Dialogic Cultural Relationships of Expertise, Knowledge, (Inter)dependence and Power Within the Acculturating Family: Exploring the Technolinguistic Brokering Experiences of Adolescents and Their Immigrant Non-English Speaking Mothers

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the technolinguistic brokering experience of adolescents and (im)migrant non-English speaking mothers in acculturating families. By focusing on the performance of cultural intermediation, I examine the dimensions of technolinguistic brokering and their influence upon the Adolescent Language Technology Broker (ALTB) and mother relationship. Additionally, I explore the factors of power present as a result of the complexities of the ALTBs role to connect their mother to the English speaking community. This research uses a qualitative approach to explore concepts of expertise, knowledge, (inter)dependence, relational maintenance and quality, and power in the dialogic cultural relationship. Research indicates that expertise in the form of culture, cultural interactions, multilingual, and relational maintenance and quality contribute to the ALTBs capabilities in building cultural relationships. Moreover, to assist in dealing with power tensions created by differing levels of expertise and knowledge, ALTBs and mothers communicatively construct an (inter)dependent cultural relationship. I highlight practical implications, discuss limitations, and provide recommendations for future directions.

DEDICATION

In memory of my brother, Ramon Cayetano (1981-2009), my family's keeper and guiding light as we sacrifice, persevere, and find success as we achieve our bi-cultural dreams.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Unconsciously, this journey when I found myself in front of counter at five years old as I engaged in language brokering for the first time. I distinctly remember the mixture of feelings that circulated through my body. I felt confused, afraid, proud, and accomplished. Amidst all this, I remember my father's voice, "Tu puedes, como no vas a poder?" (You can do it, how are you not going to be able to do it?). My father's words have provided the comfort, motivation, and safety net necessary for this journey.

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To my family: Pedro, Pedrito, Carolina, and Ramon. I never truly understood what family meant until this journey began. You have all been my rocks that I have stood upon to shine. I know that the last year of this journey has been tough on all of us, but I want to express my deepest gratitude and love for reminding me that it is okay to be human sometimes and to allow oneself to experience the vicissitudes of life. That not everything has to go as planned always. I love you all so much! To my brother, Ramon, who passed 11 years ago. You knew who I was going to become—the bridge that would be strong and durable to withhold all that comes across it. I have missed you so much throughout this journey where I give light to an experience you bravely shared with me.

Finally, to all those children of (im)migrant families who everyday find it within themselves to help their families reach their dreams. You are the pillars of your family and without you, your family traditions and values would be lost. You not only let us see the challenges of what it means to be between two cultures and having to be experts in each, but also show us the true meaning of love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Yo, no entiendo la cultura americana."

*(*I do not understand American culture)

-R.C.A.

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When I was growing up, my parents frequently said the above words. These moments happened at the grocery store, at the doctor's office when we were trying to schedule an appointment, and when my family was trying to blend into the crowds on our annual Disneyland trips. I will never forget these words accompanied by headshakes and facial expressions of puzzlement. The older that I got, the more noticeable the reactions became. When I asked to go to my first junior high dance. When I brought home permission notes to attend school camping trips. When I needed permission to take 10th grade driver's training. My parents received these requests with bewilderment and fear. Most importantly, I can recall my lack of understanding and confusion. As a child, a teenage girl, how do you help your parents not only understand a new language, but the culture behind it? I did not know how to make sense of it. My ability to speak both English and Spanish, coupled with my interpretation of popular culture through television and my American friends, enabled me to explain and answer my parents' questions.

I realize now that the normalized act of helping my parents through interpreting and translating was language brokering. I was mediating language and culture. I brokered emotions, humor, and important moments in my family. Each of these experiences became part of me. Each experience inspired me and supported not only my linguistic

and cultural development to feel attached to my heritage, but also contributed to the development of my worldview through cultural frames that included American culture.

The term "child language broker" is often used to describe the experience of children of (im)migrant families who engage in "interpretation and translation between linguistically and culturally different parties and who influence the messages they convey and at times may act as decision makers for one or both parties" (Tse, 1995, p.180). As a child, I did not think of people as culturally and linguistically different, nor did I perceive my actions as a form of mediation. It was not until I began graduate school, when I encountered the term language brokering, that a chain reaction began within me.

Language brokering experiences now, 38 years later, surface in new forms of communication. Communication is no longer is solely face-to-face interactions. Information communication technologies (ICTs) have transformed what I understood about language brokering into something new. Language brokering now extends itself to include technology. Just as my young self once did, I have found myself technology brokering or assuming the role of facilitating my parents' understanding and connection to traditional and new communication technologies (Katz, 2010). My non-English speaking father, who is now in his late 60s, is making efforts to learn how to use a desktop computer and smartphone because everything from his health records, prescriptions, and doctor's appointments are all made using ICTs. I once again get the same look from him, just as I did in my adolescent years. My dad's looks are of wonder and skepticism. The pattern repeats itself with me now performing technology brokering coupled with his words, "No entiendo la cultura americana" or I do not understand American culture.

The project originates from two sources: my own experience as a child of (im)migrants[1] and my desire to understand the role that children of (im)migrant parents play within their acculturating families. There are numerous articles about the role of children in the (im)migrant experience that focus on the outcomes of language brokering (Guan, Greenfield, & Orellana, 2014; Katz, 2014; Kam, 2011; Weisskirch, 2013; Dorner, Orellana, & Li-Grining, 2007; Tse, 1995) and most recently the rise of technology brokering (Correa, Straubhaar, Chen, & Spence, 2015; Correa, 2014). Through my own experience and this literature, it has become clear that beyond the act of technolinguistically bridging our parents to mainstream U.S. culture, our contributions within our acculturating families needs further consideration.

America is clearly not the melting pot it once proclaimed itself to be. With 44.5 million (im)migrants in the United States, with 51.2 % coming from Latin America[2] and 30.5% coming from Asia, the once-famous metaphor of a melting pot has been replaced by the salad bowl to reflect a more pluralistic perspective on ethnicity, race, and culture (Census.gov, 2017; Kim, 2007). More recently, anti-immigrant sentiment within the United States due to the accelerated immigrant demographic changes have positioned the issue of acculturation at the forefront in politics (Butz & Kehrberg, 2019; Rodrigues, Schwartz, & Whitbourne, 2010). Much interest surrounds the question of whether migrants will adopt the cultural values, beliefs, practices, and language of American

[1] In this work, the word immigrant will be written as (im)migrant to acknowledge and honor the diversity of the migration experience (e.g. sojourners, immigrants, long-term refugees, short-term refugees).
[2] Contributing to this shift is the Latino(a) population, with an increase of 16% to 18% between 2008-2018 of the total U.S. population (Census.gov, 2018) and specifically, the Mexican-origin population, which accounts for 63.4% of the Latino minority population (Census.gov, 2015).

society. Many ask questions about belonging[3] and citizenship,[4] and debate on how (im)migrants contest the meaning of the American identity (Sorrells, Khalsa, Ecklund, & Emerson, 2019). Macro-level institutions within the United States influence and structure what constitutes the (im)migrant identity. The deep structures of gender, race/ethnicity, class, economics, and citizenship found within macro-institutions create borders and boundaries that create inequalities that produce hierarchies and forms of disenfranchisement for (im)migrant groups preventing their performance of agency (Yuval-Davis, 2009). It is then in the micro-level interactions and experiences where "las caras of resistance" or faces of resistance become visible as the structures of inequality forcefully attempt to create meanings of ethnicity that affect how (im)migrant communities survive and experience opportunities and life chances in the United States (Anzaldúa, 1990).

Language speaks to the identity of a country, its culture, and the people (Noels, Yashima, & Zhang, 2012). Anti-immigrant discourses that promote the expectation of individuals who migrate to the United States to speak English are a part of the institutional structures that overlook the social inequalities that (im)migrant communities encounter when seeking social integration (Moreno, 2008; Huntington, 2004). To resist hegemonic processes of cultural reproduction, marginalized (im)migrant families engage

[3] Yuval-Davis (2009) defines this concept to be different than citizenship. Belonging includes the participatory dimensions of citizenship but also the cognitive and emotional dimensions of identification and attachment.

[4] Marshall (1950; 1975) defines citizenship as "a full membership of the community with rights and responsibilities" (cited in Yuval-Davis, 2009). Citizenship encompass multiple elements that include social rights, political rights, civil rights, and identity construction (cited in Sorrells, Khalsa, Ecklund, & Emerson, 2019).

in their own cultural production of citizenship through the performance of everyday practices that are meaningful to their cultural group. Moreno (2008) conceptualizes this process as "cultural citizenship," where communities learn to "define themselves, define their membership, claim rights, develop a vision of the type of society they want to live in, interpret their histories, and forge their own symbols and political rhetoric"(p. 54). Cultural citizenship is achieved in the (im)migrant experience through relational moments of shared practices and *platicas* (dialogue) within families (Moreno, 2008).

Exploring the contexts of language brokering experiences seems to be the natural progression of child language brokering scholarship, which to date has mostly focused on the practice as it occurs in everyday life within (im)migrant families. Child language brokering research has documented children communicating in different professional domains, i.e., health, education, and employment (Katz, 2014; Orellana, 2009; Morales & Hanson, 2005). Katz (2014) explored how child brokers facilitated interactions between their parents and medical providers in the absence of accommodations for non-English speakers in medical facilities. Findings point to the limitations of health-care institutions that inadequately address the needs of these families, resulting in these children filling the gap with their service. Children between the ages of 12-19 years spoke about how they operated from adult brokering strategies and previous learned experiences in an effort to align with adults' expectations and not their own.

Research has also explored youths' involvement in brokering technology for their parents (Correa, 2013; Katz, 2014). Correa's (2013) work investigated the bottom-up technology transmission process that children engage in when teaching their parents how to use digital media. Focusing on structural factors (i.e., youth's age, gender roles, and

family socioeconomic status) and family culture (i.e., parental authority and parent child interactions), findings indicate that gender plays a significant role in the adoption of new technologies by a household, along with the parental authority. Research indicated that vertical socialization in families impinged upon children trying to teach their parents. Adolescents who are a part of traditional authoritarian family structures found it difficult to teach their parents. Teaching became more difficult when children attempted to help their fathers, as their efforts and influence were not recognized. Fathers indicated that children did not have the responsibility to assume a caretaking role for them.

Adolescents may also act as useful technolinguistic brokers[5] in their families by translating websites, helping to find and search for information in both face-to-face and virtual interactions, and even influencing the adoption of cultural artifacts. Rojas, Straubhaar, & Spence (2012) found in various cases of Hispanic and African-American families that daughters and granddaughters were the ones buying devices and teaching the older generations how to use mobile phones, computers, and the Internet.

At its core, language and technology brokering is an adaptive response by (im)migrant families and their children to the process of acculturation. This study aims to explore the adolescent experience of language and technology brokering through the concepts of expertise, knowledge, interdependence, and power. By focusing on the performance of technolinguistic brokering, I explore the dimensions of expertise, and its influential nature upon the cultural relationship of the adolescent and their mother. I argue that the youths' expertise contributes to an (inter)dependent relationship with their

[5] This term was provided by Dr. Pauline Cheong and will be used alternatively with language and technology brokering to avoid redundancy.

mothers. I discover that when parents employ relational maintenance strategies and adolescents use relational quality strategies, this lessens the dialectical tension within this relationship of power.

Acculturation and the (Im)migrant Experience

The process of acculturation is one of the most widely researched aspects of the (im)migrant experience. Early work defined acculturation as a process where exposure to a new cultural system led individuals to adopt the attitudes, values, and behaviors of the dominant group and shed their own heritage culture[6] (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). These early works did not account for predispositions and willingness to interact of both parties. Understanding the formation of new cultures through the development of cultural relationships, Berry (1997) expanded this unidimensional model to include the influence of predispositions and willingness to engage with one another. [7] This bi-dimensional model suggested the existence of varying levels of intercultural contact influenced by one's willingness to interact and openness to receiving culture. According to Berry (1997) interactions would yield four possible outcomes describing how an (im)migrant will respond to the host culture: marginalized (low Americanism and low heritage culture); separated (low Americanism, high heritage culture); assimilated (high Americanism, low heritage culture); and integrated (high Americanism, high heritage

[6] The term heritage culture is used in psychology acculturation research. In this work, this term will be used under the definition of Berry (1997), which speaks about cultural heritage/heritage culture in connection to ethnicity/country of origin. In this work, adolescents and mothers had a Mexican heritage culture.

[7] These two issues addressed by Berry (1997) are in relation to both the migrant and host culture. Cultural maintenance: to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered to be important, and their maintenance strived for; Contact and Participation: to what extent should they be involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves.

culture). The goal of this work was to highlight the following important elements: (1) influence of structural factors from heritage culture, (2) influence of structural factors from host culture, (3) the back and forth nature of cultural adaptation, and (4) the relational outcomes influenced by the factors of voluntariness, mobility, and permanence (Sam & Berry, 2010).

Relational outcomes are also influenced by time. Cultural fitness speaks to the pre-work of integrating oneself into the host culture (Kim, 2007). Both the host culture and the (im)migrant family need to be aware that it takes time to adjust from their country of origin's practices to those of the host culture. Families may prolong this adjustment by living in ethnic enclaves, while others choose a more integrative option, hastening the speed of cultural adjustment. Kim (2007) reminds us that this process is cyclical and propels (im)migrants forward through positive interactions while negative interactions can cause (im)migrants to retreat. Further, internal relationships and varying levels of acculturation with the family unit influence the pace at which the integration process happens. Families are pressured to decide what elements of heritage to keep, those to shed, and those to adopt from the host culture because of citizenship participation and belonging (Kim, 2006).

The process of acculturation is complicated and poses many challenges when learning a new culture. Problems include the inability to communicate and actively engage in the social communication processes of the host culture due to factors of language, age, gender, education, economics, and reasons for migrating. Considering such factors, Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik (2010) proposed a multidimensional model of cultural adaptation that would assist in understanding family

(im)migration. For (im)migrant families adjusting to the United States, this involves family members making decisions about the extent to which they adopt new cultural values, attitudes, and practices, and the retention of heritage values, attitudes, and practices (Schwartz et al, 2010; Berry, 2005). Some of these decisions may be due to institutional structures that impinge on the (im)migrant experience, and others can be based on their exercising of cultural citizenship. Generational status within (im)migrant families, location of ethnic enclaves, and the levels of receptions and predispositions to (im)migrants are also elements of contributing tension because they speak to when and how acculturation takes place. For example, Villar, Zamis, & Concha (2012) explored health disparities within the Mexican-origin community. Research indicated that alternate views of acculturation and health are reflective of familial and religious beliefs, personal experience with the topics of health, contact with programs or institutions, peer influences, motivation to understand host values, and one's overall attachment to heritage values. These findings indicate that the community is a significant influence on how families view issues of health and these factors need consideration when speaking of acculturation.

Language studies, which focused on the impacts of proficiency, have also indicated that years of residence in the United States and their respective communities in regards to their ethnicity affect levels of acculturation (Shin & Maupome, 2017). Those who belong to ethnic enclaves and limit their interactions with the host culture can experience variations in how acculturation takes place via language. Shin and Maupome (2017) found that Mexican-origin groups that are less acculturated and moderately acculturated preferred speaking Spanish in general with family, with friends, and in

media. In regards to social interactions, the less acculturated group preferred social affiliation and interpersonal relationships with other Mexicans. Similar to the moderately acculturated group, a majority of highly acculturated and selectively bicultural groups preferred interpersonal relationships with Mexicans and Americans. More individuals in the highly acculturated group were likely to interact with Americans than the selectively bicultural group. The limited contact with the host suggests the creation of limited relationships that serve of great value to the acculturation process.

A qualitative study conducted on Mexican-origin first and second generation women also suggested that learning about one's location as a minority in the U.S. occurs in interaction with others (Viruell-Fuentes, 2007). This work reveals that proficiency in English was necessary to connect and create synergies, but also that these contacts became the starting point for (im)migrants to take concern with the "Other" and initiate the decision-making process with acculturation. In other words, how these women oriented themselves depended on previous experiences and interactions, which therefore, contributed to the formulation of ideas about the host culture. Other studies also explored how group-specific characteristics and varying social and political contexts that (im)migrant groups face have an impact on acculturation (Ward, 2016; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocsnik, 2010).

Language and cultural behavior of (im)migrants is reflective of perceived social acceptance and non-acceptance (Arcia, et al., 2001). Communicative interactions, both positive and negative, lead to the building of cultural relationships, which in turn leads to the generation of valuable cultural knowledge that progresses to integration or segregation. These experiences not only assist (im)migrants in their acculturation, but can

also discourage them. Consequently, research focused on the development of cultural relationships is necessary to understand how individuals positively assimilate or integrate into the host culture through strong relational ties.[8]

Cultural Relationships and Dialectical Tensions

For (im)migrant families who make the United States their home, accessibility of information poses unique challenges to the adaptation process and the degree of cultural integration they can achieve (Weisskirch, 2013). (Im)migrant families must navigate dialectical tensions[9] or contradictory forces in a communication experience (e.g., certainty and uncertainty, openness and closedness, integration and separation, heritage culture and host culture) preventing successful cultural adaptation (Baxter, 1998). To gain cultural understandings, (im)migrants must interact with the host culture to learn the specific symbols, symbolic forms, norms, and meanings that become the necessary information for the creation of interaction between groups (Carbaugh. 2007). Religious institutions and circles of friends and neighbors play a valuable role as social networks.

Baxter (1987) redefines social networks as relationship cultures, reflective of the larger cultural group and their values, and facilitators of cultural adaptation. In other words, these relationships are social ties to mainstream culture that, in the context of (im)migration, can benefit (im)migrants because of their interdependence. These

[8] This is especially important since strong ties are characterized as being those relationships that one interacts with one another more frequently (Granovetter, 1973), but strong ties mean more familiarity with the needs and preferences of one another, which encourage the provision of relevant advice.
[9] Baxter (2004) indicates in Relational Dialectics Theory that when one side of the dialectical tension is centered, or privileged, in communication, that side of the tension is the centrifugal discourse. The aspect of the dialectical tension that is less centered in communication is said to be the centripetal discourse. Over the course of the relationship, both sides of the tension will emerge periodically as the centrifugal and centripetal discourse. In relationships, speakers both privilege and minimize each side of the tensions over the course of the relationship as these tensions are ongoing rather than resolved.

relationships provide resources to help (im)migrants with basic needs like housing, food, transportation, and financial support. They may also provide emotional support, advice, and instrumental assistance in the form of caretaking for the family. These social networks often become the source of information for job opportunities and community resources that may assist (im)migrant families in reaching success. More interestingly, these (inter)dependent[10] relationships reveal the unique private codes and sets of rules for effective interactions.

Furthermore, cultural relationships also "provide a foundation that can serve as point of convergence for the interconnected aspirations of achievement, security, and civic engagement of individuals to mainstream society" (McDevitt & Butler, 2011, p. 1). Relationship cultures become of great value as they assist acculturating families in their search for a connection with the host culture that leads to their well-being (Baxter, 1987). For example, during (im)migration, families are relocated from the traditional sources of social support provided by members of their extended family and their friends in their origin countries (Suarez-Orozco, Yoshikawa, & Tseng, 2015). If families do not have cultural relationships that develop from their networks of social support, how can the process of acculturation begin? Furthermore, without an understanding of the language and the at times unclear rules of social engagement in their new communities, how can these families begin to develop new social networks in order to facilitate adjustment?

