I SPEAK FOR MY PARENTS: COMPLICATED FEELINGS, THOUGHTS, AND

EXPERIENCES OF LATINA/O YOUTH WHO LANGUAGE BROKER FOR THEIR

PARENTS

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Title: I Speak for My Parents: Complicated Feelings, Thoughts, and Experiences of
Latina/o Youth who Language Broker for their Parents

Many Latina/o adolescents language broker for their parents often about a myriad
of personal, family, and household issues that vary in degrees of complexity,
confidentiality, and urgency. This qualitative and descriptive study analyzes the feelings,
perceptions, and language brokering and acculturation experiences of six Latina/o high
school students. Data collection included two semi-structured interviews, two direct
observations of language brokering activities, and two surveys, a language brokering
instrument (Buriel et al., 1998) and the Revised Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican
Americans II (Cuellar, Arnold, & Maldonado, 1995). To explore language brokering and
acculturation experiences, the study utilizes sociocultural theory and multidimensionality
acculturation as theoretical frameworks. The data suggests six themes: 1) normalized
language brokering experiences, 2) learning to resolve increasingly complex language
brokering scenarios, 3) mixed feelings and perceptions regarding benefits and concerns
associated with language brokering, 4) complex family relationships and strong
familismo orientation in the context of language brokering, 5) coping with high-stakes
language brokering contexts, and 6) connections between acculturation and language
brokering. These themes provide current and relevant insights for P-16 educators,
medical, mental health, and social services professionals, business and community

leaders, policymakers, and Latina/o communities in understanding relevant themes for

these Latina/o language brokers, their parents, and family unit.

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CHAPTER I—INTRODUCTION

Language Brokering

This dissertation explores the feelings, perceptions and language brokering and acculturation experiences of six Latina/o high school students who from an early age language broker frequently about a wide range of complex issues. Based on his comprehensive and long-term translation experiences for his parents, extended family, and community members, Pablo, a self-identified Chicano seventeen-year-old high school student, described himself as **"**I am the translator for the world" (Stewart, 2014, p. 9). Out of necessity, many Latina/o children or adolescents, like Pablo, serve as translators or interpreters for their parents and for English-speaking third-party adults (Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). For some, the practice begins as early as age eight (Tse, 1996). The range of topics and contexts they translate (written documents) or interpret (oral communication) varies from the ordinary to the complex, from the sensitive to the confidential, and from the mundane to emergencies (Orellana, 2009). Scholars assert that translating utilities bills, employment applications, and interpreting at the doctor's office, or in parent-teacher conferences, ensures the family's survival (Orellana et al., 2003; Valenzuela, 1999). Understanding the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of Latina/o youth, who are thrust into adult-like roles when they translate for their parents, is of paramount importance especially in the context of individual factors, such as growth and development, educational achievement and institutional variables, like the recognition of additive linguistic practices and national education benchmarks, i.e., push-out and graduation rates.

Language(s) and Culture(s)

Language brokering is more than translated or interpreted verbatim communication between individuals who speak different languages. Culture(s) and language(s) are intrinsically interwoven. Critically acclaimed novelist Khaled Hosseini states, "if culture was a house, then language was the key to the front door and to all rooms inside" (2013). As Latina/o adolescents language broker for their parents, they are instantaneously decoding not only linguistic content and issues inherent in the interaction itself, i.e., educational matters in parent-teacher conferences, but are also mediating cultural contexts (Buriel et al., 1998; Tse, 1995). Perhaps without a key, or with a faulty one, language brokers give tours of the house, describe content, explain contexts, and make visitors comfortable. In the process, they negotiate social and cultural constructs, such as social interaction, rapport, respect, and reciprocity. In varying degrees, these conceptions influence the overall language brokering interaction. Given this linguistic and cultural mediation, Vasquez and colleagues (1994) refer to children / adolescents who language broker as "cultural meaning makers". Recognizing the varying perceptions, feelings, and experiences of Latina/o language brokers as they negotiate linguistic and cultural mediation can supplement the existing literature regarding social, psychological, cognitive, educational, and developmental growth of young adults in challenging roles.

Acculturation

As soon as immigrant families settle in the US, acculturation begins. Generally speaking, acculturation refers to the processes of adaptation to new social, psychological, cultural, and linguistic environments (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006). As voluntary immigrants leave the comfort and sustenance of homelands, cultures, languages, and

loved ones in search of more economic, employment, and lifestyles opportunities, they encounter dynamic and complex cultural, linguistic, and lifestyle changes in the receiving country (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Social and behavioral scientists view acculturation as multidimensional processes. Portes & Rumbaut (2006) suggest that native language ability and use diminishes with each generation and is usually lost with third-generation immigrants. Scholars indicate that for some, acculturation may mean retaining values and practices from their culture of origin and adopting new values and practices from the host cultures/country (Berry, 1980; Chun et al., 2003). Haritatos & Benet-Martinez (2002) assert that two cultural identities can be retained simultaneously. The different ways and rates at which children and adults acculturate pose significant intergenerational differences as children and their parents may be living in different cultural worlds (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, 2006; Suarez-Orozco, & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Amidst the widely divergent and significant social variables that influence people in different ways, immigrant parents and their foreign or US born children adopt, play, learn, work, study, dream, love, and cope with the economic, cultural, historical, political, oppressive, and social contexts prevalent in the US. Understanding the confluence of these factors as they play out in the language brokering and acculturation experiences of Latina/o children and adolescents is a major goal of this dissertation.

Problem Statement

Amidst an English-dominant speaking society, immigrant parents may depend on their children to translate challenging familial and household topics. Self-reported data from a 1,600-participant study exploring the psychological adjustment of high school students from Mexican, Chinese, and Korean backgrounds in the Los Angeles Area

(Chao, 2006) revealed that 70 % of immigrant youth language brokered regularly for their parents and family members. Besides an often early language brokering initiation age for many language brokers, the practice is a life-long responsibility (Mercado, 2003; Sy, 2006). Whether language brokering begins at an early age, becomes more prevalent around pre-adolescent or adolescent years, and / or extends decades, there are significant positive factors and negative concerns that affect language brokers. On the positive side, Orellana (2009) conducted an extended ethnographic research project that identified 64 different types of language brokering activities spanning the realms of medical/health, education, household, legal, financial, housing, and labor, and posited that translating in these adult-like roles and skills can augment social efficacy and cultural capital among language brokers. Furthermore, studies advance that child brokers feel more empathy for their parents (De Ment et al., 2005), and establish stronger parent-child bonds (Love & Buriel, 2007). In terms of academic performance, Tse (1995) found direct relationships between higher levels of language brokering and academic self-efficacy. As far as negative concerns, the literature indicates that some adolescents experience language brokering as a source of embarrassment (Morales & Hanson, 2005), discomfort (Weisskirch & Alva, 2002), and a sense of burden (Valdes, 2003). Studies also question the age and developmental appropriateness of children who broker (Mier-Chairez et al., 2019; Lopez et al., 2019). As child brokers translate adult topics in adult settings Mercado (2003) and Oznobishin and Kurman (2009) argue that role reversal between children and parents may occur given increasingly influential roles of children in household family affairs. These negative factors may further contribute to children's anxiety (Umaña-Taylor, 2003), family conflict (Trickett & Jones, 2007), and adverse

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child development conditions (Cohen et al., 1999). Martinez and colleagues (2009) found higher levels of language brokering contributed to poor psychological adjustment and substance abuse among Latina/o adolescent language brokers.

Amidst potentially beneficial and / or harmful factors, Latina/o children / adolescents continue providing essential language brokering support for their families. In the absence of institutional multilingual and multicultural support, Latina/o parents depend on their children or adolescents to broker for them about a wide range of topics that vary in degrees of complexity, confidentiality, and potential consequences. As Latina/o youth perform adult-type language brokering roles for their families, they are also developing as individuals. Add the multifaceted processes of identity formation and acculturation, and Latina/o language brokers experience a wide array of life changing conditions in the context of supporting their families.

Research Questions

In this qualitative descriptive study, I explore the feelings, thoughts, and language brokering and acculturation experiences of six Latina/o high school students who frequently language broker for their parents. Despite increasing language brokering and acculturation literature, little is known about how children / adolescents view their own experiences related to potential associations between the two phenomena, especially with rich, thick, and nuanced depictions narrated from their voices. To address this need, this dissertation utilized a multiple case study design to analyze the experiences of Latina/o high school language brokers. Data collection methods included two semi-structured interviews, two direct observations, and two instruments: a language brokering survey (Buriel et al., 1998) and the Revised Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans

II, ARSMA II, (Cuellar et al., 1995). Informed by sociocultural learning theory that situates individual learning and development in social processes and multidimensional acculturation that integrates various forms of adaptation, I focus on the dynamic and intricate language brokering experiences of participants to inform patterns and themes relevant to language brokering and acculturation. The following research questions guided this study:

- How do participants perceive past and current language brokering experiences, especially in terms of change and complexity?

- How do participants describe their past and current feelings and perceptions regarding language brokering?

- What do participants express as benefits or concerns associated with language brokering?

- What language brokering activities do participants describe as demanding?

- What experiences do participants describe as significant engagement activities in their lives as family members, as high school students, and as communities members?

Participant interviews provided in-depth and nuanced ways to analyze these questions. Their stories and experiences inform language brokering and acculturation concepts and patterns and sketch potential associations between these two main elements of this dissertation. I also ponder these questions through direct observation of actual language brokering activities. I was, and still am, humbled and honored by the access, candor, and engagement of participants and their parents. For the remainder of this

introductory Chapter, I focus on the rationale, significance, and limitations of the study. Finally, a summary section concludes this chapter.

The rest of the dissertation is outlined as follows. Chapter II offers literature reviews of the two main phenomena, language brokering and acculturation and the two theoretical frameworks, sociocultural learning theories and multidimensionality of acculturation. Methodology is analyzed in Chapter III. With the goal of understanding participants' holistic language brokering experiences, Chapter IV reports findings regarding affective responses towards complex language brokering encounters, perceptions of benefits or concerns associated with the practice, and family dynamics and relationships. The complicated emotional responses regarding these contexts provide a preview of similar themes regarding high-stakes language brokering and acculturation. The findings of these phenomena are reported in Chapter V. Finally, Chapter VI outlines major study implications and conclusions regarding the overall exploration of the feelings, thoughts and language brokering and acculturation experiences of participants.

Rationale, Significance of the Study, and Limitations

As children and adolescents continue language brokering for their parents about a wide range of vital issues that enable families to survive, understanding the thoughts, feelings, and experiences from the perspectives of language brokers themselves becomes a predominant and urgent need. Extant language brokering literature documents studies that define, conceptualize, measure, and explore relevant relationships with other topics, i.e., acculturation, feelings, and academic performance (Anguiano, 2018; Morales & Hanson, 2005). A brief overview of quantitative studies exploring relationships between language brokering and acculturation have focused on measurement of the following

variables: adaptation into US cultures/society (Weisskirch, 2005; Buriel et al., 1998); academic performance (Dorner et al., 2007; Acoach & Webb, 2004; Tse, 1996); and emotional aspects (Weisskirch, 2006). However, despite the extensive language brokering and acculturation bodies of knowledge, the fields are missing the voices and experiences of language brokers. Researchers posit that language brokering begins as early as age eight (Tse, 1996), is highly prevalent among immigrant families and communities (Chao, 2006), and transcends fundamental life domains including education, medical/health, legal, finance, labor, commercial, and housing (Orellana, 2009). Amidst continuous language brokering, children and adolescents must not only cope with their own growth and development as individuals, but also their acculturation patterns in an increasingly multicultural and multiracial society that remains primarily a monolingual English-speaking nation. In this study, I expand the literature with complex individual stories, nuanced perspectives, and rich narratives that center participants' language brokering and acculturation experiences. The thick descriptions of thoughts, feelings, and experiences of participants may inform novel and nuanced ways of conceptualizing language brokering and / or acculturation. Eventually, these themes may suggest unique ways to explore, associate, and eventually theorize conceptual models that expand the literature. Additionally, much of the extant language brokering and acculturation literatures has focused on the experiences of Latinas/os in the Southwest, the Midwest, and parts of the East Coast. Demographically, these regions are diverse linguistically, ethnically, and racially. This study contributes the experiences of six Latina/o language brokers in the state of Oregon; a state that is becoming more diverse demographically and whose Latina/o population accounts for 13.3 % of the total 4.2 million populace (U.S.

Census Bureau, 2019). Further, according to Oregon Department of Education (2020) Latina/o K-12 enrollment represents 24 % of the total state matriculation in 2019-2020 academic year. In this context, Oregon is grappling with the Latina/o immigration diaspora, settlement and acculturation of increasingly diverse Latina/o communities without the institutional, cultural, social, and linguistic infrastructure to facilitate the integration of these communities.

Significance of the study

Language brokering remains an underexplored phenomenon that encompasses complex linguistic, cultural, psychological, and developmental factors for children or adolescents (Morales, et al., 2012). Weisskirch (2013) asserts that a recurrent theme in language brokering literature is the exploration of potential positive or negative factors for children and adolescent language brokers. From the voices and experiences of participants, this dissertation contributes descriptive perspectives and insightful narratives that inform the field about persistent questions regarding language brokering. Findings, themes, conclusions, and implications from this study add to the literature enhanced perspectives that expand the awareness of the developmental processes that language brokers experience in the course of supporting the linguistic and cultural needs of their families. Additionally, this dissertation provides relevant knowledge to practitioners, such as K-12 educators, health and mental health care providers, and social and community agencies professionals, about relevant language brokering, acculturation, resilience, and/or acculturative stress issues and factors impacting language brokers. Potentially, K-12 teachers may consider integrating aspects of the linguistic, communicative, intercultural, and interpersonal processes inherent in language brokering as additive

bilingual practices in their classrooms. Or teachers could implement funds of knowledge classroom lessons from the wide range of language brokering scenarios that brokers linguistically and culturally facilitate (Gonzalez et al., 2005).

Limitations of the study

This qualitative multiple case study has some limitations. The study's findings are based on the experiences of primarily US born youth—five out of six participants— whose parents were born in Mexico—all parents—and migrated to the US—some as undocumented immigrants—in their early 20s. One participant, Alejandro, was born in El Salvador, as were his parents, and at the time of migration, he was participant was 14, and his parents were in their late early 40s. There is wide heterogeneity among both US born and foreign-born Latina/o individuals including but not limited to country of origin, age at the time of arrival, reasons for migration, SES, educational attainment, and for some linguistic diversity with indigenous languages or dialects. These within-group differences may influence overall language brokering, settlement, and acculturation experiences, for both youth and the parents, in unique ways. This study would have benefited from divergent perspectives and experiences of a more heterogenous group.

Relatedly, this study took place in a new emerging immigrant receiving state, Oregon. Participants in longer established Latina/o communities, especially enclaves— where Spanish language use, and Spanish broadcast and print media are more widely available—such as in regions of different states, like California, Texas, Arizona, Florida, Illinois, New York, and New Jersey, are bound to transition into the cultural, social, and linguistic dimensions of life in different ways. Although not necessarily a limitation, it is important to note that most of the study's data was self-reported information from

language broker participants, including language brokering frequency, language brokering historical scenarios, English-Spanish bilingualism, and high school enrollment. Missing from this study are the voices and experiences of parents who can provide more comprehensive and holistic language brokering insights. To date, two descriptive qualitative studies, Morales (2008) and Corona and colleagues (2012) involved Latina/o youth and their parents in the exploration of their affective and perceptive language brokering experiences. One ethnographic study, Katz (2014) included children brokers, their parents, and health care providers to analyze the high stakes contexts of medical and health language brokering. Future research would benefit greatly from diverse voices and experiences regarding language brokering and acculturation phenomena.

Conclusion

Out of necessity, many Latina/o parents depend on their children or adolescents for translation about a wide range of topics that vary in degree of difficulty, complexity, confidentiality, and comfort or stress. The literature suggests mixed results. Positive benefits include enhanced social capital skills, increased self-esteem, self-efficacy, and English and Spanish literacy and biliteracy development. Language brokering can also lead to negative concerns such as stress, role reversal between child and parents, and anxiety. Despite its potential adverse conditions, language brokering remains a fundamental resource in the adaptation of immigrant families in the US. Alongside language brokering for parents, children or adolescents are also growing through the stages of childhood, pre-adolescence, adolescence, and young adulthood. Individually and collectively each of these phenomena occurs alongside societal factors, that influence equal opportunity in societal institutions. Amidst the complex, dynamic, and distinct

confluence of these factors, the need to understand more the experiences of language

brokering and acculturation among immigrant children and US-born children of

immigrants is pronounced, immediate, and urgent. In this dissertation, I contribute to this

exploration rich and nuanced stories of the feelings, thoughts, and language brokering

and acculturation experiences of participants.

CHAPTER II—LITERATURE REVIEW

In the course of translation, language brokers perform complex linguistic and cultural mediation between their parents and English-speaking third-party adults. In these adult-like roles, children of immigrants provide essential cultural and linguistic translation that enables families to survive. Immersed in a dominant English-speaking society, child / adolescent language brokers, serve as linguistic and cultural meaning makers from a very young age, for extended periods of time and for some a lifetime (Mercado, 2003).

In this dissertation, I aim to understand the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of six Latina/o high school language brokers in the Willamette Valley of Oregon. As a doctoral candidate, and as a former language broker, this scholarly quest interests me intensely intellectually and personally. Exploring how language brokering influences in multiple ways different individuals who not only experience these stimuli differently, but also their growth and development as individuals heightens my intellectual and personal curiosities. And from societal and institutional perspectives, these salient topics require the utmost diligence in comprehensive continuous examinations to understand how language brokers cope with their feelings, perspectives and experiences as they acculturate in society. To set the stage for this exploration and to frame this literature review chapter, I reintroduce the study's guiding research questions:

- How do participants perceive past and current language brokering experiences, especially in terms of change and complexity?

- How do participants describe their past and current feelings and perceptions regarding language brokering?

- What do participants express as benefits or concerns associated with language brokering?

- What language brokering activities do participants describe as most demanding?

- What experiences do participants describe as significant engagement activities in their lives as family members, as high schools students, and as communities members?

To contextualize these research questions, this literature review consists of four sections. As fundamental foci of interest, I begin with analyses of language brokering and sociocultural learning theory literatures. A review of acculturation theories that inform language brokering associations follows. Finally, I conclude with a summary section that explicates conceptual and theoretical foundations that underpin this descriptive study.

Language Brokering

To investigate the language brokering literature, I analyze central topics and themes that conceptualize the field and delineate theoretical foundations for the contexts of this dissertation. I begin with discussions that define the phenomenon, provide essential characteristics, enumerate prevalence, and assess language brokering measurement concepts. Next, I explore seminal studies that associate language brokering with relevant topics including academic performance, cognitive development, feelings, and family relationships. Finally, this subsection culminates with a summation that sketches the relevant language brokering literature to the purposes of this examination.

This literature review does not include a discussion of language brokering theoretical frameworks because currently the field lacks unifying theoretical frameworks

(Anguiano 2018; Mier-Chairez et al., 2019; Orellana, 2009). In this significant absence, scholars have integrated salient language brokering concepts—such as frequency, prevalence, and cognitive and/or psychological factors—with topics that have established theoretical frameworks. Following are selected examples of prominent language brokering investigations that utilize this approach: social and psychological attitudinal theories (Buriel, et al., 1998); family relationships (Chao, 2006); cognitive and linguistic development (Tse, 1995); feelings (Weisskirch, 2006); school performance (Dorner et al., 2007); behavioral and emotional adjustment (Martinez et al., 2009); and acculturation (Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Following this established research design model, as described above, I integrate language brokering with theoretical frameworks of sociocultural learning theories and multidimensionality of acculturation.

Terms and Definitions

Language brokering is the concept most often applied to the phenomenon of linguistic and cultural translation (Lopez et al., 2019; Anguiano, 2018; Buriel et al., 1998; Tse, 1996). In addition to verbatim translation of written documents or oral interpretation, language brokering implies linguistic and cultural mediational roles that simultaneously convey important information inherent not only in the subject-matter of the translation or interpretation but also in the context of the cultural aspects of society, such as but not limited to person-to-person interactions, definitions of values, like respect, and trust (Mier-Chairez et al., 2019; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Orellana, 2009). Based on the linguistic and cultural mediational roles, early language brokering pioneer scholars Tse and McQuillan coined the term language brokering (Tse 1995, 1996; McQuillan & Tse 1995). The dual and simultaneous roles of verbatim translation and making sense of

cultural contexts are fundamentally embedded in the core of what child / adolescent language brokers do.

To further trace and review the development of the language brokering term, I continue with a discussion of the definition of language brokering and related terms, such as natural translation (Harris & Sherwood, 1978), family interpreting (Valdes, 2003), and para-phrasing (Orellana et al., 2003).

Language Brokering. The guiding language brokering definition for this study follows: "Language brokers facilitate communication between two linguistically and/or culturally different parties and unlike formal interpreters and translators, brokers also mediate, rather than merely transmit information" (Tse, 1995, p. 485). This definition outlines the essential components of language brokering. To comprehend the messages to be translated, the language broker relies on literacy, and biliteracy, defined as abilities to read, write, speak, and listen, and the social construction of communication (Gee, 1992). From this point, Tse (1995) affirms language brokers extract meaning underlying the written text or oral script from the source language and formulate it to the target language. This manipulation, or mediation, of the message in source and target languages enables language brokers to translate across languages and cultures. In a similar process, Malakoff and Hakuta (1991, p. 149) conceptualized translation in four stages.

1. Comprehension of the vocabulary in the original source-language text
2. Comprehension of the meaning of the original text
3. Reformulation of the message to the target language
4. Judgement of the adequacy of the target language text

Tse's (1995) language brokering definition informs perspectives regarding the experiences of language brokers. In the middle of translation, brokers make linguistic and

cultural sense of the text in the source language, cognitively elaborate the same message in the corresponding linguistic and cultural contexts of the target language and articulate it in the second language. In my quest to understand the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of Latina/o adolescent language brokers, Tse's (1995) language brokering definition resonates with this inquiry.

      Natural Translation. Harris & Sherwood (1978) describe natural translation as the innate ability to translate in everyday circumstances without any training or preparation. Based on their research conducted with children living in French and English-speaking Ottawa, Canada, the authors suggest that as children learn in ordinary settings, i.e., home, playground, and school, they are hearing, speaking, and learning bilingual words and increasing their bilingual vocabularies. In the process of interacting with family members, they articulate basic thoughts and ideas in two languages and as this bi-linguistic development continues, children become natural translators. To do so, Harris and Sherwood proposed a three-stage model. In the first stage, pretranslation, children learn single words in two languages. These words, as basic linguistic concepts, can be translated as sole units of information. As the early elementary school years progress, children grow and expand their bilingual vocabularies and their communication skills become more sophisticated. At this point, children can translate more developed texts including ideas, concepts, or simple sentences. In this second stage, called autotranslation, children can translate for themselves, called intrapersonal translation, or for others, labeled interpersonal translation. As children progress into the later elementary grades and cognitive skills such as reading, writing, and speaking develop further in school and at home, they can now act as intermediary translator between two parties.

Harris and Sherwood named this final stage transduction. Translation that occurs within the family structure is called intrafamily transduction, and outside of the family group is termed extrafamily transduction.

Elements of natural translation align with the linguistic translation component of language brokering. Based on research comparing the experiences of language brokers and bilingual children without translation responsibilities, Malakoff and Hakuta (1991) assert that as children learn a second language, they are able to translate, even at very young ages. In the next subsection, I will discuss these two studies in depth. Language brokering studies document translation beginning as young as age eight (Tse, 1996). Additionally, Harris and Sherwood's extrafamily translation concept resonates with the routine translation roles that language brokers perform for family members and third-party members. In this context, Anguiano (2012) suggests that natural translation and language brokering can be synonymous. Based on these concepts, I lean on Harris and Sherwood's natural translation model to conceptualize the instinctive and intertwined processes of acquiring first and second languages and learning to translate. In the absence professional translation training, language brokers rely on naturally learned processes to serve the linguistic and bilingual needs of their families.

However, Harris and Sherwood's natural translation theory does not integrate the cultural mediation component of language brokering (Tse, 1995). Translation or interpretation takes places within cultural contexts and elements, i.e., symbols, language, norms, values, beliefs, and learned and shared knowledge (Damen, 1987). Cultural mediation is a fundamental language brokering function (Morales et al., 2012; Orellana, 2009).

Family-Centric. Language brokering literature identify children or adolescents as the individuals translating or interpreting for their families (Anguiano, 2018). However, scholars also advance forms of family-aided translation (Martinez, et al., 2009; Valdes, 2003; Orellana et al, 2003). Though this dissertation centers language brokering as an individual function, a brief discussion of family-centric translation is warranted.

Family interpreting and para-phrasing are two forms of family-aided translation. Based on a five-year ethnographic study exploring the giftedness of young Latina/o bilingual interpreters, Valdes (2003) posits that family interpreting complements the translation or interpretation work that individual interpreters provide. The study reported that although children serve as primary translators, parents influence crucial factors, such as choosing the child or adolescent who brokers and decisions regarding use and reliance of institutional translators, if available. Parents cited trust and family welfare as rationale for doing so (2003). Seeking to understand co-construction of translation between child/adolescent broker and parents, Orellana, and colleagues (2003) conceptualize para-phrasing as a family literacy practice in immigrant families. In this form of translation, the child interpreter contributes bilingual skills, and the parent offers knowledge and expertise from their lived experiences. The following example demonstrates this co-creation between Adriana and her mom as the daughter translates a jury summons notice (p. 25).

Adriana:
Tu eres un juror,   (You are a juror)

Mom:
Como para servir de jurado.   (Like to serve as a juror.)

Adriana:
Tu eres un jurado,   (You are a jury,)

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entonces tu vas a tener que ir   (so you're going to have to go)

As Adriana and her mom co-construct the jury summons translation, they also enhance their literacy awareness, or working knowledge, about judicial matters. As a co-constructed family literacy practice, para-phrasing becomes a valuable resource for translators and parents in navigating cultural and linguistic issues that permeate all aspects of life. In the context of para-phrasing, translators engage with a wide genre of texts, i.e., letters, documents, receipts, forms, that require translation for real familial and household purposes. In this sense, they become active learners and creators of meaning, rather than passive recipients of abstract school or community literacy projects. Through para-phrasing parents contribute knowledge, wisdom, and lived experiences. As a result, the family enhances their literacy practices.

Family interpreting and para-phrasing transfer language brokering functions from the individual to the family as a collective unit. Though the individual language broker still carries on most of the translating work, the parent(s) takes on increasing roles and responsibilities. Martinez and colleagues (2009) suggest moving away from language brokering as an individual phenomenon and conceptualizing it as a "dialectical and dynamic interactional process" (p. 90). The authors argue that too many complex and dynamic factors are entangled in language brokering to examine it as an individual phenomenon. In this study, parents contributed words or concepts that were unfamiliar to the broker. However, participants assumed the bulk of linguistic and cultural translation. As the field of language brokering evolves, this fundamental question will need to be vigorously explored.

