with the parent (mattering vs. alienation), along with ethnic orientation and sense of familial obligation, significantly contributed to understanding the variation in differing affective experiences with language brokering.

Finally, Jones and Trickett (2005) found that the amount of Russian immigrant adolescent brokering predicted both the frequency and intensity of problems at home reported by the adolescent; however, amount of brokering was not predictive of the frequency and intensity of problems at home reported by parents. Both of the studies on which Jones and Trickett collaborated indicated the importance of including parents in assessing family outcomes as there were differences in each party's perspective.

Combining the results of small, medium and large studies, the answer remains unclear as to how the language brokering role may influence parent-child relationships. Additionally, cultural norms may prevent participants from reporting family problems. Other methods of assessing family outcomes such as direct observation may assist in addressing weaknesses of self-report. Current research provides evidence of positive associations between aspects of parent-child relationships with increased language brokering such as increased family adaptability, increased respect, greater closeness, and enhanced parent-child bonding. Negative outcomes include increased family conflict and greater reports of family problems. Children's emotional responses to language brokering may be a key aspect of the brokering experience that, in turn, impact familial relationships. On the other hand, the parent-child relationship may provide the context within which the experience of language brokering takes on a positive or negative emotional cast for children. Regardless, it appears that the language brokering role may have the potential to contribute to positive and negative family relationship outcomes.

### **Limitations of Language Brokering Literature**

Currently, most studies of language brokering have been with populations of adolescents or adults. In order to expand our knowledge of language brokering, new

studies might consider incorporating data from elementary age children. This may be especially informative as the literature informs us that entry into school rapidly facilitates the acquisition of English (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez Orozco, 2001). Indeed communication between school and family often becomes a central language brokering task of immigrant youth (Orellana et al., 2003b; Valenzuela, 1999). Thus, understanding the developmental impact of the language brokering role specifically with young children would provide needed insight on language and cultural shift that occurs in immigrant families and its impact on the relational well-being of the parent-child unit.

Another limitation of the studies reviewed is that most have relied on questionnaires and retrospective data. More studies that conduct direct observations of language brokering as it occurs would complement discoveries made through retrospective and self-report data. Furthermore, direct observations would address concerns that participants underreport language brokering incidences due to the frequency and habituation with which it may occur among children of immigrants. In addition, direct observations of language brokering between parent and child would allow for an understanding of the parental role in brokering occurrences and possible identification of communication behaviors that link to stronger or weaker parent-child relationships.

Initial findings from this group of studies indicate that ethnicity and generational status may play an important role in the experiences of children who language broker. Studies that help to clarify the different developmental trajectories of language brokering that may occur within different immigrant communities are essential for furthering understanding in this area. At the very least, ethnic and community factors that may be

involved in the normalization and support of the brokering role should be reported (cultural values, gender roles, community presence, level of discrimination versus access to resources and support). Future studies would also want to clarify whether there exist any differences in family experiences or child development dependent on the child's generational status as this is a known influential factor in other measures of immigrant well-being (generational status and other health outcomes). Again, studies would want to include an average age of arrival and range of ages for first generation youth as numerous studies in other areas of child development such as education indicate that first generation youth who immigrate before entering formal schooling have different trajectories than those who immigrate after receiving formal schooling in their home country (Fuligni, 1998; Gil, Vega, & Dimas, 1994; Rumbaut, 2004; Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Vega et al., 1995).

Another area of weakness in the current literature concerns the implied disruption in family power hierarchies with few studies using empirical means to investigate the potential relationship with language brokering. To date, only two studies have systematically attempted to measure family power dynamics through self-report; however, self-report measures might be especially susceptible to social desirability effects given the sensitivity of the topic. Additionally, retrospective reporting may not capture the appropriate time frame for both the occurrence of language brokering and power dynamics in order to link the two occurrences. Longitudinal studies or observational methods might be better suited for investigating this outcome.

Finally, many of the current studies investigated the relationship between the occurrence of child language brokering and family relationships, but few included

parental surveys or perspectives. This approach to the investigation of child language brokering assumes that the child independently engages in the language brokering role; however, anecdotal reports and more recent qualitative research suggest that parents play an active role in child language brokering. In fact, studies indicated that child language brokering occurs most frequently with parents. Exploring the parent's role in language brokering would provide a more comprehensive perspective of language brokering patterns within families. Furthermore, only three studies (Chao, 2006; Martinez et al., 2009; Wu & Kim, 2009) included significant data concerning language brokering with fathers, and only the study by Martinez, McClure and Eddy gathered information directly from fathers rather than from children's reports. More studies that include parents, and especially fathers, would elucidate possible differences in the way that parents of both genders may engage with their children in language brokering situations.

The proposed study uniquely contributes to the literature in its conceptualization of the occurrence of language brokering as a jointly created form of interaction between parent and child that emerges in the elementary school years of the child's life. This study further suggests that the language brokering experience cannot be fully understood without observing both the parent's and the child's engagement in this type of interaction, the parent-child dynamic as it occurs, and the relationship which creates the context in which language brokering is experienced by both parent and child. This study addressed limitations in the current literature by utilizing direct observation of a potential language brokering situation with child participants from the ages of four to ten. The specific situation was selected for its potential to engender language brokering based on the literature's findings that children most frequently translate for their parents, and most

frequently translate school-related items such as homework. This study limits the effects of ethnicity and generational status by only including US-born children from a primarily Mexican immigrant community. Furthermore, the sample was drawn from a rural recent immigrant community, which is different from most studies which have drawn samples from large urban areas with well-established immigrant communities. This study included direct observations of both mothers and fathers. Finally, this study assessed the parent-child power dynamic as language brokering occurs in the given situation.

### **Research Questions**

In videotaped observations of first generation Latino parents working with their elementary school age children (first, second generation) on math, reading and grammar tasks in English:

- RQ1. What are the observed patterns of language brokering, parent-child interactions, and parent-child relationship between parent and child when negotiating a joint language-based task?
- a. What are the observed frequency patterns of language brokering between parent and child?
    - i. Does the child translate for parents?
    - ii. How much does the child translate?
    - iii. Does the parent request translations?
    - iv. How much does the parent request translations?
  - b. What are the observed interactions between parent and child in a language brokering situation?



- i. What strategy (indirect support, redirection, task assistance, direct teaching, collaboration) does parent use to engage with child to support task completion?
  - ii. Is the situation primarily child-led or adult-led?
  - c. What is the observed quality of the parent-child relationship (e.g. overall impressions of positive nonverbal communication, withdrawal, supportive vs. conflictual comments, signs of respect) during a language brokering situation?
- RQ2. How do parent, child, and joint task factors relate to language brokering patterns, parent-child interactions, and parent-child relationship quality?
- a. Parent:
    - i. Gender, education, English proficiency, acculturation level
  - b. Child
    - i. Gender, age
  - c. Joint Task
    - i. Type of academic task (mathematics vs. reading/grammar)
- RQ3. Do child language brokering patterns and parent-child interactions predict the quality of the parent-child relationship?

## CHAPTER III

### METHODS

#### **Participants**

Participants in this study were selected from a larger randomized control trial on the effectiveness of a culturally adapted parenting intervention (NIMH K01-066297, PI Domenech Rodríguez). At the time of selection for the subsample used in the current study, the randomized control trial consisted of 87 Spanish-speaking Latino families with at least one child (target child) between the ages of 4 and 10 years who lived in rural Utah where the population is primarily Caucasian and Latter-day Saint (LDS). Of the 87 families, there were 130 parent-child dyads (84 mother-child, 46 father-child). Domenech Rodríguez, Davis, Rodríguez, and Bates (2006) provided a detailed description of participant characteristics, recruitment, study methods and measures used in the pilot study that is very similar to the methods used in the randomized control trial. The current study limited the selection from the larger trial to 30 randomly selected father-child dyads and 30 randomly selected mother-child dyads from nonoverlapping families. The data for the 60 parent-child dyads already collected in the randomized control trial were used to carry out secondary analyses.

#### **Data Collection Procedures**

Participant data was derived from a larger randomized control trial that consisted of a pre-intervention assessment, an 8-week parenting group, and three postintervention assessments. Families were recruited through announcements at local schools and

churches, community flyers (see Appendix B), and word of mouth from past participants and key figures in the community. Six recruitment cycles elicited participation of between 5 and 21 families each time. During each recruitment phase, all families participated in a pre-intervention assessment where they consented to participation in the study (see Appendix A) and half of the families were then randomized into the treatment condition. Treatment condition families received the 8-week intervention immediately following the pre-intervention assessment while control participants received intervention after completing the three postassessment phases. Data for this study originated from data collection from both treatment and control families at the pre-intervention assessment phase of the randomized control trial.

During the assessment phase, parents completed a series of questionnaires, children participated in academic assessments, and both parents and target children participated in videotaped family interactions. Parents completed questionnaires in one room during the first hour and then moved to a separate private room for the videotaped family interaction in which all family members participated. If both mother and father participated in the study, a Latin Squares table determined the order for father-child videotaped interactions and mother-child videotaped interactions with each parent having a turn. One parent stayed with the child for the parent-child videotaped interactions while the other parent returned to the assessment room to complete unfinished questionnaires. Parent questionnaires included demographic forms as well as self-report instruments that assessed acculturation level, parental cultural values, parent-identified problems with children, reports on child behavior, and other assessments relating to parenting.

The parent-child videotaped interactions included a skills-building task. The interactions took place in a room where comfortable seats were set up adjacent to each other and a camera was placed opposite the seats. A research assistant provided the parent-child dyad with a packet of skills sheets targeting grammar, computational math, and reading. Skills sheets were taken from graded educational activity books in English that can be purchased at local stores (see Appendix E). The target child received a packet that represented skills one grade level above the child's current grade level in order to decrease the probability the skills sheets could be completed independently by the child and increase the likelihood of parental assistance. Parent and child received verbal instructions in Spanish to work for 8 minutes together on the skills-building task while the research assistant left the room. The skills-building task was chosen as the focus of the current study because it involved text in English with the potential to elicit language brokering occurrences between parent and child.

The current study utilized secondary analyses of demographic data, acculturation measures, and observational data from videotaped interactions. Recruitment and contact with participants, data collection, data entry, and coding for observational data were primarily carried out by the principal investigator (first generation Puertorriqueña) and five bilingual Latina research assistants (of Brazilian, Puerto Rican, Panamanian, Mexican, and Peruvian descent) which included the present study author. Transcriptions of videotaped interactions were completed by one Latina community member, two undergraduate research assistants, and the author. Transcriptions varied somewhat across transcribers in level of detail (e.g., one transcriber included descriptions of nonverbal interactions). Transcriptions were coded by the author for child language brokering

prevalence and frequency as well as prevalence and frequency of parental prompting for language brokering. All coding of language brokering and parental prompts from transcriptions was verified by watching videotaped observations and checking transcriptions for accuracy of counts of language brokering occurrences given the context in which utterances were made.

Coding of videotaped behavioral interactions for this study was carried out by a first-generation bilingual Cuban American undergraduate student (primary coder), and reliability coding was carried out by the author. Initially, the author trained the primary coder with videotaped interactions from families not included in the study until reliability was reached. The primary coder coded all videotaped interactions using a coding sheet (see Appendix F), and the author randomly selected 15% of the sample to code for reliability. Intraclass correlations calculated individually for nine families ranged from .79 to .95 on six of seven coded behaviors. The one item on which coders did not reach reliability (parent- or child-led task) was dropped from analyses. Another item (English use) was dropped for redundancy. Videotaped interactions were coded for homework task type, parental English proficiency, and parent-child relationship quality. Additionally, a pilot study (Straits, Donovanick, & Domenech Rodríguez, 2006) identified parental strategies for assisting the child and situational power dynamics between parent and child to be key aspects of the parent-child interaction while jointly engaged in the skills-building task. Coding schemes for parental strategies and situational power dynamics developed during the pilot study were adapted and included in the coding of videotaped observations.

## Measures

**Demographics.** Demographic questionnaires were provided to both parents (see Appendix C). Questions included parental characteristics of gender, age, birthplace, income, and educational attainment. Questions also included information on child age, grade, birth place, and years in the USA.

**Acculturation scale.** The Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans-II (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995) was used to assess parental acculturation level (see Appendix D). This acculturation scale is a multidimensional orthogonal measure for assessing an individual's strength of orientation towards Mexican culture (MOS) and Anglo culture (AOS) individually. The two cultural orientation subscales were found to have good internal reliabilities (Cronbach alphas, Mexican = .82, Anglo = .90). MOS and AOS scores, when considered jointly, may be used to place individuals into one of four categories: assimilated, bicultural, marginalized, and traditional. Categories are based on Berry's (1997) conceptual model of acculturation. Assimilated individuals score high on Anglo orientation and low on Mexican orientation. Bicultural individuals have high levels of both Mexican and Anglo orientation. Marginalized individuals have low levels of both Mexican and Anglo orientation. Traditional individuals have high levels of Mexican orientation and low levels of Anglo orientation.

