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Understanding Parent-Child Relational Quality Associated with Language Brokers'

Strategic Identity Goals

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Communication

by

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December 2016

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November 2016

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Strategic Identity Goals

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Rachyl Leonor Pines

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ABSTRACT

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by

Rachyl Leonor Pines

In the United States, children of immigrant families often linguistically and culturally mediate for their parents and members of U.S. mainstream culture, a process known as language brokering. Previous research has found that Latino/a young brokers report adhering to two identity goals: (a) “act Latino/a” and (b) “act U.S. American”. Using survey data from 274 Latino/a 6th-8th grade students, this study examined how the pursuit of these two identity goals during language brokering is associated with parent-child relational quality (i.e., adolescent perceptions of parent-child conflict and parent-child relational closeness). Furthermore, this study seeks to understand how young brokers’ cultural-heritage orientation (e.g., language proficiency, ethnic identification, and cultural values) moderates the relationships between these identity goals and the parent-child relational correlates. Findings show that ethnic identification is a moderating facet of cultural-heritage orientation. However, language proficiency and familism were not. In terms of the parent-child relationship, acting “U.S American” while language brokering is associated with increased and negatively managed parent-child conflict. However, “acting Latino/a” while exhibiting low levels of either ethnic identifications was associated with higher parent-child

relational closeness for both mother and father. Results regarding bicultural individuals were inconclusive, and further research is needed. Results of this study can help inform both the parents and English speakers of the identity management experiences of the young language broker during the interaction. This can help improve the parent-child relationship for Latino/a, immigrant junior high school students. This is because a quality parent-child relationship with low levels of conflict, and high levels of closeness is a strong predictor of educational attainment.

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Introduction

Representing 50% of all population growth in the United States between 2000 and 2006, Latinos/as currently make up the largest immigrant group in the United States (Chapman & Bernstein, 2007; Chun, 2007). First-generation Latinos/as and their children in the United States face many unique challenges as they migrate to a new country, including social, political, and economic integration and belongingness. As immigrant families integrate in varying ways and degrees into the receiving society, they experience acculturation. According to Berry (1997), acculturation is the adaptation or cultural changes that occur when individuals or groups from one cultural background interact with individuals or groups from another, often dissimilar, cultural background.

Acculturation gaps (i.e., differences in acculturation levels between generations) may emerge when children adapt to U.S. mainstream culture faster than their adult family members or vice versa (Giles, Bonilla, & Speer, 2012). One marker of this is that the child develops language competency faster than his or her parent through attending schools that teach mainly in English, and in which most of their peers speak English (Birman & Trickett, 2001). Indeed, previous research has shown that declines in cultural knowledge and language proficiency of the home country among Latino/a immigrants are steepest between first and second generations (Padilla & Perez, 2003). In this case, that means the child is more likely to learn English faster than his or her parent(s). This language-acculturation gap between generations of family members generally occurs as many adult Latino/a immigrants migrate to the U.S., and in joining in their social network of fellow immigrants, remain in their own cultural enclaves. However, younger members regularly participate in the U.S. education system.

Ethnographic studies on immigration demonstrate that within these enclaves, adult Latino/a immigrants have little need to learn English as the majority of the people they interact with speak predominantly Spanish. In fact, learning English may even do them a type of disservice, as this would make them different from those in their networks (Alarcon, Escala, & Odgers, 2016). However, immigrant children often become “U.S Americanized” through communicative rituals (e.g., reciting the pledge of allegiance) in schools that require them to learn English (Gonzales, 2015). Class lessons are also often taught in English, and most of their peers speak English. Nevertheless, children and adolescent Latino/a immigrants also tend to remain fluent in Spanish at home with their family, and in their co-ethnic communities (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Thus, adult immigrant, Spanish-speaking family members often rely on younger bilingual ones to language broker for them. Language brokers are described by Kam and Lazarevic as “individuals with little to no formal training, who act as linguistic and cultural intermediaries for two or more parties, both of whom are from different cultural backgrounds” (2014, p. 1995). The authors also explain that language brokering can encompass translating and interpreting. Translating is often done with some level of formal training and involves changing words from one language to another verbatim. Interpreting for language brokers tends to be less formal and includes changing information or language from one language to another, with cultural consideration and decisions about how to best convey the information. Language brokering can therefore either be changing messages to another language word for word, but can also include changing messages to make appropriate cultural sense. This can affect the perception of the message of either party in the interaction.

The research on language brokering suggests that young members of immigrant families may have positive and negative experiences related to language brokering and a number of other factors (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014; Tse, 1995). For example, Kam and Lazarevic (2014) proposed “a theoretical model of brokering’s effects on young members of immigrant families” (p. 7). In this model, they consider three levels of contextual factors (i.e., community, family and individual) that affect outcomes of brokering. At the individual level they suggest that language difficulties, ethnic identification and acculturation stress indirectly predict positive parent-child relations. Although Kam and Lazarevic consider them to be indirect predictors of parent-child relations, this study suggests they may moderate the associations between the way that identity is managed in the brokering interaction and parent-child relational quality. Thus, the present study will consider acculturation, ethnic identification, and language difficulty or competency moderate this association.

The model also considers aspects specific to brokering at the individual level such as feelings, norms and efficacy. However, a gap in the literature lies in our understanding of language brokers’ identity goals, how they communicate such goals during their interactions, and the relational correlates that identity goals predict depending on brokers’ acculturation and cultural-heritage orientations. The present study focuses on the individual level contextual factors to address these gaps by examining such associations, utilizing cross-sectional survey data from a sample of Latino/a early adolescent language brokers.

Language Brokering and Identity Management

Language brokering can be thought of as a communication process that is not only interpersonal, but also intergroup. In this communication process, a child, ranging widely in

age, brokers information for his or her monolingual or low English proficiency parent and an English speaker. The broker passes information from one person to another as they attempt some conversational outcome (i.e., paying a bill, a medical diagnosis, school-related information). At this level, the interaction can be considered interpersonal in accordance with Burleson's (2010) definition of interpersonal communication; it considers the individuals in the interaction, and is focused on the message. However this interaction can also be classified as intergroup.

According to Dragojevic and Giles (2014), "intergroup communication occurs when either person in a social interaction defines self or other in terms of their social identity (i.e., as a group member), rather than their personal identity (i.e., as a unique individual)" (p. 3). Language brokering is highly intergroup because immigrant populations' ethnic identity, as a social category, is highly accessible. This is especially the case in scenarios in which people of different ethnicities are in contact. Previous research has also shown that ethnic identity becomes very salient when bilingual children (fluent in Spanish and English) are confronted with which language to use, meaning they must decide which language is socially appropriate or instrumental for the situation (Telles & Ortiz, 2008). Thus, ethnic identity becomes salient in language brokering interactions in which the young broker is speaking two different languages in the context of two different cultures interacting (e.g., face-to-face or on the phone). Previous research on language brokering has shown that this communication interaction is a highly context-dependent and informal process. Therefore, distal correlates can be difficult to predict (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014).

Some research has shown that in certain settings and circumstances language brokering is related to a number of positive distal correlates. For example, past research has

shown positive associations between language brokering and higher self-esteem (Weisskirch, 2006), parent-child relational closeness (Love & Buriel, 2007), better academic performance (Acoach & Webb, 2004), feelings of contributing to the family (Dorner, Orellana & Jiménez, 2008), and prosocial capacities for adolescents (Guan, Greenfield, & Orellana, 2014). Conversely, some past research has shown that language brokering may, in certain conditions, be related to a number of negative distal correlates such as acculturation stress (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014), depressive symptoms (Love & Buriel, 2007), and substance use (Martinez, McClure, & Eddy, 2008; Mercado 2003).

Although much research has examined the ways in which language brokering is associated with positive and negative distal correlates, few studies have considered how identity management may predict positive and negative distal correlates. Identity management during language brokering interactions merits study for several reasons. First, identity management is particularly important for adolescents during this developmental period. Also, their ethnic identity is salient in the intergroup language brokering communication process. Research in psychology shows that adolescents have multiple emerging aspects of self. Marcia (1988) identifies two stages of identity formation; exploration and commitment. Exploration is a process of discovering who one is and wants to be. Commitment is settling into that identity as it becomes consolidated and consistent. Adolescents are in a time of exploration, in which they are “proactively participating in the construction of his/her world” (Berman, Schwarts, Kurtines, & Berman, 2001, p. 514). In managing these emerging aspects of self, they likely seek favorable perceptions from others (Fortman, 2003).

One way to seek favorable perceptions from others is by developing a social identity that demonstrates shared values, beliefs and attitudes with the people whom the adolescent wants to be perceived favorably. As described by Tajfel and Turner's (1986) Social Identity Theory (SIT), social identity is the perception of self that is tied to the ideals and norms of a social group and is the perception of belongingness to that group (Jost & Sidanius, 2004). SIT states that individuals constantly seek a favorable social identity. This is gauged in terms of favorability or acceptance as an ingroup member from the dominant group (Hogg & Terry, 2000). In the case of Latino/a acculturation, the United States, by nature of being the host or receiving country, is the dominant social group. The way an immigrant acculturates may largely depend on the reception of the host society.

Bourhis, Moise, Perreault, and Senécal (1997) explain that the host community acculturation and the immigrant's acculturation are interactive such that the way the host community responds to the immigrant may shape the way immigrants integrate into that society. Therefore, the young broker may instead respond to the cultural-societal pressures and standards by attempting to craft a social identity that is more mainstream U.S. American, even in the face of experiencing Latino/a cultural-heritage solidarity. Identity issues, including crafting their social identities, are more salient to adolescents than adults as they experience normative development of self by nature of their age. Previous research regarding identity management in the language brokering process has been explored using a multiple goals perspective.

A Multiple Goals Perspective on Identity Management

Multiple goals theory suggests that social actors pursue multiple goals in interactions, and those goals can conflict (Caughlin, 2010). Goals are wanted, wished for, or

imagined outcomes pursued by interactants, which can be carried out consciously or unconsciously (Palomares, 2013). Three different types of goals exist: instrumental, relational, and identity goals. *Instrumental goals* are whatever purpose the interaction is meant to achieve, or the reason the interaction was entered into in the first place (e.g., paying a bill or understanding medical information). *Relational goals* are a consideration of the relationships of those in the conversation, and often constrain the pursuit of instrumental goals. *Identity goals* are how one conceives of and wishes to present the self in the interaction. Furthermore, work by Wilson and colleagues (e.g., Cai & Wilson, 2000) has examined how interlocutors manage their identity and other goals while seeking to gain compliance. In these types of interactions, there are many potential threats to both the face of the person seeking compliance (e.g., asking for a favor or asking for the completion of unfulfilled obligations) and of whom something is being asked. For example, asking a favor may be embarrassing or imply that the asker is unable or insufficient for completing a task. This may threaten the identity or face of the recipient, as they may not feel able to decline. Thus, researchers studying compliance-gaining have noted how different strategies in the pursuit of identity goals (e.g., being extra polite) shape the interactions.