As this study discerns the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of Latina/o language brokers, language brokering is conceptualized as an individual phenomenon. Children or adolescents perform linguistic and cultural translation and mediation for their parents about a wide range of issues that range in degrees of difficulty, level of comfort, privacy, and confidentiality factors. Though parents, as well as third-party members, intervene with Spanish or English vocabularies, and / or co-constructed translation, children or adolescents carry on with the overall functions of language brokering. To support themselves in this process, they rely on previous language brokering experiences.

To conclude this section, I summarize terms and discuss relevant themes. Natural translation informs individualistic and naturalistic abilities to learn languages and to translate even at a very young age and without training or preparation. Extensive language brokering experiences enable brokers to identify metalinguistic conditions that are independent of the lexicon used during translation. Thus, brokers are able to mediate figurative communication across language and cultures. Family interpreting and para-phrasing integrate the collective strategies and experiences of language broker and parents into the translation process. Finally, Tse's (1995) language brokering definition incorporates the vital linguistic and cultural elements of cross-cultural communication.

The concepts outlined above inform the following themes. First, as much as language brokering is an individual phenomenon, as is the focus of this study, parental intervention contributes to the translation process. Two, natural translation, metalinguistic awareness, family interpreting, para-phrasing, and language brokering inform and impact one another and, in different ways each contribute to the process. As the field of language brokering evolves, scholarly attention must be tended to distinguish individualistic and

family-centric forms of translation. This dissertation zeroes in on the individualistic and naturalistic language brokering experiences of adolescent brokers.

Characteristics

With a robust discussion of relevant terms and definitions and guided by Tse's linguistic and cultural mediation definition (1995), I now turn to an overview of language broker characteristics. Understanding general language broker qualities augments nuanced perspectives of their experiences. Broker similarities and/or differences in traits and/or patterns may affect, in unique ways and degrees, feelings and perceptions regarding the expected practice. The following section examines age and gender as major characteristics of language brokers.

Age. The age of language brokering initiation is a salient topic to consider as children or adolescents take on adult-like language brokering responsibilities for their immigrant families, sometime at a young age. In addition to contending with the fundamental question of whether, or not, it is appropriate to depend on children for language brokering, the literature must also deliberate language broker starting age as an essential component of the phenomenon (Martinez, et al., 2009; Morales, et al., 2012;). In this regard, most studies show it starts around elementary school age. In a small qualitative study, McQuillan and Tse (1995) reported the average starting age to be 10.9 years old. A mid-size quantitative study involving Latina/o high school students indicated an initiation age range between 7.5 and 10.4 years old (Buriel et al., 1998). A more recent mid-size quantitative study of Latina/o participants from NYC found a beginning age range of 7 to 10.9 years old (Mercado, 2003). Though, the average beginning age range is within 3.5 years and within pre-adolescence development stage, the range might be

skewed by related salient factors such as age at the time of US arrival and the number of years after arrival when brokering begins. In the three studies named above, the average age of arrival for foreign-born participants ranged from 4 to 10 years old. Studies also indicate that children begin brokering within one to five years of US arrival (Valdes et al., 2003). Taking into account that kindergarten begins at age 5, that language brokering generally begins between ages 7 to 10, and that age of arrival can vary widely from infancy to adolescence (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), there can be a wider gap in years than the 3.5 average range as indicated in the three studies above. Further, as most language brokering studies are retrospective (Lopez et al., 2019), earlier brokering experiences before age 7 might not be captured. Finally, initial language brokering age may vary between foreign born and US born brokers since US born children attend school at age 5, or even younger, and thus are exposed to English more regularly and earlier than foreign-born students (Morales et al., 2012). More studies are needed to inform potential interactions among brokering initiation age, age of US arrival, and number of years after arrival when brokering begins.

Given the importance of language brokering initiation age and related factors, a succinct statement about participants in the present study is warranted at this time. Five of the six high school participants in this project are US born frequent language brokers who began brokering in the age ranges of 7 to 10 years old. The final participant was born in El Salvador, migrated to the US at age 14, and began brokering at age 15.5. Chapter III will include an in-depth discussion about study participants.

Gender. Much like age, gender is a vital language brokering factor. To analyze gender issues in the case of Latina/o youth, in particular, it is important to review briefly

prominent aspects of Latina/o families. Generally, the literature suggests that some Latina/o families adhere to hierarchical family structures (Valdes, 2003), emphasize familismo, an orientation that accentuates the immediate and extended family (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007), and exhibit traditional gender roles (Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Castillo and colleagues (2010) suggest traditional Latina/o families may follow specific gendered roles for tasks and support, such as household chores, physical and emotional support for the family members, and family provider and protector roles. These potentially relevant variables may influence Latina/o parents to choose a broker that may be more verbal and communicative or one that conforms to explicit, or implicit, gender roles in family dynamics. In turn, brokers may think, feel, or experience language brokering differently based on gender.

The emerging language brokering field reveals mixed results regarding gender differences (Anguiano 2018; Lopez et al., 2019). I begin this exploration with an analysis of studies that advance language brokering gender differences.

Traditional gender roles among Latina/o immigrant families (Castillo et al., 2010; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002) may influence language brokering gender differences. In a qualitative study exploring gender roles and settlement patterns among Latina/o immigrant families, Valenzuela (1999) found girls predominantly served as tutors/translators and advocates/mediators for their parents, more often than boys. These differences occurred as girls facilitated the translation and settlement activities in the areas of financial, labor, government, and political settlement activities. Along traditional gender roles, Villanueva and Buriel (2010) posit that daughters who traditionally spend more time with their mothers have more opportunities to broker than their brothers and

thus, they concluded that gender influenced brokering experiences. Finally, studies suggest that Mexican American parents are more likely to choose daughters as brokers (Buriel et al. 2006; Chao, 2002; Weisskirch, 2005). As a possible explanation for this female gender selection, Villanueva and Buriel (2007) indicate that language brokering activities might be more in line with Latino families socialization for girls.

Gender differences are also reported in studies that investigate language brokering and other variables or relationships. As an example, Weisskirch and Alva (2002) found gender differences among 36 fifth-grade Latina/o students as the study examined language brokering and acculturative stress. Girls articulated higher Spanish dominance and scored lower on acculturative stress scale, while boys were more English dominant and had higher acculturative stress results. Similarly, Weisskirch (2005) noted elementary school girls expressing more positive feelings and stronger ethnic identity scores than boys in a study analyzing language brokering and ethnic identity.

Finally, gender differences arise in the context of the scoring and results of a seminal language brokering instrument refined by Buriel and colleagues (1998). The survey measures language brokering responses in four subscales: people to translate for, places where translation takes place, things to translate about, and feelings about translation (Buriel et al., 1998). In a longitudinal qualitative study, Orellana (2003; 2009) found female Latina adolescents brokered in more places, especially medical/health facilities and schools, than Latino male brokers. Relatedly, A mid-size quantitative study of Latina/o high school students in California found that girls scored higher on the total language brokering scale, meaning all four sub-scales, than male respondents (Buriel et al., 1998).

As the extant language brokering literature offers mixed results regarding gendered language brokering practices (Morales et al., 2012), a discussion of studies that do not report gender differences ensues.

Examinations that reported no gender differences in language brokering also integrated a number of additional factors in the research design. In a quantitative study exploring the effects of language brokering and acculturation on family authority structure and parental locus of control, Diaz-Lazaro (2002) found non-significant relationships gendered effects among the variables under study. Seeking to understand correlations between language brokering, role reversal, stress, and gender, Mercado (2003) designed a quantitative study consisting of 90 Latina/o colleges students attending universities in New York City. Applying the same language brokering scale as discussed in the previous studies, Mercado found no gender differences between female and male brokers. The researcher suggested that the positive qualities of machismo, family orientation, work ethic, and responsibility, influence male brokers to support the family with language brokering assistance (Falicov, 1998; Morales, 1996). In a quantitative study analyzing Russian immigrant adolescents as cultural brokers for their families, Jones and Trickett (2005) reported a non-significant association between gender and cultural brokering. The comprehensive research for this dissertation found only one study that replicated a previous language brokering investigation. In a quantitative study, Acoach and Webb (2004) replicated Buriel and colleagues' (1998) examination that explored language brokering, acculturation, and academic performance among Latina/o high school students. Unlike Buriel and colleagues' finding that female participants scored higher on the total language brokering scale, Acoach and Webb reported no

gender differences. Finally, in a quantitative study exploring language brokering, autonomy, parent-child bonding, biculturalism, and depression, Love and Buriel (2007) stated that their study did not replicate previous research that found language brokering to be a gendered activity (Buriel et al., 1998).

This review of the literature yields mixed findings regarding language brokering and gender differences. First, most studies explore language brokering and its relationships with a number of other topics, sometimes as few as two, or other times, as many as five. The exploration of several complex associations complicates how gender can impact language brokering on its own. This issue applies to studies that advance gender differences and also to those that do not. Second, gender has not been an isolated focus of existing studies. Of all the studies mentioned above, those advancing gender differences or those that did not find them, only one study centered gendered differences as a research question and as the title of the study, "Gender Roles and Settlement Activities Among Children and their Immigrant Families", (Valenzuela, 1999). Finally, traditional Latina/o family structures and gender roles are noted as possible explanations for studies reporting gendered language brokering (Buriel et al., 1998; Valenzuela, 1999; Villanueva & Buriel, 2010).

Prevalence

Despite potential complex effects of child / adolescent language brokering, the practice is a widespread phenomenon in the US (De Ment et al., 2005). Self-reported data reveal 70 to 90 % of immigrant youth regularly language broker for parents and family members (Chao, 2006; Tse, 1995). According to data from the Current Population Survey in 2017 about 23 % of school-age children in the US spoke a language other than English

at home (US Census Bureau, 2019). Based on these statistical snapshots, the total number of language brokers could be staggering. And yet, Rumbaut (2009) refers to the US as "language graveyard" as English and non-English language use, proficiency, and preferences by generation change over time. Based on findings from a longitudinal study, Rumbaut drastic decreases in non-English language ability and a corresponding sweeping increase in speaking English only at home by generation cohort. Notwithstanding the wide-ranging impact of English language assimilation (Rumbaut, 2009) amidst a monolingual and English-dominant society, language brokering remains a predominant phenomenon in the US.

Common Experience. There is evidence that widely supports that many children / adolescents, whether foreign or US born, have brokered at some point in their lives, and that language brokering is a common experience (Orellana, 2009; Weisskirch, 2006 & 2013). Language brokering transcends racial or ethnic groups including Latina/o (Lopez et al., 2012), Chinese (Chao, 2006), Russian (Jones & Trickett, 2005), Vietnamese (Tse, 1995), and Arab (Guan et al., 2016) Additional investigations substantiate the experience across first-generation (foreign-born) and second-generation (US born with at least one immigrant parent) individuals (Chao, 2006; De Ment et al., 2005). Finally, language brokering begins as young as age eight, becomes more prevalent around adolescence years, and for some continues into adulthood (Tse, 1996).

With a more defined understanding of language brokering definitions, characteristics, and prevalence rates, in the following two sections I explore separately salient language brokering relationships with academic achievement and cognitive development.

Academic Achievement

Some language brokering studies indicate a positive association between language brokering and academic performance (Acoach & Webb, 2004; Buriel et al., 1998; Dorner et al., 2007). In their respective quantitative studies, Buriel and colleagues (1998) and Acoach and Webb (2004), reported significant associations between language brokering, biculturalism, self-efficacy, and academic performance. Integrating the self-reported academic grades of 122 Latina/o high school students in California, Buriel and colleagues found significant correlations among language brokering, academic self-efficacy, biculturalism, and academic performance (1998). The most significant correlations manifested between the language brokering sub-scale and academic self-efficacy. Seeking to replicate the Buriel and colleagues study (1998), Acoach and Webb (2004) enlisted a sample of 108 participants, 65 middle school students, 35 high school enrollees, and eight bilingual students, in a study exploring language brokering experiences of adolescents in the Southeastern United States. Based on the results of statistical path analyses, Acoach and Webb reported that for middle school students language brokering was associated with biculturalism, which in turn correlated with school grade point average. For high school students, the researchers reported brokering was associated with self-efficacy and academic performance, which influenced school grade point average. The authors concluded their study confirmed the findings of Buriel and colleagues (1998). Along the theme that language brokering enhances linguistic development and this in turn impacts academic performance, Dorner and colleagues (2007) explored the relationship between language brokering and academic outcomes as determined by performance in standardized reading tests in a quantitative study of 87

elementary education Latina/o students from working-class neighborhoods in Chicago. Using longitudinal regression models to control for earlier school achievement, generational status, gender, and exposure to bilingual education, the findings indicated that higher levels of language brokering were significantly linked to better scores on fifth and sixth grade standardized reading tests. Based on these results, the authors suggested that the metalinguistic capabilities of language brokering contributed to the higher reading test achievement.

Finally, one small quantitative study, 35 Latina/o high school students, 20 female and 15 males in Southern California reported no association between language brokering and academic performance (Tse, 1995). Though the study reported prevalent language brokering roles in many aspects of life, i.e., medical, education, and so on, no correlation between students' self-reported grades and academic performance was found.

Cognitive Development

Bilingualism research documents extensively cognitive development, such as communication skills, creativity, thinking and problem-solving skills, mental flexibility, and transfer of knowledge between languages (Bialystok, 2001; Cummins, 2000). This body of literature has focused on individuals who choose to learn a second language or are enrolled in dual-language programs. However, limited research has been focused on immigrant children, who as result of family migration are forced to learn another language and, in turn, become language brokers for their parents in order to facilitate acculturation in the host society (Anguiano, 2018; Morales et al., 2012). Despite high levels of language brokering prevalence and the wide range of types of translations that

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brokers perform in many aspects of life, very little is known about the cognitive development of language brokers.

Metalinguistic Awareness. To explore cognitive and linguistic development of immigrant interpreters, Malakoff & Hakuta (1991) designed two empirical studies. Study 1 involved 16 Latina/o students, eight females and eight males, enrolled in fourth and fifth grades. All participants had some experience translating, primarily for family members. For the second study, fifty-two randomly selected Latina/o fourth and fifth grade students, 27 females and 25 males, in bilingual-education classrooms were chosen. Study 2 participants indicated translating every once in a while, for their families. Both sample participants came from low-income, working-class Puerto Rican neighborhoods in New Haven, Connecticut. In timed and video-recorded research interventions, participants translated words, sentences, and stories in source-target languages directions, English to Spanish, and vice versa. Malakoff and Hakuta discovered that participants demonstrated language manipulation in two levels. First, the text, in the source language, required understanding of both the grammatical elements and its composite meaning. Second, a reformulation of the text, integrating grammar, vocabulary, and meaning of the message in the target language, was produced. Based on these findings, the authors concluded that participants in both studies enhanced their communicative and metalinguistic skills. Additionally, the authors reported a high level of translation accuracy in both languages, albeit with limited errors that did not affect the intended meaning of translation (1991).

Valdes (2003) reported similar metalinguistic awareness and translation accuracy in a scripted translation intervention involving 25 Latina/o high school students. To

simulate the complexities of live translation and based on the real occurrence of a stolen wallet in school property, Valdes developed a script about a case of a pocketed wallet on school grounds. The simulated case involved research team members acting as the investigating principal, the mother supporting her daughter, and an actual language broker, who played the role of the individual suspected of stealing the item. In the videotaped intervention, research team members read the scripted roles of the principal and the mother while the participant interpreted without a script, naturally, just as translation occurs. Evaluation of the translation was based on accuracy of translation and ability to convey tone and stance of role participants. Valdes indicated that interpreters translated the text accurately and expressed the nuanced tones and stances well. Based on this metalinguistic development, Valdes asserted that language brokers should be considered gifted.

Building on the metalinguistic skills of translators, Orellana (2009) cited the linguistic and cultural negotiation of Sammy, a 17-year-old high school Latino student. In his job as a golf caddy, Sammy interpreted between a golf course member and a fieldworker about the weather. In the interpretation, he used the word "chido", a Spanish slang word, when addressing the employee, and the word "nice" when interpreting for Ms. Johnson, the golf course member (2009, p. 115). Depending on the circumstances, chido can mean cool, very good, or beautiful. In this example, the words, chido and nice, conveyed the same basic meaning, and were generally appropriate terms for the respective audience. In this example, Sammy's metalinguistic awareness indicated understanding using relevant words for the appropriate linguistic and cultural contexts.

The works of Malakoff and Hakuta (1999), Valdes (2003), and Orellana (2009) suggest language brokering affects cognitive development, such as metalinguistic awareness. Utilizing metalinguistic awareness, language brokers can think and express, as well as translate, things or ideas independent of the concrete meaning of words and syntax, in either language. This connection enables language brokers to carry out the intended meaning of translation despite missing, or limited, vocabulary in either language. In this context, metalinguistic awareness resonates with natural translation (Harris & Sherwood, 1978), a concept I discussed earlier, as brokers instinctively learn first and second languages as well as acquire translation abilities.

To sum up, in the course of translation or interpretation, language brokers utilize cognitive processes and metalinguistic awareness to navigate complex and nuanced linguistic and cultural contexts in order to provide effective communication and mediation across languages, cultures, and audiences.

Feelings

In the course of language brokering, brokers experience and cope with a wide range of feelings. As child or adolescent language brokers facilitate cultural and linguistic communication that supports family survival and adaptation in the host society, they are exposed to complex emotions (Morales et al., 2012) and challenging translation situations (Anguiano, 2018). Extant literature reveals positive and negative affective responses depending on related contextual factors (Mier-Chairez et al., 2019).

Positive Responses. Positive feelings are often associated with the vital support that language brokering represents for the collective survival and wellbeing of the family. One of the earliest quantitative studies exploring the prevalence of language brokering

and attitudes towards language brokering revealed themes of pride, maturity, and enjoyment as participants brokered for parents in school and medical settings (Tse, 1995). Along the lines of family support and in a qualitative study, Hall and Sham (2007) reported some participants felt useful and competent in helping their parents with important family and household responsibilities including translating school documents and letters. Weisskirch (2005) reported participants feeling positive about their language brokering experiences and described them as a source of support for their parents and family. Feelings of family bonding and closeness were also reported by adolescent language brokers who frequently translated for family members in household affairs (Buriel et al., 2006; Love & Buriel, 2007). As language brokers become involved in the struggles their immigrant parents face, they also report feeling more empathy for their parents and the issues they face, as well as the family and household (De Ment et al., 2005).

The literature also uncovers positive affective responses impacting the individual and their personal development. Higher individual self-esteem was reported by 20 Mexican American college students who identified as frequent language brokers (Weisskirch, 2006). Finally, in quantitative study of 56 sixth-grade Latina/o adolescents Weisskirch (2005) found that language brokering was positively associated with increasing levels of ethnic identity.

These lines of language brokering research illustrate positive feelings towards parent and family support as well as individual growth and development. Although language brokering is challenging, especially in medical or related significant brokering scenarios and more so when the required knowledge to translate exceeds the bilingual

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capabilities of the brokers (Anguiano, 2018; Mier-Chairez et al., 2019), brokering translators support their parents and family with their linguistic and cultural mediation and sustain their growth and development along different dimensions as a result.

Negative Emotions. Negative affective responses are cited extensively in the literature (Morales & Hanson, 2005; Lopez et al., 2019; Rainey et al., 2014). A major factor influencing adverse feelings involves highly challenging and complex language brokering scenarios (Mier et al., 2019). In a qualitative study involving Latina/o adolescent brokers and their parents, Corona and colleagues (2012) reported brokers experiencing negative feelings as a result of challenging brokering contexts that surpassed their bilingual, English and Spanish, capabilities. Along the same lines in a quantitative study, Rainey and colleagues posited that feelings of inadequacy and self-doubt may arise in adolescent brokers given their literacy development. Translation accuracy was a concerning factor for some participants who felt stressed given the complexity of terms and vocabulary inherent in language brokering encounters (Hall & Sham, 2007).

The literature also documents negative emotional responses in connection to difficult and/or problematic family dynamics (Anguiano, 2018; Corona et al., 2012; Lopez et al 2019). Beginning with feelings of uncomfortableness (Weisskirch & Alva, 2002), shame (De Ment et al., 2005), and being burdened (Weisskirch, 2007) towards language brokering may impact parent-child/adolescent relationships as the troubling translation increases in complexity and in the realm of family relationships (Orellana & Guan, 2015). Weisskirch (2007) further suggests that difficult family relations are positively correlated with negative feelings about language brokering, such as worry and

nervousness. Language brokering frequency and volume may influence negative affective responses and/or psychological outcomes (Love & Buriel, 2007). Along these lines, Martinez and colleagues (2009) found that families with children who reported higher language brokering frequently had significantly higher levels of family stress.

Amidst the extensive literature that elucidates both positive and negative affective responses towards language brokering, it is evident that further and comprehensive exploration is warranted. As gleaned from these investigations, affective responses vary widely on both the positive and negative sides including embarrassment to enjoyment, stress to higher levels of self-esteem, from shame to pride, and from familial stress to parental empathy and closer family bonds. Language brokering frequency is an interceding factor that further complicates these complex affective responses. Higher levels and increasing levels of language brokering may affect more negative responses for brokers. Contextual factors, such as language brokering complexity, biliteracy and levels of bilingualism, and family dynamics further compound affective responses.

This dissertation contributes to the field extensive descriptions of the emotional responses of current and frequent language brokers. Based on two semi-structured interviews and two language brokering direct observations, participants' affective responses can detail nuanced and complex present day narratives as opposed to retrospective descriptions of translations that occurred in the yesteryears. Morales and Hanson (2005) suggest that retrospective language broker perspectives are a limitation of the field. More importantly, participants' stories will explicate individualized responses in the contexts of the complexity of language brokering and dynamic family relationships.

Family relationships

In the contexts of language brokering, family relationships are affected. As brokers serve linguistic and cultural translation, they support the family's adaptation and acculturation to the host cultures and society (Love & Buriel, 2007). Ironically, the bilingual and bicultural skills that enable brokers to facilitate family settlement may also contribute to an acculturation gap with their parents (Birman, 2006). Latina/o family scholarship suggests that the acculturation gap can increase family disagreements, decrease family cohesion, and influence the psychological and mental wellbeing of Latina/o youth (Miranda et al., 2000; Sy, 2006; Tsai et al., 2015). However, currently the field of language brokering presents inconsistent perspectives. Some scholars contend that language brokering promotes respect for parents (Chao, 2006), enhances parent-child bonding (Love & Buriel, 2007), and enables brokers to serve as advocates for their parents and families (Valenzuela, 1999). On the other hand, researchers also express disagreement and concerns as language brokering may harm parent-child relationships (Cohen et al, 1999), can lead to parent-child role reversal (Umaña-Taylor, 2003), and may be stressful to children / adolescents (Martinez et al., 2009). Following are discussions of salient language brokering and family relationships studies.

Role Reversal. Scholarship regarding parent-child role reversals is inconclusive. In a qualitative study exploring the experiences of nine language brokers, McQuillan and Tse (1995) found three female participants reported that sometimes parental input was bypassed in school matters, and thus they had to assume this responsibility. In another a qualitative study of 13 Latina women who brokered as children, Castañeda (2005) found that one participant, who was employed as a mental health technician, described herself

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as "parentified" in the course of language brokering (p. 135). The rest of the respondents described their language brokering as a necessity rather than a choice, and also highlighted benefits or special privileges that came with their role as brokers. Seeking to understand correlations between language brokering, role reversal, stress, and gender, Mercado (2003) designed a quantitative study consisting of 90 Latina/o college students and discovered that participants who reported more language brokering were more likely to score higher on a parent-child role reversal measure. Reported results from these studies suggest language brokers experience adult type roles including greater familial responsibilities than non-language brokering children.

Research further presents varying results. In a qualitative study analyzing settlement activities and patterns among immigrant families, Valenzuela (1999) noted children expressed taking on the roles of tutors/translators and advocates/mediators for their parents in activities within the realms of education, finance, labor, political involvement, and health/medical issues. However, participants did not state role reversal occurred. In a qualitative study analyzing Latina/o parental and adolescent perceptions and feelings about language brokering, Corona et al. (2012), conducted open-ended interviews with 29 parents (18 mothers, 11 fathers) and 25 Latina/o adolescents (14 girls, 11 boys). Based on parents' and adolescents' narratives, the research team reported salient themes, such as bilingualism is good, and speaking two languages is not always easy. Additionally, participants indicated that language brokering was a team effort and that it helps the family. In a study about the giftedness of Latina/o brokers, Valdes (2003) also referred to the parents and broker as a performance team. With the exception of some parents expressing feelings of uncomfortableness, embarrassment, and shame, no

parent or broker reported role reversal roles (2012). To explicate the themes of helping

the family and team effort, the research team linked the support to the concept of

familismo (Ayon et al., 2010), which implies a strong familial orientation and

commitment. Finally, in a study of 159 Latina/o adolescents (mean age 15), and 105

Latina/o parents, Diaz-Lazaro (2002) examined the relationships of language brokering,

role reversal, acculturation, and gender and found no significant relationships between

language brokering, family authority structure, and parental locus of control. Based on

this finding, the researcher suggested that while the occurrence of language brokering

itself does not significantly impact the family power structure, that aspects of

acculturation (e.g., acculturative stress, family stability) may mediate the association.

Literature regarding the relationship between language brokering and role reversal

between parents and brokers presents mixed results (Anguiano, 2018; Morales et al.,

2012). Qualitative studies reported conflicting responses including role reversal

(McQuillan & Tse, 1995), role reversal (Castañeda, 2005), supporting the family as

advocates in settlement activities (Valenzuela, 1999), and helping the family (Corona et

al., 2012). A significant limitation of these studies is the retrospective perceptions of

adult participants recalling from long-term memory their children and / or adolescent

language brokering experiences. Chao (2006) suggests life stages and individual

development may affect past perspectives. To move the literature, researchers can focus

on studies that involve current language brokers, especially high school or college

students living at home, and their parents. More direct observations of language

brokering and open-ended follow-up interviews with brokers and parents surveying the

qualities of children / adolescents brokering for their adult parents may strengthen current self-reported qualitative data.

Sociocultural Theory

Through others, we become ourselves (Wertsch & Vygotsky, 1981, p. 164).

To analyze the language brokering and acculturation experiences of participants, this study relies on sociocultural theory as the major theoretical framework. Broadly speaking, sociocultural theory contextualizes contributions that culture and society make to individual development (Cherry, 2019). In the context of language brokering, brokers not only translate the text, or interpret the oral communication, but also engage in instantaneous learning, reflection, reaction, and relearning as they take cues from the adult parties they translate for (Orellana, 2009). In short, the sociocultural context, content, and the actors—adults that children broker for—influence individual development of language brokers.