**Parent English proficiency.** English use and estimated levels of proficiency were rated separately based on behavioral observations of videotaped interactions between parent and child. English use was coded on a 5-point Likert scale with low scores indicating little to no parental use of English during the 8-minute interaction. Parent English proficiency represented the coder impression of parent understanding and ability

to speak English based on observations of parent interactions with both the child and the English-based task. Proficiency was coded on a 5-point Likert scale with low scores indicating poor to very poor English. Ratings for families on English use during the session and estimated levels of English proficiency were significantly and positively correlated ( $r = .93, p < .001$ ). Coder ratings also were significantly and positively correlated to parent self-ratings of the amount of English spoken ( $r = .74, .73, p < .001$ ). Parent self-ratings of amount of English use was taken from one item (“Yo hablo inglés ...”) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from none to all the time taken from the ARSMA-II. Due to the significant and strong correlations between all measures assessing parental English use, only coder ratings for parent English proficiency were used in further analyses although parent self-ratings of English spoken was included in descriptive data.

**Homework task type.** Videotaped interactions were coded for amount of time spent on math tasks as compared to the amount of time spent on reading or grammar tasks (1 = all math, 4 = all reading/grammar). Coding was based on observations from a pilot study (Straits et al., 2006) where the type of task which Latina mothers and their children chose appeared to be related to parental level of English understanding as well as the type of strategy parents used in assisting their children on the task. Mathematics tasks reflected a relatively less English language-dependent task to both understand and teach while reading and grammar tasks were relatively more English language-dependent.

**Language brokering patterns.** Videotaped interactions and transcriptions of interactions during the skills-building segment were analyzed for patterns of language brokering interactions between parent and child. Prevalence of child language brokering was assessed by the presence or absence of any instance where the child attempted to

translate or interpret the English text of the homework task for the parent. Frequency of language brokering occurrences was determined by a count of the number of child conversational turns which contained an instance of translation or interpretation. Frequency of language brokering occurrences was chosen over percentage of total child conversational turns containing a language brokering occurrence given that four different transcribers were used. Transcriptions varied in level of detail and delineation of conversational turns, especially in regard to shorter utterances and nonverbal communicative turns. Thus, all language brokering counts obtained from transcripts were verified by reviewing videotapes, but standardizing transcription formats for detail and breaks in conversational turns was not attempted. Therefore, a count was determined to be a fairer comparison across transcripts than a percentage of language brokering occurrences. No regard was given to the length or amount of brokering that occurred during a conversational turn, but rather to the number of turns which included a language brokering attempt. Prevalence of parental prompts for child brokering was assessed by the presence or absence of any instance when a parent verbally prompts the child to translate or interpret. Frequency of parental prompts was determined by a count of the total number of parental conversational turns which contained a prompt for child language brokering. Again, a count was judged to be a fairer comparison of parental prompts across transcripts and videotapes than a percentage.

**Parental engagement strategies.** Five categories of parental strategies that mothers used in order to engage with the child in the academic task emerged from a pilot study with Latino mothers (Straits et al., 2006) using a grounded theory approach.



Arising out of the axial coding stage, five categories of **parental engagement strategies** were observed and labeled as follows:

- **Indirect Support:** Parent is physically present, shows nonverbal interest in assignment, warmth/encouragement
- **Redirection:** Parent refocuses child's attention to the task without providing direct assistance or teaching. Often observed as simple adherence to the research protocol.
- **Task Assistance:** Parent jointly engaged with child on task completion without an active teaching role (e.g. reading problems aloud while child answers)
- **Direct Teaching:** Parent broke down problems into smaller steps and gave detailed explanations of how to resolve problem. Often significant guidance towards correct answer. Clear teaching moment.
- **Collaborative Learning:** Parent and child work together to understand and complete homework task.

Although all strategies demonstrated some manner of assistance or support to the child, observations from the pilot study suggested that strategies ranged from low to high levels of parental interaction with the task and low to high levels of parental understanding of the task. Thus, for the current study videotaped observations were coded for the dominant strategy that parents used to assist their children in the homework task: indirect support, redirection, task assistance, direct teaching, and collaborative. Additionally, the five strategies were regrouped into two categories, task-engaged and task-removed, that better reflected the level of parental interaction with the task. **Task-engaged strategies** included task assistance, direct teaching, and collaboration. These strategies shared the

common feature that the parent interacted with the academic task while assisting the child to engage with and complete the task. **Task-removed strategies** included indirect support and redirection. These strategies shared the common feature that the parent avoided interaction with the academic task while still attempting to assist the child to engage with and complete the task (e.g., words of encouragement, asking the child to sit, reminding the child of the time). Coding for parental engagement strategies was used for descriptive data concerning parent-child interactions while the dichotomous categories of task-engaged and task-removed strategies was included in correlational and multiple regression analyses. Intraclass correlations calculated individually for nine families was .79 for parental engagement strategies.

**Situational power dynamics.** Videotaped observations were coded for observed interactions between parent and child which indicated whether the parent or the child maintained more power within the given situation. This behavioral interaction pattern was derived from observations of perceived parental knowledge during a pilot study of mothers' engagement patterns with children during an academic task which indirectly reflected the parent's perceived level of power in the situation (Straits et al., 2006). For the present study, these categories were adapted and refined to more directly reflect situational power dynamics. Thus, coders rated parent-child interactions along a 4-point Likert scale for perceptions of whether the situation was more child-controlled or more parent-controlled. Parent-controlled interaction patterns reflected the situational power dynamic where the parent was perceived to set the general behavioral guidelines and expectations for the child. The parent clearly had greater authority and easily directed the child's behavior. Child-controlled interaction patterns reflected the situational power

dynamic where the child was perceived to set the general behavioral tone. The child clearly had the ability to persuade and direct parent behavior during the situation. Intraclass correlations calculated individually for nine families was .95 for situational power dynamics.

**Parent-child relationship quality.** The parent-child relationship quality was assessed by coding an overall impression of parent-child interactions on a five-point Likert scale. The relationship quality was defined as both the amount and quality of the parent-child interactions, including verbal communication, body language, warmth/coldness, level of comfort/discomfort, and perceived positive or negative quality of all interactions. A final overall impression item of the parent-child relationships (very poor to very good) was also coded on a 5-point Likert scale. Intraclass correlations calculated individually for nine families was .80 for parent-child relationship quality.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

#### **Participant Characteristics**

The mean age of parents in the current study sample was 34.8 ( $SD = 6.7$ ) and 72% of families reported earning less than \$35,000 a year. Of the 60 parents in the sample, 80% were born in Mexico, 15% were born in another Latin American country, 2% were born in the United States, and 3% did not report birthplace. Mean age for child participants was 7.0 years ( $SD = 1.6$ ) with 26 female (43.3%) and 34 male (56.7%) children in the sample. By age, the sample had one 4-year-old (1.7%), fifteen 5-year-olds (25%), six 6-year-olds (10%), fifteen 7-year-olds (25%), nine 8-year-olds (15%), thirteen 9-year-olds (21.7%), and one 10-year-old (1.7%). All children included in the current study were born in the USA. Parents were Spanish-language dominant with 80% of participating parents responding “almost all the time” (5 on a 1 to 5 scale) when asked how much they communicate in Spanish, and the remaining parents declaring that they spoke Spanish “very frequently” (4 on a 1 to 5 scale). In contrast, only 10% of parents reported speaking English “almost all the time” while 75% of parents reported speaking English not at all, a little bit, or moderately. Participant characteristics of this sample were not significantly different from the characteristics of participants in the larger study (see Table 4).

Table 4

*Comparing Means of Participant Characteristics for Randomized Control Trial (RCT) and Current Study Samples*

	RCT Sample (N = 130)			Current Study Sample (N = 60)			Comparison (one-sample <i>t</i> test, chi-square)		
	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>t</i> (* $\chi^2$ )	<i>Df</i>	<i>sig.</i>
<b>Parent</b>									
Age	125	34.15	6.42	59	34.76	6.71	.701	58	.486
Income	118	3.65	1.79	58	3.93	1.82	1.173	57	.246
Education	123	2.24	1.40	58	2.24	1.38	.008	57	.994
Birthplace	120	1.23	.498	58	1.19	.438	.545*	2	.761
Spanish Use	128	4.75	.53	60	4.80	.40	.960	59	.341
English Use	128	2.56	1.21	60	2.65	1.18	.593	59	.556
<b>Child</b>									
Age	86	7.09	1.54	59	6.98	1.57	-.527	59	.600
Gender	85	1.53	.50	60	1.57	.50	.242*	1	.623

## Research Question 1

*What are the observed patterns of language brokering, parent-child interactions, and parent-child relationship between parent and child when negotiating a joint language-based task?*

### Language Brokering Patterns

**Child language brokering prevalence.** Of the 60 children in the sample, 32 children (53%) did not language broker at all and 28 children (47%) translated at least one time during the eight-minute videotaped interaction. Seven of the parent-child dyads where language brokering did not occur were characterized by communication primarily or completely in English. Four of the parent-child dyads where language brokering did not occur were characterized by bilingual communication with neither English nor Spanish dominating. Prevalence rates for language brokering by child age groups are displayed in Table 5. Results indicated that instances of language brokering occurred even among the youngest age group. A chi-square analysis was significant, demonstrating that the older children became, the more likely they were to language broker,  $\chi^2 (2, n = 60) = 9.98, p < .01$ .

Descriptive observations indicated that some child translations, especially with younger children, were more likely to be inaccurate, and developmentally bridged by the parent. One example is provided of a father with minimal English understanding and his 5-year-old child:

Table 5

*Crosstabulation of Child Age Group and Language Brokering Occurrence*

Language brokering	Child age group			$\chi^2$	$\Phi$
	4 to 5 yrs (n = 16)	6 to 7 yrs (n = 21)	8 to 10 yrs (n = 23)		
Yes	3 (-2.6)	9 (-0.4)	16 (2.8)	9.98*	.41
No	13 (2.6)	12 (0.4)	7 (-2.8)		

*Note.* Adjusted standardized frequencies appear in parentheses below group frequencies.  
\* =  $p < .01$ .

*Father:* “¿Este?” [points to picture] (This one?)

*Child:* “Lion.”

*Father:* “¿No! Es un ...” (No! It’s a ...)

*Child:* “Cat!”

*Father:* “¿No tampoco! ¿Cómo es? Es un tigre.” (Not that either! How do you say it? It’s a ‘tiger’.)

*Child:* “Lion.”

*Father:* “No, es un tigre.” (No, it’s a ‘tiger’.)

*Child:* “Así se dice en inglés.” (That’s how you say it in English.)

*Father:* “¿Sí? Okay. ¿Y estas?” [points to picture] (Really? Okay. And these?)

*Child:* “Scissors.”

*Father:* “En español, [smiling] ¿son tijeras!” (In Spanish, they are ‘scissors’.)

The example illustrates that translations of meaning did not always necessitate that the child provided the appropriate Spanish word to convey the meaning of an English word (simple translation), but that the child becomes the mediator in the father's interaction with the English language text. This is the epitome of Tse's (1996a) definition that children "...facilitate communication between two linguistically and/or culturally different parties" with the parties in this situation being the father and the English homework task. This excerpt also demonstrates the language brokering process as it may appear at a more developmentally appropriate level for the child's age.

**Language brokering frequency.** For children who engaged in language brokering, occurrences ranged from one to six instances of translation with a mean of 1.18 occurrences ( $SD = 1.7$ ) during the eight minutes. Almost half (43%) of the children who language brokered, only had one instance of language brokering during the eight minutes. Two to three instances of translating occurred among 25% of children who brokered. Four or more instances of translating occurred among 32% of children who brokered.

Transcription data indicated that a language brokering occurrence generally consisted of the translation of single words or simple sentences. For example, a father and his seven-year-old child work together on a grammar task that asked the child to identify the action verb:

*Father: "... ¿Entiendes como se hace esto? (Do you know how to do this?)*

*Child: "Uh" (¿Qué?)*

*Father: "A ver, ¿qué te dice ahí?, tú que (Let's see, what does it say here? You*



*entiendes más inglés que yo.”*                      *know more English than I.)*

*Text: “Ronald runs to the field” [child  
reads quietly]*

*Father: “¿Qué está diciendo?”*                      *(What’s it say?)*

*Child: “Reglas de correr en la fiel(d),*                      *(Rules of running in the ‘fiel(d), field’.)*  
*field.*

Children also attempted to translate entire sentences from the text of the homework task. Some children attempted both literal word-by-word translations of the text and other children provided summaries of the meaning of the text and its application to the task. For example, one 9-year-old child, who brokered at a high frequency relative to the entire sample, provided the following translation for his father:

*Child: [reads out loud] “Pansy, Pansy  
Pattern has lots of hobbies, her  
favorite hobby, through [though] is  
drawing patterns. There’s just one  
problem, sometimes Pansy forgets to  
draw the complete pattern. Maybe you  
can help. Try filling in the missing  
pieces in the patt[erns] below ...”*

*Father: “¿Qué es lo que dice?”*                      *(What does it say?)*

*Child: “Dice que a, a esta persona le*                      *(It says that, that this person likes, Pansy*  
*gusta, Pansy Pattern, Pansy Pattern le*                      *Pattern, Pansy Pattern likes to make, um*  
*gusta hacer, ah patterns y en [a] veces*                      *‘patterns’ and sometimes she forgets, um,*

*se le olvida, ah, poner todos así que tenemos que meter como va y de con estos. Y le tenemos que poner las frutas y todo.”*      *to put everything like this so we have to figure out how it goes and do it with these. And we have to put the fruits and everything together...)*

*Father: “Y entonces ¿qué vamos a hacer ahorita?”*      *(So then, what do we do next?)*

*Child: “Aquí mira ahí está la manzana, acá está la manzana, después va la pera, tenemos que poner la pera ahí.”*      *Here, look over here is an apple, and right here is an apple, next comes the pear, we have to put the pear over here.*

In this example, the father continued to ask what needed to be done with the assignment and the child explained how to carry out the task. Thus, the child provided both a literal translation of the text, and then brokered his father’s understanding of what actions were expected in the situation.

