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Publication Date

2018

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

How Family Members and People from U.S. Mainstream Culture Communicate

Support to Latina/o Early Adolescent Language Brokers

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Master of Arts

in Communication

by

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December 2018

The thesis of Roselia Mendez Murillo is approved.

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October 2018

How Family Members and People from U.S. Mainstream Culture Communicate

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

How Family Members and People from U.S. Mainstream Culture Communicate

Support to Latina/o Early Adolescent Language Brokers

by

Roselia Mendez Murillo

Most language brokers are preadolescent, adolescent, and young adult children of immigrant families who have no formal training, but who linguistically and culturally mediate for family and members of mainstream culture (i.e., brokees). Through the lens of supportive communication, communal coping, and a resilience and thriving perspective, I explored: (a) how family language brokees and members of U.S. mainstream culture provide supportive communication (or a lack of supportive communication) to young brokers, and (b) how brokers feel toward the support they receive. Thirty-one Latina/o early adolescents (7th and 8th grade students) were interviewed to shed light on the specific types of support (i.e., emotional, esteem, informational, instrumental) or communal coping that was either present or lacking when reflecting on their brokering experiences. Results showed that language brokers engaged in communal coping with family members, but they did not appear to engage in communal coping with members from U.S. mainstream culture. The most prevalent type of support from both family and mainstream members was informational support. With respect to a lack of supportive communication, brokers frequently reported that their family did not provide enough emotional support, while U.S. mainstream members did

not provide enough informational support. Overall, brokers were pleased when they received

support because it made them feel efficacious about helping their family, as well as proud.

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Introduction

For immigrants to successfully navigate U.S. educational, employment, medical, and other institutional systems, they must have some familiarity with the English language and U.S. mainstream practices or they must rely on others to help them understand such institutional systems (Bleaky & Chin, 2004; Reynolds & Orellana, 2009; Villanueva & Buriel, 2010). Although a large portion of the immigrant population in the United States speaks English (Center for Immigration, 2016), 25 million immigrants reported having little to no English-language proficiency (American Community Survey, 2013). As a result, many adult immigrants depend on younger family members to help facilitate their interactions with U.S. mainstream culture because younger members often become more familiar with U.S. mainstream culture through their frequent participation in the U.S. education system (Tse, 1995). These young family members are known as language brokers—preadolescent, adolescent, and young adult children of immigrant families who have no formal training "but who linguistically and culturally interpret for two or more parties from different cultural backgrounds" (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014a, p. 1995; McQuillan & Tse, 1994; Tse, 1995).

The terms interpreting, translating, and brokering are often used interchangeably. However, a translator is often a paid professional who conveys information verbatim from one language to another. Interpreters may be more subjective in their verbal exchange because cultural aspects might influence the content they convey. Similarly, brokering requires more than translating verbatim as it is a rigorous transactional process that requires input from both family members and U.S. mainstream members (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014a; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Pines, Kam, & Bernhold, 2017; Tse, 1996). On their own, brokers interpret and mediate information from both parties and convert the information from one

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language to the other (Bauer, 2012). Thus, brokers "influence the contents and nature of the messages they convey, and ultimately affect the perceptions and decisions of the agents for whom they act" (Tse, 1995, p. 180). Furthermore, brokers do not receive professional training; they informally linguistically and culturally mediate for their family and members of U.S. mainstream culture. U.S mainstream members are individuals who convey oral or written information in English to the parents. Thus, adolescent brokers help their families understand diverse information (e.g., bills, immigration documents, job applications, prescriptions, report cards, notes; see table three for a list of information that this study's participants brokered), utilizing a variety of media (e.g., telephone calls, face to face, letters) in numerous contexts (e.g., hospitals, grocery stores, immigration offices, schools; Corona et al., 2012; Kam, Marcoulides, & Merolla, 2017; Martinez, McClure, & Eddy, 2009; Tse, 1995).

Prior research has found significant associations between language brokering (hereafter referred to as brokering) and a host of positive and negative experiences (e.g., Chao, 2006; Corona et al., 2012; Kam & Lazaveric, 2014a). For example, in some studies, brokers have reported higher levels of academic performance, biculturalism, self-efficacy, empathic concern, and perspective taking (Buriel, Perez, & Ment, 1998; Corona et al., 2012; Kam et al., 2017; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). By contrast, brokering also has been associated with negative experiences, including acculturation stress, depressive symptoms, a perceived burden on one's time, and substance use (Kam, 2011; Kam & Lazarevic, 2014b; Love & Buriel, 2007; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). An explanation for brokering's associations with negative experiences lies within a stress perspective.

According to the stress perspective, brokering can function as a stressor, a noxious stimulus that causes a cognitive, physiological, and possibly behavioral response (Afifi, Merrill, & Davis, 2016; Butler, 1993) because it is a complex process that might place young brokers in uncomfortable and intimidating situations, particularly when they are unfamiliar with certain terms or experiences, yet feel pressured to interpret accurately for the sake of their family (Love & Buriel, 2007; Martinez et al., 2009). For instance, children of immigrant families might find themselves brokering for adults in unknown and unfamiliar settings (e.g., medical office) with different power dynamics between the participating parties (Alvarez, 2017; Katz, 2014). In addition, brokering can be challenging and uncomfortable when children of immigrant families are asked to deliver sensitive news (e.g., a health diagnosis, death in the family, a low grade on a report card; Corona et al., 2012; Morales & Hanson, 2005). Brokering also may be burdensome when it is excessively time consuming and prevents brokers from spending time with friends, completing their homework, attending school, or participating in after-school activities (Dorner, Orellana, & Jimenez, 2008; Kam & Lazarevic, 2014b; Weisskirch, 2013; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Hence, brokering can create stress for some children of immigrant families who partake in this communicative exchange.

Given that past research has identified positive and negative experiences associated with brokering, scholars have recently asked: under what conditions is brokering harmful or beneficial to children of immigrant families (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014b)? To date, studies have shown that brokering's associations with positive and negative experiences might depend on, for example, brokering frequency, how youth feel about brokering, family obligations, parent-child relationship quality, perceived norms, and ethnic identification (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014a; Kim, Hou, & Gonzalez, 2017; Weisskirch, 2013). Although

numerous conditions exist that can explain brokering's effects on well-being, resilience theory (Fergus & Zimmerman, 2005) states that individuals have assets and resources they can draw upon in the face of adversity. Assets are personal strengths (e.g. empathy, self-awareness), and resources are sources outside the individual that help them manage their stress (e.g., communication with family, peers, and other social network members; Furlong, Ritchey, & O'Brennan, 2009). Thus, the present study draws from resilience theory and adopts a communication perspective to understanding why brokering can be associated with both positive and negative experiences. Many communication processes exist, but this study explores the ways in which immediate and extended family members, as well as people from U.S. mainstream culture communicatively support young brokers.

Although extensive research has been conducted on supportive communication, limited research has considered how the language brokees (i.e., the family member or person from U.S. mainstream culture who rely on the broker for assistance) communicate support or a lack of support during the brokering exchange. A brokering exchange refers to any incident in which a child is required to linguistically or culturally mediate between a family member and a U.S. mainstream member. Thus far, we know little about the extent to which other family members (immediate and extended) offer support to young brokers, if at all, and what such support looks like communicatively. As a result, this study utilizes 31 semi-structured interviews with Latina/o early adolescent brokers (7th-8th grades) to garner a clearer understanding of how brokers are supported (or not supported) by family members and people from U.S. mainstream culture. This study's findings can extend our theoretical understanding of the brokering process and supportive communication, as well as offer practical suggestions for creating a comfortable environment for young brokers, which can

have important implications for their psychological, relational, physical, and academic well-being.

Resilience Theory and Thriving

Fergus and Zimmerman's (2005) resilience theory can help explicate why young brokers experience different outcomes. Resilience as defined by Luthar (2003) is "the phenomenon of positive adaptation despite significant life adversities" (p. 3). Afifi et al. (2016) frame resilience as a process used to calibrate relationships. That is, relational partners or family members evaluate and discuss each other's stress adaptations. Based on each other's feedback and supportive behaviors, they fortify and enhance their relationships, which helps them build emotional reserves for future stressors. Thus, resilience is built through assets and resources that help individuals overcome adverse situations (Zimmerman, 2013). Resilience in the face of adversity for children may depend on the resources provided by their social networks (Belle, Burr, & Cooney, 1987). Most research points to social relationships as the most crucial factor in the resilience process (Afifi, 2018). Similarly, Buzzanell and Houston (2018) explain that through a communication lens, resilience is indeed a process that not only occurs in extreme situations but also in day-to-day situations. Day-to-day events can instigate negative responses such as stress, which can be mitigated, for example, through coping, or purposeful efforts aimed at diminishing distress during a time of adversity (Carver, 2013). Ultimately such coping strategies can culminate in a state of thriving.

In addition to a resilience perspective, the literature on thriving might help inform why some brokers flourish in times of adversity. Most resilience literature has focused on avoiding negative consequences rather than considering possible positive outcomes (Ryff &

Singer, 2003). However, unlike resilience, in which a person is merely functioning under challenging conditions, when people thrive, they may surpass the previous level of functioning (Carver, 1998; O'Leary & Ickovics, 1995). In other words, thriving literature suggests that individuals who experience stress may end up with a "better-off-afterward experience" (Carver, 1998, p. 247). Although stress is often framed in terms of having negative effects on well-being, stress is inevitable, and it might be necessary for personal growth (O'Leary & Ickovics, 1995).

Because interpreting for family and members of U.S. mainstream culture often involves adult interactions, young brokers might develop their vocabulary, knowledge of how U.S. institutional systems operate, and cognitive complexity (Eksner & Orellana, 2012; Weisskirch, 2017). Furthermore, brokers who successfully interpret complex information, who are able to help their family navigate U.S. mainstream culture, and who garner their family's appreciation might develop a greater sense of self-efficacy (Buriel, Perez, & De Ment, 1998). Consistent with this notion, Oznobishin and Kurman (2009) found that for brokers parental support was correlated with lower levels of distress and higher feelings of self-efficacy. This demonstrates how parental support may foster thriving for brokers. Despite the stressful situation, through parental support, the brokers were able to leave with a "better off experience" because they felt more efficacious. Lastly, some young brokers might develop stronger parent-child relationships from linguistically and culturally mediating for them (Chao, 2006; Love & Buriel, 2007). In short, brokering may foster the opportunity for children to thrive.

Although numerous resources exist, having brokees who communicate support during the exchange might be particularly beneficial to alleviating any brokering stress. Afifi et al.

(2016) contend that relationship maintenance between relational partners and family members is vital to an individual's ability to thrive. Children of immigrant families may experience stress from having to interpret for family members, but when brokees are patient and supportive, brokers' stress might decrease as they experience less pressure from the people around them. Thus, having family and members of U.S. mainstream culture as supportive resources can help brokers build resilience against negative brokering experiences or even thrive (Pines et al., 2017). Indeed, Kim et al. (2018) suggested that a positive brokering experience can contribute to youth's resilience against contextual stressors (discrimination, foreigner stress, and family economic stress).

Parents play an influential role in a child's resilience process because the manner in which they portray and respond to emotions may serve as a precedent for children (Theiss, 2018). Moreover, Theiss stated that a parent who is, "supportive, instructive, and responsive" is more likely to help a child develop necessary coping strategies as opposed to a parent who is "controlling or dismissive" (p. 11). It seems plausible, then, that brokers who have support from their family and members of U.S. mainstream culture might not develop, for example, negative feelings toward brokering (e.g., feeling embarrassed or nervous about brokering), might receive assistance when they have trouble interpreting certain words, and might be able to overcome the stressful nature of brokering. In sum, although brokering can be stressful at times and possibly be related to negative experiences, the work on resilience and thriving suggests that young brokers might flourish in such situations, particularly when their family and members of U.S. mainstream culture create comfortable environments by communicating support.

Communication Accommodation Theory and Supportive Communication

Communication accommodation theory (CAT; e.g., Giles, 2016) can further explicate why supportive communication can contribute to the resilience and thriving of young brokers. CAT suggests that when individuals want to decrease social distance and gain approval from another person, individuals often modify their communicative behaviors to be more similar to that person, a process known as convergence. When convergence or other behavioral adjustments meet the expectations and needs of the other person, accommodation occurs. Consciously or unconsciously, people have an ideal level of desired accommodation, and when such expectations are not met, the interaction and the non-accommodating person may be perceived negatively (Giles & Ogay, 2007). Overaccommodation transpires when people adjust their communicative behaviors too much, thereby missing the other person's needs and expectations. In a brokering context, U.S. mainstream members might overaccommodate young brokers by exaggerating their pace of speech, hand gestures, tone of voice, and oversimplify their vocabulary. By contrast, underaccommodation occurs when people do not make enough communicative adjustments to meet the other person's needs or expectations. For example, the U.S. mainstream member may refuse to slow down, use complex language, not offer resources, discriminates against the broker, or display disapproving facial expressions. In addition, family members might become frustrated at the broker's hesitations, become angry, and doubt the broker's skills. Overaccommodation and underaccommodation have been associated with negative evaluations, whereas accommodation often is seen as competent communication (Gasiorek, 2013).

Applied to brokering, overaccommodation and underaccommodation serve as a lack of supportive communication because they do not meet the needs of the young broker. Nevertheless, when U.S mainstream members and parents accommodate the broker's needs,

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they provide effective supportive communication. For example, if a young broker needs the U.S. mainstream member to slow down and describe a complex word, and the U.S. mainstream member obliges, then the U.S. mainstream member is accommodating the young broker. The broker does not have to struggle to perform the task. Ultimately, the way in which the brokees communicate with the brokers may contribute to the brokers' resilience and thriving.

Another important aspect of message content that may be considered as a form of accommodation is person-centeredness. Studies have shown that compared to lower person-centered messages, higher person-centered messages have been associated with mitigating stressful situations (e.g., Jones & Guerrero, 2001). High person-centered messages validate the person's feelings and perspectives, and they tend to be more effective at alleviating individuals' distress than low person-centered messages (Bodie et al., 2011; Burleson, Holstrom, & Gilstrap, 2005; High & Dillard, 2012; MacGeorge et al., 2011). Again, this may suggest that brokees should not only focus on the brokering situation but should also attend to the individual broker's needs. That is, the brokee should provide comforting and affectionate messages aimed at decreasing emotional and relational distress caused by the brokering situation.

Communicating Support to Brokers

Drawing from CAT, it seems that supportive communication, a form of accommodation, might serve as a resource that contributes to brokers' resilience and thriving. Nevertheless, several questions still remain: (a) what does supportive communication look like when children of immigrant families broker for their family and members of U.S. mainstream culture, and (b) what might unsupportive communication, a form of

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overaccommodation or underaccommodation, look like in a brokering context? The present study defines supportive communication as verbal and nonverbal behaviors enacted to benefit those perceived in need of help (Burleson & MacGeorge, 2002). From a communication perspective, supportive communication is valuable when the enacted supportive behaviors meet the needs of the recipient and enable the recipient to cope (Bodie & Jones, 2015).

Types of Support

Different methods of classification exist for the various types of support, but this study uses four broad types of support as emotional, esteem, informational, and instrumental (House, 1981; MacGeorge et al., 2011). Although limited research has been conducted to systematically examine the type of support young brokers receive from family and members of U.S. mainstream culture, it is possible that these four types of support align well with the type of support that young brokers receive. The following sections describe the different types of support and what they might look like for young brokers, although further research is needed to verify the presence of such supportive communication.