The role that children of (im)migrant families play in building relationship cultures within their families is crucial as these families no longer are in an insulated

[10] To honor the dialectical tensions present in these relationships, when referring to interdependence and relationships, (inter) will be used and written as (inter)dependence to critically highlight the multiple voices that are in harmony and tension in these relationships (Suter& Norwood, 2017).

space or in isolation from the socio-cultural sphere (Baxter, 2011). Inevitably, interactions with the host culture cause families to engage in dialogic forms of communication where interactions become a space for (re)creating the self, the other, and the relationships between individuals in the social world (Baxter, 2006). No longer are these families under the traditionally understood views of "family" that are socially or legally recognized (Socha& Stamp, 2010). The need to culturally connect as a means of survival removes them from a place of privacy and disconnection to the public sphere (Baxter, 2004). (Re) conceptualization of family, as sociocultural institutions influenced by broader systems, structures, and discourses of power, requires families to find ways to embrace conflict with the ultimate goal of empowerment.[11] For example, when families begin to connect societal systems (e.g., patriarchy, values of hard work, and authoritarian parenting styles) that are deeply embedded within the family and their environment, families can find ways to disrupt the norm. Families can begin to question and act against the structures that are creating inequities within their family.

Competing discourses, what is valued and what is retained within acculturating families, are in dialectical tension with the ideological forces of what is mainstream culture versus traditional culture in acculturating families. Relationship cultures improve these tensions, as communicative encounters are a way to deal with the discursively constructed, historical, and contextual contingents providing an opportunity to stand up against hegemonic understandings of the (im)migrant experience.

[11] The definition of power in this work is in connection to its link to social, legal, and religious institutions. Suter & Norwood (2017) cite the work of Therborn (2004) that says, "The privacy of family life has always been linked to societal authority, through institutionalized rights of duties prescribed and proscribed by organized bodies, buttressed or licensed by political authorities or directly by state legislation" (p.2).

Brokering Linguistically, Culturally, and Technologically

When immigrant families arrive in the U.S., there are many cultural expectations when adapting to the environment, such as learning a new language and adopting new values, beliefs, and customs. The process of acculturation begins as soon as immigrants and their families encounter U.S. culture. (Im)migrant families often have no choice but to rely on younger family members to engage in cultural brokering for them (Weisskirch, 2013). Children's daily formal and informal interactions with school, peers, neighborhood, and the media mean that they often have familiarity with the English language, placing them as brokers between the host culture and their parents (Weisskirch, 2010). The work that children engage in to broker linguistically, culturally, and technologically, is often the only way (im)migrant families can make or maintain social networks in the United States.

Language brokering

Research indicates that the children of immigrants often serve as *language brokers* or the connections between their families and the outside world. Studies indicate that children broker in various settings as a way to help their families connect to the host culture. Early in childhood, sons and daughters are required to provide linguistic assistance in obtaining necessary resources. Such instances may include language or technical use in seeking medical attention (Katz, 2014), connecting household utilities, parent-teacher conferences (Martinez, McClure, & Eddy, 2009), restaurants and shopping (Morales & Hansen, 2005), and legal issues (Tse, 1995). Studies focused on how children language broker for their parents have found brokering to be a feature of (im)migrant

family life and a valuable contribution to linguistically assisting families in dealing with institutions in the United States.

Studies analyze language brokering from different focal points including positive and negative feelings about language brokering (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014; Weisskirch, 2013), acculturation and academic self-efficacy (Acoach & Webb, 2004), and technology use (Leu, Kinzer, & Coiro, 2017; Guan, 2017; Correa, 2015; Katz & Gonzalez, 2014).

Recent work on how children influence the interactions of their families with health care providers revealed the low-income, non-English speaking (im)migrants who seek care encounter limited or no accommodations in language. As a result, children in these families assist their parents. Katz (2014) indicates that families, to overcome such obstacles, have to engage in collaborative strategies to manage their health-care provider interactions. In addition to this, child brokers develop individual strategies to manage the brokering challenges that they face. The child broker may elicit meanings from their parents and other authority figures while engaging in negotiating cultural norms. Aside from these hardships, parents maintained their authority in the parent child relationship while also viewing the brokering event as an opportunity to create shared understandings and encourage mutual learning. Furthermore, findings emphasize that great efforts and successful outcomes are linked to the reassurance and support that parents and their child brokers provide one another.

To date, language brokering literature primarily focuses on language brokering for parents collectively and without differentiating between mothers and fathers (e.g. Kam & Lazarevic, 2014; Weisskirch, 2005). Those few who do (Shen, et al., 2014; Guntzviller, 2017) provide some initial evidence that adolescent language brokers may

perceive the experience differently depending on the parent receiving assistance. For example, Wu and Kim (2009) found that adolescents were more likely to perceive a sense of burden as well as greater efficacy when language brokering for mothers rather than fathers. Guan and Shen (2015) found more frequent language brokering for mothers predicted lower levels of maternal regard, whereas there was no relation concerning language brokering for fathers. Thus, the examination of similarities and differences of language technology brokering for mothers rather than fathers is an area ripe for study.

Adolescent research on the risks of adult-like situations of language brokering has grown. For example, in an opinion piece, Halgunseth (2003) argued that the process of mediating between agents in complex, adult-like situations teaches social, negotiation, and decision-making skills, and family responsibility, which in turn instills confidence, pride, and high self-efficacy in young language brokers. Indeed, descriptive accounts obtained through qualitative research have included reports of children enjoying language brokering, and, as a result, feeling more mature, independent, and proud, having self-confidence, and feeling greater trust between parent and child (e.g., McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Morales et al., 2012). Quantitative studies also find both behavioral and attitudinal aspects of language brokering to be associated with stronger ethnic identity and enhanced feelings of confidence in social situations (Weisskirch, 2005). In addition, positive feelings about brokering related to higher levels of self-esteem and academic self-concept, led to smoking fewer cigarettes, significant perceived popularity with peers, and less problematic family relationships (Kam, 2011; Niehaus & Kumpiene, 2014; Weisskirch, 2007).

Cultural Brokering

While language brokering often is composed of translation practices, it is far more than simply interpreting forms or facilitating conversations. Children often also assume the role of *cultural broker* or someone who helps explain and navigate cultural differences for others (Jones, Trickett, & Birman, 2012; Lazarevic, 2017). During brokering interactions, the child is often transmitting information about the new culture and interpreting cultural nuances in the meaning of words and events for all parties involved. Given the interdependence of the cultural brokering role with family and community contexts, this addition to language brokering presents the child with additional pressures and responsibilities as efforts are made to support the family's process of acculturation.

Diversity is not easy to broker, as it requires a firm belief in the possibility that one can create a sense of belonging and community in each cultural brokering interaction. It requires of adolescents in (im)migrant families to engage in enhanced cultural competencies in two cultures and to go deeper than the differences that are visible in communicative interactions (Malsbary, 2014).

In a mixed research study, Guan, Greenfield, and Orellana (2014) found that in order for cultural relationships to be built, cultural brokers needed to engage in empathic transcultural perspective taking that recognizes and understands the feelings and perspectives of others. Findings indicated that when cultural brokering was engaged in from an empathic perspective, brokers were more likely to extend their help to others outside of their family. It was suggested that because brokers were willing and open to search for similarities or points of convergence during their interactions, that these

cultural interactions yielded a two-way relationship founded upon empathic concern and a desire to help others who are in need. This was viewed to be of importance because when child cultural brokers engaged in this form of cultural brokering with their parents, cultural brokering provided the parent-child relationship with an opportunity to (re)negotiate the relationship with the guiding principles of helping others. Guan et al (2014) suggests that these (re)negotiations also lead to an increase sense of self–efficacy and interpersonal skills for both parent and child due to the supportive relationship that is created.

Technology Brokering

Consumer research has revealed that when a product is considered essential, and teens are knowledgeable about it, teenagers influence their family's decision-making (Zarouali, Poels, Walrave, & Ponnet, 2018). As a result, children's greater competence and interest in new technologies may influence their parents' adoption and usage of digital media. Eventually, youth have significant potential in introducing the digital world to older generations.

Correa's work (2014) addressed the issue of "bottom-up" influence and information transfer between children and their parents from an intersectional perspective. Structural factors such as the youth's age, parent's gender, parenting style, and socioeconomic status were variables considered that might influence the likelihood of parents receiving assistance and how parents view this assistance (Correa, 2014). The study focused on 14 parent/child dyads of Latino descent (8 mothers, 6 fathers, 7 sons, and 7 daughters) from socioeconomic statuses ranging from lower, middle, and high. The children were between the ages of 12-18. Results indicated the presence of a bottom-up

technology transmission within these families as older children were allowed to assist parents in learning how to use cell phones and computers due to their knowledge. Also, children expressed that they felt more influential about their parents' learning process in comparison to how their parents felt. In other words, adolescents recognized that they were "teaching" their parents to use technology even if at times their parents did not believe that their children were teaching them. This lack of recognition of the contributions of their children is more prevalent in the responses of the fathers, who considered themselves tech-savvy and who indicated they did not need assistance. Mothers on the other hand appreciated the help they received from the adolescents and this was attributed to their openness to learn from their children. Lastly, the authors pointed out that although the bottom-up teaching transmission occurred across social classes, it was more evident and meaningful among the lower class families as children were viewed as cultural and language brokers due to their technological skills in this new social environment.

Subsequent works (Correa, Straubhaar, Chen, & Spence, 2015) from a quantitative perspective, address the influence of online activity and internet self-efficacy. Parents' age was not a significant influence, but was a variable of independence and a desire to learn to use technology. Parents prolonged seeking assistance until they could no longer engage with the technology on their own. For example, Correa's (2016) study on how youths influence their parents' digital media adoption indicated that youth were very influential when it came to the adoption of ICTs. Findings from this study indicated that the high levels of influence were a result of how youth positioned themselves and presented the ICT to the parent. If youth non-assertively approached their

parent with a whine or beg, parents' viewpoints of ICTs would not shift. On the other hand, if youth assertively presented their viewpoint utilizing an empathic approach with developed arguments about the need and functionality of the new ICT to their parent, the likelihood of a parental influence was higher. Furthermore, when adolescents spoke to parents on the usefulness of a particular new technology in connection to work related activities, parents were more accepting of new technology forms. It was concluded that an interactive process of communication between parents and their youth was necessary for a bottom-up technology transmission to be sustained and for parental persuasion to be present.

Past research has focused on the detrimental impacts of ICTs on adolescents (Clark, 2009; Livingstone & Helsper, 2007), how children are more experienced and knowledgeable about technologies than their parents (Clark, 2012; Correa, 2014), and children as digital experts on whom other family members, especially their parents, rely on to access and navigate technology (Katz, 2010; Selwyn 2004). These studies reflect the need for a more extensive look on the role of children as active agents as they influence the media use of their parents. Nelissen & Van den Bulck (2018) responded recently to this gap. Their dyadic quantitative work focused on adolescent brokering and agency. Data reflects that children perceive themselves as agents of teaching (Nelissen & Van den Bulck, 2018). Expanding on Correa's work regarding the bottom-up influence, it suggests that this agency is limited only to the action of teaching and does not to confirm a new hierarchical structure of information transmission. It was suggested parents maintained their parental authority over the technology broker and communication outside of the context remained top down. But the conflict between the roles of

teacher/learner and parent/child was a source of high tension because of the expertise of the adolescent and the expertise of the parent and this was in constant negotiation during these moments.

It is essential to continue attending to how children influence their parents in the adoption and the learning of technology and the role youth enact in making these new technologies a part of family life (Katz, 2010). ICTs provide access to information, business opportunities, social contacts, and civic and political engagements that are necessary for the adaptation of (im)migrant families in the United States. The technical expertise that youth exercise when engaging in technolinguistic brokering for their parents is an area that needs further exploratory research.

Parentification and Brokering

Parentification in the family is characterized by roles, responsibilities, and relationships typically reserved for adults and carried out by children and adolescents. Although it is common for children to engage in some caregiving in the family, *parentification* or role reversal occurs when responsibilities are demanded of or abdicated to the child, and the child sacrifices their own needs for attention, comfort, and guidance to accommodate and care for the logistical or emotional needs of their parent (Shin & Hecht, 2013). Unlike parents who exercise parentification of their children, there are parents that accept the fact that their contributions to the family should be greater than their offspring and carefully monitor their children (Jurkovic, 2014).

Some researchers have argued that language brokering is damaging to the parent-child relationship and to the child's well-being because of the adoption of adult roles (Arellano, Mier-Chairez, Tomek, & Hooper, 2018). Furthermore, it has been suggested

that through language brokering some parents may become dependent upon their children when attempting to make decisions in an English-speaking environment (Umana-Taylor, 2003). Teachers, who have encountered language brokering, have also reported that having children engage in these roles is inappropriate, as a role reversal is inevitable because children have to speak on their own school difficulties and help find solutions for those difficulties (Cline, Crafter, & Prokopiou, 2014). There is some literature that indicates that language brokering is burdensome, embarrassing, anxiety provoking, and frustrating (Orellana & Guan, 2015). Chao (2006) and Love and Buriel (2007) indicate a positive correlation between the amount of language brokering engaged in and the internalizing of symptoms (e.g., depression-anxiety, somatic complaints, withdrawal).

When considering the interdependent nature that many immigrant families emphasize, a process such as technolinguistic brokering can be seen as a normative family process that is rooted in cultural heritage and practices that families bring with them when they (im)migrate (Orellana, 2009). The desire of children to assist their parents is often viewed in this context as part of the values of (im)migrant families to create positive compassionate relationships that will increase commitment amongst its member. There is literature that focuses on the positive outcomes of brokering and how it can nurture a sense of feeling important, competent, valued, and essential (Chao, 2006). Others add that brokering can lead to higher levels of perspective-taking and empathic concern for others and increase self-efficacy (Kam, Guntzviller, &Pines, 2017). Guntzviller, Jensen, & Carreno (2017) studied language brokering in health settings with Latino(a) parent-child dyads and found that the majority of the children in their samples were able to adequate interpret for their parents in these settings. It was suggested that

self-efficacy was a significant predictor in connection to levels of health literacy for both parent and child and were positively influenced when the adolescent and their parent undertook a team model or collaboration approach.

There is also evidence suggesting that child language brokering may be associated with children's feelings toward their relationship with their parents. For example, Guan and Shen (2015) found low perceived maternal and paternal support when language brokers engaged in higher amount of brokering for their parents in a retrospective reports from 139 undergraduates of Asian, Latino(a), and non-Hispanic White backgrounds. The authors concluded that these associations were mediated by the praise and support received from the mothers and fathers of these adolescents. This indicates that though there is an awareness of the dependency of the parent due to their low-level English speaking skills, parents did their best to minimize the strain of language brokering.

Who is the Adolescent Language and Technology Broker (ALTB)?

My research focuses primarily on the experiences of Mexican-origin language and technology brokering adolescents. In contrast with how the language brokering literature references these adolescents—as "children,"[12] I will refer to language and technology brokers as "Adolescent Language Technology Brokers (ALTB)" (Valenzuela, 1999). [13] By doing so, my goal is to highlight their valuable contributions as adolescents and to

[12] This term indicate that children of (im)migrant families may remain as such in the eye of their family after the legal age of adulthood (i.e. turning 18). I will use children when I reference the parent child relationship.

[13] From this point, I will reference children as "adolescents" to recognize and allow their autonomous voice to be present in conversations. Researchers of human development have consistently observed that the second decade of life is a time of dramatic change: a period of rapid physical growth, endocrine (hormone) changes, cognitive development, and increasing analytic capability; emotional growth, a time of self-exploration and increasing independence, and active participation in a more complex social universe.

juxtapose their current developmental position in their involvement of brokering and intermediary activities that involve adult voices, roles, and information. This knowledge frequently requires them to take on adult responsibilities not always of their choosing, while respecting the cultural values of their parents. In many ways, adolescents are asked to develop normally for their age, while at the same time becoming adults by assisting their parents. This dialectical tension becomes a part of the (im)migrant family experience, who like any family, aims to survive, thrive, and adapt to the systems of meaning in the host culture. Power resides within these systems of meaning. Families encounter moments of internal and external struggle because of the dominant interplay between marginalized and mainstreams meanings (Suter & Norwood, 2017). (Im)migrant families deal with these moments of tension by attempting to find a healthy relationship balance between heritage and host cultural values.

A Culture of *Familismo*, *Respeto, Marianismo*, and *Caballerismo*

One of the foundations of Mexican-origin is collectivism. Collectivism is the orientation of a group based on the implicit values of connection to family, respect and obedience and their contribution to creating relatedness and interdependence among members of a group (Tamis-LaMonda, Way, Hughes, Yoshikawa, Kalman, & Niwa, 2007).

Familismo. *Familismo* or family solidarity is a central value manifested specifically as "obligations towards family." This orientation is prevalent in families who identify with the Mexican culture and less with mainstream American culture (Rumbaut & Portes, 2001; Blocklin, Crouter, Updegraff, & McHale, 2011). This central value has become one of the most well-known characteristics of the Mexican-origin family, with its

importance being well documented in works focusing on *familismo* and acculturation levels (Rodrigues, Bingham-Mira, Paez, & Myers, 2007). When strong *familismo* is present, relational bonds with immediate or nuclear families also extend kin networks of importance (e.g., grandparents, cousins, aunts, uncles). Under these conditions families are seen as successful and thriving (Rodrigues, Bingham-Mira, Paez, & Myers, 2007). Umana-Taylor, Updegraff, & Gonzalez-Backen (2011) also suggest that *familismo*, and its cultural values of family obligation, interdependence, and social support, protect Mexican American adolescents from negative psychosocial functioning in relation to external social pressures such as ethnic minority discrimination.

From a young age, children learn that *familismo* brings them closer to their parents as they take care for and help those in their group. These values contribute to the eagerness of many children to help their parents and extended family members in daily tasks similar to language and technology brokering. Though there are positive outcomes in assuming such behavior (such as experiencing close attachment and support from the family), there are times when the individual must separate from their immediate and extended family to participate or attend to the demands of American culture. These separations cause a strain on the familial relationships cultivated by collectivist bonds. “Family first" becomes a hallmark saying for collectivist families, including the Mexican-origin family.

Respeto. Another critical cultural value in the Mexican-origin family is *respeto* or respect, which guides the daily interactions between individuals within families (Valdes, 1996). Just as *familismo* encourages unity within the group, *respeto* or respect sets the expectation for the performance of *familismo*. *Respeto* manifests itself through the

obedience and deference the younger generations show towards higher authority, power, and recognition (Yu, Lucero-Liu, Gamble, Taylor, Hendricksen-Christensen, & Modry-Mandell, 2008). By giving *respeto*, the individual is not only making an effort to maintain a harmonious family environment but also supports a set of rules by enacting appropriate etiquette in a variety of situations.

Roles and role obligations, which form an integral part of the dynamics of a family, become important as they influence the performance of *respeto*. For the younger generations, *respeto* dictates that children should be highly considerate of adults. Younger members of the family are not to interrupt during conversations or bring any grief or worry upon these authority figures (Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes, 2010). Children learn they are to be *buenos hijos* or good children, by being obedient to their parents' requests. *Respeto* helps provide and delineate the boundaries of appropriate behavior for the child (Calzada et al., 2010). To be a *buen hijo(a*), the Mexican-origin child must be considerate, obedient, and appreciative of his or her parents, along with assisting those who are a part of the extended family (Valdes, 1996). This respect for higher authority also includes respecting their parents' child-rearing practices and decisions. The role of parents is defined to be one of authority while the role of children in the context of technolinguistic brokering is evolving and situational. Despite this, a child cannot question their parents' decision, as it is disrespectful to question those who are in a position of authority. At no time is it appropriate for a child to misbehave or rebel against the parents.