Identity goals have also been examined in studies of language brokering. Previous work by Guntzviller (2015a) developed a measure of goals pursued by language brokers called brokering interaction goals (BIG), which included: (a) “act U.S. American” (identity goal), (b) “act Hispanic/Latino/a” (identity goal), (c) respect English speaker (relational goal), (d) respect mother (relational goal), and (e) alter messages (instrumental goal). The alter messages goal is attended to by the young language broker changing what the English speaker or parent said as they say it to the other party to make the message more acceptable

or appropriate for the receiver of the message. Guntzviller examined how attending to or pursuing the different and multiple goals was associated with communication quality assessments of Spanish-speaking mothers and child language brokers. This study's results showed that discrepancies between what mothers perceived to be the child's goals, and what children reported were their actual brokering goals impacted their relationship satisfaction (Guntzviller, 2015b). For example, when children reported altering messages to save face as important the child experienced more relational satisfaction. In contrast, when mothers perceived that the child did not find it very important to alter messages, mothers reported experiencing more relational satisfaction. Furthermore, the results indicated that many children orient their identities at a group level by attending to "act Latino/a" or "act U.S. American" goals while language brokering.

When language brokering for a Latino/a parent, adolescents may strategically pursue identity goals by managing varying aspects of self. During language brokering, adolescents may have multiple identity goals such as "act U.S. American" and "act Latino/a". Previous studies including in-depth interviews of Peruvian, Ecuadorian, and Colombian immigrants have found that immigrant families into the third generation conceptualize "act U.S. American" as behaving similarly to people of mainstream, middle class, and often white society born in the U.S. (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008). They reported that they developed this conceptualization of what it means to be "U.S. American" through the white, middle class people they see in mainstream media. For example, Somani (2010) found that Asian Indian immigrants to the U.S. reported watching U.S. mainstream media because it helped them "understand how Americans act and think" and helped to establish rapport through having common things to talk about with other U.S. Americans (pp. 69).

The ways in which they learned to “act American” in this study included how to speak U.S. American English, and how to act in social settings such as dinner parties. Thus, “act U.S. American” refers to behaving in ways that are consistent with what the media depict as U.S. mainstream (i.e., mainstream, white, middle class). Immigrant adolescents may wish to speak and otherwise behave like U.S. Americans such that the English speakers think the adolescents are “acting U.S. American” in the interaction.

By contrast, young brokers might also try to “act Latino/a” during the language brokering interaction. Previous ethnographic research including in-depth interviews has shown that ethnic identification is often strategically communicated to signal solidarity with a group. For example, one respondent in the sample of U.S. immigrants from various regions (e.g., West India, Latin America, and China) reported using her attire and body language to signal she was Trinidadian or West Indian, rather than black (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Hence, “act Latino/a” identity goal refers to signaling solidarity with one’s ethnic group by speaking and otherwise “acting Latino/a” while language brokering for their parent, such that the parent recognizes the young broker’s group membership. These identity goals may either be achieved or not achieved, but the current study is interested in how the pursuit of “acting Latino/a” or “acting U.S. American” when language brokering is associated with parent-child relational quality.

Linking Identity Management to Parent-Child Relational Quality Using Communication Accommodation Theory

Because adolescent identities are often oriented at the group level of U.S. American or Latino/a in language brokering, this is considered an intergroup setting (Dragojevic & Giles, 2014). Furthermore, in better understanding the parent-child relationship,

acculturation gaps, in which the adolescent integrates into U.S. American mainstream and develops English language competency faster than his or her parents, have important implications. Heightened generational differences in immigrant families lend potential to parent-child conflict and an important consideration of relational closeness. Previous research has explored a parentification perspective of language brokering. This perspective assumes that language brokering disrupts normal authority patterns and power structures. The mechanism by which this occurs is through a disruption of power and roles in the parent-child relationship. This perspective has found both support and contradictory evidence (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014, Love & Buriel, 2007)

Evidence in support of the parentification perspective has suggested that since language brokering is a process not experienced by many families, it contributes to parent-child conflict. (Love & Buriel, 2007). Similarly, language brokering has been found to contribute to more family disagreements (Trickett & Jones, 2007). Conversely, research has shown that when children feel they are helping the family by language brokering, thereby adopting a helping orientation to the communication process of interaction, it can be related to higher feelings of closeness (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014; Tilghman-Osborne, Bámaca-Colbert, Witherspoon, Wadsworth, & Hecht, 2016). Therefore, language brokering can have important positive and negative implications for parent-child conflict and the parent-child bond in general that calls for a better understanding. An identity management approach may better explicate such associations (Morales & Hanson, 2005).

Because research has found both positive and negative implications for the parent-child relationship, the current study examines parent-child conflict, and its negative management (a negative implication) and parent-child relational closeness (a positive

implication) as key distal correlates. Parent-child conflict refers to the adolescent perceived frequency of arguing with one's parents. Parent-child positive conflict management is characterized by the dyad trying to understand one another by listening to each other and trying to understand one another's point of view. Conversely, parent-child negative conflict management is characterized by interlocutors in a dyad problem-solving in a communicatively negative way. This may include conflict engagement (e.g., losing control or personal attacks), and withdrawal (e.g., tuning the other person out or stop listening altogether) (Kurdek, 1994). Because positive conflict management can be a constructive aspect of relational quality, the current study focuses on conflict frequency and its negative management as a negative implication of language brokering.

Parent-child relational closeness refers to a relationship in which children enjoy spending time with their parent(s), experience a strong bond with their parent(s), and feel comfortable talking to their parent(s) (Vangelisti & Caughlin, 1997). Parent-child relational quality (i.e., low levels of conflict and high relational closeness) is important to consider, as it is a strong predictor of educational attainment (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), improved mental health (Love & Buriel, 2007), coping better with stressful experiences as a family (Amato, 2005), and adulthood social integration into the receiving society for Latino/a immigrants (Telles & Ortiz, 2008).

A consideration of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) can help us predict how language brokering in face-to-face interactions might be associated with parent-child relational quality. CAT posits that speakers can adjust their speech to their communicative partner to maintain a desired social identity. For example, a nurse may use more medical jargon while talking to a doctor, as opposed to a patient to signal her shared

social membership as a medical professional similar to the doctor. This may be in efforts to gain recognition from the doctor as a capable medical practitioner (Bourhis, Roth, & MacQueen, 1989). A second objective of adjusting speech is for interlocutors to accommodate or not accommodate their partner's characteristics, such as their needs and abilities. These two purposes may be pursued to varying degrees, and can differentially affect relational outcomes for the interactants (Giles, 2016; Gallois & Giles, 2015).

The ways that speakers can adjust to their communicative partner are accommodation and non-accommodation. Convergence is one form of accommodation. This can occur when a speaker uses approximation strategies, or attempts to speak and behave ways that match the interactive partner (Giles & Gasiorek, 2013). Emphasizing similarity with one's communicative partner signals ingroup membership and is generally related to positive relational outcomes (Giles, 2016). Thus, the "act Latino/a" identity goal may represent behaving and speaking more like the Latino/a parent during the interaction though both verbal and nonverbal means (e.g., accent and language use). This may function as a form of convergence to effectively accommodating the parent.

Because of their monolingual Spanish abilities, the parent represents a Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation. Language is a common indication of acculturation and ethnic identity. For example, some sociological studies of Latino/a immigration consider unaccented U.S. American English as a marker of full belonging in U.S. American, mainstream society (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The justification for using this marker is because the United States does not have many other uniting factors. The communicative behavior of the adolescent acting Latino/a during the interaction shows solidarity with one's ethnic ingroup. This accommodation is likely to garner a more positive response from the

parent and a more positive evaluation of the relationship. Therefore, the study hypothesizes that:

H1a: Among Latino/a young language brokers, the “act Latino/a” goal pursued during language brokering will be positively related to parent-child relational closeness for both mother and father, as perceived by young brokers.

H1b: Among Latino/a young language brokers, the “act Latino/a goal” pursued during language brokering will be negatively related to parent-child conflict as perceived by young brokers.

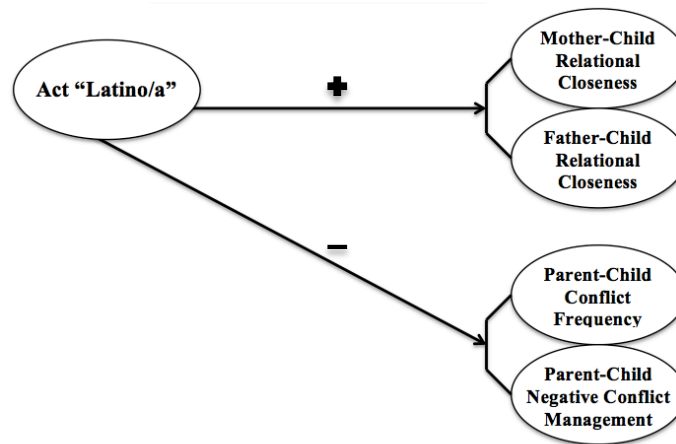


Figure 1. H1a-b visual representation

In contrast to convergence, CAT describes forms of non-accommodation. These forms of adjusting one’s communication can serve purposes contrary to matching one’s interactant (e.g., social distancing or disaffiliation) (Giles & Gasiorek, 2013). One form of non-accommodation is divergence. Divergence is changing one’s communicative behaviors to accentuate difference or dissimilarity from one’s communicative partner. In this study, the “act U.S. American” identity goal is divergent from the Latino/a parent such that the young broker behaves and speaks more similarly to the English speaker in the interaction. Crafting

a more U.S. American social identity by “acting U.S. American” may have negative implications for the parent-child relationship, given that the young broker is accentuating his or her differences from his or her parent. For instance, some qualitative studies have found that parents describe their children as being “Americanized” as a negative aspect of moving to the U.S. as this can mean too much freedom for their children by way of different discipline and respect norms (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Furthermore, past studies have found positive associations between brokering and family-based acculturation stress, which is rooted in parents feeling that their children were “too Americanized” (Kam, 2011; Kam & Lazarevic, 2014). This emphasis on difference may create social distance, thereby signaling to the young broker’s parent that U.S. mainstream Americans is the young broker’s ingroup. Therefore, it was hypothesized that:

H2a: Among Latino/a young language brokers, the “act U. S. American goal” pursued during language brokering will be negatively related to parent-child relational closeness for both mother and father, as perceived by young brokers.

H2b: Among Latino/a young language brokers, the “act U. S. American goal” pursued during language brokering will be positively related to parent-child conflict as perceived by young brokers.