Language, culture, and human social interaction largely influence individual learning and development (Cherry, 2019). In this context, human learning is a social process rooted in culture and society. Sociocultural theory emerged from Vygotsky's seminal work that centered human learning in the dynamic mediation among individuals, language, culture, and society (Lantolf, 2000). From these concepts, sociocultural theory suggests individuals understand concepts and activities through social processes that are grounded in cultural practices and tools, communication patterns, and human social interaction (Cole, 1998). To elucidate learning as a process, Vygotsky (1978) proposes four planes of development: microgenetic development occurs as individuals learn from temporary issues or situations encountered in everyday life; ontogenic development refers

to learning that takes places over a lifetime; phylogenetic development implies changes as individuals adapt to continuous evolution and, finally; cultural/historical development pertains to changes in social structure and cultural norms that impact individual learning. Orellana (2009) asserts these levels are deeply intertwined with one another and with the social, cultural, and historical contexts that shape individuals, groups of individuals, and society. In this regard, Nasir and Hand (2006) further posit social and cultural processes mediate human activity and thought. As an example of mediation, Lantolf (2000) offers the activity of digging a hole to plant a tree with our hands versus a shovel, or an even more effective mediating tool, a backhoe. Cultural tools and artifacts transform learning and development. Language also mediates learning. Luria (1976), a student of Vygotsky, carried out an experiment with children that required them to press a bulb when a green light came on in a screen in front of them and to stop pressing when the device showed a red light. The youngest children pressed on even more when the red light came on, whereas the oldest children followed the explicit linguistic directions. Luria concluded that language mediated learning and the associated physical behavior. From this finding, Luria posits that language plays a central role in prompting behavior, an essential component of learning (1976). Thus, as human beings, we develop in concert with the interconnectedness of human interaction, cultural tools and artifacts, social processes, cultural practices, and together with individuals that utilize language and communication. We learn new skills, such as playing soccer, becoming a writer, acquiring new computer skills by talking, listening, and interacting with the soccer coach and team members, receiving feedback from the writing instructor and from class members, and participating in computer class discussion as well as learning from the ideas and questions of

classmates. Lave and Wenger (1991) suggest that people learn and sustain knowledge, or skills, in communities of practice, which are defined as groups of people who share a craft or a profession. Based on the sociocultural, interactional, and communal nature of making sense of activities and learning, Orellana (2009) suggests that humans transform themselves through a transformation of their social and cultural worlds. In other words, "through others, we become ourselves" (Wertsch & Vygotsky, 1981, p. 164*).*

Sociocultural Theory and Language Brokering

Language brokering is intrinsically interwoven in interpersonal, cultural, social, and linguistic contexts. In the context of language brokering, children language broker simple or challenging texts about a myriad of issues, relate cultural contexts of two separate cultures, and engage multiple interpersonal, social, and cultural perspectives of parent(s), third-party members(s), and themselves. Sociocultural theory, as a theoretical framework grounded on sociocultural factors, resonates with language brokering exploratory studies. Immersed in cultural, social, and linguistic environments and seeking to learn, individuals use languages to communicate with one another, rely on cultural artifacts and tools to support understanding, and apply interpersonal skills to relate socially. Language brokering occurs in contexts that sociocultural theory explores to contextualize learning and human activity. Relatedly, languages, cultures, interpersonal relations, and cultural tools and artifacts constitute processes of language brokering and these elements are the foci of human learning and development explorations.

In a seminal ethnographic study exploring the language brokering experiences of Latina/o adolescents, Orellana (2009) indicates that "the practice of language brokering makes clear how language functions as a tool that people use to do things in the cultural

and social world" (2009, p. 100). Thus, language brokers apply their linguistic tools—two languages—to support and mediate language brokering within the context of human interaction. The emphasis on "practice of translation" implies the active engagement of language brokers as listeners, thinkers, coders, decoders, and doers of the nexus of language brokering. Sociocultural researchers Rogoff and Gutierrez theorize that active and on-going participation in individual practices unleashes learning and growth and development (2003). Language brokering literature documents extensively that the practice of language brokering begins as early as age eight (Tse, 1996), extends into adulthood (Valenzuela, 1999), and that language brokering permeates many domains and aspects of life (Orellana, 2009; De Ment et al., 2005 & Buriel et al., 1998).

Amidst an English-speaking dominant society, children or adolescents are tasked with adult-like linguistic and cultural mediational roles and responsibilities that language brokering entails. As they language broker about a wide range of topics that vary in degrees of comfort, difficulty, and urgency, children or adolescents continue to acculturate themselves as individuals in cultures and society while at the same time growing and developing as a whole person. With its focus on learning and development that is entangled with languages and communication, social and interpersonal relations, cultural artifacts and tools, sociocultural theory provides a strong theoretical framework for this dissertation to explore the thoughts, feelings, and language brokering and acculturation experiences of Latina/o high school language brokers.

Acculturation

In the previous sections, I leaned on the literature to understand salient and relevant language brokering topics. Alongside their linguistic and cultural translation

roles, language brokers, their parents, and the rest of the family, adapt to life, in all of its

spheres, in the new country. Upon arrival immigrant families begin adjusting to the new

receiving country. From their heritage country, immigrants bring their language, cultures,

values, perceptions, norms and beliefs to the new country that includes its own language,

and distinct values, beliefs and customs, and cultures. As the heritage cultures and

languages of immigrants come into continuous contact with the receiving cultures and

language of the host country, sweeping cultural changes occur. Scholars refer to these

cultural transformations as acculturation (Berry 2006; Schwartz et al., 2010; Szapocznik,

et al., 1980). These shifts transcend all aspects of life including values, beliefs, feelings,

and traditions (Ryder et al., 2000). As immigrant children often acquire English language

skills and cultural knowledge first, they serve as language brokers, and in this process

support the acculturation process of the family (Chao, 2006). As this dissertation seeks to

understand the experiences of Latina/o language brokers and their perspectives about

their acculturation, I draw on multidimensionality of acculturation (Schwartz et al., 2010)

to analyze issues, themes, and variables that influence acculturation.

Multidimensionality of Acculturation

Schwartz and colleagues (2010) draw heavily on the notion that cultural identity

encompasses practices, values, and identification (Chirkov, 2009) and that these

dimensions change, or not, independently in both heritage and receiving cultures, do so in

different directions and at distinct rates. Informed by these concepts, Schwartz and

colleagues (2010) developed multidimensionality of acculturation as a conceptual model

to elucidate changes, or lack of changes, that occur during acculturation. The scholars

advance that this integrative model approaches acculturation holistically as variations in

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the three dimensions may occur independently and collectively. In these variations as individual adapt, or cope, to the new cultural surroundings, artifacts, and ways of being in the receiving culture, they may express change, or not, in their own distinctive ways and degrees via their feelings, beliefs, experiences, and/or actions (Schwartz et al., 2010). Figure 1 shows the conceptual model.

Heritage language Heritage-culture foods	PRACTICES	Receiving-society language Receiving-culture foods
HERITAGE Collectivism Interdependence Familism	VALUES	Individualism RECEIVING Independence
Country of origin	IDENTIFICATIONS	Receiving country
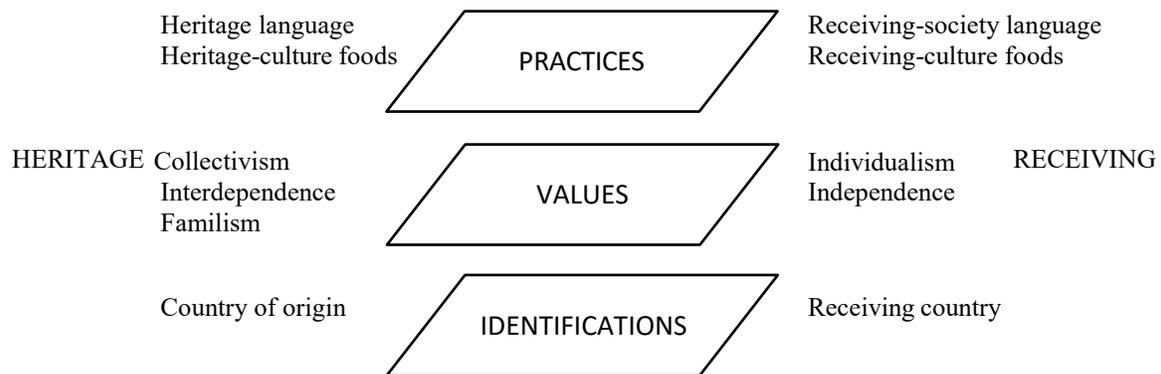
Figure 1.
Multidimensionality of Acculturation (Schwartz et al., p. 24)

As a theoretical framework, multidimensionality of acculturation offers fluid, holistic, independent, and interdependent approaches to acculturative processes. Based on new cultural practices, values, and identifications of the receiving cultures, individuals may adapt, cope, struggle, thrive, resist, and/or comply to these changing cultural conditions while taking into consideration retention, or modification, in different degrees and distinct ways, to their heritage cultural practices, values, and identifications. In these contexts, multidimensionality of acculturation resonates with the principal research goals of this study. The goal to understand the feelings, thoughts, and language brokering and acculturation experiences of participants as these occur holistically, independently, and interdependently in their language brokering and acculturation encounters is in agreement with such fluid and holistic multidimensional acculturation model. In these contexts,

participants may vocalize feelings, perceptions, and experiences based on their individualistic tendencies and collective, meaning family-oriented, disposition and both approaches may be guided, in different directions and rates, according to their heritage and receiving cultural values, practices, and identifications. Simply put, in terms of acculturation, participants' expressions at home, school, and their individual communities are the contact zones or areas of engagement, in which heritage and receiving cultures and the three dimensions interact simultaneously. Thus, acculturation insights will be explored and analyzed according to multidimensionality of acculturation (Schwartz et al., 2010).

Conclusion

In this section, I reviewed salient acculturation topics, explicated the resonance of this study with multidimensionality of acculturation framework, and connected it to relevant language brokering topics and issues. Children of immigrants, both foreign or US born, often acquire English speaking skills and adapt to US cultures faster than their parents (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Thus, acculturation and language brokering go hand-in-hand. Acculturation is a complex and multidimensional social, psychological, behavioral, and cognitive process (Berry, 2006). As children acculturate and simultaneously grow and develop as individuals, they are tasked with language brokering roles and responsibilities that involve adult-type encounters (Orellana, 2009). As the phenomena of acculturation, both for children and parents, independently and collectively, unfolds, scholars caution about differences in the ways and rates in which parents and children may acculturate (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). In this context, international migration scholars, Portes and Rumbaut, (2001) and Suarez-Orozco and

Suarez-Orozco (2001), suggest that children and parents might be living in different cultural, linguistic, and social realities. The resulting acculturation gap between children and parents may exacerbate a host of issues including but not limited to family cohesion (Miranda et al., 2000), stress and suicide ideation among adolescents (Hovey & King, 1996), family conflict (Trickett & Jones, 2007), and adverse children development conditions (Cohen et al., 1999). Understanding the association of acculturation, language brokering, and children/adolescent psychosocial outcomes remains an understudied line of research (Acoach & Webb, 2004). As extensive, relevant, and significant as the literatures of language brokering and acculturation are, there are still inconclusive results in this relationship.

This dissertation tends to the research gap of descriptive language brokering and acculturation studies. Seeking to explore and understand the feelings, perceptions, and experiences of Latina/o language brokers and their perspectives of their own acculturation patterns as they grow as individuals and as language brokers, this study contributes thick, rich, and complex stories that focus on language brokering and acculturation phenomena individually, collectively, and holistically. This study seeks to provide preconceptual notions that inform the fields of language brokering and acculturation, independently and collectively.

CHAPTER III—METHODOLOGY

I begin this chapter with a review of the problem statement and the guiding research questions of this study.

Problem Statement Summary

In an English-speaking dominant society, children of immigrant parents often serve as language brokers between their families and the outside world (Chao, 2006). Language brokering also involves the cultural interpretation of the contexts in which the translations take place. In this regard, language brokers also function as cultural meaning-makers (Vasquez et al., 1994). Language brokers often ensure the very survival of their families by translating things like immigration forms, employment applications, and household bills. In these linguistic and cultural mediational roles, adolescent language brokers are thrust into complex adult level situations that may surpass their cognitive and emotional abilities.

Despite increasing awareness that language brokering is a common immigrant experience, limited research focusing extensively on the feelings, perceptions, and language brokering experiences of youth themselves is available. To address this need, this descriptive dissertation utilized a multiple case study design in analyzing the experiences of six Latina/o high school language brokers. Rich participant descriptions, drawn from two interviews and two direct observations of language brokering involving each participant and their parents, highlighted nuances, complexities, content, and contexts of the lived experiences of the language brokers. Utilizing a sociocultural theoretical framework that situates individual learning and development in social processes rooted in the interactions between people, languages, and cultures, I focus on

the dynamic and complex translation / interpretation experiences of participants to inform

patterns and themes relevant to language brokering and acculturation. The following

research questions guided this study:

- How do participants perceive past and current language brokering

  experiences, especially in terms of change and complexity?

- How do participants describe their past and current feelings and perceptions

  regarding language brokering?

- What do participants express as benefits or concerns associated with language

  brokering?

- What language brokering activities do participants describe as demanding?

- What experiences do participants describe as significant engagement activities

  in their lives as family members, as high school students, and as communities

  members?

Research Design

The remaining pages of this chapter narrate the overall research design of this

study. I begin by describing the rationale and purposes of the multiple case research

design and conclude with a narrative of data collection methods.

Rationale for Multiple Case Study Research Project

Multiple case study research projects explore a phenomenon in its real-world

context. Seeking an in-depth understanding of individual experiences occurring

simultaneously within a multitude of variables that defy measurability, multiple case

studies undertake the exploration of a phenomenon in its natural setting (Baxter & Jack,

2008). Yin (2003) asserts that multiple case study can be considered when the behavior

of participants cannot be manipulated and when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the surrounding contexts and others involved are not easily separable. Language brokers negotiate linguistic and cultural mediation between their parents and third-party members in a wide array of contexts that are immersed first and foremost in the task at hand—completing the necessary bilingual communication among the parties to resolve the issue—but also a wide spectrum of individual and societal factors. From the individual perspective, these may include thoughts, feelings, past experiences, fears, verbal and non-verbal cues, and unique personality traits inherent in each role, meaning language broker, parent(s), and third-party member(s). The latter group includes English monolingual speakers for whom the language broker also translates. They could be teachers, bankers, insurance agents or other individuals the parents need to address with the particular necessary translation. At the societal level there are many historical, political, economic, communal, and cultural factors that affect language brokers, parent(s) and third-party members in infinite and divergent ways. These include but are not limited to institutional and governmental omission of multilingual and multicultural personnel, programs and services; hegemonic dominance of the English language; pervasive monocultural "American"—a very problematic term—based cultural systems; oppressive anti-immigrant and anti-bilingual perspectives; and coping strategies, or lack thereof, by the parent(s), the children / adolescent language brokers, and any third-party member(s).

Amidst these convoluted, nebulous, and ubiquitous factors, multiple case study converges on the "what, how and why questions" of participants' unique and nuanced experiences given certain phenomena (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 545). As this dissertation

explores the distinctiveness of each individual language broker participant, I focus on the what, the how, and the why regarding the experiences of respondents. In this context, the research questions aimed to learn how their lived language brokering experiences manifested within the contexts of their "ordinary pursuits and in their natural milieus" (Stake, 2006, p. 1) and the reasons behind them. To this end this dissertation also centers on descriptive and explanatory questions (Yin, 2006). Respectively, I seek to understand what is happening / has happened and to explicate the how or why something is occurring / has occurred in the lives of the participants as they language broker for their parents in a wide array of subjects and contexts. Thus, the multiple case study research design also accentuates the perceptions and feelings of participants towards language brokering and acculturation.

As multiple case study aligns with exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory research projects, a theoretical framework that situates human activity, individual learning, and societal interaction amidst social, linguistic, and cultural processes is aptly suited for such investigation. In this context sociocultural theories resonate with this research project.

Criteria and Sampling Method

This project required "information-rich" participants (Patton, 2002, p. 39). To this end participants who frequently engaged in language brokering in a wide array of settings were specifically sought out. Moreover, I intentionally recruited high school language brokering participants living with their parents in order to understand their past and current experiences and perceptions. With the explicit goal of recruiting participants with extensive participant language brokering experiences, this study required the following

participant criteria: 1) Latina/o, Chicana/o, or Latin American country and American-hyphenated self-identification; 2) high school enrollment self-identification; 3) a minimum of one-year language brokering experience including at least one brokering activity per month within the last year; 4) live in the same household as parents and; 5) serve currently as language broker for parents. To join this study, participants completed a participant intake form that inquired about these criteria and gender identity, also. All participants fulfilled the study's criteria as described above. Further, all participants identified in their cisgender identity as female or male.

I recruited and enrolled participants using purposive sampling (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). This strategy targets participants that possess particular characteristics of scholarly interest to a specific research inquiry (Creswell, 2002). Small (2006) adds that non-probability sampling techniques, including purposive sampling, are more suitable for in-depth qualitative studies in which the focus is to understand complex social phenomena. Snowball sampling, another nonprobability method, was also utilized to recruit one participant, Homero (his chosen pseudonym). All other participants signed up after attending a research recruitment information session.

Recruitment Process and Issues

To inform and recruit respondents I developed a strategic and comprehensive outreach plan that included school districts with high enrollment of Latina/o students and community agencies serving Latina/o immigrant communities. In my current role as academic advisor at the University of Oregon, recruiting students of color is a major priority. In this context and over a period of 10 years, I have sustained collaborative partnerships with school districts and community agencies that support outreach and

recruitment initiatives. These connections were essential in my participant recruitment plan. The targeted areas included the south and southwest suburban areas surrounding the City of Portland, specifically including the school districts of Woodburn, Forest Grove, Salem-Keizer, and the Willamette Valley area containing school districts, such as 4J, Bethel, Springfield, and Corvallis.

An additional and imperative element in the overall recruitment strategy was seeking and gaining the collaboration and potential recommendation of gatekeepers. Hatch (2002) advocates developing close working relationships with gatekeepers to gain access and trust within the target communities of study. Gatekeepers can take multiple roles including but not limited to educators, community leaders / advocates, clergy, and elders in minoritized communities (Hatch, 2002; Lavrakas, 2008). In my professional role, I am actively involved in pre-college programs and education events with K-12 school districts, community agencies, and community colleges. In this context, I've developed close working relationships with partners / gatekeepers who can recommend me to others in schools, and/or community agencies. The overall dissertation recruitment strategy was devised strategically to reach out to my working partners / gatekeepers or to seek their recommendations. In the end as it turned out all six of my participants came from schools, community agencies, and places of worship where I have a strong and long-standing relationship.

With the cooperation of my partners / gatekeepers, I began visiting high schools and community agencies. Given the comprehensive data collection methods—two interviews, two observations, and two survey instruments—required for this study, it soon became evident that enrolling study participants would be a challenge. I expected

this since the study intended to explore the cumulative and extensive experiences of a frequent language broker rather than the perceptions of a casual one. As much as the challenge was expected, it was more intense, recurrent, and common than imagined. The following facts shed a brief glimpse of the scope of the challenge. Approximately 500 students—about half of them in AP Spanish courses, or in MEChA or Latinos Unidos type of student organizations—attended presentations at 27 high school and community agencies. Of these students, 43 returned completed contact information cards. To assess interest in study participation each one of the 43 students was called and texted twice over a two to three-week period. Oftentimes, communication ended with no clear student indication of interest. In the context of multiple factors, such as the current political and cultural environment affecting immigrants, the comprehensive nature of this study, the busy lifestyles of high school students, and timing, these results fit the expected pattern. In the end, the six participants who enrolled in the study are all closely connected to very close partners / gatekeepers who have known me for a long time. The six participants completed a Participant Intake Screening Form that provided basic participant demographic info, language history, language brokering experience, and a listing of monthly language brokering experiences. This form also determined whether participants met the study criteria. At this stage and depending on the availability of the participants and their parent(s), I either talked with them on the phone or met them at home or at a public library. During these sessions I informed participants and their parent(s) about the study's purposes, rationale, methods and schedule of activities, and answered questions or concerns. All six participants and parents completed and returned IRB approved

consent forms. To provide confidentiality and privacy, participants self-declared a pseudonym that was used for all interactions, communication, and dissertation.

Data Collection Principles and Process

A gold standard of case study research is the application of multiple data sources (Patton, 1990; Yin, 2003). Baxter & Jack (2008) theorize that data credibility is enhanced by using a variety of sources. This qualitative study envisioned rich, complex and nuanced perspectives and profiles of the lived experiences of language brokers and their thoughts and feelings regarding language brokering and acculturation. To meet these goals, this research project incorporated two interviews, two direct observations, and survey scores from two instruments with each of the six study participants. Stake (2006) lists the following potential data sources: documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, physical artifacts, and participant-observation. As this study included three sources—documentation, interviews, and direct observation—each source became "one piece of a holistic puzzle" that altogether contributes to the exploration, analysis, and understanding of language brokering and acculturation phenomena from the lived experiences of six participants in this project (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 546).

In this section I discuss the process for data collection methods and provide a narrative of each method. Following is a flowchart, Figure 2, that highlights data collection methods process for this study.
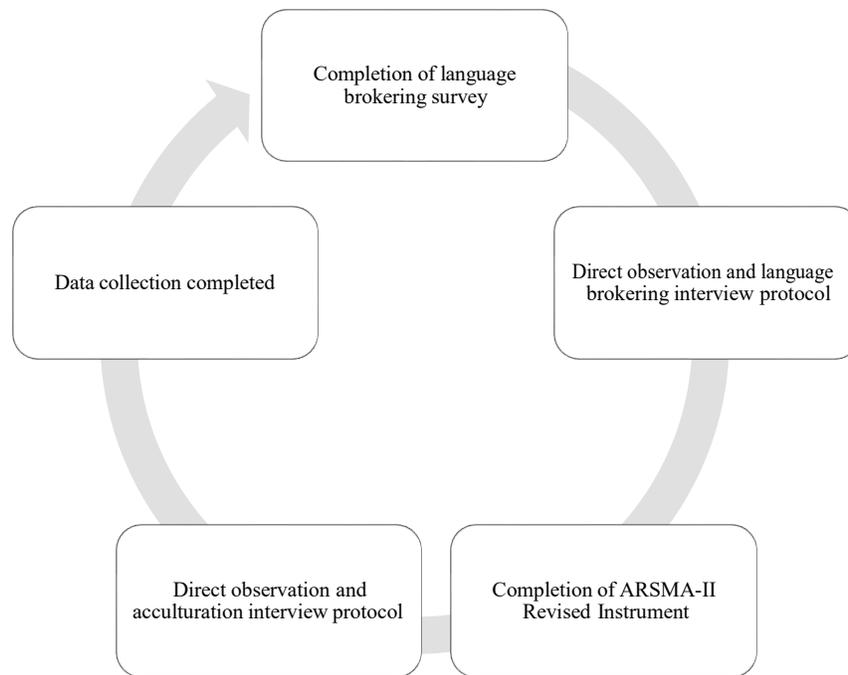
Figure 2.
Data Collection Process

The first wave of data collection activities focused on the language brokering experiences of participants. Methods followed this order, 1) completion of Buriel and colleagues 1998 Language Brokering Survey, 2) direct observation of language brokering activity, and 3) immediately following the observation, completion of language brokering interview. The second round of research activities, concentrating on acculturation issues, followed the same protocol: completion of the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans, ARSMA-II, Cuellar et al., (1995) Acculturation Survey, second direct observation, and acculturation interview. This schedule of language brokering, and acculturation data collections activities was intentionally established to maximize the quantity and quality of participants' recollections regarding their language brokering experiences and their points of view related to acculturation.

Given minor variations, each of the six participants finalized all activities in this fashion and within a timeframe of three to six months for both cycles. The most unique variation involves Victoria who completed the order of data collection activities differently. Her parents work full time as free-lance mushroom foragers who amass their harvest from the Oregon wilderness, and then sell it to grocery stores, farm cooperatives, or individual buyers. The family's schedule required maximum flexibility. Therefore, Victoria completed first the language brokering interview in June 2018. Accommodating the family's schedule, Victoria completed the first and second observation, the language brokering and ARSMA-II instruments, and acculturation interview in one day in December 2018.

Instruments

Language Brokering Survey (Buriel et al., 1998). This translation and interpretation instrument measures participants' language brokering experiences. Four sections make up the survey: experience translating for others, places where translation takes place, things that are translated, and feelings about translation (Buriel et al., 1998). The first three sections constitute the behavioral aspects of language brokering and can be scored per individual section or added up for a total behavioral score. The feelings section makes up the affective aspects of language brokering. A four-point Likert scale measures the sections of experience translating for others and feelings with the following levels and scores; always (4 points); a lot (3 points); a little bit (2 points), and never (1 point). Participants respond yes or no to the sections of places where translations take place and things they have translated about. Yes responses, in both sections, count from one to three depending on the level of difficulty, such as translating at home counting for

one and at a doctor's, government offices, or the hospital getting three points. Examples of things translated about follow the same scoring pattern. Some examples are translating for a visitor coming to the family's home totaling one point and translating bank statements or immigration forms resulting in three points. No responses receive zero points. Altogether, the Buriel and colleagues (1998) scale includes 46 items; 22 four-point Likert scale items for the experience translating for others and feelings dimensions, and 24 list items for the places where translation takes place and things that are translated. On average, the instrument takes 10 to 15 minutes to complete, is written in basic English, and targets adolescents. To support the bilingual and bicultural skills of the participants in this study, I translated the scale into Spanish and offered both versions.

The instrument was intended to refresh participants' memories of their overall language brokering experiences; hence, they self-administered the instrument one day before the language brokering interview. Through this deliberate strategy, I sought to increase the potential of a "thick description" of the participants' own language brokering accounts (Geertz, 1973, p. 35). Participants were given the choice of completing the instrument in Spanish or English. All six participants opted for the English version.

Revised Acculturation Rating scale for Mexican Americans. ARSMA-II examines acculturation based on three major factors: language, ethnic identity, and ethnic interaction. To measure these elements the 30-item survey employs questions such as "I enjoy listening to English language music", "My friends now are of Mexican origin" and "I like to identify myself as American". Respondents answer items using a five-point Likert scale that employs the values of "not at all", "very little", "moderately", "very often", and "almost always", from one to five. The ARSMA-II aggregate score show how

respondents orient themselves towards the Mexican cultures or the Anglo cultures and towards four acculturation modes including marginalization, separation, assimilation, and integration. Though ARSMA-II was created to assess acculturation patterns for Mexican Americans, the field has adapted it to other Latina/o groups (Dennis et al., 2016; Martinez et al., 2018).