Marianismo and Caballerismo. Emotionally close and supportive relationships with parents and friends are associated with Latino(a) families' caretaking values. *Buenos*

hijos(as) (good children) recognize the pressures experienced by their parents who are trying to survive culturally and economically in the United States. At times, this pushes children to engage in self-sacrificing behaviors to contribute to a harmonious family environment (Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes, 2010). This intuitiveness is a form of respect and speaks to how adolescents learn early on to be considerate, obedient, and appreciative of their parents (Valdes, 1996). This obligation of *familismo* plays out in gendered ways through *marianismo* and *caballerismo* (Piña-Watson, Castillo, Jung, Ojeda, & Castillo-Reyes, 2014; Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008).

Marianismo is instilled from early childhood and places particular expectations on women to display self-sacrificing behaviors that benefit the collective family (Piña-Watson, Castillo, Jung, Ojeda, & Castillo-Reyes, 2014). Traditional views of *marianismo* characterize Latinas as submissive, virtuously pure, selfless, and religiously superior to men (Castillo & Cano, 2007). *Caballerismo*, on the other hand, speak to the male gender role of being the protectors of family. Researchers concerned with the balanced representation of machismo within Mexican and Mexican American cultures have often pointed out the positive characteristics of *caballerismo* (Anderson,Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008), which include the enactment of nurturance and protection of the family in the areas of honor, dignity, wisdom, hard work, responsibility, spirituality, and emotional connectedness. Positive descriptors of machismo appear to resemble qualities associated with the word *caballerismo* or a gentleman with proper, respectful manners. Mirande (1998) looked at machismo as a psychological construct almost uniformly characterized machismo as something aggressive and hypermasculine (cited in Arciniega, et al, 2008).

Other perspectives however, view this concept as too restrictive as it only focuses on the negative aspects of masculine behavior *(*Arciniega, et al, 2008).

Both Latino boys and Latina girls are taught the *marianismo* gender script as a way to continue to validate and strengthen *familismo* and *respeto* (Piña-Watson, et al., 2014). The themes are intertwined as they provide care for the family through job acquisition, caretaking of mothers and siblings, and enacting bravery and honor by speaking up for their families. In the case of language and technology brokering, adolescents are torn between the assertiveness that U.S. culture demands and the silence and subordination to others that *respeto* perpetuates.

The Research Site and Rationale

This study examines adolescent language technology brokers (ALTBs) and their (im)migrant non-English speaking mothers who receive this technolinguistic brokering from their child. The research project focuses on residents of a Southwest community in the Phoenix Metropolitan area. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2019), the Phoenix-Mesa-Scottsdale Metropolitan Area is ranked the 12th largest metropolitan area with a population of 4.1 million residents. The area's principal city, Phoenix, has an estimated 1,446,914 inhabitants and is the 5th most populous city in the United States (Census.gov, 2019). Within the community, more than 42 .6 percent of the people in the city of Phoenix are Hispanic or Latino(a) with much of this group being of Mexican-origin descent (Census.gov, 2019; Pew, 2017). The zip code used in this study reflected families were 80.9% Hispanic/Latino with 77% being of Mexican-origin descent (ACS

survey, 2019)[14]. The median age was 28.7 (ACS survey, 2019)[15]. Within the population, 3.6% of individuals in this neighborhood are below the poverty level, with a median household income of $27,506 (ACS survey, 2019)[16]. According to the American Community survey (2019), out of the 34,996 total surveyed[17], 28,876 speak Spanish,[18] and 6,093 speak only English.[19] Levels of English skill range from "English very well,"[20] at 16,468 to "English not at all"[21] at 5,943.

Research findings indicate that new (im)migrant parents connect to community institutions primarily for their children's needs (Katz, 2010). The adolescents and mothers in this project were recruited from a local nonprofit organization whose mission is to uplift families and help transform the community through collaboration, service, spiritual development, and education. This organization provides multiple resources for the members of their community (e.g., food and clothing bank, opportunities for employment in the community store, family workshops, and spiritual and physical healing centers). Adolescents and parents belonging to the nonprofit have made it their mission to build a community that helps meet essential human needs. Their interest lies in enhancing the quality of life for children and adults encourage self-worth and self-sufficiency while fostering community pride in the neighborhood's diverse ethnic, racial, and social backgrounds. The goal of the organization is to help transform communities

[14] Percent Margin of error +/-1.8
[15]Percent Margin of error +/-1.4
[16] Amount Margin of error +/-1,555
[17] Margin of error +/-1480
[18] Margin of error +/-1419
[19] Margin of error +/-763
[20] Margin of error +/-1138
[21] Margin of error +/-606

into places of belonging and growth through hope, love, power, and relationship building. This public space, like others, play a vital role in social life of communities. They act as a self-organizing public service and a shared resource of experiences and values.

The social value of a public space becomes important to these families. Technological advancements play an important role in this community space as it contributes to connecting families. Given that this organization has become a place for community members to gather, interact, and learn about one another while becoming more aware of their own cultural selves, I felt that this was an ideal setting to recruit adolescents and their mothers to participate in my study. I have been an active volunteer in this community since the summer of 2017 through a project that focuses on having (im)migrant families share their (im)migration stories with other communities in the Phoenix-Metropolitan area.

This dissertation expands the existing conceptualization of adolescent language and technology brokers (ALTBs) and makes an essential contribution to Interdependence Theory. Research has addressed how gender, class, ethnicity, and age affect the experience of those participating in the communicative interaction of brokering. Also, as previously outlined, studies on language brokering expands our understanding of the brokering experience by focusing its attention on the emotional, social, cultural, and cognitive impacts.

The literature on technology brokering captures the agency exerted by adolescent brokers through their technological capabilities to bridge the digital gap within their households. The cultural relationships found within the (im)migrant family are crucial during the acculturation process as parents rely on their children for their expertise and

knowledge. Research also begins to talk about the role these children play in their homes in connecting their family to cultural elements of the host culture via the use of technology (Gonzalez & Katz, 2015). Indeed, adolescents linguistically, socially, culturally, and technologically bridge the gap for their non-English speaking parents. There is very little literature on what this means beyond speaking English or the searching of information on the web.

My work explores the adolescent experience of language and technology brokering through the concepts of expertise, knowledge, interdependence, and power. By focusing on the described experience of 18 adolescent (daughter/son) and mother dyads[22], I will contribute a more nuanced description of the expertise involved in technolinguistic brokering that will provide communities with the language to make sense of this phenomenon that has become so natural within families. The results of this work can be used to create family workshops within (im)migrant communities to bring attention to the high value of this developed expertise within families and throughout the greater community.

Secondly, this work contributes to the current literature by combining the main concepts of relational interdependence, relational maintenance, and relational quality, yielding a description that brings a specialized context to the existing literature. Currently, research on (inter)dependent relationships has primarily focused on operationalizing these concepts within the context of romantic relationships, but very rarely on parent and child relationships. This extension into a different context will also

[22] 9 dyads were mother/son and 9 dyads were mother/daughter.

permit individuals who work with the (im)migrant populations to continue to provide support to sustain relationships of culture with their children.

Lastly, this study contributes a distinct viewpoint as to where power resides in a parent and adolescent relationship. Technolinguistic brokering is a highly sophisticated language and cultural negotiation. Adolescents who live at the intersections of multiple languages and cultures are positioned as having the knowledge and skills to negotiate the complexities of linguistic and cultural boundaries. The role of relational maintenance and relationship quality are vital elements in mitigating the power factors that are frequently encountered when differing levels of expertise challenge the bonds between parents and their children.

Methodologically, two sources of data are collected in this study. First, I used ethnographic field notetaking as a method tool for engaging in self-reflection and it proved useful as a means of accounting for my embodied experience. Qualitative methods specifically speak to the value of engaging in self-reflexivity and its necessity to account for the influence of one's experience (Tracy, 2019). I began this work speaking about my experience because I cannot deny that with each step of this process, my own life experiences re-emerged.

By engaging my participants in individual interviews, I collect both individual and overlapping areas of experience between the ALTB and their mothers. The areas of divergence reveal the "multiple constructed realities" of this dialectical relationship (Seale, 1999, p. 474). Furthermore, triangulated findings described convergent, complementary, or dissonant experiences (Erzberger and Prein, 1997; Perlesz and Lindsay, 2003). The value of using independent interviews was essential to deepen the

understanding of what constitutes ALTBs experiences and to increase the scope, depth, and consistency of the experience.

Overview of Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 presents the theoretical frameworks guiding this study: intergenerational transmission and relational interdependence (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). The second section reviews literature relevant to the research of relational quality and maintenance (Stafford & Canary, 1991). The third section includes literature on self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997) and its ties to effective communicative interactions between parents and adolescents that lead to the development of cultural relationships. Chapter 3 details the research design of the project, and includes details on the interviews and analysis of data. Chapter 4 presents the qualitative results of the study. Finally, chapter 5 discusses the overall discussion of the findings of the project, limitations, and directions for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The presence of acculturation is not only revealed through the sacrifices of (im)migrant parents. Children can provide us a clear picture of how cultural identities, traditions, and ideologies are upholded during the family's acculturation process (Portes & Zhou, 1993). The ALTB's acquisition of cultural and social capital via communicative interactions and the use of technology assists in decreasing the cultural distance between the host culture and their (im)migrant family. The performance of technolinguistic brokering contributes to building relationships that are valuable to the desired adjustment imposed by the new community. The adolescent's involvement on behalf of their family causes an awareness of stressors experienced by their parents during moments of intercultural contact. The ALTB exerts some influence on how parents may perceive the host cultural content. Conversations with parents also lead to stronger or weaker familial connections (Rasmi, Chuang, & Hennig, 2015). It is imperative to consider how these adolescents and parents, particularly mothers, experience the performance of language and technology brokering within their relationship. The focus of this dissertation project is to explore the experience of ALTBs as they engage in technolinguistic brokering for their non-English speaking mothers, how mothers perceive this experience within the confines of their relationship, and the relationship factors stemming from dialectical tensions.

Through research on intergenerational transmission and relational interdependence (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978), the first section of the literature review introduces the dimensions of interdependence of mothers and adolescents during

intergenerational transmission of culture. The next section, reviews literature that focuses on the creation of relational quality and maintenance strategies as it applies to families and the creation of (inter)dependent relationships (Stafford & Canary, 1991). The third section introduces the impact of relational maintenance and relationship quality on technolinguistic brokering through the lens of the family. Through the literature, I explore specifically how relational quality between adolescents and mothers influences their relationship. The fourth section looks at the effects of social learning, self-efficacy, and agency (Bandura, 1997) and its ties to effective communicative interactions that lead to the development of familial cultural relationships. The fifth and final section assesses the gaps in the literature of cultural intermediation and forms the research questions of this work.

Some of the relationships examined in this research are voluntary; family obligations often make these relationships involuntary. Close ties are most often between people who are homogenous in terms of values, attitudes, and demographic attributes (McPherson, Smith-Lovin & Cook, 2001). Close ties, in this work, refer to strong attachments between two individuals (Jamieson, 2011).

Intergenerational Transmission of Culture within Family

Researchers have attempted to understand the dynamics of Latino(a) families as influenced by immigration and changes in the racial/ethnic composition of the U.S. population (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The family structure and the presence of differences in cultural adjustment in Mexican American families have indicated that there is a need to focus on what constitutes family as examined through family structure, its effects, and the processes found within. Other perspectives have focused on the

experiences of single-parent families that have reported economic hardship, maternal depression, family stress, and conflict in comparison to their two-parent counterparts. For instance, Baer (1999) found that adolescents in single parent families reported more conflict, less positive communication, and lower levels of family cohesion than in two-parent families. However, other studies have focused on understanding value systems as protective factors for developing youth and how this family process may mediate the relation between family structure and adolescent outcomes (Carlson & Corcoran, 2001). The generational variations within these families indicate family decline while simultaneously mentioning that *familismo* remains alive among Mexican-origin families (Popenoe, 1993).

It is possible that the process of assimilation reduces *familismo* by encouraging individualism. Latino households may consist of family members who are relatively acculturated or assimilated while other family members are newly adapting to life in the United States. In some households, parents who were born in another country may have low levels of acculturation while children, who have spent most of their lives in the United States, experience higher levels of acculturation. Consequently, these children and their parents may find themselves caught between their heritage values and the more individualistic American values while experiencing school, the workplace, and/or media consumption (Kwak, 2003; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980). These interactions away from home and family bring to light a liminal space for the individual and reveals an acculturation gap (Teler, Yuen, Gonzales, & Fuligni, 2016).

The Top-Down Approach

Parenting styles (e.g., authoritarian, authoritative, permissive uninvolved), the connection of these styles to heritage cultural values, and the effects of such practices upon children have been the primary focus of conversation surrounding (im)migrant parenting practices (Baumrind, 1978). Unlike their parents who are the drivers of their own personal development, children are not the originators of their actions (Bandura, 1977). Hence, youth rarely learn behaviors that meet their needs for belonging, attention, power, and love on their own but rather from their parents and other adults that surround them.

When parents are the primary source of socialization, this top-down approach creates two types of socialization processes-vertical and horizontal (Berry, 2007; Macoby, Grusec & Hastings, 2007). Vertical socialization, commonly viewed as the most visible in households, suggests that adults socialize youth. In childhood and early adolescence, the presence of an authority imbalance between parents and youth contributes to the strengthening of this type of socialization where parents have full control in socializing their youth (Maccoby, Grusec & Hastings, 2007). This socialization is especially apparent within Latino families who uphold strong age-based familial hierarchies, where older family members have authority over younger family members (Telzer, Gonzales, Fuligni, 2014).

On the other hand, horizontal socialization, where peers teach peers, occur when individuals are perceived to have equal power in the relationship and, therefore, can exchange, question, and create ideas together (Grusec & Hastings, 2007). This process of socialization becomes more evident as youths transition into emerging adulthood, where

the balance of power shifts to accommodate a more egalitarian relationship between parents and their children. Youth transition into emerging adulthood then leads to a balance of power between parents and their children due to the parent recognizing the child as an equal and having the capabilities necessary for adult functioning (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004). This shift creates the opportunity for the child to influence their parent, as the relationship is more independent in nature, unlike vertical socialization, which yields relationships that are more dependent. American families illustrate the presence of the horizontal socialization pattern (McHale & Crouter, 2003). In one nationally representative sample of European American, African American, and Latino parents with young children, parents reduced control and increased collaborative interaction styles with their children as they transitioned into adult roles (Aquilino, 1997). This suggest the presence of shifts as children grow in age and experience, and the need to understand the presence and contributions of familial values and ideologies during such shifts.

As youth move through developmental tasks, each interaction generates a series of dynamic changes where developmental outcomes reflect the parenting socialization process of the child. Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework (1994) refers to these exchanges as *proximal processes* or the typical ways people deal with others, and what eventually become the characteristics or resources that prompt, facilitate, or constrain subsequent interactions (Farrant & Zubrick, 2011). Broader social structures within the family, including culture, are contributing factors to promoting positive or negative youth development (Hemovich, Lac, & Crano, 2011). Furthermore, the familial context, including the ethnic and mainstream values endorsed by parents, friends, school, and

other social relationships, contribute to ethnic socialization efforts. Adolescents explore their ethnic identity individually as they internalize the values and behaviors associated with their ethnic culture.

The degree of culture maintenance and the intensity of cultural transmission from parents to children varies considerably across acculturating groups and host countries (Berry, 1997). Cultural transmission, the process of carrying cultural information from one generation to the next or from one group to another group, has significant implications for the adaptation and persistence of a culture and the relationship dynamics within families (Perez-Brena, Updegraff, & Umana-Taylor, 2015). Simultaneously, though, these cultural values create constant turmoil that requires shifts and adjustments. These adjustments depends upon experience and interactions based on levels of dependency found within the family.

Interdependence Theory

Interactions involve needs, thoughts, and motives and are essential to understanding closeness and relationships. They yield not only concrete outcomes or immediate experiences of pleasure versus displeasure, but also symbolic outcomes or experiences that rest on the broader implications of social interactions (Kelley, 1979).

A prominent feature of relationships is that events associated with one person are connected to the other person. Interdependence Theory (IT) has been labeled the overarching relationship theory due to its emphasis on an individual's effect on his or her partner's outcomes (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). Two individuals are (inter)dependent when one person's emotion, cognition, or behavior affects the emotion, cognition, or behavior of their partner. A result of this interdependence is that knowledge of one person's

motivation, cognition, and decision to connect provides information regarding the other person. Interdependence theory highlights the importance of adopting a dyadic perspective to understand how these good or bad outcomes, pleasures or displeasures, are likely to affect each individual involved and their established relationship. Thus, our interactions describe the choices of two persons (positioning), the outcomes of each one's experiences (goal congruence), and the future options or outcomes that become available to each individual (trust and power dynamics).

Properties of Relational Interdependence Theory

Behavior is as much a function of our partner's thoughts and feelings as it is a function of our own. Further, as Kelley & Thibaut (1978) note, a relationship is an emergent property that does not merely reside in the partners, but requires reciprocal communicative action. Within a dyad, the ability to understand patterns of interaction, as well as their likely causes and effects, involves many complex, dynamic cognitive judgments and insights.

Level of Dependence

Level of dependence describes the degree to which one relies on the actions undertaken by a partner in a given relationship (Rusbult & Van Lange, 1993). For example, a mother's dependence on her child may be based on her ability to obtain good outcomes for herself, the ability to manage her own behavioral choices, or her pleasure or displeasure of outcomes in a given interaction. The degree of dependence is also influenced when the available alternatives are not promising (i.e., no trust in the medical staff in moments of language brokering or the absence of a Spanish-speaking doctor).

The degree of dependence can affect how individuals interact with one another. If one's dependence on the other increases, this evokes one's attention and cognition about both the personal and the situational matters of the other individual. Lastly, high degrees of dependency can also promote perseverance in interactions and commitment to relationships due to the vulnerability experienced by those who rely on others to fulfill important needs.

Mutuality of Dependence

Mutual dependence describes the degree to which the two people are equally dependent upon one another (Rusbult & VanLange, 2003). A dyadic relationship can be either unilaterally dependent (i.e., when only one person is dependent upon the other) or interdependent (i.e., mutually dependent if both are dependent upon one other). Unilateral dependence indicates a connection between the accessibility of resources and the exertion of power on behalf of one person onto the other. For example, if the mother does not know how to access a computer, then the adolescent holds higher power in comparison, increasing the vulnerability of the mother. Individuals with less power, like mothers in this situation, begin to give attention to the behaviors of their children who are in control and find ways to accommodate or resist their actions.

Another problem that may surface is concerning the power and the exercise of authority and compassion towards one another. The situation is quite different if the relationship is mutually dependent, where both individuals are (inter)dependent. According to Rusbult & Van Lange (2003), interactions with mutual dependence are likely to yield several positive results, including a more placid and positive emotional experience (e.g., less anxiety, guilt, and comfort), reduced use of coercion, less reliance

on contractual agreements, and greater congeniality. In short, mothers and adolescents who are (inter)dependent in their relationships will endure positive outcomes.

Basis of Dependence

Basis of dependence describes the way in which partners affect one another's outcomes, either by partner control (PC) or by joint control (JC) (Rusbult & Van Lange, 2003). If partner control dominates relationships, some strategies, such as promises, threats, and the activation of morality norms (e.g., 'this is how decent people behave') will be a part of the communication in the relationship. In high partner control situations, adolescents need to follow the rule of *respeto*, where children do as they are asked. If partner control is mutual, then the interaction between the two will rest on exchange (e.g., quid pro quo), where reciprocal norms are established to incur good outcomes for the future. When joint control characterizes a relationship, it becomes essential to utilize relevant strategies to align interactions. Such strategies may include coordination. For example, parents telling their adolescent to follow their lead during a language brokering interaction. In other instances, the parent allows the child to take initiative and problem solve based on their previously experienced outcome. For mutual joint control to be a constant part of the relationship, coordination becomes a greater responsibility as outcomes are contingent upon each partner's proper behavior.