### **Parental Prompts for Language Brokering**

**Prevalence of parental prompts.** Of all parents in the sample, 32 parents did not make a request for the child to translate (53%), while 28 parents (47%) prompted their child for translation in some manner at least one time during the 8-minute interaction. For example, the mother of a 7-year-old boy prompted her son prior to his first attempt to broker the text as follows:

*Child: “... ¿Qué hacemos aquí?”*      *(What do we do here?)*

*\*Mother: “¿Qué dice?”*      *(What does it say?)*

*Child: (reads) “Write the word after the,*      *(Write the word after the, your teacher*

<i>your teacher says it. ¿Ella dónde está?”</i>	<i>says it. Where is she?)</i>
<i>*Mother: “¿Qué vamos hacer aquí?”</i>	<i>(What are we going to do here?)</i>
<i>Child: “No sé.”</i>	<i>(I don’t know.)</i>
<i>Mother: “¿Tienes que evitar algo?”</i>	<i>(You have to avoid something?)</i>
<i>Child: “Mommy, tienes que decir una palabra como ‘write’ y luego yo tengo que escribirlo aquí en las tres líneas. ¿Ok?”</i>	<i>(Mommy, you have to say a word, like ‘write’ and then I have to write it on the three lines here. Ok?)</i>
<i>Mother: “Pero, solamente tú las sabes leer las palabras. Solamente tú sabes como leer en inglés.”</i>	<i>(But, only you know how to read the words. Only you know how to read in English.”</i>

When looking at prevalence rates among mothers and fathers (Table 6), a greater percentage of mothers prompted their children to translate than fathers. A chi-square analysis with Yates corrections for continuity demonstrated a significant difference between the frequency of parental prompts by parent gender, with mothers being more likely to prompt their children to language broker,  $\chi^2 (1, n = 60) = 8.10, p < .01$ . A significant negative correlation ( $r = -.351, p = .006$ ) between parental English proficiency and parental prompts (see Table 9) indicated that greater English proficiency was associated with fewer parental prompts for children to language broker.

Table 6

*Crosstabulation of Parent Gender and Prevalence of Parental Prompts*

Parental Prompt	Parent gender		$\chi^2$	$\Phi$
	Mothers ( <i>n</i> = 30)	Fathers ( <i>n</i> = 30)		
Yes	20 (3.1)	8 (-3.1)	8.10*	-.40
No	10 (-3.1)	22 (3.1)		

*Note.* \* =  $p < .01$ . Continuity correction computed only for a 2x2 table. Adjusted standardized frequencies appear in parentheses below group frequencies.

**Frequency of parental prompts:** For parents who prompted their children to language broker ( $n = 28$ ), occurrences ranged from 1 to 10 prompts with a mean of 1.60 prompts ( $SD = 2.32$ ) during the 8 minutes. Forty-six percent of parents who prompted children to translate, only prompted one or two times during the 8 minutes. Three to four prompts occurred among 25% of parents who prompted their children to language broker. Four or more prompts occurred among 29% of parents who requested translations.

Observational data indicated that parents were not always direct with their prompts: “¿Cómo quiere decir aquí?” [What is this about?] (mother mumbles under her breath while reading), “¿Tú sabes esto mijo?” [Do you know how to do this, son?]. Most frequently, parents prompted by stating some version of: “¿Qué dice aquí?” [What does this say here?] or “¿Dígamelo en español!” [Tell me what it says in Spanish!].

*Relationship of parental prompts to language brokering occurrences.* A bivariate correlational analysis indicated a significant positive correlation ( $r = .65$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $n = 60$ ) between parental prompts ( $M = 1.60$ ,  $SD = 2.32$ ) and child language brokering attempts ( $M = 1.18$ ,  $SD = 1.70$ ). Results indicated that the more parents prompted

children to language broker, the more child language brokering occurred. The correlation remained significantly positive for father-child pairs,  $r = .77, p < .001, n = 30$ , and mother-child pairs,  $r = .55, p < .01, n = 30$ .

### **Parent-Child Interactions**

**Parental strategy for task assistance.** Qualitative observations indicated that many parents utilized several strategies during the eight minutes towards assisting their child in task completion. Thus, only the perceived dominant strategy was coded. Two strategies were used most dominantly in parental interactions with their children: indirect support and task assistance (33% and 47%, respectively). Redirection was used by 8% of parents, and direct teaching was the dominant strategy for 10% of parents. A collaborative strategy was observed infrequently as a secondary strategy (four mother-child and two father-child pairs) with one exception where it was the primary strategy. Of note in qualitative observations was parents' initial directive strategy in guiding children to write their names correctly at the top of the assignment. The first 15 seconds often took on the appearance of "direct teaching," but thereafter parents typically switched strategies once they reviewed assignments. The dominant strategy appeared to be related to the parents' understanding of the task, and many parents appeared to express hopelessness after realizing the task was in English (ex.: Mother "Mira, está en inglés ...[unintelligible]. No entiendo mucho lo que dice aquí." [Look, it's in English. I don't really understand much of what it says here.]). Table 7 reflects the relative frequency of each strategy. Informal observations were reinforced by the significant positive bivariate correlation between parental strategy (task-removed vs. task-engaged) and parent English

proficiency (see Table 9). Parents with greater English proficiency were more likely to also use task-engaged strategies to assist their children.

When parent gender is not considered, there appeared to be relatively equivalent numbers of parents who engaged directly with the task as a way of assisting the child, using either the more passive task assistance, or the more active approach of direct teaching or collaboration, as parents who appeared to remove themselves from the actual task, but continued to provide some type of encouragement or redirection to their child while the child engaged in the task. Mothers and fathers also showed somewhat different patterns in their preferred strategy. Two times the number of fathers used task-engaged strategies over task-removed strategies while a slightly higher percentage of mothers used task-removed strategies over task-engaged strategies (see Table 7). A chi-square analysis with Yates corrections for continuity demonstrated no significant relationship between parent gender and parental strategy (task-removed vs. task-engaged),  $\chi^2 (1, n = 60) = 2.47, p = .12$ .

**Situational power dynamic.** The situational power dynamic was rated on a Likert scale (1 = *strongly child controlled*, 4 = *strongly parent-controlled*). The power dynamic between parent and child during the 8-minute interaction was perceived to be parent-controlled 80% of the time (see Table 8). A chi-square test of independence with Yates corrections for continuity was performed to investigate the relation between parent gender and parent-child situational power dynamic. The relation between these variables was not significant,  $\chi^2 (1, n = 60) = .104, p = .75$ . Additionally, a chi-square test of goodness-of-fit was performed to determine whether parent- or child-controlled situations were equally likely to be observed. Parent-controlled situations were significantly more

Table 7

*Frequency of Parental Strategy Types by Parent Gender with Crosstabulation*

	Mothers ( <i>n</i> = 30)	Fathers ( <i>n</i> = 30)	Total ( <i>n</i> = 60)	$\chi^2$	$\Phi$
Task-removed strategy	16 (53%) (1.8)	9 (30%) (-1.8)	25 (42%)	2.47 <sup>a</sup>	.24
Indirect support	14 (46.7%)	6 (20%)	20 (33.3%)		
Redirection	2 (6.7%)	3 (10%)	5 (8.3%)		
Task-engaged strategy	14 (47%) (-1.8)	21 (70%) (1.8)	35 (58%)		
Task assistance	12 (40%)	16 (53.3%)	28 (46.7%)		
Direct teaching	1 (3.3%)	5 (16.7%)	6 (10%)		
Collaboration	1 (3.3%)	0 (0%)	1 (1.7%)		

*Note. a.* Continuity correction, computed only for a 2X2 table. Percentages and adjusted standardized frequencies appear in parentheses below group frequencies used in 2X2 crosstabulation.

likely to be observed than child-controlled situations,  $\chi^2 (1, n = 60) = 21.6, p < .001$ .

Thus, the vast majority of parents were perceived to set behavioral guidelines and influence child behavior during the 8-minute interaction, as opposed to children setting the behavioral tone and having greater influence over parental behavior.

### **Parent-Child Relationship Quality**

The parent-child relationship quality was rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *very poor*, 5 = *very good*), and was based on an overall impression of the perceived positive or negative quality of the parent-child interactions (please refer to Methods section for

Table 8

*Crosstabulation of Parent Gender and Parent-Child Situational Power Dynamic with Chi-Square of Situational Power Dynamic*

Situational power dynamic	Parent gender		$\chi^2$	$\Phi$	Parent	$\chi^2$	df
	Mother (n = 30)	Father (n = 30)			Total (n = 60)		
Child-controlled	5 (-0.6)	7 (0.6)	.104 <sup>a</sup>	-.083	12 (30)	21.60*	1
Parent-controlled	25 (0.6)	23 (-0.6)			48 (30)		

*Note. a.* Continuity correction, computed only for a 2X2 table.

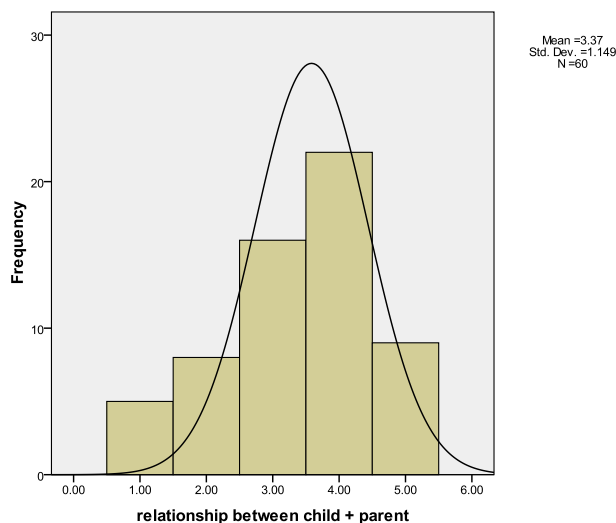
\* =  $p < .001$ . Adjusted standardized frequencies appear in parentheses below group frequencies.

further information). The mean of the rating for the quality of the parent-child relationship was 3.37 ( $SD = 1.15$ ), and ranged from a rating of 1 to 5 (see Figure 1). Mother-child relationship quality had a mean of 3.47 ( $SD = 1.11$ ), and father-child relationship quality had a mean of 3.27 ( $SD = 1.20$ ). No significant difference between relationship quality for father-child dyads and mother-child dyads was found ( $t = .671$ ,  $df = 58$ ,  $p = .505$ ). Data indicated that coders generally perceived parent-child relationships to be more positive than negative.

## Research Question 2

*How do parent, child, and joint task factors correlate with language brokering patterns, parent-child interactions, and parent-child relationship quality?*





*Figure 1. Histogram of Parent-Child Relationship Quality*

### **Parent Factors**

Pearson's product-moment correlations were conducted to examine the relationship between parent factors (gender, education, acculturation orientations, and English proficiency) and the parent-child situational power dynamic, language brokering patterns, and the parent-child relationship (see Table 9). Greater frequencies of child language brokering attempts were associated with the parent being the mother. Higher levels of parental education, stronger Anglo orientation, and greater English proficiency were associated with less parental prompts for language brokering and less attempts by the child to language broker. Higher levels of parental education, stronger Anglo orientation, and greater English proficiency were also associated with situational dynamics being perceived as parent-controlled. Finally, a stronger Anglo orientation and greater English proficiency were associated with the greater use of task-engaged strategies (rather than task-removed strategies) and perceptions of better parent-child relationships.

Table 9

*Bivariate Correlations Among Parent Factors, Child Factors, Task Factor, Language Brokering Patterns, Parent-Child Interactions, and Parent-Child Relationship Quality*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Parent factors													
1. Gender	--	.252	.364**	-.344**	-.323*	.067	-.011	-.059	-.246	-.385**	.034	.237	-.088
2. Education		--	.597**	-.056	.538**	-.050	-.058	.106	-.462**	-.335*	.358**	.255	.242
3. English proficiency			--	-.172	.713**	-.072	.019	.181	-.351**	-.390**	.372**	.400**	.422**
4. Mexican orient.				--	-.071	-.014	-.093	.038	.081	.091	-.105	-.115	-.062
5. Anglo orient.					--	.070	-.127	.013	-.432**	-.331*	.320*	.293*	.395**
Child factors													
6. Gender						--	-.226	-.022	.082	.015	-.058	-.057	-.043
7. Age							--	.029	.254	.414**	.002	.100	.041
Joint task factor													
8. Math vs. rdg/gram								--	.079	.206	.055	-.050	.045
Lang. brokering patterns													
9. # Parental prompts									--	.653**	-.045	-.029	-.027
10. # Lang. brokering										--	-.070	-.209	.156
Parent-child interactions													
11. Sit. power dynamic											--	.424**	.262*
12. Parent strategy												--	.242
Parent-child relationship													
13. Parent-child rel.													--

\*\*  $p < 0.01$  (2-tailed), \* $p < 0.05$  (2-tailed).

### **Child Factors**

Results of bivariate correlational analyses indicated that the age of the child was significantly correlated with the number of language brokering attempts from the child,  $r(60) = .41, p = .001$  (see Table 9). The association between child age and the number of parental prompts for translation was nearly significant,  $r(60) = .25, p = .05$ . Results indicate that older children were more frequently prompted to language broker by parents and engaged more frequently in language brokering attempts than younger children during the 8-minute interaction. Child gender and age were not correlated with parental strategies, situational power dynamic, or parent-child relationship quality.