Similar to the application of the Language Brokering Scale, ARSMA-II was integrated as an additional acculturation datum point and as another dimension in acculturative themes among language broker participants in this study. In conjunction with the acculturation interview that explored the language brokers participation in and out of school, home, and communities, ARSMA-II integrates a behavioral and affective measure to the exploration and analysis of the participants' perception regarding their acculturation. Cabassa (2003) calls on scholars to integrate qualitative accounts based on sociocultural exploration and analysis and quantitative studies that measure acculturation using instruments to heighten understanding about how individuals adapt to a new cultural environment. Based on emerging acculturation themes, this exploratory study aims to draft preliminary concepts regarding acculturative strategies of language brokers as defined by their lived experiences, thoughts, and perceptions.

Administration of ARSMA-II followed the same process laid out as the language brokering scale. On their own, participants completed it one day before the acculturation interview. Participants could select completing the instrument in Spanish or English. All six participants selected the English form.

Semi-Structured Interviews

In the exploration of social phenomenon, interviews constitute fundamental

sources of case study information since participants provide data-rich information that highlight perceptions, behaviors, and feelings regarding the topic of inquiry (Rubin & Rubin, 1995; Yin, 2009). Stake (2006) suggests a "guided conversation" that integrates the interview protocol and impromptu follow up questions based on relevant participant responses that merit further elaboration (p. 73). With these end goals in mind, this study explored the experiences of six language brokers and their perspectives related to language brokering and to acculturation. The interviews were audio-recorded, lasted 30 to 45 minutes, and followed a semi-structured and "guided conversation" protocol. The first interview focused on the participant's language brokering experience and consisted of eight open-ended questions. These prompts explored the participant's thoughts and feelings regarding their practice of language brokering, and their views related to benefits and concerns associated with this practice. Questions, such as "tell me about one translation / interpretation event that stands out to you"; "in what ways do you think translation / interpretation is beneficial"; "in what ways do you think translation / interpretation is stressful to you" and; "tell me your views about adolescents translating / interpreting for their parents", enquired into their history and context of language brokering. The second interview investigated participants' acculturation perceptions and acculturative practices in their high school, household, and local communities. Participants responded to questions, such as "tell me about one high school program, or group, that you are actively involved in"; "if you translated / interpreted for anyone in high school or a community activity, tell me more about this" and; "tell me about your experiences in the U.S. as an immigrant child, or the child of immigrant parents".

Following Stake's guided conversation approach (2006), the interviews flowed between the questions listed in the protocol and individualized follow up questions. Insightful and provocative participants' responses to protocol questions led to impromptu follow-up prompts. In the process, participants provided rich, nuanced, and complex viewpoints related to not only language brokering and acculturation but as well to the sociocultural contexts surrounding a monolingual English-speaking dominant society that positions their parents in dire need for linguistic and cultural brokering as well as the participant themselves as required agents of this translation mediation.

According to their preference, participants selected the date and time, location, and language(s) for the interviews. As expected, given school and families' schedules, most interviews took place weekday evenings, though three interviews transpired on weekend days. Three of the six participants completed both interviews in their home while two male participants chose the office suite where I work at the University of Oregon. The final participant finished both interviews in a study room at a public library. All participants chose English for all interviews. However, during the course of the interviews, all participants introduced key or influential word(s) / phrase(s), and sometimes complete sentence(s) in Spanish and / or Spanglish, especially when expressing emotions or emphasizing something important to them. All communication regarding interviews logistical arrangements were done via text messaging.

Direct Observation

This research project incorporated two direct observations per participant. Yin (2009) suggests that direct observation methods investigate essential behavioral, affective, and environmental conditions amidst the natural setting of the case study.

Based on these theoretical constructs, the direct observations studied on-site language

brokering interactions with the following explicit goals: to develop a broad understanding

of the interrelationship between the phenomena, participants' thoughts and feelings, and

their contexts; to obtain extensive empirical in-depth data that informs analysis and

interpretation of observations and participant interviews, and to contextualize the

participants' emic perspectives of themselves as facilitators of language brokering and

my etic viewpoints as a researcher surveying the realms, content, and context of their

lived language brokering experiences (Pike, 2015). Data from the direct observations

yielded rich, nuanced, and complex instances of language brokering and acculturation

that informed the development of participant profiles and themes within and across the

multiple case studies. Yin (2009) posits that comparing and contrasting within and across

multiple case studies is a central analytical feature of this method. To assess the validity

of the participants' profiles and the themes within and across the multiple case studies,

these constructs were analyzed with Guba & Lincoln's alternative criteria for evaluating

qualitative studies (1985). Their theoretical concepts of dependability and confirmability

informed the validity of the data and findings including direct observations and all other

methods employed in this dissertation.

Two main issues unfolded in the course of completing the direct observations.

First, scheduling and completing direct observations presented logistical challenges.

Second, selection and decisions regarding language brokering topics for the observations

posed difficulties for the participants and / or their parent(s). Understanding the

complexities of these issues adds depth and further nuances to the complicated spaces

and circumstances that participants and their parent(s) experience in the overall context

and scheme of their negotiation of their typical language brokering roles, and to some extent this data collection process.

Scheduling the direct observations was a major challenge. As discussed in preceding sections, participants enrolled in this project at different points in time, progressed through the steps at their own pace, and necessitated differing levels of information and explanation related to the rationale, importance and relevance of direct observations. From the initial point of contact participants and their parent(s) received oral and written information and IRB documentation including bilingual English-Spanish consent forms that detailed purpose, significance, and necessity of direct observations, as well as of all other data collection methods. All communication with parents was conducted in Spanish. Balancing the schedules of participants, their parent(s), and myself was a major challenge in setting up direct observation appointments. Parent(s)'s work schedule and / or family / household conditions precipitated multiple postponements. Undoubtedly, this was expected and understandable and is only highlighted here in the context of the sacrifices and commitment that participants and parent(s) made to the research project.

The ordinary busy lives associated with active high school students increased the scheduling challenges for all participants. School, work, home and family roles and responsibilities and community engagement activities further compounded scheduling direct observations. Despite the differing number of postponements and the reasons for such cancellations, all six participants fulfilled their direct observations in a timeframe of two to six months.

The second matter of interest related to the development of direct observations was the decision and selection of a language brokering topic. For some participants and their parents, choosing the content or issue to language broker about during the direct observations became a dilemma. Some participants and their parent(s) needed more information, explanation, choices, and to some extent persuasion in deciding the topic to translate. The literature documents that participants and parents may, or may not, understand the importance of research, feel apprehension, and/or need additional information (Orellana, 2009; Morales & Hanson, 2005). In this context and depending on varying needs of participants and their parents, I elaborated further on the observations including purpose(s), content, context(s), and specific language brokering examples. Examples of recommendations suggested included interpreting at a store, translating household correspondence, and / or interpreting with customer service representatives, either at a store or on the telephone at home. Participants, and more so parent(s), appeared reassured and relieved with the additional support, explanations and multiple options for the language brokering topic.

Despite the difficulties associated with direct observations, all twelve instances were completed in my presence as a non-participant observer. Eleven events involved document translations, such as utility bills, school newsletters, or doctor's office's correspondence, and included a participant and one parent. One observation featured a participant, Homero, his mother, and a clerk at the Department of Motor Vehicle, as Homero brokered for his mom about a required vehicle sticker tag. In this context, the latter observation was the only event that featured all three parties involved in the translation.

Data Analysis

Text data are dense data, and it takes a long time to go through them and make sense of them (Creswell, 2013, p. 152).

In the quest to obtain rich, complex, and nuanced data from participants, extensive amounts of data emerged. Preparing, organizing, and deeply diving into these bodies of data with the elusive and salient goals of first understanding it, second familiarizing myself with it, and third conceptualizing analytical methods became a long, challenging, and intellectually stimulating processes. In this section, I discuss data sources and organization, code development, data analysis, limitations of study, and a conclusion.

Data Sources and Organization

As this dissertation sought to contextualize rich, thick, and nuanced feelings, thoughts, and language brokering and acculturation experiences, the project required comprehensive and multiple data sources, including two interviews, two direct observations, and completion of language brokering and acculturation instruments for six participants. Organizing and preparing these data sources for code development was a cumbersome process, and more so as each data method with every participant continued throughout the process, simultaneously. In other words, some participants might have completed all methods while others were at different stages. And yet this seemingly unwieldy process facilitated the initial stages of familiarizing myself with the data, a step in Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis guideline (2006). I'll describe analysis and code development in the next section. At this time, a succinct description of these methods is necessary to provide an overview of methodological issues and the overall data organization.

Interviews Transcription

Twelve interviews, two per participant, one about language brokering and the other one regarding acculturation, required transcription. As study investigator, I served the roles of researcher, interviewer, and transcriber. Meeting these roles achieved essential research aspects including the role of researcher as content-matter and sociocultural context expert (Mero-Jaffe, 2011), as interviewer with a strong level of rapport and familiarity with participants (Bocholtz, 2000), and as transcriber to reduce errors and omissions that usually transpire by an independent transcriber (Tilley & Powick, 2002). Transcription requires iterative and reflexive processes that include close and active listening to interviews multiple times to build the initial stages of "theoretical sensitivity" (Corbin & Straus, 1997), which the authors define as "the attribute of having insight, the ability to give meaning to data, the capacity to understand, and the capability to separate the pertinent from that which isn't" (p. 42). As I engaged with the data and took reflexive stances—meaning reading data, knowing it, thinking with it, reflecting it, and continuing the same cycle again—I began to see "patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data" (Patton, 1980, p. 306). To further aid the reflexive and pre-coding development process, I leaned on Saldaña's (2016) purposes for analytic memo including conceptualizing emerging concepts and patterns, questioning assumptions - especially as a former language broker - myself, and developing more insightful data connections. This iterative and reflexive process are necessary to discern nuances, complexities, and richness of details in the data and inform codes.

Code Development

        To continue the code development process, I relied concurrently on thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and structural and In Vivo coding (Miles et al., 2016; Saldaña, 2016) as guiding analytical process and tools to refine codes and to discern data relevant to the study's five research questions. The step-by-step thematic analysis guidelines that include: 1) familiarizing with the data, 2) generating initial codes, 3) combing for themes, 4) analyzing themes, 5) defining and naming themes, and 6) producing the report. This process informed salient data analysis process generated substantive conceptual ideas that illustrated feelings, perceptions, and experiences of participants regarding language brokering and acculturation. Saldaña (2016) posits that structural codes inform code development and shape initial data categorizations. Following this concept, the following are examples of structural codes: feelings, perceptions, experiences, language brokering, acculturation, and so on. In Vivo coding refers to the labeling process of a word or short phrase that was used by participant(s) and appear(s) on the overall repertoire of qualitative records, including transcriptions, researcher's notes, analytical memos, etc. Some In Vivo examples include, frustration, pride, negative or positive perceptions of experiences, be it language brokering or acculturation, and so forth. The structural and In Vivo coding allowed for sub-coding both labels together into initial categories such as: language brokering sites and/or encounters, context and content of language brokering, types and degrees of feelings, acculturation experiences at home, school, or the community and so on. Two examples of categorized sub-coding are: feeling stressed during medical language brokering at

doctor's office or emergency room and utilizing translation apps or internet to translate unfamiliar terms.

To begin code development participants' feelings, thoughts, and experiences regarding language brokering and acculturation were recorded into databases. These spreadsheets yielded numerous raw codes describing participants' emotions, perceptions, and experiences. Raw codes were condensed into appropriate categorical codes. As an example, raw codes, such as self-assured, comfortable, and composed were absorbed into confidence/confident. Similarly, raw codes, such as anxious, overwhelmed, and pressured became stress/stressful. Based on categorical codes, frequency tables were developed to consolidate codes. For example, affective codes were categorized into 15 positive codes, such as confident, mature, etc., and 11 negative codes, i.e., frustration, nervous, stress, etc. The frequency tables served to conceptualize feelings and thoughts that were prevalent, frequent, and salient for each participant.

To test coding reliability, my dissertation chair graciously agreed to code two language brokering transcribed interviews, independently so we could test my coding scheme. Based on close inspections of these double-coded transcripts, we concurred with a high level of confidence that the coding process was conceptualized in line with participant interview data.

Theme Development

Qualitative data analysis requires a range of processes and procedures to move data sources and data collection to some form of explanation, understanding, or interpretation of the social phenomenon (Glesne, 2015; Creswell, 2012, & Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). To grasp the nexus of the issues and or the relationships associated with

the phenomenon, an inductive approach, that analyzes the data through a reflexive process, was utilized in this study. This examination included iterative and reflexive analyses of emerging codes, memos, and themes. Following these methods, I immersed into exploratory, analytical, and explanatory processes of all data sources including raw data, transcribed interviews, lists of categorical codes, frequency tables, and analytic memos to conceptualize theme development. Corbin and Strauss (1997) call this process grounded theory because the model materializes from an iterative and reflexive approach that examines observation(s) of an event(s), transcription(s) from interviews and or focus groups, development of codes, and summary of memos. Based on this intimate data analysis, themes began to emerge. For example, the theme of a normalized language brokering experience evolved from multiple coding instances of frequent brokering, including participant provided data in the study intake form and the types of document translation that occurred during the two direct observations, and from participant statements alluding to routine translations in various settings. As another example, the theme of coping with high-stakes language brokering emerged from extended participant statements regarding a translation event that they described as significant, and from multiple affective codes instances regarding feelings of stress, difficulty of translation, and high-stakes situations such as medical, legal, or employment settings.

Researcher's Positionality

One cannot conceive of objectivity without subjectivity—Paolo Freire

Ever since my immediate family and I migrated from Mexico City to Chicagoland suburban area as undocumented immigrants, I became a language broker. To this day, I still am. I have language brokered in all settings and in high-stakes contexts that the

literature documents. For me, language brokering has been a positive, fulfilling, inspiring, and sometimes challenging and stressful, of course. Throughout the process, I have increased my cultural, capital, social and biliteracy and bilingualism skills and expertise. I believe that the cumulative effect of these aggregate experiences has been paramount in my growth and development as lifelong learner, as a novice scholar, a seasoned higher education student services administrator, and most importantly as a human being. Including my long-standing language brokering history and experiences, I am well-prepared, amply supported by my dissertation committee, intellectually ready, and fully committed to engage in a deeply personal and intimate language brokering dissertation critically and rigorously.

CHAPTER IV—PARTICIPANTS' FEELINGS, THOUGHTS, AND EXPERIENCES

Chapter IV explores the feelings, thoughts, and experiences of six Latina/o frequent language brokers who from an early age were tasked to language broker about a wide array of family and household issues. Over time their language brokering practice evolved. Beginning with ordinary translation, such as location of products at the grocery store, moving onto utility bills, progressing to parent-teacher conferences—often their own—and presently tending to high-stakes language brokering in medical, legal, and/or employment, participants experienced unique, dynamic, and complex emotions and perceptions. Complicated emerging themes surfaced from these wide-ranging language brokering encounters. As a result of frequent and extensive language brokering experiences, participants normalized the phenomenon. Affective responses varied widely from joyous emotions of pride to careless indifference, and to disturbing feelings of stress. Complicated feelings and perceptions evolved regarding whether language brokering is a beneficial or a concerning practice. Family dynamics extended across wide dimensions including support, love, plea, obligation, criticism, and conflict. Familismo remained a strong tendency for participants, parents, and their families regardless of emotion and/or related perspectives.

These developing themes encompassed the four sections comprising Chapter IV. First, language brokering emerged as normalized practice. Second, feelings and perceptions regarding language brokering became more complex and nuanced over time. Third, language brokering was both beneficial and concerning. Fourth, familismo and family dynamics among adolescent language brokers and their parents became nuancedly

entangled in the context of language brokering, and life in general, for that matter. To frame analysis of these themes and sections, I restate three of the four research questions of this study that are germane to this chapter. The final research question is analyzed in Chapter V.

- How do participants perceive past and current language brokering experiences, especially in terms of change and complexity?

- How do participants describe their past and current feelings and perceptions regarding language brokering?

- Based on their language brokering experiences, what do participants express as benefits or concerns associated with the practice?

To explore these questions, participants offered nuanced narratives that revealed mixed sentiments and perspectives. As this study purports to provide in-depth discussion of language brokers and their experiences, I dive into this analysis with an exploration of participant language brokering characteristics and participant profiles to contextualize relevant factors associated with their language brokering experiences.

Language Brokering Characteristics

According to the literature major language brokering characteristics include initiation age, gender, frequency, prevalence, complexity of translation, and domains of translation (Mier-Chairez at al., 2019; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Orellana, 2009). These characteristics provide initial entry points to understand language brokering. Following is Table 1 which highlights language brokering characteristics for participants in this study.

Table 1

Participant Language Brokering Characteristics

Participant Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Language Brokering Initiation Age	Years Brokering	Monthly Brokering Frequency	For Whom
Alejandro	Male	16	15	1	2 to 4 times	Both parents
Ana	Female	16	9	7	4 to 6 times	Mostly mother
Homero	Male	17	9	8	2 to 4 times	Mostly mother
Jenny	Female	16	12	4	6 to 8 times	Both parents
Jorge	Male	18	12	6	2 to 4 times	Both parents
Victoria	Female	18	9	9	8 more times	Both parents

In the context of the extant literature regarding characteristics, these self-reported features highlight unique factors to explore further.

Gender

The literature presents mixed results regarding gender. Some studies report the practice is gendered, meaning female oriented (Buriel et al., 2006; Buriel et al, 1998; Weisskirch, 2005), while others indicate no gender differences (Diaz-Lazaro, 2002; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Niehaus & Kumpiene, 2014). In this study, family make up and structure and birth other were more salient factors than gender. In their respective families, Alejandro comes from an all-male sibling home, Ana from an all-female sibling

household, and Jenny is the first born in her family. Sibling birth order, an under studied characteristic in the literature, is a dynamic in Homero's and Jorge's respective homes as they are the youngest siblings in their family and as the older siblings left home, it became their turn. For this study, birth order and family make up and structure impacted more the practice of language brokering than gender.

Initiation Age

Language brokering initiation age varied among participants. Initiation age is an important element since the literature reports negative outcomes for child brokers (Weisskirch, 2005; 2006; Weisskirch & Alva 2002) and positive results for adolescent brokers (Acoach & Webb, 2004; Buriel et al., 1998; Chao, 2006). The few studies that report initiation age list an average age of 10.4 year (Tse, 1995) and 10.9 years (Buriel et al., 1998; Mercado, 2003). In this study three participants began brokering at age nine, a year younger than the reported age of the studies mentioned, and three were into their adolescent years. All participants conveyed mixed feelings and perceptions, such as joy, pride, frustration, stress, obligation, and/or family contribution. Field notes reveal that they are actively involved in family life, in high school clubs and sport activities, and in the community as concerned and committed individuals. Given these circumstances, this study is congruent with studies that report positive outcomes and also aligned with studies that find mixed feelings and perspectives. Regardless of initiation age, duration of language brokering, or complexity of feelings and thoughts towards language brokering, participants are actively involved in their roles as brokers, family members, as high school students, and as community members.

Language Brokering Frequency

Language brokering frequency may impact brokers in different ways. For some high levels of frequency may influence negative outcomes. Two quantitative studies illustrate this point. Martinez and colleagues (2009) found that youth who brokered more frequently had lower academic performance, more internalizing symptoms, lower sense of ethnic belonging, and were more likely to use alcohol or tobacco compared with youth who brokered less frequently. Niehaus and Kumpiene (2014) stated that Latina/o adolescents who language brokered more complex situations reported higher academic self-concept while participants who brokered all types of language brokering tasks at a more frequent rate indicated less academic success capacity. Though the current study did not include academic performance indicators, participants narrated measures of academic success and/or related school involvement indicators including engagement in selective academic programs, high school student clubs, and athletic team sports participation. All participants reported frequent language brokering in the following domains. Language brokering in school/education matters was a common experience for all participants including translating school newsletters, telephone and/or visits to the Main Office and parent-teacher conferences, including their own sessions and their younger siblings'. In a particularly challenging parent-teacher conference, Jorge painfully described the emotional pain and toll it caused her mother to learn from him about his academic performance, truancy, and behavioral issues during a particularly stressful time for him as the family experienced the loss of their grandmother. All participants reported frequent medical and health brokering including setting up appointments, doctors' office letters/newsletters, and during doctors' office and pharmacy visits. In Chapter V, we will

learn about two high-stakes hospital emergency room language brokering encounters for Victoria and for Jenny that were described as emotionally overwhelming. Additional sites reported as frequent language brokering scenarios involved household tasks, such as customer service interactions at retail stores, utility bills at home, and restaurant menus. Amidst frequent, ordinary, and complex language brokering, participants experienced complicated feelings, expressed mixed perceptions, and flourished in the various roles of their lives.

Gender, initiation age, and frequency are potentially significant factors in language brokering. For this study, initiation age and frequency are more relevant variables, especially as participants' language brokering encounters become more complex and impact family dynamics.

Individual Profiles

To understand participants language brokering experiences, I begin this section with brief introductory participant profiles that portray relevant factors and conditions surrounding personal characteristics, family structure, and unique experiences. Mier-Chairez and colleagues (2019) affirm that language brokering is inherently intertwined with immigration, acculturation, language, culture, family, and other societal systems. In this context, the profiles sketch broad strokes of participants in their everyday lives and their interactions with family and institutions. These larger contexts upon which participants interact, language broker, and live are critical to understanding their overall development of their feelings, thoughts, and experiences. Additionally, this individual profile section introduces an initial discussion of participants and the six predominant themes of this study.

Alejandro

Alejandro is the youngest son in a family of four, including parents and an older brother. As a family, they migrated to the US recently, four years ago. His parents are college graduates from a university in El Salvador. Alejandro excels academically. He reported a 3.75 CUM GPA at the end of his sophomore year. Feeling that his high school counselor was too busy when they met to discuss his college prep courses, he learned to read his graduation audit and since then, he has been selecting his classes on his own since sophomore year. Alejandro felt that his high school ELD program focused too much on issues and topics of interests pertaining to Mexico, as almost all students are of Mexican backgrounds. After six months, Alejandro tested out of the ELD program, is no longer involved in it, and cited the emphasis on Mexico as a reason.

Ana

Ana was not initially selected to her high school IB program. Once she realized that her friends who had the same grades as she did, she talked to her counselor. Ana enthusiastically reported that the focus on contemporary global issues, such as health and globalization, are some of the major topics that she is most interested in and has learned the most. In an IB literature class, Ana presented about a Chicana feminist author and wondered if her classmates understood. "Everything resonated with me and who I am", she stated (Interview, 2018). Ana is the oldest in a family of five, parents included. Her father works as a line cook in a local restaurant and the mother owns a free-lance home cleaning business. Ana stated her family is very traditional and overly protective of all daughters. Therefore, she is only able to get involved in school, work, family events, and church.

Homero

Homero chose his pseudonym based on the character name of a Chicano play that he performed in a local community theatre. The character and the play resonated with him since it focuses on Latina/o immigrant issues. Homero wrestles in the junior varsity team and jokingly stated, "getting cauliflower ears" was his main issue with the sport (Interview, 2018). He is the youngest of five, including parents. His father works construction, and his mom works to take care of the family and the household. Whenever Homero is with his parents, he drives them everywhere since they cannot obtain a driver license due to their undocumented status. Walking on the street, Homero has been called a hoodlum and told to go back to Mexico multiple times.

Jenny

Jenny is an active member of a multicultural student union in her high school. She reported becoming more aware of issues impacting students of color, especially first-generation college students. After high school graduation, she plans to enroll at the local community college and transfer to the local university to pursue a career in health or education. In light of her frequent language brokering, Jenny wonders about becoming a professional interpreter. She's first-born daughter in a family of five, parents included. Her father works two jobs and her mother labors at home to take care of the family and the household. Jenny stated that the family cannot go anywhere far on vacations because the parents lack state issued documentation due to their undocumented status.

Jorge

Jorge described in detail his active participation in the local MEChA chapter in his high school. Outside of MEChA, Jorge felt the school did not support him. Jorge is

the youngest in a family of five, including parents. His father works construction, and his mother works at home and as a home childcare worker. Jorge acted in a play, a staged reading, called *Now, I am Your Neighbor*, that portrays true stories of immigrants from all over the world living in the local community. This play was very important to Jorge as he wanted to inform the community of the issues, challenges, and success stories of local immigrants. His parents attended the play and Jorge translated portions they didn't understand. As a family, they further discussed the critical topics of the play and their own struggles and success stories. Relatedly, Jorge shared that some of his family members were undocumented.

Jorge invited me to attend the play, also. I was honored to be invited and glad to attend.

Victoria

Victoria described her active MEChA involvement as the most important element of her high school education. MEChA became a supportive community to cope with the frequent stereotypical comments, articulated in the hallways and cafeteria in her high school, against immigrants and Latinas/os after the 2016 election. "We were there for each other", Victoria stated (Interview, 2018). She is the second-born sibling in a family of six, four siblings and the parents. Both parents work as self-employed mushroom foragers who collect them in the Oregon and Washington wilderness. They go on week-long camping excursions to collect the fungus in order to sell to grocery stores and/or private customers.

Discussion

Amidst similarities, differences, and uniqueness of participants and their families,

a number of themes evolve. First, participants actively engage in high school activities, be it sports, student organizations, or selective academic programs. Generally speaking, school involvement in extracurricular programs is associated with sense of belonging, confidence, competence, and related positive outcomes (Dotterer et al., 2007; Villareal, 2017). Second, participation in ethnicity focused affinity groups, such as MEChA or Multicultural Student Unions, was another important factor. For three participants, these affinity groups provided a welcoming space to build community, to become involved in school activities and issues impacting Latina/os, and to support one another. Third, personal and direct experience with family members who are undocumented was narrated as an important theme affecting three participants. Amidst the severe complexities and ramifications of supporting family members who lack legal authorization, these participants tended to their relatives' language brokering needs and personal necessities, such as driving them to places they needed to go. These individuals, Homero and Jorge, also became active in plays highlighting relevant issues impacting immigrants and Latina/o communities. Finally, participants personally experienced indifference, microaggressions, and/or discriminatory comments. As Ana critically analyzed a Chicana feminist poem in her IB class, she speculated if everything that resonated with her mattered to her classmates. Homero and Victoria were called derogatory terms, either directly or indirectly.

It is in these larger contexts of life circumstances that participants encountered myriads of issues, personalities, complexities, and phenomena that in different degrees and varying directions intersect with languages, cultures, language brokering, acculturation, immigration, and their lives. Mier-Chairez and colleagues (2019)

emphasize "language brokering does not exist in isolation" (p. 855). This study explores the feelings, perceptions, and language brokering and acculturation experiences of participants. Though not the focus of the study, these larger contexts and environmental factors influence participants' feelings, perceptions, and experiences in relationship to the language brokering and acculturation.