Emotional support. Emotional support consists of providing care, trust, affection, love, and sympathy to the receiver (House, 1981; MacGeorge et al., 2011; Malecki & Demaray, 2003). Because emotional support attempts to provide comfort during a stressful situation and validate individuals' feeling, individuals are likely to be able to cope with distress more effectively (Burleson, 2003). Researchers have found that brokers can have a difficult time brokering unfamiliar and complex words, which can lead to negative feelings toward brokering (Corona et al., 2012). During a difficult exchange, words of encouragement from family members or nonverbal forms of encouragement (e.g., a pat on the back, smiling)

might help young brokers cope with the stressful situation. Emotional support can be beneficial to brokers when it creates a comfortable and safe environment in which struggling through some words is acceptable.

Esteem support. Esteem support includes messages that enhance the individuals' perceptions of their own attributes, which can improve their self-esteem and feelings of acceptance (MacGeorge et al., 2011). Esteem support is important for brokers because as previously mentioned, self-esteem and self-efficacy might increase the likelihood that brokers have positive experiences when linguistically and culturally mediating for family and members of U.S. mainstream culture (Weisskirch, 2013). Katz (2014) stated that parental support, which includes parental involvement as well as reassurance with their English proficiency, may decrease brokers' anxiety. She suggested that parents reassure and confirm their child's brokering abilities to maintain their child's self-esteem. As brokers develop self-esteem and self-efficacy from receiving esteem support, brokers might feel confident interpreting for others and might develop positive feelings toward brokering (e.g., feel good about themselves and feel pride in oneself for interpreting for others).

Instrumental support. Instrumental support is defined as tangible support that provides materials, services, or money to the recipient (House, 1981; Malecki & Demaray, 2003; Vaux, Burda, & Stewart, 1986). As previously mentioned, brokering can consist of difficult time-consuming tasks. Brokers may receive money from their family members as a compensation for their help. This may encourage children of immigrant families to continue brokering. In addition, the money might compensate them for their time and dedication (Martiniez et al., 2009). Due to the complex nature of brokering, children of immigrant

families might also benefit from tangible support that helps facilitate their brokering such as receiving an electronic dictionary.

Informational support. Informational support usually includes advice and conveying information that helps receivers navigate their current problem (House, 1981; MacGeorge, Feng, & Thompson, 2008). As previously mentioned, brokers interact in various unfamiliar contexts that might include using jargon such as in a medical context. To overcome such obstacles, brokers might benefit from informational support provided by, for example, physicians or nurses. Providing context clues, describing the word in more detail, or offering simpler ways of explaining the medical information might help brokers find the words they need to convey the message to family. Members from U.S. mainstream culture may provide various definitions for a complex word or the family member may help by providing guidance (Corona et al., 2012). This information might mitigate the brokers' pressure to decipher complex words alone.

Effective Support

Extensive research on supportive communication has found different forms of support (e.g., emotional, esteem, instrumental, and informational support) that may promote well-being for individuals (Cohen & Wills, 1985; MacGeorge et al., 2011; Malecki & Demaray, 2003; Ozbay et al., 2007; Uchino, 2014; Wills, 1985). However, the effects of the message depend on several factors. For example, Goldsmith (1992) discussed the facework paradigm in which supportive communication in the form of advice may be face-threatening. That is, depending on the type of advice, the recipient's identity might be threatened. Consequently, the perceived quality of the support will be affected. The way in which people communicate

support matters because some supportive messages, although well intentioned, can have negative effects (Bodie & Burleson, 2008).

The effects of supportive communication may also depend on support gaps, which means a discrepancy exists between the amount of support individuals receive and the amount of support they desire (Xu & Burleson, 2001). Researchers postulate that supportive messages may not be effective if they do not address the stressor correctly, and, perhaps more importantly, that the focus should be on the recipient's desired support (e.g., type of support, degree of support, and the way the support is communicated). The recipient should not be under or over-benefited as such messages may negatively affect esteem improvement (McLaren & High, 2017). For example, if brokers need more emotional support than instrumental support, but they do not receive more emotional support, their ability to thrive may be affected. Applied to CAT, providing the desired type and amount of support would be accommodation, whereas providing more than the desired support would be overaccommodation. Lastly, offering less than the desired support or offering a different type of support than desired would be underaccommodation.

Taking Culture into Account

Although past research points to low face-threatening supportive messages, minimal support gaps, and high person-centered messages as most promising, Bodie and Burleson (2008) state that cultural differences play a crucial role in the processing of supportive messages. For instance, they suggested that high context cultures are less likely to be motivated to scrutinize the content of the message, and instead, are more likely to focus on environmental cues. To reinforce this point, Chun, Moos, and Cronkite (2006) proposed that although coping is a universal process, individuals from diverse backgrounds often respond

differently to stress. For example, Samter et al. (1997) found that their sample of African Americans/Blacks viewed comforting person-centered messages as less important than their non-Latina/o White counterparts. Furthermore, in Kuo's (2011) review, Asians used withdrawal and avoidance, and African Americans/Blacks tended to rely on spiritual coping. In that same report, Latinas/os used religious and family support as coping strategies. Additionally, Davis's (2015) essay on the strong black women collective (SBWC) stated that African American/Black women use supportive communication as a means to convey "strength as a mode of survival, collective resistance, and emotional invulnerability" (p. 26). Thus, their communicative styles focus on promoting strength by reaffirming their self-identity. According to Davis, many African American/Black women avoided emotional supportive communication because their identity as strong women may be compromised. Thus, they avoided receiving and providing messages that could be interpreted as weak and vulnerable.

Different types of support exist, and each type of support may play a different role (Malecki & Demaray, 2003); however, there is little research investigating the different types of support among Latinas/os. Most studies using Latina/o samples do not differentiate between the four types and instead use the term "social support" in a general broad sense (e.g., Crockett, Iturbide, Torres Stone, McGinley, & Raggaelli, 2007; Knouse, 1991; Rivera, 2007). For example, Crockett et al. (2007) measured social support through a combination of companionship, tangible help, intimacy, affection, and esteem. They found that among 148 Mexican American college students, those who perceived higher levels of social support available reported less symptoms of acculturation stress as opposed to those who perceived a lower availability of social support. Broadly, social support from family members tends to be

the most effective for Latinas/os to overcome immigration and acculturation problems (Landale & Oropesa, 2001). Rivera (2007) found that among 850 Latinas/os between the ages of 18-23, strong family support (e.g., closeness to family, family cares for individual) may mediate the relationship between high acculturation stress and depressive symptoms. The perception of support may also improve relational satisfaction. In fact, Guntzviller (2017) found that among 100 Latina/o mother-brokering child dyads, the children's perception of the mother's support goal (i.e., making sure that her child feels good about him/herself while brokering) was the strongest predictor of mothers' relational satisfaction. It seems that Latinas/os might benefit from support. However, due to their communal approach and collectivistic nature, Latinas/os might not actively seek social support. That is Latinas/os may not want to interrupt their ingroup's goals by seeking support and pursuing personal goals (Kim, Sherman, Ko, & Taylor, 2006).

Evidently, culture plays an important role in the type of support that is most appropriate for the groups' needs and how such support is enacted. Hence, it is not clear what type of support, if any, would be most adequate for young brokers of Latina/o descent. We are left with the following questions: (a) what kind of supportive communication do young Latina/o brokers receive from family members and U.S. mainstream members, and (b) how do young brokers feel about such supportive communication? The present study not only investigates which types of supportive communication are prevalent among Latina/o brokers, but also delves into what they look like communicatively.

Communal Coping when Brokering is Stressful

In addition to supportive communication as a resource for young brokers, some may also engage in communal coping to manage any stress that emerges from brokering.

Communal coping is described as the "pooling of resources and efforts of several individuals to confront adversity" (Lyons, Mickelson, Sullivan, & Coyne, 1998, p. 580). Unlike supportive communication, communal coping suggests that individuals not only confront the issue together, but also co-own the problem ("our problem" and "our responsibility"; Afifi, Hutchinson, & Krouse, 2006; Lyons et al., 1998). For brokers, communal coping might mean that they work with their family or members of U.S. mainstream culture as a group to overcome the stressful circumstances of brokering. Many immigrant families see brokering as a normative behavior in which both parents and children work together to manage the interaction (Orellana, 2009). Thus, it is intuitive for them to work as a family. Such communal approach may promote resilience (Theiss, 2018). Furthermore, Afifi et al. (2016) expanded on this idea by suggesting that when family members take on a communal approach to manage their stress and validate each other, they are more likely to build positive emotional reserves. Consequently, family members are likely to experience more positive appraisals, and in turn, thrive.

With respect to Latina/o families, familism might explain why communal coping can occur among Latina/o brokers and their immediate and extended family members. Familism is a cultural value that places importance on family interdependence and highlights loyalty and reciprocity toward family members (Sabogal, Marin, & Otero-Sabogal, 1987). Coohey (2001) stated that familism "is believed to be the most important factor influencing the lives of Latinos" (p. 130). Furthermore, Alvarez (2017) argued that brokering allows the youth to demonstrate respect and fulfill their familial duty. To date, several studies have provided some initial evidence of Latina/o brokers working together with their family members to understand the meaning of certain words or to come up with the correct interpretation

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(Buriel, Love, & De Ment, 2006; Dorner et al., 2008; Kam, Basinger, & Guntzviller, 2017; Katz, 2010), but we know very little about what communal coping looks like communicatively among young brokers and brokees.

Through semi-structured interviews with young brokers, the present study can shed light on the ways in which brokers communally cope with family and/or members of U.S. mainstream culture or receive support from them. Because brokering often involves a third party outside the immediate family, it may be that mainstream members (e.g., doctors, employers, teachers, counselors) can also be involved in communal coping; however, we currently do not know whether such communal coping occurs between brokers and members of U.S. mainstream culture (Kam, Guntzviller, & Stohl, 2017). Such insights can inform prior communal coping literature by revealing what working together and solving a shared problem looks like communicatively for young brokers and those who are involved in that process. To further understand how communication with family and members of U.S. mainstream culture, in the form of supportive (or unsupportive) communication and communal coping, might lead to positive or negative experiences, I posed the following research questions:

RQ1: How do immediate and extended family brokees (i.e., family members who rely on brokers for assistance) communicatively support or communally cope with brokers during the exchange?

RQ2: How do immediate and extended family brokees communicate a lack of support?

RQ3: How do members of U.S. mainstream culture communicatively support or communally cope with brokers during the exchange?

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RQ4: How do members of U.S. mainstream culture communicate a lack of support

with brokers during the exchange?

To obtain a more holistic understanding of the role and process of supportive communication, it is important to explore beyond the types of support enacted. To expand our understanding, recipients' evaluation of the support should be investigated (MacGeorge, Bo, Butler, & Budarz, 2004). Communication scholars argue that discrepancies between the support that individuals desire versus the support they actually receive (i.e., support gaps) can affect the extent to which the supportive message is effective (High & Steuber, 2014; Xu & Burleson, 2001). In a sample of 301 infertile women, High and Steuber (2014) found a discrepancy in almost all reported levels of desired support versus received support. Because individuals vary in the amount of support they desire, receive, and seek, their perceptions of the support should be further explored (High & Crowley, 2016).

In addition, cultural aspects may play an important role in the expectations of enacted support. Davis and High (2017) found that African American/Black women reported more support from friends of the same race, and the women reported needing and expecting more social and identity presence (a form of support) from friends of the same race. Their finding is relevant to the brokering context as oftentimes brokers have to simultaneously navigate a conversation between two diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds (Pines et al., 2017). Thus, brokers might have different expectations for their family members and the members of U.S. mainstream culture, which may result in a support gap. A gap between desired and received support can have negative implications for the perceived quality of the supportive communication provided (High & Steuber, 2014). Thus, the present study explores support gaps among brokers by posing the following research question:

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RQ5: How do brokers feel about the support they receive from or the communal

coping they participate in with family and members of U.S. mainstream

culture?

Methods

Participants

In the 2015-2016 academic year, 6th-8th grade students from a junior high school in a

Southwestern state were surveyed three times (3-month intervals). To recruit these students, a

list was created with middle schools in a three-hour driving distance from the university. The

principal investigator sent an e-mail to all the principals at the middle schools. She also sent

information packets and called each school to set up appointments with principals. From that

process, one middle school agreed to participate because the principal found that the study's

goals aligned with many of the experiences that his students faced.

At each wave, the students were asked to report their brokering experiences, parent-

child conflict, hope communication, mental health, substance use, and academic

performance. In the winter of the following academic year (2016-2017), 20 boys and 20 girls,

who had reported brokering the previous year, were randomly selected to participate in one-

on-one semi-structured interviews reflecting on their brokering experiences. Only 7th and 8th

grade students were chosen because the previous 8th grade students had enrolled in high

school by winter 2017, and the new 6th grade class had not participated in the longitudinal

study the prior year. In addition, only students who were of Latina/o descent and who had

brokered for a family member (according to the survey data) were invited to participate in an

interview. Of the 411 students who had been surveyed the previous year, approximately 95%

were of Latina/o descent, according to school-reported data. U.S. Census data indicate that

approximately 55% of the city's population were native Spanish speakers, and the school was located in an agricultural city (American Community Survey, 2015).

Although 40 Latina/o brokers were invited to participate, a total of 31 interviews were completed. Some students were no longer enrolled at the school, were absent on the day of the interviews, had to end the interview early because of time limitations, or had a difficult time remembering their brokering experiences. Thus, they were excluded from the study. Among the 31 brokers, 48% ($n = 15$) were male and 51% ($n = 16$) were female and were either in 7th grade (42%) or 8th grade (58%). The average age of students was 13.65 years ($SD = 0.66$).

The students filled out a survey after the interview; however, due to time constraints, only 15 students completed it. The interviewees responded to the following items on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1(*never*) to 5 (*very often).* Sixty percent reported brokering for their mother *often* or *very often* ($M = 3.79$, $SD = 0.89$)*,* while 47% reported brokering *often* or *very often* for their father ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.34$). They reported brokering less frequently (33% rarely, 33% sometimes, and 7% often) for other family members ($M = 2.29$, $SD = 0.91$). Only 20% reported brokering *often* or *very often* in medical offices ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.34$), while 53% brokered *often* or *very often* at home ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.26$). Additionally, 80% reported that they *often or very often* liked to broker ($M = 3.93$, $SD = 0.60$), and 34% felt nervous *often* or *very often* when brokering ($M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.21$).

From the interview data, it was established that out of the 16 female participants, two brokered for their fathers, eight brokered for their mothers, and six brokered for both. As for their male ($n = 15$) counterparts, two brokered for their father, two for their mother, nine for both parents and two for others (e.g., grandparents).

Procedures

After Latina/o 7ᵗʰ and 8ᵗʰ grade brokers were identified, the principal investigator provided the school with a letter to send home to parents in early January 2017. The letter informed parents of the study's purpose and stated that their child would be invited to participate in a paid face-to-face interview regarding their experience interpreting for family members. All documents were provided in English and Spanish. If parents wished to withdraw their child from the interview, they could inform the school. Three female bilingual research assistants in their early twenties of Mexican-descent were recruited to form part of this study. Their experiences growing up in a Latina/o household and brokering for their family members helped provide insights during the interview process. To prepare for the interviews, the English-Spanish bilingual research assistants and I conducted practice interviews using the interview protocol. The research team trained for approximately three weeks, each assistant conducting three different practice interviews. The principal investigator and a Ph.D. graduate student reviewed the practice interviews, and the research team met once a week to discuss ways to improve their interviewing techniques. When the research team officially began interviewing participating brokers, the research team met each week to discuss that week's interviews. The principal investigator reviewed the interviews each week, providing verbal and written feedback. The research team discussed strengths and weakness, areas that needed improvement, techniques to build rapport, rephrasing certain questions to avoid confusion, elaboration strategies, and time management.