### **Joint Task Factor**

Data from bivariate correlational analyses demonstrated that the amount of time spent on a type of task (math vs. reading/grammar) was not associated with the perception of parental/child control in the situation, parental strategy used, the parent-child relationship quality, nor the number of parental prompts for translation or child language brokering attempts (see Table 9).

### **Research Question 3**

*Do child language brokering patterns and parent-child interactions predict the quality of the parent-child relationship?*

A multiple regression analysis with three ordered sets of predictors was conducted to evaluate whether parent factors, language brokering, and parent-child interactions could predict the parent-child relationship quality (see Table 10). Only two parent factors,

Table 10

*Multiple Regression Analysis: Variables Predicting Parent-Child Relationship Quality*  
(*N*=60)

Predictors	<i>Adj R</i> <sup>2</sup>	$\Delta R^2$	$\Delta F$	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Step 1	.218	.245	9.24	2,57	.001			
Parent gender						-.28	-2.25	.028
Parent English						.52	4.23	.000
Step 2	.287	.08	6.46	1, 56	.014			
Parent gender						-.18	-1.43	.158
Parent English						.63	5.02	.000
Lang. brokering						.33	2.54	.014
Step 3	.274	.01	.508	2, 54	.604			
Parent gender						-.19	-1.48	.146
Parent English						.58	4.11	.000
Lang. brokering						.32	2.49	.016
Sit. power dyn.						.03	.25	.806
Parent strategy						.11	.83	.412

gender and English proficiency, were included given their conceptual valence, and significant correlations with both independent and dependent variables. Parental education and Anglo orientation were excluded given the potential for redundancy with the English proficiency variable ( $r^2 = .60$ ,  $r^2 = .71$ , respectively). Child factors and the joint task factor did not significantly correlate with the dependent variable, and were not

included in the analysis. The significant and strong correlation between parental prompts and child language brokering ( $r^2=.65$ ) allowed for the most conceptually relevant, child language brokering, to be selected as an independent variable. Preliminary analyses tested for violations of the assumptions of a multiple regression. A histogram and skewness statistics for the variables of parent gender, parent English proficiency, and parent strategy demonstrated normal distribution. The variables for language brokering frequency and situational power dynamic violated assumptions of normal distribution with skewness statistics more than twice the standard error. The language brokering variable was transformed using a square root to adjust for positive skew. A reflection and square root transformation was used on the situational power dynamic variable to symmetrize a negative skew. Transformations greatly reduced or completely eliminated skewness for both variables.

The first set of predictors entered into the multiple regression considered and controlled for the influence of parental factors (gender and level of English understanding) on the parent-child relationship quality. The results of the first step indicated that both parent gender and parental level of English proficiency accounted for a significant amount of the variance in parent-child relationship quality,  $R^2_{adj} = .22$ ,  $F(2, 57) = 9.24$ ,  $p < .01$ . Thus, when parent English proficiency is held constant, mothers were perceived to have better relationships with their children than fathers. Also, when parent gender was held constant, parents with stronger English understanding were perceived to have more positive parent-child relationships. Next entered in the regression analysis was the frequency of language brokering occurrences. Language brokering accounted for a significant proportion of the parent-child relationship quality even after controlling for

the effects of parent gender and parent English proficiency,  $R^2_{adj.} = .29$ ,  $\Delta F(1, 56) = 6.46$ ,  $p = .014$ . These results suggest that when looking at parent-child relationships where the parents are of the same gender and have equivalent levels of English proficiency, parent-child relationships tend to be perceived as stronger when the child engages in language brokering more frequently. It is important to note that parent gender loses significance when language brokering is added into the regression. Finally, the parent-child situational dynamic and the parental strategy (parent-child interaction variables) were entered in the regression analyses. Results showed that, after controlling for parent factors, and language brokering, parent-child interactions did not significantly contribute to the model,  $R^2_{adj.} = .27$ ,  $\Delta F(2, 54) = .508$ ,  $p = .604$ . Thus, whether the parent or the child were perceived to have more power in the situation and whether the parent was perceived to work with the child by engaging directly with the task or disengaging from the task did not contribute to an understanding of the quality of the parent-child relationship.

## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

#### **Language Brokering Patterns**

Almost half of children in this study were observed engaging in language brokering at least one time. This is lower than prevalence rates found in previous studies (Buriel et al., 1998; Trickett & Jones, 2007; Tse & McQuillan, 1996) where 80% or greater of participants reported engaging in brokering. Participants in this study were much younger than those in any other study on language brokering (62% of sample was age 7 or younger), and findings that younger children brokered less likely contributed to differences in prevalence rates. In addition to considering the age of participants, the methodology might also explain a lower prevalence. Prevalence rates in previous studies have relied on retrospective reporting that allowed participants to consider language brokering incidences across year-long timespans of their life. The parent-child interaction was brief (8 minutes) and was not originally set up with the intent to observe or facilitate language brokering. Thus, it provided a snapshot sample of behaviors at one moment in time. Given the young age of participants and brief observational period, the brokering prevalence in this sample was actually quite high. Previous studies have found that the average age when language brokering begins is between ages 7 and 10 (Buriel et al., 1998; Mercado, 2004; Tse & McQuillan, 1996). Observational methodology (however brief) may have captured a more accurate glimpse of language brokering occurrences that may be so integrated into the mundane patterns of family interactions that it would go unnoticed or forgotten in retrospective reporting, especially at ages younger than seven.

The current study provided direct observations that support retrospective reporting of language brokering occurrences from ages seven and up. In addition, findings expand on previous research to include observations that almost 20% of 4- and 5-year-old children attempted to language broker.

Findings also support that the occurrence of language brokering is associated with age, with language brokering becoming more prevalent and frequent the older the child becomes. These findings are in contrast to two studies (Acoach & Webb, 2004; Jones & Trickett, 2005) where no correlation was found between language brokering and age of the child; however, these studies were conducted with children ages 12 to 18, with over 90% who immigrated to the USA. A third study (Trickett & Jones, 2007) did find that age significantly contributed to predicting language brokering, with older children reporting greater brokering. This study included 26% of participants who were born in the USA and parent education level was lower. All three studies were with different ethnic groups (Latino, Russian, and Vietnamese). Language brokering in these studies was attributed to parents' increasing English competence as their time in the USA became longer, and thus, parental need for child brokering decreased. Additionally, Trickett and Jones (2007) suggested that foreign-born children may be expected to language broker more upon arrival and when they are least prepared.

Additionally, different developmental patterns may be characteristic of different communities. Family immigration histories, sociopolitical placements, and access to education of different communities may produce very different patterns in child language brokering. The community from which this sample was drawn was made up of a relatively recent immigrant community which maintained strong ties to the home country.



From 1990 to 2000 the Latino population increased from 2.5% to 6.3% (Cache Chamber of Commerce, 2010) and estimations from the 2008 Census indicate that Latinos now make up 9.2% of Cache Valley (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). The majority of immigrant parents were of low socioeconomic status, had low levels of education, and worked in jobs where exposure to English was relatively low as they were more isolated from the dominant culture. All these factors may have contributed to slow acquisition of English, even over many years and greater need for family members in this study to work collectively to contribute to family well-being. Altogether, the current study's findings combined with results from other studies suggest that children's language brokering may increase as they get older and decrease as their parents gain English competence. Specific patterns among any given community will be influenced by sociopolitical, historical, and economic factors of that community.

For the children in the sample who attempted to language broker, instances generally consisted of one attempt, and qualitative observations indicated that language brokering generally consisted of one-word translations. This is a similar finding to Dorner et al. (2007) who found that children reported translating words (57%) more frequently than other things (e.g., letters, phone calls, movies, bank statements, and legal documents). More elaborate interpreting was also observed, with some children not only providing direct translations of the homework task, but also adding their own interpretations of the task requirements and purpose based on their reading and understanding of the text. The more elaborate examples may be what most people envision when hearing of "child language brokering" but it is clear this complexity was not the norm among this young age group. Thus, studies (Dorner et al., 2007; Love, 2007;

Weisskirch, 2005) that have called for a better assessment of the quality and amount of child language brokering when studying this subject would receive validation with observations and findings from this study. The majority of empirical studies have not included an assessment of language brokering quality, and have only relied on self-report regarding the frequency or quantity of brokering.

One of the largest gaps in the language brokering literature is the lack of knowledge regarding the parental contribution to language brokering occurrences. This study found that almost half of all parents prompted their child at least one time during the eight-minute interaction for a translation, and mothers prompted for language brokering twice as much as fathers. Additionally, a significant positive correlation between parental prompting and child language brokering was found. Although correlational analyses do not infer causality, qualitative observations suggest that child language brokering occurrences were more likely to occur following parental prompting. Of 28 parent-child dyads where both parental prompts and language brokering were observed, less than one third of them (9 dyads) started with spontaneous child language brokering attempts. Additionally, the number of parental prompts was the same or greater than child language brokering occurrences for 70% of the 30 parent-child dyads where parental prompting was present. Thus, children appeared to be more likely to language broker only with concerted effort and encouragement from the parent.

Supporting quantitative findings, qualitative observations in this study indicated that children are scaffolded by parents into the role of language broker. Parental scaffolding or assistance in translation from more capable others was suggested briefly to explain findings by Tse & McQuillan (1996a), and has been a prominent idea in

qualitative research (Dorner & Orellana, 2008; Orellana et al., 2003a), but has been applied primarily to language and literacy development. One study of adult second generation family members who took on language brokering roles within the family and between first and third generation family members commented on the ingrained sense and automaticity that second generation family members appeared to have regarding instances of language brokering (Del Torto, 2006). The researcher theorized about the socialization processes contributing to adult identification as a language broker. Findings from the current study regarding parental scaffolding for successful translation attempts suggest that parents not only build language skills, but actively shape the child's socialization into the language brokering role.

Successful parental scaffolding appears to be integrated into the parent-child interaction to the extent that it blends with the natural teaching and communication exchange and unassumingly negotiates the presence of two languages. This view of child language brokering is absent from the general tone of current literature. More often, the assumption that child language brokering leads to inverted hierarchies in the family and a lack of information on parental roles in language brokering leads to the belief that the child is a solo actor in brokering. The current study demonstrated how parents exert their parental authority and general communication expertise to scaffold children's communication abilities and socialize children into a role that may also contribute to positive family outcomes.

### **Parent-Child Interactions**

Results illustrated that the most frequent types of parent strategies used for assisting children with homework was indirect support (providing space, time, and warmth/encouragement) and task assistance (e.g., doing half of the homework while the child completed the other half). Additionally, findings from this study of task-removed and task-engaged strategies are similar to dominant patterns of homework engagement found in other studies that were identified as task-centered or child-centered (Hoover-Dempsey, Battiato, Walker, Reed, DeJong, & Jones, 2001). A unique finding was that fathers were twice as likely to use task-engaged strategies than task-removed strategies while mothers appeared to use both strategies about equally. One possible explanation is that mothers preferred to engage with the child and provide emotional support or situational structure for a task whereas fathers are more likely to be task-oriented and direct their efforts on the task itself. The additional information that parent English understanding correlated highly with parent strategy suggests that the amount of English understanding that mothers and fathers had influenced their choice of strategies. It is possible that the task-engaged strategies required more parent understanding of the task while task-removed strategies could be used regardless of the level of understanding of the task. Other studies have not only identified English competence as an influential factor in the type of parental involvement in children's homework and school, but also ethnic group membership, differing cultural values, school perceptions of family's cultural group, parental deference to teacher expertise, and parents' prior school experiences (Drummond & Stipek, 2004; Coll, Akiba, Palacios, Bailey, Siler, DeMartino

et al., 2002; Tinkler, 2002). Although it is not clear why these differences in parent strategies exist, it may be important to continue to investigate other aspects of the parent-child interaction that provide the context in which language brokering occurs. The differential strategies, influenced by parent English competence, may lead to quite distinct outcomes. For example, Hoover-Dempsey et al. (2001) summarized research that found child-engaged strategies were associated with more positive student academic outcomes than task-engaged strategies. Regardless, findings support the need for parents to have more support and guidance in expanding the strategies utilized when assisting their child. Tools provided to parents must also have a specific focus on providing parents with useable strategies that can overcome the parent's potential for insufficient understanding of the task due to language barriers.

Several limitations to interpreting results regarding parent strategies existed in this study. First, providing assistance to the child on homework may not have been the usual role of the parents. This might have most affected situations between fathers and children given that fathers in immigrant Mexican families may have even less interaction with school-related activities than mothers (Valenzuela, 1999). Additionally, elder siblings are more likely to take on the role of supervising homework (Valenzuela, 1999). Thus, parents in this study may not have had opportunities to figure out the most effective strategies for assisting their child. Second, there may have been other types of assistance or strategies utilized that were not captured in the categories coded in this study. Categories were based on a pilot study with mothers and their children (Straits et al., 2006), and strategies may not have as accurately captured distinctive approaches used by fathers. Finally, the collaborative category had too few to know whether it is a useful

category in describing interactions and understanding other factors that may influence parent strategies. Further research is needed to look at how parents handle teaching situations with their children where the task or purpose may be inaccessible to the parent due to language barriers. This study is especially unique in including information on father-child interactions.