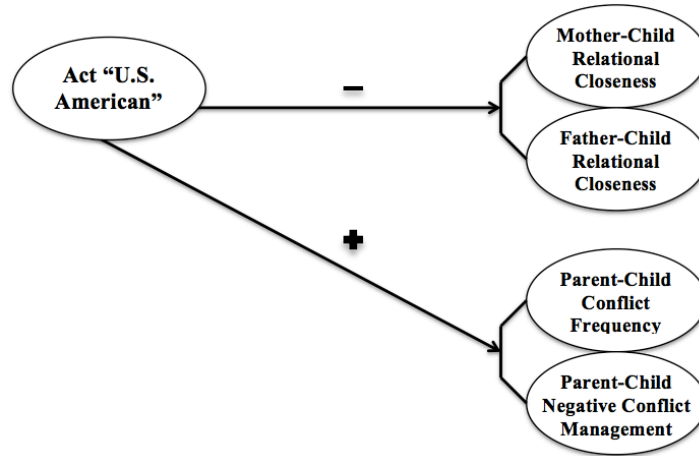


Figure 2. H2a-b visual representation

Acculturation as a Moderator between Identity Goals and Relational Quality

The present study hypothesizes that the “act Latino/a” identity goal is related to greater parent-child relational quality, whereas the “act U.S. American” identity goal is related to weaker parent-child relational quality. Kam and Lazarevic (2014), however, argue that language brokering’s associations with distal correlates depend on the context, and more specifically, acculturation levels. The associations with parent-child relational quality and “acting Latino/a” or “U.S American” may depend on the context of their own Latino/a cultural-heritage or U.S. mainstream culture. Considering cultural-heritage orientation in conjunction with the young brokers’ identity goals can help contextualize the language brokering interaction.

In the context of language brokering, as young brokers craft their social identities, immigrant adolescents must also consider acculturative adaptation. That is, they develop a new identity that includes elements of their heritage and of the receiving culture (Schwartz & Zamboaga, 2008). Previous research has shown that Latinos/as such as Mexican-Americans hold on to their cultural-heritage identity even into the fourth generation, by

reporting strong ethnic ties and participation in traditional holidays and celebrations despite lack of accurate cultural knowledge (Padilla & Perez, 2003; Telles & Ortiz, 2008). This cultural identity shows there is a sense of solidarity with their Latino/a cultural heritage that shapes the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors toward their own group and the host culture, or the United States (Schwartz & Zamboanga, 2008).

Cultural-heritage orientation refers to how much one identifies with his or her ethnic culture, adheres to those values, and participates in those activities. For example, studies of Chinese language brokers measured cultural-heritage orientation by participation in Chinese cultural activities, affiliation with Chinese people, endorsement of Chinese values and behaviors, and preference for Chinese entertainment (Wu & Kim, 2009). The present study operationalizes cultural-heritage orientation by focusing on language brokers' Latino/a ethnic identification, Spanish language proficiency, and the endorsement of familism, a value associated with Latino/a cultures. Familism is when children or adolescents put the needs of the family over the needs of any one individual family member, including him or herself (Knight et al., 2010). By contrast, U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation can be conceptualized as U.S. American ethnic identification and English language proficiency.

Cultural identity, as represented here by cultural-heritage orientation, is a special case of social identity in which the young brokers favor and strive for solidarity with their cultural-heritage. In this study, Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation would signify closer levels of identification to the family member for whom they are brokering. This orientation, in conjunction with the accommodation of the "act Latino/a" identity goal would situate the family member as part of the ingroup. Brokers whose ingroup for both cases of social identity (i.e., cultural-heritage orientation and identity goal) are Latino/a-oriented will likely

experience higher quality relationships as there would exist no discrepancy in their identity or their identification with their parent. The opposite would hold for Latino/a adolescents who are more oriented toward U.S. American mainstream, which their parents might perceive as the outgroup.

Theories of communication regarding identity such as Communication Theory of Identity (CTI) or Identity Discrepancy Theory have recognized the importance of understanding the multifaceted implications of identity. For example, CTI asserts that there are four layers of identity to consider; personal, enacted, relational and communal frames (Hecht, 1993). The personal frame or layer of identity is who one believes him or herself to be on the inside. The enacted frame is the identity that one strategically communicates to others for some purpose such as signaling belonging. The relational frame is how one defines the self in terms of relational others. Finally the communal frame refers to the mainstream culture in which one lives, and how he or she defines the self in terms of shared membership and experience with that mainstream surrounding culture.

In this study, the “act Latino/a” or “act U. S. American” identity goals are the enacted identity layer. The communal identity layer is represented by cultural-heritage orientation. As described by CTI, when identity frames layer atop one another and are not discrepant, there are no gaps. Therefore, when the enacted layer which in this current study is the identity goal, and the communal layer or the cultural-heritage orientation are the same (i.e., Act Latino/a and high Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation), there is no identity gap. Thus, this study asserts that cultural-heritage orientation will moderate the association between identity goals and relational quality such that:

H3a: For young brokers who are high in Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation, “act-Latino/a” goal pursued during language brokering will be positively related to parent-child relational closeness for both mother and father as perceived by young brokers, although this association will be weaker for young brokers who are low in Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation.

H3b: For young brokers who are high in Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation, “act-Latino/a” goal pursued during language brokering will be negatively related to parent-child relational conflict as perceived by young brokers, although this association will be weaker for who are low in Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation.

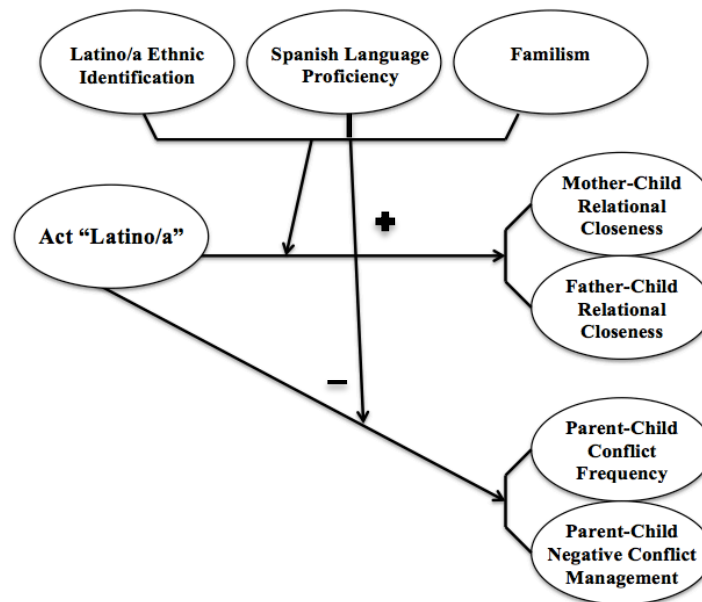


Figure 3. H3a-b visual representation.

H3c: For young brokers who are high in U.S American cultural-heritage orientation, “act U.S. American” goal pursued during language brokering will be negatively related to parent-child relational closeness for both mother and

father as perceived by young brokers, although this association will be weaker for young brokers who are low in U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation.

H3d: For young brokers who are high in U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation, “act U.S American” goal pursued during language brokering will be positively related to parent-child relational conflict as perceived by young brokers, although this association will be weaker for who are low in U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation.

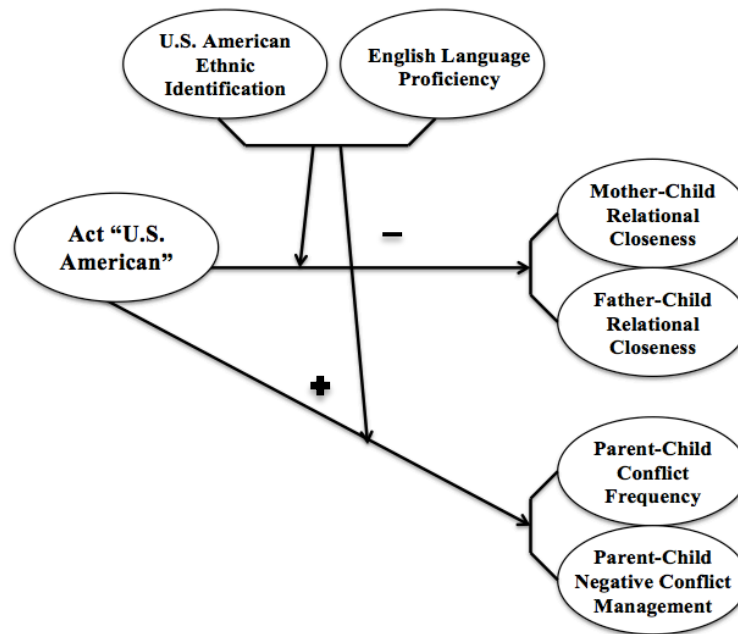


Figure 4. H3c-d visual representation

There can, however, be gaps between cultural-heritage orientations and identity goals such that these identities may compete with or contradict one another, rather than coincide. In this situation, identity results from a dynamic junction of individual and context, or in this case, young broker and culture (Cote & Levine, 1987). A tension may exist between cultural-heritage orientations and identity goals in the language brokering interaction. For example, regardless of cultural identity, young brokers may desire a

favorable social identity in the interaction that aligns with the dominant cultural group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) as to prevent negative evaluation or discrimination from members of U.S. mainstream culture (Dorner, Orellana, & Jiménez, 2008). Moreover, acculturation gaps and selective acculturation in which an adolescent may assimilate to the host society in some ways but not others, have been shown to have a negative impact for family bonds (Portes & Rambaut, 2001). Previous research has considered the identity gaps of U.S. immigrants by performing qualitative interviews, and found that, in fact, immigrants do report experiencing gaps between the layers of their identity (Urban & Orbe, 2010). Furthermore, CTI asserts that negative distal correlates can occur when there are gaps between layers of identity (Hecht, 1993). When these layers do not match one another (i.e., high Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation with high “act U. S. American” identity goal) gaps and competing identities exist. Thus, the study poses the following research question:

RQ1: How will having discrepant cultural-heritage orientation and identity goals be associated with parent-child relational closeness and parent-child conflict?