Due to the nature of this middle school's daily schedule, it was crucial to have a research team, as opposed to only one individual conduct this study. Time constraints, holidays, and school breaks required the research team to accommodate the middle school's

availability. To minimize distractions in the classroom setting, it was more effective to have at least two researchers simultaneously conduct interviews in separate rooms. Hence, to meet the school's needs, be the least intrusive, and finish in a timely manner, a research team was needed to conduct this study.

Bilingual research assistants and I conducted 31 semi-structured interviews with 7th and 8th grade Latina/o brokers. Each interview took place in an empty classroom or conference room with only the student and interviewer present and the classroom door kept open at all times. The interviews ranged from 20-50 minutes long and were conducted in the student's language preference, Spanish or English. Before starting the interview, the students were informed of the study's purpose and were told their rights as interviewees. They were informed that the interview was completely voluntary, they could skip any question, they could have any question repeated, that it was confidential, and that their answers could help students with similar experiences. All of the students agreed to have their interview audio recorded. They then signed an assent form to confirm their participation.

During each interview, the interviewer asked the student to describe something fun they recently did with their family. After establishing rapport with the student, the interviewer asked open-ended questions (e.g., # 8, 10, 11, 17, 19, 20, 21; see protocol for list of all questions) about the student's experiences interpreting for family and U.S mainstream members. Sample questions include, "How does your parent or family member let you know that you have done a good job translating[1]?", "In the past, some kids who translate also have said that they work together with their family member as a team when translating. How

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[1] The terms, translating or interpreting, were used when interviewing middle school students because they were unfamiliar with the scholarly term, language brokering. "Translating" or "interpreting" were used interchangeably, and they were both used to refer to linguistically and culturally mediating for family members.

might that be true or not true for you?", "How, if at all, does your family member try to help you when translating?", "What does the English speaker do to make you feel comfortable when translating?" and "How, if at all, does the English speaker try to help you when translating?" To shed light on instances of thriving the interviewer asked, "How has translating affected your relationship with your family?" and "What do you like about translating for your family?" To obtain more in-depth answers, the interviewer asked the students to explain, give examples, elaborate, or extend their answers. Once the interview ended, students filled out a short survey on their brokering experiences. They received a snack and $10. Upon completing the interviews for the day, the interviewers wrote memos describing the interaction and how to improve.

Data Analysis

Owen's (1984) methods for conducting a thematic analysis with interviews and field notes served as a guide for analyzing the interviews. Owen's three criteria for thematic analysis are: (a) recurrence, (b) repetition, and (c) forcefulness. In conducting a thematic analysis, recurrence refers to the same underlying meaning being expressed more than once. Repetition occurs when the participant repeats key words or phrases. The third criterion, forcefulness, refers to the emphasis that the participant puts on certain words or phrases while speaking or writing (e.g. bolding text, increasing volume, pausing). I, a Latina broker, read the 31 transcripts to obtain a sense of the emerging themes. I then reread the interviews and using Glaus and Strauss (1967) constant comparative method, created a codebook with different brokering, supportive communication, and communal coping constructs. The constant comparative method consisted of several coding phases, beginning with open coding. I initially read the interviews and broadly categorized recurring communication

themes/patterns. During the second phase, I narrowed down the codes by comparing the previous codes and identifying any similarities amongst them. I then created the codebook by comparing the codes once again and identifying salient and significant codes that specifically depicted the four types of support provided, lack of support, feelings, and communal approaches.

After a codebook was established, I trained two bilingual Latina research assistants to code the interviews. One of the Latina research assistants grew up in a Spanish speaking household and has been a broker since she acquired the English language as a child. The other assistant grew up in a bilingual household and was familiar with the brokering process. Their different levels of experience with brokering were beneficial to this study. Their perspectives and experiences allowed for various insights in the analysis of the interviews. Their enrollment in course credit allowed for a weekly workload of 10 hours. Two to three hours were dedicated to a weekly meeting, and the remaining allotted hours allowed them to code approximately seven interviews per week. A weekly meeting was held between the research assistants and myself to discuss the codes. The weekly meetings helped settle any coding discrepancies, clarify any confusion, and discuss emerging themes.

During the first two weeks of the coding process, the codebook was revisited and revised. We repeatedly reviewed the codebook until saturation was reached. To reach coding consensus, the research team discussed the discrepancies by revisiting the codebook and the transcripts. The research team followed the same procedure for all 31 interviews. After full consensus was reached, the codes and their corresponding interview text were recorded in NVivo, a qualitative analysis program.

Results

All interviewees (100%, $N = 31$) reported at least one form of family support, with informational support being the most common (94%, $n = 29$), followed by emotional support (87%, $n = 27$), esteem support (81%, $n = 25$), and then instrumental support (39 %, $n = 12$), respectively. Members of U.S. mainstream culture also provided support to most brokers (87%, $n = 27$), with informational support being the most reported (77%, $n = 24$), followed by instrumental support (45%, $n = 14$), emotional support (39%, $n = 12$), and finally esteem support (26%, $n = 8$). Although all brokers mentioned the presence of support from at least one source, many also mentioned either a lack of family support (58%, $n = 18$), a lack of mainstream support (52%, $n = 16$), or desiring more support (58%, $n = 18$).

Family Supportive Communication

For this study, RQ1 inquired as to how immediate and extended family brokees communicatively support or communally cope with brokers. I found evidence for: (a) *emotional,* (b) *esteem,* (c) *informational*, and (d) *instrumental support* (see Table 1 for a gender breakdown of type of support received). In regard to *emotional support* ($n = 27$), brokers mentioned that parents were grateful and understanding (e.g., "He just says, 'Thank you for translating for me.' Then he gives me a pat on the back" #7, p. 9, male; "They are calmer with me. They'll get me, like, if I can't say a word. They'll be helping me, and they won't be upset or something like that" #30, p. 12, male; "Yeah, they support—they support me...yeah, like they pat me on the back" #27, p. 17, female). Another broker stated:

> It kind of does get frustrating, yeah, but I kind of keep calm and translate as much as I
>
> can. And she's [mom] totally fine with it. She understands there's a lot of words I
>
> don't know yet. She lets me read it by myself first and 'Then when you understand,

tell me as much as you understand, and that's totally fine as long as you get the

basics.' (#13, p. 4, female)

Here, parents used verbal and nonverbal behaviors to convey warmth and gratitude, as well

as to create a safe environment for brokers. Brokers emphasized the importance of their

parents' temperament. Parents showed signs of emotional affection by keeping calm and

being understanding even when the broker struggled with a complex word. This seemed to be

an especially meaningful way to support brokers. A common challenge for brokers is to

translate verbatim, but some parents decreased the pressure to do so by not expecting

perfection.

The young brokers also discussed the *esteem support* ($n = 25$) that their parents

provided to recognize brokers' accomplishments and skills. Esteem support focuses on

uplifting an individual's self-worth and self-confidence. For example, one female broker was

told by her parent, "Okay, you did a good job. You're getting better at translating" (#4, p. 14,

female). This type of support enhanced their brokering esteem (e.g., "If I don't understand,

like, the question they say, they tell me, like, try, try, like, in a good way…'You can do it!'

'Just think, if you remember the word just tell me" #5, p. 8, male). Another student described

the esteem support that she received, "He just told me he was, like, impressed a little 'cause

usually I get stuck a lot" (#24, p. 13, female). These messages enhanced broker's self-esteem

by praising the broker's improved bilingual skills. In addition, the congratulatory remarks

served as encouragement, and thus, heighten the broker's self-efficacy. The primary goal is

to broker correctly between the two parties; therefore, when a family member emphasizes

this achievement, the brokers' self-assurance can increase.

Instrumental support from parents was the least frequently reported type of support by the participants (*n= 12)*; however, some brokers mentioned receiving gifts for assisting their family. Instrumental support is enacted when individuals provide tangible resources with the goal of aiding the recipient. Brokers received instrumental support in the form of rewards such as trips, money, and clothes (e.g., "Sometimes they'll get me some stuff, like, little stuff for translating and then helping them out in the situation" # 10, p. 11, female; "They take me to a place, # 24, p. 15, female; "She usually tries to give us prizes and stuff" #16, p. 4, female; "Buy me clothes," # 21, p. 7, female). The rewards they received served as incentives to continue brokering and as symbols of appreciation for their help. Interestingly, one broker stated that he helped his parents by translating, and in return, they would buy him bicycle parts. This type of support was especially beneficial for the broker because he was passionate about bicycles. Thus, brokering enabled him to indirectly pursue his hobbies. Such support may motivate brokers to view brokering as a desirable skill that has certain benefits. In addition to incentives and prizes, brokers also discussed being given dictionaries or books. These tangible resources helped enhance the broker's vocabulary, which ultimately strengthened their brokering skills.

Lastly, parental *informational support* was commonly reported (*n* = 29) among the respondents. Informational support serves its purpose by providing advice or facts about the issue at hand. In this context, *informational support* facilitated the brokering process by providing additional context, simplifying words, and using alternative explanations (e.g., "They'll say it in Spanish what it might mean and then I'll see. I'll read it in English and figure it out" #8, p. 18, male). A male broker described how his dad tried to decipher words in an attempt to help him:

Yes, my dad like if I'm with my dad, he mostly tries to listen. He knows a

little bit of English, like, some words, but he tries to help me…Like, I tried to

kinda tried to explain it in Spanish, so he tries to get it in his head and try to

see the word or something." (# 2. p. 14, male)

As previously mentioned, one of the most salient challenges for brokers is

deciphering complex words. Thus, when family members propose different strategies,

give context clues, and try to decipher the word themselves, this helps reduce the

obstacle. In addition, several brokers also noted that it was helpful when their parents

gave them information about the brokering situation. Some attributed their nerves due

to the uncertainty of the brokering context (e.g., the location or who they were

translating for). For example, "Interviewer: Nervous? What made it, what made you

feel nervous? Broker: 'cause I had never, I had never talked to a police officer" (#19,

p. 8, female). Another participant felt prepared when, "like, if I'm going to be talking

to an adult or a guy or a woman…'cause I know who I'm going to be talking to" (#17,

p. 18, male). Thus, to mitigate brokering stress, informational support that provided

brokers with contextual information helped reduce their stress.

Family Communal Coping

With respect to communal coping, many of them ($n = 21$) worked as a family to

navigate the stressors associated with brokering (e.g., "and then we're like working together

as a team as, like, to figure it out" #9, p. 13, male; "Like, I'm trying to say something, and the

other one jumps in, and like, like, clarifies what I'm trying to say" #26, p. 10, female). One

male broker detailed how they worked as a team:

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Normally we double check it sometimes when we aren't pretty sure what it means

and what not, and we all help each other. If my dad gets it in a way, but doesn't get

this part, well, I come in and help him with parts. My mom might get a part, but my

dad gets another, but we all get another part, and we all put it together and read it later

to see if we all got the same thing. (#30, p. 11, male)

Similarly, a female broker stated:

Sometimes I don't understand, and I ask my cousin who is, like, a year older than me.

Sometimes he doesn't understand it, so we ask my uncle, and he doesn't understand it,

so like everyone's trying to figure it out. (#4, p. 9, female)

This process created an opportunity for the family to come together to resolve the stressor at

hand (e.g., interpreting a document). When brokers had trouble explaining certain

information, multiple family members would contribute to the resolution. Brokers did not

have to shoulder the responsibility on their own, but instead, they worked with other family

members to successfully mediate. This behavior characterizes communal coping because

family members took a cooperative approach to deciphering words. Immediate and extended

family seemed to view brokering challenges as a family issue that involved them working

together to resolve.

Family Lack of Support

RQ2 inquired about how immediate and extended family members communicate a

lack of support to young brokers. Three types of lack of support emerged: (a) *emotional* (b)

esteem (c) informational. A lack of *emotional support (n* = 10) emerged when parents

became angry at the child for not being able to broker (e.g., "What I find most difficult is,

like, how they tell me a word, and I can't, like, actually pronounce it, so I say it wrong, and

then my parents get mad at me," # 25, p. 2, female; " She gets mad…'cause she starts screaming," #22, p. 4, female; "'Come on come on,' 'cause they want to get it over with, uh...I get frustrated," #9, p. 14, male; "They react like that if I was dumb or something," #19, p. 11, male). One young broker reported feeling a lack of emotional support from her father:

> The lady just talked in English, so my dad was, like, 'Okay you have to order this, but say this' and, like, I was confused 'cause I was nervous, like, also, What do I say? 'Dad stop pressuring me.' Like, I need to calm down, like, yeah, that was kinda hard. (#6, p. 3, female)

Furthermore, a lack of *esteem support* ($n = 5$) was demonstrated when brokees ridiculed or diminished the child's abilities (e.g., "Like, 'que yo no se nada [that I don't know anything]' and all that" #25, p. 3, female; "Sometimes I think that they're making fun of me," #19, p. 12, male). Interestingly, both females and males reported similar levels of lack of support (see Table 1). However, the largest difference was within lack of esteem support in which four females but only one male reported lack of esteem support.

Informational support ($n = 9$) was absent when parents did not provide brokers with background information that could help them have a smooth brokering interaction, "But he can't help me in English so, yeah, they just tell me, 'Can you translate this?' And then that's pretty much it" (#28, p. 21, male), "No, she just tells me 'how do you say this in English?'…when it's a hard word I can't say it" (#6, p. 5, female), and "They don't prepare me, I just know English so that's why" (#5, p. 15, male). A common pattern among these interviewees seems to be the emphasis on knowledge (or lack of) of the English language. This may be explained because esteem and emotional support may still be conveyed to the

broker without being fluent in English. However, informational support might be more difficult to provide without knowledge of the English language.

In sum, these exemplars demonstrate a lack of supportive communication and may be interpreted as non-accommodating behaviors. On multiple occasions, brokers mentioned that their family members would ridicule them for not being fluent in Spanish. They discussed how instead of being understanding, family members would make insensitive comments targeted at diminishing their abilities and skills. Whereas some brokers found their family members to be understanding and supportive, others reported that their parents would become frustrated and lacked sympathy when they stumbled on a word. Furthermore, the concept of feeling unprepared or lacking prior knowledge of the interaction was also introduced. This showed that some family members might underaccommodate the brokers. Some parents expected their children to know how to independently broker in any situation or context.

U.S. Mainstream's Supportive Communication

RQ3 asked how members of U.S. mainstream culture communicatively support or communally cope with brokers. Our study revealed U.S. mainstream members' support in the forms of (a) *emotional,* (b) *esteem,* (c *) informational*, and (d) *instrumental*; however, it did not find evidence for communal coping with U.S. mainstream cultural members (see Table 1). The most common type of support was *informational* ($n=$ 24) in which the English speaker spoke slower, used different words, and tried to speak Spanish. For example, several interviewees mentioned similar experiences, "Sometimes, they give me a different word to say to them" (#18, p. 7, male), "She talked a little bit in Spanish until my mom understand" (#29, p. 7, male) and, "Sometimes, they try to speak a bit little English, I mean Spanish"

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(#31, p. 7, male). Two others emphasized that U.S. mainstream members attempted to fill in the words that they could not translate, "Like, if I say it, like, a little wrong, they know what the word is and then they say it" (#17, p. 9, male.). Another broker described an incident of U.S. mainstream support:

> I didn't know how to tell the other person what my dad was saying. He was saying something about the firefighters. Is that what they are called? He was trying to guess what I meant...they [U.S. mainstream members] say it in a different way that I might understand. (#12, p. 5, 9, male)

U.S. mainstream *instrumental support* ($n = 14$) was evident in almost half of the participants. The most common way U.S. mainstream members demonstrated instrumental support was by calling in a bilingual adult (e.g., "Sometimes they bring someone in that can speak, like, better, can translate better because I'm not the best, and so then they do it" #28, p. 10, male; "They sometimes call a manager" #20, p. 6, male; "Well, like, they ask me if I am okay with translating, and then if I say no then they usually bring someone," #15, p. 5, female). Twelve brokers reported *emotional support* from U.S. mainstream members who smiled, were happy, and voiced gratitude. For example, "When I finish, they say, like, 'Thank you'" (#14, p. 10, female), "Some people smile," (#21, p. 7, female) and "Them saying thank you after, like, they look happy at the help" (#26, p. 13, female).