Another weakness in the literature is the implication of inverted hierarchies when children language broker with little empirical evidence to support this position. The current study found no correlation between language brokering frequency and the observed situational power dynamic between parent and child (parent-controlled vs. child-controlled situation). Although the 8-minute time frame was brief, the occurrence of brokering allowed for a glimpse into observed power dynamics at the time that language brokering occurred. This provided for a snapshot into possible changes to family power dynamics that might occur as a result of the child having greater knowledge or insight into the situation than the parent. This study's findings do not support the notion that the act of language brokering alone affects changes in the distribution of power within the family, at least for younger language brokers. The lack of association to inverted power relationships may be explained by a hypothesis given by Jones and Trickett (2005). They suggested that parents may perceive child language brokering as an instrumental task similar to a chore or responsibility. In this context, it would seem unlikely that the child's brokering would produce a change in family hierarchies, especially when parents influenced when and where brokering occurred. Instead, it suggests that a child may gain greater competence in a specific area and can then use this

knowledge to contribute to family well-being without affecting the general hierarchy of the family.

On the other hand, a lack of association between power and child language brokering may have been due to insufficient variation in situational power dynamics within this sample (most parent-child dyads were rated as parent-controlled). Findings from this study are similar to findings in a study on Latino parenting style where the most prevalent style was characterized by high warmth, high demandingness, and low autonomy granting (Domenech Rodríguez et al., 2009). Second, power dynamics may only begin to change as the child becomes older and takes on a more prominent role as language broker; whereas parents of younger language brokers are still able to maintain a clear hierarchy. The literature provides several examples of parent mistrust in the child translating correctly, and older child/adolescent brokers sometimes taking advantage of their brokering role, or bypassing parental authority (Hall & Sham, 2007; Tse, 1996b; Tse & McQuillan, 1996a). Third, observations of parent-child brokering and power dynamics were taken within a brief time period that may not be representative of the amount of brokering or the general power structure present within the family. Further research is needed to disentangle other possible reasons for this finding.

### **Parent-Child Relationship Quality**

Parent-child relationships were generally perceived as positive in this sample, although variation in relationship quality was also present. Child factors and homework task type were not significantly associated with the parent-child relationship quality; however, parent Anglo orientation and English proficiency were positively correlated

with parent-child relationship quality (parents with stronger English were also rated as having more positive parent-child relationships). There are several possible explanations. First, parent-child relationship quality was meant to be measured within the specific and brief context of the homework situation in which parent and child were placed and may not be representative of the overall parent-child relationship. If relationships are shaped over time and through the many different positive and negative interactions that take place every day between parent and child, then the current study was an observation of a specific relationship-building moment where language brokering may also be an active factor in how parent and child interact. The specific situation under study may be an example of a situation that re-occurs over time and, because of its reoccurrence, may provide significant influence to the shaping of the parent-child relationships in immigrant families. Although language brokering was not significantly correlated with the perceived quality of the parent-child relationship, parents with greater English proficiency were perceived to have stronger relationships with their children during this situation. This finding may be due to parents' greater ability to communicate verbally with their children in a situation where English understanding was needed to come to a positive resolution in a joint task. It is possible that parents with lesser English skills withdrew more from the task, and thus appeared withdrawn from the child as well. Another possibility is that coder bias existed in rating parent-child relationships higher when parents and children communicated more in English or if ratings placed more emphasis on verbal communication (as opposed to nonverbal) for positive relationships.

The multiple regression analysis added to an understanding of factors contributing to the parent-child relationship quality in the given situation. Although greater parent



English proficiency predicted a stronger parent-child relationship, when English proficiency was controlled for, parent gender also significantly predicted a stronger parent-child relationship (with mothers being perceived to have more positive relationships). This is an important and complicated finding given that other studies have found that immigrant Latina mothers were generally perceived to be less English proficient than immigrant Latino fathers (Castañeda, 2005; Tse & McQuillan, 1996b). Parent gender may have been a significant contributing factor in this situation given possible gender-specific roles of mothers being more likely to help the child with school-related tasks than fathers, and thus being more comfortable with the situation. Latina mothers may develop a different type of interaction style with their children that is closer to perceived notions of a positive parent-child relationship than father interaction styles. The generally more positive relationship between mothers and their children may be masked in this situation by mothers' lack of English proficiency and subsequent communication problems. Thus, findings also suggest that greater English proficiency may help to facilitate positive communication interactions and relationship-building in certain situations.

An important addendum to current findings that greater English proficiency was associated with more positive parent-child relationships is the reminder that English proficiency cannot be equated with greater parental cultural assimilation. Previous studies (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993) have suggested that a gap between parent and child acculturation levels may contribute to greater familial conflict and poorer child outcomes (e.g. traditional parents and assimilated children). Some studies have also found that parents who are assimilated who have children who are assimilated have poorer familial

outcomes (Pasch et al., 2006). Acculturation measures from this study indicated that 65% of parents would be considered traditional, 13% were marginalized, 8% were bicultural, and 13% could not be categorized. There were no parents who would be considered assimilated. Thus, almost 75% of parents in this study strongly identified with their culture of origin and this may have provided a different context in which to consider the impact of English fluency and language brokering on parent-child relationships.

Analyses also found that language brokering significantly contributed to parent-child relationship quality even after controlling for effects of parent gender and parent English proficiency. Interestingly, parent gender lost significance in predicting the parent-child relationship when language brokering was added as a predictive variable. This may be due to the association of more child brokering with mothers than fathers. Thus, the significant effect of gender seen earlier may have had more to do with the amount of language brokering occurring between mother-child pairs. Dorner et al. (2007) also found that children reported brokering more for mothers than for fathers.

The more frequent occurrence of language brokering contributed to the prediction of a more positive parent-child relationship. Findings are contrary to hypotheses that more language brokering in families leads to poorer parent-child relationships (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Umaña-Taylor, 2003). Differences may be due to the age of children in this study, which is much younger than ages of children in other studies. Children in this study may have received greater support in brokering attempts because of their age, and the brokering situation may have been a low-stakes situation (completing homework had little impact on family psychological, social, or economic status and was maintained within the privacy of the family sphere) and thus was

emotionally neutral in significance. At this young age and in the given situation, it may have been more important that parent and child were able to engage in effective communication, and language brokering provided that bridge. It may also be due to differences in measurement of parent-child relationships. Previous studies have utilized self-reports of parent-child relationship; whereas this study used an outside observer to the parent-child interaction. An outside observer may have a more objective and broad perspective. At the same time, an outside observer may not be able to observe the parent and the child's internal responses to the process of language brokering. Other studies have found that amount of language brokering is not associated with family relationship outcomes, but that children's feelings about their language brokering experiences are associated with family relationship outcomes (Buriel et al., Love, 2007). Results from this study suggest that amount of brokering may still be an important factor to assess, but perhaps not from a self-report perspective. The results from this study are more consistent to findings that more language brokering is associated with greater respect for mothers and fathers (Chao, 2006), and that brokering fosters a sense of partnership (Castañeda, 2005) with parents. It is possible that younger children who are not involved in high-stakes brokering situations (e.g., translating for the doctor when a parent has come in with illness) may benefit from the increased collaboration and effective communication that occur when they are responsive to parent prompting.

### **Limitations**

In addition to the strengths of including analyses of the parent's role (including fathers) in child language brokering, using direct observation rather than retrospective

reporting or child-perspective reporting, extending the age range to include children under age ten, and including an observational measure for parent-child power dynamics, there were also recognized limits. This study had a small sample size and was drawn from a primarily rural and recent Mexican immigrant community with children who were born in the USA. Findings may not be generalizable to other language minority families and communities. Weaknesses in analyses also existed. There was too little variability in parent acculturation levels and parent Anglo orientation scores were too similar to English proficiency ratings. Thus, analyses regarding the relationship of cultural variables to child language brokering and family relational outcomes could not be carried out.

This study offers some useful points for considering future quantitative measures of language brokering. Observational measures precluded the ability to assess parent and child subjective internal emotional responses to language brokering occurrences. In regards to measuring frequencies of language brokering occurrences during the parent-child interaction, there arose questions regarding what constituted a language brokering occurrence given that it has been defined in the literature as not simply a “translation,” but as both a cultural and linguistic interpretation or mediation of understanding between two entities (one is usually a parent). Given the young age of participants in this study and the teaching context of the parent-child interaction, it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between language brokering occurrences and parental prompts versus generic teaching prompts. Future research may need to more clearly define language brokering when using this method of study. Both the lack of clarity in determining instances of brokering and the variation in transcriber quality (no transcriber reliability) may have unduly influenced the number of observed brokering occurrences. Finally, the observed

eight-minute task of language brokering a school-based homework assignment with the parent may be too brief a glimpse to provide an accurate reflection of the amount of brokering in which a child may engage. Also, it may represent a less challenging brokering situation that does not accurately reflect the impact of child brokering roles when placed in high-stakes situations.

### **Implications for Practice**

Educators, health care providers, and other professionals who come into contact with language minority families should be educated on the pervasiveness of child language brokering, including the cognitive, social, familial, and emotional benefits and negative outcomes in different contexts. Overall, it appears that child language brokering may be a normative part of a child's bicultural development within the family and as an enhancement for communication that has potentially positive effects on cognitive flexibility, perspective-taking, and parent-child relationships (Castañeda, 2005; Chao, 2006; Love, 2007; Valdés, 2003,). Thus, it would be important for educators to encourage parents to continue to speak with their children in the parent's dominant language and continue to problem-solve language differences through open discussions and sharing of word meanings in both languages.

Parents might find the knowledge of scaffolded learning to be especially useful as a way to frame their own encouragement of their child's bilingual language development. Parents' initial responses to situations where they do not understand the language might generate feelings of helplessness and fear. Thus, it might also be important to highlight parents' greater conceptual knowledge in most situations compared to their children. In

these cases, although parents may need assistance in understanding the language, they still maintain the responsibility and power to scaffold their children's conceptual, social, or meta-cognitive understanding and skills. For example, in the homework situation, parents who could not understand the directions to match math answers to letters that would spell out a secret code still could assist children in solving math problems (concepts). In tasks purely in English where nothing is understood, parents may not be able to assist directly with the task, but can provide children with task structure (e.g., setting up a quiet space, having a sharp pencil), modeling (e.g., perseverance with a difficult task), study skills (e.g., scanning for the easy problems and completing those first), encouragement (e.g., praise child's effort and sustained concentration), collaboration (e.g., child translates language, and parent imparts concepts), providing alternate problem-solving skills (e.g., having a child call a peer in class with whom to discuss homework), and providing alternative tasks in which parent is competent (e.g., parent recognizes task is about English grammar and takes the opportunity to work with child on Spanish grammar skills, or parent substitutes 15 minutes of reading and discussing a book in Spanish for one homework sheet with note to teacher). Providers who work with parents may want to be especially aware that fathers and mothers may have different engagement styles. Education for providers working with language minority families needs to reduce stigmatization of the occurrence of child language brokering and bicultural communication in the home, and instead provide support to parents that will further enhance the positive effects of bilingual/bicultural development on family relationships.

Negative outcomes may be more likely when children are asked to translate in high-stakes situations with individuals outside of the family regarding items of significant import to the child's and/or family's physical, mental, educational and financial survival (e.g., doctor's office, legal or financial services, parent-teacher conferences).

Professionals should be educated on ways to communicate with families effectively (e.g., professional interpreter services, requesting families to bring in an adult family member to interpret, referral to bilingual providers) without placing the child in an unnecessarily stressful role. Additionally, within the school context, educators must also bear the responsibility of working with language minority families to gain other strategies for dealing with their lack of English proficiency. Part of the responsibility rests on the school's adaptation of culturally competent services, including providing interpreters for parent-teacher meetings, written communication with parents in the home language, after-school homework help for children, and initiating a bilingual homework hotline for parents and children. Additionally, educators can clarify their expectations of the parent's role in their child's education, and provide assistance to parents to meet those expectations.

Perhaps three central needs in working with language minority families who seek counseling are: normalizing the language brokering experience as a part of bicultural development, facilitating insight into changing family roles and developing/maintaining healthy power dynamics within the context of changing roles; and, enhancing families' communication skills and strategies to deal with differential language acculturation among family members. Parents would benefit from learning ways to negotiate conversations with their children to build children's home language skills, improve their

meta-linguistic communication, and be alert to children's emotional responses when asked to broker. Providers could also assist parents in problem-solving and identifying alternate resources (e.g., free interpreter services, English classes) when parents decide that child language brokering is not ideal in given situations. Providers might also open opportunities for children to communicate with parents about their emotional experiences of language brokering. Openly discussing changes in family roles and problem-solving different approaches to maintaining appropriate boundaries between parent and child while also recognizing the limited resources that may be available to the family would be a necessary start to enhancing overall family well-being. Perhaps most important in any enhancement of family communication is developing positive nonverbal parent-child relationships that serve as the greatest resource for dealing with language acculturation tensions.

### **Recommendations for Future Directions**

Further studies utilizing direct observations of language brokering occurrences are needed. Observational studies may be even more revealing if followed up with self-report measures where parents and children can report on emotional experiences (e.g., level of comfort/discomfort) and individual perceptions of observed language brokering incidences. Direct observation of lengthier parent-child interactions may be especially useful among young children who are beginning to language broker. First, young children may not have the language to describe their experiences. Second, further insight into the developmental aspects of language brokering, contexts in which it occurs, and factors that may shape the familial and child psychological well-being as the language brokering role



develops would be easier to perceive with younger children. Longitudinal studies would also provide important information on the language brokering role as it develops over time. Further studies across different ethnic groups, and with communities from varying immigration and sociopolitical histories would contribute to an understanding of language brokering patterns. Also, based on results from this study, future research is needed that continue to include the parental aspect of the language brokering role.