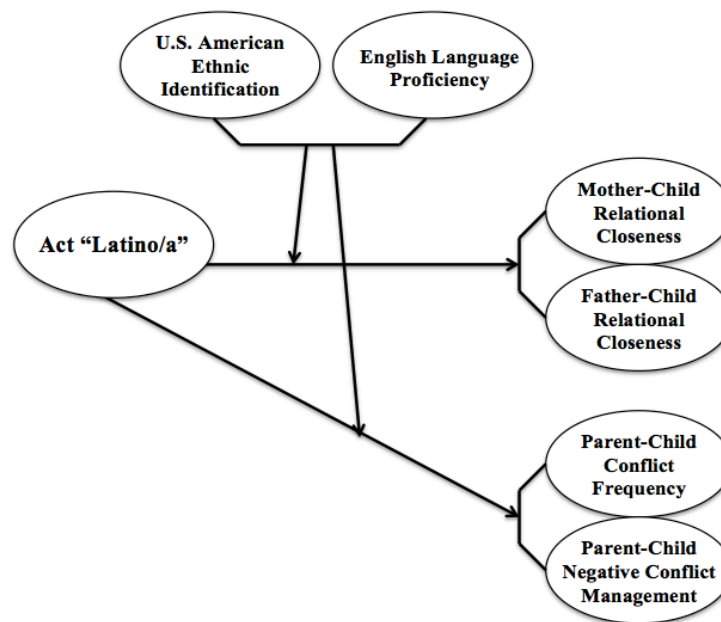


Figure 5. RQ 1 visual representation for “act Latino/a” identity goal

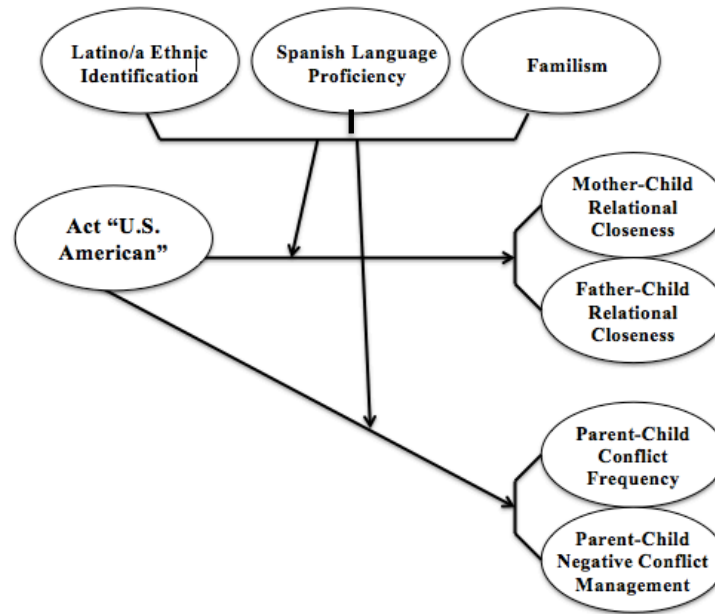


Figure 6. RQ 1 visual representation for “act U.S. American” identity goal

Whereas most language brokering research has focused on the interpersonal and contextually-bound aspects of the interaction, language brokering can be construed as a bicultural communication process of interaction. Berry (1997) proposed his theory of acculturation to state that it can be beneficial to acculturate and to have positive relations with the larger society, but it can also be valuable to retain parts of one’s cultural heritage. This leads researchers to adopt a model of acculturation in which there are two independent dimensions; an individual can adapt to and adopt facets of their new culture and retain their heritage. An individual who keeps both dimensions in acculturation is described as bicultural. Some studies have asserted that this is the favorable acculturation orientation for Latinos/as (Schwartz & Zamboaga, 2008). Language brokering may be a bicultural communication process of interaction because it both benefits the young Latino/a language

broker to adapt to the host society as he or she translates with a U.S. American, and to value his or her cultural-heritage as he or she brokers for a family member.

Although being bicultural has been described as the most favorable orientation, it is not without its limitations. For example, bicultural individuals face pressures from both cultures, as they may feel required to meet the expectations of the receiving cultural context and/or their heritage community. This can create acculturation stress, or strain associated with the uncertainty of contact with the dominant society, and fear of discrimination (Finch & Vega, 2003). This stress can be challenging to one's identity as people strategically decide how they want to exist in their new culture (Padilla & Perez, 2003). For example, many sociological studies on immigration have found that parents do not want their children to become too "Americanized" as this may mean a lack of discipline or commitment to the family (Kasinitz et al., 2008; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Identifying as bicultural may be beneficial or challenging in ways that are associated with the parent-child relationship. Examining the simultaneous pursuit of both identity goals is beyond the scope of this study. Thus, this study examines how a bicultural orientation paired with either identity goal during language brokering is associated with parent-child relational quality. Therefore, the study poses the second research question:

RQ2: How is the young broker being high in both cultural-heritage orientations for either identity goal associated with parent-child relational closeness and parent-child conflict?

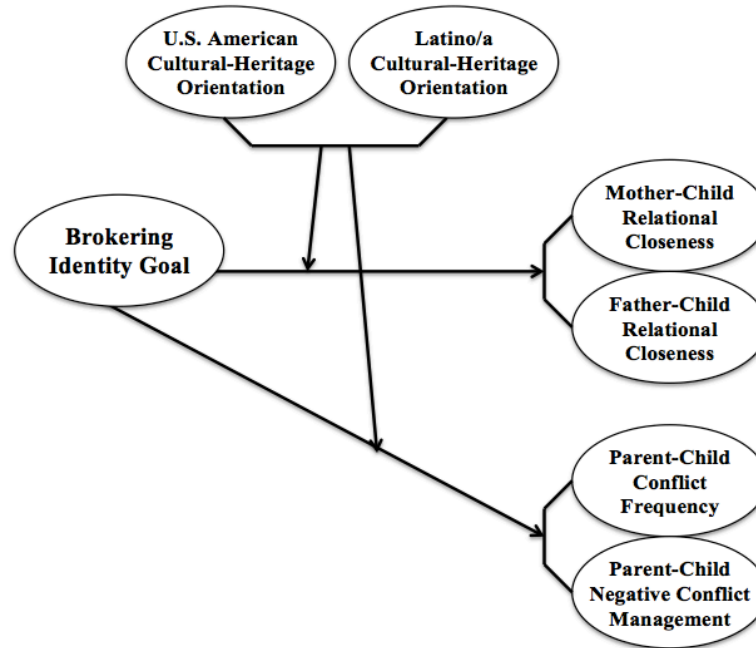


Figure 7. Theoretical model for bicultural individuals

Method

The data were obtained as part of a larger project that is aimed at helping a Central California junior high school provide more resources for its Latino/a students, most of whom are from Mexico and El Salvador and are of low socio-economic status. This study's primary objectives were to: (a) determine what stressors immigrant students face, (b) examine whether such stressors place immigrant students at risk for adverse mental, academic, relational, and physical health outcomes, (c) identify protective resources that can attenuate the negative effects of the stressors, (d) provide summaries of the results to the partnering schools, and (e) help the schools implement the recommendations generated from the findings.

The principal investigator recruited the school for this study by first using the Department of Education website to obtain a list of all junior high and middle schools in neighboring areas within a 3-hour driving distance of the researcher's home institution. The

schools had to have 50% of their student body identify as Hispanic or Latino/a. The PI invited a total of 18 junior high or middle schools to participate by e-mailing information packets that described the study procedures and its purposes, calling the school principals, and mailing hard copies of the information packets to nearby schools. One middle school accepted the invitation to participate, providing the sample for this study. Although three waves of data were collected, the present study is based on wave 3 data.

Procedures

As part of this larger, 3-wave longitudinal project, 411 junior high students participated in the survey. Of this larger sample, 94.8% were Latino/a, 2.6% were non-Latino/a white, 1.3% were African American or Black, 1.3% were Latino/a and other, 6.3% did not report their race. In exchange for their participation in the study, students received a bag of Popcorners chips, as well as a pen and notepad with the University's department's logo. The school received \$600 for each wave, with a total of \$1,800 over the academic year. The survey was administered using Qualtrics, and students took it using tablets. The survey was designed to take about 35 minutes. Students had the option to take the survey in either English or Spanish, and translation fidelity was established through a back-translation method (Rogler, 1989). This method involved the English measures being translated into Spanish by one research assistant, and then another research assistant translated them back into English. Both English versions were compared, and the research assistants and the PI discussed discrepancies until agreement was made.

Prior to each wave of data collection, the school sent home a letter to parents, informing them that their child would complete a survey at school. Parents were given two weeks to remove their child from the study by contacting the school office, or leaving a

voicemail on a password protected university voicemail box. On the day of the survey, students came to take the survey during their physical education class period. Surveys were administered in the classroom designated for indoor physical education classes. The physical education teacher remained in the classroom to help with discipline (i.e., keeping students quiet and in their seats). They were handed an assent as they entered the room with the unique 6-digit identification number they used for the study. The assent form included versions in both English and Spanish.

Because past studies have shown that experimenter race and test language can bias results (Annis & Corenblum, 1986), the assent process and survey instructions were delivered in both English by the PI and Spanish by a Latina research assistant on the day of the survey. This helped ensure that students felt comfortable choosing either language, and protect against test language bias (They were directed to sit down at an empty desk with a tablet on the table by the project personnel. Next, the PI and project personnel described the purpose of the study, its voluntary nature, and how to use the tablet. Prior to completing the survey, students were directed to sign the assent form if they wished to participate. If students decided they did not want to participate in the survey, they were directed to quietly work on homework or read a book. Students began the survey on the provided tablet, and raised their hand when they finished. Project personnel collected the tablets upon their completion, and directed students to sit quietly and work on homework. Students had the entire class period to complete the survey.

Participants

For the purposes of this study, only Latino/a students as reported by the school, who had language brokered for a family member (e.g., mother, father, or other family member) at

least once in the last 90 days, were selected for analysis. The majority of students at this school identify as Latino/a as many of their families are migrant farm workers. This selection resulted in 274 Latino/a language brokering students. Among the 274 brokers, 26.2% ($n = 73$) were in 6th grade, 38.7% ($n = 106$) were in 7th grade, and 29.9% ($n = 82$) were in 8th grade. In addition 47.8% were male ($n = 131$), 46.7% were female ($n = 128$), and 5.5% ($n = 15$) did not report their sex. Ninety-six percent ($n = 263$) of the participants chose to fill out the survey in English, and 4% ($n = 11$) chose to fill out the survey in Spanish. Ninety percent of the students were born in the US ($n = 245$), with 72.7% of the students reporting that their mother was born outside of the US ($n = 199$) (70.1% in Mexico), and 79.4% reporting that their father was born outside the US ($n = 216$) (75.7% in Mexico).

Measures

Descriptive statistics, bivariate correlations, and Cronbach's alpha coefficients are presented in Table 2.

Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation. This variable was measured by utilizing key components of cultural-heritage orientation as suggested by other language brokering studies that consider acculturation (Schwartz & Zamboaga, 2008; Wu & Kim, 2009). The current study considered ethnic identity and language proficiency. Two items were asked to operationalize Latino/a ethnic identity (e.g., "You are happy being Hispanic/Latino/a" and "You like being Hispanic/Latino/a"). This variable was measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) ($\alpha = .87$). Four Spanish-language proficiency items were asked (e.g., "How well can you speak Spanish?" or "How well can you understand Spanish?"). Response options for this variable ranged from 1 (*not at all well*) to 4 (*very well*). ($\alpha = .87$) Familism was measured using 3-item scale from Knight et al.

(2010; e.g., “No matter what, children should always treat their parents with respect” and “Children should always think about their family when making important decisions”). This variable was measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*) ($\alpha = .84$).

U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation. This variable was operationalized by measuring U.S. American ethnic identity and English-language proficiency. Two items were asked to operationalize U.S. American ethnic identity (e.g., “You are happy being U.S. American” and “You like being a U.S. American”). This variable was measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). ($\alpha = .94$) Four English-language proficiency items were asked (e.g., “How well can you speak English?” or “How well can you understand English?”). Response options for this variable ranged from 1 (*not at all well*) to 4 (*very well*) ($\alpha = .83$).