Lastly, U.S. mainstream members provided *esteem support* ($n = 7$) by complimenting brokers after the interaction (e.g., "They tell me I did a good job and to keep up the good work," #31, p. 11, male; "They tell me that, um, that I said it right and that um, and that I was good that I told my mom, helping my mom" #19, p. 12, male). Another broker described how a U.S. mainstream member provided esteem support, "He said that he was quite proud that I

had been able to translate all that" (#13, p. 7, female). U.S. mainstream *esteem support* was the least mentioned by the participants.

As High and Steuber (2014) noted, support comes from family, friends, and community members. In this study, U.S. mainstream members were perceived as providing all four types of support. The U.S. mainstream members accommodated the brokers' communicative needs in several aspects. U.S. mainstream members provided emotional support both verbally, through expressed gratitude, and nonverbally through smiles and pats on the back. These types of messages helped comfort the broker by communicating a sense of affection and care for the broker's assistance. Additionally, when a U.S. mainstream member, who may be perceived as an authoritative figure, gave a compliment to a broker, this seemed to boost the broker's self-efficacy. Lastly, when the U.S. mainstream members provided additional information, slowed down, and used simpler words to match the communicative style of the broker, this was a form of accommodation. That is, the mainstream member communicatively adjusted to the brokers' communicative needs.

U.S. Mainstream's Lack of Supportive Communication

RQ4 inquired as to how members of U.S. mainstream culture communicated a lack of support to young brokers. Despite the reported U.S. mainstream support, over half of the brokers ($n = 16$) reported at least one type of lack of U.S. mainstream support. Although all four types of support emerged, lack of *informational support* was the most reported ($n = 11$). Such lack of support included the U.S. mainstream member not slowing down and instead using complex words, "She tells me, like, this high vocabulary that I don't know (#9, p. 5, male) or "They probably just talk really fast" (#8, p. 10, male). Five brokers reported a lack of *esteem support* by stating that the U.S. mainstream members do not say anything to make

them feel confident in their skills. When asked whether U.S. mainstream members make them feel good or comfortable, one young broker stated, "I don't really feel…no" (#10, p. 7, female). Similarly, to lack of esteem parental support, lack of mainstream esteem support had the biggest discrepancy among females and males (see Table 2). A lack of *emotional support* was only reported by two brokers. One noted that occasionally U.S. mainstream members become frustrated with her, "Some get frustrated...She was just kind of, like, giving me, like, little mad face" (#26, p. 4, 6, female).

Similar to how family members may be non-accommodating in their communication towards the brokers, U.S. mainstream members had the potential to act similarly. Although they may not have purposefully underaccommodated, the fact that they may not have shifted their communication style to meet the broker's needs can be seen as underaccommodation. Thus, the broker does not have the necessary guidance and support to broker adequately. For example, when the U.S. mainstream members made disapproving facial expressions or used jargon (e.g., "The English speaker could um, like I said lower the vocabulary," #9, p. 20, male), this fostered an uncomfortable environment for the brokers.

Feelings about Supportive Communication

RQ5 sought to understand how young brokers felt after receiving support. A common experience was that they felt proud of themselves because they were able to assist their family. As one broker said, "My parents tell me that, 'Thank you for just helping me and explaining this for me,' and it makes me feel like so glad of myself" (#1, p. 26, female). Others reported that they felt the brokees trusted them more, and they felt more confident in themselves after they received support. For example, one broker explained, "It makes me feel like they are actually putting confidence [trust] in me to say the right thing" (#15, p. 6,

female). Another broker stated, "It makes me feel like I can do better…it makes me feel accomplished…it makes me feel proud about myself that I'm doing a good job" (#23, p. 4, 10, 15, male).

The study also explored how the support or lack of support could foster resilience and thriving. Although only seven brokers reported supportive communication as beneficial or hindering, 11 respondents reported feeling "good" about the support they received. These findings suggest that support might play a role in resilience and thriving (e.g., "that that actually makes me feel pretty good that I, I have a dream and my mom can focus me on, like translating #11, p. 14, male; "Cause like it gives me more confidence or like to tell her like more things in Spanish" #3, p. 18, male. Surprisingly, two brokers shared that the lack of support might have positively affected them, "them frowning, it makes me feel like I can do better" (#23, p. 4, male); and "it's better for me so I can learn better" (#20, p. 4, male). These findings help demonstrate that brokering may foster resilience among Latina/o youth.

Although these quotes represent the feelings and responses of the perceived received support, interestingly, all but three interviewees reported a lack or a desire for some type of support. In other words, although every interviewee described and talked about the different supports they received, almost all of them also talked about desiring support. Thus, there is evidence that a support deficit among brokers exists. Deficits of support were reported for both mainstream members and family members. Table 3 demonstrates a complete list of received, desired, and lack of support for all 31 interviews.

In sum, all 31 interviewees reported a type of support, however, a lack of support or a desire for more support was also prominent. With respect to U.S. mainstream members, informational support was the most common type of support provided (77%, $n = 24$).

Interestingly, it was also the most commonly reported as lacking from U.S. mainstream members (35%, $n = 11$). For family members informational support was also the most commonly provided (94%, $n = 29$), while emotional supported was the most lacking (32%, $n = 10$), followed by a lack of informational support (29%, $n = 9$). Although a lack of emotional support was the most common among family members, emotional and instrumental support were the least reported as lacking from U.S. mainstream members (6%, $n = 2$). None of the interviewees discussed a lack of instrumental support from their family members. Esteem support held the largest discrepancy between types of support provided between U.S. mainstream members (23%, $n = 7$) and family members (81%, $n = 25$). However, there was no discrepancy for lack of esteem support between family (16%, $n = 5$) and U.S. mainstream members (16%, $n = 5$). This may indicate that many young brokers felt they received adequate amounts of esteem support from both sources.

Discussion

Based on 31 semi-structured interviews with young Latina/o brokers, I examined the extent to which young brokers received different types of support from family members, as well as members from U.S. mainstream culture. To date, few studies, if any, have taken a systematic approach to investigating the supportive and unsupportive communication that young brokers receive from family and U.S. mainstream members. Although descriptive in nature, the findings shed light on the types of support received, offers insight into what such support looks like communicatively, and reveals how young brokers feel after receiving such support. These findings are noteworthy because they point to different types of behaviors that might be undesirable (e.g., expressing frustrating with the broker, belittling the broker for not knowing a word) or desirable (e.g., providing informational support, creating a safe and

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comfortable environment) to young brokers. Identifying undesirable and desirable forms of support for young brokers is crucial to extending the work on support gaps, as well as to developing resources that enhance the well-being of young brokers and their family. Thus, this section discusses the results in greater detail and describes their theoretical and practical implications.

Supportive Communication from Family and Members of U.S. Mainstream Culture

The first and third research questions inquired as to how family and members of U.S. mainstream culture communicate support to young brokers or engage in communal coping with young brokers. Interestingly, family members commonly engaged in all four types of supportive communication: emotional, esteem, instrumental, and informational. Although much of the supportive communication literature emphasizes the importance of emotional support (e.g., Hambre & Pianta, 2006; Slevin et al., 1996), the present study's findings highlight the role of all four types of support for young brokers. Our sample of young brokers did not report receiving all four types of support from members of U.S. mainstream culture as frequently as family members. Instead, family members most commonly provided emotional and esteem support. This finding leads one to ask: why did the young brokers in the present study report all four types of support from members of U.S. mainstream culture but least reported receiving emotional and esteem support from them?

One explanation for the differences in support reported by source is that family members spend more time with the broker; therefore, they may be better acquainted with their child's need for different types of support. Furthermore, family members rely heavily on the child's brokering skills and may have more invested in the success of the interaction than members from U.S. mainstream culture. Young brokers' interpretations and decisions

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during the exchange may have a greater impact on the parents' well-being than the member of U.S. mainstream culture. Thus, it might be important for the family member to provide as much assistance as possible during the exchange. In addition, family members are likely to interact with the young broker more often than the member from U.S. mainstream culture (except perhaps teachers). Having greater familiarity with the young broker might lead to the provision of various types of support; however, members of U.S. mainstream culture's lack of familiarity with the young broker might limit the mainstream member's breadth of support offered to the young broker. Informational support might be the most readily available for mainstream members to use because their interactions might be perceived as more transactional.

U.S. mainstream members and family members might have to consider multiple goals that lead them to use different types of support (Caughlin, 2010; Clark & Delia, 1979). Multiple goals theory suggests that there are three types of goals: (a) identity (i.e., motivation to create or maintain a desired image), relational (i.e., motivation to create or maintain a certain relationship), and instrumental (i.e., motivation to accomplish a certain task through the interaction). During a brokering interaction, U.S. mainstream members' primary goal might be instrumental, particularly if they do not have a relationship with the young broker. They might engage in informational support to meet instrumental goals. For example, when a U.S. mainstream member provides context cues, explains the situation, and defines jargon, this informational support can help the U.S. mainstream member understand the young broker and the family member, thereby resulting in a successful transaction. Because parents have a personal relationship with the young broker, and much of their identity stems from being a parent, they might have concerns for identity and relational goals in addition to

instrumental goals. For example, emotional, esteem, and instrumental support may help parents address their identity as a nurturing parent while also attending to their relational goal (i.e., maintaining a strong parent-child relationship). Informational support may help facilitate and navigate the brokering interaction (i.e., instrumental goal). Indeed, Guntzviller (2017) found that among 100 low-income Spanish-speaking mothers and their brokering children, mother's support goal (e.g., ensuring that she show support to her child and caring about child's esteem) was the strongest predictor for both child and mother relational satisfaction. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that supportive communication plays an important role in fostering a positive relational outcome between the parent and the child.

Another noteworthy finding is that family members engaged in communal coping; however, young brokers did not report engaging in communal coping (working together) with members of U.S. mainstream culture. Kam et al. (2017) suggested that communal coping might extend beyond young brokers and their family, but instead, might also involve members of U.S. mainstream culture. The young brokers in the present study might not have reported communal coping with members of U.S. mainstream culture because they operated under an ingroup and outgroup perspective. Soliz, Thorson, and Rittenour (2009) found that family supportive communication is positively associated with family in-group identity. Thus, the more family identity, the more likely families might partake in communal coping. The brokers might not have identified with members of U.S. mainstream culture, and hence, viewed them as members of the outgroup (Giles, Reid, & Harwood, 2010). Consequently, the young brokers might not have trusted or felt comfortable working alongside the U.S. mainstream member. Additional research is necessary to determine whether perceptions of ingroup/outgroup membership predict communal coping. One might consider whether

members of U.S. mainstream culture, who young brokers have developed a relationship with, are more likely to be perceived as an ingroup member, and in turn, engage in communal coping compared to member of U.S. mainstream culture who are strangers or acquaintances. One might also consider the perceived importance of the information being conveyed. That is, individuals (both family members and members of the U.S. mainstream culture) might be more likely to engage in communal coping when the stakes are higher. Anguiano (2018) found that Latino/a adolescents who brokered in high-stake situations were perceived as being more stressed. Thus, communal coping might help alleviate some of this stress.

A Lack of Support from Family and Members of U.S. Mainstream

The second and fourth research questions inquired as to how family and members of U.S. mainstream culture provided a lack of support to young brokers. Young brokers noted multiple times that their family, particularly parents, would become angry, frustrated, or upset when brokers struggled with interpreting—a sign of limited emotional support. Some communication scholars have suggested that emotional support might be the most important form of support for individuals (e.g., Burleson, 1982; Burleson & Holstrom, 2008; Jones, 2004). Although the present study did not test the associations between parents' lack of emotional support, parents' expression of negative emotions, and young brokers' well-being, young brokers reported feeling bad when their parents did not provide emotional support and when they expressed negative emotions.

Along with emotional support, the interviewees also discussed a lack of esteem and informational support. Many brokers attributed the lack of informational support to the parents not providing context clues before the interaction. A lack of esteem support most commonly occurred when parents neglected to praise their children for their skills or when

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parents questioned their children's intelligence. Interestingly, a lack of parental instrumental support did not emerge. Brokers did not mention the lack of monetary compensation or the lack of tangible resources. This may be because the young Latina/o see it as their responsibility to help their family and do not expect anything in exchange (Orellana, 2009).

For members of U.S. mainstream culture, it seems that most young brokers expressed a lack of informational support. This is an interesting finding because informational support was also the most commonly reported type of support received from the mainstream members. The reported lack of informational support might help emphasize the importance of informational support for brokers. By providing context clues, using simpler words, and explaining words in various ways, informational support helps the broker successfully translate. Thus, brokers may perceive informational support as the most efficient because it allows them to interpret correctly.

Brokers reported that they lacked informational support from members of U.S. mainstream culture. Often, members of U.S. mainstream culture would not simplify words or help facilitate the interaction. Giles' CAT might explain the lack of informational support. From the brokers' perspective, the reluctance to slow down or simplify words may be considered underaccommodation. A lack of informational support from U.S. mainstream cultural members can negatively impact the brokering interaction because the main challenge for brokers is deciphering complex words (Corona et al., 2012). Thus, underaccommodation might heighten the difficulty level, negatively influence young brokers' self-efficacy, and prevent them from accurately brokering. Thus, when young brokers are not provided with adequate informational support during the exchange, they might perceive the mainstream member as underaccommodating their language needs.

Feelings toward Support from Family and Members of U.S. Mainstream

The fifth research question asked how young brokers felt regarding the support they received. Only two participants reported on their feelings concerning the lack of support provided. One of them reported feeling nervous when the U.S. mainstream member did not provide support. The other interviewee reported feeling frustrated at the lack of support provided from family members. Due to time constraints and the semi-structured approach of the interview, 13 participants were not specifically asked about their feeling toward (non)supportive communication. Of the eighteen participants who were asked about their feelings toward the support received from either source, sixteen reported feeling happy, better, or confident. Most of these positive sentiments came from feeling accomplished and proud of helping their parents. These feelings might reflect Latina/o's values surrounding familism, or the loyalty they have for one another. Thus, these feelings of connectedness and interdependence toward the family might explain why young brokers were pleased and proud to be able to help their parents.

Furthermore, research suggests that individuals evaluate various forms and types of support gaps differently (Brock & Lawrence, 2009; McLaren & High, 2015). McLaren and High found that individuals who were under-benefitted in emotional and esteem support reported feeling hurt after the interaction. Almost all brokers reported the presence of emotional support ($n = 27$), 10 of them reported a lack of emotional support. By contrast, although only 12 brokers reported emotional support from U.S. mainstream members, only two brokers reported a lack of emotional support from U.S. mainstream members. This might imply that these brokers were under-benefitted in emotional support from their family members but not U.S. mainstream members. High and Steuber (2014) found among infertile

women that they desired, sought, and received support from family members, friends, professionals, and online resources, but they desired the most support from family members. A deficit in emotional support from family members may foster resentment or hurt among young brokers. Brokers' support gaps deserve special attention as they may have negative relational implications.