Researchers must be attuned to the possibility of different language brokering experiences between fathers and mothers given that: children might more often broker for mothers; children might have different experiences with mothers than with fathers; and, mothers and fathers may engage with children differentially based on cultural roles associated with gender and gender-related approaches to parent-child interactions.

In relation to language minority parent involvement with school tasks, further studies are needed to understand how parent strategies from this study compare to strategies used by English-speaking parents in similar situations. Also, it would be useful to investigate which strategies that language minority parents already use are the most effective. Effectiveness could include: completing homework successfully, improved academic performance, and/or building a more satisfying and collaborative parent-child relationship. Future research could also look at effectiveness of teaching language minority parents alternative strategies that are not dependent on English proficiency in changing parents' and children's level of positive involvement in homework and school, as well as increased positive outcomes. Also, further research might help to differentiate whether parental strategies are influenced more by English fluency or gendered approaches to assisting children.

There is a compelling need for future research to continue to explore parent-child power dynamics in relation to child language brokering as this remains an area where our current assumptions have pervaded the literature with little empirical evidence to support these beliefs. An important note in the development of the coding for situational power dynamic may assist future research in this area. Originally, the power dynamic was to be measured as it related to the entire situation (whether the parent or the child dominated in influencing general control over the other's behaviors), as well as to the specific homework task (whether the parent or the child dominated in the ability to understand and impart greater knowledge regarding the task). Coding for task power dynamic was dropped due to an inability to reach consistency between coders, but the separation of task and situation power dynamics arose from initial attempts to reach reliability and discussions around how "power" could be observed and coded. It may remain useful to recognize the layers and contexts in which family members demonstrate greater or lesser power, and whether different contexts have the same influence on family relationships and child outcomes. What may be most useful when designing future studies on language brokering is a consideration of factors that may contribute to a healthy balance in parent-child power dynamics and factors that turn the child language brokering task into a role that usurps parental power and may lead to negative child outcomes.

### **Conclusions**

This study contributes to the current language brokering literature by extending our understanding of language brokering patterns and parent-child relationships to children ages 4 to 10. Findings were remarkable for revealing that brokering occurs at a

relatively higher frequency than the current literature would predict among children even as young as 4 and 5. This study also provided insight into the parental role in prompting and scaffolding children's translations, as well as socializing young children into the role of broker. Including fathers in the study also uniquely contributed to insights regarding the differing patterns by which mother and fathers may assist their children with a task when language barriers exist in the understanding of that task. Finally, this study did not support claims that language brokering was associated with inverted power dynamics between parent and child, and it emphasized the possibility that language brokering may be linked to positive parent-child relationships. Several important additions to future research would be to investigate child language brokering patterns across different ethnic communities (including: immigration history, ethnicity and perceptions by receiving community, sociopolitical and economic background) and longitudinally across children's development over time. Furthermore, relating language brokering to specific emotional, behavioral, and familial outcomes might be stronger if measures were developed to more reliably distinguish quality and quantity of brokering as well as differentiating between low-stakes and high-stakes brokering situations, and the child's degree of involvement in brokering.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A:  
Consent Form

## Forma de Consentimiento Intervención para Padres Latinos Hispano-parlantes

**Introducción y Propósito:** Melanie Domenech Rodríguez (MDR), es profesora en el departamento de psicología de la Utah State University y está estudiando la efectividad de una intervención para padres Latinos. Lo hemos seleccionado para participar en este estudio porque tiene un niño/a de 5 a 9 años de edad quien tiene comportamientos difíciles.

**Procedimientos:** La participación en este estudio incluye 4 evaluaciones. Algunas familias participarán en un grupo para padres de 8 semanas. Otras familias estarán en una lista de espera. Las evaluaciones se harán antes de que empiece el grupo, inmediatamente después de la última reunión, y 3 y 6 meses después. Se requieren múltiples evaluaciones para que podamos entender que impacto tiene la intervención a través del tiempo. Durante las evaluaciones, contestará cuestionarios y participará en grabaciones de video. Las grabaciones se usarán para codificar los comportamientos de padres, madres, e hijos. Los videos se utilizarán para propósitos de investigación solamente y se guardarán en un archivo bajo llave en la oficina de MDR en el departamento de psicología por 5 años.

**Riesgos:**

**Evaluación:** Su participación conlleva ciertos riesgos: la pérdida de confidencialidad, estrés y/o incomodidad por responder a los cuestionarios y participar en la grabación. Para evitar el estrés, puede saltar preguntas que no quiera contestar. Puede también detener la grabación. Si hay algún conflicto serio durante la grabación, MDR o un asistente de investigación intervendrá para asistir a la familia en resolver el conflicto.

**Intervención:** Porque la intervención será en grupo, la confidencialidad de los participantes puede ser violada por otro participante. Para minimizar esto, se discutirán las reglas de grupo regularmente. Puede que el comportamiento del niño/a empeore durante la intervención. Nos mantendremos al tanto de esto y se proveerá asistencia como sea necesario.

Si se identifica algún otro riesgo, se le informará inmediatamente, y se tomarán medidas para garantizar su bienestar físico y psicológico.

**Confidencialidad:** Todos los datos serán protegidos de acuerdo a leyes estatales y federales. La confidencialidad se rompe solo en casos extremos de abuso de un menor, riesgo a la vida del participante, o riesgo a la vida de otra persona. La confidencialidad no se rompe por asuntos de inmigración.

**Beneficios:** Los hallazgos de este estudio pueden ayudar a otras familias Latinas que están teniendo dificultad con el comportamiento de sus hijos. Se proyecta que los beneficios serán muchos más que los riesgos envueltos por participar en este estudio.

**Evaluación:** Es posible que haya (o no) beneficios directos por su participación en la evaluación. MDR aprenderá acerca de la utilidad de una intervención para padres Latinos. Los hallazgos de este estudio

proveerán apoyo crítico para el esfuerzo a nivel nacional de proveer servicios de salud mental a familias Latinas.

**Intervención:** La intervención puede ser benéfica para reducir los problemas de conducta de su hijo/a. A la larga, la disponibilidad de un buen tratamiento para padres Latinos será de beneficio a la comunidad así como a aquellos que trabajan con familias Latinas.

**Pago:** No se pagará por participar en la intervención. Se pagará participar en las evaluaciones: \$25 a la familia por la primera evaluación, \$35 por la segunda, \$50 por la tercera, y \$75 por la última. Se le dará un pequeño regalo al niño cuando se complete cada evaluación. El regalo consistirá de juguetes pequeños tales como un carrito, barajas miniaturas, o cosas similares. El pago y regalo se darán después de haberse completado la evaluación.

**Participación:** Su participación en esta investigación es completamente voluntaria. Puede retirar su participación en cualquier momento y sin penalidad. A los niños de 7 años, o mayores, se les pedirá que estén de acuerdo con participar; el consentimiento de estos niños es necesario para participar. La grabación de video será destruida si retira su participación. Usted tiene derecho a limitar lo que se graba. Usted tiene derecho a hacer preguntas en cualquier momento.

Si tiene alguna preocupación acerca de la investigación o los procedimientos usados, y no se siente cómodo discutiendo sus preocupaciones con MDR o su asistente de investigación, puede comunicarse con True Rubal al 435-797-1821. Ella es la Administradora del Comité Institucional de Repaso (Institutional Review Board) en la Utah State University y es bilingüe.

He leído, o alguien me ha leído, esta forma completa, y entiendo el propósito del estudio que la Dra. Melanie Domenech Rodríguez está llevando a cabo en Utah State University. Entiendo que hay riesgos y beneficios potenciales; entiendo lo que debo hacer y con quién debo hablar si tengo alguna pregunta, duda o preocupación. Si tengo alguna pregunta, sé que puedo llamar a la profesora Domenech Rodríguez, al (435) 797-3059. Con mi firma abajo, doy mi consentimiento para participar en este estudio.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Nombre del Participante

\_\_\_\_\_  
Fecha

\_\_\_\_\_  
Firma del Participante

\_\_\_\_\_  
Melanie Domenech-Rodríguez, Ph.D. Fecha

Appendix B:  
Recruitment Flyer



## Criando con Amor: Promoviendo Armonía y Superación

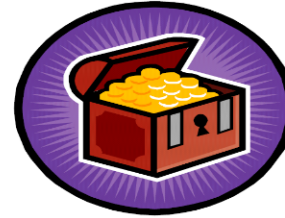
**C.A.P.A.S.**



Dra. Melanie Domenech Rodríguez  
Departamento de Psicología  
Utah State University  
2810 Old Main Hill  
Logan UT 84322

[mdr88@cc.usu.edu](mailto:mdr88@cc.usu.edu)  
435-797-8282

La familia es el  
tesoro más  
preciado que  
tenemos



¡Hagamos una  
buena inversión  
en el futuro!

- Si tiene retos con sus hijos ...
- Si se frustra ...
- Si quiere tener una mejor relación con sus hijos ...
- Si quiere aprender a mantener la calma con sus hijos ...

*¡Acompañenos!*

Aprenda acerca de:

- La importancia del involucramiento positivo
- Instrucciones efectivas
- Alentar destrezas
- Promover el éxito escolar
- Poner límites efectivos
- La solución de problemas
- Como apoyar el éxito de sus hijos

## El Estudio Requiere

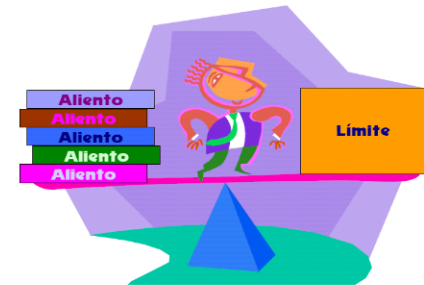
### 1. Participar en cuatro evaluaciones (cada 2 meses)

Se les pagará a las familias por su tiempo (\$25, \$35, \$45, y \$55 por las evaluaciones)

### 2. La mitad de las familias participarán en un grupo de 8 semanas inmediatamente y la otra mitad participará al final de las cuatro evaluaciones, si así lo desean.

Se proveerá cuidado de niños y comida para las familias.  
Los grupos generalmente se llevan a cabo de 6p-8p.

**\*\* los niños deben tener entre 5 y 9 años de edad \*\***



Appendix C:  
Demographic Questionnaire

### Preguntas Demográficas

#### Información general:

¿Que edad tiene? \_\_\_\_\_ ¿Es hombre o mujer? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cuál es su país de nacimiento? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cual es su código postal? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cuántas personas viven en tu casa? (a) adultos \_\_\_\_\_ (b) niños \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cual es su estatus de trabajo?

Jornada completa       Tarea Parcial       Desempleado

Estudiante       Jubilado/retirado       Ama de Casa

otra \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cuál fue, aproximadamente el ingreso total de su casa el año pasado? (incluya todas las fuentes de ingreso)

Menos de \$10,000

Entre \$10,000 y \$15,000

Entre \$15,001 y \$20,000

Entre \$20,001 y \$25,000

Entre \$25,001 y \$35,000

Entre \$35,001 y \$50,000

Entre \$50,001 y \$75,000

Entre \$75,001 y \$100,000

Más de \$100,000 SES:

Su familia tiene suficiente dinero para ...

	Siempre	Casi Siempre	Algunas Veces	Nunca
Comprar comida				
Comprar gasolina para el coche o camión				
Pagar las cuentas				
Mantener la casa arreglada				
Comprar útiles escolares				
Comprar la ropa que necesita				
Comprar la ropa que quiere				
Hacer cosas divertidas como ir al cine o comer en un restaurante				
Comprar regalos para Navidad y otras fechas especiales				

Appendix D:

Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans–II

(Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995)

(a) ¿Hasta que grado fue a la escuela? **(Indique con un círculo la respuesta)**

- 1 Primaria – 6
- 2 Secundaria 7 – 8
- 3 Preparatoria 9 – 12
- 4 Universidad o Colegio 1 – 2 años
- 5 Universidad o Colegio 3 – 4 años
- 6 Graduado, o grado más alto de Colegio o Universidad

(b) ¿En que país? \_\_\_\_\_

**Indique con un círculo el número de la generación que considere adecuada para usted. Dé solamente una respuesta.**

- 1 1ª generación = Usted nació en México u otro país [no en los Estados Unidos (USA)].
- 2 2ª generación = Usted nació en los Estados Unidos Americanos (USA), sus padres nacieron en México o en otro país.
- 3 3ª generación = Usted nació en los Estados Unidos Americanos (USA), sus padres también nacieron en los Estados Unidos (USA) y sus abuelos nacieron en México o en otro país.
- 4 4ª generación = Usted nació en los Estados Unidos Americanos (USA), sus padres nacieron en los Estados Unidos Americanos (USA) y por lo menos uno de sus abuelos nació en México o algún otro país.
- 5 5ª generación = Usted y sus padres y todos sus abuelos nacieron en los Estados Unidos (USA).