Co-variation of Interest

Co-variation of interests describes the extent to which the outcomes correspond between partners' actions (Rusbult & VanLange, 1996). This structural dimension of interdependence concerns patterns of interdependence and the degree of corresponding outcomes. Co-varying interests may entail either common behaviors or complementary

behaviors. For example, both the child and their mother may find it convenient to engage in shared brokering, or participate in a division of tasks if desired goals are achieved. What becomes the unifying factor are the goals and the desire to align with each other. But not all co-variations have perfectly corresponding situations. Some may end in conflict especially if the motives of each individual are not congruent (Rusbult, et al., 1996). For instance, positive covariation of interests can be observed when an adolescent and mother agree who will lead in order to reach mutually desired outcomes. In contrast, co-variation of interests are rarely observed if one's behavior reduces the partner's desired outcome by revealing competitiveness and lack of cooperation (Rusbult et al., 1996). Moreover, co-variation cannot exist if mutuality is totally absent in the relationship (e.g., an entirely independent relationship). In other words, if someone is independent, there is no need to rely on someone else for help. Partners are more motivated to build trust within a relationship when more correspondence or cooperation is present.

Temporal Structure

Interdependence should be understood not only in terms of static structure but also in terms of the future behaviors, outcomes, and interactions (Rusbult, et al., 2004). For this reason, no two interactions are the same. Individuals may need to engage in specific behaviors or undertake certain actions in different instances to achieve a goal. In other cases, individuals are more selective of what interactions to undertake, bringing the relationship to a different place. Situation driven interactions (complex and unique) can reveal one's commitment to a relationship based on loyalty, disloyalty, or empathy.

Uncertainty of Information

Accurate information is most critical in situations that are unfamiliar or risky. Accordingly, partners engage in good deal of information exchange during the early stages of relationships (rules govern such exchanges). Based on these information exchanges, individuals respond to one another. When a mother, for example, displays frustration with a child's request regarding social media, the child tailors their message in the future as a means of being more convincing.

Moreover, individuals may develop "frozen expectations" that powerfully shape their perceptions about situations and partners (Holmes, 2002, p. 22). Under this condition, partners may feel the other is not interested or will be unresponsive to their inputs. The nature of adaptation to specific situations thus is based on the certain or uncertain information that one has in an (inter)dependent relationship.

In summary, Interdependent Theory proposes an analytic framework to assess the intrapersonal factors contributing to the building of (inter)dependent relationships. Qualities like goal pursuits, persistence, and trust are generally comprehended in an introspective manner, but can also be discussed from an interpersonal point of view. One's success is affected by a partner's support, joint control effect, and affirmation of goal pursuit (Drigotas, Rusbult, Wieselquist, & Whitton, 1999).

Relational Maintenance and Quality

It is not enough for humans to connect; they must also maintain connection. Relationship management has been a topic of interest for communication scholars under the assumption that particular kinds of interaction behavior function to preserve ongoing relationships. Research has contributed to the development of literature that speaks to the

presence and use of maintenance strategies within dyadic relationships (Baxter, 1990; Waldron, 1991). Beyond relational maintenance strategies, research has also pointed to different conceptualizations of what it is to engage in maintenance and its purpose within relationships. For example, some scholars identify maintenance as attempts to safeguard relationships (Shaye & Pearson, 1986). Others investigate these relational strategies as ways to manage dialectical tensions found within relationships (Baxter, 1990). Others view maintenance strategies as tactics to influence feelings of likeability (Bell, 1987). Among the many communication behaviors enacted within dyads, relational maintenance communication is particularly salient in understanding how adolescents and their mothers sustain healthy and enduring relationships during moments of transition and dialectical tension.

Relational Maintenance

Dindia (2003) has articulated various definitions of relational maintenance—referring to it as a continuation of a relationship and it is defined by its sheer existence. Second, maintenance can refer to a relationship that is fixed and continues. Third, maintenance can refer to continuity, stability, and satisfaction with the relationship. Fourth, maintenance can involve the quality of the relationship being "in good working condition" and the behaviors actively undertaken to renew and repair a relationship (p. 288). A variety of forces are always surfacing within relationships and therefore maintaining a relationship in healthy and satisfying condition requires ongoing work. Some of those forces, such as having shared hopes and goals, pull partners toward each other, whereas other forces, such as facing career demands, push partners away from each other. Duck (1994) refers to "relational maintenance as a shared meaning system" (p.45),

thereby emphasizing the importance of communication, equity, and the human tendency to make sense of and create meaning in one's world.

Relational characteristics (both positive and negative) are features of dyadic relationships that influence individuals' perceptions and willingness to uphold their relationships (Stafford & Canary, 1991; Sidelinger & Booth-Buttefield, 2009). Positive relational characteristics encourage partners to maintain these relationships (Canary & Stafford, 1991). Identifying the five dimensions of relational maintenance, Stafford & Canary (1991) established that the ongoing use of various types of behaviors contribute to relationship well-being. These are positivity (being cheerful and supportive), openness (directly discussing the nature of the relationship), assurances (stressing one's love and commitment), social networks (involving friends and family), and shared tasks (doing one's share of the responsibilities). For example, one completing a chore cannot ensure a positive impact on the other partner (Canary, Stafford, & Semic, 2002). It is of great value to continue to enact certain behaviors to maintain a relationship over the long run. For example being a *buen hijo(a)* or attending to regular supporting functions as a child in the family, maintains the relationship with the parent (Valdes, 1996).

According to Stafford and Canary's (1991), it seems that emotional strategies, such as having open communication and expressing love, would be the most powerful form of maintenance. However, Dainton and Stafford (1993) found that sharing tasks (an everyday sort of behavior) was the maintenance behavior most frequently mentioned and impactful in relationships according to participants. Partners felt that sharing everyday tasks reminded them of the contribution of the other. As Duck (1994) commented, "Relational maintenance contains two elements; the first is strategic planning for the

continuance of the relationship; and the second is the breezy allowance of the relationship to continue by means of the everyday interactions and conversations that make the relationship what it is" (p. 46). For example, giving a gift is engaging in an assurance maintenance behavior, but working on a project together can be more impactful. A mother and son can acknowledge their relationship through a gift but when the son teaches the mother how to pay a bill online, the actions of trust, commitment, and interdependence strengthen all other relational components.

Minding is another approach to the issue of relational maintenance. Harvey and Omarzu (1997) have articulated the process of "minding the relationship" as "a package of mutual self-disclosure, other forms of goal-oriented behavior aimed at facilitating the relationship, and attributions about self and others motivations, intentions, and effort in the relationship" (p. 224). Self-disclosure and related forms of communication thus are a central part of this concept. Furthermore, minding in a relationship allows those interacting to be more self-aware of their actions and those of their partner. Minding is much more than communicating disclosure and involves a high level of caretaking, staying close to, renewing attachment with, and, attending to one's partner. At its best, minding is also a relationship behavior, one that requires both partners to be actively involved with one another. Vulnerability and trust, such as that between mother and child, are not the same things as minding, but instead, built within the relationship through the minding process. Minding is one of the constructs that best illustrates relationships as process rather than event. Thus, a successful relationship is built over time, through many behaviors and interactions, equally undertaken, to cultivate quality and longevity in a relationship.

Relational Quality and Equity

People seek relationships of balance. If people receive more than they give in a relationship, they feel guilty. If they give more, but receive less, they feel used. Equity is most often determined by comparing each person's outcomes (or what they receive) divided by inputs (or what they give) made into a relationship. Outcomes refer to a range of benefits, such as having someone to talk to, receiving affection and love, sharing events with each other, receiving financial support, or gaining new networks (Canary & Yum, 2015). Inputs, on the other hand, include personal and social contributions one gives to the relationships, such as engaging in more household chores, caretaking, or foregoing a career. Both the outcomes and inputs, though, are viewed to be of value to one's well-being, yielding various degrees of relationship quality [23](Fletcher, Simpson, & Thomas, 2000).

Messman, Canary, & Hause (2000) explain that equity theory is based on both relational partners feeling a balance. If one relational partner feels that the relationship is unbalanced—where he or she gives more—then the relationship is *underbenefitted*. Moreover, if one of the relational partners receives more than they provide, then it is an *overbenefit*. Equitable relationships are the best type of relationships and help the people within them feel more contentment and relational satisfaction, with less anger, sadness, and guilt (Messman et al., 2000). People reported strong feelings of anger and sadness in underbenefitted relationships (Sprecher, 1986).

[23] Fletcher and colleagues (2000) identified six components of relationship quality: commitment, intimacy, love, satisfaction, passion, and trust. In this work, the focus concepts will be on commitment, satisfaction, and trust due to the nature of the parent and adolescent relationship focus of this study.

Equity theory explains the use of maintenance strategies when people are motivated to maintain good relationships. When quality relationships do not appear to be feasible, people find little reason to be involved in relationships. On the other hand, when individuals perceive the possibility of equitable relational support, they aim to maintain the relationship and feel good in doing so. Maintenance strategies are used most in equitably treated people, moderately in overbenefitted, and least in the underbenefitted.

Relational Maintenance and Family

Relationship maintenance may operate somewhat differently within different types of dyadic couples. Though relational maintenance research has primarily involved romantic relationships, some work involves family relationships. For example, the grandparent and child relationship and the roles that trust, commitment, and mutual control play in relational maintenance between grandparents and their children (Myers & Glover, 2007; Myers & Weber, 2004). The influence of awareness in the affection from the grandparent towards the grandchild may indicate that positive relationships rely on the relational partners' positive communicative behaviors along with the structural elements of family cultural values.

Without question, family communication is central to a child's social development (Bandura, 1977; Socha, 1999). The family is a child's first in-group that influences and develops social skills, mental well-being, family satisfaction, and sense of social support (Socha, 1999). In the process of social development within a family, the parent-child relationship is especially important, as a parent is initially a child's primary attachment figure (Main & Cassidy, 1988). Children learn communication through their parents' behavior and even after children become young adults, parental schemas,

perspectives, and beliefs influence them (Ledbetter, 2009). Relational maintenance and quality assists in the development of an (inter)dependent relationship between parents and their children (Ledbetter & Beck, 2014). Non-marital family relationships are worthy of consideration as family members contribute to stability and satisfaction of the household. For example, research has shown that family interactions and relationships influence a young adult's adjustment (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986), psychosocial maturity (Adams, Berzonsky, & Keating, 2006), psychological well-being (Love & Murdock, 2004), and academic success and stress (Sy, 2006). Understanding how aspects of communication relate to the quality of family relationships has implications for those relationships and many aspects of adolescents' lives.

Myers (2001) found evidence in their research regarding sibling relationships, namely that sibling liking was strongly tied to relational quality and maintenance. Further, studies focusing on interpersonal communication within family contexts demonstrate that there are associations between how families learn to converse with one another and the development of social and relational skills (Koesten, 2004). Other studies demonstrate that children from families with high conversation orientations experience better social adjustment in peer relationships (Fitzpatrick, Marshall, Leutwiler, & Kremar, 1996; Orrego & Rodriguez, 2001). As Fitzpatrick and Caughlin (2002) note, ''the family is where most of us learn to communicate and, even more important, where most of us learn how to think about communication'' (p. 726). If the family serves as the earliest source of cultural knowledge for most individuals, then family communication schemas may influence the building of trust, commitment, and mutual agreement in their family relationships (Koerner & Fitspatrick, 2002).

Trust, the most critical feature of interpersonal relationships, is the degree to which individuals perceive that their relational partners are honest and can be depended upon in unknown and risky situations. Moreover, trust becomes of great importance within the parent/adolescent relationship. For example, parents cannot be physically present while adolescents are faced daily with many temptations, risky situations, and bad influences. As a result, the disconnected parent must trust their child, as they can no longer apply their direct vigilance, discipline, and control to build their child's responsibility, integrity, and commitment to the relationship (Canary & Stafford, 1994). Kerr, Stattin, & Trost (1999) suggest that the parent view of their adolescents as trustworthy is based on various types of knowledge in connection to past and present behaviors, such as whether the child has engaged in delinquent behavior in the past, violated norms, or conversely, has exemplified integrity and honor during challenging times.

Another type of knowledge where trust resides involves the child's expressed feelings, concerns, or worries. These feelings reveal values and attitudes that contribute to relational stability in the form of commitment. Attitudes and these values, in turn, suggest how children will expose themselves to people and situations that the parents would consider undesirable (Canary, Stafford, & Semic, 2002). The willingness of the adolescent to self-disclose feelings and concerns might produce trust as parents might interpret their child to be honest, straightforward, with nothing to hide, and committed to maintaining a relationship of honesty (Rusbult, 1983).

The combination of trust, commitment, and control mutuality within the parent-adolescent relationships, specifically mothers and their adolescents, is said to involve

responsiveness to each other (i.e., contingent, immediate), cooperation (i.e., discussion, planning, and agreement about how to proceed), and reciprocity (i.e., matching affect, eye contact, coherent "turn taking" in verbal and nonverbal interaction). Furthermore, these dimensions converge as a reliable mutuality construct and are constantly generated through ongoing parent–child interactions (Baumann, Kuhlberg, & Zayas (2010). More work is needed focusing on familial interpersonal relationships and how individuals maintain satisfaction and quality within these relationships.

Social Learning Theory and Self-Efficacy

Different periods of life present particular challenges and competency demands for successful functioning. Changing aspirations, time perspectives, and societal systems over the course of the lifespan alter how people structure, regulate, and evaluate their lives (Bandura, 1997; Socha & Stamp, 2010). Psychosocial changes with age do not follow a prescribed structure. People vary substantially on how they navigate their pathways through life. The beliefs held by individuals become the resources in dealing with trials and tribulations. Motivations and behaviors, influenced by emotion and/or the environment, become the driving force towards the individual's adoption of agency. Agency refers to actions, driven by intention and planning, that result in an individual's desired outcomes (Bandura, 2006). Individuals with high levels of agency are self-organizing, proactive, self-regulating, and self-reflecting, and have influence upon their life outcomes.

Social Learning Theory

Albert Bandura's social learning theory analyzes the developmental changes that occur across an individual's lifespan due to the development of human agency (Bandura,

2006). This theory postulates that human functioning is neither driven by internal forces of the individual, nor shaped by external conditions. Outcomes are based on the interplay between emotional, decisional, and motivational determinants.

Some of the influential events involve biological changes or personal determinants of the behavior of individuals. Normative social events linked to people's age, status, and their roles in educational, familial, occupational, and other institutional systems contribute (Bandura, 2006). Motivation determinants cannot only create specific emotions but these emotions, in turn, influence the environment and the functioning of individuals (Bandura, 2006). Life events involving unpredictable occurrences in the physical environment or irregular life events such as career changes, divorce, illnesses, and in the case of this study, migration can also affect behavior (Bandura, 2006).

These sociocultural changes modify the character of a society and its members and have a strong impact on life courses. Whatever the social conditions, personal events lead people to respond in ways that give them satisfaction, self-worth, and prevent self-censure. They become agents of actions while examining their efficacy, the soundness of their thoughts and activities, and taking corrective action and responsibility when needed.

Indeed, people do many things to exercise some control over their development and life circumstances. As Bandura suggests, "People are often inaugurated into new life trajectories through fortuitous circumstances" (2005, p.2). Sometimes, unforeseen circumstances that are complex, negative, or challenging cannot or do not evoke action. People with high self-efficacy capitalize on the unexpected of life. They make chance happen by actively participating in these challenging experiences to develop their

competencies and expand their beliefs and interests. Some experiences convert to self-agency when individuals make the most of opportunities that arise unexpectedly.

There are three directs modes of agency: personal agency (affected by cultural and social environments), proxy agency (dependent on others for desired outcomes), and collective agency (connected to the action of the group) (Bandura, 2006). Because individuals do not always have direct control over the conditions of an environment and institutional norms, it becomes vital for them to exercise agency through social interactions and relationships with others. Individuals do not live their lives in isolation, and as a result, aim to rely on the interactional exchanges carried out with other individuals. Hence, self-efficacy becomes an influential resource towards one's behavior. Human agency creates building blocks of human motivation, well-being, and personal accomplishment (Bandura, 2006).

Self-Efficacy

The concept of self-efficacy is concerned with how individuals perceive their own ability to perform in such a way that will give them control over the events of their life. Bandura (1977) proposes that an individual will have little incentive to act or persevere in the face of adversity unless they believe they will be able to produce a desirable outcome. Questions about "How well can I do something?" rather than "What is my worth?" are addressed by self-efficacy. These self-efficacy expectations, or the beliefs one holds regarding one's competencies in certain behavioral domains, constitute the foundation of human agency (Bandura, 2006).

Self-efficacy beliefs regulate cognitive, motivational, and affective processes, and influence thought patterns, either self-helping or self-debilitating (Bandura, 2004). Self-

efficacious individuals reflect their efficacy in the amount of energy and determination placed into the achievement of goals. Moreover, self-efficacy beliefs also contribute to one's ability to cope with intense life stressors. In such cases, individuals with high levels of self-efficacy are able to cope by alleviating their stress and anxiety by turning difficult or challenging situations into benign ones (Bandura, 2006). In turn, those individuals with low levels of self-efficacy are more prone to avoid difficult tasks, have low aspirations for themselves, or exhibit a weak commitment to the goals they set for themselves. Efficacy beliefs focused on self-concepts, self-esteem, and outcome expectations, further affect the quality of emotional life and vulnerability to stress and depression, along with the choices one makes (Shunk & Miller, 2002).

Self-efficacy is grounded in symbolism. Symbolism permits individuals to draw on previous knowledge and experiences to guide future actions that lead to expected outcomes. Humans rely heavily on the process of cognitively deducing causal relationships and expanding knowledge (Bandura, 2006). Individuals can also derive information from external sources, such as family members, peers, and other interactions. This derived knowledge readily provides solutions without experience (Bandura, et al. 1999). Shell, Murphy, and Bruning (1989) examined the predictive power of self-efficacy and outcome expectations on reading and writing achievement. Students with high self-efficacy regarding various reading and writing tasks are expected to have better outcomes for themselves in jobs, family life, and economic stability later in life.

Adolescent Self-Efficacy

Adolescence is often a stressful development period as it involves a pivotal transition from childhood dependency to adulthood independence and self-sufficiency

(Zimmerman & Cleary, 2006). One major challenge that adolescents encounter consists of acquiring a sense of personal agency. Adolescents who competently learn or perform a task are more self-sufficient in comparison to others and participate more readily, work harder, achieve at higher levels, and persist longer when they encounter difficulties.

Social Self-Efficacy. The domain of social efficacy in Bandura's Social Cognitive theory applies to social interactions. Smith and Beta (2000) define this domain as the individual's confidence in one's ability to engage in effective social interactions. Social confidence, social acceptance, and self-esteem are valuable in building expertise and maintaining relationships. Information used to appraise social self-efficacy is acquired from four primary sources: actual performances, vicarious experiences, forms of persuasion, and physiological reactions. Research indicates that low levels of social self-efficacy impair the formation of positive social relationships and support networks which help to buffer against detrimental emotional and psychological outcomes, such as anxiety, depression, and avoidance (Matsushima & Shiomi, 2003). Symptoms such as heart rate and feelings of anxiety can signal less self-efficacy in comparisons to someone who experiences fewer symptoms (Schunk & Meece, 2006). Moreover, research indicates that the level of perceived social efficacy in adolescents is closely linked to aspects of other constructs, such as self-concept, self-confidence, and self-esteem and is influenced by persuasive information in the form of verbal encouragement (e.g., "You can do it!") (Bandura, 2006). Perceived social efficacy can also be achieved through the social comparisons of the performance of others (e.g., "I see you can do it and I can too."). Schunk and Meece (2006) propose that one method of acquiring self-efficacy beliefs is through forms of persuasive encouragement of others. These verbal and

comparison affirmations can influence performance in academics and social interactions. Furthermore, in a study focusing on points of stress, efficacy, and interpersonal stress in adolescence, Matsushima & Shiomi (2003) discovered that individuals with high social efficacy coped more positively during moments of stress in their relationships based on past experiences.