Gender Differences

Although the research questions did not specifically explore gender differences, previous brokering literature has examined potential brokering differences by gender. Past literature has suggested that brokering is a gendered activity whereby female brokers have higher social self- efficacy, females who have more brokering responsibilities might be less depressed, males who partake in child-parent bonding might be less depressed, and males might have more negative feelings toward brokering (Buriel et al., 1998; Love & Buriel, 2007; Weisskirch, 2005; Weisskirch & Alva 2002). However, one study reported that brokers may perceive their experience in similar terms regardless of gender (Kim et al., 2018). With the exception of a slight discrepancy (four females and one male) of lack of esteem support among female and male brokers, as seen in Table 2, there was consistency among the other types of support among males and females. This finding is consistent with Schwarzer and Gutierrez-Dona (2005) who found that support received among couples were similar among men and women. Thus, the slight discrepancy for esteem support may not be due to brokering experiences but instead might be better explained by gender norms in the Latina/o culture. Raffaella and Ontai (2004) stated that Latina/o families socialize their daughters to meet the standard or traditional gender roles differently than they socialize their sons. Thus, it is plausible that because girls are expected to help their families, they might not receive the

appraisal they desire. Interestingly enough, more females discussed receiving esteem support

than males (see Table 1). In other words, although more females reported a lack of esteem

support, more females also reported receiving esteem support. Although this might seem

contradictory, these findings provide evidence for the support gap hypothesis.

Supportive Communication from the Perspective of Latina/o Brokers

The present study suggests that supportive communication among the Latino/a

population might have some underlying cultural factors. Although emotional support is

common among Latino/as (Fuligni, Tseng, & lam, 1999), there was evidence of lack of

emotional support provided by parents. This was evident especially when parents became

frustrated and angry at their children for not knowing a word. One explanation for this

finding might be the immigrant status of the parents. Latino/a immigrant parents often report

moving to the United States to provide better educational opportunities for their children, and

the parents have a strong desire for their children to have a better life in the United States

than in their native country (Orozco, 2008). Consequently, it might be upsetting and difficult

for parents to provide affectionate support when their children struggle with a complex word

because the parents expect the U.S. educational system to produce better linguistic abilities.

Furthermore, parents might question why they made certain sacrifices (e.g., leaving

hometown and parents behind, risking live to cross the border; Fuligni et al., 1999) to provide

better opportunities for their children, only to observe their child unable to understand certain

information. Thus, it seems that the lack of emotional support may be due to the violation of

the parents' anticipated educational expectations. This notion is in accordance to expectancy

violations theory, which states that when negative communicative violations occur, the

outcome of the conversation might also be negative (Burgoon, 1993; Burgoon, 2015).

Limitations and Future Directions

Although the study provided several insights, caution must be taken when interpreting the findings. In particular, supportive communication and communal coping involve more than the brokers; therefore, the perspective of all parties involved is crucial to obtain a more holistic understanding of brokering experiences. In addition, due to the cross-sectional nature of this study, a small sample size, and the age of the participants, the quotes and findings presented in the current study might not be generalizable to all brokers. Indeed, Weisskirch and Ava (2002) suggested that middle school students (early adolescents) might have different brokering perspectives than older adolescents. The researchers noted that their sample of younger brokers (9.9 years to 11.4 years) reported feeling more uncomfortable and did not perceive brokering as beneficial as compared to previous samples of older youth or adult brokers. Younger brokers might lack the social skills and independence to interact with someone of authority outside their family. Thus, they might face a brokering exchange feeling more tense, nervous, and anxious.

Furthermore, Afifi et al. (2017) and Buzzanell (2018) view resilience and thriving as processual and dynamic, such that at first, a situation might seem stressful but later be a source of growth. Young brokers may perceive a situation as stressful and anxiety-inducing; however, as they continue to mediate for their family members, young brokers may acquire new vocabulary. They may become more familiar with different brokering contexts (e.g., school, immigration offices, and doctor's office). Over time, young brokers might begin to experience brokering satisfaction and efficacy; therefore, research in the future should take a longitudinal approach to examining brokers' stress management, as well as their resilience and thriving. For example, to provide adequate resources and recommendations for support, a

multiple goals perspective might help shed light on the type of support that should be provided across different age groups. If younger brokers have different brokering perspectives, their goals might vary compared to older brokers. Consequently, if the brokees are aware of the broker's multiple goals, then the type of support they should provide might be more evident.

Another limitation to this study is that I did not distinguish between various Latina/o ethnic groups (e.g., Mexican, Guatemalan, and Salvadoran). Different cultural and parental norms exist within the Latina/o population, which may affect brokering experiences (Morales, Yakushko, & Castro, 2012). For example, Spanish is not the primary language in some regions of Latin America. Young brokers who speak Mixteco and English might find it more difficult to obtain support or resources from U.S mainstream members (Kovats, 2010). This is because few U.S. mainstream cultural members are probably as familiar with Mixteco culture and language compared to Spanish. Thus, U.S. mainstream members might have basic knowledge of the Spanish language but not of Mixteco. In addition, the different ethnic groups within the Latina/o culture may face unique types of discrimination (e.g., skin color, socioeconomic status) which may lead to more apprehension towards U.S. mainstream support. The different parental norms may also affect the type of support that is most effective from family members. For example, fathers might not have the expectation to provide support to their children at all or only provide to their daughters. In addition to exploring differences within Latinas/os, a comparison among a different racial group (e.g., Asian) who also brokers for their family members might have been beneficial. The family dynamics and characteristics (e.g., familial piety, social economic status) might be associated with different types of coping and types of supportive communication.

Another limitation worth noting is the use of retrospective accounts of the brokers' experience and the lack of the parents' perspective. Middle school students might not vividly recall the brokering exchange, which might have resulted in under or over reporting instances of support. To address this, it would be beneficial to video record brokering exchanges between a parent, child, and member of the U.S. mainstream culture. Video recording might help provide a less biased report of types of support among brokers and brokees.

Practical Implications

Despite this study's limitations, its findings contribute to our understanding of the resilience and thriving of young brokers. Taking a communication perspective, resilience is a process in which individuals face adversity, but manage to "bounce back" from it through communication with others (e.g., Afifi, 2018; Afifi et al., 2006, Buzzanell & Houston, 2018; Theiss, 2018). Although challenging and stressful, such situations may lead individuals to be better equipped the next time they face adversity, which I found evident among young brokers. Carver (1998) described skills, confidence, and strong personal relations as indicators of thriving. Consistent with this notion, several young brokers in the present study reported feeling proud and confident because their parents told them that their skills were improving. Thus, it seems that in addition to complimenting the bilingual skills of brokers, brokees should emphasize the benefits of brokering. For example, parents should highlight and provide hope that such skills will prove benefits to their children's future career and educational opportunities (e.g., be able to professionally assist and work with Latina/o populations). Their bilingualism is an asset that might help their children gain employment in the future. Overall, it seems that if parents phrase brokering in a positive light and acknowledge their child's abilities, brokers are more likely to feel proud and efficacious.

The findings contribute to brokering and social support literature by suggesting that informational support from family and U.S. mainstream members is crucial for young brokers. Brokers reported informational support as one of the most common lack of support provided from both sources. This was the only type of lack of support in which the frequencies were higher for U.S. mainstream members than family members. Members from the U.S. mainstream culture and family members should provide as much informational support possible to help the broker feel good about the interaction. According to an uncertainty management perspective (Berger & Calabrese, 1975), planning ahead of the brokering exchange would help the brokers feel at ease and less uncertain about the situation. To reduce uncertainty, U.S. mainstream members should introduce themselves to the brokers and provide them with as many details as possible. Because a majority of the time the U.S. mainstream members own the information that is being brokered, they should clearly explain the desired goal of the interaction. The parents, if possible, should provide the child with as much information about the situation as possible. They may calm the brokers' nerves by informing the child where they will be brokering, if they have interacted with this person before, the gender of the U.S. mainstream member, and the purpose for speaking to this person. When at a public place (e.g., making an appointment, restaurant, gas station, or making a phone call), the young brokers would benefit from knowing ahead of time exactly what the parent wants them to say. This might help decrease the young brokers', U.S. mainstreams', and family members' levels of frustration. Of course, communication is spontaneous, dynamic, and processual, so some adaptability is necessary and can lead children to learn how to be more resilient. But, providing young brokers with some context prior to the exchange might build their confidence and set them up for a positive interaction.

This study may also directly help inform counselors and teachers who rely on brokers to convey information to parents. I can provide the school district with flyers or brochures informing the teachers and counselors on how to be supportive to brokers. Some recommendations would include using appropriate level vocabulary for the adolescents, to give them time to broker, and to break up information into smaller segments. But, perhaps most important would be for the teachers and counselors to remind parents that some of the information that brokers convey is advanced information that might not be taught at school. This might help parents be more comprehensive when they witness their child struggling with complex words.

Although informational support is important for the brokering task, family members should also provide emotional as well as esteem support. That is, they should explicitly thank their children and convey positive and affectionate facial expressions. When a broker is not familiar with a word, the parents should verbalize that it is okay. In addition, parents should not tell the young brokers that they should know how to interpret simply because they attend school. Parents should recognize the importance of the broker's help and emphasize that brokering is not necessarily an easy task. These types of support help the individual feel better and may lead to less negative feelings which may contribute to depressive symptoms. Being aware of the type of support to provide may help counteract the negative experiences associated with brokering. As noted when the brokers received support, they felt proud and accomplished. Hence, the findings suggest that support enables brokers to thrive. Thus, efforts in providing adequate amounts and types of support may have positive impacts on the well-being of the child and on the parent-child relationship. Hopefully, these insights shed light in identifying resources which may cultivate thriving for adolescent brokers.

It seems that this study supports previous literature which states that not all types of support gaps have the same effects (McLaren & High, 2017). The participants did not discuss a desire or need for esteem support from U.S. mainstream members despite reporting low level of this type of support from them. In regard to a lack of support provided by family members, instrumental support was not mentioned. This may imply that although brokers are grateful for monetary compensations, clothes, or food, they may not necessarily need this type of support to effectively broker. Thus, family members might benefit from targeting emotional and informational support for an optimal brokering experience. However, it is important to note that brokers might be unaware of the support they need. That is, they might not state the desire for a type of support, but they might need it to successfully navigate a situation. For example, although brokers did not commonly mention desiring esteem support from U.S. mainstream members, in actuality they might need it to thrive. The difference between need and want of support should be further explored.

Overall, these findings can help both parents and U.S. mainstream members be better equipped with the resources to facilitate a positive brokering exchange. For example, U.S. mainstream members can be more accommodating to the adolescent by speaking at an appropriate rate, using different words, and if available, offer to bring in a bilingual assistant. The parents can be more understanding by being patient and voicing their appreciation for their child's brokering abilities. In addition, when possible, families should navigate a brokering situation as a united family. Through these findings, organizations such as schools and medical offices can have a clearer understanding of how to provide a comfortable environment for the brokers.

Theoretical Contributions

Rather than testing CAT in the brokering context, the present study drew on its assumptions to help interpret the finding. The findings of supportive and unsupportive communication in this study help inform CAT. The evidence for lack of support from brokees and desire for more support are signs of underaccommodation from family and U.S. mainstream members. These findings emphasize the importance of accommodation in the form of supportive communication in a brokering context. It is evident that although U.S. mainstream members might attempt to converge to the broker's needs, they might not effectively accommodate. That is, in an attempt to diminish any social distance, the U.S. mainstream member might treat the broker as a responsible individual with bilingual skills, however might not attend to the fact the broker is still an adolescent. CAT postulates that individuals tend to accommodate to ingroup members. This might help explain why overall brokers reported less lack of support from U.S. mainstream members than family members. They might perceive them as outgroup members and not expect support from them. Unsupportive communication or a lack of support may be perceived as non-accommodating. Divergence may also be applicable to the brokering context if in fact U.S. mainstream members want to create a social distance.

However, it is possible that overtly positive gestures or motives, on behalf of the mainstream member, might be positively perceived by the adolescent or parent. In other words, the parent or adolescent might not necessarily perceive overaccommodation as demeaning or patronizing, but instead might perceive it as a thoughtful and supportive gesture (Gasiorek & Giles, 2012). Consequently, positively perceived accommodation from the U.S. mainstream member might alter the ingroup/outgroup perception of the triad. That

is, when the outside member behaves in a more supportive manner, the ingroup and outgroup discrepancy gap may shrink.

The current study also helps inform resilience and thriving in a brokering context. In addition to the individual level, families that take a communal approach to adversity are more likely to be resilient (Theiss, 2018, Afifi et al., 2018; Afifi, Merrill, & Davis, 2006). Although communal coping may sometimes multiply stress and negatively affect independence (Afifi, 2018; Lyons et al., 1998), my findings show evidence of families working together to manage the stressor (i.e., the brokering task). According to the resilience and relational load perspective (TRRL; Afifi et al., 2016), this communal coping approach may help families build reservoirs of resilience for future use. It is reasonable to assume that brokers who engage in communal coping with their family and receive support from their family and U.S. mainstream members will be better equipped to face adversity in the future. Brokering might be a more frequent activity in the household meaning there are more opportunities to build emotional reserves. The emotional reserves built during the brokering exchanges might help the broker and family members in the future when they face more stressful situations such as discrimination or legal status issues. This in turn might help prevent depressive symptoms related to those stressors. Thus, future research should consider taking a TRRL approach to understand how communal coping and supportive communication can serve as forms of relational maintenance, and in turn, act as emotional reserves that contribute to young brokers' resilience and thriving.

The present study might be able to inform Kam and Lazarevic's (2014a) theoretical brokering model. Currently their theoretical model proposes three levels which influence brokering, (a) community, (b) family, and (c) individual. Due to lack of research concerning

the community and family level, their model focused at the individual level. The findings from the current study may help contribute to the community and family levels. That is, the types of support provided (or not) from U.S. mainstream members and family members can inform the community and family levels, respectively. By contributing to these two levels, a more holistic understanding of positive and negative brokering experiences might be possible. Although a closer look needs to be taken into the family and community levels, these findings might be a good segue into future research in these levels.

Related, past research on resilience among Latina/o samples has primarily focused on general social support such as how understanding their parents are, whether they can talk to their parents, whether their parents listen to them, and relational closeness (Alegria, Sribney, & Mulvaney-Day, 2007; Crockett et al., 2017; Degarmo & Martinez, 2006). The present study, however, adopts a communication perspective by shedding light on the specific types of supportive communication that young Latina/o brokers receive from immediate and extended family, as well as members of U.S. mainstream culture. Moreover, this study sheds light on specific types of supportive communication that young Latina/o brokers lacked. The findings demonstrate the importance of considering social support as multidimensional and communicative. Thus, examining specific types of supportive communication and support gaps is likely to be more theoretically and practically informative than only considering general social support.

Concluding Remarks

To shed light on the most effective types of support to provide, or avoid, in a brokering exchange, this study took a closer look at the various types of support from both U.S. mainstream members and family members. To date, limited research has considered

how U.S. mainstream members support young brokers, if at all. Using several theoretical frameworks (e.g., CAT, resilience and thriving, social support), the present study's findings were able to extend past research on brokering by revealing the types of support provided by U.S. mainstream members, what such support looks like communicatively, and the type of support young brokers desire from U.S. mainstream members. In addition to these insights, it also explored avenues for future research and provided theoretical as well as practical implications of supportive communication and unsupportive communication. Both family and community members may use these insights to help the relational and mental well-being of brokering adolescents.