**Por favor conteste las siguientes preguntas usando la escala de 1 al 5:**

	Nada	Un poquito o A veces	Mode-rado	Mucho o muy frecuente	Muchísimo o Casi todo el tiempo
1. Yo hablo Español	1	2	3	4	5
2. Yo hablo Inglés	1	2	3	4	5
3. Me gusta hablar en Español	1	2	3	4	5
4. Me asocio con Anglos	1	2	3	4	5
5. Yo me asocio con Latinos o Hispanos	1	2	3	4	5
6. Me gusta la música en español	1	2	3	4	5
7. Me gusta la música en inglés	1	2	3	4	5
8. Me gusta ver programas de televisión en español	1	2	3	4	5
9. Me gusta ver programas de televisión en inglés	1	2	3	4	5
10. Me gusta ver películas en inglés	1	2	3	4	5
11. Me gusta ver películas en español	1	2	3	4	5
12. Me gusta leer (por ej., libros) en español	1	2	3	4	5
13. Me gusta leer (por ej., libros) en inglés	1	2	3	4	5

	Nada	Un poquito o A veces	Modo-rado	Mucho o muy frecuente	Muchísimo o Casi todo el tiempo
14. Escribo (por ej., cartas) en inglés	1	2	3	4	5
15. Escribo (por ej., cartas) en español	1	2	3	4	5
16. Mis pensamientos ocurren en el idioma inglés	1	2	3	4	5
17. Mis pensamientos ocurren en el idioma español	1	2	3	4	5
18. Mi contacto con mi país de origen ha sido ...	1	2	3	4	5
19. Mi contacto con los Estados Unidos Americanos ha sido ...	1	2	3	4	5
20. Mi padre se identifica (o se identificaba) con su país de origen	1	2	3	4	5
21. Mi madre se identifica (o se identificaba) con su país de origen	1	2	3	4	5
22. Mis amigos(as) de mi niñez eran de origen Latino o Hispano	1	2	3	4	5
23. Mis amigos(as) de mi niñez eran de origen Anglo Americano	1	2	3	4	5
24. Mi familia cocina comidas de mi país de origen	1	2	3	4	5
25. Mis amigos recientes son Anglo Americanos	1	2	3	4	5
26. Mis amigos recientes son Latinos o Hispanos	1	2	3	4	5
27. Me gusta identificarme como Anglo Americano	1	2	3	4	5
28. Me gusta identificarme con mi región de origen (por ej., como Norte Americano si es Mexicano)	1	2	3	4	5
29. Me gusta identificarme con mi país de origen (por ej., como Mexicano)	1	2	3	4	5
30. Me gusta identificarme como un(a) Americano(a)	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix E:

Sample Skills Sheets: 2<sup>nd</sup> Grade Grammar, 3<sup>rd</sup> Grade Math,

5th Grade Reading, Scholastic Success Series

Name \_\_\_\_\_

### Verbs

► Read each sentence. Write the action verb in the telling part of the sentence.

- 1 Ronald runs to the field. \_\_\_\_\_
- 2 Michael wears a batting helmet. \_\_\_\_\_
- 3 He smacks the ball hard. \_\_\_\_\_
- 4 Ronald holds the wrong end of the bat. \_\_\_\_\_
- 5 He misses the ball. \_\_\_\_\_
- 6 Ronald waits in left field. \_\_\_\_\_
- 7 He writes G for great. \_\_\_\_\_
- 8 Ronald's father helps him. \_\_\_\_\_


► Write a sentence about the picture. Use an action verb and circle it.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

A **verb** is an action word. It tells what someone or something is doing.



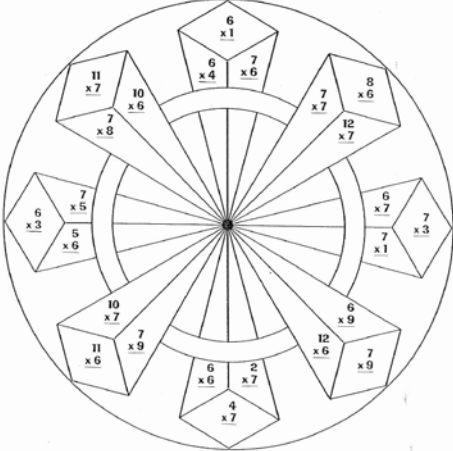
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### Multiplying 1- & 2-place numbers

## Space Traveler

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Solve the problems. If the answer is between 0 and 45, color the shape black. If the answer is between 46 and 85, color the shape red. Finish the design by coloring the other shapes with the colors of your choice.



**Taking It Further:** Look at the four numbers below. Which two numbers, when multiplied together, are greater than 200 but less than 400? 4, 8, 23, 49

## Reading Skills Practice Test 5

### READING COMPREHENSION

Read each story. Then fill in the circle that best completes each sentence or answers each question.

**SAMPLE**

Some kids in Japan may not have to feed the fish in their aquariums anymore. That's because they may choose to buy robotic fish instead. Robotic fish are little fish robots powered by light. The light causes the fish to move around inside the aquarium. A special design keeps the fish from bumping into the aquarium's walls.

1. A good title for this story would be
  - A. "New Aquariums."
  - B. "Robotic Fish."
  - C. "Pets in Japan."
  - D. "The Power of Light."
2. What causes the robotic fish to move?
  - A. light
  - B. fish food
  - C. robots
  - D. water

**A.** Squeezed into a ship called the *Amistad*, the 53 slaves aboard could barely breathe. Each day, the crew gave them sips of water and scraps of food. The slaves were beaten and chained.

They had been kidnapped from Africa. On July 4, 1839, they broke free. They killed the captain and took control of *Amistad* off Cuba's coast, making the ship a famous symbol of freedom.

The *Amistad* story is famous for the rebellion and for what followed. After breaking free, the slaves tried to sail the ship back to their native Sierra Leone, in West Africa. The U.S. Navy captured the ship off the coast of Long Island and charged the slaves with murder.

In 1841, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Africans had been illegally kidnapped. The Court allowed them to return to Africa.

1. What did the *Amistad* become a symbol of?
  - A. slavery
  - B. Africa
  - C. the Supreme Court
  - D. freedom
2. What happened after the U.S. Navy captured the ship?
  - A. The slaves were charged with murder.
  - B. The slaves were chained and beaten.
  - C. The slaves killed the ship's captain.
  - D. The slaves tried to sail to Sierra Leone.
3. The best title for this story is
  - A. "A History of Slavery."
  - B. "The Supreme Court."
  - C. "The Story of the *Amistad*."
  - D. "U.S. Navy Rescues."



Appendix F:  
Parent-Child Interactions in Academic Task:  
Recording Sheet

**Task Choice (type of homework)**

- 1 = All Math** (NO time is spent on reading/ grammar tasks)
- 2 = Mostly Math** (time spent on reading/ grammar tasks is less than time on math tasks)
- 3 = Mostly Rdg/Gram** (time spent on math tasks is less than time on rdg/gram tasks)
- 4 = All Rdg/Gram** (NO time is spent on math tasks)

**Parental Use/Understanding of English**

- Use:** Amount of English parent uses during 8 minutes of parent-child interaction  
(1 = none, 2 = little, 3 = some, 4 = a lot, 5 = all)
- Understanding:** Estimation of parent general English competency based on understanding of English in homework or as used by child  
(1 = none, 2 = little, 3 = some, 4 = a lot, 5 = all)

**Parent-Child Dynamic**

- Parent-Directed Task:** Parent provides greater direction, instruction, and understanding during the task
- Child-Directed Task:** Child provides greater direction, instruction, and understanding during the task.
- Parent-controlled Situation:** Parent sets the general behavioral guidelines/expectations for the child. Parent has clear authority and easily directs child behavior.
- Child-controlled Situation:** Child sets the general behavioral tone. Child has ability to persuade and direct parent behavior during situation.
- TASK:** **1**= mostly/all child-directed, **2**=more child- than parent-directed **3**=more parent- than child-directed, **4**=mostly/all parent-directed
- SIT:** **1**=mostly/all child-controlled, **2**=more child- than parent-controlled, **3**=more parent- than child-controlled, **4**=mostly/all parent-controlled

**Parent-Child Relationship**

- The parent-child relationship seemed:** 1 = very poor, 2 = somewhat poor, 3 = neutral, 4 = somewhat good, 5 = very good

Relationship is defined as both the amount and quality of parent-child interactions, including verbal communication, body language, warmth/coldness, level of comfort/discomfort, and general positiveness/negativeness that is evident in interactions.

**Parental Strategies:**

- Indirect Support (InS):** Physical presence, shows interest in assignment, warmth/ encouragement. More passive. No active or direct engagement in completing task, nor is there active engagement in getting the child to complete task (as in ReD)
- Redirection (ReD):** M/F refocuses TC's attention to the task without providing direct assistance or teaching. Simple adherence to the research protocol.
- Task Assistance (TA):** M/F assisted in task completion without an active teaching role (e.g. reading problems aloud while child answers)
- Direct Teaching (DirT):** Problems broken down and explained. Often significant guidance towards correct answer. Clear teaching moment.
- Collaborative Learning (ColL):** M and TC work together to understand and complete homework task

**Family ID** \_\_\_\_\_ **Mom** **Dad**

Task Choice: 1 (all math) 2 (more math) 3 (more rdg/gram) 4 (all rdg/gram)

English use: 1 2 3 4 5 English understanding: 1 2 3 4 5  
None little some a lot all

Parent-Child Dynamic:  
Task: 1 2 3 4 Situation: 1 2 3 4  
Child Parent Child Parent  
*Example:*

Parent-Child Relationship: 1 2 3 4 5  
Very Somewhat Neutral Somewhat Very  
poor poor good Good

Parental Strategy: InS\_\_\_\_\_ ReD\_\_\_\_\_ TA\_\_\_\_\_ DirT\_\_\_\_\_ CoIL\_\_\_\_\_

*Example:*

Notes:

---

**Family ID** \_\_\_\_\_ **Mom** **Dad**

Task Choice: 1 (all math) 2 (more math) 3 (more rdg/gram) 4 (all rdg/gram)

English use: 1 2 3 4 5 English understanding: 1 2 3 4 5  
None little some a lot all

Parent-Child Dynamic:  
Task: 1 2 3 4 Situation: 1 2 3 4  
Child Parent Child Parent  
*Example:*

Parent-Child Relationship: 1 2 3 4 5  
Very Somewhat Neutral Somewhat Very  
poor poor good Good

Parental Strategy: InS\_\_\_\_\_ ReD\_\_\_\_\_ TA\_\_\_\_\_ DirT\_\_\_\_\_ CoIL\_\_\_\_\_

*Example:*

Notes:

## CURRICULUM VITAE

*Kee J.E. Straits***PERSONAL**

Address:	11017 Marlowe Ct. NE Albuquerque, NM 87113 (505) 232-4670 (home) (505) 720-3371 (cell) k.straits@aggiemail.usu.edu (e-mail)	Ethnicity:	Indigenous Latina Quechua, born in Perú
		Languages:	English (native) Spanish (proficient)

**EDUCATION**

Ph.D. *Utah State University*, Logan, UT  
2010 **Combined Clinical/Counseling/School Psychology** (APA approved)  
(Anticipated) Dissertation: *Observations of Language Brokering and Effects on Parent-Child Relationships in Latino Immigrant Families*. Chair: Melanie Domenech Rodríguez, Ph.D.

M.A. *University of New Mexico*, Albuquerque, NM  
2002 **Special Education**, Emphasis: Bilingual/Multicultural  
Master's Project: *Creating 3<sup>rd</sup> space in ethnic and academic identity development: A study of the remembered grade school experiences of a Native American graduate student*. Chair: Diane Torres Velásquez, Ph.D.

B.A. *Williams College*, Williamstown, MA  
1999 Major: Psychology

**LICENSURE**

2008 PreK-12 School Psychologist, Level 1, License #279998 (expired)

**FELLOWSHIPS, HONORS AND AWARDS**

2010 Dalmas A. Taylor Award for Outstanding Student Research, APA Division 12, Section VI  
2008 American Psychological Association Minority Fellowship Program.  
2007 American Psychological Association Minority Fellowship Program.  
2006 Graduate Student Senate Travel Funds, Utah State University.  
2006 National Latina/o Psychological Association Travel Scholarship.  
2006 American Indian Support Project Scholarship.  
2005 American Indian Support Project Scholarship.  
2004 Research Vice President Fellowship, Utah State University.  
2004 Graduate Student Senate Travel Funds, Utah State University.

- 2003 Graduate Research, Project and Travel Grant, University of New Mexico.  
 2002 *With Distinction*, Master's Project, University of New Mexico.  
 2002 Graduate Research, Project and Travel Grant, University of New Mexico.  
 2002 Project RICO (Realizing Individual Competence in Cognitively Rich Language Environments) Scholarship, University of New Mexico.  
 2001 Project RICO (Realizing Individual Competence in Cognitively Rich Language Environments) Scholarship, University of New Mexico.  
 1999 *Cum Laude*, Williams College  
 1998 Robert Wilmers Summer Travel Abroad Scholarship, Williams College.

## CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

- 2009—2010 **Clinical Child Psychology Intern**, University of New Mexico Health Sciences Center, Dept. of Psychiatry and Children's Psychiatric Center (APA approved). Albuquerque, NM. Supervisors: Luis Vargas, Ph.D., Mary Kaven, Ph.D., Marcela Acevedo, Ph.D., Andrea Sherwood, Ph.D., & Artemio Brambila, Ph.D.
- 2007—2009 **Student Therapist**, Domiciliary Residential Rehabilitation Treatment Program, New Mexico VA Healthcare System. Albuquerque, NM. Supervisors: June Malone, Ph.D. & Susan Crowley, Ph.D.
- 2007—2008 **School Psychology Intern**, Robert F. Kennedy Charter High School. Albuquerque, NM. Supervisors: Ron Gallegos, Ph.D. & Gretchen Peacock, Ph.D.
- 2006—2007 **Mental Health Specialist**, Bear River Head Start, Logan, UT. Supervisor: David M. Stein, Ph.D.
- 2006—2007 **Student Therapist**, Utah State University Counseling Center. Counseling Psychology Practicum, Utah State University. Logan, UT. Supervisors: Mark Nafziger, Ph.D. & Mary Doty, Ph.D.
- 2005—2007 **Interventionist**, Centro de Estudio de la Familia Latina, Dept. of Psychology, Utah State University. Logan, UT. Supervisor: Melanie Domenech Rodríguez, Ph.D.
- 2005—2006 **Student Therapist**, Bridger Elementary School, School Psychology Practicum, Utah State University. Logan, UT. Supervisor: Donna Gilbertson, Ph.D. & Mary Griffin, Lic. School Psychologist.
- 2005 **Student Therapist**, Utah State University Psychology Community Clinic, Psychology Practicum, Utah State University. Logan, UT. Supervisor: M. Scott DeBerard, Ph.D.

## TEACHING EXPERIENCE

- 2006—2007 **Teaching Assistant**, PSY 6340: Psychological & Educational Consultation, Utah State University. Logan, UT. Instructor: Donna Gilbertson, Ph.D.
- 2005—2006 **Teaching Assistant**, PSY5200: Intro to Interviewing & Counseling, Utah State University. Logan, UT. Instructor: Carolyn Barcus, Ed.D.
- 2000—2001 **Special Education Teacher**, Washington Middle School. Albuquerque, NM. Supervisor: Beth Graham, Behavior Support Specialist, APS
- 2000 **Special Education Intern**, Special Education Collaborative Partnership Program, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM. Special Educator/Mentor: Dennis Higgins, Ph.D.
- 1999 **Special Education Paraprofessional**, Cory Elementary School, Denver, CO. Special Educator/Mentor: Cathleen Ginton.

## RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

- 2009—pres **Research Consultant**, Assessing Science Inquiry and Leadership Skills (AScILS) and Society for the Advancement of Chicanos and Native Americans in the Sciences (SACNAS), National Institutes of Health (NIH), National Institute of General Medical Science Grant #2R01GM071935-05. Supervisor: Martin Chemers, Ph.D.
- 2009 **Evaluation Assistant**, Center for Rural and Community Behavioral Health, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM. Supervisor: Deborah Altschul, Ph.D.
- 2005—2007 **Research Assistant**, Centro de Estudio de la Familia Latina, Dept. of Psychology, Utah State University. Logan, UT. Supervisor: Melanie Domenech Rodríguez, Ph.D.
- 2003—2005 **Research Assistant**, Center for Family and Adolescent Research. Albuquerque, NM. Supervisor: Janet Brody, Ph.D.
- 2000—2002 **Research Assistant**, Bilingual/ Multicultural Special Education Program, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM. Supervisor: Diane Torres-Velásquez, Ph.D.

## PUBLICATIONS

- Ledgerwood, A.D. & **Straits, K.J.E.** (2009). Developing competence with Latinas/os: An agenda for Latina/o and non-Latina/o psychologists. *El Boletín*, S/F 2009, 16-18.
- Carter, S., **Straits, K. J. E.**, & Hall, M. (2007). Project Venture: Evaluation of an experiential, culturally-based approach to substance abuse prevention with American Indian youth. *Journal of Experiential Education*, 29(3), 397-400.
- Quispe, M.** (pen name) & Thomas, A. (2004). Hózhóógo iiná: Skönhetens väg i livet. In A. Banfield (Ed.), *De kallar oss "Indianer"* (pp. 78-90). Sweden: Världen i Våra Händer.
- Quispe, M.** (pen name) (2003, Fall). The Qosqo connection: Journey back to my motherland. *South American Explorer*, 71, 20-6. Also available on line: <http://www.saexplorers.org/saemag.htm>.
- Straits, K.** (2001, February). Creating a safe space for learning in middle school. *Teacher Talk! Newsletter*, 12-13. (Available from Collaborative Partnership Program, Special Education Department, Hokona-Zuni, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM 87131).

## MANUSCRIPT UNDER REVIEW

- Domenech Rodríguez, M. & **Straits, K.J.E.** (in press). *Substance Use Prevention in Latino children*. In H. Grey (Ed.), *Cultural considerations in mental health: Ethnic minority communities*. New York: Oxford University Press.

## PROFESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS

- Straits, K.J.E.** (2009, April). *Closing the gap in the USA: History, current issues, and recommendations for health disparities in American Indian communities*. Invited presentation at the Functional Communities: Local Government and Discrete Indigenous Communities conference, Perth, Australia.
- Straits, K.J.E.** (2008, November). Child language brokering and parent-child relationships. In M. Domenech Rodríguez (Chair), *Developing culturally appropriate interventions for Spanish-speaking immigrant parents*. Symposium conducted at the annual National Latina/o Psychological Association, Costa Mesa, CA.

- Straits, K.J.E.** (2008, November). Learning to negotiate language and culture in the therapy room. In L. Durr (Chair), *Impact of Language and Cultural Competence Programs on Professional Identity and Competence of Psychologists-in-Training*. Symposium conducted at the annual National Latina/o Psychological Association, Costa Mesa, CA.
- Ledgerwood, A.D., **Straits, K.J.E.**, & Mendez, E. (2008, November). *¿Hablas español?: Exploring the challenges and benefits of non-Latinos working with Latinos*. Roundtable presented at the annual National Latina/o Psychological Association, Costa Mesa, CA.
- Straits, K.** (2008, May). *Assertiveness and effective communication: A cultural perspective*. Brown bag luncheon at the New Mexico Veteran's Affairs Health Care Services, Albuquerque, NM.
- Irigoyen, J., **Straits, K.**, Mack, T. & Ishibashi, M. (2008, February). *Women of color: Lived experience, common struggles, and a vision for the future*. Roundtable discussion presented at the Teachers College Winter Roundtable, New York City, NY.
- Carter, S., **Straits, K.**, & Hall, M. (2006, November). *Project Venture: Evaluation of an experiential, culturally-based approach to substance abuse prevention with American Indian youth*. Paper presented at the Symposium on Experiential Education Research, annual international conference of the Association for Experiential Education, St. Paul, MN.
- Straits, K.**, Donovanick, M.R., & Domenech Rodríguez, M.M. (2006, October). *Observations of Latino families engaging in academic skills-building tasks*. Poster presented at the annual National Latina/o Psychological Association, Milwaukee, WI.
- Straits, K.** (2006, June). Reflecting on our own ethnic identity growth. In Straits, K., Lindsley, T., & Jones, M. (Facilitators). *I call myself Indian: Developing identity*. Talking Circle presented at the annual Society of Indian Psychologists Conference and Retreat, Logan, UT.
- Straits, K.** (2006, April). Working with interpreters in schools. In Davis, M.R., Straits, K.J., & Torres, E. (Chairs). *Common barriers and bridges with culturally and linguistically diverse parents*. Workshop presented at the annual meeting of the Utah chapter National Association for Multicultural Educators, Salt Lake City, UT.
- Davis, M., Méndez, E., Myler, C. & **Straits, K.** (2005, April). *Support for ethnic and sexual minorities*. Panel discussion at the Utah NAME annual Educators for Diversity conference, National Association for Multicultural Educators, Logan, UT.



- Torres Velásquez, D., Ornelas, A., Westby, C., Romero, R., **Straits, K.** & Thorsos, N. (2005, April). *Teaching community: A pedagogy of the heart*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the American Educational Research Association, Montreal, Canada.
- Straits, K.**, & McClellan, H. (2005, January). *Native values-based substance abuse prevention for Native youth: A case study*. Poster presented at the National Multicultural Conference and Summit, Los Angeles, CA.
- Straits, K.** (2004, November). *Bilingual education and culture in an Andean Indigenous community*. Poster presented at the National Latina/o Psychological Association Inaugural Conference, Scottsdale, AZ.
- Straits, K.**, Lopez, P., & Torres Velásquez, D. (2004, April). *Creating 3<sup>rd</sup> space in ethnic and academic identity development: Case study of a Native American graduate student's primary and secondary school experiences*. Roundtable presented at the annual conference of the American Educational Research Association, San Diego, CA.
- Martinez, S., Quiroz, G., Gomez, C., **Straits, K.**, Hong, C., & Del Rio, E. (2004, March). *Voces feministas: Mad morenas in media*. Panel discussion presented at the annual conference of the Women of Color Mixed Heritage/ Ethnicity/ Race, Albuquerque, NM.
- Straits, K.**, Lopez, P., Long, N., & Woods, D. (2002, February). *Smoothing the bumps: Authentic assessment for minimizing cultural conflict*. Workshop presented at the annual conference of the New Mexico Association for Bilingual Education, Albuquerque, NM.
- Kitchen, R., Torres-Velásquez, D., & **Straits, K.** (2000, April). *Dropouts in New Mexico: Native American and Hispanic students speak out*. Roundtable presented at the annual conference of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, LA.

#### **Guest Lectures/Community Outreach**

- 2009, Oct      *Uniting North and South: Tales of Navajo Man and Quechua Woman*  
10<sup>th</sup> Annual Native American Flute and Storytelling Concert, Honolulu, HI
- 2008, Oct      *Encouraging Literacy in Bilingual Families*  
From Field to Feast: A Native American and Hispanic Community  
Celebration, National Hispanic Cultural Center, Albuquerque, NM
- 2008, Oct      *The Corn-Bear Seller and Other Quechua Folktales*  
9<sup>th</sup> Annual Native American Flute and Storytelling Concert, Honolulu, HI

- 2008, Sep *Language Brokering in Latino Families: A Research Proposal.*  
PSYCH 374, University of New Mexico, NM
- 2008, Apr *Depression and Anxiety in Teens*  
Youthbuild, Albuquerque, NM
- 2007, Oct *El Zorro y El Huaychao: A Traditional Andean Folktale*  
8<sup>th</sup> Annual Native American Flute and Storytelling Concert, Honolulu, HI
- 2007, Feb *Latino Values and the Cache Valley Latino Community*  
Rotary Club, Logan, UT
- 2006, Nov *The Basics of Communication in Marriage and Parenting*  
PSY 1210 Psychology of Human Adjustment  
Utah State University, Logan, UT
- 2005, Oct *A nonWestern Perspective of Egoism and Altruism in Psychology*  
PSY 5200 Introduction to Counseling and Guidance  
Utah State University, Logan, UT
- 2003, Jul *National Indian Youth Leadership Project: Service learning through the Turtle Island project*  
Native America Calling [Radio]. 3-minute news interest piece for the program *Servant Leadership: A Native Tradition*, produced in KUNM studios, Albuquerque, NM ([www.nativeamericacalling.com](http://www.nativeamericacalling.com))
- 2003, Jul *Young women of color in the 2003 Youth Organizing & Training Institute.*  
Voces Feministas [Radio]. Produced 30-minute pre-recorded interview, Albuquerque, NM: KUNM 89.9 ([www.kunm.org](http://www.kunm.org))
- 2003, Apr *To all of us in the U.S.: Messages from our children in Peru.*
- 2003, May Voces Feministas [Radio] & Raices [Radio]. Produced 12-minute interest piece, Albuquerque, NM: KUNM 89.9 ([www.kunm.org](http://www.kunm.org))
- 2003, Feb *Queremos la paz*  
Voces Feministas [Radio]. Produced 2-minute cultural piece.  
Albuquerque, NM: KUNM 89.9 ([www.kunm.org](http://www.kunm.org))
- 2002, Aug *Creating 3<sup>rd</sup> space in ethnic and academic identity development*  
SPC ED 593 Teaching Bilingual Special Education  
University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM

1998, Aug *Indigenous peoples of Ecuador: How land influences culture*  
 Invited presentation for museum staff and volunteers  
 Denver Museum of Natural History, Denver, CO

### PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

2009 **Public Policy Intern**, Optum Health New Mexico Multicultural Services  
 Advisory Council & CYFD Children's Cabinet

2008—2009 **School Board Member**, RFK Charter High School. Albuquerque, NM

2006—2008 **Student Representative**, Society of Indian Psychologists. Logan, UT.

2006, Aug **Group Facilitator**, Casa de Acogida MANTAY, Cusco, Peru.

2006, Jun **Conference Co-coord.**, American Indian Support Project. Logan, UT.

2005—2006 **Consultant**, National Indian Youth Leadership Project. Albuquerque, NM.

2003, Sep **Peer Reviewer**, American Educational Research Association.

2003—2004 **Special Projects Staff**, Southwest Network for Environmental and  
 Economic Justice. Albuquerque, NM.

2001—2004 **Co-producer**. Voces Feministas, KUNM 89.9 Public Radio Station.  
 Albuquerque, NM.

2000 **Educational Aide**, Muller Home-School Program. Albuquerque, NM.  
 Supervisor: Mark Muller, Autism Specialist, Albuquerque Public Schools

### PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

2007 – Present American Psychological Association, Student Affiliate  
 2004 – Present Society for Indian Psychologists, past Student Representative  
 2004 – Present National Latina/o Psychological Association, Student Affiliate  
 2000 – Present American Educational Research Association, Student Affiliate