This section provided an overview of individual profiles and discussed the larger contexts and environmental factors upon which participants language broker and live. These individualized profiles and contextual variables provide an initial basis to present the six emerging themes of this study by participant. An introductory overview of themes and how participant(s) experienced them, individually or collectively, is warranted to understand the major study findings and themes. Following is Table 2 which highlights participants and themes.

As the rest of this chapter, and the next one, focus on the findings and themes of the study, a concise discussion of the emerging themes and participants ensues. Three of the six participants, Ana, Jenny, and Victoria reported data indicating that they experienced all six themes. Three of the six themes, normalized experiences, resolving complex language brokering, and familismo, were experienced by all six participants. Only one participant, Alejandro, reported data that related to three of the six themes. Another participant, Jorge, provided data that connected to four of the six themes and finally, Homero conveyed data that resonated with five of the six themes. Finally, the

Table 2

Emerging Themes by Participant

Participant	Themes					
	Normalized Experience	Resolving complex Language Brokering	Mixed Feelings about Language Brokering	Complex Family Dynamics	Familismo	High-Stakes Language Brokering
Alejandro	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Ana	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Homero	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Jenny	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jorge	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Victoria	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

available data does not provide a basis to determine thematic connections between language brokering and acculturation. As such, this thematic connection is not a theme in this table or in this study.

Normalized Experiences

According to Census Bureau data (2018), 67.3 million US residents, including US born, authorized and undocumented immigrants, speak a different language other than English at home. Census Bureau reports (2015) further estimate that approximately half of the 18 million Latina/o children, the majority of whom are US born, have at least one parent who was born outside of the country. These statistics present the potential magnitude of language brokering on a broad national scale. In light of these statistics, language brokering is, for the most part, a common practice for many children and adolescents living in immigrant households (Bauer, 2015; Weisskirch et al., 2011).

To understand participants' normalized language brokering experiences, I analyzed their narratives in the context of frequency, types and location of ordinary language brokering, degrees of comfortability, and individual responses and/or strategies. These factors add complexity to the expected normalized language brokering experiences as most participants are actively engaged in frequent and high-stakes language brokering encounters since a young age. In this context, more holistic conceptualizations of normalized language brokering experiences are learned. Two themes emerged from the data: speaking for parents and neutral feelings. These themes elucidate research question one that aims to understand participants past and current language brokering experiences.

Speaking for Parents

This theme is based on language brokering frequency, challenging language

brokering encounters, potential language brokering impact, and personalized participants'

accounts. All participants recited frequent and difficult language brokering that could

have potential consequences for the parents and/or the family. In different degrees, they

also shared varying levels of personal statements including more intimate and specific

details. For example, Ana's and Victoria's stories provide rich personalized perspectives

and feelings regarding their normalized language brokering experiences in the context of

these factors.

> **"I am my mom's voice to the outside world".** In the context of the significance

of her language brokering for her mother, Ana articulated this statement after completing

the second direct observation that was required for this study. As the oldest daughter in

her family, Ana has carried the responsibility of language brokering for her family,

primarily her mother, for seven years. Reporting that she regularly brokers once a week

for her mom about a multitude of issues, Ana further commented "I feel more

comfortable translating for my mom's housecleaning business than at school, the doctor's

office, or at the hospital" (Interview, 2018). Over the years and as her mother's business

grew, Ana language brokered more frequently between her mother and her clients about

cleaning duties, schedule, hourly rate, and overall quality of service. During the direct

observation, Ana not only brokered the context and content of the conversation but also

suggested to her mom different ways to effectively convey her responses and/or

questions. In her own words, Ana sums up her cumulative business translation

experiences as follows:

> Translating text communication between my mom and her clients feels automatic
> now. I'm so used to it. My mom responds with short phrases. Now, I am more
> comfortable saying, yes, you can also add these words to make a complete
> sentence or to sound more professional. She usually follows my advice but also

adds more stuff about her services that I don't know about. I don't want mom to sound like a sloppy business owner. I have to convey my mom as a good business owner.

This quote illustrates a number of relevant points. First, language brokering is intrinsically interconnected among the broker, the family, the third-party, the issue and significant life conditions that affect the family holistically. In this case, Ana's language brokering impacts conditions may have ramifications for the parents' income and/or the business. Ana's language brokering support and suggestions and her mother's additional attention to detail bodes well for the company's client relationship development initiatives. Valdes and colleagues (2003) suggest that brokers and parents work together as a team to complete translation and to present the parents in the most favorable light. Second, Ana's statement to portray her mother as a "good business owner" reifies her understanding of the inherent connection between her brokering and her mom's business. It also signals a positive emotional response to frequent and high-stakes language brokering. My summary notes from the direct observation further indicate a positive reception and attitude to the demands and difficulties of brokering high-stakes encounters (Interview, 2018). Finally, besides making a contribution to the family, Ana's brokering also supported her mother's business and thus to a viable and growing source of the family's earnings.

"I am accustomed to translating for my parents: I feel that I am speaking for them". Victoria's poignant quote captures her feelings about brokering. Her words of "speaking for them" also hints at an advocacy role. Scholars identify advocacy as language brokering role (Cline et al., 2014; Valenzuela, 1999). In addition to frequent brokering in the usual settings of education, health, and government, Victoria regularly

brokers for her parents who work as self-employed mushroom foragers who make their living by collecting and selling the fungi to grocery stores, mostly, but also to individual buyers who buy excess produce stores are unable to purchase. Regarding this essential brokering necessity, Victoria related, "my parents tell me type of mushroom we're selling, quantity, and price, and I post ads with all the details and pictures on Facebook, OfferUp, and Craigslist. I reply to customers, too." (Interview, 2018). During peak mushroom season, Victoria estimated that she brokers one or twice a week about mushroom sales to either stores or individual buyers and that's in addition to other regular household/family translation. In these translations, Victoria stated "I try to get them to buy more" (Interview, 2018). In this context, Victoria takes on the role of an advocate for her family. Orellana (2009) theorizes that language brokering is not only a fundamental linguistic and cultural mediation practice but also actual work that contributes to the family's wellbeing. In this light, Victoria's language brokering work not only supports her family's linguistic and cultural communication needs but also tends to their economic livelihood.

Participants assumed these difficult translations by speaking up for their parents and by embracing these roles with positive feelings and a commitment to their parents and the family. Research suggest that brokering is a normal part of immigrants' family life (Corona et al., 2012; De Ment et al., 2005), that parents expect children to support the family with their English skills (Villanueva & Buriel, 2010), and that Latino cultural and familial values contributes to the expectation of language brokering. This study's rich, complex, and nuanced participants' perspectives are in agreement with these findings.

Neutral Feelings

Normalized language brokering experience also influenced the neutrality of feelings of two participants, Jenny and Homero. I begin with Jenny' story.

"I don't get a feeling when I need to translate". As the first-born child and since age 12, Jenny has language brokered an average of six to eight times a month for both of her parents. The family has lived in Oregon for the last five years, which is how long she has been translating. Jenny indicated she did not translate as much in Oakland, CA, where there were more bilingual resources, including family and friends who took on most of the brokering for her parents. Regarding language brokering frequency, she recounted the following:

> Honestly, it's just something normal that I do, all the time, at the store, doctor's office, in school, and at home with utility bills, school letters and other documents. It's like another chore that I do at home. So, I don't really get a feeling when I need to translate something. I'm just like, okay, I'll do it. I know it's normal for a lot of people in my situation too.

Amidst frequent and complex language brokering experiences, including unexpectedly translating in the emergency room after a car accident for a somewhat minor rear-end collision, Jenny's feelings towards language brokering have neutralized. At least sometimes and in some settings, as is the case in this particular quote. In this particular quote, her statement mirrors not only a normalized experience but an absence of positive or negative feelings associated with the practice. This suggests that the routinized language brokering experience has become a part of her daily home life. A chore, as she articulated. Corona and colleagues (2012) posit that language brokering is an extension of household chores for many immigrant children and adolescents.

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"Sometimes it doesn't matter to me". Homero, like his two older sisters, is now carrying on the roles and responsibilities of language brokering, mostly for his mom. Similar to Jenny, his family lived in Southern California, where he was born, moved to Oregon four years ago, and since then his cultural and linguistic translation has drastically increased for Homero. Part of the reason for the increase involves his sisters deciding to stay in California and only Homero and his mom and dad making the trek north. Regarding his language brokering feelings, Homero noted, "sometimes, it doesn't matter to me if I have to translate. It feels like the same thing, different place, different situation but kinda the same. So, I just do it" (Interview, 2018). Homero's quote and stories about brokering frequently in education, medical, and household affairs insinuate potential heavy emotional, cognitive, and developmental burdens. This momentary relapse—as he qualified his response by stating, sometimes—reflects the burden that language brokering represents for participants. Much is known in language brokering literature about the burden, obligation, responsibility, and negative outcomes, including potential harmful results, that language brokering may influence. Much more remains to be explored including fluctuations in cognitive and affective responses.

Relying on thick description (Geertz, 1973) in order to partially contextualize germane factors, such as the intricate details that explicated the normalized and neutralized language brokering feelings, thoughts, and experiences of participants, this section began the analysis and discussion of the complex and nuanced realms of language brokering for participants. With these descriptions, I move on to analyze participants' descriptions regarding language brokering changes over time.

Increasingly Complex Language Brokering Situations

As growing individuals who lead multiples roles, such as active high school students, frequent language brokers, committed family members, responsible employees, and positive role models to younger siblings, participants progressively experienced increasingly more intricate language brokering encounters. Additional factors that add further intensity to this escalating language brokering are the cumulative years of translation—at least five years for most participants—and the full spectrum of their identity development including ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and personal dimensions. The literature advances that language brokering occurs within the confines of everyday life as child or adolescent brokers are immersed in their school, family, and community lives and developing their cognitive, psychological, social, and cultural identities (Mier-Chairez et al., 2019; Orellana, 2009). Within these contexts, this section explores the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of participants as they language broker more complicated translations. As these demanding language brokering encounters confused participants given exacting, and often, unknown terms and/or concepts, in English and/or Spanish, they relied on their resourcefulness to complete the elaborate brokering. To elucidate these inventive and practical characteristics, I draw upon elements of sociocultural learning theory to understand how participants resolved these complex translations. Following is a vignette and a compilation of quotes from participants that illustrate these conditions.

Visualizing a Complicated DMV Brokering Episode: Homero's Vignette

As the last sibling still living at home, Homero endures sole language brokering responsibilities for his parents, mostly for his mom. Over the years as his high school

involvement increased, including joining the wrestling team and his community

engagement flourished as a self-described MEChA and Chicana/o activist, so has the

complexity of his language brokering encounters escalated. Prompted to reflect on

changes over his language brokering experience, he offered the following:

> When I was a kid, I translated minor things, like asking location of items at the grocery store or suggestions for products from the clerks, but once I got older, then it became more serious, important stuff, like at school, utility bills, when we bought my ATV from a private seller, and at the DMV a few times. It was very difficult at the DMV because I translate what the clerk says to my parents but before I am done my parents asks questions or the person says more things. It's easy to get lost in the conversation because it seems like they're all talking at the same time. I also don't know all the words or terms. So, it gets more difficult. It makes me nervous because I may not get it right.

Homero's message echoes salient perspectives and emotions that confirm his

understanding of much more elaborate and consequential language brokering. The

multiple examples cited denote complicated brokering in many settings. The multiplicity

of intricate translations are related in a matter of fact tone that suggests a normalized

experience. Sort of unspoken, "I am used to it" or "it's normal to me" acknowledgements

that participants articulated in other contexts. Homero's comments regarding "getting lost

in the conversation" as both parties appear to be "talking at the same time" is a vivid

example of the complexities inherent in the translation process. Malakoof's and Hakuta's

(1991) articulated a four stage translation model as follows:

5. Comprehension of the vocabulary in the original source language text
6. Comprehension of the meaning of the original text
7. Reformulation of the message to the target language
8. Judgement of the adequacy of the target language text

This framework is challenging for any translator even in the most ideal of circumstances

that includes momentary pauses at the end of each speaker's comments. For Homero,

these four steps not only become cluttered in the perceived concurrent conversation but

his ability to construct and check for meaning in the target language is compromised. Though the pace and flow of the communication and interaction were not mentioned, inferences can be made by the getting lost in the conversation phrase. From this vantage point, it could be construed that the pace and flow of the communication, and translation, may exceed abilities to understand the message in the source language and its reconstruction in the target language, at least in the real time language brokering moment. Unknown words, or terms, as Homero stated, confound the overall brokering processes further.

In the moment and amidst these confounding conditions, Homero relies on his extensive language brokering experience and strategies he's learned along the way to resolve the translation encounter. The following quote illustrates Homero's learning and development in various planes including cognitive, emotional, social, and cultural dimensions. It is important to note that Homero brokered at the DMV a few times as he mentioned without specifying an actual count. Further, for his first language brokering direct observation, both Homero and his mother consented to a DMV visit to obtain a vehicle tag permit. Given these circumstances, it is difficult to ascertain if his comments pertain to his experience during the observation, or the previous visits.

> It really depends on the situation and how much I know about it. Let's say my mom tells me ahead of time where she needs me to translate, like at the DMV, for example, then I have time to prepare, look up terms I don't know, and just be ready to translate. I like to visualize. It helps me prepare. Don't get me wrong, sometimes I still mess up, especially with words I don't know the meaning or how to translate them. Then, I use Spanglish too. People seem to understand these terms.

Asked to provide more details about visualization and how often he finds out ahead of time of translation, Homero articulated:

Yes, visualizing is like getting a picture ahead of time. That helps me think about what I need to say and how am I going to say it. It also helps to think of different ways of saying, not just one way. I use translation apps, like Google and Microsoft, to come up with terms that I don't know and ways to use them. I get more ideas this way.

No, it doesn't happen often that I find out ahead of time that I have to translate. Most of the time, as soon as I come home from school, she tells me, and we go.

Sociocultural learning theories provide a theoretical framework to understand and analyze Homero's learned experiences and resourceful approaches to broker difficult translations. Sociocultural learning theories center human learning, or development, in the complex interactions of human activity, or practices, that individuals carry on in their linguistic, cultural, and social environments and that occur within interpersonal relations (Wertsch & Vygotsky, 1981). These activities / practices are carried out across four levels of development. Two planes are applicable to individuals and thus pertinent to this study; they are: *microgenetic*, meaning moment to moment learning, and *ontogenetic*, implying learning over time; the other two *cultural and historical change* and *evolutionary development* are more germane to cultures and societies (Nassir & Hand, 2006). I lean on sociocultural learning theories to understand Homero's, language brokering activities.

Throughout his language brokering experiences, Homero has accumulated skills and expertise to not only learn to read the conditions of his translation but also to be flexible to change the wording or the overall message in order to accomplish overall understanding from all parties. His statement about translating in different ways reflects microgenetic learning as from moment to moment, he may need to deliver the translation in multiple ways given different conditions, especially when words or concepts are unfamiliar to him. This suggests that over time and with the increasing complexity of

language brokering, Homero might have learned to improvise on the spot to insure everyone's understanding. In terms of ontogenetic development, Homero's sophisticated approaches to language brokering including—visualizing and developing a preparatory mindset for translation—demonstrate cognitive development of an activity that has occurred over time, specifically eight years of language brokering practice. The daunting task of language brokering requires visual and mental fortitude and imagination in order to be successfully completed. Homero aims to position himself in such state of mind and presence to successfully carry out his brokering roles. Cultural tools and artifacts, defined as ideational or symbolic objects, are fundamental components of sociocultural learning theories that affect learning and development (Nassir & Hand, 2006). In this context, the translation apps, such as Google and Microsoft, that Homero utilizes, serve as cultural tools that fulfill multiple purposes, including understanding unfamiliar terms, learning useful examples to support brokering, and enhancing biliteracy, English and Spanish, vocabulary development. Homero shows his resourcefulness by employing useful and much needed tools to support and compliment his linguistic and cultural mediation.

To summarize, as the frequent language brokering encounters have progressively become more elaborate, Homero gradually enhanced his language brokering repertoire intentionally with mental, emotional, cultural, social, and interpersonal skills that have enabled him to grow with the translation challenges he has, and will, continue to face.

Emerging as a Self-Directed Learner

As a 16-year-old individual and with four years of recurrent and difficult language brokering, Jenny has brokered in multiple complex settings including medical, housing, and employment for her parents. The oldest in a family of three siblings, Jenny assumed

language brokering responsibilities when the family moved to Oregon. To emphasize changes in language brokering, Jenny related the following:

> When I was a kid in middle school, I mostly translated small stuff, like directions at gas stations, or returning items at stores. Now, I translate everything for them, at parent-teacher conferences, my dad's job interviews, and even with the property manager about plumbing issues in the apartment. It's much more difficult. There are words that I don't know and complicated terms. For example, when my youngest brother got strep throat and the hospital didn't have translators, I had to do it myself. I don't know how to say strep throat in Spanish, so I asked the doctor for more info, and she said it's a contagious bacterial throat infection. Entonces, la traduci asi, es una infeccion contagiosa de bacterias en la garganta (Then, I translated it like that…). My mom understood but I was worried I got it wrong. When we got home, I looked up strep throat in Spanish websites and found more info that mom and I discussed. It all worked out.

Over four years of both ordinary and challenging language brokering experience, Jenny has accumulated cognitive, interpersonal, and cultural skills and expertise that have supported her translation development. Jenny's early language brokering practice established initial patterns to translate transactional exchanges of information, i.e., directions or customer service support. These initial encounters enabled Jenny to learn and practice cultural and social interaction with, and on behalf of, her parents and third-party members. Learning to interact and develop socially is a major theme of sociocultural learning theories and as Jenny translated forms, she was developing cultural and social interactional skills. These early translation forms also served as scaffolding experiences for the more complex language brokering that Jenny is experiencing presently. Scaffolding functions as a salient element of sociocultural learning theories in supporting learners, or novices, in reaching their proximal zones of development. This area refers to learning and growth opportunities that novice can accomplish with guidance from an expert or from previous experiences (Nassir & Hand, 2006; Wertsch & Vygotsky, 1981). For Jenny, previous basic language brokering forms paved the way to

translate more complex and nuanced language brokering types that included sophisticated terms, definitions, and/or concepts in educational, employment, and housing settings. The attending doctor's additional strep throat definition also facilitated Jenny reaching an achievable goal with this support. From ontogenetic development perspectives, Jenny enhanced cognitive and behavioral development in the following actions: as she differentiated between her early transactional translation forms and her nuanced language brokering now; as she sought additional context to support her unfamiliarity with a very uncommon and challenging term in Spanish, faringitis estreptococica; as she adapted the doctor's additional definition and as she pursued additional information in Spanish to corroborate the illness for her mother and for herself. In the process and subconsciously, or perhaps consciously, Jenny is emerging as a self-directed learner.

This section focused on the learning and development of frequent language brokers who over the years honed their practice from ordinary translation to more intricate and complex brokering that taxed their emotional, cognitive, cultural, and social development. To resolve difficult language brokering encounters, participants leaned heavily on their extensive brokering experience, their resourceful approaches, and steadfast commitment to contribute to the linguistic and cultural communication and interaction needs of their parents. In the process, we learned rich, thick, and nuanced details regarding the contexts, content, circumstances, and unique accounts that elucidate the intricate complexities regarding growth and development of participants, complex language brokering, and sociocultural learning and development. These intricate factors suggest quality of previous language brokering experiences, abilities to discern and apply previous strategies learned to more complex translation situations, and continuous

commitment to supporting parents and family via language brokering enables participants to language broker increasingly more complex encounters.

Complicated Feelings About Language Brokering

Our feelings are our most genuine paths to knowledge, Audre Lorde.

To continue the quest to understand the feelings, thoughts, and experiences of participants in the next section, I delve into participants' perceptions regarding whether language brokering is a valuable or an upsetting practice. These insights deepen understanding of the complicated perceptions participants narrated regarding the benefits and concerns of the practice as well as heighten awareness of the wide range of affective responses that participants described feeling in their language brokering experiences. Positive feelings, such as confidence, pride, support, resourcefulness, and competence, as well as negative emotions, including uncomfortableness, unfamiliarity, nervousness, frustration, and stress were all common sentiments widely expressed by participants. An affective coding frequency table prepared for this study yielded these feelings as the top five positive and negative emotions. The aggregate count for these top five positive feelings accounted for 53 %, or 128 out of a total count of 243 of all positive codes, and the cumulative negative feelings count represented 81 %, or 157 out of total count of 193 of all negative codes. The literature documents these positive and negative sentiments as common types of emotions regarding language brokering (Anguiano, 2018; Corona et al., 2012; Lopez et al., 2019; Mier-Chairez et al, 2019; Morales & Hanson, 2005). It is within the realms of these sentiments, both positive and negative, that participants expressed their understanding, perceptions, and feelings regarding benefits and concerns of their language brokering experiences.

Mixed Affective Responses

As expected, complex language brokering experiences evoked negative feelings and concerns on the part of preadolescents middle school students and emerging young individuals in high school, especially in the context of unfamiliarity of words, in English and in Spanish, and dense terms and concepts, such as in insurance policies, health/medical contexts, and legal/governmental documents. Positive feelings and experiences were also articulated by participants despite the incredibly challenging and complex language brokering encounters. In these contexts, and for these participants, language brokering was both a stressful practice and simultaneously a beneficial result. Following are participant voices that elucidate these complicated feelings and perceptions. The stories elucidate poignant emotions, focus on unfamiliarity of terms and concepts as the stressful concerning factors, and inform positive individual growth and development patterns. The narratives in this section discuss research question two that aims to understand participants past and current feelings regarding language brokering.

Alejandro relates the challenges of brokering technical terms for a tablet that his father requires for his new job as a truck driver and the concerning aspects of language brokering as a routinized practice.

> Translation has been hard. The most difficult translation was when my father needed to research and purchase a tablet for his job. It was complicated because I had to translate specific terms for different tablets, like Samsung has a stylus pen that can be used to write on the device but it's not a normal pen and the others don't have this. There's also the types of memory for the tablet, the hard-drive and the processing type. It's already confusing in English and to have to translate it. On top of it all, we don't have a lot of money, so he's got get the right tablet and it's sort of on me. So, I did what I've done before, look up terms, find examples, and use them to translate.

Multiple and concurrent complex demands, including understanding challenging computer equipment; the father's and Alejandro's, experience and comfort levels with computer literacy; complex language brokering of technical equipment, terms, and features; affective responses, both the father's and the son's; and the families' economic conditions, exacerbate the overall language brokering process. Ultimately, Alejandro feels a heavy and unwarranted burden. Mier-Chairez and colleagues (2019) posit that negative feelings can develop when brokering encounters become progressively complicated. In this context, Alejandro's perception and sentiments towards the difficulties of brokering complicated computer terms and equipment resonate with this complexity. Understanding that the tablet was critical to the new job, and that in turn was essential to the family's economic wellbeing, Alejandro relied on previous experiences, and resourceful strategies to complete the translation. In different degrees and circumstances, all participants exhibit a pattern of applying previous experiences, relying on translation apps or the internet to find meaning, and seeking additional context to complete increasingly complex language brokering encounters.

From the vantage point that language brokering has also been a beneficial practice, Alejandro noted:

> Translation has been good, also. I am more knowledgeable about all sorts of stuff. Having helped my father complete online job applications prepares me to apply for my own future jobs. I love working and playing with computers and now I know more about them, and I can explain them too, well a little bit.

Complex language brokering that may influence positive or negative feelings, or in Alejandro's case both, can enable growth and development of practical knowledge, such as computer literacy, and online job applications. The reliance on previous successful brokering experiences may ameliorate the problematic emotional responses that are

triggered by the unfamiliarity of terms, in English or Spanish, and in this case the language of computers. Familial support, and needs, can further support brokers to accomplish the translation despite the occurrence of negative feelings in the context of complex translation.

In the following two quotes, we learn about Ana's complicated language brokering perspectives as a stressful and beneficial practice. These stories pinpoint potential harmful consequences, empathy for her parents, and the development of life skills. These narratives inform research question three that seeks to language brokering benefits or concerns.

> From the perspective of a tense language brokering routine, Ana recounted:
>
> I feel it is stressful because I have to tell them the correct information so that it is not misinterpreted. That's really hard because sometimes I don't know the words in English or Spanish, especially medical terms or the side effects of prescriptions. How do I even know what those mean? I am extra careful with those and have to look up words online or in apps. It's also hard translating in professional settings, like at the doctor's office. I feel like I am still a kid and it's intimidating.

As Ana labored through intimidating brokering scenarios relying on past experiences and utilizing resources to support the translation, the potential risk, or fear, that translation could be incomplete or inaccurate given unfamiliar terms escalated stress levels further. This is consistent with the literature that reports stressful medical brokering (Katz, 2014) and concerns with communicating potentially harmful diagnosis for family members (Rainey et al., 2014). Psychologically and cognitively, Ana recognized the gravity, and potential dire effects, of her language brokering. In the same vein, proactive action, meaning being extra careful and looking up information, was taken to resolve the complicated encounter. In this context, the pattern of relying on past successes and

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seeking additional context resonates with the literature that informs that despite complex translation brokers see themselves as "experienced mediators, helping to bridge misunderstandings between family members and the public" (Green et al., 2005, p. 2108). An evolving theme for Ana, Alejandro, in the previous vignette, as well as the rest of the participants since in different degrees and contexts they also described similar responses, is that previous experiences, intentional procurement of resources, and a commitment to support the family can overcome demanding language brokering roles.

Amidst a stressful language brokering pattern, Ana also emphasizes positive language brokering aspects in the following remarks:

> Translating helps me understand my parents and the challenges that we experience in school, jobs, money, the house, health, and everything better. I am glad to help them this way and I learn how things work in the real world. I feel like I am growing up doing important things for my parents.

Despite challenging developmental and cognitive brokering roles that placed heavy demands and elicited stress, Ana had to assume these roles brokering responsibilities, and in the process discovered motivating results and purposes that sustained her throughout these troubling tasks. For Ana, language brokering exposed her to complex translation in difficult adult-type circumstances and introduced her to valuable and practical roles and responsibilities. This notion suggests that complex language brokering experiences that influence both negative and positive feelings may necessitate encouraging, constructive, or purposeful factors to ameliorate stressful contexts. In their frequent and complex language brokering experiences, Ana and Alejandro reported meaningful outcomes. In similar fashions, the rest of the participants expressed related mixed feelings, such as Jorge's nervousness and confidence, Homero's embarrassment and parental empathy, Jenny's anxiety and helpfulness, and Victoria's frustration and inspiration. De Ment and

colleagues (2005) theorize that prevalent and complex language brokering may foster maturity, interdependence, and a sense of compassion and responsibility towards the family.