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Table 1

Support Provided by Family and U.S. Mainstream Members

	Female (*n*=16)	Male (*n*=15)	Total (*N*=31)
Family Support			
Family Emotional Support	13	14	27
Family Esteem Support	14	11	25
Family Informational Support	15	14	29
Family Instrumental support	7	5	12
U.S. Mainstream Support			
Mainstream Emotional Support	7	5	12
Mainstream Esteem Support	4	3	7
Mainstream Informational Support	13	11	24
Mainstream Instrumental Support	9	5	14

Table 2

Lack of Support Provided by Family and U.S. Mainstream Members

	Female (*n*=16)	Male (*n*=15)	Total (*N*=31)
Family Lack of Support			
Lack of Emotional Support	6	4	10
Lack of Esteem Support	4	1	5
Lack of Informational Support	5	4	9
U.S Mainstream Lack of Support			
Lack of Emotional Support	1	1	2
Lack of Esteem Support	4	1	5
Lack of Informational Support	6	5	11
Lack of Instrumental Support	1	1	2

Table 3

Received, Lack of, and Desired Support from Family and U.S. Mainstream Members

Number	BROKER GENDER	FAMILY MEMBER BROKEE	MAINSTREAM MEMBER	TYPES OF SUPPORT RECEIVED	LACK OF SUPPORT	TYPE OF SUPPORT DESIRED	Overall feeling about LB
1.	Female	Mother	Doctor's note	FSEMO FSINFO FSINTRU FSESTEEM OFSINFO	LOSINFO LOSESTEEM LFSINFO LMSESTEEM LFSINFO	MSINFO FSESTEEM	Anxious and difficult
3.	Female	Mother	Medical Doctor Letters/bills / labels	OFSINFO MSINFO OTHCOPE FSINFO COMMC FSINSTRU FSEMO			Enjoy helping family member learn English & Spanish
6.	Female	Mother Father	Waiter Bank Teller	OTHCOPE COMMC MSINFO FSESTEEM	LFSEMO LFSINFO LMSESTEEM		challenging, nervous
10.	Female	Father	Doctor Restaurant	FSINFO OTHCOPE FSEMO FSINSTRU	LMSINFO LMSESTEEM LFSESTEEM		enjoys helping family
12.	Female	Father	Store Friend	FSINFO OTHCOPE MSINFO FSESTEEM	LFSEMO LMSINFO		enjoys learning , pressured, nervous
13.	Female	Mother	Doctor Mail	FSESTEEM COMMC OTHCOPE FSEMO MSINFO FSINFO MSESTEEM		INFO ESTEEM	enjoys helping, fears disappointment, pressured

14.	Female	Mother	Doctor Pharmacy Teacher	OTHCOPE COMMC FSEMO	LMSINSTRUM		comfortable, nervous
15.	Female	Mother	Mail Doctor	FSINFO COMMC OTHCOPE OFSINFO MSINSTRUM MSEMO FSEMO		FSINFO	hard but still trying, nervous, scared
16.	Female	Mother	Mail Store	FSINFO OTHCOPE FSEMO FSINSTRU OFSINFO MSINSTRU MSINFO MSEMO		MSINFO	good
19.	Female	Mother	Phone Documents Police Officer	OFSINFO OTHCOPE MSINFO FSINFO MSESTEEM FSEMO	LMSINFO LFSEMO LFSINFO LFSESTEEM	FSEMO	nervous, good about learning two languages
21.	Female	Sister Mother Father	Homework Store	OTHCOPE MSEMO FSINSTRU FSEMO			nervous, does not like it
22.	Female	Mother	Doctor Grocery Store	OTHCOPE MSINSTRU FSINFO MSINFO FSEMO COMMC FSINSTRU	LFSEMO LFSINFO	FSINFO MSINFO	awful, bad, nervous, mad, angry, still wants to learn Spanish
24.	Female	Mother Father	Doctor Store Movie Theater Work	MSINSTRU OTHCOPE MSINFO MSEMO FSEMO OFSINFO FSINFO COMMC FSESTEEM FSINSTRU	LMSINFO LMSEMO	MSESTEEM	great

#	Gender						
25.	Female	Father Mother	Phone	OTHCOPE FSINFO MSINFO MSINTRU OFSINFO MSEMO FSEMO FSESTEEM	LFSEMO LMSINFO LFSESTEEM LFSINFO	FS patience	stressful
26.	Female	Mother Father	Documents Text	OTHCOPE FSINFO MSEMO MSINFO OFSINFO COMMC FSESTEEM FSEMO MSESTEEM	LMSESTEEM	MSINFO	good
29.	Female	Mother Father Siblings	Bills Doctor	MSINSTRU MSINFO OTHCOPE FSEMO MSEMO	LFSINFO LFSEMO	FSINFO MSINSTRU	good, enjoys helping
2.	Male	Mother Stepdad Aunt	Doctor Restaurant (not specific if server)	FSINFO FSINSTRU OFSINFO MSINFO*	LFSEMO LMSINFO LMSINSTRUM LOSINFO		Enjoys helping his family through translating
3.	Male	Grandmother	911 operator Paramedics	OFSINFO FSESTEEM FSINSTRU FSEMO	LFSINFO	INSTRU	Enjoys translating even though it makes him a bit nervous
5.	Male	Mother Father	Dentist doctor bank restaurant	OTHCOPE FSESTEEM COMMC FSEMO MSINFO	LFSINFO	INSTRU	Happy for being able to help
7,	Male	Father	Doctor	OTHCOPE FSEMO MSINFO FSINFO		EMO	challenging but enjoys helping

No.	Gender						
8.	Male	Father	Doctor Insurance	OTHCOPE FSINFO COMMC FSINSTRU FSESTEEM	LOSESTEEM	MSINFO	enjoys helping family, nervous
9.	Male	Mother Father	Church Store	MSINFO OTHCOPE COMMC FSEMO MSINTRU	LFSEMO LFSINFO	INFO INSTRUM	calm, enjoys helping
11.	Male	Mother	Store Doctor	FSINFO OTHCOPE MSINFO FSINSTRU FSESTEEM			helpful
17.	Male	Mother Father	Store Doctor Friend	OFSINFO OTHCOPE COMMC MSINFO MSEMO FSEMO FSINFO	LOSINFO LFSEMO		good, weird, nervous, uncomfortable
19.	Male	Father Mother	Waiter/Waitress	OTHCOPE MSINFO FSINFO OFINFO COMMC	LMSESTEEM	FSINFO	feels helpful, enjoys learning new words
20.	Male	Father Mother	Dad's job Doctor Restaurant	OTHCOPE OFSINFO FSINSTRU MSINSTRU MSINFO MSESTEEM FSEMO MSEMO	LOSEMO LMSINFO LFSEMO	INSTRU FSEMO	wants to learn more, embarrassed, enjoys helping, proud
23.	Male	Grandmother Grandfather	Store	FSEMO OTHCOPE FSINFO MSEMO MSINFO COMMC OFSINFO FSESTEEM	LMSESTEEEM	FSINFO	enjoys helping others and learning language, positive

27	Male	Mother Grandfather	Documents Phone Calls	OTHCOPE FSINFO FSESTEEM FSEMO		MSINSTRU ESTEEM	good, enjoys helping, frustrated
28	Male	Mother Father	Work Documents School Doctor	COMMC FSINFO OFSINFO OTHCOPE FSEMO MSINFO FSESTEEM	LMSINFO LMSEMO	MSESTEEM MSINFO FSINFO ESTEEM	good, fun
30	Male	Mother Father	Store Mom's boss Mail Dad's work	OTCHOPE FSINFO OFSINFO MSINFO COMMC FSEMO MSEMO	LMSINFO		helpful, good
31	Male	Mother Father	Bills Doctor Teacher	OTHCOPE OFSINFO FSINFO MSINFO FSESTEEM FSEMO			fun, enjoys helping

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SANTA BARBARA

BERKELEY · DAVIS · IRVINE · LOS ANGELES · MERCED · RIVERSIDE · SAN DIEGO · SAN FRANCISCO   SANTA BARBARA · SANTA CRUZ

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION   SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA 93106-4020

Dear Parent or Guardian:

I'm a professor in the Department of Communication at UC Santa Barbara. I'm working with your child's school to identify things that students can do to successfully manage stressful experiences and to prevent negative outcomes. Your child can help us by participating in a one-on-one interview. His or her answers, along with many other students' answers, will help principals, teachers, parents, and school-based programs improve the lives of students like your child.

1) What does your child have to do for this study? Like other students at your school, your child will fill out a short survey and participate in a one-on-one interview discussion at school during a class period. The whole process will take about 35-45 minutes. Students will answer questions about interpreting for family members and how they feel about such experiences.

2) How will your child's answers be kept private?
- My research assistants and I won't ask for any contact information (address or phone #).

- Your child's interview will be audio recorded, but a fake name will be used. The recordings will be deleted after they have been typed out word-for-word without any identifying information.

- Your child's answers will NOT become part of his/her school record. We will NOT share his/her individual answers or audio recording with parents, friends, teachers, school principals, or anyone else outside my research team.

- Only students who want to participate will do so. Students may skip questions or stop at any time. There is no penalty if your child does not participate.

- Publication of the research results will not identify your child by name. We will combine your child's answers with many other students' answers, so that no one will know how your child personally answered questions.

- We will keep electronic versions on password-protected computers, online Dropbox accounts, or external hard drives. The key linking the ID number and your child's name will be destroyed at the end of the study. Any study documents in paper format will be kept in a locked file cabinet in my locked university office.

- Just as your child's school and teachers are required by law to report instances when a student tells them that: (1) he/she has purposefully hurt himself/herself or others or (2) someone is hurting the student (e.g., abuse), we also are required by law to report such information if your child voluntarily shares it with us. We will not ask for this information, but this policy is in case your child voluntarily tells us such information.

3) What does your child get for participating? We will give your child a school-approved snack (e.g., Sun Chips) and $10.

4) What do you need to do? <u>To allow your child to partake in the interview study, you don't need to do anything</u>. <u>If you wish to withdraw your child from the study, please sign the second page and have your child give it to his/her first-period teacher</u>. Or, you can call your child's school at 805.343.1951.

5) What if you have questions? For general questions about the interview, please contact me. If you have questions about your child's rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the Human Subjects Committee at (805) 893-3807 or hsc@research.ucsb.edu. Or write to the University of California, Human Subjects Committee, Office of Research, Santa Barbara, CA 93106-2050.

Sincerely,

Dr. Jennifer Kam, Ph.D., Professor, Department of Communication[2]

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[2] The Principal Investigator for this project and MA thesis advisor to the author.

IMPORTANT: <u>Your child will automatically participate in this study at school</u>. You do not need to do anything if you are fine with your child filling out the survey, but we will ask your child first if he/she wants to participate. It is completely voluntary.

WITHDRAW: <u>If you do not want your child to participate in this study, please fill out this form and have your child give it to his/her first-period teacher.</u> Or, you can call your child's school at 805.343.1951.

<u>WE WILL RESPECT YOUR REQUEST, AND WE WILL NOT HAVE YOUR CHILD PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.</u>

☐ **I DO NOT want my child (*please write your child's first and last name*)_____**
_____who is in_____ the
grade at _____ Junior High to participate in the research project described in the previous pages.

_____
(Print) Parent's first and last name

_____   _____
Parent's signature   Date

Estimada/o Padre/Madre o Guardián:

Soy una profesora en el Departamento de Comunicación en la Universidad de California en Santa Barbara. Estoy trabajando con la escuela de su hija/o para identificar las cosas que las/os estudiantes hacen para lidiar exitosamente con experiencias estresantes y para prevenir resultados negativos. Su hija/o nos puede ayudar participando en una entrevista. Sus respuestas, junto con las respuestas de cientos de estudiantes, ayudarán a directores, maestros, padres, y programas escolares a mejorar las vidas de estudiantes como su hija/o.

1) ¿Qué tiene que hacer su hija/o para hacer este estudio? Al igual que otros estudiantes en su escuela, su hijo/a va a llenar una encuesta corta y participar en una entrevista uno-a-uno en la escuela durante un período de clase. Todo el proceso durará unos 35-45 minutos. Los estudiantes responderán a las preguntas acerca de la interpretación para miembros de la familia y cómo se sienten acerca de este tipo de experiencias.

2) ¿Cómo se mantendrán en privado las respuestas de su hija/o?
- Mis asistentes de investigación y yo no pediremos información para contactarles (dirección ó # de teléfono).

- La entrevista de su hijo será audio grabado, pero será usando un nombre falso. Las grabaciones serán borrados después de haber sido escrito a máquina, palabra por palabra sin ninguna información de identificación.

- Las respuestas de su hija/o NO serán parte de su récord escolar. Nosotros NO compartiremos sus respuestas individuales con padres, amigos, maestros, directores, ni con nadie fuera de mi equipo de investigación.

- Sólo las/os estudiantes que quieran participar lo harán. Las/os estudiantes pueden brincarse preguntas o dejar la encuesta en cualquier momento. No hay ninguna penalización si su hija/o no quiere participar.

- La publicación de los resultados de la investigación no identificarán a su hija/o por nombre. Combinaremos las respuestas de su hija/o con las respuestas de cientos de estudiantes, para que nadie sepa cómo es que su hija/o contestó personalmente las preguntas.

- Mantendremos las versiones electrónicas en computadoras que utilizan contraseñas, cuentas de Dropbox en línea, o en discos duros externos.La clave que une el número de identificación y el nombre de su hijo/a será destruida después de la administración final del estudio. Todos los documentos de estudio en formato de papel se mantendrán en un archivador cerrado en mi oficina en la universidad.

- Al igual que la escuela y los maestros de su hija/o están obligados por ley a reportar incidentes en que un/a estudiante les diga que: (1) él/ella se ha hecho daño intencionalmente a sí misma/o o a otras/os o (2) alguien está lastimando a el/la estudiante (ej., abuso), nosotros estamos obligados por ley a reportar este tipo de información si su hija/o voluntariamente la comparte con nosotros. La encuesta no pedirá esta información, pero esta política es en caso que su hija/o voluntariamente le diga algo a mi equipo de asistentes de investigación o a mí.

3) ¿Qué obtiene su hija/o por participar? Nosotros le daremos un ligero bocado, aprobado por la escuela y $10.00

4) ¿Qué debe hacer usted? Para darle permiso a su hija/o departicipar en la encuesta, usted no necesita hacer nada más. Si desea retirar a su hija/o del estudio, por favor firme la segunda página y dígale a su hija/o que se la entregue a su profesor/a de la primera clase antes del viernes (9/25). O, puede contactar la escuela de su hija/o llamando al 805.343.1951.

5) ¿Qué si tiene preguntas? Si tiene preguntas en general sobre la entrevista, favor de. Si tiene preguntas sobre los derechos de su hija/o como participante de este estudio o si tiene preocupaciones o quejas, favor de contactar al Comité de Sujetos Humanos (Human Subjects Committee) al (805) 893-3807 o en hsc@research.ucsb.edu. O puede escribir a University of California, Human Subjects Committee, Office of Research, Santa Barbara, CA 93106-2050.

Sinceramente, Jennifer Kam, Ph.D., Profesora, Departmento de Comunicación

IMPORTANTE: <u>Su hija/o automáticamente participara en la entrevista.</u> Si usted está de acuerdo con que su hija/o participe no necesita hacer nada, pero primero le preguntaremos a su hija/o si quiere participar. La encuesta es completamente voluntaria.

<u>RETIRARSE: Si no quiere que su hijo/a participe en este estudio, favor de llenar esta forma y pedir a su hija/o que se la entregue a su profesor/a de su primera clase antes del viernes (9/25).</u> O, puede llamar a la escuela de su hija/o al 805.343.1951.