Parent-child conflict. This variable was measured by using a two-part adaptation of Kurdek’s Parent-Child Conflict Frequency scale (1994). Answer choices for all items in this measure ranged from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). Part one of the measure asked students, “In the last 3 months (90 days), how often have you argued with your mom or dad?” Part two of this measure was a 6-item scale asking about the management of the conflict. The three items that asked about negative conflict management style were reverse coded (e.g., “When you argue with your mom or dad, how often do you yell and scream at each other?” and “When you argue with your mom or dad, how often do you stop listening to each-other?”) ($\alpha = .81$).

Parent-child relational closeness. This scale, adapted from Vangelisti & Caughlin (1997), measured relational closeness with both the mother and the father. This variable was

measured as a 3-item scale with answer choices ranging on a 5-point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Sample items included “I like spending time with the following people: mom, dad” and “I can talk to the following people about my worries and problems: mom, dad” (mother $\alpha = .93$) (father $\alpha = .94$).

Identity goals. The two identity goals were measured using an adaptation of Guntzsviller (2015a) Brokering Interaction Goals (BIG) scale. All items are measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Four items were asked to measure “Act U.S. American” (e.g., “It is important that I act American when translating for the English speaker” and “I care about being as American as possible when translating for the English speaker”) ($\alpha = .93$). Four items were asked to measure “Act Latino/a” (e.g., “It is important that I act Hispanic/Latino(a) when translating for my parent(s)” and “I care about being as Hispanic/Latino(a) as possible when translating for my parent(s)”) ($\alpha = .94$).

Control variables. This study controlled for language brokering frequency by using the Language Brokering Frequency Scale (Tse, 1995). The three items in this scale asked about different family members (“In the past 90 days (3 months) how often have you translated for: your mom? your dad? another family member?”) This variable was measured on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*very often*). This study also controlled for age (10 – 15 years), sex (0 = male; 1 = female), and school-provided socioeconomic status (SES; \$988 - \$83,041).

Results

Table 2 includes betas for all hypothesized associations between variables.

Positing Direct Associations between Identity Goals and Relational Quality

Preliminary analyses revealed high means for both Latino/a ethnic identification ($M = 4.63$) and U.S. American ethnic identification ($M = 4.35$). The means for the identity goals were as follows; “act Latino/a” $M = 3.12$, “act U.S. American” $M = 2.65$. With regards to language brokering frequency, 74.1% ($n = 203$) reported that they had language brokered for their mother at least once in the last 90 days ($M = 2.87$), 64.6% ($n = 177$) reported that they had language brokered for their father at least once in the last 90 days ($M = 2.53$), and 85.4% ($n = 234$) reported that they had language brokered for another family member (e.g., grandparent, aunt/uncle or sibling) at least once in the last 90 days ($M = 2.82$).

The first hypothesis anticipated that the “act Latino/a” goal would be positively related to parent-child relational closeness (H1a) and negatively related to parent-child conflict (H1b) as perceived by the young broker. Hierarchical regression was conducted in *SPSS 24* to address H1a-H2b. The four control variables were entered into block 1 (i.e., age, sex, language brokering frequency, and SES). The identity goal was entered into block 2 (i.e., “act Latino/a” and “act U.S. American”). H1a was not supported. The association between “act Latino/a” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness was not significant ($p = .89$). Similarly, the relation between “act Latino/a” identity goal and father-child relational closeness was not significant ($p = .25$). With respect to H1b, the “act Latino/a” identity goal was not significantly associated with parent-child conflict frequency. The “act Latino/a” identity goal was not a significant predictor of parent-child conflict frequency ($p = .71$), or parent-child negative conflict management ($p = .13$). Therefore, H1b did not garner support.

The second hypothesis anticipated that the “act U.S. American” identity goal would be negatively related to parent-child relational closeness (H2a), and positively related to

parent-child conflict (H2b) as perceived by the young brokers. H2a was not supported. The relation between “act U.S. American” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness was not significant ($p = .54$). Similarly, the relation between “act U.S. American” identity goal and father-child relational closeness was not significant ($p = .76$). However, H2b was supported. There was a significant relation between “act U.S. American” and parent-child conflict frequency such that the more young brokers reported “acting U.S. American” while language brokering, the more frequently they were to report engaging in parent-child conflicts ($\beta = .18, p = .009, R^2 \text{ change} = .026$). In addition, the relation between “act U.S. American” identity goal and parent-child negative conflict management was significant such that the more young brokers reported “acting U.S. American,” the more frequently they reported managing conflicts in negative ways ($\beta = .16, p = .03, R^2 \text{ change} = .023$).

Examining Latino/a Cultural-Heritage Orientation as a Moderator for “Act Latino/a”

Moderation analyses were conducted using Hayes's Process Macro plug-in in SPSS 24 to address H3a-H4d, and RQ1 and RQ2. This plug-in handles missing data by listwise deletion. Many variables in this study had more than the acceptable 5% of missing data (Latino/a ethnic identification 10.6%; U.S. ethnic identification 10.9%; parent-child negative conflict management 19.7%; father-child relational closeness 6.2%; “act Latino/a” 8%; “act U.S. American” 6.9%). Although statisticians suggest using hot deck imputation, this method underestimates standard errors, contributing to biased correlations (Enders, 2010). Thus, these results are reported using listwise deletion. Each facet of the cultural-heritage orientation (ethnic identity, language proficiency, and familism) was considered separately. H3a and H3b predicted that Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation would moderate the relation between “act Latino/a” identity goal and parent-child relational quality such that it

would make desirable relations stronger (i.e. higher levels of parent-child relational closeness and lower levels parent-child conflict). This moderation hypothesis was partially supported.

Neither Latino/a ethnic identification ($p = .13$), Spanish-language proficiency ($p = .98$), nor familism ($p = .62$) moderated the relation between “act Latino/a” and mother-child relational closeness. Latino/a ethnic identification, however, was a significant moderator of the relation between “act Latino/a” identity goal and father-child relational closeness ($\beta = -.26, p = .011$). Simple slopes were obtained to decompose this interaction. When levels of Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation were high, “act Latino/a” identity goal was not significantly associated with father-child relational closeness ($\beta = .001, p = .98$). At the mean of Latino/a ethnic identification, there was a non-significant association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and father-child relational closeness ($\beta = .10, p = .11$). When Latino/a ethnic identification was low, there was a significant, positive association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and father-child relational closeness, ($\beta = .26, p = .008$). However, neither Spanish-language proficiency ($p = .10$), nor familism ($p = .18$) significantly moderated the association between “act Latino/a” and father-child relational closeness.

H3b predicting that Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation would moderate “act Latino/a” identity goal’s relations with parent-child conflict frequency and negative management was not supported. Latino/a ethnic identification ($p = .63$), Spanish-language proficiency ($p = .88$), and familism ($p = .10$) did not moderate the relation between “act Latino/a” and parent-child conflict frequency. The same held for parent-child negative conflict management such that Latino/a ethnic identification ($p = .41$), Spanish language

proficiency ($p = .25$), and familism ($p = .14$) did not moderate the relation between “act Latino/a” and parent-child negative conflict management.

Examining U.S. Cultural-Heritage Orientation as a Moderator for “Act U.S. American”

H3c and H3d predicted that U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation would moderate the relation between “act U.S American” identity goal and parent-child relational distal correlates such that it would make undesirable correlations stronger (i.e., lower levels of parent-child relational closeness and higher levels of parent-child conflict). H3c, which predicted that U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation would moderate the relation between “act U.S. American” and parent-child relational closeness was not supported. Neither U.S. American ethnic identification ($p = .6$), nor English-language proficiency ($p = .28$) moderated the relation between “act U.S. American” and mother-child relational closeness. Likewise, neither U.S. American ethnic identification ($p = .54$), nor English-language proficiency ($p = .67$) moderated the relation between “act U.S. American” and father-child relational closeness.

H3d predicting that U.S American cultural-heritage orientation would moderate the relation between “act U.S American” identity goal and conflict frequency and negative management was not supported. U.S. American ethnic identification ($p = .79$), and English language proficiency ($p = .58$) did not moderate the relation between “act U.S. American” and parent-child conflict frequency. Likewise, U.S. American ethnic identification ($p = .17$), and English language proficiency ($p = .73$) did not moderate the relation between “act U.S. American” and parent-child negative conflict management.

RQ1 inquired as to how discrepant identity goal and cultural-heritage orientation is associated with parent-child relational quality. There was a significant moderation of U.S. ethnic identification on the association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness ($p = .001$), as well as father-child relational closeness ($p = .009$). Simple slopes were obtained to decompose this interaction for mother-child relational closeness. When U.S. ethnic identification was high, there was a non-significant association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness ($\beta = -0.06, p = .21$). At the mean value of U.S. ethnic identification, there was a non-significant association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness ($\beta = .05, p = .30$). When U.S. ethnic identification was low, there was a significant positive association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness ($\beta = .18, p = .011$).

Similarly, simple slopes were obtained to decompose this interaction for father-child relational closeness. When U.S. ethnic identification was high, there was a non-significant association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and father-child relational closeness ($\beta = .01, p = .93$). At the mean value of U.S. ethnic identification, association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and father-child relational closeness approached significance ($\beta = .12, p = .067$). When U.S. ethnic identification is low, there was a significant positive association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and father-child relational closeness ($\beta = .26, p = .005$).

English-language proficiency did not significantly moderate the association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness ($p = .95$), nor father-child relational closeness ($p = .38$). There was no significant moderation of Latino/a

cultural-heritage orientation on the association between “act U.S. American” and parent-child relational closeness. Latino/a ethnic identification ($p = .09$), Spanish-language proficiency ($p = .53$), and familism ($p = .93$) did not moderate the association between the “act U.S. American” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness. Likewise, Latino/a ethnic identification ($p = .12$), Spanish-language proficiency ($p = .54$), and familism ($p = .29$) did not moderate the association between the “act U.S. American” identity goal and father-child relational closeness.

There were no significant results for any of the moderations on either of the identity goals and parent-child conflict associations (argument frequency, and parent-child positive and negative conflict management). The moderation of the facets of Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation on the relation between the “act U.S. American” identity goal and parent-child conflict frequency was not significant. (Latino/a ethnic identification ($p = .46$), Spanish language proficiency ($p = .14$), and familism ($p = .93$). These results also held for the relation between the “act U.S. American” identity goal and parent-child negative conflict management as Latino/a ethnic identification ($p = .76$), Spanish language proficiency ($p = .81$) and familism ($p = .89$), were not significant moderators.