In this section, we learned the complicated feelings, thoughts, and experiences of frequent language brokers who mediate their parents' communicative interests and needs in a wide variety of difficult settings. Along the way, the individual, and collective, stories of participants are illustrated with thick, nuanced, and complex details and aspects that begin to contextualize complexities of factors operating simultaneously. These variables include but are not limited to familiarity, or unfamiliarity, of the brokering topic; brokers mixed and complex feelings and perspectives regarding brokering in general, the particular topic, and their emotional status in the brokering moment; previous experiences and lessons learned to resolve unfamiliarity and complexity of topic; and general brokering resolutions. Given these contexts, these cumulative and comprehensive affective responses suggest increasing levels of individualized funds of knowledge (Gonzales et al., 2005), or the skills and awareness, that brokers accumulate to cope with complex language brokering. To what extent, these gradually increasing levels of understanding are guided by feelings remains a topic of further exploration. In this regard, this section provides an initial and cursory glimpse of mixed affective responses.

La Familia y La Traduccion: Family and Language Brokering

Informed by the perspective of late adolescents, aged in between 16 and 18 years old, and their descriptions of familial relationships, this section reports themes associated with language brokering and familial bonds between individual participants and their respective family. Similar to their wide range of feelings and mixed affective responses to

complex language brokering scenarios, participants reported intricate familial dynamics

and relationships and a strong commitment to the family. To provide preliminary

contexts, it is worth noting that four out of the six participants completed all data

collections activities in their homes. These parents graciously welcomed me to their

homes, hosted me as a guest, and kindly invited me to share supper with them. I did. Two

participants and their families fulfilled all study requirements in local public libraries.

Throughout the overall project information and consent process, all parents proactively

asked important questions regarding the project, activities, duration, privacy and

confidentiality matters, and overall purpose. Finally, during direct observations parents

further inquired specifically about my personal interest in language brokering and related

matters and/or provided general comments about the latest translation with their son or

daughter broker.

Family Dynamics and Relationships

In the course of describing the frequency, complexity, and nuances of language

brokering scenarios, participants directly, and/or, indirectly, related complicated

circumstances that illustrate negative and positive familial dynamics and relationships.

Following, we will learn the stories and examples that denote adverse familial dynamics

between broker and parent(s). Based on the unfamiliarity of terms and concepts in

English and Spanish, the urgency and immediacy of the situation, and the resulting

parental affective responses, a negative parental response theme emerged. The ensuing

quote by Jenny exemplifies this conflictive familial dynamic.

> It was frustrating to translate over the phone for my parents and the car insurance
> representative. The terms were hard to explain. Google Translate didn't help
> because the Spanish word were so different, like formal ones. Even my parents
> had never heard of them. The agent talked fast, and I asked her to slow down. My

dad would ask questions about the policy. It was so fast. My dad finally said ask her to send us a letter with all the info. After we got off the phone, he got mad at me and said what are they teaching you in school. They don't teach that stuff in school.

Jenny had expected to reach bilingual support staff as was advertised on the website. However, after dialing in for bilingual support, the English-speaking associated responded and the conversation followed. Regrettably, Jenny and her parents experienced similar lack of expected bilingual support in school settings and in hospitals. The failure to provide anticipated bilingual assistance at the corporate/institutional level runs counter to the stated diversity mission statements of organization charters and impacts their clientele in adverse ways. Orellana (2009) argues that immigrant youth perform invaluable work and service for their parents and family but also for the staff and the organizations that are not serving this need. In this light, the failure to provide bilingual assistance signals further lack of commitment to serve multilingual needs of the local families and communities. In new immigrant receiving states, like Oregon, the continued lack of bilingual infrastructure and support, implies that the need for increasingly complex language brokering may increase. Child and adolescent brokers are caught and exposed in the middle. Unfamiliarity of terms has amply been recognized as major source of frustration for brokers in this study and in the literature (Corona et al. 2012; Mier-Chairez et al., 2019). In this instance, even previously reliable, and successful, strategies did not work for Jenny and in the hurried pace of a telephone call, the tension escalated for everyone, and more so her father. Martinez and colleagues (2009) report higher levels of stress and lower feelings of parental efficacy among Latina/o youth who broker frequently and come from households where both parents are monolingual Spanish-speaking parents than less frequent brokers with only one monolingual Spanish-speaking

parent. In this case, Jenny fits the earlier category, is the first-born sibling, and thus fronts the sole language brokering roles and responsibilities for her parents and the entire household. Jenny's father's emotional response towards her, specifically, and also somewhat intended at the brokering outcome, appears congruent with feelings of misdirected frustration. In one of two studies directly exploring the relationships between language brokering and parental perceptions and outcomes, Corona and colleagues (2012) report that parental negative feelings are connected to their own English fluency levels and aspiration to address their own communication needs. This finding resonates with the potential father's projection of his own feelings and desires. Certainly, this major literature limitation requires much more exploration and empirical research (Corona et al., 2012; Mier et al., 2019; Morales et al., 2012).

Homero relates a similar negative familial relationship experience.

Translating for my mom is different. It's like she wants it translated a certain way and it doesn't work that way with me. My older sister translated for her, and it worked for them. I guess. Not with me. It's frustrating for me and for her, too.

The difference that Homero describes may imply misplaced expectations regarding language brokering. Perhaps, the daughter-mother language brokering team related, interacted, and communicated in different planes and contexts than the son-mother unit and thus different expectations and outcomes arose. Sibling rivalry may play a factor as Homero, the last remaining broker at home, assumes the roles and responsibilities of language brokering. Irrespective of these plausible issues, Homero is further confounded with an additional mantra of confusion and frustration regarding perceived, or real, language brokering differences. These seeming dissimilarities may impact Homero feelings, perceptions, and experience as he continues to support his mother and family.

Even though understanding the perspectives of parents regarding language brokering is not the focus of this study, this project would benefit from these insights as it would from a more extended body of knowledge regarding parental views. Presently, there is an urgent and outstanding need to understand more about these crucial issues and factors that are intrinsically interwoven in the contexts of the feelings, perceptions, and experiences of language brokers.

Everything I do is for my family: Participants' Familismo Experiences

Victoria's words and sentiments illuminate the major theme of familial commitment, empathy, wellbeing, and supportive family unit that participants contribute to via their language brokering. Despite increasing levels of language brokering frequency and complexity that intensified with unfamiliarity of difficult words, terms, and concepts in both languages and amidst mixed feelings and perspectives, participants sustained and supported their parents and families with their linguistic and cultural mediation and expertise. Victoria's feelings exceptionally intimate the heart of the matter for language brokers, la familia. Following are quotes from every participant that reference major components of this familial commitment:

Alejandro expresses his feelings and notes areas of growth.

I feel good about helping my parents by translating for them. My parents are doing greater things for me. It's the least I can do. I also learn new ways of expressing myself in English and in Spanish.

Ana talks about parental sacrifices:

It has been hard for us, as a family. My parents have made so many sacrifices for all of us. They have told me hard stories about what it was like to move here from Mexico. They faced a lot of issues and problems, so that our family could have a better life. I am very grateful. So, even though it's hard, I gladly translate for them.

Homero empathizes with Latina/o parents and questions limited bilingual assistance.

Well, I now realize how important translation is for my parents and I'll admit, I complained a lot, but it has made me realize on a deeper level how important it is. I understand the struggles Latino parents face because there's not enough translation

Jenny describes brokering as a necessary familial and household task:

I am so used to it by now that it feels normal. I translate everywhere, in school, in the doctor's office, at the hospital, and the bills at home. Sometimes, it feels like too much, but I need to do it. My parents need it, so I do it.

Jorge sympathizes with monolingual Spanish-speakers, parents.

I feel like it allows me to walk in their shoes, to feel what it means when you don't know the language. I think about what if it was me in another country, what would I do. How they feels is what I would feel. I would want someone to help me.

Victoria dedicates educational success to her parents and advocates for them:

Well, everything I do is for my parents and to contribute to the family. I have been translating for them since it feels like when I was a baby. My success in education is also for them. I will be the first in the family to graduate high school and go to college. Everything is for them, for us, for everything they've done for me, and continue to do. For me to translate, I feel as if it were normal. I feel that I am speaking for them.

Though emphasizing different reasons for brokering, elucidating different feelings and/or perceptions, and/or distinguishing sociocultural issues, these narratives intrinsically and foundationally center language brokering as the major theme and contribution to the parents and la familia. This strong commitment to la familia is documented in the literature with references regarding family orientation and values, strong emotional bonds among family members, and interdependence (Gonzales & Kim, 1997; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001; Valdes et al., 2003). Participants expressed their strong family orientation in different ways. Alejandro's and Jenny's

narrations resemble interdependence by the recognition of the mutual reciprocity with their parents who provide and raise them. In turn, their language brokering contributes to family needs. Ana, Homero, and Jorge empathize with their parents and their struggles and sacrifices and also with similar predicaments of other Latina/o parents. Finally, Victoria's words and sentiments resonate with familismo, a familial orientation that accentuates the immediate and extended family (Bacallao & Smokowski, 2007), as she dedicates her educational success to them, as she brokers for them, and as she "speaks for them". This "speaking for them" concept can be equated with the advocate role that Valenzuela (1999) lists as one of three functions that language brokers provide for their families in the context of translation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we learned holistically relevant and salient factors that shape the feelings, thoughts, and experiences of language brokers. Beginning with important language brokering characteristics that marked an early language brokering initiation age and high translation frequency, we understood their complexities of feelings, thoughts, and experiences as they often brokered scenarios that were beyond their capabilities. As language brokering intensified both in prevalence and in complexity, participants expressed a normalized experience that assumed adult roles and responsibilities as mundane everyday tasks to be translated by late adolescents. For some participants, this routinization also influenced neutralized feelings, seemingly indifferent emotions, as ways to cope with continually increasing language brokering complexities. Participants also utilized previous experiences, translations apps, and online resources to translate complicated words and terms that were beyond their bilingual vocabularies as ways to

moderate the complex translation. In their socially and culturally situated learning processes that were prompted as a result of demanding translation, participants asked for further contexts and examples as means to break down the complex translation into manageable pieces. In this context, participants became self-directed learners. We also became aware that the language brokering cumulative experiences induced mixed and complex feelings regarding the overall practice. Language brokering continued to be nerve-wrecking, frustrating, and full of anxiety while participants gained confidence, became more empathetic toward their parents and were inspired by their translation roles and responsibilities. Finally, In the context of frequent, complex, and long standing language brokering histories, participants expressed complicated affective responses towards family dynamics and relationships. In the process, participants expressed strong negative aspects towards family relationships and dynamics while fully embracing la familia y la traduccion.

CHAPTER V—HIGH-STAKES LANGUAGE BROKERING AND ACCULTURATION

As discussed in Chapter IV, participants experienced complex and nuanced feelings and thoughts as they language brokered for their parents and families about a wide range of challenging topics and issues. Chapter V further adds complexities to their high-stakes language brokering and acculturation stories. Accordingly, this chapter is divided into these two main sections. First, I begin with high-stakes language brokering and I conclude with acculturation.

High-Stakes Language Brokering

Currently, language brokering literature has analyzed extensively some topics while other issues remain understudied. The literature provides ample empirical research about complex language brokering issues, such as, education (Buriel et al, 1998, Morales & Hanson, 2005; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002; Villanueva & Buriel, 2010), family dynamics and relationships (Corona et al, 2012; Martinez et al., 2009; Orellana 2009), individual psychological outcomes (Acoach & Webb, 2004; Niehaus & Kumpiene, 2014; Morales et al., 2012), and acculturation (Buriel et al., 2006; Buriel et al., 1998; Chao, 2006; Weisskirch 2006). However, gaps remain in the exploration of themes concerning high-stakes language brokering. While the extant literature has focused on high-stakes medical and health language brokering (Anguiano, 2018; Katz, 2014; Martinez et al., 2017; Shen et al., 2020), much more research is needed in the area of high-stakes language brokering in legal/governmental issues, and labor/employment topics.

Anguiano (2018) defines high-stakes language brokering contexts as the most challenging translations because of the required developed vocabulary in both languages

necessary to communicate effectively and the added pressure of the wellbeing of a family member dependent on the success of the language brokering situation. Language brokering literature further informs about significant relevant factors including: the extensive prevalence of youth language brokering in complex medical, housing, employment, and legal settings (Anguiano, 2018; Lopez et al., 2019; Orellana, 2009); that child language brokering in medical settings is not that uncommon (Lee et al, 2006); and that child medical interpreting is associated with compromised quality health/medical care (Flores, 2005; Flores et al., 2003).

The inquiry to understand participants' high-stakes language brokering experiences was guided by the following research question:

- What language brokering activities do participants describe as demanding? During interviews, participants responded to a prompt asking to describe stand-out language brokering events. All participants articulated language brokering, such as, translating at a doctor's office, interpreting communication with a pharmacist, and translating doctors' letters regarding parents' medical treatment as most difficult brokering encounters. However, for three participants, Victoria, Jenny, and Ana, their high-stakes medical language brokering experiences were more traumatic. Their vivid stories illustrate the complexities of high-stakes medical language brokering. These narratives address research question four that aims to understand participants' demanding language brokering experiences. I begin with Victoria's story, continue with Jenny's experience, and conclude with Ana's vignette.

***Coping with Difficult Language Brokering in the Emergency Room: A Daughter's
Story***

Victoria intensely recalls the traumatic experience of brokering during an

emergency room treatment following her father's car accident.

> I remember the doctor had to repeat it twice, because the first time I was too out
> of it. I guess. So, I had to ask her, and she explained that this bone got a little bit
> of a ligament tear, a partial tearing. I didn't catch it the first time and my dad was
> asking me, what did she say? The doctor was about to leave and I'm, like, wait,
> wait, what did you say? It seemed like she got a little frustrated with me, with
> both of us. I guess. She repeated it and I was able to translate for my dad but the
> second time, like the nerves left me and I was more concerned for my dad and
> that he needed to know. *Y si, a veces se me quitan los nervios y no me siento tan
> presionada*. (And, yes, sometimes, I am not nervous, and I don't feel as
> pressured).

At the time of the emergency room treatment, Victoria was 16 years old. Despite her

extensive language brokering experience in a wide array of settings including previous

medical/health interactions, Victoria was challenged by the gravity of her father's

medical concerns and treatment. This highly sensitive experience highlights multiple

factors to consider. Research informs us that language difficulties can diminish direct

interaction and communication between patients and medical/health providers. Corona

and colleagues (2012) assert that the level of children's understanding of the material

being translated, especially in health-related settings, affects the positive, or negative,

language brokering encounter. Perhaps, in the moment, Victoria did not fully understand

or know how to language broker the ligament's partial tearing. Or Victoria's momentary

relapse—in her own words, *I was too out of it*—might be emblematic of the complicated

process that the literature documents occurs as children / adolescent language broker in

high-stakes medical contexts. Levine and colleagues (2004) document three tasks that

brokers undertake simultaneously when translating for family members in medical

settings: one, translating the context of what the other (e.g., the doctor, or their parent) says; two, serving as the bearer of bad or difficult news; and three, coping with one's own overall reactions. It might very well be that the shock of language brokering for her father in the emergency room after his car accident briefly confused Victoria and she needed to reassert herself into the translation flow, as she stated, "*wait, wait, what did you say?*" Moreover, the language brokering literature presents mixed results in terms of the stress associated with high-stakes medical language brokering. In a qualitative study of nine Latina adolescent language brokers, Villanueva and Buriel (2010) reported only one of the participants reported medical brokering as most stressful; the other eight participants related that parent-teacher conferences were most stressful. The authors posited that the usual anxiety surrounding parent-teacher conferences is increased when the student must translate the teacher's words to their parents in their presence. However, two Latina adolescent participants in a qualitative study conveyed that medical language brokering was more challenging and stressful than parent-teachers conferences (Corona et al., 2012). And yet, the practice of high-stakes medical language brokering is well documented in the literature as a normal and ordinary, albeit complicated, process of the wide range of language brokering domains including education, housing, medical/health, cultural/entertainment, employment, and financial settings (Morales et al., 2012; Morales & Hanson, 2005; & Orellana, 2009).

For Victoria, medical language brokering, in addition to being a normal and ordinary activity, also represented a family contribution. In her own words, she narrated,

> Well, to me everything I do is for my parents and to contribute to the family. To me, translating for them is normal, even though it depends where I translate. For example, at restaurants, at home, at school, I am more comfortable. I feel more discomfort translating at hospitals, with doctors, at banks, and with the landlord. I

feel I am shy, I don't know, or maybe it's because I am translating something big and important. I feel more pressure to choose the most correct words. Either way, when I translate, I feel that I am speaking for them.

Anguiano (2018) suggests that due to strong familial cultural value and orientation, familismo might be a protective factor in high-stakes medical language brokering contexts. The topic of familismo was widely discussed in the previous Chapter IV as a significant theme in the language brokering experiences of participants.

Finally, in her own words, Victoria sums up two relevant elements regarding her high-stakes medical language brokering experience:

> *Yo quiero ser cirujana. Pienso que mi carrera ha sido influenciada por lo que he vivido con mis padres en las oficinas de doctores o dentistas.* (I want to be a surgeon. I think my career goal has been influenced by what I have lived with my parents in the offices of doctors and dentists).

Jenny, a Ninth Grader High School Student, Language Brokers in the Emergency Room

> Two years ago, my freshman year in high school, we got into a car accident. At first, we went into the hospital where they have video equipment on wheels and there's someone translating, but it wasn't working. They couldn't really hear; we couldn't really hear, and I ended up translating everything. It was my mom, my siblings, and I in the car when we got hit from behind. The doctor asked where it hurt, how painful it was and if we had been injured. I translated it for my mom what the doctor was asking, and she would tell me her answers. I would explain it back to the doctor. Then the doctor said it was, what's it's called, whiplash. I didn't know how to say whiplash in Spanish and so I asked the doctor to explain it more. The doctor said our necks hurt because of the impact from behind and I translated just like that.

According to Jenny, this was not the first time she ended up language brokering for her family even though the hospital was supposed to provide video translation service. Due to ineffective video translation service, Jenny was thrust into fulfilling language brokering roles for her family and for hospital personnel, too. Orellana (2009) advances that as children language broker for their parents, they also provide translation services to

medical personnel—receptionists, nurses, and doctors—that in some states the institution is legally required to provide. In this high-stakes medical encounter, Jenny experienced the stressful incidence of not knowing how to explain in Spanish the whiplash neck injury. Relying on previous experience, a common adaptive strategy exhibited by participants that was highlighted in Chapter IV, Jenny sought additional information that was more suitable to her vocabulary and with a more basic explanation, she was able to effectively language broker for her mother. Katz (2014) found that brokers not only relied on their bilingual vocabularies but also applied personal, cultural, and familial knowledge to support the linguistic and cultural mediation between parents and medical providers.

In different contexts, Victoria and Jenny both endured stress and anxiety that was induced by the high-stakes medical language brokering and the inherent need for accurate and complete translation of the medical encounter. Both participants also expressed that frequent language brokering is a normal and ordinary activity in their experiences and that it contributes to the overall welfare of the family. Dorner and colleagues (2007) suggest that language brokering activities that are perceived as normal are often not associated with negative psychological outcomes, of course, beyond the stress experienced as a result of the linguistic and cultural mediation. Thus, for Victoria and Jenny their ordinary conceptualization of language brokering may prevent further negative psychological outcomes. Supportive family environments may also reduce negative psychological outcomes (Oznobishin & Kurman, 2009). Based on my observations both Victoria's and Jenny's respective families appeared to be part of supportive family environments. Victoria fondly described humorous language brokering episodes with her parents involving commonly mispronounced words by emerging

English learners, such as tree vs three or berry vs very. They all laughed about it. All data collection activities for Jenny took place in a meeting room at the local public library. Jenny mentioned that it was close to their home and that they often came together as a family to do homework, get online, and check out library resources. During the two interviews and two language brokering observations with Jenny (and her mom for the observations) I briefly met and interacted with the family, except the father who was working at one of his two jobs. Based on the relevant circumstances surrounding the two respective high-stakes medical language brokering encounters, their frequent and normalized language brokering experiences, their strong familismo, and their supportive family environments, it appears that although stressful their high-stakes medical language brokering encounter was not an overly negative experience for Victoria and Jenny. On the contrary, to them it was a necessary, normal, and important family contribution, one that signified their feelings for their family. In Victoria's words, "everything I do is for my parents and to contribute to the family" (Interview, 2018).

I was Really the Middleperson Translating Back and Forth: Ana's Story

Following is Ana's description about a medically-related language brokering event that stood out for her.

> I think there was a series of translations when my mom was trying to find insurance that would cover her cancer medical treatments. We had to go to different insurance companies. I remember there was one that we went to a while back. I was like 12 at that time and my mom was getting really frustrated because they wouldn't help us. They just used all these terms. I didn't know how to translate them. I tried to stay as calm as I could. I told them to give me time to explain one thing at a time. Then mom asked more questions, and she became upset. It was a kind of, I don't want to say completely negative, but it was very frustrating. I had to step in. I was really the middleperson, translating back and forth.

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Amidst very traumatic times as her mother was diagnosed with cancer, twelve-year old Ana language brokered very complicated conversations about health insurance coverage. Ana's experience mirrors Latina/o middle school participants in a qualitative study who reported feeling confused and stressed due to difficult terms to translate on health insurance forms (Katz, 2014). Some participants further declared these forms as "challenging adult stuff" (p. 208). Foner and Dreby (2011) critiqued the heavy burden children carry as they support parents and the family in their adaptation to institutional bureaucracies. Relatedly, language brokering literature questions the emotional burden such translation may take on children (Corona et al., 2012). Similar to Victoria and Jenny, who understood the gravity of language brokering in the emergency room, Ana adapted to circumstances, including her mother's frustration, the challenges of terms she didn't know, and the complicated concepts and vocabulary of the insurance agent. She requested more time to explain things one at a time, and became the "middleperson", the broker negotiating meaning back and forth. When further prompted to detail how she handled this particular language brokering experience, Ana expressed that she remained calm, focused on understanding and explaining one thing at a time, and used her previous experiences to complete as best as she could the translation. Another major concern of the literature is children taking responsibility for parental decisions and/or authority (Corona et al., 2012). In this instance, while Ana fully understood the importance of securing health insurance coverage and assisted in the translation, she did not bear the responsibility for her mother's decision. This conclusion parallels Martinez and colleagues' (2017) main finding that while language brokers assist families with translating health-related forms that they are not the main decision-makers.

Legal/governmental affairs are another area of high-stakes language brokering. Following is Jorge's vignette related to his father's citizenship test and interview.

This Really Depends on Me: Jorge's Language Brokering his Father's Citizenship Interview

To support his father, Jorge accompanied him to his citizenship test and interview at the regional Citizenship and Immigration Services office in Portland, OR. Jorge reported that his father thought that if an interpreter was necessary that the office would provide one. Soon after his father went into the testing and interview office, he came back and told Jorge that he needed to translate. In his own words, Jorge chronicles his unexpected language brokering experience.

> They asked me to translate citizenship questions that had to with history and stuff that I hadn't reviewed in a while. My face got so red, and I was so nervous. I was thinking 'how do I translate this?' This is so difficult. They used lots of legal and history words that are hard to translate. Words that I didn't know. I was so nervous that I would ask to repeat questions two or three times. I started sweating too and got so hot that I took off my jacket. That's when it dawned on me. This (his citizenship) really depends on me. There were awkward long pauses and silence. I used Spanglish for words I didn't know in Spanish. However, I could, I tried to make sure my father understood. If he had questions, I repeated it and said it slowly. I also added more info, so that my father could understand. It was on camera too. We were being recorded. My father did as best as he could with the questions and interview. Finally, they gave us a form that said the oath of citizenship ceremony would take place weeks later in the same building. My dad passed and could become a citizen. We were both overcome with joy and happiness. I was relieved that he had passed and that I did what I could.

After overcoming the shocking news that he needed to translate and his emotional and physiological responses to the high-stakes citizenship test and interview, Jorge resorted to previous translation experiences and strategies, such as asking for clarification or additional information, repeating and slowing down the exchange of communication, checking for understanding, using Spanglish, and supporting his father through the

process. As a frequent language broker, Jorge had translated in challenging situations, such as doctor's office, his own parent-teacher/counselor conferences, and communication with their apartment complex manager. Though hardly could anything prepare anyone for the surprising news that they needed to immediately translate in a high-stakes governmental proceeding, Jorge summoned these experiences to support the linguistic and cultural mediation required in his father's citizenship interview. Additionally, Jorge's strong community activism, active involvement in his MEChA chapter, and previous language brokering experience translating the legal ballot text of Measure 105 in the 2018 State of Oregon election slate, might have provided expertise and vocabulary necessary to complete the citizenship interview translation. Even with the high-stakes and pressure filled language brokering citizenship interview, it is evident that Jorge's extensive previous language brokering experiences, his community activism, and his family commitment and contributions enabled him to successfully complete the required linguistic and cultural mediation needed during the citizenship interview.

Employment Related High-Stakes Language Brokering

Participants also experienced high-stakes language brokering in labor/employment encounters as they performed various translation roles for their parents. Following is Table 3 which highlights the type and frequency of language brokering activities in parental employment settings.

Table 3

Labor / Employment High-Stakes Language Brokering

Participant	Translation for	Language Brokering Activity	Number of times	Miscellaneous
Alejandro	Father	Online job application	Once	Also translated about a tablet for a new job
Ana	Mother	Phone text communication with clients	Multiple times	Goal is to support mom as business owner
Homero	Father	Translation of Craigslist for sale posting	Once	Purchase of nail gun for father's construction job
Jenny	Father	Pen and paper job applications	Twice	Also translated during job interviews
Jorge	Father	Employment newsletter	Once	General company info
Victoria	Parents	Translation of Craigslist for sale postings	Multiple times	Ads placed to sell excess produce

The table reveals different language brokering activities including roles that required multiple skills such as online literacy skills in accessing, reading, understanding, and completing a job application and crafting and posting Craigslist's ads to sell excess mushrooms. As Alejandro experienced difficulties with the online application process, he

relied on his own experience performing online library research, something he did often

for school projects, to complement the needed expertise to access the application and

enter his father's answers. Ana, personally committed to portraying her mother as a

"good business owner", applied her English composition skills in developing "complete

and sophisticated text messages" that informed her mother's clients—her mother

operated a home cleaning small business—about services, work schedule, and costs

(Interview, 2018). For Jenny, in addition to brokering the completion of two job

applications, she also translated the job interview of one of the jobs that the father

eventually was offered. In her words, she stated

> It was for a cleaning job in a company. I don't remember the name. I filled out the
> application and then they had a meeting (interview). I was there too and translated
> what the job required him to do and his work schedule. That was last year. I was
> 15.

Jenny also narrated that she has translated Post-It work notes her father' supervisor had

left him. He would send a picture of the note to Jenny and she would text back the

instructions in Spanish. For Victoria, whose parents worked as free-lance wild mushroom

foragers, her high-stakes language brokering involved developing, crafting, and posting

Craigslist for sale signs for excess mushroom that local grocers were unable to buy, and

responding via email or text messages to the potential customers seeking to buy the

delicacies. Once customer contact was made, Victoria also assisted her parents in

negotiating the sale price. Victoria added that time was a critical factor since mushrooms

begin to decay after about a week.