It is worth noting that social self-efficacy not only includes face-to-face interactions, but also the influence of the interactions carried out in technology. The work on self-efficacy and the internet has been minimal. Internet self-efficacy can be a strong predictor of online activities and in how individuals build relationships with others through their perceived capabilities (LaRose and Eastin, 2004; Livingstone and Helsper, 2007). Prior experience with the technology is a necessary component to reaching satisfactory levels of internet self-efficacy (Correa, 2015; LaRose& Eastin, 2004). Correa et al. (2015) further suggests that people who have lower levels of self-efficacy and lag behind in internet skills and activities will forge (inter)dependent or dependent relationships with their learning source. On the other hand, proficiency in technology, to be a digital native, becomes crucial in the development and maintenance of self-efficacy. When children help their parents with the internet, it benefits the parent. However, the act of teaching the parent may increase the child's level of internet self-efficacy through the application of knowledge.

Family and Adolescent Self-Efficacy. Personal and relational development takes place in many different social contexts. During adolescence, important changes in social contexts such as family, school, and peer environments have profound effects upon adolescents' beliefs about their capabilities of succeeding. Zimmerman & Cleary (2006)

suggests that beginning in infancy, experiences within the family influenced the development of self-efficacy in children. At each moment in a family's transition, self-efficacy is sought after. Self-efficacy becomes especially valuable because family members are met with the need to continuously change their way of thinking, feeling, and behaving to fit the different demands, role changes, and personal expectations. The longer that children live with their parents, the more they expand their area of freedom within the family, and the more their parent-child relationship is negotiated.

The socialization of self-efficacious children is based on open communication, clarity, and consistency in setting rules that allows adolescents to exercise some autonomy based on their development. In other words, parents who believe in their efficacy work to cultivate their child's potential (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001). They build their children's aspirations and sense of intellectual efficacy that contributes to their social relations, emotional well-being, academic development, and career choices (Vecchio, Gerbino, Pastorelli, Del Bove, & Caprara, 2007). The communication found within the parent-child relationship involves reciprocal influences that are constantly (re)negotiated along the two axes of affect and control (Eccles, Midgley, Wigfield, & Buchanan, 1993). As control declines, parental guidance takes the form of advice, mutual confidence, and trust. Affect cultivates adolescent autonomy, increases the levels of disclosure, and brings parental guidance to a new level of interdependence.

Relational Maintenance and Quality and Performance of Cultural Intermediation

The literature speaks to the nature of (inter)dependent relationships (Rusbult & Van Lange, 2003). It has been pointed out that motivation, goal congruence, and equity are valuable elements that contribute to the overall development of relationship quality

(Messman, et al., 2000). Furthermore, relational maintenance strategies and interpersonal feelings about self-efficacy contribute to the satisfaction and quality in one's relationships (Shunk & Miller, 2002). A can-do attitude is not enough because social support is necessary to thrive in (inter)dependent relationships. In other instances, skill proficiency can increase self-efficacy. When speaking about relationships of culture, where the cultural differences outweigh the similarities, how can individuals feel self-efficacious? How can relationships of culture survive or even develop when cultures require a clear embodiment of private codes, sets of rules for interactions, and varied cultural understandings? These types of relationships, as Baxter (1987) suggests, require an embodied descriptive knowledge of culture so that everyone has an opportunity to construct culture together.

Cultural intermediation has various definitions and lacks clarity in what culture is, how culture is constructed, and who has the power to build it (Liewrouw, 2009; Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Consequently, this has resulted in relatively little attention to the practices of cultural construction engaged by individuals, who operate in diverse, everyday cultural ecologies introducing new forms of culture (Perry, Smith, & Warren, 2015). Scholars such as Bourdieu (1984) and Featherstone (1987) have contributed their insights to the topic of the construction of culture, its connection to the ideologies of social classes, and in the rise of "petit-bourgeoisie" regarding who can establish mainstream culture due to the social, cultural, and economic capitals possessed. [24] These perspectives have conceptualized culture as an element in need of interpretation, and that

[24] individuals who occupy a position between producer and consumer or artist and audience and that promote legitimate forms of culture

culture is not a static element of an identity of an individual or group. Culture is built continuously through communication and can pose various challenges to those who make efforts to communicatively put it into action.

Expanding further, Negus (2002) explained that cultural intermediation, the mediation process between those who construct cultural artifacts and those who consume, is an essential component in cultural production. He posits that cultural intermediation brings value to culture and the relationship culture, and the experiences from these cultural interactions become a point of connection to those consuming culture. Cultural knowledge contributes to the ability to build an expertise that proves useful when making efforts to establish cultural understanding with consuming publics. For example, Negus' (2002) work on journalistic reporting and the mediation of cultural information to the public, within the context of the music industry between artists/corporations, exemplifies how the performance of cultural intermediation transmits meaning through a shared culture with various publics. The journalists who possess culture knowledge as consumers of music and as producers of the music industry can become the vehicle for the credible diffusion of cultural information to consumers. The ability to engage in hybridity between cultural worlds can bring influences upon distributors and consumers. These influences involve inculcating new dispositions through the substantial knowledge and expertise acquired from countless cultural encounters (Nixon & DuGay, 2002).

"We all have a hand in the formation of value" due to the varied impulses and articulations that we engage in as we navigate our interactions (Maguire & Matthews, 2012, p.552). We give value to certain things that are reflective in our social relationships. We introduce new ways of doing things into our cultural groups. We

contribute to the spreading of culture as we consume it. Matthews and Maguire (2014) share this perspective in their most recent work as they point out various occupations that engage in cultural intermediation (e.g., fashion designers, art museum tour guides, retail workers, food industry workers). Unlike Negus (1992) and Nixon & DuGay (2002), the argument is thus made that we can all perform cultural intermediation because we possess expert knowledge due to our cultural interactions. However, what Matthews and Maguire do not address is that positioning or expertise can only get one so far. A tension is created between the expectations of continuing to develop knowledge while also gaining confirmation from those being influenced. According to Maguire (2014), participants of culture can engage in cultural intermediation because they are connected to the cultural, social, and economic capital that individuals own to achieve credibility.

Framing

Intermediation is an open-ended process of forging relationships that will assist in expanding one's networks to secure the position and status of a cultural object or practice. To engage in cultural intermediation is to be involved in introducing cultural artifacts (products, services, ideas, behaviors) as legitimate and worthy points of attachment for receivers (Hutchinson, 2013). Individuals who frame culture make use of their cultural knowledge stemming from the various cultural groups they belong to and make claims of the value and worthiness of particular cultural artifacts. The value and worthiness of these artifacts are in connection with the established "tastes" reflective of dominant cultural groups (Bourdieu, 2006). Cultural intermediaries encourage others to adopt what is of "good taste" and "good culture" by attempting to construct affinities through imposed meanings reflective of the dominant cultural groups. Cultural

intermediaries are considered an essential component in the adoption of new trends of culture.

Expertise

To have influence over what is trending requires some knowledge and skill. Knowledge refers to the relatively formal and established facts, rules, policies, and procedures within a group (Nass, 1994). Thus, knowledge involves the possession of information from a variety of sources. In contrast, skills reflect information-processing abilities gained from learning by doing and with an ability to generate new procedures and conclusions (Nass, 1994). With practice, individuals can learn to refine and improve their skills, but knowledge can only be developed through constant interactions with a given group and is often viewed as subjective.

Expertise is a combination of knowledge, skills, and leadership (Hutchinson, 2013). The cultural intermediary is one who is an expert due to the capabilities of individuals to engage in what Hutchinson (2013) and Matthews & Maguire (2012) suggest provide expertise in connection to tacit knowledge and skills. This binary model in reference to culture needs more attention.

From an intercultural perspective, Byram's (2012) work focuses on the "being vs. acting" of language which can prove to be rather useful in giving us cultural understanding of the connection between knowledge, skill, and the person. According to Byram (2012), the difference between "being" and "acting" [25] resides upon an individual

[25] Byram (2012) speaks of this being vs acting by defining the being involving not only linguistic skill, but also a cultural connection. Example would be the difference between bilingual and bi-cultural. To act bilingual implies some degree of a bi-cultural identity due to the language spoken, but language skill is the driving ingredient. Interpreting is acting bilingual. When interpreting involves including the cultural

having cultural competence in language, cultural practice, and credibility of a given group. The communication that this individual can perform is not only linguistic but also involves in-depth understanding of the cultural group in a way that allows entry. Furthermore, the person attempting to connect is of significant value. The role of relational maintenance and quality in framing culture is lightly explored in current cultural intermediation literature. In the context of technolinguistic brokering, adolescents who speak English and Spanish and have a deep understanding of Mexican and American culture and can be accepted into those groups as "natives" because they are "being" Mexican or "being" American. According to Byram (2012), "being" requires a cultural relationship-building process to be set into motion while "acting" is just learning the skill of speaking Spanish.

Some attention has been placed on the relational work that contributes to the acceptance of the frames being provided on the cultural intermediary's behalf. The work of Sein & Furuhult (2012) explores the role that internet cafes played within communities in rural areas of India and speaks to the need to conceptualize the roles these cafes represent. In their work, they describe the functions enacted by the cultural intermediaries in these cafes. The elements of trust and bridging of uncertainty were crucial to the establishment and maintenance of relationships between providers of the internet and consumers. The recent work of Pal, Herath, De, & Rao (2020) also addresses the influence of cultural intermediaries and their influence on the adoption of a new mobile payment function available in India. Intermediaries who found themselves with

discourses and understandings of a group, this individual is viewed as a native. Adolescent Language brokering is often characterized as being bilingual and not acting bilingual such as court interpreter.

strong social networks were able to easily connect with the community because they were perceived to have a similar cultural background that resembled that of the adopting community. The community was more willing to adopt new cultural practices of paying a bill online because they trusted the words of that individual. It was concluded that individuals who can be a part of both the business and community are valuable due to their knowledge of cultural value systems and beliefs.

Another study (Fourie & Meyer, 2014) examined the patient and medical professional relationship. The goal was to explore how nurses engage in cultural intermediation by bringing trust and empathy to the medical diagnosis interaction with their patients. The stories of nurses found that men and women in the nursing field connect to their patients by engaging in speaking the language of a patient. Nurses were able to connect to their patients because they were able to step into the patients' shoes through spoken language. They have knowledge and skill that complement their connection, giving them the credibility for their words to sound relatable to the patient's ear. The work that nurses engaged in was not only a mere relating of messages between the doctor and patient. Nurses were able to situate themselves through their cultural knowledge in the communicative interactions, and this brought equity to a relationship of power between patient and doctor.

Claims to personal and professional expertise distinguish cultural intermediaries and bring authority and credibility from others involved (Maguire & Matthews, 2012).

Linked to the cultural intermediary's habitus[26], the field[27], and the various capitals[28] that cultural intermediaries have, expertise is categorized in the following ways by Hutchison (2013) and is useful in making sense of technolinguistic experience:

1. Interactional expertise that is focused on gaining experience through the past interactions carried out in various contexts.[29]

2. Contributory expertise involving tacit knowledge acquired in the form of cultural and social capital through one's heritage culture and other identities. [30]

3. Referred expertise consisting of being considered by others to be someone who can apply their social and cultural knowledge from one area to another. [31]

Cultural intermediaries develop their expertise in the form of a 'feel for the game' where the individual reads the environment and its cultural content, identifies the cultural groups involved, and appraises the potential of the outcome based on what he or she can contribute to the interaction (Bourdieu, 1990).

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[26] According to Bourdieu (1977), habitus has its connection to schemes of thought and action that structure the actions of an individual and leads them to proceed in particular ways based on their experiences. Consequently, it can be said that the habitus is strongly influenced by historical, social, and cultural contexts

[27] Bourdieu (1986) refers to them as spaces where interactions take place and the coming together of individuals to create new realities amidst forces reflective of networks and their culture. Participation in such spaces generate opportunities for more knowledge creation.

[28] Fields are arenas of struggle in which actors attempt to accrue or control various resources such as economic, cultural, and social capitals (Bourdieu, 1986). These spaces encapsulate specific codes or rules as well as non-formalized, customary relationships structured by cultural norms or practices. The dominant or subordinate positions are determined by what type of capital and how much of it is accumulated.

[29] Interactions in connection to language brokering, technology brokering and other communicative engagements where individuals utilize their linguistic knowledge.

[30] In the case of the ALTB experience, their integrated experience as they acculturate with their mothers is the major contributor to this expertise.

[31] The language brokering literature exemplifies this through the various contexts that the adolescents broker.

Having such varieties of acquired knowledge facilitates the process of knowledge transfer, which leads to more than just being a link. Individuals with a shared cultural background help transform the ideas and knowledge of those on the receiving end of cultural information (Howells, 2006).

Impact

Cultural legitimacy can be seen everywhere through the systems of symbols and the symbols used to communicate culture. The ending goal of the cultural intermediary is to place value on these cultural artifacts. In other words, the strength of the cultural intermediary's message determines the outcome of where the adoption of the cultural artifact takes place. Hutchinson (2013) suggests that the scale at which cultural impact is accomplished will vary, and requires that the necessary cultural, economic, and social capital align with a given individual or group. Cultural intermediaries thus are differently equipped to build networks with their skills and knowledge to make their impact durable, extending beyond one's particular interactions and accomplishments of cultural construction.

Cultural intermediation literature, however, reflects critical gaps in understanding the experiences of those who intentionally or unintentionally engage in bringing value to cultural artifacts, which can change various cultural groups. Research efforts understand the relational components of these interactions, but acknowledge that there is more work to be done on the specifics needed to reach relationship cultures. More cultural intermediation research is needed to describe the nuances of knowledge, skill, expertise, and their role in relationships. While it is evident that relationships are important in acculturation, technolinguistic brokering, and cultural intermediation, more work is

needed to explore the underpinnings of the cultural relationships that are at the core of these processes. The research emphasis on the positioning of the cultural intermediary[32] has minimized research focusing on specific concrete characteristics in behaviors that these individuals have or do to maintain cultural relationships.

Given this, it is essential to mention that the ALTB is an individual who shapes how their parents view goods, cultural practices, and cultural relationships built with the host culture. Adopting the perspective of Maguire & Matthews (2012), who define these individuals as "having impact upon notions of *what*, and thereby *who,* is legitimate, desirable and worthy, and thus by definition what and who is not," this work aims to contribute by exploring the experience of the ALTBs and their (im)migrant non-English speaking mothers.

Research Questions

Cultural intermediaries are people who provide the link between a resource system and the members of the social system. They use their experience in a social system to spread cultural information that may be useful to cultural groups. Although they usually have professional training or competence and a higher social status, they fulfill the important role of connecting to cultural groups by building cultural relationships. They develop a need for change by creating an awareness of possible cultural needs, providing new alternatives, and motivating an interest in innovation to change culture.

[32] Reducers of class distinctions as the petite bourgeoisie (Bourdieu, 1984); the carriers of in-between cultural production (Negus, 1992); agents of cultural production (Hesmondhalgh, 2006); shapers of taste (Nixon & DuGay, 2011); and crafters of value (Maguire & Matthews, 2012)

The youth involved in this research study engage in the work of cultural intermediaries, but under the context of technolinguistic brokering. First, ALTBs build their knowledge as they are exposed to various cultures through technology. Their digital nativeness provides them with the necessary access to an array of cultural information and social networks that build the tacit knowledge necessary to generate cultural frameworks or understandings. Second, technolinguistic brokering experiences become an opportunity to develop skills and self-efficacy, while applying the knowledge of cultural understandings towards the development of cultural relationships. Lastly, ALTBs have an opportunity to develop a cultural relationship through which their (im)migrant mothers can view and connect with mainstream American culture. The ALTB is in a unique relational position to their mother. Amidst the dialectical tensions of the traditional parent-child relationship vs. the (inter)dependent relationship, the ALTB has acquired a deep relational understanding of their mother beyond values of *familismo* and *respeto*. This relational expertise is a necessary element to cultural relationships developed through technolinguistic brokering. Motivated by a desire to understand the experience of the adolescent language and technology broker (ALTB) and their (im)migrant non-English speaking mother, this study aims to address the following questions:

RQ 1: What are the dimensions that constitute the cultural intermediary experience for the Adolescent Language/Technology Broker (ALTB)?

RQ2: What are the dimensions that constitute the cultural intermediary experience for the Mexican-origin non-English speaking mother with their Adolescent Language/Technology Broker (ALTB)?

RQ3: What are the factors affecting the power relationship negotiated by the Adolescent Language/Technology Brokers (ALTBs) and their Mexican-origin non-English speaking mothers?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Maguire and Matthews (2012) posit there is a need for scholars to extend and challenge current conceptualizations of cultural intermediation beyond performance. In particular, there is a need for qualitative research aimed at revealing the rich nuances of language and technology brokering (Weisskirch, 2017). A person's detailed conscious experience is of great value as it illuminates incorrect assumptions and provides us an external reality of the other and ourselves. Subjective experiences prepare us to learn from the experiences of others and thus help us make wise decisions (Neubauer, Witkop, & Varpio, 2019).

To explore the phenomenon of ALTBs performing technolinguistic brokering for their non-English speaking mothers, I applied a qualitative research methodology. From an interpretive perspective this study engaged in uncovering and explicating the ways in which the adolescents and their mothers come to understand, account for, take action, and otherwise manage their day-to-day experiences (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Tracy, 2019). Given the complexity and human-centered nature of this experience, methodological tools from ethnography (observations, semi-structured interviews, narrative map, self-reflexivity) were used to support the objective of capturing the essence of the phenomenon (Tracy, 2019).

In this chapter, I first provide an overview of research design including ethical and methodological considerations. Next, I share the description of the participants and the methods of data collection. I conclude with an explanation of my data analysis

procedures. Arizona State University's Institutional Review Board approved the following research protocol.

Ethical and Identification Considerations

To account for the ethical procedures of my research, I submitted an approval request to Arizona State's University Institutional Review Board (Appendix A) with all the necessary paperwork delineating the research design and execution process. The application included the approved rationale, description of the study design, timeline, and all documents concerning consent and assent forms for participants. I also submitted copies of all the interview guides and their back-translations for approval.

During the planning stages of this project, it was of great importance for me to consider the participants' concerns regarding privacy and the use and care of their information. Identifying information that could be linked to a specific participant such as original name, hometown, phone numbers, and profession was removed from the data gathered. As a way to keep data organized, I gave participants the option to select a preferred pseudonym, or created one for them to use[33]. I made it clear to the IRB and participants that I would not ask questions about their legal status in the United States. Furthermore, I planned to delete references regarding immigration status from the text.

Given the delicate experience of language, culture, and technology brokering (Bolden, 2012) it was important to protect the mothers, adolescents, and their emotional well-being. Efforts were made to implement ethical guidelines as a means of managing emotional stress upon individuals. For example, I encouraged participants to discuss with

[33] In our conversations, I asked them to select a fake name (Tracy, 2019). In most cases, the mothers asked me to select for them. For the adolescents, they selected themselves.

me experiences that they recalled, but only if they felt comfortable in sharing with me. I also made sure to maintain comfort and rapport throughout the interview. I became extra sensitive to possible signs of discomfort in the responses from the adolescents and the mothers. In the presence of signs of discomfort, my goal was to bring the interview to a natural close by providing the participant an option to continue or not continue, while maintaining the trust in the relationship between researcher and participant (Tracey, 2019; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Role and Impact of the Researcher

When the researcher shares a similar experience with the participants, it is of importance to acknowledge his or her positionality in the study, since the researcher is the instrument for data collection (Pezalla, Pettigrew, & Miller-Day, 2012). Furthermore, it is essential to consider the unintended epistemological consequences arising when the researcher becomes a part of the world observed and is not bias-free (Creswell & Poth, 2016). The researcher is thus a potent contributor to the research process through his or her own experiences (Ellingson, 2017). Therefore, achieving sincerity through self-reflexivity or the setting aside of one's experiences exemplifies the earnestness and vulnerability of the researcher, and contributes to the construction of relational harmony between researcher, participants, and the potential audiences for the work (Tracey, 2019; 2010).