The moderation facets of U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation on the relation between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and parent-child conflict frequency were not significant. (U.S. American ethnic identification, $p = .68$ and English language proficiency, $p = .25$). The same is true of parent-child negative conflict management. (U.S. American ethnic identification ($p = .72$) and English Language proficiency ($p = .88$))

RQ2 investigated the association between identity goal and parent-child relational distal correlates (parent-child closeness and parent-child conflict) for individuals high in

both cultural-heritage orientations. There were no significant results for bicultural individuals with the “act U.S. American” identity goal. Being high in both ethnic identifications did not moderate the relation between “act U.S. American” and parent-child relational closeness for mother ($p = .37$), or father, ($p = .92$). The same held for language proficiency such that being high in both language proficiencies did not moderate the relation between “act U.S. American” and mother-child closeness ($p = .49$), or father-child closeness ($p = .55$). Being high in both ethnic identifications did not moderate the relation between “act U.S. American” and parent child-conflict frequency ($p = .47$). The same held for being high in both language proficiencies ($p = .82$). Being high in both ethnic identifications did not moderate the relation between “act U.S. American” parent-child negative conflict management ($p = .85$). Similarly, being high in both language proficiencies did not moderate the relation between “act U.S. American” and parent-child negative conflict management ($p = .71$).

There were also no significant results for bicultural individuals adhering to the “act Latino/a” identity goal for parent-child closeness. Being high in both ethnic identifications did not moderate the relation between “act Latino/a” for mother-child relational closeness ($p = .67$), or father-child relational closeness ($p = .26$). The same held for being high in both language proficiencies; this did not moderate the relation between “act U.S. American” and mother-child relational closeness ($p = .55$), or father-child relational closeness ($p = .26$). Neither being high in both ethnic identifications moderated the relation between “act Latino/a” and parent-child conflict frequency ($p = .55$), nor being high in both language proficiencies ($p = .81$). Being high in both language proficiencies also did not moderate the relation between “act Latino/a” and parent-child negative parent-child conflict management

($p = .43$). However, adhering to both ethnic identifications moderated the relation between “act Latino/a” and parent-child negative conflict management ($p = .024$). Simple slopes analyses were conducted to decompose the three-way interaction between both ethnic identifications and the “act Latino/a” identity goal for parent-child negative conflict management. As RQ2 asked when the adolescent is *high* in both orientations, only those results are reported in this decomposition. When someone is high in both ethnic identifications, there is a non-significant interaction between the “act Latino/a” identity goal, and parent-child negative conflict management, ($\beta = 0.11, p = .319$).

Additional analyses were conducted to explore two other possible combinations of variables. First, it could be the case that young brokers adhered to both “act Latino/a” and “act U.S. American” identity goals in the interactions. Controlling for age, sex, language brokering frequency, and SES, the interaction between both identity goals did not significantly predict mother-child relational closeness ($p = .49$), or father-child relational closeness ($p = .12$), conflict frequency ($p = .70$) or negative conflict management ($p = .27$). Second, analyses were conducted to explore how conflict frequency moderated the association between the identity goals and parent-child relational closeness. Conflict frequency moderated the association between “act Latino/a” and mother-child relational closeness ($p = .01$), but not for father-child relational closeness ($p = .28$).

Simple slopes were obtained to decompose this interaction for mother-child relational closeness. When conflict frequency was high, the association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness approached significance ($\beta = .12, p = .07$). At the mean value of conflict frequency, association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness was not significant ($\beta = .02, p$

= .71). When U.S. ethnic identification is low, there was a non-significant association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and mother-child relational closeness ($\beta = -.08, p = .15$). Conflict frequency did not significantly moderate the associations between “act U.S. American” and mother-child relational closeness ($p = .15$) or father-child relational closeness ($p = .55$).

Discussion

Identity management is important to consider in relation to language brokering, as the young broker is confronted with two languages and two cultures for which to interpret. This becomes an intergroup context, with ethnicity being a highly accessible social category (Telles & Ortiz, 2008). While the young broker may favor a social identity that aligns with their family member as their ingroup, they may also adhere to their cultural-heritage orientation. The purpose of this study was to assess how strategic identity goals, “act U.S. American” and “act Latino/a”, are associated with parent-child relational quality. This study also considered the potential moderating effects of Latino/a or U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation. The following sections explain the significant and non-significant findings, as well as their theoretical and practical implications in greater detail.

Direct Associations of Identity Goals with Parent-Child Relational Quality

This study hypothesized that adhering to the “act Latino/a” identity goal effectively accommodates the parent. The parent likely identifies with Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation rather than U.S. mainstream, given the parent’s limited English-speaking abilities, and many of them reporting being from a Latin American country. This study did not find support for its hypotheses positing direct associations between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and parent-child relational quality. As described by CAT, accommodating

one's interaction partner through convergence is related to desirable outcomes (Gallois & Giles, 2015). Thus, this study hypothesized that "acting Latino/a" in the interaction would likely result in greater parent-child relational quality (i.e., higher levels of parent-child closeness, and lower levels of parent-child conflict frequency, and negative conflict management). Conversely, adhering to the "act U.S American" identity goal would accommodate the English speaker in the interaction. This diverges from the parent in the interaction. Nevertheless, the findings did not support these postulations.

One explanation for the non-significant associations between both goals and parent-child relational closeness for both parents is that the pursuit of both identity goals was perceived as underaccommodation. CAT explains that underaccommodation is the perception that the speaker is not adequately adjusting to meet their interlocutor's characteristics or needs (Giles & Gasiorek, 2013). It may be the case that the parent perceives the pursuit of "act Latino/a" to be an inadequate communicative behavior to match their desired level of accommodation. An alternative, similar explanation for the non-significant associations between both goals and parent-child relational closeness for both parents could be due to a discrepancy between the child's goal and what the parent perceives their child's goals to be in the interaction. For example, studies examining goals of mother-child dyads showed that discrepancies between what mothers perceived to be the child's goals during language brokering, and what children reported were their actual brokering goals impacted their relationship satisfaction (Guntzviller, 2015b). It may be the case that even though the young language brokers reported adhering to "acting U.S. American" or "acting Latino/a," the family member they were brokering for perceived the young broker to

have different goals. This discrepancy could explain why they do not feel more relational closeness with their parent, as their parent may not have recognized their identity goal.

As hypothesized, results showed a significant association between “act U.S. American” and parent-child conflict frequency, and negative conflict management. The young broker “acting U.S. American” in the interaction, may exemplify and bring to salience the acculturation gap between the parent and the adolescent. Acculturation gaps in previous research have demonstrated potential for conflict to occur in the family, especially Latino/a families, as they are highly concerned with respect and familism (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The more Latino/a adolescents “act U.S. American” when brokering, the more discrepant they may be with their parents’ Latino/a identity. Their parents may think they are becoming “too Americanized.” This supports research regarding acculturation gaps between generations. They may engage in greater conflict due to intergenerational gaps, which are then aggravated by cultural gaps (Ho, 2010). These results also support the acculturation stress perspective of language brokering (Kam, 2011). Results from this study add to this body of research by showing that young brokers who “act American” also negatively manage parent-child conflict.

Cultural-Heritage Orientation as a Moderator

Ethnic identification was the only facet of Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation and U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation that significantly moderated the association between either of the identity goals and parent-child relational quality, specifically parent-child closeness. This finding informs our understanding of cultural-heritage orientation asserted by Schwartz and colleagues (2010) as multifaceted. Ethnic identification has been shown in past studies of Latino/a immigrants to be an enduring aspect of acculturation

(Padilla & Perez, 2003). Ethnic identification, as operationalized in this study, refers to an internal sense of belonging to one's ethnic group; it asks how the adolescent feels about belonging to that group. The affective, internal operationalization of this facet of acculturation may contribute to its associations only with affective feelings of parent-child closeness, and not communication operationalization of experiences of parent-child conflict frequency and negative management. Restated more simply, the feelings associated with parent-child relational closeness may be similar to the feelings related to belonging to and identifying with one's ethnic group.

The current study found that Latino/a ethnic identification moderated the association between "act Latino/a" and father-child relational closeness such that when Latino/a ethnic identification is low, young brokers report feeling closer to their father the more they "act Latina/o". This is not the expected association. The study anticipated that when Latino/a ethnic identification was high, in conjunction with "act Latino/a," there would be a positive association with parent-child relational closeness. Future research is needed to determine the cause of this unexpected association. However, one possible explanation for this is young brokers chose to "act Latino/a" in their interactions to respect their father and to accommodate him. This choice may be despite their low Latino/a ethnic identification. Thus, even if they do not strongly identify with the Latina/o heritage, young brokers may feel more relationally close to their father knowing that they behaved in ways that their father could relate to and could appreciate. Through such accommodation, young brokers may have developed a closer relationship with their father.

While the majority of language brokering studies, and studies of interpersonal communication in general, have focused on the mother-child dyad (e.g., Guntzviller, 2015a,

b). Few previous, longitudinal studies of language brokering have found that the act of language brokering contributed to more feelings of parent-adolescent closeness over time, especially for males (Tilghman-Osborne et al., 2016). Although the current study controls for gender, an alternative explanation is that it may be the case that the males in the sample felt closer to their fathers when language brokering. This would support research explaining gender as a powerful, and easily accessible category of social identity (Palomares, 2012).

When U.S ethnic identification was low, it moderated the association between the “act Latino/a” identity goal and both mother-child relational closeness and father-child relational closeness. This association is such that when levels of U.S. ethnic identification are low, the adolescent reported feeling closer to both their mother and father. It may be the case that this adolescent is acting consistent with who they are. According to CTI when layers of identity match, the absence of the gap would predict positive outcomes. Results show adolescents who report that they “act Latino/a,” which is conceptualized in this study as the enacted layer of identity. Also, they are reporting low levels of U.S. ethnic identification, conceptualized here as the communal layer of identity. CTI frames this as it would describe this combination as saying there is no gap between enacted and communal layers of identity (Hecht, 1993). This congruence of layers may contribute to higher adolescent feelings of parent-child relational closeness.

Alternatively, these unexpected findings between low ethnic identification and higher feelings of parent-child relational closeness may reflect the interdependent/independent scripts perspective of language brokering. This perspective explains that the act of linguistically and culturally brokering for one’s parent is positively associated with positive parent-child relations (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014). This perspective

explains that a child may have a helping orientation such that they feel they are contributing to the family by helping with language brokering. This may explain higher levels of parent-child relational closeness as reported by the adolescent, regardless of their cultural-heritage orientation or identity goal simply by the act of language brokering (Tilghman-Osborne et al., 2016).

Bicultural (e.g., Latino/a with U.S. American) ethnic identification also moderated the association between “act Latino/a” and both positive and negative communicative conflict management. However, significant results were those with discrepant levels of both identifications (e.g., high U.S. American and low Latino/a). This does not help to understand how being bicultural, or high in both orientations, affects the association between the identity goals and parent-child relational quality. Yet it may help inform how to better study bicultural cultural-heritage orientations. Critiques of Berry’s (1997) classification of individuals as bicultural include a lack of consideration of context (Schwartz et al., 2010). Context influences the difficulty with which individuals are able to integrate both of their cultural-heritage orientations. Hispanic or Latino/a immigrants face difficulty (i.e. acculturation stress and discrimination) with integrating the two cultures as they are dissimilar in language and appearance. Though past studies assert that being bicultural is the favorable orientation, especially for Latino/a immigrants (Schwartz & Zamboaga, 2008), this study’s results are inconclusive. Being high in ethnic identifications did not affect the association between the identity goals and parent-child distal correlates examined in this study. However, this does not mean that they do not affect other measures of the parent-child relationship. Further research would be needed to determine if identifying as bicultural does indeed have favorable outcomes.