Other critical factors in high-stakes employment settings include but are not

limited to potential new, and usually better, jobs, as in the case for Alejandro's father, or

new clients, and potential future referrals, for Ana's mom in managing her client list. For

Jenny's father the Post-It notes translation meant performing job duties successfully. Though the types of language brokering activities differed, as did the necessary related skills the brokers needed to complete the translation, the parents' dependence on critical linguistic and cultural communication and mediation remained constant and urgent, as well as largely influential in their employment opportunities and conditions and earning potential.

High-Stakes Language Brokering Summary

Several themes emerge as substantial topics and issues for participants in this study. Medical/health related language brokering encounters were the most intense and stressful for participants as parents' health and medical treatment depended on their translation. Unequivocally, their vignettes demonstrated highly impassioned pleas revealing stress, anxiety, and utmost concern for their parent's medical/health wellbeing. Participants overcame concerns about complete, accurate, and successful translation, including lack of bilingual vocabulary to explain terms, with strategies and lessons learned from past demanding language brokering experiences. Despite real and ever-present conditions, such as lack of bilingual terms, feeling overwhelmed by the severity/shock of the situation, that exacerbated the complexities of translation, at no time did they express that their language brokering had not accomplished its intended goal, namely, to successfully interpret for their parents the issue(s). Quite the contrary, they placed the responsibility, perhaps much more than they should, on themselves and they worried excessively, again perhaps more than they should, about whether their bilingual and biliterate skills were sufficient to translate successfully. Anxiety and worry were replaced with successful and tried strategies from the past. Participants expressed no

complaints, no default of responsibilities, no external blame, including against the ethical and legal implications of medical/health institutions failing to provide free and professional translation. Familismo, a strong and influential cultural value and orientation toward the family, guided participants to support their parents, and families, with their language brokering skills and expertise. The literature suggests that cohesive and united families may protect children / adolescent language brokers from the intense, stressful, and anxious conditions that may precipitate negative psychological and behavioral outcomes. In this respect, all participants in various degrees expressed that their language brokering supported their parents' linguistic and cultural communication and mediation needs and that it was a contribution to the family household.

Acculturation and Language Brokering

Extensive quantitative studies have also explored relationships among language brokering, acculturation, self-efficacy, academic efficacy, biculturalism and related elements (Acoach & Webb, 2004; Buriel et al., 1998, Kam et al., 2017, & Weisskirch, 2011). Qualitative studies exploring connections between language brokering and acculturation can supplement the extant literature with nuanced personal experiences that may reify and/or present new questions that stretch the knowledge base. In an attempt to explore participants' nuanced language brokering and acculturation experiences, this study aimed to understand personal and familial stories regarding the phenomena. Findings may contribute to the literature preconceptual thematic notions or initial patterns that will necessitate further exploration and analysis, but nonetheless, may contextualize contemporary language brokering and acculturation concepts. Thus, in addition to a comprehensive review of language brokering experiences, this study integrated

participants' acculturative experiences. Schwartz and colleagues (2010) assert that acculturation involves changes in practices, values, and identifications of the host and the heritage cultures. Guided by Schwartz and colleagues' multidimensionality of acculturation theoretical framework, this study analyzed participants' adaptational experiences in their homes, in their high schools, and in their local communities. Seeking to understand participants' cultural changes in values, practices, and identifications in the heritage and host cultures, the following research question directed this query:

- What experiences do participants describe as significant engagement activities in their lives as family members, as high school students, and as communities members?

Based on this guiding question, in the acculturation interview protocol I enquired about language use, language brokering experiences, school and community programs, and participants' perceptions regarding factors impacting their adaptation into US cultures/society. Participants provided rich, in-depth, and nuanced descriptions detailing their acculturation tendencies mostly during the acculturation interviews but also in the course of the language brokering interviews and/or direct translation observations. To understand participants' acculturation patterns, research question five, in the next three sections, I analyze their acculturation experiences at home, in their high schools, and in their communities.

Although the literature documents correlations between language brokering and acculturation, the available data for this study is insufficient to ascertain specific connections between the phenomena.

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Latina/o Cultural Expressions at Home

To explore participants' acculturation experiences at home, I begin with a general acculturation composite that includes ARSMA-II acculturative types (Cuellar et al., 1995).

Participants' General Acculturation Composite. Amidst the uniqueness of each individual participant, all participants shared acculturative commonalities. Spanish was reported as the primary language to speak with parents and English with siblings. Participants described learning English primarily in school, with friends on playgrounds, and while watching TV at home. All participants self-identified as fluent bilingual English and Spanish speakers. In these contexts, participants adopted and adapted to differing linguistic and cultural expectations within their family, home, and school environments. Migration scholars Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001) and Portes and Rumbaut (2001) posit that retention of heritage language and cultural customs influence strong ethnic identity.

Following is Table 4 which lists additional participants' acculturation characteristics.

The table below shows ethnic self-identification and acculturative type patterns among participants. First, I discuss participants' ethnic self-identification based on Rumbaut's (1994) mutually exclusive ethnic identity labels and definition. The typology includes the following terms: *American* defined as those who identify only as such; *national* described by parents' country of birth; *hyphenated* identified as the combination of the heritage country with American identity; *panethnic* is used to group various ethnic groups together based on culture, language, geography and related factors, such as Asians

Table 4

Acculturation Descriptive Table

Participant Pseudonym	Birthplace	Ethnic Self-Identification	ARSMA-II Acculturative Type
Alejandro	San Salvador, El Salvador	Hispanic	Integrated High Bicultural
Ana	Oregon, US	Hispanic	Integrated High Bicultural
Homero	California, US	Chicano	Integrated Low Bicultural
Jenny	California, US	Latina	Integrated High Bicultural
Jorge	Oregon, US	Chicano	Integrated High Bicultural
Victoria	North Carolina, US	Mexicana	Integrated High Bicultural

or Latinas/os; *heterogenous group* comprised of mixed identities, such as Mexican Filipino; and last *others* made of individuals that do not respond in racial or ethnic terms (Feliciano & Rumbaut, 2018; Rumbaut, 1994).

Given participants' extensive language brokering experiences that regularly connected them to the language, cultures, values, and practices of the heritage background, perhaps it was not surprising that all participants selected strong ethnic identity terms, such as panethnic labels for Alejandro, Ana, Homero, Jenny, and Jorge, and a national designation for Victoria. Although the term Chicano is primarily

associated with US-born or Mexican-born individuals residing in the US—often the Southwest and Pacific Northwest—the label can also be thought of panethnic since it includes different generational statuses, various levels of Spanish fluency and language use, as well as varied participation in cultural values, practices, and identifications with Mexican, Mexican American, and Chicana/o cultures (MEChA National Charter, 2020). An interesting variant to this strong ethnic self-identification might be if casual language brokers potentially selected American or hyphenated American labels given lesser exposure to translations and / or interpretation as well as its inherent linguistic and cultural practices. In other words, perhaps for the study participants, a strong ethnic identification might be a function of frequent language brokering as the practice integrates strong cultural and linguistic influences.

In terms of the ARSMA acculturative type, the ARSMA-II, the Revised Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans, is an instrument that measures four acculturation modes on a 5-point Likert scale: assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration (Cuellar et al., 1995). The ARSMA-II was used to obtain acculturative type. With the exception of Homero, who scored as integrated low bicultural type, all other participants' results yielded integrated high bicultural types. Based on participants' potentially balanced responses to questions such as, *I like to identify as a Mexican American*, or its counterpart, *Anglo American,* and related questions pertaining to affective, cognitive, and behavioral domains in both ARSMA-II scales, participants gravitated to integrative acculturation modes. Once again, the increased exposure to the realms of language brokering, which necessitates complex linguistic and cultural mediation between Spanish-speaking parents and English-dominant third party members,

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may influence adoption and adaptation of cultural incorporation strategies, vis a vis

integrated bicultural modes.

Having discussed all of the above, it is essential to note that as this study

investigated the feelings, perceptions, and language brokering and acculturation

experiences of participants, ethnic self-identification and ARSMA-II acculturative type

(Cuellar et al., 1995) are treated as singular additional data points. In other words, these

descriptors are intended to generally supplement a more holistic acculturation composite.

It is beyond the scope of this project to analyze the subjectivities of participant ethnic

self-identification or quantify acculturative types.

It's Like We're Part of Both Worlds: Ana's Acculturation Experience.

School and work are how I Americanize in the outside world. In school is all in English, my classes in the International High School program, my friends, everyone I talk to. Seems like that's the American world I live in and also the Mexican one at home, at church, and my close friends. There's definitely mostly Mexican type of parties, like quinceañeras, and bodas. Yeah, if it's a (Mexican) wedding, es una boda, no es una wedding (laughs). My friends too, they speak English and Spanish and the things we talk about relate to Mexican culture, like someone would say, I am hungry, and I follow, or someone else says, yeah pozole sounds great right now. We all laugh.

Boda is the correct Spanish word for wedding. Ana emphasized the traditional

contexts and rituals of some Mexican bodas that she regularly attends to differentiate

them from mainstream American weddings. In the above quote, Ana articulates the

significance of bodas, and quinceañeras, a rite of passage and religious event

commemorating entrance into womanhood for many Latina girls when turning 15, that

she, and her family, regularly partake in in their social and cultural lives (Interview,

2018).

Ana fondly recalled language brokering for her own quinceañera and for her two younger sisters, too. Feelings of pride and joy were evident during the interview and in the description.

> I learned a lot about everything, reserving the venue, setting up catering menu, talking to photographers, and paying attention to all the details. So, by the time of my youngest sister's quinceañera, I was putting my own thoughts into it, like decorations for the venue, dinner options, and setting up the whole evening. I'd ask questions and think of ideas and options before my mom came up with them. Translating for quinceañeras is fun.

Ana's substantial quinceañera language brokering experiences provided exposure and understanding of prerequisite business interactions and eventual contractual agreements with third-party agents, site managers, caterers, and so on for the fulfillment of an important coming-of-age Latina cultural ritual. As Ana translated quinceañera elements and businesses operations (i.e., venue and catering services contracts) for her mother and third-party agents, she developed the necessary expertise to fulfill a culturally relevant event, laden with Latina/o traditions, norms, and values, amidst businesses entities, and its societal / cultural components alongside those that may not be aware of such celebrations. And this was done in a fun and safe environment, even though language brokering literature cautions about parental role reversal as children / adolescents translate about critical issues (Martinez et al., 2009; Morales & Hanson, 2005; & Umaña & Taylor, 2009). In the process of assisting in the implementation of three quinceañeras, Ana understood and adapted to elements of US cultures and society that in varying degrees impact acculturative processes. In this context, Weisskirch (2005) suggests that language brokering may affect learning the values, behaviors, lifestyles, and language of the dominant culture. Based on Ana's extensive language brokering experiences in three quinceañeras, it appears evident that she learned to adapt to the

values, lifestyles and cultural and linguistic nuances of both heritage and host cultures in carrying out this ritual celebration for herself and her sisters.

When asked to describe her adaptation into US cultures and customs, Ana narrated:

> I feel like, I definitely adjusted when I was younger. As a child, Spanish was my first language, and we went to mostly Mexican fiestas. Then I started school. I learned English, socialized with Americans, and participated in clubs and activities. Like now, in high school, I am enrolled in the International High School Program. I was not automatically selected. My American friends were. I didn't even know I can earn college credits in this program. School activities have been important in my adjustment to American culture and speaking English.

The preceding quote and experience present snapshots of Ana's complex, unique, and dynamic acculturative feelings, thoughts, and experiences. Furthermore, Ana's responses to selected ARSMA items reveal nuanced acculturative tendencies. Based on typical 5-point Likert scale (1 equals strongly disagree, 5 equals strongly agree), Ana responded as follows to these items: *my thinking is done in the English* language, almost always, and *my thinking is done in the Spanish language*, not very often; and *I like to identify myself as a Mexican American,* almost always*, and I like to identify myself as an American,* moderately*.* The process of acclimating to a new culture is recognized to be complex and multidimensional. Rather than a simple movement away from culture of origin and toward the new culture, acculturation can involve varying degrees of retaining values and practices from one's culture of origin and adopting new values and practices (Benet-Martinez et al., 2002; Berry, 2006; & Chun et al., 2003). Ana's adaptation narration and ARSMA-II responses map onto variables of the multidimensionality of acculturation. Individual, as well as familial, predilections for foods from the heritage-culture – such as pozole – linguistic preferences for Spanish as heritage tongue, and

tendencies towards familismo may signify affinities for the practices, values, and identifications of the heritage culture (Schwartz et al., 2010). In terms of receiving culture factors, Ana's significant engagement in a potentially college-credit bearing program can contribute to her individualistic development as a current high school student and future university enrollee. She hopes to attend a flagship university in her home state of Oregon. Ana's high school enrollment, by itself, is a blossoming catalyst in her quest for independence, a significant component in the values of receiving culture; one that is on the opposite end of the interdependence value of the heritage culture. Finally, command and fluency of the English language, as evidenced by Ana's self-identification and continued enrollment in a selective high school program, denotes commitment to the receiving-society language (Schwartz et al., 2010).

Meaningful and Purposeful High School Engagement

Seeking a more comprehensive overview of acculturation experiences, the following section chronicles participants' engagement patterns in high school activities and/or programs as indicators of acculturative development. As participants immerse themselves in domains of their high school experience their participatory patterns may reveal degrees of adaptation or acculturation, not only to high school life, as they define it, but also to a major societal institution, education. This conceptualization is based on the theory that acculturation is a multidimensional process that encompasses affective, behavioral, and cognitive dimensions within host and heritage cultures (Schwartz, et al., 2010). Thus, participants' thoughts, feelings, and experiences as they engage in high school activities, and or programs may reveal degrees of acculturation. For this analysis,

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engagement was operationalized as a major high school activity or program that takes place throughout the school year, or a significant period of time.

The benefits of welcoming, safe, positive, and purposeful involvement and relationships in the educational system are well documented in the literature. Booker (2006) posits that belonging matters to the learning and development of all minoritized youth, be it in the classroom, in school hallways, and within the larger contexts of education and the educational system. Multiple studies suggest that participation in student clubs, academic programs, or sports, individual or a team, or performance clubs is associated with higher academic aspirations, stronger grades, enhanced school connections, and increasing rates of high school graduation (Darling et al., 2005; Diaz, 2005; Dotterer et al., 2007; Villareal, 2017).

Finding Voice: MEChA Participants' Engagement Stories. MEChA, the Movimiento Estudiantil Chicana/o de Aztlan, an organization that aims to advance Chicana/o unity and empowerment through advocacy, community organizing, and political action, was a focal point of student activists. For participants Victoria, Homero, and Jorge, their high school MEChA chapter was a major catalyst in their development not only as high school students, as ethnically self-identified Mexicana, and Chicanos, respectively, but also as concerned individuals with issues impacting Latina/o communities. In their three respective high schools, they reported active engagement in weekly meetings throughout the academic year and participation in statewide annual conference and community volunteering programs throughout the year. Homero further reported attending two rallies and protests initiated by MEChA in support of driver

license reform. In the next section, the following selected quotes sketch the engagement,

commitment, and growth and development of these participants.

Victoria discusses MEChA perspectives:

I was part of MEChA since my sophomore year up until my senior year. It was a
small and close community to us, Mechistas, MEChA members but we were well
known in our school and at the state level too because of our programs and
activities, like speakers about social issues, and things that matter to Latina/o
students, and comunidades (communities). What made MEChA very important to
me was understanding our history from Chicano points of view. In high school
classes, we're taught American perspectives, American history, and American
literature. MEChA helped me see perspectives outside of that and make
connections with Latina/o activists that advocate for immigrant rights, issues
impacting agricultural workers and other causes like that.

Homero talks about indigenous roots:

I remember the MEChA coordinator asking me who are you and how do you
identify yourself? I kept thinking about it and I actually didn't know. He taught us
classes about the Movimiento (MEChA, as a movement), our indigenous roots
and cultures, and cultural activities. That's when I learned that we are people of
the corn. Somos gente del maiz, because to the Mayas, Aztecas and other tribes,
corn was everything. I learned a lot about my identity.

Jorge describes his community activism and organizing:

As a Mechista, I have been involved in issues impacting our comunidades. I have
spoken at rallies for immigrant rights and at school board meetings asking for fair
and equal treatment for Latina/o students. I haven't done these things by myself,
though. Our MEChA coordinator is always there. He guides me through these
activities.

Acculturation scholarship resonates with the themes expressed by these

participants. Scholars posit that language may influence ethnic identity (Phinney et al.,

2001) and that Spanish is a strong indicator of both cultural affiliation and level of

acculturation (Cuellar & Gonzalez, 2000; & Pizarro and Vera, 2001). Berry (2006)

advances that acculturation serves as a gauge for adjustment and adaptation to a new

cultural environment including movement towards *assimilation*, meaning letting go of

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heritage culture and absorbing host culture, *marginalization*, implying rejection of both host and heritage cultures, *separation*, signifying retention of heritage culture and rejection of host culture, or *integration*, indicating acceptance of both host and heritage cultures. Based on their active engagement, MEChA is a strong source of linguistic, cultural, and ethnic orientation for Victoria, Homero, and Jorge. Their involvement in club activities and social advocacy events, i.e., rallies, school board meetings, may signify a movement towards Berry's (2006) integration acculturation concept, as they embrace both heritage and host cultures in attempting to affect social change, not only in their school environment but also at the societal level. This assessment is in agreement with the ARSMA-II results for these participants. Based on their scores, the instrument identifies Victoria and Jorge as integrated high biculturals and Homero as integrated low bicultural.

Weisskirch and colleagues (2011) argue that frequent language brokering may foster greater retention of heritage cultural values given sustained interaction with heritage language and cultures. All participants in this study self-identified as frequent language brokers. However, when asked if language brokering occurred during MEChA related activities, participants did not report any translation needs in these particular settings.

To summarize, engagement in extracurricular high school activities, such as MEChA, may help participants acculturate into school. As participants partake in activities, they sustain relationships with peers, teachers, and school staff and as activities are fulfilled, members learn and adapt to collaborative organizational roles and

responsibilities. In the process, participants adopt to cultural practices and values of school programs.

Challenging the Status Quo in the Community

> At the City Council meeting, I kept asking myself, how do I make the councilors uncomfortable before they decide on the ICE (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) contract? They haven't done a thing to end it. So, when my turn to speak came up, I just said, 'remind yourselves that the food you're eating tonight at dinner in the comfort of your home with your family was planted and picked by hard-working agricultural immigrants… Remind yourselves about the father who committed suicide because of the deportation of his adult son… Remind yourselves, you're letting all of these things happen…'

With these words, Jorge began and concluded his three-minute public comments at the local city council meeting as the councilors debated the status of the ICE contract with the city police to hold undocumented immigrants for deportation in the local jail. During the acculturation interview, Jorge explained that city council deliberations lasted almost a year and included presentations by ICE representatives, the city police chief, public comments both in favor and against retaining the contract, and the continuous participation of the MEChA chapter that he was a member of. He went on to say that the MEChA coordinator brought up the issue to the Mechistas as a potential cause or issue to address. The group researched the issue locally, found local stories, decided to take the issue up, and some of them, like Jorge, addressed the councilors. And so began Jorge's and the rest of Mechistas community advocacy efforts.

Jorge further mentioned that after his public comments a number of allies and community leaders representing immigrant rights agencies also spoke against the ICE contract. City councilors, then, proceeded to debate the contract among themselves. Finally, they voted to cancel the contract and end the relationship with Immigration and Customs Enforcement. Once the meeting officially ended, Jorge recalls Mechistas, allies,

and Latina/o leaders and community members huddling discussing that the cancellation of the contract would make the community feel welcoming, safe, and inclusive not just for immigrants but for everyone in the area.

Sperling and Appleman (2011) advance that, "voice is an engaging metaphor for human agency and identity" (p. 70). Amidst the multitude of social inequalities and systemic racism that pervades US society, critical consciousness may enable Latina/o youth to question and challenge oppressive conditions impinging upon their dreams, hopes, and aspirations (Acosta, 2007). Freire (1970) defined critical consciousness as knowing the systems and structures that create and sustain inequality, developing power or capabilities to address issues, and committing to take action against oppressive conditions. MEChA, as a student organization, can help youth develop critical consciousness (MEChA National Charter, 2020). As an active MEChA member, Jorge participated in meetings, rallies, and community advocacy efforts that increased his critical consciousness development about issues impacting immigrants and Latina/o community.

Jorge recounted that the overall community advocacy cause did not require him to language broker. However, during one of the direct observations for this study, from the dining table in the homely and cozy confines of his family's two-bedroom apartment, Jorge language brokered for his parents the text of Measure 105, an official State of Oregon proposition seeking to repeal the state sanctuary law in the 2018 election. In my analytic memo, written after this direct observation, I noted Jorge's Spanish commentary about the proposition to his parents.

> Es importante que esta ley no pase para que la gente se sienta segura en sus casas y en la comunidad. Tal vez la gente tiene miedo de salir afuera si la ley pasa. (It is

important that this measure does not pass so that the people will feel safe in their homes and in the community. Perhaps, people become afraid to go outside if it passes).

Schwartz and colleagues (2010) ascertain that acculturation incorporates values, practices, and identifications of both the heritage and host cultures. Jorge's active engagement in MEChA, the student organization's impetus for critical consciousness and critical action, and the organization's commitment to advocate for the cancellation of the ICE contract fostered spaces for growth and development that may inform acculturative process, especially as MEChA involvement, social change issues, and Jorge's commitment for effecting change intersect across languages, cultures, values, practices, and identities.

Acculturation Summary

This section focused on understanding the thoughts, feelings and acculturation experiences of language brokers by analyzing selected acculturation stories in their lives at home, in their high schools, and in their community. Multidimensionality of acculturation, a theoretical framework that centers practices, values, and identifications with the heritage and the host cultures and that informs that change(s) in any of these dimensions may occur in different degrees, directions, or not at all, was utilized to analyze participants lived experiences (Schwartz et al., 2010). From this analysis the following salient points surface. First, Latina/o cultural celebrations, such as quinceañeras, play a significant role in the acculturation development of participants. As Ana language brokered for three quinceañeras, she became familiar with the values, practices and identifications of her heritage culture and used this awareness to adapt to the host culture's practices. Second, participation in MEChA high school chapters was

instrumental in participants' linguistic, cultural, indigenous, and ethnic identity development as well as raising social consciousness regarding immigration issues and immigrant rights, and Latina/o communities struggles and empowerment. As active MEChA members, participants learned the processes and procedures of chapter membership, active participation, and collaborative relationships in and out their local high school, they utilized this expertise to raise awareness of critical issues in their high school and in their communities. In terms of ethnic self-identification terms, participants used panethnic terms, such as Hispanic, Alejandro and Ana, Chicanos, Jorge and Homero, Latina, Jenny, and Mexicana, Victoria. Perhaps, this self-identification might be a reflection of their ARSMA-II integrated bicultural acculturative type. Language brokering played a very limited role in the realms of acculturative practices of participants. Finally, needless to say each participant's acculturation feelings, perceptions, and experiences is unique, dynamic, and contextual to the issue, the individual, the family, and the inherent time and space domains during which they occur.

Conclusion

This chapter explored participants' feelings, thoughts, and experiences in high-stakes language brokering encounters and acculturation, as conceptualized via significant activities at home, in their respective high school, and in the community. In terms of high-stakes language brokering, participants experienced prevalent and reoccurring language brokering encounters, expressed serious concerns with accuracy and completeness of translation, especially challenging medical or legal terms, and experienced significant levels of anxiety and stress due to high-stakes circumstances of medical, legal, and employment related language brokering. To ameliorate these issues

and concerns, participants utilized a number of strategies, including past experiences, asking and checking for confirmation, and so on. Though participants faced stress and anxiety in high-stakes language brokering settings, their strong familismo orientation might have minimized these feelings and enabled them to successfully complete the linguistic and cultural mediation with and for parents, and medical personnel. In terms of acculturation, participants engaged in activities at home, in high school, and in the community that reinforced linguistic and cultural bonds to both the host and the heritage cultures. To accomplish the associated activity tasks, participants interacted and collaborated with individuals, in both the host and heritage cultures, such as Ana working with family and vendors to contract for quinceañera festivities, or MEChA members cooperating with school administration and other student clubs to promote events, as well as societal/institutional structures, like City Council, as Jorge as a Mechista, spoke in multiple City Council meetings. In these processes and contexts, participants not only bridged linguistic and cultural values, beliefs, and traditions across host and heritage cultures, but also gained cultural, capital, and social skills to function in both cultural and linguistic settings. Thus, they acculturated to the people, structures, and systems of both host and heritage cultures. According to ARSMA-II acculturative type (Cuellar et al., 1995), the participants are classified as integrated bicultural individuals. Based on their integrated engagement in linguistic and cultural contexts that transcend both host and heritage cultures, this categorization resonates with these participants.

CHAPTER VI—DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Discussion

Often children of immigrant parents are tasked to assume language brokering responsibilities for their parents and household affairs. In these roles, the children, or adolescents, serve the role of "intermediary with the outside world" (Levine et al, 2004, p. 10). The fundamental purpose of this study was to understand the feelings, thoughts, and language brokering and acculturation experiences of six Latina/o high school students who frequently take the role of "cultural and linguistic meaning maker" for their parents (Vasquez et al., 1994, p. 57).

Participants in this study served as frequent language brokers for their parents in a wide range of increasingly complex situations and settings. In these roles, they accumulated mixed affective and perspective responses that guided their language brokering experiences and reified their strong familismo commitment to support the family in vital linguistic and cultural communication and mediation.

Chapter VI is divided into four sections. In the first section, I present the six major study themes, illustrate new or unique contributions to the language brokering or acculturation fields, and contextualize them to general language brokering and acculturation issues and topics of relevance to Latina/o communities. The second section discusses implications for research, practice, and public policy. Limitations and future research directions are discussed in the third unit. Finally, I conclude with personal insights and reflection regarding the study.

Normalized Language Brokering Experiences

Most participants began language brokering at an early age, brokered frequently

about a wide range of progressively complex topics, and relied on multiple learned past strategies to facilitate translation and to cope with their mixed feelings, and thoughts through these demanding long-standing roles and responsibilities. In these complicated spaces, participants normalized their language brokering experiences as common occurrence, as expected familial and household tasks, almost like a chore, and/or a routinized practice that evolved over the years. Scholars document this normalized language brokering experience and related contextual variables (Lopez et al., 2019; Mier-Chairez et al., 2019; Orellana, 2009). This study is congruent with these findings.