In 2013, when I conducted my first qualitative study with adolescent language brokers, I became aware of the influence of my personal experience upon my research. To listen to adolescents share their experience on how they came to help their non-English speaking parents stirred within me a mixture of emotions. This reminded me of

Ellingson's (2017, p. 1) words, "Researchers begin with the body," followed by "bodies encounter each other as warm, material manifestations of ourselves." Due to my shared experience, reflection was crucial then as it is now, in the present work. When I would listen to the adolescents reflect upon their feelings of frustration and tension between their parent and their teachings of heritage values, I would sometimes find myself sharing these same emotions.

On the other hand, when parents shared how their decision to have their adolescents help them language and technology broker because of survival and feelings of hopelessness, I felt the parent inside me swirl. I felt I was able to step into worlds of both my participants. As a researcher, I needed to reflect upon my experience as a means to stand apart and look for ways that would help me consider my participants' experiences as their understandings unrelated to my own (Tracy, 2019).

I approached this work from a position of deliberate naiveté (Kvale, 1996) or "a stance that asks the researcher to leave at the door any presuppositions and judgement and to preserve an attitude of openness towards new and unexpected findings" (cited by Tracy, 2019, p. 153). Having positioned myself in the spaces that connect my past to my present experiences, I needed to avoid subjectivity from interfering in the recruitment, data collection, and analysis (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Saldaña, 2015). To acknowledge my heightened personal awareness and the challenges of personal reflection, my ethnographic fieldnotes began to serve another purpose—to critically engage with intentional reflection on my past, present, and future actions (Neubabauer, Witkop, & Varpio, 2019). Kinsella explains that this interior dialogue of thinking, doing, and reflecting is necessary to avoid the "danger of becoming an empty, meaningless phrase,

that once means everything and nothing" (2010, p. 5). Gonzalez (2000) also supports this idea of self-reflection when engaging in interpretive ethnographic qualitative research. It is important to account for the researcher's positionality and one's readiness to participate in every stage of the research process, and it is through reflection that this can be achieved (Gonzalez, 2000). Furthermore, attending to the experiences of research from an embodied standpoint can help give a better understanding of how body-selves, inter-act in the world (Ellingson, 2017).

Participants

Upon receiving university IRB approval and with the assistance of gatekeepers from the organization, I recruited participants using a purposeful typical instance sampling approach (Lindlof & Taylor, 2017). Given the scope of the study, I limited my sample to a particular population (Mexican-origin Non-English speaking mothers and adolescents ages 15-18). These individuals also needed to have unique characteristics pertaining to language, culture, and technology brokering. Engaging in purposeful typical instance sampling approach was proper for this study, as participants were typical of the phenomenon under examination (Tracy, 2019). Furthermore, Tracy (2019) suggests typical instance sampling is worthwhile in fieldwork because my engagement with this population could yield participating in mundane activities that contribute to the richness of their experiences. Before beginning the recruitment process, I elaborated a short version of my proposal for the gatekeepers of the organization. After the organization granted me access to their families and facilities, a meeting with the gatekeepers was held in December 2017 to discuss a recruitment strategy for participants. In the meeting, we decided that due to the holiday festivities, recruitment of participants would begin

January 2018. Since the non-profit organization aids all (im)migrants of different ethnic backgrounds, I set the parameters (See Table 3.1) to maintain the scope of the study.

Due to the participation of adolescents, the recruitment process initiated with the organizational gatekeepers accompanying me to reaching out to potential mothers of these families. I provided the gatekeepers with a recruitment script (Appendix B) to facilitate the introductory conversation. I accompanied the gatekeepers to answer any questions for the families and to make the interview appointments. The goal was to recruit 20 dyads comprised of an adolescent and their mother who fit the criteria.

Researchers in a qualitative design seek to interpret information from a sample as small as one individual and up to everyone within an organization (McNabb, 2015). Boyd (2001) suggests research saturation is typically attained with two to 10 participants. For this project, the recruitment process led to 18 Mother/Adolescent dyads (n=36 participants) (See Table 3.2 Participant Demographics).

Table 3.1: Parent/Adolescent Dyads Interview Parameters

Parents

- Mother over 18 years of age;
- Mexican-origin descent;
- Does not need to speak fluent English;
- Adolescent regularly assists with interpreting and/or translating in face to face interactions and technology;
- Is not proficient in using digital/social media technologies.

Adolescent (male/female)

- Between the ages of 15-17 years of age;
- Mexican-origin descent;
- Fluent bilingual in English/Spanish;
- Accesses digital/social media technologies;
- Regularly interprets and/or translates for their mothers;
- Regularly assists mother in their use of digital/social media technologies.

Griffiths (2010) found that participants' interpretations of their experiences enable researchers to gain access to and understand the individual's world through interpretive activities such as individual interviews. With this in mind, it was important for me to speak to each mother and adolescent as a way to understand the dimensions of their relationships. My intent was to gain insights, interpretations, and attached meanings from their individual lived experiences (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Lastly, I chose to mitigate some of the difficulties that arise within the parent/adolescent relationship by conducting the dyad interviews separately as a means to facilitate the quality of individual participation.

Table 3.2: Participant Demographics: Adolescent and Mothers

Name	Age	Gender	Child order	Mother	Marital Status	Total children in home
Lydia	16	Female	8	Sara	Married	9
Maria	18	Female	2	Abigail	Married	3
Cindy	17	Female	1	Lidia	Single	1
Karla	17	Female	1	Margot	Married	2
Maty	17	Female	1	Manuela	Divorced	1
Laura	15	Female	2	Flor	Married	3

Lili	17	Female	1	Camila	Married	2
Jenny	17	Female	1	Yolanda	Married	3
Mandy	17	Female	4	Araceli	Married	5
Miguel	17	Male	1	Elisa	Married	1
Juan	17	Male	2	Rosa	Married	3
Andres	17	Male	2	Clara	Married	4
Johnny	15	Male	1	Norma	Married	2
Angel	15	Male	2	Elisabeth	Divorced	4
Gustavo	16	Male	2	Isidora	Married	3
Jose	17	Male	2	Sandra	Married	4
Gabriel	17	Male	2	Felipa	Married	4
Mario	17	Male	2	Graciela	Married	3
Total dyads*	**18****			**18**		

Source: Information gathered prior to interview by researcher
*Total mother/adolescent female dyads: 9
Total mother/adolescent male dyads: 9
Total interviews: 36; 18 adolescents; 18 mothers
**Age breakdown: Age 15: 3 Age 16: 2 Age 17: 12 Age 18: 1

To maintain the accuracy of information, all interviews were audio-recorded (Tracy, 2019). To facilitate the organization process of data collection, I used an outside

transcription service to transcribe the audio files into a rough draft of text within 48 hours of the interview. The interviews were also transcribed in the language spoken by the speaker. Additionally, to support the validity of the data gathered and preliminarily assist me in becoming familiar with the data collected, I listened to the audio files for accuracy of text and generated memos (Saldaña, 2016).

Data Collection

Gonzalez (2000) positions the researcher as the instrument in qualitative research. Extra sensitivity is needed on behalf of the researcher because "we hold the information, the insights, and conceptual turns of our research. We gather the data and process of it. Nothing is produced that has not been part of us… the research is intimate, organic, and (inter)dependent" (p.635). With these words in mind, I was aware of my instrumentality, and the need to account for my capabilities during the intense labor of gathering and harvesting my data (Gonzalez, 2000).

Entering the Field: Participant Observation

To understand the community and spaces where these individuals reside, I arranged to be immersed in the cultural setting of my participants. Engaging in fieldwork from a participant observer perspective contributes to a more enriched perspective of the research site (Spradley, 1980) and in establishing the necessary cross-cultural relationships and rapport before the interviews (Saldaña, 2016).

Twice a week for a month, I visited the site on different days and times to engage with the community. Furthermore, I was part of one community event where some of the possible participants would be attending. My observations consisted of regularly sitting in various areas of the site (e.g., parking lot, screening business, the old classroom building,

the playground, the new classroom building, the organization store, and the main office) jotting notes on the interactions observed. At times, I would run errands for the office staff or assist with taking out the trash as a way to blend with the environment and engage in casual conversation with the members of the community. During the holiday community event, I had the chance to engage with the community by participating in their holiday Christmas rituals. Except for the holiday community event, my fieldnotes primarily focused on capturing scenes through drawings and brief notes reflecting the environment. From these field notes, I created a narrative map, or a visual representation, of the participants' environment as a way to contribute to the holistic representation of my participant observant experience (See Appendix C). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) suggest that the use of such visual maps can contribute to understanding the nuances of the environments. These maps may reveal meanings behind temporal, ritual, and routine features of the participants' experience. I used this map to continue to immerse myself in the environment and as a way to maintain my own self-reflection as I inhabited the space of the mothers and the adolescents (Varpio et al. 2015).

Materials and Interviews

Before the beginning of the interview process, I provided a consent form to the participating mothers and adolescents describing the purpose of the research, how the study would proceed, and how confidentiality would be maintained. To protect the rights and privacy of my participants, I had the consent/assent forms available in Spanish and English. The consent (see Appendix D) and assent forms (See Appendix E) informed the mother and the adolescent that they could discontinue their participation in the study at

any time and that the interview process would be audio recorded for precision and increased validity in the research.

Interviews

Children, as well as their adult parents, have rights of their own. Freeman and Mathison (2009) suggest that "children need to be viewed as autonomous subjects rather than members (or even possessions) of their family," (p.7) meaning that research needs to account for the voices of child participants. Consideration needs to be given to the fact that children abstain from sharing or giving insights about their relationship with their parent in research conducted by interview (Shi, 2011). Conversely, this also may apply to the parents, especially when the experiences shared may be a source of discomfort for the parent. Thus, it should not be assumed that adolescents share the same experiences of their parents. With this in mind, I interviewed participants separately through semi-structured respondent interviews (Tracy, 2019). Though the relationship between parent and adolescent may be one of interdependence, for this study the goal of the interviews was to gain an understanding of how each of these individuals experienced their roles and managed their day-to-day experiences separately from one another (Mayer, Tromsdorff, Kagitcibasi, & Mishra, 2012).

Interviews were held in a quiet location that ensured both privacy and convenient access for the mother and the adolescent. Acknowledging that the mother may want to sit in on the interview, I kindly reminded them of the information found in the consent form that indicated that their adolescent would be interviewed separately, but that she was welcome to stay in the vicinity for added comfort. There was no preference for whom I interviewed first. Although for the most part, I spoke with the mother first and then the

adolescent afterward. Interviews were held in the preferred language of the participants. In general, mothers spoke in Spanish, and the adolescent spoke in English. There were instances when the adolescent spoke in Spanglish (combination of English and Spanish) to better explain their experiences. Allowing them to speak in their language of preference contributed to feelings of autonomy and comfort with their own cultural identity (Ojeda et al, 2011; Freeman & Mathison, 2009). Because I am fluent in both English and Spanish, I personally conducted all interviews (Liamputtong, 2010). Interviews yielded a total amount of approximately 1,420 minutes of interview time. The average length of each interview for mothers was 39.38 minutes and adolescents was 39.44 minutes. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed in the language used by the participants.

Interview Guide. Stage and Mattson (2003) suggests the use of in-depth interviewing to describe and understand in depth the unique experiences of others. Furthermore, interviews should not be viewed as tools, but as contextualized conversations founded upon participant and researcher reflexivity (Tracy, 2019). Acknowledging the role that each individual (the participant and the researcher as the instrument) plays in an "inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest" (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009, p. 2), I created two interview guides, one for the mother and one for the adolescent. I then back translated[34] each to Spanish so that each participant had a Spanish and English version of their guide. The design of the guide consisted of a series of open-ended and pre-set questions to stimulate participation. The interview guide

[34] Back-translation is translating from the target language (e.g. English) back to the source language (e.g. Spanish) in order to evaluate the equivalence between the source and target version (Liamputtong, 2010).

(See Appendices F & G) was constructed with generative questions under a semi-structured format that provided me with the capabilities to control the interview when necessary without limiting the participant's voice. Kvale (1996) describes semi-structured interviews as having a "sequence of themes to be covered, as well as suggested questions" (p. 124) in which the researcher maintains enough flexibility and openness to interview change. With this format, I was able to probe, ask follow-up questions, and add questions that surfaced from previous interviews with other participants. This format also provided some control over time allotted for conversation.

All interviews opened with an expression of gratitude and with time for each participant to read their consent or assent form. Once signed, I provided each participant with a very brief verbal definition of cultural intermediation from a prepared script. Then I previewed the trajectory of the interview with the overarching topics of language brokering, technology brokering, and personal use of technology.

Child Interview Guide. The interview guide for the adolescent (Appendix F) began with a rapport question that centered on having them think about their bilingual experience. The question, "How does it feel to be bilingual?" allowed for thinking to take place about their experience in a way that helped them feel valuable and a significant contributor to the project (Tracy, 2010). Though there are research studies that speak to the conflicting feelings bilingual children harbor in regards to being bilingual and to assisting their parents, it is more common for bilingual children to express feelings of pride and maturity when thinking about their bilingualism (Weisskirch, 2013; Kam, 2011). Following this introduction, the interview guide was divided into three focus areas. These areas consisted of questions pertaining to the language brokering experience,

personal technology use, and technology use connected to their parents. Dividing the interview guide in this fashion assisted me in creating a cadence that allowed the adolescent to ease into the conversation, speak of their experience, and finally their experience with their parent (Tracy, 2019).

The first part of the questioning was generative and focused on the language brokering experience. These “tour questions” (Tracy, 2019) enabled the description of experience. For example, “Have you ever assisted your parents by interpreting or translating? Can you describe a time when you did help them?" Answering these tour questions about their experience as language and technology brokers allowed the adolescent to begin describing their language brokering expertise before moving into the next major area of how they engage with technology. “Motive questions” (Tracy, 2019) were asked as a way to get into the layers of this adolescents’ experience. Questions about the benefits of helping their parents and their experiences as a result of their language brokering provided the adolescent the opportunity to share their heightened understanding of the technolinguistic brokering experience and the benefits of these experiences.

The second section of the interview focused on asking questions about the adolescent’s technology use and its influence on their language brokering performance. The first question, "Describe to me how you use technology" and the second, "Can you describe the content that you create/post?" assisted in providing a more detailed account of how they use technology in their everyday life. These questions became especially important because I was interested in understanding how these adolescents use technology from a consumption/production perspective. These questions also laid a

foundation for the next set of questions focusing on their motives for sharing and with whom. Additionally, by asking about motivations (e.g., “Do you feel that you are a great influence on others because of your capability to access information through technology?”), it permitted their answers to reveal the inner tension between how they view themselves as experts versus casual consumers. This line of questions transitioned their perspectives about how they may or may not influence others. The final section was targeted in revealing the possibility of engaging in the role of cultural intermediation.

Parental Interview Guide. The interview guide for the parent (Appendix G) began with the rapport question, "How comfortable do you feel with using technology?" This question considered research depicting parents as digital (im)migrants or those who have migrated to the digital age (Nelissen & Van den Bulck, 2018). The aim was to have parents consider the forms of assistance they receive from their adolescent, and to reflect upon how accessing technology has facilitated their family life. Following this introductory question with the mother, the interview guide divided into two focus areas. These areas pertain to the mother’s use of technology, child involvement in assisting with technology, and lastly, the uses and impacts of the sharing practices of their adolescents through technological mediums. The interview guide was divided in this manner to understand how the mothers viewed the contribution of their adolescents when receiving help from them and how their child’s access to these mediums affects how they experience American cultural content.

Upon completion of the first dyad interviews, I reflected on the signs of discomfort the mother expressed when attempting to answer the question regarding her comfort in the use of technology. It became noticeable that this mother did not want to

share much in this area. This led me to change my questions to focus more on the adolescent. After I asked her how her adolescent was of assistance to her, it became evident that she wanted to begin by speaking about her adolescent and not herself. This change made a significant contribution to how I positioned myself in all my interviews from that point on.[35] As a way to shift the conversation from the adolescent to the mother's experience, the directive question of "What types of help does your son or daughter provide for you when using technology?" was asked. If the adolescent did not provide much assistance, I asked a probe question, "What kind of help would you like for them to assist you with?" By doing this, the goal was to capture more of the specific ways that these adolescents may help their parents and possibly what kind of relationship they had with their child based on the help provided.

Additionally, to enable the description and revealing layers of this experience, mothers were asked to speak about the first time they were introduced to technology including who introduced them and if their adolescent had any influence. I wanted to ask

[35] I understood that it was important to pay close attention to verbal and nonverbal cues to make the necessary decisions to segue and speak about a topic that appeared to be challenging for the mothers-—how the parent utilizes technology on their own and how their children may or may not assist them. The question of "How do you feel about technology?" added another layer to the foundation that created awareness and served as a prepping mechanism for the next questions, "Can you describe a time that your child supported you with the use of technology? How do you think that your child felt about your decision to ask him or her to assist? What do you think are the benefits for you and for your child in helping you?" all of these questions reverted to the parent to a state of vulnerability, where they were reminded about their experiences of not speaking English and how the language of technology magnified the absence of two skills and not one. Previous research on brokering new technologies within the context of parent and child relationship depicts the importance of parental feelings concerning confidence with technology and who to seek assistance from children (Correa, 2015). Consequently, my acknowledgment of this action on behalf of the parents, allowed me to not only maintain the integrity of the research because the voices of the parent wanted to share more than what I was expecting, but also gave respect to the participant. Having respect for the construction of knowledge within interviews is right and just for the participant because it is their experience and they are entitled to share it in the ways that they choose.

questions that solicited data about how their ALTB influenced them. “How has your child influenced your technology?” became a way to shift the attention from the parent to their child, leading me to ask other motive questions, "Do you think that your child's proficiency with technology influenced your views of technology" and "How does this proficiency benefit your child and yourself?"

The last section of the interview asked questions about how the ALTB utilized technology and the influence that cultural content has on what is shared with the parent. The first question, "Describe to me how your child uses technology" and the second, "Does your child share content/information with you?" assisted in providing a more detailed account of levels of expertise. The sharing of content could also reveal the underpinnings of the mother’s communicative relationship with their ALTB. Followed by “What do they share with you?” I then proceeded to ask the parent on how they perceive the information being shared and its impact to them and their household. These questions were especially important because the interest lies in understanding how these adolescents use technologies from the mother’s perspective and how parents perceive the information being shared with them. Transitioning from their views about how their child influences them, the final questions centered on asking how their family dynamic has changed and may continue to change as a result of their adolescent’s technological, language, and information skills.

Quality in Qualitative Research

“Values for quality, like all social knowledge, are ever changing and situated within local contexts and current conversations. As such, it is important to regularly dialogue about what makes for good qualitative research,” (Tracey, 2010, p. 837). It is

thus essential for the researcher to provide descriptions and explanations that are bountiful and rich through a requisite variety of theoretical constructs, data sources, contexts, and samples that will assist in the achievement of qualitative quality.

Credibility

Credibility in qualitative research refers to the trustworthiness and plausibility of the findings. The need for credibility is noted by Tracy (2010) to be achieved through practices that include thick description, triangulation, and multivocality. In this study, I used triangulation, or the use of data that involves the comparison of two or more kinds of evidence from multiple perspectives, to highlight the reliability and consistency of the data gathered (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The use of interviews involving the mothers and adolescents provided two distinct lenses through which to understand the phenomena of adolescent language and technology brokering. My intent was not to assume that because the data converged in certain points, that this reality was correct, but instead to support that all findings are shaped by the circumstances in which they were produced.