<u>RESPETAREMOS SU PETICION, Y NO PARTICIPARA EN LA ENTREVISA SU HIJO/A.</u>

☐ **YO NO QUIERO que mi hijo/a (*por favor escriba el nombre y el apellído de su hijo/a*)**
_____quien está en el _____ grado en _____ escuela secundaria participe en el proyecto de investigación descrito en las páginas anteriores.

_____
(Escribir) Nombre y apellído de la mama ó el papá

_____   _____
Firma de la mama ó el papá   Fecha

Appendix C
English/Spanish Assent Form

1) What's the goal of this survey? We are from UC Santa Barbara (UCSB), working with your school to identify things that students can do to successfully manage stressful experiences and to prevent negative outcomes. You can help us by filling out a short survey and participating in a one-on-one interview. Your answers and other students' answers can help us improve the lives of other students like you.

2) What do you have to do for this study? Like other students at your school, you will fill out a short survey and participate in a one-on-one interview discussion. The whole process will take about 35-45 minutes. Students will answer questions about their experiences living in the United States, interpreting for family members, and how they feel about such experiences.

3) How will your answers be kept secret?
- We (Dr. Jennifer Kam and her UCSB student helpers) will NOT ask for your phone number or address.
- Your interview will be audio recorded, but a fake name will be used. The recordings will be deleted after they have been typed out word-for-word without any identifying information.
- We will separate your answers from your name.
- Your answers will NOT become part of your school record. We will NOT share your individual answers or audio recording with your parents, friends, teachers, school principal, or anyone else outside the research team.
- We will be the only ones who will see the list of students who are in this study, but that list will be destroyed at the end of the study.
- We will combine your answers with many other students' answers, so that no one will know how you personally answered the questions.
- The electronic versions of the surveys will be kept on Dr. Kam's password-protected computers, password-protected Dropbox account online, or password-protected external hard drive. The key linking the ID number and your name will be destroyed at the end of the study.

The only reason why we'd have to share your name is if you tell us that: (1) you have purposefully hurt yourself or others or (2) someone is hurting you (e.g., abuse). To keep you safe we would need to report this person to the school.

4) What do I get for participating in this study? You will receive a school-approved snack (e.g., Sun Chips) and $10.

5) Can anything good happen from participating in this study? You may not directly benefit from this study, but your answers may help other students like you and their families.

6) Can anything bad happen from participating in this study? There may be a little risk such as feeling slightly awkward when answering some of the questions, but no more than what you might face in everyday activities (e.g., going to school and interacting with friends or teachers). It is unlikely that anything bad will happen from participating.

7) Do you have to participate in this study? You don't have to participate. You can say okay now and change your mind later. You can skip any questions that make you feel uncomfortable. You can stop at any point without getting in trouble.

8) What if you have questions? Please contact Jennifer Kam at jkam@comm.ucsb.edu or 805-893-8695. If you feel upset after filling out the survey, you can contact the National Youth Crisis Hotline: 800-422-HOPE (4673) or see your school counselor for immediate assistance. If you have any questions about your rights as someone who wants to be in the study, please contact the Human Subjects Committee at (805) 893-3807 or hsc@research.ucsb.edu. Or write to the University of California, Human Subjects Committee, Office of Research, Santa Barbara, CA 93106-2050. Please let us know if you have questions. You can ask them at any time.

If you want to participate in this study, complete the following:

1. **Please write your** *first, middle, and last name* **here:**
   _____

2. **Please write your birthdate here** *(month, day, year)***:**
   _____

3. **Please write your grade level here:**
   _____

1) ¿Cuál es la meta de esta encuesta? Somos de UC Santa Barbara (UCSB), estamos trabajando con tu escuela para identificar las cosas que las/os estudiantes hacen para manejar exitosamente las experiencias estresantes y para prevenir los resultados negativos. Tú puedes ayudarnos al completar una corta encuesta y participar en una entrevista. Tus respuestas y las respuestas de otras/os estudiantes pueden ayudarnos a mejorar las vidas de otras/os estudiantes como tú.

2) ¿Qué tienes que hacer para este estudio? Tu sólo tendras que llenar una encuesta corta y participar en una entrevista uno-a-uno una vez hoy. Todo el proceso de estudio y discusión tomará alrededor de 35-45 minutos. Los estudiantes responder preguntas acerca de sus experiencias que viven en los Estados Unidos, la interpretación de los miembros de la familia, y cómo se sienten acerca de tales experiencias.

3) ¿Cómo se mantendrán privadas tus respuestas?
- Nosotros (Dra. Jennifer Kam y sus estudiantes asistentes de UCSB) NO te pediremos tu número de teléfono ni tu dirección.
- Tu entrevista será audio grabado, pero será usando un nombre falso. Las grabaciones serán borrados después de haber sido escrito a máquina, palabra por palabra sin ninguna información de identificación.
- Separaremos tus respuestas de tu nombre.
- Tus respuestas NO serán parte de su récord escolar. Nosotros NO compartiremos tus respuestas individuales con padres, amigos, maestros, directores, ni con nadie fuera de mi equipo de investigación.
- Seremos las/os únicas/os que verán la lista de estudiantes que están en este estudio, pero esa lista será destruída al final del semestre de primavera.
- Combinaremos tus respuestas con las respuestas de cientos de otras/os estudiantes, para que nadie sepa como contestaste personalmente las preguntas.
- Las versiones electrónicas serán guardadas en las computadoras con contraseña de la Dra. Kam, en cuentas de Dropbox en línea protegidas con contraseña, o en discos duros externos protegidos con contraseña. .La clave que une el número de identificación y el nombre de su hijo/a será destruida después de la administración final de la encuesta.

La única razón por la que tendríamos que compartir tu nombre es si nos dices que: (1) has intentado hacerte daño a tí misma/o o a otras/os intencionalmente o (2) alguien está haciendote daño (ej., abuso). Para mantenerte segura/o tendríamos que reportar a esta persona a tu escuela.

4) ¿Qué voy a recibir por participar? Recibiras una botana y $10.00

5) ¿Algo bueno puede resultar de llenar esta encuesta? Puede que tú no te beneficies directamente de este estudio, pero tus respuestas pueden ayudar a otras/os estudiantes de escuela como tú y a sus familias.

6) ¿Algo malo puede pasar por llenar esta encuesta? Puede que haya un pequeño riesgo, como sentirte ligeramente incómoda/o al contestar algunas de las preguntas, pero no sería nada más de lo que puedas encontrar en tus actividades diarias (ej., al ir a la escuela e interactuar con amigas/os o maestras/os). Es improbable que algo malo pase por contestar esta encuesta.

7) ¿Tienes que participar en este estudio? No tienes que llenar esta encuesta. Tú puedes decir que está bien en este momento y cambiar de opinión después. Puedes brincarte las preguntas que te incomoden. Puedes parar en cualquier momento sin meterte en problemas.

8) ¿Qué si tienes preguntas? Favor de contactar a Jennifer Kam a jkam@comm.ucsb.edu o al 805-893-8695. Para hablar con alguien en español, por favor deje un mensaje en español al 805-893-8690, y mi asistente de investigación bilingüe se pondrá en contacto con usted para responder sus preguntas. Si te sientes mal después de completar esta encuesta, puedes contactar a la National Youth Crisis Hotline: 800-422-HOPE (4673) o ver a la/el consejera/o de tu escuela para asistencia inmediata. Si tienes preguntas sobre tus derechos al ser alguien que quiere participar en este estudio, favor de contactar al Comité de Sujetos Humanos (Human Subjects Committee) al 805-893-3807 o a hsc@research.ucsb.edu. O escribe a University of California, Human Subjects Committee, Office of Research, Santa Barbara, CA 93106-2050. Por favor infórmanos si tienes preguntas. Puedes hacer tus preguntas en cualquier momento. **Si quieres participar, por favor completa lo siguiente:**

1. **Por favor escribe tu** *primer y segundo nombre, y tu(s) apellído(s)* **aquí:**_____
2. **Por favor escribe tu cumpleaños aquí:**_____ **(mes)** _____**(dia)**_____**(año)**
3. **Por favor escribe en qué año de escuela estás:** _____

Appendix D

Semi-Structured Interview Protocol (Language Brokering)

1) Can you tell me a story about something fun you did with your family recently? (*Note: Probe their story for details of who, what, when, where, and why. The idea is to get them talking in full paragraphs rather than in one word answers.*).

2) Sounds like you and your family have shared some nice moments together. What is it about your family that you like? What do they do that you like?

> **Explain** (So, can you explain what you mean?)
> **Example** (Can you give me an example when...)
> **Elaborate** (Can you elaborate? Tell me more)
> **Extend** (What happened before…?)
> **Look** (what does that look like?)
> In what ways are they…?
> What does that mean to you…?

3) Now that we've discussed what you like about your family, what are some of the challenges or difficulties that you've faced as a family?

4) In the past, kids your age have said that translating or interpreting for a family member can be difficult sometimes, and others have said they like translating or interpreting.

   a) Today, we'll talk about what you like and don't like about translating, but first, let's start with what you find challenging about translating.

   b) Please try to describe a time when you found translating difficult or hard. Try to describe it as you would a story or a movie (e.g., he said, I said).

   c) In addition to that specific example, what else do you find challenging about translating?

5) What makes it difficult to translate sometimes?

   - What places/settings are the most difficult for you to translate in?

   - What were some of the most difficult experiences you've faced when translating?

Try to describe how you handled those difficulties?

- What did you do to get through them or make yourself feel better?

- In your family, whom have you translated for?

- Who do you translate for the most?

- Where do you usually translate for this person? At home, at school, or somewhere else?

- What kinds of information do you usually translate?

- How do you feel about translating or interpreting for your family member(s)?

6) If translating becomes difficult, what do you do to make it less difficult?

7) How, if at all, does the English speaker try to help you when translating?

8) How, if at all, does your family member try to help you when translating?

9) In the past, some kids who translate also have said that they work together with their family member as a team when translating. How might that be true or not true for you?

- How do you feel toward translating for family?

- Who do you think takes on most of the responsibility in handling the difficulties that may come along with translating? You? Your parent? The English speaker (the other person—American)?

- Just out of curiosity, can you explain why you think it's _____'s responsibility? There's no right or wrong answer.

> **Explain** (So, can you explain what you mean?)
> **Example** (Can you give me an example when...)
> **Elaborate** (Can you elaborate? Tell me more)
> **Extend** (What happened before…?)
> **Look** (what does that look like?)
> In what ways are they…?
> What does that mean to you…?

- How do you and your family member work together while you're trying to translate for him/her?

- What does working together look like for you and your family when translating?

10) What does the English speaker do to make you feel comfortable when translating?

- What do they do, if anything, to make you feel confident when translating?

- What do they do, if anything, to make you feel good about yourself when translating?

11) What does your family do to make you feel comfortable when translating?

- What do they do, if anything, to make you feel confident when translating?

- What do they do, if anything, to make you feel good about yourself when translating?

12) How has translating affected your relationship with your family?

13) What do you like about translating for your family?

14) Can you describe any conflicting feelings you sometimes have about translating?

15) When you have to translate for your family, how does it usually begin?

16) When you're translating, do you feel more similar to your family member or the English speaker? Why is that?

17) In the past, some kids have said that they try to "act U.S. American" or "act Latina/o" when they translate for a family member.

o For you, what does it mean to "act Latino or Hispanic?" What does that look like?

■ *(If needed, clarifying Q):* What does it mean to be Latino or Hispanic? What does that look like?

o What does it mean to act "American"? What does that look like?

■ *(If needed, clarifying Q):* What does it mean to be American? What does that look like?

o If you act American, do you feel like you are being true to who you are? That's how you truly see yourself?

■ How do you feel like you are being true to who you are?

o When you act Latino or Hispanic, do you feel like you are being true to who you are? That's how you truly see yourself?

Explain (So, can you explain what you mean?)   **Example** (Can you give me an example when...)   **Elaborate** (Can you elaborate? Tell me more)   **Extend** (What happened before…?)   **Look** (what does that look like?)   In what ways are they…?   What does that mean to you…?

- How do you feel like you are being true to who you are?

   o Do you feel like your family wants you to act a certain way when you're translating for them?

   - Do you feel like your family wants you to act more Latino or American when translating for them?
   - What does your family do to make you think that?
   - Why do you think that is?

18) In the past, some kids your age have also said that they sometimes have to change what the English speaker or family member said when translating.

   - How often do you have to change what the English speaker or family member wants you to say to the other person?

Explain (So, can you explain what you mean?)
Example (Can you give me an example when...)
Elaborate (Can you elaborate? Tell me more)
Extend (What happened before…?)
Look (what does that look like?)
In what ways are they…?
What does that mean to you…?

   - How might you change what the English speaker or family member wants you to say to the other person?

   - Can you explain why you might change some of what your family member or the English speaker said?

   - Sometimes, kids also might not share what the English speaker or family member said to the other person. Can you explain why you might not tell your family member or the English speaker what the other person said?

19) How do you know when you have done a good job translating for a family member? What kinds of things does your family member or the English speaker do to let you know you did a good job?

   - In what ways, if any, does your family member prepare you before translating for them?

   - Do your family members thank you for translating for them?

   - Do they tell you that you have done a good job?

   - How do you know if they are proud of you for what you have done?

   - How does it make you feel about your family member? (e.g., closer?)

20) What things could your family member or the English speaker do to help you do a good job translating for them?

21) What things could your family member or the English speaker do to make you feel good when translating for them?

22) Is there anything else you want to tell me about that you think would help people understand what it is like for you to translate for your family?

School Resources:

23) My last questions are about your school. What does your school do to help you do well?

24) What does your school do to help you and your family?

25) What suggestions do you have for your school if they wanted to do more to help you?

26) **CLOSE**: That's all the time we have for today. Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about related to this interview? Thank you for taking the time to talk with me. Remember, your answers to these questions are completely private. I would like to give you $10.00 to thank you for taking the time to talk with me today.

Protocolo de entrevista semi-estructurada (Traducir)

1) ¿Me puedes contar una historia sobre algo divertido que hicisteis con tu familia recientemente? (Nota: investiga su historia para saber quién, qué, cuándo, dónde y por qué. La idea es conseguir que hablen en párrafos completos en vez de en una palabra.)

2) Parece que tu y tu familia han compartido algunos momentos agradables juntos. ¿Qué es lo que te gusta de tu familia? ¿Qué hacen que te gusta?

3) Ahora que hemos discutido lo que te gusta de tu familia, ¿cuáles son algunos de los retos o dificultades que has enfrentado como familia?

> **Explica** (¿puedes explicar lo que quieres decir?)
> **Ejemplo** (¿Puedes darme una ejemplo cuando …)
> **Elaborar** (¿Puede elaborar? Dime más)
> **Extender** (¿Qué pasó antes …?)
> **Ve** (¿cómo se ve eso?) ¿De qué maneras son …? Qué significa eso para ti…?

4) En el pasado, los niños de tu edad han dicho que traducir o interpretar a un miembro de la familia puede ser difícil a veces, mientras que otros han dicho que es una experiencia positiva para ellos.
   a) Hoy, hablaremos sobre lo que te gusta y lo que no te gusta de traducir, pero primero, empecemos con lo que encuentras difícil sobre la traducción.?
   b) Intenta describir cuándo te resulta difícil. Trata de describirlo como lo harias con una historia o una película (por ejemplo, dijo esto, dije esto).
   c) Además de ese ejemplo específico, ¿qué otra cosa te parece difícil de traducir?