Unique contributions of this study involve the language brokering experiences of Latina/o participants who reside in the state of Oregon, a state with a more recent and increasingly growing Latina/o population. Currently, the heterogenous Latina/o populace accounts for 13.3 % of the state's population (US Census Bureau, 2019). For the most part the focus of the literature has been in states such as California, Texas, Florida, Illinois, and East coast states, like New York and New Jersey. Compared to Oregon, these states, and the geographic areas surrounding these locations, have higher Latina/o populace (Stepler & Lopez, 2016), longer establish histories with Latina/o heterogenous communities, more readily available infrastructure of Spanish media and print communication networks (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), and bilingual and bicultural information, support, and translation systems (Katz, 2014; Martinez et al., 2017). Given these widely different demographics and sociocultural contexts and characteristics, it is notable that participants experienced the same high level of normalized language brokering exposure in this study based in Oregon as in the other states mentioned. Relatedly, in the only peer reviewed journal article that this study found focusing on

language brokering and Latina/o youth, Martinez and colleagues (2019) suggest that the lack of bilingual and bicultural assistance and support in the state of Oregon, where their study also took place, may increase pressure on frequent adolescent language brokers. Participants in this study did report rising levels of stress but also expressed feelings of confidence, competence and pride in supporting the linguistic and cultural communication needs of their families.

Coincidentally, beyond the Martinez and colleagues' (2009) study, this investigation found only one additional reviewed dissertation (Luna, 2013) exploring language brokering experiences in the state of Oregon.

Mixed Feelings and Perceptions Regarding Benefits and Concerns Associated with Language Brokering

A major theme of this study is the mixed feelings and perceptions regarding language brokering as beneficial or harmful practice. In this study, no other language brokering characteristic or context exemplifies more this contradiction. In these circumstances, Jenny's words, and sentiments, "honestly, it's both beneficial and concerning" captures the full dichotomous range of psychological and cognitive responses. These stances are signified by contradictory feelings and perceptions, such as pride and embarrassment, empathy and indifference, confidence and unfamiliarity with words and terms in English and Spanish, strong parental bonds and complicated familial dynamics and many more conflicting descriptions that in different degrees and directions participants reported experiencing. The literature affirms these affective and cognitive responses (Anguiano 2018, Corona et al., 2012; Morales et al., 2012).

Though the literature documents these tensions, this study extends these conflicting notions with more in-depth and nuanced participants' quotes and vignettes that elaborate intricate feelings, thoughts, contexts, and circumstances from their perspectives. Amidst complicated language brokering encounters, participants chronicle their conflicting experiences among multiple variables including but not limited to demanding translation texts, potential adverse or harmful consequences, strong familismo commitment, etc. These narrations provide more intimate details regarding the mixed feelings, thoughts, and experiences of participants amidst complicated translation scenarios.

These extensive portrayals imply plausible factors that may inform the rationale behind participants' motivation to continued language brokering despite demanding translation encounters. Speaking for parents was a powerful factor for two participants in this study, for Victoria, and Ana who articulated being the voice of their parents to the external world. Valenzuela (1999) highlights the role of advocacy in language brokering. The words and sentiments of these two participants resonate with this theoretical concept. Familismo and contributing to the family are additional factors that support language brokers in translating complicated encounters. Victoria's quote "everything that I do is for my parents" is consistent with this reason.

Learning to Resolve Increasingly Complex Language Brokering Scenarios

Participants narrated increasingly complex language brokering experiences from simple translation at the grocery store in elementary grades, to serving as a broker in parent-teacher conferences, often their own, in later years and eventually high-stakes language brokering in emergency room, employment, or legal/governmental matters

scenarios. Unfamiliarity with words, terms, and concepts, both in English and Spanish, was a common element throughout the increasingly complex language brokering experiences over time. To resolve the complex language brokering, participants relied on previous experiences, sought additional information, context or examples from parents and the third-party member for whom they were also translating and utilized translation app, Google Translate or other internet-based resources. These strategies illuminate growth and development that participants experienced in the context of stressful language brokering that was laden with unfamiliar concepts.

As a theoretical framework, sociocultural learning theories provide lenses to understand the growth and development of language brokers during frequent and complex language brokering scenarios. Language brokering, as a frequent and continuous practice, allows on-going engagement with basic and complex linguistic and cultural mediation scenarios that enable brokers to cope, struggle with, adapt, learn, and utilize available resources, including cultural artifacts, such as internet and translation apps, and/or support from parents and/or the third-party members who can supply additional examples, more context, or related assistance, to resolve demanding translation. As a result, language brokers build a repertoire of skills, accumulate knowledge from past experiences, and use available resources as scaffolding support to sustain their growth and development amidst complex translation scenarios. As language brokers continue to scramble with complicated brokering scenarios and to the extent that they seek additional and necessary support or assistance, they grow and develop and, in the process, reach their proximal zones of development, a foundational element of sociocultural learning theories (Nassir & Hand, 2006; Wertsch & Vygotsky, 1981). Participants in this study

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learned, adapted, and applied resources and previous experiences to complete challenging language brokering scenarios.

This theme is relevant in additional contexts. First, the literature also documents family-centric forms of language brokering, including a "performance team between child brokers and their parents" (Valdes et al., 2003, p. 74), a problem-solving unit (Orellana, 2008) or para-phrasing (Orellana et al., 2003). In Chapter II, I discussed these concepts. These types of brokering imply brokers provide bilingual and bicultural skills and expertise and parents contribute life experiences. Although, participants in this study utilized support from their parents, they also procured internet or translation app resources as well guidance from the third-party members also involved in the translation. Relatedly, the literature documents potential shifting roles between language brokers and parents and that may mean brokers becoming pseudo parents given the access, control, and ability to influence major parental, familial and household decisions because of their brokering. Role reversal is the term to describe this phenomenon (Cohen et al., 1999; Jones & Trickett 2005; Martinez et al., 2009; Umaña-Taylor, 2003). Applying multiple resources and the guidance of adults, including their parents, participants in this study focused on resolving the linguistic and cultural communication contexts of the complicated language brokering scenarios, so that their parents may make informed decisions.

Complex Family Relationships and Strong Familismo Orientation

The themes of complex family relationships and strong familismo orientation were evident in this study. Amidst challenging language brokering, participants and their parents experienced complicated family dynamics that included broker comparisons to

siblings, as in the case of Homero being compared to older brokering sisters; unrealistic expectations regarding high school education, as in the case of Jenny's parents wondering what she may learn in high school; and general frustration about the need to broker at a moment's notice. These issues are well evidenced in the literature (Anguiano, 2018; Lopez et al., 2019; Mier-Chairez et al., 2019; Morales et al., 2012; Weisskirch et al, 2011). Feelings of frustration, confusion, and worry accompanied participants' descriptions regarding challenging family relationships given the strain of complex language brokering. Just like these emotions and perceptions were omnipresent during language brokering scenarios, so were familial expressions of support, care, empathy, love, and compassion. Ana intimated the excitement and joy of language brokering with her mother about her own quinceañera and her two younger sisters. She gladly added details her mother overlooked during translation. Victoria smiled as she narrated memories of teaching her parents pronunciation differences of words such as tree vs three or very vs berry. Strong familial orientation and commitment was abundantly chronicled in the quotes and vignettes of all participants. Feelings of empathy towards parents, understanding parental sacrifices and struggles, and strong motivation to contribute to parents and the family via language brokering elucidated strong familismo orientation and commitment for all participants. Corona and colleagues (2012) posit that familismo, as a Latino cultural value, is associated with positive feelings in difficult language brokering scenarios. These findings and themes suggest that close family bonds and supportive family relationships may mitigate family dynamics and relationships in the context of language brokering.

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Coping with High-Stakes Language Brokering Contexts

High-stakes language brokering is defined as the most challenging form of brokering that requires sophisticated and extensive vocabulary in both languages and carries the added burden of someone's wellbeing depending on the translation (Anguiano, 2018). Prompted to describe a translation event that stood out to them, participants narrated traumatic events including two emergency room care treatments following car accidents, a series of brokering events seeking medical health insurance for mother's cancer medical treatment, translating at the father's US citizenship interview, and brokering for father at job interviews and written job directions. Participants described these stressful brokering events in highly emotional terms. Even during interviews, participants were still visibly distraught. Yet, they vividly recalled pertinent details, provided context, and narrated their language brokering thoughts, feelings, and experiences including unfamiliarity with words and concepts. Amidst the highly emotional distressing contexts and the potential high-level consequences, participants illustrated with nuanced details their approach to resolving the highly stressful language brokering including in-depth description of strategies to insure complete and accurate description. Although the topics of familismo and family contribution did not come up as participants described these high-stakes translation encounters, these themes were intensely evident throughout the overall process. Based on participants' descriptions of these high-stakes brokering encounters, familismo and the repertoire of strategies used to resolve complex language brokering appear to be significant factors in completing high-stakes language brokering episodes.

High-stakes language brokering remains an understudied subtopic of the language brokering literature (Anguiano, 2018). However, three studies report negative conditions surrounding high-stakes language brokering including increased stress among participants (Anguiano, 2018), anxiety translating in medical settings (Corona et al., 2012), and worry translating household financial documents (Roche et al., 2014). In terms of stressful conditions, this study is congruent with these findings. However, participants overcame the distressing conditions to complete the high-stakes language brokering scenarios by relying on their portfolio of learned skills and expertise and focusing on their strong familial commitment and willingness to contribute to the family.

Acculturation

Acculturation and language brokering are intrinsically interconnected. Furthermore, immigration scholars theorize that immigration (voluntary, for the purposes of this study), acculturation, family, and cultural and societal systems are intrinsically interconnected (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Scholars have proposed that language brokering can be an acculturation strategy for the family as a unit since directly and indirectly all are impacted by the work/practice of language brokering (Tobin et al., 2018; Weisskirch et al., 2011). Considering these intersections, this study incorporated acculturation as an area of exploration. Multidimensionality of acculturation was selected as a theoretical framework. The model centers practices, values, and identifications with the heritage and the host cultures as the core of the acculturative process and suggests that change(s) in any of these dimensions may occur in different degrees, directions, or not at all (Schwartz et al., 2010). Based on these theoretical underpinnings, this study conceptualized participants' activities at home,

in high school, and in their communities as proxies for acculturative processes since the theoretical dimension of practices, values, and identifications of the host and receiving cultures were bound to change, in different degrees, directions, or not change at all in the context of carrying out these actions.

The selected vignettes designed to explore acculturation reveal salient patterns and themes. In terms of practices, values, and identifications of heritage culture, participants appear to engage or focus on Latina/o oriented activities. Following are some examples. Ana's language brokering experiences for her quinceañera and her sisters as well interweaving references to pozole and bodas highlights this orientation to the heritage culture. In school, MEChA student organization became a predominant source of engagement, community, and sense of belonging for three of the six participants in the study and as such demonstrate strong identification levels with Latina/o cultures. In the community and as result of his strong MEChA engagement, Jorge developed into a community leader and activist in opposition to, and eventual cancellation—due mostly to his efforts—of a legal contract between the local city and the Office of Immigration and Customs Enforcement that ended the contractual obligation to hold undocumented immigrants in the local city's jail facility. The strong community advocacy and organizing is a vivid example of strong Latina/o orientation in the values dimension of the heritage culture. Based on the emphasis of Latina/o issues and higher level of engagement in Latina/o focused activities, these participants express strong orientation towards the practices, values, and identifications of their Latina/o heritage culture, at least in the context of the activities they chose to describe at the time of interviews.

This theme/finding is relevant in a variety of ways. Participants in this study were frequent language brokers who evolved from ordinary translation in their elementary school grades to high-stakes complex language brokering scenarios in the late adolescence years. Many questions arise from just this fact alone. Does language brokering frequency and prevalence and their inherent exposure to heritage culture matter in terms of cultural orientation, host or heritage? What about degrees and direction of these presumed changes, or no change at all? Change for who and based on what? These and many more questions and issues are the subject of much needed explorations.

Implications

Following the main themes of this study, this section proposes potential implications for practice, institutional, and public policy consideration. These proposals intend to ameliorate brokers' affective and cognitive responses they experience in the context of frequent and complex language brokering. As the practice of language brokering remains a prevalent routine for many children or adolescents of immigrant parents, communities, and institutions can continue to support health promotion for language brokers and their families.

Practice

Adolescent Language Brokers

In different degrees, participants acquired various strategies to facilitate complicated language brokering scenarios by relying on internet and translation apps as resources, seeking additional examples or context to understand meaning, applying previous brokering experiences, and navigating cultural and societal expectations of parents and third-party members. Though participants received scaffolding support from

parents and third-party members in the translation, they brokered most of the translation and in the process gained these skills. This finding is relevant in many different contexts for the overall growth and development of brokers in other areas of their lives. These learned skills and expertise can facilitate academic self-efficacy, a prerequisite mindset for educational pursuits in high school, college, and other post-secondary options. Academic self-efficacy refers to the self-belief, or conviction, that one can successfully attain academic goals based on the capacity to organize, execute, and problem-solve (Bandura, 1997; Schunk & Pajares, 2009). During translation, language brokers manipulate comprehensive oral and/or written information and documents to broker cultural and linguistic meaning. Likely children or adolescent brokers may, or may not, make these connections. In this case, parents, with their life experiences and related educational attainment, and or educators, with their educational professional credentials, can facilitate and support these connections.

Parents

Though the focus of this study was the experience of Latina/o youth during data collection, it became apparent that additional parental communication efforts might be necessary to minimize the impact of language brokering, or at least discuss its stark importance and necessity. At the very least parents can eliminate broker sibling comparisons, which Homero resented, or refrain dismissive comments such as, "what do they teach in high school", that Victoria and Jenny complained about, or show more empathy for the complex language brokering support that their children provide, that in different degrees most participants insinuated. Schools, community agencies, and places of worship can promote, and encourage parental engagement in workshops that inform

parents about language brokering roles and responsibilities. I intend to partner with these organizations to provide such workshops. As I traveled regions of the state in search for participants and discovered the high prevalence in every single high school class or student club that I was given access to, I became fully convinced that such workshops are sorely needed. It is my goal and commitment to serve this need, at the very least in the communities and high schools that opened their doors for me. Finally, Katz (2014) posits that language brokering may interfere with homework and academic responsibilities, after-school participation in programs and activities, and/or build meaningful relationships with teachers and school. Jenny was the only participant that articulated such displacement. Perhaps, for the rest of the participants timing, or trust, was an issue and thus it was not mentioned.

Institutional

Educators

An open-ended question for participants in one interview asked what they would like for educators in their school to know about their language brokering responsibilities. Because all participants brokered in their own parent-teacher conference, and their younger siblings, the consensus of participants was that educators needed to understand the scope, context, and roles of their language brokering responsibilities. In fact, participants seemed a bit perplexed that educators, and more specifically, counselors, were not as aware of their language brokering roles and responsibilities, even though it was happening in the school. Given school counselors' relationships with students and their families, Tuttle and Johnson (2018) suggest vital roles for school counselors including direct individual and small-group counseling support and workshops for school

staff and parents that are conducted in partnership with local human services community agencies and mental health organizations. School counselors can inform and advocate school leadership about the importance and necessity of appropriately trained interpreters (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014) who are also familiarized with student and school issues, regulations, and ethical considerations. Orellana (2009) further informs that school counselors can facilitate positive feedback and express gratitude to language brokers. In terms of academic courses offerings, counselors and school staff can enhance information and promotion strategies to encourage enrollment in courses, such as AP Spanish language/culture, or Spanish for heritage speakers. Often participants seemed unaware of such courses that may improve Spanish fluency and biliteracy.

School staff can continue to promote official bilingual, and sometimes multilingual, official certification via AP or IB coursework, College Level Examination Proficiency, CLEP, testing and the Seal of Biliteracy. Since 2015, the State of Oregon Seal of Biliteracy has increased from eight school districts and 350 students receiving the certification to 50 districts and approximately, 2,700 students earning the distinction (Oregon Department of Education, 2020). These facts represent outstanding success. Much more remains to be done as the prevalence of language brokering continues to increase.

Public Policy

Language brokering serves vital familial as well as private sector, community, and institutional needs. In the absence of multilingual support and assistance in schools, businesses, and private sector entities, institutional medical/health settings, and community agencies, language brokers fulfill these institutional responsibilities. Orellana

(2009) equates language broker contributions to society as unpaid work and services that serve greater needs, though at the expense of children and adolescents. Clearly educational and medical/health institutions must do better to provide professional and appropriately trained bilingual support and assistance. Private sector entities must also improve availability, support, and follow through of bilingual assistance. State policy makers can consider potential guidelines that address multilingual needs and supports and balance individual, families, communities, and private and public sectors issues and concerns.

Limitations

This study has some limitations. The study's findings are based on the experiences of primarily US born youth—five out of six participants— whose parents were born in Mexico—all parents—and migrated to the US—some as undocumented immigrants—in their early 20s. One participant, Alejandro, was born in El Salvador, as were his parents, and at the time of migration, the participant was 14, and the parents in their early 40s. There is wide heterogeneity among both US born and foreign-born Latina/o individuals including but not limited to country of origin, age at the time of arrival, reasons for migration, SES, educational attainment, and for some linguistic diversity with indigenous languages or dialects. These within-group differences may influence overall language brokering, settlement, and acculturation experiences, for both youth and the parents, in unique ways. Relatedly, this study took place in a new emerging immigrant receiving state, Oregon. Participants in longer established Latina/o communities, especially enclaves—where Spanish language use, and Spanish broadcast and print media are more widely available—such as in regions of different states, like

California, Texas, Arizona, Florida, Illinois, New York, and New Jersey, are bound to transition into the cultural, social, and linguistic dimensions of life in different ways. Although not necessarily a limitation, at least not in the concrete dimension of the term, it is important to note that the sole data for this study was self-reported information from language broker participants, including language brokering frequency, language brokering historical scenarios, English-Spanish bilingualism, and high school enrollment. Missing from this study are the voices and experiences of parents who can provide more comprehensive and holistic language brokering insights.

Future Research

Relatively speaking language brokering remains an emerging field and, in this context, future research is a wide-open area of exploration. Following are general ideas for future research. In the end, I conclude with specific ideas regarding research project based on what I learned from the strengths and limitations of this study.

More scholarly attention is necessary to understand language brokering from multiple perspectives including the language broker, parents, and the third-party members also involved in the translation process. Integrating these divergent perspectives can provide more holistic exploration of process, mechanics, content, and context that are intertwined in the overall process of language brokering. The comprehensive literature review for this dissertation yielded one study, Katz, 2014, that incorporated all three parties in one investigation.

As comprehensive and challenging as it might be, longitudinal studies are sorely needed to learn comprehensive language brokering affective, cognitive, and developmental perspectives at various life stages including early initiation age,

adolescence, young adulthood, and adulthood, for those that language brokering continues. Research designs have emphasized one-time quantitative explorations analyzing multiple variables (Mier-Chairez et al., 2019; Morales & Hanson 2005).

More studies exploring high-stakes language brokering are necessary. To date, scholarly attention has focused on language brokering frequency, prevalence, and complexity (Morales & Hanson, 2005). Language brokers are actively translating in medical/health, financial, employment/labor, and legal/governmental affairs and settings and little is known about this form of brokering that could have severe ramifications for the parents and family members for whom the translation is being done.

This final future research recommendation builds on the strengths and limitations of this dissertation. Based on the lessons learned from this dissertation, I would design a mixed method research project with three intervals or waves. The first one would start a little after language brokering initiation age, seven to nine years old, the second one during adolescence, ages 11 to 15, and the final wave late adolescence, ages 16 to 19. For the quantitative portion of the study each wave would consist of a mid-size study ranging from 60 to less than 100 participants and will explore language brokering and frequency, prevalence, complexity, feelings, acculturation, self-esteem, and academic self-efficacy. From each wave, two participants will voluntarily participate in one semi-structured interview with questions from the topics above. This research design intends to gather comprehensive information, experiences, and perspective from these participants at different times of their language brokering experiences. By including three different age groups, the design would yield mor comprehensive data at critical stages that may influence feelings and perspective regarding language brokering. As one example, the

literature documents that for elementary age children language brokering con be

especially difficult given beginning bi-literacy development (Buriel et al., 1998;

Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Inversely, high school age students may have distant language

brokering recollections regarding feelings and perceptions. This research design would

provide more empirical data to strengthen the already strong qualitative voices of this

current dissertation.

Conclusion—Musings about my Personal Feelings and Thoughts Regarding this Study

I am forever indebted with love, grace, and gratitude to the participants that

agreed to collaborate with me in this project, dedicated at least six hours of their time,

and poured their hearts, minds, and souls to me and this project with wide ranging

emotions, and insightful personal reflections. Your gracious, caring, and loving stories

and experiences reacquainted me to the value, importance, and love that it takes to be a

language broker in all its complexities. I am humbled by your courage, resilience,

experience, commitment, and motivation to sustain linguistic and cultural mediation not

only for your parents and your families but other individuals in the walk of life for whom

you will kindly broker. As cliché as it may sound, once a language broker, always a

language broker. With your stories and experiences, I am also inspired and committed to

continue writing, reflecting, and advancing language brokering. It is imperative that we

learn more about the intricacies and complexities of language brokering. I can attest that

your grit, strong familismo, and personal qualities will withstand any complex,

demanding, and challenging language brokering scenario. You will persevere, thrive,

learn, and adapt what you have already learned regarding your language brokering

experiences to your growth and development as a family member, as contributing

member of society, and more importantly as an individual. Aprecio y valoro

inmensamente sus atenciones, su tiempo a este proyecto, y sus contribuciones a sus

familia y a la sociedad como traductor. Adelante, siempre adelante.

APPENDIX A—PARTICIPANT INTAKE SCREENING FORM

First Name_____Pseudonym (chosen by participant) _____

Age_____How do you self-identify in terms of ethnicity and race? _____

Gender Identity_____Birthplace (City, State, Country) _____

If born outside of the US, at what age did you arrive in the US? _____

How long have you lived in Oregon? _____

Will you be the first in your family to graduate from high school? _____

Languages History

What language was your first language? _____

What is your second language? _____

When and how did you learn your second language? _____

What language or languages do you speak mainly at home? _____

In school?_____With your friends? _____

How would describe your oral, spoken, and written fluency in the first and second
language?

First language_____

Second language_____

Additional language(s), if any _____

Language Brokering History

Please list the translation and/or interpretation you have done for one or of both of your
parents. To the extent that you can, please include all activities within the last 12 months.
This study requires a minimum of six translation or interpretation activities in the last 12
months.
EXAMPLE—Translated car insurance letter for my parents in May 2017.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Thank you very much for your generosity, commitment, and trust in my research project.
I am inspired in many ways by the experiences and lives of children and adolescents
interpreters/translators.

Angel Dorantes

Doctoral Candidate—Critical and Sociocultural Studies in Education
University of Oregon

APPENDIX B—INTERVIEW 1—LANGUAGE BROKERING PROTOCOL

Date_____   Place of Interview_____

Pseudonym _____   Participant ID_____

Introduction

o   Ask about preferred language(s) for interview
o   Describe structure of the interview (audio recording, taking notes, estimated length, break, if necessary)
o   Do you have any questions before we begin?

Language Brokering Family Event I

In this section, we will begin by talking about the translation and/or interpretation that occurred the last time we met with your family at NAME OF FAMILY EVENT

1.   Tell me about your thoughts as you translated/interpreted during FAMILY EVENT

2.   How did you feel during the interpretation/translation during FAMILY EVENT?

3.   Tell me more about why your interpreted/translated XYZ this way at FAMILY EVENT

Language Brokering Experience Questions—In this section, we will talk about your experience in translating and/or interpreting for one or both of your parents.

1.   What are the different types of translations/interpretations activities that you have done for your parents?

a.   How long have you been doing this interpretation for your parents and how often do you typically translate/interpret for them?

b.   Have there been changes in the types of translations/interpretations that you were doing for your parents since you started doing these and what you're doing now? Changes?

c. Tell me about one translation/interpretation event that stands out to you
d. What makes it stand out for you?

e. Sounds like you describe this experience as_____, so now tell me about one translation/interpretation that is the opposite of the one you just described.

f. What makes it stand out to you?

Feelings about language brokering—I appreciate your responses. Let's now talk about your feelings related to interpreting/translating for parents.

1. In general, how do you feel when you translate/interpret for your parents?

2. In what ways do you think translating/interpreting is beneficial to you?

3. In what ways do you think translating/interpreting is stressful to you?

4. In general, do you think translating/interpreting is more beneficial OR more stressful for you and if so how?

5. And now the final question. Besides what we already discussed, is there anything else that you would like to add regarding your experience as a translator/interpreter for your parents?

Conclusion
  o Thank you!

APPENDIX C—INTERVIEW 2— ACCULTURATION PROTOCOL

Date_____   Place of Interview_____
Pseudonym_____   Participant ID_____

In this section, we will begin by talking about the translation and/or interpretation that occurred the last time we met with your family at NAME OF FAMILY EVENT. ~~As Principal~~

   4. Tell me about your thoughts as you translated/interpreted during FAMILY EVENT

   5. How did you feel during the interpretation/translation during FAMILY EVENT?

   6. Tell me more about why your interpreted/translated XYZ this way at FAMILY EVENT

Cultural and Social Relationships and Activities—In this next section, we will talk about your cultural and social relationships in school and outside of school.

   1. Describe one example of your involvement in your high school.

      a. What are some of the reasons or benefits for your participation in this activity?

      b. Do you have any concerns with this activity?

      c. Have you ever translated/interpreted in one of these activities for a friend or someone else?

      d. What language or languages do you use when participating in this activity?

      e. Does using one language matter more than the other and if so, why?

Let's now talk about one involvement activity outside of your school.
   2. Describe one example of your involvement outside of your school.

      f. What are some of the reasons or benefits for participating in this activity?

      g. Do you have any concerns with this activity?

      h. Have you ever translated/interpreted in one of these activities for a friend or someone else? Tell me about the translation. Probe for details

i. What language or languages do you use when participating in these activities?

j. Does using one language matter more than the other and if so why?

Acculturation Questions—In this section, we will talk about how you became familiar with life and cultures in American society

3. Tell me about your experiences in life in the US as an immigrant child. In other words, how would you describe your adaptation to American cultures and society? If US born, talk about experiences in life in the US living in an immigrant family

a. What challenges or hardships did you experience soon after arriving in the US?

b. How did you cope with these challenges or hardships?

c. What positive factors contributed to your adaptation to American cultures or society? How?

4. Is there an activity or a program that enabled you to become more involved in American cultures or society?

a. From your point of view, how did this example help you become more involved in American cultures or society?

b. Thinking about the same example, are there issues that prevented you from becoming more involved in American cultures or society?

c. In your example, have you ever translated/interpreted for your parent(s), sibling(s), or cousins? Tell me about the translation. Probe for details

Final questions.

5. Is there anything else that you would like to add to the topics we talked about today?

Conclusion
- Thank you kindly for your time and commitment to my research topic.

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