Multivocality also supports the credibility of this research as multiple and varied voices were included in the collecting of data. Multivocality emerged as part of an empathic understanding that not only began with the interviews, but extended to the analysis and the report (Tracy, 2010). As a qualitative researcher, my goal was not to put words in the mothers' and adolescents' mouths. My responsibility was to attend to the cultural differences present that could lead to various meanings found with the mother and adolescent relationship. Researchers are in a relationship that requires a continuous recognition and acknowledgement of how the instrument influences the data and the

construction of the data (Gonzales, 2010). The data collection design provided a space for all voices to be respected and listened to, including my own.

Data Analysis

This study is a qualitative interpretive research endeavor that seeks to explore the experiences of adolescent technolinguistic brokering through an iterative and inductive process. According to Tracy (2019), approaching the data in such manner allows for a less constrained focus that permits self-reflexivity to take place and continuous revisiting and refocusing of the researcher's understandings. After reading my field notes and preliminary memos, I realized that to explore the point of view of the individuals who experience the phenomenon of adolescent language technology brokering (ALTB), an iterative approach would be fit for my analysis.

Data Organization

Beginning with the first interview, it was of great importance for the data to be viewed as not only an iterative process, where repetitive mechanical tasks were enacted, but to connect process and reflexivity (Charmaz, 2008). Because patterns, themes, and categories do not emerge on their own and are driven by the researcher, I made efforts to engage in reflexive iteration where the heart of visiting and revisiting the data, making connections, and reaching meanings are guided by engaging in deep reflection (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009). By writing memos and recorded notes, it allowed me to continue to account for my own connecting experiences, but also to help me move from "what I want to know" to "what the data are telling me" (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009)

I began the data immersion process soon after the transcription of the first interview by listening to the recordings, reading the initial transcripts and uploading the

documents into NVivo 12. Tracey (2019) suggests researchers engage with their data early on to begin to absorb and marinate in the data. As I listened to the interviews, I generated memos or jottings of ideas that came to mind. I engaged in self-reflection and wrote notes on the cultural intermediation concepts of *habitus, positioning,* and *expertise* from the literature as a guide to my thoughts (Maguire & Matthews, 2012; Bourdieu, 1984; Hutchinson, 2013). In other instances, I had conversations with colleagues about the feelings that I was experiencing about my shared experiences and on preliminary thoughts about the data.

Data Coding

For the data coding process, I employed an iterative method of analysis that alternates between emic, or emergent, readings of the data and an etic use of existing models, explanations, and theories. This process seemed suitable for that data because of its ability to be a reflexive process in which the researcher visits and revisits the data, connects the codes to emerging insights, and allows for a progressive refinement of the researcher's focus and understanding with each cycle (Tracy, 2019).

Between October 2019 and December 2019, I analyzed 36 semi-structured in-depth interviews (n=36, 18 adolescents and 18 mothers) searching for common and new themes within each data set, as I was paying attention to the language used by participants to describe their experience. To keep my data organized, within NVivo12, I created files for each of the data sets—Mothers and Adolescents.

Open Coding

It was imperative that as the researcher, I immersed myself in the data by reading over the material as I prepared for analysis. As indicated by Tracy (2019) data analysis

begins with the reading of the first interview, where I carefully read the transcription and engaged in "open coding" to answer the question, "What is happening here?" (Tracy, 2019). As I read and listened to the audio for transcription quality, I highlighted significant statements, sentences, or quotes that provided me with an understanding of how the participants experienced the phenomenon (Creswell & Poth, 2016). I read each transcript and I identified significant phrases or sentences that directly spoke to the ALTB experiences. The process of "open coding" resulted in 310 codes for the mothers' data transcripts and 492 codes for the adolescents' data transcripts.

Primary-Cycle Coding

Many of these initial statements, phrases, and words overlapped in meaning. I engaged in primary-cycle coding as a way to condense the codes further and began to assign "descriptive codes" or codes that summarized the primary topic and "in vivo codes" or codes that use the participants' own language (Saldaña, 2016). During each reading, I revisited the codes to continue to search for the essence of the participants' experiences and for any patterns that may surface.

In my reflections, I noticed a connection between the codes and concepts from the literature. Codes pointed towards three areas per data set: bilingualism, the use of technology, and brokering interactions. I began to read further into the literature of these areas to assist in the refinement of codes. I also engaged in constant comparative method where coded data is modified, compared, or new codes are generated to assist me in the refinement of the data (Charmaz, 2008). This process lead to 55 primary codes for the mothers and 72 primary codes for the adolescent data (still far beyond what Tracy (2019) recommends of 25 codes during one analytic project).

Secondary-Cycle Coding

In search of more precision and clarity, I engaged in secondary-cycle coding where I examined the codes already identified in the primary cycles and began to organize, synthesize, and categorize them into interpretive concepts (Tracy, 2019; Saldaña, 2016). In the first round of secondary-cycle coding, I created three "axial codes" per data set (mother and adolescent) as a way to explain, theorize, and begin to synthesize the primary codes into these codes (Charmaz, 2008; Saldaña, 2016). The three axial codes were bilingualism, technology use, brokering interactions. Prior to initiating the second round of secondary-cycle coding, I noticed the presence of concepts from acculturation and cultural intermediation (heritage culture, host culture, tacit expertise, interactional expertise, cultural expertise, referrant expertise, legitimization of culture). During my reading of the literature, in the second round of secondary-cycle coding I created an additional seven "axial codes" for a total of 10 "axial codes" per data set (mother and adolescent). Data also revealed concepts that spoke in connection to factors of tension in the relationship and three additional "axial codes" were created to account for this. These were levels of language expertise, levels of cultural expertise, and control of information. This brought the total number of "axial codes" to 13 per data set (mother and adolescent).

During January 2020, I engaged with both data sets (mother and adolescent) again to create a "loose outline" (Tracy, 2019) of my results, solidify the themes that would generate my research questions, and move my guiding question beyond "What is going on here?" I revisited the codes per data set for patterns or groupings of codes within the data. I begin to read literature on relational interdependence, self-efficacy, relational

maintenance and quality, and relational dialectics 2.0 as patterns of these "axial codes" indicated a connection to these areas. I looked at each data set independently of the other to explore the deeper meanings of the ALTB experience. This resulted in the inductive emergence of "themes" to reveal the essence of the ALTB experience (Tracy, 2019). The ALTB's and mother's experiences each consist of the following emerging themes:

- ALTB experience themes
    - Interdependent Relationship
    - Expertise
- Mother experience
    - Interdependent Relationship
    - Expertise
- Power
    - Expertise Tension in the Cultural Relationship.

Ultimately, the analysis led to the following three research questions:

RQ 1: What are the dimensions that constitute the cultural intermediary experience for the Adolescent Language/Technology Broker (ALTB)?

RQ2: What are the dimensions that constitute the cultural intermediary experience for the Mexican-origin non-English speaking mother with their Adolescent Language/Technology Broker (ALTB)?

RQ3: What are the factors affecting the power relationship negotiated by the Adolescent Language/Technology Brokers (ALTBs) and their Mexican-origin non-English speaking mothers?

Summary

This overview of the qualitative research methods that guided my dissertation work included ethical and methodological considerations. Next, information on the participants and the materials utilized to recruit and interview participants was included. These in-depth qualitative interviews were focal data sources and iterative analysis approach informed the data analysis. Next, I will explain and describe the primary findings that emerged from my analysis.

CHAPTER 4

PERSPECTIVES OF THE ADOLESCENT TECHNOLINGUISTIC BROKERING EXPERIENCE

The results in this chapter are organized in the following way: First, a broad overview of the performance of cultural intermediation assists readers in understanding the early stages of building culture within (im)migrant families. Following this, I turn to reviewing the major findings of RQ1: What are the dimensions that constitute the cultural intermediary experience for the Adolescent Language/Technology Broker (ALTB)? Data suggests the presence of a relational component that influences the language and technology brokering experience.

After introducing the perspective of the ALTB, in the second part, I present the perspective of the Mexican-origin non-English speaking mothers about their Adolescent Language/Technology broker (ALTB) experience. Here, I highlight the findings to answer RQ2: What are the dimensions that constitute the cultural intermediary experience for the Mexican-origin non-English speaking mother with their Adolescent Language/Technology broker (ALTB)? In this sections, mothers spoke about the performance of cultural intermediation through the lens of family values, experiences, relational maintenance strategies, self-efficacy, and cultural (inter)dependent relationships.

In response to RQ3: What are the factors affecting the power relationship that are negotiated by the ALTB and their mother? Section three speaks to the (inter)dependent culture relationship is negotiated during moments of language and technology brokering.

The chapter ends by reviewing the experience of the ALTB. Each of the three sections are enriched with excerpts from in-depth interviews.

Part One: Adolescent Language and Technology Brokering (ALTB) Perspective-

Dimensions of Cultural Intermediation

The sacrifices made by (im)migrant parents are not the only experiences that can reveal the impacts of acculturation and the need to finds ways to connect with the host culture. The experiences of the children within (im)migrant families also contribute to providing a clearer picture of the acculturation process (Portes & Zhou, 1993). The ALTB's acquisition of cultural and social capital via communicative interactions and the use of technology assists in decreasing the cultural distance between the host culture and their (im)migrant family.

Interviewer: So, you try to make the technology appealing to her based on her interest, and does that work?

Participant: For a while.

Interviewer: For a while [laughter]?

Participant: Yeah.

Interviewer: Then what happens?

Participant: And then, she'll just go back to, "No. You guys are always on your phone."

-Lili (ALTB)

This excerpt illustrates the complexity of this process and the need to explore the underlining of the adoptions of new forms of culture by acculturating families. It is

evident that the ALTB exerts some influence on how the parent perceives the technological medium for *"a while."* According to Lili, her mother appears to take interest, but then something happens that changes those feelings towards the use of a cell phone, as her mother says, *"No. You guys are always on your phone."*

The performance of cultural intermediation expands beyond the technolinguistic practices engaged in by the ALTB. Language and technology brokering emphasize the need for those who engage in such practices to have some linguistic and cultural expertise. Brokering events are fundamentally motivated by the need to connect socially to mainstream American culture (Correa, 2015). In Lili's case, cultural intermediation highlighted the expertise necessary to connect cultural artifacts to specific individuals and/or groups (Maguire & Matthews, 2012).

To engage in cultural intermediation as an ALTB is to be involved in making culture (products, services, ideas, behaviors) legitimate and worthy of attachment. Many ALTBs like Lili find themselves wondering how their families can adopt new forms of technology or even legitimize cultural practices like major sporting events and certain foods in everyday life. Bourdieu (1990) and Maguire and Matthews (2012) speak about how cultural intermediaries develop and use their expertise in the form of a 'feel for the game' when seeking to legitimize culture for others. Experience for some ALTBs, like Miguel, comes in the form of action where *doing* is enough to indicate to his parent that he is an expert in the use of a cell phone. As Miguel shares, *"they've* [his parents] *have seen what you could do with technology and stuff that they didn't know."* Similarly, Andres spoke about how his expertise comes through his interactions with his phone as it generates a "push" that is strong enough for his parents to be inclined to adopt new cell

phones. Others, like Jenny, spoke about how their knowledge acquired through experience has alleviated her mother's fears about technology. She mentions that because her interactions with technology surpass those of her mother, *"she* [her mother] *automatically thinks that I'm able to fix it every time, that I have more experience on it."*

Indeed, the ALTBs ability to influence culture involves linguistic, cultural, and communicative competence. *"There's still things that you won't be able to translate. So it's trying to cope with it, like, "okay, I need to find some way to put it in-for them to understand,"* said Maty as she shared how she aims to find the right words for her mom to understand. On the other hand, Mandy, who shared she always tries to use the right tone when delivering hard messages to her mom.

> *Yeah, I always try to, honestly, because it is hard to translate. But when you translate it, you want to do it as easy as you can, try to find the words, or sometimes I just don't want to tell her but I know I have to tell her. So it's just hard.*
>
> *-Mandy (ALTB)*

Many of the ALTBs shared that clarity and precision in their language choices was of great importance in ensuring their parents understood what was said in brokering situations. Others shared that technical proficiency was important to better interpret or assist their parent. Others, like Karla, that by watching and listening to her parents she learned to speak and interact in her heritage language with her parents.

When ALTBs interpret cultural discourses and understandings of groups and/or individuals, competencies or skills derived from experience may not be enough to bring credibility to one's words. Furthermore, it becomes necessary for them to accumulate

authority, credibility, and trust become necessary to be considered agents of cultural production (Hesmondhalgh, 2006), shapers of taste (Nixon & DuGay, 2011), and crafters of value (Maguire & Matthews, 2012). The ALTB's perspective illuminates the dimensions of expertise and (inter)dependent relationship with their mothers.

Expertise

"Information constitutes a resource for human capital" as it provides a foundation that serves as a point of convergence for the interconnected aspirations of achievements, security, and civic engagements of individuals to mainstream society (McDevitt & Butler, 2011, p. 1). Adolescents emerge as brokers for their acculturating families in both making and maintaining connections to community through language and technology brokering. Adolescents walk a fine line every day when connecting their families to mainstream America and balancing knowledge and responsibilities usually reserved for adults. They simultaneously maintain the cultural values of their parents and American culture. When the adolescent attempts to manage the two cultures and their languages, it presents contradictions that must resolved. As ALTBs experience these tensions, they develop specific expertise that assists in maintaining and solidifying their culture relationship with their mothers and others. Every cultural interactions requires expertise in culture, cultural interactions, multilingualism, and relationships. Together, they contribute to the development of new forms of language.

Cultural Expertise: Having a Feel for the Game

> *It's positive* [language brokering] *because I get to learn more languages. There are some people that don't want to learn. You know how some kids, they're like they don't want to learn Spanish. They only want to start*

speaking English. I rather prefer speaking two languages and not learning one language only. Because that friend I have, she only speaks only English and her mom speaks Spanish. And now her mom has to speak English to her because she doesn't understand nothing Spanish. You grew up with a Mexican, why can't you speak Spanish too? I mean, it makes me feel like I should tell them, "Hey, you know what? Spanish is very good for you". I talk to her in Spanish, she speaks to me in English, and I'm like, "How are we going to get there if you don't speak to me in Spanish?"

-*Cindy (ALTB)*

Cultural relationships develops in interactions with others (parents, peers, family, and community), through experiences of recognition, acceptance, and belonging. The process of negotiating multiple cultural relationships is complex and multi-faceted. Individuals often talk about their dual cultural heritage in complicated ways and in both positive and negative terms. Biculturalism is often associated with feelings of pride, uniqueness, and a rich sense of community and history, while also bringing to mind identity confusion, dual expectations, and value clashes as Cindy referred earlier (Weisskirch, 2005). When individuals internalize the elements of experience in more than one culture, they are able to understand, communicate, and effectively interact across cultures with awareness. This enmeshment of feelings, skills, and values reflects the presence of a “habitus” or physical embodiment of cultural capital reflective of the experiences acquired (Sam & Berry, 2010; Bourdieu, 1984). Thus, Bourdieu suggests that it is in this space where the development of cultural schemata takes place which serves as frames of reference for future successful cultural interactions.

Cultural schemata and "Having a feel for the interactions"

Cultural integration entails the adoption of two or more sets of behavioral repertoires as well as the ability to switch between cultural schemas and norms (Berry, 2005). These dynamic repertoires include linguistic systems, cultural practices, ideologies, and beliefs of the group(s) one belongs to which are called upon in response to cultural cues during interactions.

The constant interactions of individuals making efforts to self-identify with groups and their cultural values continuously create and expand cultural schemata or frames. The accumulation of these cultural schemata lead to an awareness of being a member of multiple cultures with the ability to collaborate in bridging and legitimizing cultural context. Jenny describes this experience with building cultural schemata for her brokering interactions with her mother in the following way:

> *Interviewer: Most of the time you know what she's thinking?*
>
> *Participant: Yeah [laughter]. Since I'm going through-- I've been doing it my whole life, so I know the process whether we're with teachers, or we're in the doctor's, or we're in the workplace I know what she'll ask since I've been interpreting for so many years. So if we're at school, she's going to tell me to ask them, "How is he in school?" or, "What kind of homework has he done?" or, "Does he participate?" and all this and that. I already know.*
>
> *-Jenny (ALTB)*

This notion of "knowing" brings attention to two things. The first is the connection to understand unique sets of rules, knowledge, and forms of capital in specific

interactions. Jenny says, "*I've been doing this all my life."* In other words, she has acquired a 'feel for the game" through her the countless interactions with her mother. In addition to gathering information to guide future interactions, Jenny also implicitly suggests she also has an understanding of the cultural practices that her mother will assume. *"I know that she'll ask…"* followed by describing what kind of questions her mother would ask in the context of a parent teacher conference. This reflects Jenny's knowledge of the adopted value and cultural systems of her family. In other instances, the ALTB's references also includes an understanding of their mother's emotions.

> *Participant: I'm like, "How do you feel about this?" Or it's not just-- the most important thing that I have to remember when I'm interpreting is not just the main details, but how she feels. It's better sometimes for me to focus on the little things then the big things because then you're able to build up to the main thing for them.*
>
> *-Maty (ALTB)*

One's understanding of culture involves an understanding of unique sets of rules, knowledge, and forms of capital in specific interactions. But what about the role emotions play in the deeper cultural meanings of interactions? Cultural relationships are built upon deep meanings that include understanding how emotions influence cultural understandings of the acculturation process of non-English speaking mothers and the ALTB. Studies on emotional intensity in bilinguals, for example, have expressed that native language carries more emotionally intense because more affect is expressed with each word spoken in an interaction (Guttfreund, 1990). Resistance and/or receptivity cues within interactions between the mothers, the ALTB, and the host culture give

meanings to the outcomes of interactions. Thus, influencing how these interactions are understood, explained, and even, encountered in the future. Emotions in brokering are a part of having a "feel for the game."

Building cultural schemata is valuable because it guides how interactions should be understood and undertaken. It has become evident that the construction of relationship cultures, as suggested by Baxter (1987), is significant and generates strong ties within these relationships. The increased understanding between the mother and their adolescent cultivates empathy and continues to generate opportunities that build cultural proficiency. The bridge that the ALTB can create alleviates some of the stress for mothers associated with feelings of disconnection from American culture and their own heritage culture.

Horizontal Transmission of Cultural Values

Cultural schemata are products of interactions and are used to continue the process of socialization or getting to know oneself through the other. Socialization, as used in this work, is conceived as a way individuals become members of a society, embodying their own experience, and acting out learned behavior within context-sensitive communicative interactions (Grusec & Hastings, 2007). Family becomes one of the first places where cultural schemata is built. Later however, the traditional conceptualizations of family can become unbalanced in authority between parents and their youth leading to vertical socialization with lasting dialectical tensions.

> *Because I grew up to obey my parents. It's our culture to obey our parents. To obey our parents, and you have to respect them and do what they ask you to do. And if you were to say no, then that's not being-- yeah. You're*

not doing what they're telling you, and you're disrespecting. Yeah. That's what I wanted to get to [laughter]. The value of respect.

-Jose (ALTB)

In Mexican-origin households, hierarchy is present through the values of *respeto* (respect) and *buen hijo* or *hija* (a good son or daughter). Families uphold these values through the *consejos* or advice from the family's older generations. When these adolescents try to engage in cultural intermediation, the ALTB experience exemplifies something different. Unlike Jose's experience with vertical socialization on the value of respect, horizontal socialization becomes present when adolescents listen, embody, and take action in alignment with their family values. In the following excerpts, Gabriel speaks about *"having to be the one"* and Mario identifies as "*always being there."* These are examples of an original top-down transmission of family values that evolve through interactions maintained through horizontal communication.