5) ¿Cómo, si en caso, te parece traduce difícil a veces? ¿Qué lo hace difícil a veces?
   - ¿Qué lugares son las más difíciles para traducir?

   - ¿Cuáles fueron algunas de las experiencias más difíciles que has enfrentado al traducir? Trata de describir cómo manejas esas dificultades.

   - ¿Qué hiciste para hacerte sentir mejor?
   - En tu familia, ¿para quién haz traducido?

   - ¿Para quién traduces más?

   - ¿Dónde traduces para esta persona? ¿En casa, en la escuela, o en algún otro lugar?

   - ¿Qué tipo de información usualmente traduces?

   - ¿Cómo te sientes acerca de la traducción o interpretación para los miembros de tu familia?

6) Si la traducción se vuelve difícil, ¿qué haces para que sea menos difícil?

7   ¿Cómo, si en caso, la persona que habla inglés intenta ayudarte a traducir?

8)   ¿Cómo, si en caso, tu miembro de la familia intenta ayudarte a traducir?

9)   En el pasado, algunos niños que traducen también han dicho que trabajan junto con su miembro de la familia como equipo al traducir. ¿Cómo podría eso ser cierto o no ser cierto para ti?

   • ¿Cómo te siente hacia la traducción para la familia?

   • ¿Quién crees que asume la mayor parte de la responsabilidad en el manejo de las dificultades que pueden salir con la traducción? ¿Tú? ¿Tu padre? ¿La persona que habla inglés?

   • Sólo por curiosidad, ¿puedes explicar por qué crees que es la responsabilidad de _____? No hay una respuesta correcta o incorrecta.

   • ¿Cómo trabajan tu y tus miembros de la familia mientras estas tratando de traducir para él / ella?

   • ¿Cómo se ve trabajando juntos para ti y tu familia cuando traduces?

10) ¿Qué hace la personal que habla inglés para hacerte sentirte cómodo al traducir?

   • ¿Qué hacen, si acaso, para que te sientas seguro al traducir?

   • ¿Qué hacen, si acaso, para que te sientas bien contigo mismo al traducir?

Explica (¿puedes explicar lo que quieres decir?)
Ejemplo (¿Puedes darme una ejemplo cuando ...)
Elaborar (¿Puede elaborar? Dime más)
Extender (¿Qué pasó antes ...?)
Ve (¿cómo se ve eso?) ¿De qué maneras son ...? Qué significa eso para ti...?

11) ¿Qué hace tu familia para que te sientas cómodo al traducir?

   • ¿Qué hacen, si acaso, para que te sientas seguro al traducir?

   • ¿Qué hacen, si acaso, para que te sientas bien contigo mismo al traducir?

12) ¿Cómo ha afectado el traducir tu relación con tu familia?

13) ¿Qué te gusta de traducir para tu familia?

14) ¿Puedes describir algunos sentimientos conflictivos que a veces tienes acerca de traducir?

15) Cuando tienes que traducir para tu familia, ¿normalmente, cómo comienza?

16) Cuando estás traduciendo, ¿te sientes más similar a tu familiar o a la persona que habla inglés? ¿Porqué es eso?

17) En el pasado, algunos niños han dicho que tratan de "actuar como estadounidenses" o "actuar latina/o" cuando traducen para un miembro de la familia.
- Para ti, ¿qué significa "actuar como latino o hispano?" ¿Cómo se ve?
  - □ (Si es necesario, pregunta para aclarar): ¿Qué significa ser latino o hispano? ¿Cómo se ve?

- ¿Qué significa actuar "americano"? ¿Cómo se ve?
  - □ (Si es necesario, pregunta para aclarar): ¿Qué significa ser americano? ¿Cómo se ve?

- Si te comportas como estadounidense, ¿te sientes como si estuvieras siendo fiel a quien eres?
Así es como realmente te ves a ti mismo?

  - □ ¿Cómo sientes que actúas cuando estas siendo fiel a quien eres?

- Cuando actúas latino o hispano, ¿sientes como si estuvieras siendo fiel a quien eres? ¿Así es como realmente te ves a ti mismo?

  - □ ¿Cómo sientes que actuas cuando estas siendo fiel a quien eres?

- ¿Sientes que tu familia quiere que actúes de cierta manera cuando estás traduciendo para ellos?

  - □ ¿Sientes que tu familia quiere que actúes más latino o americano al traducir para ellos?
  - □ ¿Qué hace tu familia para hacerte pensar eso?
  - □ ¿Por qué crees que es eso?

18) En el pasado, algunos niños de tu edad también han dicho que a veces tienen que cambiar lo que la persona que habla inglés o miembro de la familia dijo al traducir.

- ¿Con qué frecuencia tienes que cambiar lo que la persona que habla ingles o miembro de la familia quiere decirle a la otra persona?

- ¿Cómo podrías cambiar lo que la persona que habla ingles o miembro de la familia quiere que le diga a la otra persona?

- ¿Puedes explicar por qué cambiarias algo de lo que dijo tu familiar o la persona que habla inglés?

- A veces, los niños también no comparten lo que la persona que habla ingles o miembro de la familia le dijo a la otra persona. ¿Puedes explicar por qué no le dijeras a tu familiar o a la persona que habla ingles lo que la otra persona dijo?

19) ¿Cómo sabes cuándo has hecho un buen trabajo traduciendo para un miembro de la familia? ¿Qué tipos de cosas hace el miembro de tu familia o la persona que habla inglés para hacerte saber que hiciste un buen trabajo?

- ¿De qué manera, si al caso, te prepara tu miembro de familia antes de traducir para el/ella?

- ¿Te agradecen los miembros de tu familia por traducir para ellos?

- ¿Te dicen que has hecho un buen trabajo?

- ¿Cómo sabes si están orgulloso de lo que has hecho?

- ¿Cómo te hace sentir sobre tu familiar? (por ejemplo, ¿más cerca?)

20) ¿Qué cosas podría hacer tu miembro de la familia o la persona que habla inglés para ayudarte a hacer un buen trabajo de traducir para ellos?

21) ¿Qué cosas podría hacer tu miembro de la familia o la persona que habla inglés para hacer que te sientas bien al traducir para ellos?

22) ¿Hay algo más que deseas contarme que crees que ayudaría a las personas a entender lo que es para ti traducir para tu familia?

Recursos de la escuela:

23) Mis últimas preguntas son sobre tu escuela. ¿Qué hace tu escuela para ayudarte a hacer bien en la escuela?

24) ¿Qué hace tu escuela para ayudarte a ti y a tu familia?

25) ¿Qué sugerencias tienes para tu escuela si quisieran hacer más para ayudarte?

26) **CERRAR**: Es todo el tiempo que tenemos para hoy. ¿Hay algo más que te gustaría contarme acerca de esta entrevista? Gracias por tomarte el tiempo para hablar conmigo. Recuerda, tus respuestas a estas preguntas son completamente privadas. Me gustaría darte $ 10.00 para darte las gracias por tomarte el tiempo de hablar conmigo hoy.

Survey

This is NOT a test, so there are NO right or wrong answers. We are only interested in your thoughts and opinions. **We will NOT share your personal answers with any of your friends, teachers, or family members, including your parents**. Please provide only one answer per question unless told otherwise.

1. **Most of the time, what language do ADULTS in your family speak at home?**
   ____ English
   ____ Spanish
   ____ Both English and Spanish
   ____ Another language (please specify): _____

2. **Which language do you prefer to use?**
   □ Only English
   □ Mostly English
   □ Both English and Spanish
   □ Mostly Spanish
   □ Only Spanish

How well can you…	Not at All Well	Somewhat Well	Well	Very Well
3. speak English?	1	2	3	4
4. read in English?	1	2	3	4
5. write in English?	1	2	3	4
6. understand English?	1	2	3	4
7. speak Spanish?	1	2	3	4
8. read in Spanish?	1	2	3	4
9. write in Spanish?	1	2	3	4
10. understand Spanish?	1	2	3	4

Translating (also sometimes called, interpreting) refers to explaining the meaning of any word, message, or conversation to someone who does not know English or Spanish. For example, this can include explaining the meaning of a conversation, note, bill, doctor's prescription, sign, movie, TV show, advertisement, phone call, or anything else. Translating also may include filling out forms or writing letters for someone who does not know English or Spanish very well. How often do you translate	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
11. your mom?	1	2	3	4	5
12. your dad?	1	2	3	4	5
13. your grandma or grandpa?	1	2	3	4	5
14. your brother(s) or sister(s)?	1	2	3	4	5
15. your other family members (e.g., aunt, uncle, cousin)?	1	2	3	4	5
16. your teacher?	1	2	3	4	5

How often do you translate:	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
17. at school?	1	2	3	4	5
18. at a medical office (*e.g., doctor's office, dentist's office, eye doctor's office, physical therapist's office, etc.*)?	1	2	3	4	5
19. at home?	1	2	3	4	5
How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
20. It is important that I act American when translating for the English speaker.	1	2	3	4	5
21. I care about being as American as possible when translating for the English speaker.	1	2	3	4	5
22. I want to speak like an American when I am translating for the English speaker.	1	2	3	4	5

23. I want the English Speaker to think I act American when I translate.	1	2	3	4	5
24. It is important that I act Hispanic/Latino(a) when translating for my parent(s).	1	2	3	4	5
25. I care about being as Hispanic/Latino(a) as possible when translating for my parent(s).	1	2	3	4	5
26. I want to speak like a Hispanic/Latino(a) when translating for my parent(s).	1	2	3	4	5
27. I want my parent(s) to think that I act Hispanic/Latino(a) when I translate.	1	2	3	4	5

How often do you feel:	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
28. you like to translate?	1	2	3	4	5
29. nervous when you translate for family?	1	2	3	4	5
30. embarrassed when you translate for family?	1	2	3	4	5
31. good about yourself when you translate for family?	1	2	3	4	5

How often do you feel:	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
32. your friends translate for their families?	1	2	3	4	5
33. kids at your school translate for their families?	1	2	3	4	5
34. kids in your neighborhood translate for their families?	1	2	3	4	5
35. it's easy for you to translate for your family?	1	2	3	4	5
36. you're good at translating for your family?	1	2	3	4	5
37. confident in your ability to translate for your family?	1	2	3	4	5

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
38. In general, how often do you find it stressful or difficult to translate for your family?	1	2	3	4	5
39. How often do you find it stressful or difficult to translate for your mom?	1	2	3	4	5

How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements about translating? **When translating for my family is stressful,**	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
40. we see it as our problem that we need to get through together.	1	2	3	4	5
41. we believe that we are going to work through this period together, whatever the outcome.	1	2	3	4	5
42. we work together as a team to understand the English and Spanish translations.	1	2	3	4	5
43. we work together to come up with ways of understanding the English and Spanish translations.	1	2	3	4	5

The End! Thank You!

1. ¿Qué idioma hablan los ADULTOS de tu familia en casa la mayor parte del tiempo?
_____ Inglés
_____ Español
_____ Ambos Inglés y Español
_____ Otro idioma (por favor indícalo): _____

2. ¿Qué idioma prefieres usar?
☐ Solamente Inglés
☐ Mayormente Inglés
☐ Ambos Inglés y Español
☐ Mayormente Español
☐ Solamente Español

¿Qué tan bien puedes…	No, para nada bien	Algo bien	Bien	Muy Bien
3. hablar inglés?	1	2	3	4
4. leer inglés?	1	2	3	4
5. escribir inglés?	1	2	3	4
6. entender inglés?	1	2	3	4
7. hablar español?	1	2	3	4
8. leer español?	1	2	3	4
9. escribir en español?	1	2	3	4
10. entender español?	1	2	3	4

Traducir (*a veces también llamado, interpretar*) se refiere a la explicación de cualquier palabra, mensaje o conversación a otra persona que no sabe Inglés o Español. *Por ejemplo, esto puede incluir la explicación del significado de una conversación, una nota, factura, receta del doctor, letrero, película, programa de televisión, anuncio, llamada de teléfono, o cualquier otra cosa. Traducir también puede incluir el llenar formularios o escribir cartas para otra persona que no tiene un buen conocimiento del Inglés o Español.* **¿Que tan seguido traduces para:**	Nunca	Raramente	A veces	Seguido	Muy seguido
11. tu mamá?	1	2	3	4	5
12. tu papá?	1	2	3	4	5

13. tu abuela o tu abuelo	1	2	3	4	5
14. tu hermano(s) o hermana(s)	1	2	3	4	5
15. otros miembros de la familia (tía, tío, primo/a)	1	2	3	4	5
16. tu maestro/a	1	2	3	4	5

Que tan seguido traduces:	Nunca	Raramente	A veces	Seguido	Muy seguido
17. en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
18. en una oficina medica (e.g. oficina del doctor, oficina del dentista, oficina del doctor de ojos, oficina de terapia física)	1	2	3	4	5
19. en la casa	1	2	3	4	5

¿Qué tan de acuerdo o en desacuerdo estás con las siguientes afirmaciones?	Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	No estoy seguro/a	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
20. Es muy importante que me comporte como un(a) Americano(a) cuando estoy traduciendo para la persona que habla inglés.	1	2	3	4	5
21. Me importa comportarme como un(a) Americano(a) cuando estoy traduciendo para la persona que habla inglés.	1	2	3	4	5
22. Quiero hablar como un(a) Americano(a) cuando estoy traduciendo para la persona que habla inglés.	1	2	3	4	5
23. Quiero que la persona que habla inglés piense que me comporto como un(a) Americano(a) cuando estoy traduciendo.	1	2	3	4	5
24. Es muy importante que me comporte como un hispano(a)/latino(a) cuando estoy traduciendo para mi mamá o papá.	1	2	3	4	5
25. Me importa comportarme como un(a) hispano(a)/latino(a) cuando estoy traduciendo para mi mamá o papá.	1	2	3	4	5

26. Quiero hablar como un(a) hispano(a)/latino(a) cuando estoy traduciendo para mi mamá o papá.	1	2	3	4	5
27. Quiero que mi mamá o papá piense que me comporte como un(a) hispano(a)/latino(a) cuando estoy traduciendo.	1	2	3	4	5

¿Qué tan de acuerdo o en desacuerdo estas con las siguientes afirmaciones acerca de traducir? **Cuando el traducir para mi familia es estresante,**	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	No estoy seguro/a	De Acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
28. lo vemos como nuestro problema que tenemos que resolver juntos.	1	2	3	4	5
29. creemos que vamos a trabajar juntos a través de este period, cualquiera sea el resultado	1	2	3	4	5
30. trabajamos juntos como un equipo para entender la traducción en español y Inglés	1	2	3	4	5
31. trabajamos juntos para entender la traducción en español y Inglés	1	2	3	4	5

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¿Que tan seguido sientes:	Nunca	Raramente	A veces	Seguido	Muy seguido
32. que tus amigos traducen para sus familias?	1	2	3	4	5
33. que los niños en tu escuela traducen para sus familias?	1	2	3	4	5
34. que los niños en tu vecindario traducen para sus familias?	1	2	3	4	5
35. que es fácil para ti traducir para tu familia?	1	2	3	4	5
36. que eres bueno/a traduciendo para tu familia?	1	2	3	4	5
37. confianza en tu habilidad para traducir para tu familia?	1	2	3	4	5

¿Que tan seguido sientes:	Nunca	Raramente	A veces	Seguido	Muy seguido
38. que te gusta traducir?	1	2	3	4	5
39. nervios cuando traduces para tu familia?	1	2	3	4	5
40. avergüenzado cuando traduces pare tu familia?	1	2	3	4	5
41. bien acerca de ti mismo/a cuando traduces para tu familia?	1	2	3	4	5

Fin. ¡**Gracias!**