Limitations

Although the two identity goals in this study have been identified and used in previous research, the literature, and therefore this study would benefit from a clearer conceptual understanding of what “act Latino/a” or “act U.S. American” really look like. Moreover, Latino/a and U. S. American are not homogenous cultural identities, but rather there are many ways of being U. S. American or Latino/a as identity is fluid and nuanced for each person (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Kasinitz et al., 2008). This study is interested in the perception and pursuit of those goals, whatever it means to the participant, yet we recognize this is a problematic naming of identity goals. Therefore, further qualitative research is required to better conceptualize these two identity goals.

The study has several methodological limitations. First, the cross sectional design using adolescents in this study came along with problematic amounts of missing data. Many adolescents may have chosen to skip questions while taking the survey, or were unable to finish it before the end of the class period if there was an irregular schedule for the day causing shorter classes. Next, the cross-sectional nature of these data do not allow for causal statements about the direction of the associations found in this study. It could be the case that being closer to one’s family member causes them to communicate in such a way that indicates the parent as their ingroup. Future studies would benefit from longitudinal research to eliminate the possibility of bidirectional associations and help to determine causality.

There were some problematic measurements, or lack thereof, used in this study. First, there was no corresponding measure of familism for U.S. American cultural-heritage orientation. This limitation contributed to having less measures of bicultural orientation. However, this may not be as limiting as one would expect as familism was not a significant

Latino/a cultural-heritage orientation moderator for any of the associations between identity goals and parent-child relational closeness or parent-child conflict. Another measure that was lacking was that of parent acculturation. Many of the parents in this sample were born outside of the U.S., and by nature of a parent needing a language broker, the parent is Spanish-speaking monolingual. Thus, the study assumes that the parent's cultural-heritage orientation would be Latino/a. However, having a more direct measure of parent acculturation would have strengthened the study. A final measurement limitation of the study that it could have used the identity gaps measures, rather than conceptualizing and creating the gaps via other measures.

Directions for Future Research

Further qualitative research is needed to understand how “act Latino/a” and “act U.S. American” identity goals are communicatively pursued and/or achieved. Similarly, future research should consider the simultaneous pursuit of both identity goals in the brokering process of interaction. For example, Guntzviller (2015a) found the young language brokers in her study reported attending to an average of approximately 4 goals while language brokering. It may be the case that the pursuit of both identity goals simultaneously, or in an alternating fashion in the language brokering process of interaction has important implications for the parent-child relationship. Although some analyses were conducted for this study, further in-depth analysis is required to better understand this type of identity management in the interaction.

Second, a future direction for this research includes being able to predict how the early adolescent will act in the interaction. One possible explanation for this could be a study of perceived discrimination. Thus a consideration of the receiving context of

immigrants is merited in future research in accordance with Bourhis et al., (1997) model. An alternative explanation for this could be that the identity goals are related to speaking English or Spanish (e.g., “act American” when speaking English, and “act Latino/a” while speaking Spanish). Relatedly, the ability to predict how an adolescent will act in the interaction would also help inform the brokering situation in general.

Videotaped interaction data would also help inform the brokering interaction. Future research using this methodology could help to answer questions such as, how does the brokering scenario begin? and who asks the child to broker? (e.g., the parent or the English speaker) Videotaped interactions would help researchers to understand what non-verbal strategies speakers use to accommodate or not accommodate which speakers (e.g., family member or English speaker). Additionally, this type of data would help inform the brokering process of interaction as a situated one. For example, researchers could then study language brokering in many different contexts. Although the body of research on language brokering acknowledges the context-dependent nature of language brokering, observational data such as videotaped interactions would help with gaining an understanding of how the interactions indeed vary by context. This would help answer questions such as how does English speaker’s race or ethnicity change the identity management or accommodation of the young language broker? And how do differences in who calls the young broker to action change their identity management and accommodation in the interaction? This would help researchers gain an understanding how the different parties in different contexts experience language brokering.

A consideration of gender is merited as machismo and patriarchal families are cultural norms in Latino/Hispanic communities (Telles & Ortiz, 2008). The current study

controls for gender, however sociological research indicates that being male is related to acting more Latino/Hispanic, due to the privileged status that holds in their culture (Waldinger, 2015). Exploring gender would also help with an understanding of why some results in this study were significant for only the father-child relationship and not for the mother-child relationship. Bivariate correlations in Table 1 between gender and the 4 dependent variables in this study suggest that future studies investigating gender would help with understanding these associations. Specifically, gender was significantly associated with mother-child relational closeness ($R = -.23, p < .001$), father-child relational closeness ($R = -.19, p < .01$), parent-child conflict frequency ($R = .19, p < .01$), and parent-child negative conflict management ($R = .21, p < .01$). These results suggest that female young brokers experience less parent-child relational closeness for both parents, and more conflict that is negatively managed. In past intergroup communication studies, gender has been considered a social identity (Palomares, 2012). Therefore, future studies of language brokering in an intergroup frame could explore how the gender of the parent, adolescent and English speaker affect the parent-child relationship. For example, if a male language broker is brokering for his father and a male English speaker, do they all consider themselves part of an ingroup through gender? Does this make the language brokering process of interaction easier or a more favorable experience?

Although this study considered family values and belonging by including familism as a key component of cultural-heritage orientation, it may also be the case that the family unit is a social identity to consider in the language brokering interaction. Soliz, Thorson, Rittenour, and Murry (2009) explain how a family identity can provide a common in-group for family members, thereby making their differences less salient. For example, the authors

investigated how having a common in-group identity of family members functions in multiethnic families. Future research on language brokering should investigate how familism combined with the family unit as an important in-group and shared identity may affect identity management of young brokers.

Another future research direction that scholars have recognized in language brokering is analyzing immigrants as networks. For example, Kam, Guntzviller and Stohl (in press) conceptualize a broker as “an individual who serves as a bridge between otherwise disconnected segments or cliques”(pp. xx). Considering a broker as a connecting point in the network also gives them some form of social capital in the network in that they have access, timing and referrals. Studying language brokering in this perspective allows researchers to make use of the organizational communication literature, in congruence with the interpersonal and intergroup communication literatures to suggest how young brokers may be uniquely skilled to perform as brokers in the workplace in various ways as they get older.

Finally, as this study’s results suggested, the bicultural identity conceptualization and operationalization in this study may have been too simplistic. The mean values for both Latino/a ethnic identification ($M = 4.63$) and U.S. American ethnic identification ($M = 4.35$) were high. This suggests, indeed, there is some sense of bicultural identification occurring, and merits further exploration. A different framework that would nuance the complexity of a bicultural identification may be Noels and Clément (2015) bicultural identity orientations. This perspective considers multiple-group identities, or the potential for individuals to alternate between orientations depending on who they are with. It is possible that the adolescent may be switching between orientations as they code switch from English to Spanish (and vice-versa).

Conclusion

This study has theoretical implications for acculturation, communication accommodation and language brokering. Results suggest that, in fact, a bicultural identity is not the most beneficial orientation. Instead, an identity goal that accommodates one's parent may be an important predictor of parent-child relational quality for brokers. This study helps inform language brokering, suggesting that a child communicatively acting like their parent is most beneficial to their relationship. This also helps add to Kam and Lazarevic's (2014) theoretical model of brokering effects in two ways. First, results of this study suggest that adding identity goals to the model as an individual level factor of brokering that predicts parent-child relations would strengthen the model. Second, results of this study suggest that ethnic identification may be a moderator of brokering to parent-child relational quality, rather than an indirect predictor. Furthermore, this study shows that ethnic identification is an important cultural-heritage orientation moderator, especially when it is low. This helps inform work by Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, and Szapocznik (2010) in their consideration of multifaceted cultural-heritage orientations.

A strong parent-child relationship is important to consider for the practical implications of this larger study. Qualitative interviews with parents of language brokers have demonstrated that language brokering can become such a routine activity in not only their family but the families in their social networks, that they do not think about or realize its implications for their relationship with their child (Cayetano, 2016). Therefore, it would be beneficial to discuss this study's findings with both the parents of the young language brokers, and with those involved in their education for whom the children also broker. As previously mentioned, the larger study of which this is a part, aimed to help the junior high

school improve education for their immigrant students. As the majority of these immigrant students experience language brokering, identifying factors that predict low levels of parent-child conflict and high levels of parent-child relational closeness has important implications for their educational attainment (Davies & Cummings, 1994; Repetti, Robes, & Reynolds, 2011). Discussing this with parents and educators may help them understand the important implications of these brokering interactions. Understanding how their children are experiencing cultural identity and strategic identity management in these processes of interaction would help parents and educators understand what the young broker is going through, and how to help. Thus, by understanding how their identity goals in the language brokering process of interaction, results of this study can inform improvements to the relationship. Ultimately an improved parent-child relationship (in terms of closeness and conflict) will mean students are more likely to succeed in school, have improved mental health (Love & Buriel, 2000), and cope more successfully as a family with stressful experiences (Amato, 2005).

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APPENDIX

Survey Measures

Language Proficiency

How well can you...	Not at All Well	Somewhat Well	Well	Very Well
speak English?	1	2	3	4
read in English?	1	2	3	4
write in English?	1	2	3	4
understand English?	1	2	3	4
speak Spanish?	1	2	3	4
read in Spanish?	1	2	3	4
write in Spanish?	1	2	3	4
understand Spanish?	1	2	3	4

¿Qué tan bien puedes...	No, para nada bien	Algo bien	Bien	Muy Bien
hablar inglés?	1	2	3	4
leer inglés?	1	2	3	4
escribir inglés?	1	2	3	4
entender inglés?	1	2	3	4
hablar español?	1	2	3	4
leer español?	1	2	3	4
escribir en español?	1	2	3	4
entender español?	1	2	3	4

Latino/a Ethnic Identification

These questions ask how you feel about being Hispanic, Latino/a, or Spanish.					
How strongly do you disagree or agree with the following statements?	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
You are happy being Hispanic, Latino/a, or Spanish.	1	2	3	4	5
You like being Hispanic, Latino/a, or Spanish.	1	2	3	4	5

¿Qué tan de acuerdo o en desacuerdo estas con las siguientes afirmaciones?	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	No estoy seguro/a	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
Eres feliz ser hispano(a), latino(a), o español.	1	2	3	4	5
Te gusta ser hispano(a), latino(a), o español.	1	2	3	4	5

U.S. American Ethnic Identification

These questions ask how you feel about being U.S. American.					
How strongly do you disagree or agree with the following statements?	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree

You are happy being U.S American.	1	2	3	4	5
You like being U.S. American.	1	2	3	4	5

¿ Qué tan de acuerdo o en desacuerdo estas con las siguientes afirmaciones?	Muy en Desacuerdo	En Desacuerdo	No Estoy Seguro/a	De Acuerdo	Muy De Acuerdo
Eres feliz con ser Americano/a E.E.U.U.	1	2	3	4	5
Te gusta ser Americano/a E.E.U.U.	1	2	3	4	5

Familism

Knight, G. P., Gonzales, N. A., Saenz, D. S., Bonds, D., German, M., Deardorff, J., Roosa, M. W., & Updegraff, K. A. (2010). The Mexican American Cultural Values Scale for adolescents and adults. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 30, 444-481.

How strongly do you disagree or agree with the following statements?	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
No matter what, children should always treat their parents with respect.	1	2	3	4	5
Children should work hard and do their best because their work reflects on the family.	1	2	3	4	5
Children should always think about their family when making important decisions.	1	2	3	4	5

¿Qué tan de acuerdo o en desacuerdo estas con las siguientes afirmaciones acerca de tu familia?	Muy en desacuerdo	En desacuerdo	No estoy seguro/a	De acuerdo	Muy de acuerdo
No importa lo que pase, los hijo/as siempre deben tratar a sus papás con respeto.	1	2	3	4	5
Los hijos deben trabajar duro y hacer lo mejor porque su trabajo es un reflejo de la familia.	1	2	3	4	5
Los hijo/as siempre deben pensar acerca de su familia cuando toman decisiones importantes.	1	2	3	4	5

Parent-child Conflict

Kurdek, L. A. (1994). Conflict resolution styles in gay, lesbian, heterosexual nonparent, and heterosexual parent couples. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 56, 705-722.

Parents and children sometimes have arguments about schoolwork, friends, being disrespectful, privacy, and many other things.

In the last 3 months (90 days), how often have you argued with your mom or dad?

- ☐ Never
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Very Often

Padres e hijo(as) a veces discuten sobre el trabajo escolar, los amigos, de ser irrespetuosos, de privacidad, y muchas otras cosas.

En los últimos 3 meses (90 días), ¿qué tan frecuentemente has discutido con tu mamá o papá?

- ☐ Nunca
- ☐ Raramente
- ☐ A Veces
- ☐ Seguido
- ☐ Muy seguido

When you argue with your mom or dad, how often do you:	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
hurt each other's feelings with the things you say?	1	2	3	4	5
yell and scream at each other?	1	2	3	4	5
stop listening to each other?	1	2	3	4	5

Cuando discutes con tu mamá o papá, ¿qué tan frecuentemente:	Nunca	Raramente	A veces	Seguido	Muy Seguido
hieren los sentimientos uno del otro con las cosas que dicen?	1	2	3	4	5
se gritan uno al otro?	1	2	3	4	5
dejan de escucharse el uno al otro?	1	2	3	4	5

Parent-Child Relational Closeness

Vangelisti, A.L., & Caughlin, J.P. (1997). Revealing family secrets: The influence of topic, function, and relationships. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 14, 679-705.

How strongly do you disagree or agree with the following statement?		Doesn't apply to me	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
I am happy with the relationship that I have with the following people:	Mom	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Dad	0	1	2	3	4	5
I can talk to the following people about my worries and problems:	Mom	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Dad	0	1	2	3	4	5
I like to spend time with the following people.	Mom	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Dad	0	1	2	3	4	5

¿Qué tanto estás en	No se	Muy en	En	No estoy	De	Muy de
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desacuerdo o de acuerdo con las siguientes declaraciones?		aplica a mí.	desacuerdo	desacuerdo	seguro/a	acuerdo	acuerdo
Estoy contento(a) con la relación que tengo con las siguientes personas.	Mamá	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Papá	0	1	2	3	4	5
Puedo hablar con las siguientes personas acerca de mis angustias y problemas.	Mamá	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Papá	0	1	2	3	4	5
Me gusta pasar el tiempo con las siguientes personas.	Mamá	0	1	2	3	4	5
	Papá	0	1	2	3	4	5

Brokering Identity Goals

Guntzville, L. (2015). Mother-child communication quality during language brokering: Validation of four measures of brokering interaction goals. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Science*. 38(1), 94-116. doi: 10.1177/0739986315613053

How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly Agree
It is important that I act American when translating for the English speaker.	1	2	3	4	5
I care about being as American as possible when translating for the English speaker.	1	2	3	4	5
I want to speak like an American when I am translating for the English speaker.	1	2	3	4	5
I want the English Speaker to think I act American when I translate.	1	2	3	4	5
It is important that I act Hispanic/Latino(a) when translating for my parent(s).	1	2	3	4	5
I care about being as Hispanic/Latino(a) as possible when translating for my parent(s).	1	2	3	4	5
I want to speak like a Hispanic/Latino(a) when translating for my parent(s).	1	2	3	4	5
I want my parent(s) to think that I act Hispanic/Latino(a) when I translate.	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
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
Me importa comportarme como un(a)	1	2	3	4	5

Americano(a) cuando estoy traduciendo para la persona que habla inglés.					
Quiero hablar como un(a) Americano(a) cuando estoy traduciendo para la persona que habla inglés.	1	2	3	4	5
Quiero que la persona que habla inglés piense que me comporto como un(a) Americano(a) cuando estoy traduciendo.	1	2	3	4	5
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
Me importa comportarme como un(a) hispano(a)/latino(a) cuando estoy traduciendo para mi mamá o papá.	1	2	3	4	5
Quiero hablar como un(a) hispano(a)/latino(a) cuando estoy traduciendo para mi mamá o papá.	1	2	3	4	5
Quiero que mi mamá o papá piense que me comporto como un(a) hispano(a)/latino(a) cuando estoy traduciendo.	1	2	3	4	5

Language Brokering Frequency

Tse, L. (1995). Language brokering among Latino adolescents: Prevalence, attitudes, and school performance. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 17, 180–193.
doi:10.1177/07399863950172003

Translating (also sometimes called interpreting) refers to explaining the meaning of any word, message, or conversation to someone who doesn't know the language (e.g., English, Spanish, etc.).

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 for someone who doesn't know the language very well. Translating also may include filling out forms or writing letters for someone who doesn't know the language very well.

	Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
In the past 3 months (90 days), how often have you translated for:					
your mom?	1	2	3	4	5
your dad?	1	2	3	4	5
other family members (e.g., siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc.)?	1	2	3	4	5

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

<i>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.</i>					
En los últimos 3 meses (90 días), ¿qué tan seguido has traducido para:	Nunca	Raramente	A veces	Seguido	Muy Seguido
tu mamá?	1	2	3	4	5
tu papá?	1	2	3	4	5
otros miembros de la familia (<i>ej., hermanas/os, abuelas/os, tías, tíos, primas/os</i>)?	1	2	3	4	5

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and correlations for young brokers

	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
1. LatEthID	4.63 (.61)	$\alpha = .87$														
2. Splang	2.78 (.80)	.28***	$\alpha = .87$													
3. Familism	4.14 (.95)	.27***	.13*	$\alpha = .84$												
4. USEthID	4.35 (.76)	.24***	-.004	.13*	$\alpha = .94$											
5. EngLang	3.69 (.45)	.22**	.03	0.05	.28***	$\alpha = .83$										
6. ConFreq	2.51(1.13)	-.08	-.13*	-.26***	-.04	.02	-----									
7. NegMng	2.11(1.05)	-.14	-.17*	-.22**	.01	.05	.50***	$\alpha = .81$								
8. MClose	4.46(1.07)	.28***	.19**	.30***	.11	.07	.32***	.36***	$\alpha = .93$							
9. DClose	3.13(1.08)	.30***	.20**	.24***	.13	0	.29***	.35***	.53***	$\alpha = .94$						
10. ActLat	3.12(1.08)	.08	.20**	.10	-.16*	.05	.09	.06	.09	.53***	$\alpha = .94$					
11. ActUS	2.65(1.07)	-.10	.06	-.01	.11	.03	.17**	.17*	-.01	.02	.53***	$\alpha = .93$				
12. LBFreq	2.75(1.03)	.12	.46***	.14*	-.04	-.17**	.08	-.08	.19**	.14*	.36***	.15*	-----			
13. Age	12.51(.90)	-.08	-.23***	-.09	-.07	.01	.20**	.07	-.16**	-.12	-.01	-.08	-.07	-----		
14. Gender	\$30,172	-.06	.07	-.10	-.04	-.08	.19**	.21**	-.23***	-.19**	.12	.09	.04	-.09	---	
15. SES	(1329.38)	-.01	-.11	-.03	-.01	-.06	-.02	.02	-.08	.08	.04	.02	-.09	.07	0	----

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.
1. LatEthID = Latino/a ethnic identification
2. SnLang = Spanish language proficiency
3. Familism 4. USEthID = U.S. ethnic identification
5. EngLang = English language proficiency
6. ConFreq = conflict frequency
7. NegMng = negative communicative conflict management
8. MClose = mother-child relational closeness
9. DClose = father-child relational closeness
10. ActLat = Act Latino/a
11. ActUS = Act U.S American,
12. LBFreq = language broker frequency
15. SES = socioeconomic status

Table 2: Effects sizes and significance for all hypothesized variable relationships

	Conflict Frequency	Negative Conflict Management	Mother-Child Relational Closeness	Father-Child Relational Closeness
Act Latino/a	0.03	0.12	0.01	0.08
Act U.S. American	0.17*	0.16*	-0.04	0.02
Act Latino/a x Latino/a Ethnic Identification	0.06	-0.12	-0.13	-0.26*
Act Latino/a x Spanish Language Proficiency	-0.01	-0.10	0.00	-0.11
Act Latino/a x Familism	0.10	-0.10	0.02	-0.07
Act Latino/a x U.S. American Ethnic Identification	0.04	0.04	-0.17*	-0.18*
Act Latino/a x English Language Proficiency	-0.21	-0.03	0.01	0.13
Act Latino/a x U.S. Ethnic Identification x Latino/a Ethnic Identification	-0.32	-1.07*	0.10	0.20
Act Latino/a x English Language Proficiency x Spanish Language Proficiency	-0.07	-0.19	0.09	-0.19
Act U.S. American x U.S. American Ethnic Identification	0.02	0.13	0.03	-0.04
Act U.S. American x English Language Proficiency	-0.10	0.07	0.13	0.06
Act U.S. American x Latino/a Ethnic Identification	-0.09	-0.13	-0.13†	-0.16
Act U.S. American x Spanish Language Proficiency	0.12	0.07	-0.03	-0.04
Act U.S. American x Familism	-0.01	-0.11†	0.00	-0.06
Act U.S. American x U.S. Ethnic Identification x Latino/a Ethnic Identification	0.17	0.05	-0.14	-0.02
Act U.S. American x English Language Proficiency x Spanish Language Proficiency	-0.07	-0.12	-0.11	-0.09

Note: † $p < .10$, * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$