I don't remember a specific time or what I was interpreting, but I do remember growing up having to stay back and interpret because somebody had to come and ask her questions, and they don't speak English. And so I have to be the one to stay back and translate for her.

-Gabriel (ALTB)

In my case is like always being there for my mom-- not just my mom, family when they need me the most. And just when they need me the most helping. Seeing what they need because sometimes I'll notice that my mom is tired or something then I ask her, "Are you okay?" And just checking up on her and my family to see if they're alright. And when I see if they need something for they're struggling, just to help.

-Mario (ALTB)

With familial hierarchies, horizontal socialization takes place in the form of the ALTBs accommodating for the dialectical tensions between their parents teachings and their own actions. Explicit *consejos* (advice) regarding values may have been communicated in their earlier years as a means to provide them with tools to be better *hijos* or *hijas*, and to uphold the value of *respeto*, or to help others in need without prompting. Curiously enough, these values become part of what accommodates and brings stability in the ALTB's capability to be a part of both worlds. Values are the compass or guide to their actions. These youth find themselves in a moment where assisting requested them to view things from their mother's perspective. The process would be simple if one only was guided by the influences to American culture through media. But this is not the case. The heritage values instilled in these adolescents assist in achieving a dialogic cultural positioning. As Maty shared, the ALTB has *to "see the other points of views, and how, mostly, not only how it's going to affect you, but others."* Multiple interactions help the ALTB *"know more about people like how they are and stuff"* (Miguel). By transitioning the parent-adolescent relationship into a collaborative relationship, ALTBs often learn and embrace heritage and host cultural values that serve to sustain the cultural relationship now and in the future.

Cultural Interactions Expertise: Being vs. Acting Bi-cultural

Interviewer: In any of those instances, while you were growing up and interpreting, did you feel that you were-- aside from it being hard, did you feel like, "Why do I have to do this?"

Participant: Oh, yes. A lot of the times [laughter]. I was like, "Really? Do I have to?" I'd look around to see if any-- like, "You want to help?" Because I felt like I-- I just felt like I was going to get it wrong, and I didn't want my mom to be like, "I don't know what you're talking about," in public. If we were at home, I didn't really care, but it was in public, for me, that I was like, "Oh, what if someone else [inaudible] hears that I'm saying it and they totally know I'm wrong, and they're like, 'Oh, that's not it'?" Even though it never happened. My mom never told me anything-- that I was wrong. I think it was just the idea of being told, "That's not how you say it."

-Karla (ALTB)

This passage reminds me of my own experience and brings me to think about the expectations that come with language and technology brokering. It is not simply the just the adoption of a technological medium or translating words. The brokering experience involves many elements and implications not always evident to others.

Actions undertaken when brokering language or technology, can range from basic skills of "doing" language or technology to "being" in language or technology. Cultural intermediation distinguishes itself by incorporating and emphasizing the need for individuals to go beyond just mere speaking of languages or the knowing of technology. ALTBs who move beyond acting develop an in depth understanding of language and culture for the groups with whom they are engaging. The ability to move in this way between language and culture is a competence that expands when individuals incorporate culture to a state of "being" bilingual or digital native.

So how does one move from acting to being within one's family? Families, for example, have their own fine-grained language, specific words, and forms of expression in reflecting a shared knowledge and history. Despite these nuanced differences, the ALTBs speak about their experiences with their mothers as feeling normal and natural not different. And when "*situations come, I know what to do. I don't panic where I don't second guess myself. I just do it. It's natural,"* said Jenny. Her experience supports language and technology brokering literature when it speaks about this normalization by saying, "it is something that I just do" (Valdes, 1996). But this simple phrase does not mean that adolescents ignore their talents in bilingualism and technology. On the contrary, just as Jenny said, *"Yeah. I'm confident about doing it."* This confidence is the high point of "being" an ALTB. Brokering interactions become opportunities for the creation of shared experiences with their mother. Brokering interactions become the opportunities for further development of cultural knowledge and expertise, as indicated by Johnny and Jose during their experiences involving medical appointments (Nixon & DuGay, 2002).

> *Participant: Let's say if we had a-- if my little sister needed to go to a place for a doctor and there was a voicemail and she needed to go to this place at this specific time but they said it in English, they-- she would call me over and say, "Can you please translate this in Spanish, so I could know what we're going to do?" So, I'll hear it, say it-- hear it all and tell her by-- word by word what we're going to do. If I had to then I would just replay it again and just tell her.*
>
> *-Johnny (ALTB)*

Participant: Because, to me, it's simple. It's just like, "Okay. Do this and that." But my problem is knowing how to talk to people. So when she asks me to do-- like she needs to go to clinic and ask for appointment and like-- Interviewer: And you get stuck? Participant: Yeah. I get stuck in there. Interviewer: Because you don't know how to say certain things? Participant: Yes. Interviewer: And do you think when you go to like a doctor there's language that's being used that's more advanced that you don't understand? Participant: Yeah. They say random things like, "Huh [laughter]?"

-Jose (ALTB)

Confidence from interactional opportunities to enrich one's position as experts are abundant in the ALTB cultural intermediation experience. It seems as if these adolescents simply switch from just speaking Spanish and English and can easily add the cultural component to their interactions. It may be the case that being positioned between two cultures can facilitate things for the ALTB. However, gaining a cultural perspective on the language, cultures, and discourses of each group can be stressful. The adolescents shared the need to be cognizant of how interpreting may lead to certain assumptions about things or create information for parents and English speakers. This appeared to be a source of stress for many adolescents; hence, their heightened awareness on being clear and precise with their communication. Mandy spoke about how sometimes she knew that her mother wanted more answers for her questions. Figuring the variety of ways that may or may not lead to more information and answers was frustrating.

Participant: All the time it, is sometimes frustrating, but then I know she wants to get just more answers. Wants to know a little bit more about it but it is hard at times because it's-- I try to explain it different ways but it's still meaning the same thing to the doctor. So he gives me the same answer or the same question-- the same response. So it's hard because I don't want to change it a little bit when I tell her in Spanish but at the same time, she knows it's the same thing too. So it is frustrating but--

-Mandy (ALTB)

How do you get more answers from the doctor when you do not have another way of asking the question? The ALTBs resort to the creation of new language based on their cultural knowledge and expertise that comes from their ability to be in both the English and Spanish speaking worlds. This reflects varying levels in "acting" and "being" within the ALTB experience (Byram, 2012).

In my conversations, I noticed that when adolescents spoke about changing their words or actions in connection to their mother, there was no hesitation. They were willing to do what was necessary for their mothers to understand English interactions. But when it came to changing things for the English speaker, they appeared to be nervous and respectful to the English speaker's position. For example, Lydia would not change the words from the English speaker to her mother, but would change them from her mother to the English speaker. When I asked her why, she answered, *"Because I feel like what she's saying shouldn't be said, so I just change it."*

Lydia's words communicate two things. First, when it comes to the English speaker, the ALTB is confident in the other and their interactional knowledge that entails

not only language skills but also cultural skill. It is important to mention that their actions may be influenced by the value of respect towards other adults. We can also interpret her words to mean, that she saw her mother's interactional skill level to be subpar, either in language and/or culture. This highlights how ALTBs bridge and legitimize the conversation with their own understandings.

Multi-Lingual Expertise: Development of Languaculture

> *I don't know, it's just super crazy to me that there's different languages and that I can do both. Although sometimes it's really difficult, again, because you can't find a word or you're thinking in English and in Spanish it's totally backward, and it's like ahhh. But the fact that you can challenge yourself that way mentally and still be able to communicate with somebody, I think it's just a good feeling.*
>
> *-Maria (ALTB)*

Cultural interactions are challenging because one is "at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for the society" (quoted in Risager, 2012, p.98). It is an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality without the use of language when "we see and hear and experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretations (quoted in Risager, 2012, p.98). The relationship between language and culture becomes extremely magnified in ALTB's experience because language resembles both cultures and to serve as the glue to connect them effectively.

At the core of culture and cultural interaction expertise, lies a cultural self that blends language and cultural skills. The blending of language and culture within the

liminal space of brokered interactions generates new forms of connecting cultural communication. Indeed, adolescents may proficiently speak English or Spanish or engage in "acting" bilingual. But there are instances where the ALTB is engaging in "being" cultural as they figure out other words and forms of expression to get their points across. This new language or languaculture is not just something that is generated because it seems to work or serves the function of fixing a communicative situation in a bandaide fashion. The construction and development of new language forms or languaculture fuses and intermingles the vocabulary, grammar, and cultural meanings of the group(s) these adolescents inhabit (cited in Risager, 2012). As Maria expressed in the opening excerpt, it is difficult to broker. Syntax and word order can ultimately change the messages meaning. She mentions that when you connect with someone, you builds world of meanings, which opens family to the outside; in essence, making the family public and no longer private (Baxter, 2004). Definitions in families serve to build bridges between people, and whether you are a professional interpreter or an adolescent, you can fill the spaces between people.

Being Bilingual in English and Spanish

The development of languaculture constitutes a coming together of linguistics and cultural information, which flows through various social networks to engage in effective communicative interactions. The adolescents that I interviewed exemplified high levels of bilingual proficiency in both English and in Spanish. Much of this proficiency has to do with the language socialization processes found within their families and social networks. Adolescents focused on gaining skills to achieve clarity and precision in their interactions. Interactions also required some form of listening that reflects being present,

in the moment, and in tune with the shared messages. Cindy, who says she is always listening, described being in the moment in the following manner:

Participant: When she speaks Spanish, I know she knows. She talks. But when it's in English, I'll always help her.

Interviewer: Are you still listening in?

Participant: Yeah. I'm always listening. I'll be like, "What did she say? Is she saying something?"

-Cindy (ALTB)

There were other instances like Andres who described his listening as an opportunity to study and observe his parents. Through listening he feels he knows them better, can be of better help, and communicate with them more effectively.

Participant: Yeah. That's right. Yeah. I feel like I, I mean, I don't sit there and study them, but I feel like I know them well enough to know how they would understand certain things, how would I have to say it to them for them to understand.

Interviewer: So you said you don't study them. But what have you done that has helped you know them more? If you had to describe that to me, what do you do to get to know your parents more so that it becomes helpful when you're in these situations? Participant: I feel like that there hasn't really been a thing I have to do. I feel like just-- I live with them. I mean, I've lived with them all my life so I feel like I know them.

Interviewer: You know them?

Participant: It's just something that sticks when you listen to the person, when you see the person all the time, how they are.

-Andres (ALTB)

Karla also shared that listening has led her to discover personal things that gave her a different understanding of her mother. Karla shared that during a brokering situation at the doctor's office, her mother's personal health issues came to surface, and she felt that this affected how she communicated with her thereafter. Gabriel also shared how listening allowed him to reflect when he heard his mother's stories about her experience in the United States and the struggles she faces every day in a new place.

As I listened to these stories and the role that listening played, I could not help but to wonder how listening, which is considered a basic element in effective communication, was driven by culture. To "act" bilingual, is to speak English and Spanish. To be bilingual, is to "be" able to engage your proficiency more deeply in the spoken word and to envelope oneself in the cultural values of the group. These adolescents, whether they realized it or not, were feeling "being" bilingual and the connection to their heritage and the value systems identified by their mothers. For these adolescents, listening helped them uphold the value of *familismo* when asked. Cultural values are important to guide the ALTB's speaking or listening as a *buen hijo(a)* (good child) would. In turn, these values became a motivating factor for the ALTB to guide their mother in learning a language and lessening the disconnection their mothers feel. Lili explicitly mentioned how she uses her brokering to help her mother learn English vocabulary—"*I think she also-- she gets new vocabulary out of it as well. Because if I translate a word for her, she'll remember that word. Or she'll tell me like, remember*

when you told me this means this, why is it meaning this now?" Intermixing of heritage values and the English language represents a desire to build a cultural relationship. Having such a relationship facilitates adjustment and collaborations between the ALTB and their mother prior to seeking to connect with the outside English-speaking world.

The Digital Native

ALTBs have grown up in a time of rapidly changing technology. This technology has transformed how people communicate and for non-English speaking families it has shifted the nature of brokering. Digital skills and the differentiated uses of technology are two areas that distinguish the digital native from the digital (im)migrant and are often used in conjunction with bilingualism and brokering (Correa, 2015).

ALTB's experience is an intermixing of language and technology brokering. Similar to language brokering, digital skills are needed for effectively maneuvering in the digital media world. The ability of the adolescent to locate content efficiently and effectively are the hallmarks of digital proficiency. ALTBs spoke about digital skills in the form of operational, informational, strategic, and formal skills. For example, operational skills became evident when adolescents helped their mother with technology. Cindy explained how she helps her mother understand how to utilize some of the functions of her cell phone.

> *Whenever she gets a new phone, she can understand what app is this or what technology. You know how some people don't know how to go to, to make the screen dim, they'll be like you know what? You want to remove your brightness? You just remove this, okay? You go to sound. Do you*

want to play music? You go like this and you click right there and then that's sound.

-Cindy (ALTB)

Cindy's description of how she helps her mother, also speaks to the information seeking skills that are necessary in using a cell phone. Knowing what apps to access on your phone to search for information or to communicate with others is part of the necessary information in knowing how to use a mobile device. Facebook, Instagram, and Snapchat were common on the ALTBs' phones. They described how Facebook is for the older generations and Instagram is for the young. Andres described doing homework on his phone and writing full papers using it. While I was speaking with Lily, she introduced me to Snapchat and helped me create an account after the interview. They even introduced some of the apps to their mothers. Mandy was one whose mother responded with a, *"Oh, look at this. Oh look at that."* Afterward, adolescents showed their skills by illustrating further to their mothers what can be done on the phone. Johnny exhibited his information skills as expertise-like by describing to me the ways to use the web for multiple things like ordering car parts for a school project.

In school, we use it to learn, of course, and although we use it to find certain parts in a car, how to lift these points in a certain car, sometimes even to have fun and just play games or something. But the beneficial is to help you learn and what else-- technology, it's good. It's good and bad, you can use it both ways but I would rather use it in a good way to help me benefit in life.

-Johnny (ALTB)

His comments highlighted how the web located on convenient devices like a cell phone become the instrument which assists people in accessing information, services, economic and educational opportunities, as well as political and civic participation (Castells, 2000). Maria showed me that her Twitter account was a way to access political news and to share her political thoughts on this platform. She uses Facebook only to access news articles but she finds it difficult. With Twitter limitations of140 characters, it is easier to read the headlines and quickly respond and share her thoughts. She shared that she designated Facebook and Instagram for communicating with her family and friends. A combination of operational, informational, and strategic skills allowed her to understand the need to be a critical consumer of information, to use specific apps for specific audiences, and especially the necessity to see multiple perspectives online.

> *To make sure that I don't just see one perspective. I want to see a lot of perspectives unless it's something that I'm impacting [my?]. And I know the background. And I know that it happens. And I won't do all of that but if it's something that I'm like, "Man, I don't know how I feel about this." I like to get different perspectives and really figure out again why did this person write this. Who was this person?*
>
> *-Maria (ALTB)*

Because the breadth, depth, and volume of information availability, Maria realizes that one needs to be critical about what is consumed, produced, and distributed via technology. Doing extra research and recognizing that social media can shape *"the way I view the world"* is a powerful statement reflective of the different uses of media. In addition to Maria, Karla and Johnny also expressed that they too have developed a

critical view in navigating media content. *"You cannot trust what is on there because technology can shape a person,*" Johnny shared. *"Whether you want to accept it or you want to know, it's* [your messages] *going to be out there,"* as Maty said. These adolescents acknowledge having responsibility when using digital media because of its transformational effects upon individuals and their relationships.

Relational Quality Expertise: Building Quality Cultural Relations

Now I turn to the last type of expertise, relational quality. It is not enough for human beings to connect; they must also maintain that connection. The last expertise identified in ALTBs' experiences is (inter)dependence. The (inter)dependent connection between cultural expertise, cultural interactions, and multi-lingual expertise, reveal the necessity to look into what maintains these cultural relationships beyond a set of language and cultural skills, proficiencies, and the development of languaculture.

The ALTBs' experience in the simplest form is filled with inputs focused on helping others that simultaneously lead to great benefits for the adolescents. Teaching their parent becomes the most important relationship building strategy. Teaching leads to the development of other relational elements, and a more established cultural relationship with one's mother. An example is Jenny's response to my question about knowing her mother from her experiences interpreting:

> *Interviewer: So, you would think that interpreting has allowed you to get to know your mom more than a normal kid that doesn't get interpret?*
>
> *Participant: Yeah. I think so because you get that bond between them, how they'll act in certain situations as well, and how they see different things. And how when she'll questions or how she'll question that, or why she want*

to know that, or, "How does this work?" and everything, So I guess we build that bond and how she gets to know things and I get to show her things. So I guess we teach each other in a way.

-Jenny (ALTB)

Elevating the technolinguistic brokering experience to one of cultural intermediation begins with countless experiences. Through the task of brokering, adolescents develop cultural schemata, which proves to be useful in gaining credibility from their mothers. Successful interactions lead to stronger bonds, as Jenny suggested. An effort to build commitment, openness, and trust in the brokering relationship expands to support, empathy, listening, and encouragement, which are key to building quality relationships. The quality relationships as perceived by the ALTBs is an important part of this work and is a topic that is uncommon in family literature.

Building trust, commitment, and openness

To me, a superhero in my case is like always being there for my mom-- not just my mom, family when they need me the most. And just when they need me the most helping. Seeing what they need because sometimes I'll notice that my mom is tired or something then I ask her, "Are you okay?" And just checking up on her and my family to see if they're alright. And when I see if they need something for they're struggling, just to help.

-Mario (ALTB)

If commitment is an individual's intention to sustain and remain psychologically attached in a relationship (Drigotas, Rusbult, Wieselquist, & Whitton, 1999), then how does one commit to "being there" for one's family like Mario? The nature of familial

relationships requires individuals to assume a selfless position. Regardless of your feelings towards your family, values such as *respeto* and *familismo* help facilitate interactions. Power to influence automatically succumbs to the traditional structure of family. Nonetheless, ALTBs appear to commit to helping because of the relational support they receive. As Karla explained, *"they're my parents and she's my mom. She's done so much for me."*

Relational quality in families requires one to think about relationships from an interpersonal perspective. Relational quality stems from how relationships are maintained within families and how individuals feel about stability, equity, and satisfaction that these relationships provide (Baxter, 1990; Bell, et al,1987). If people find little reason to maintain a relationship because they feel underbenefitted, they might terminate their relationship. Talk of ending the relationship with their mother did not surface in the conversations despite the stress, frustration, or mistakes that can happen because of brokering. No one wanted to end their relationships because they no longer wanted to interpret or show their mothers how to use their cell phone, or were caught in a small lie during a parent teacher conference. *"Sometimes I am the one that gets frustrated not usually because I get mad just because I get frustrated because I can't find the right word to tell them, or explain them, and it's just somewhat irritating,"* said Mandy. Alternatively, there are instances of annoyance like when Laura cannot get her mother to remember the steps on how to use her phone. *"Sometimes they've understood me the first time and sometimes they ask me over and over again,"* said Laura. These experiences did nothing to destabilize the relationship.

They were not losing anything by *"just doing it"*. On the contrary, Jose noted, *"when I help, I feel good inside."* The ALTBs also appreciated the patience demonstrated by their mothers as they watched their adolescents try to connect and make sense of the English words. For many like Karla, it meant that mothers understood of brokering challenges.

> *I want to say it would be different, but then I know-- no, I think it would be the same. I think it would be the same because I feel like she'd understand that my ability to translate is not quite there. So I feel like she's a very understanding person. And I mean I would try, I would certainly try, even though I couldn't. And I feel like that for her would be enough. That would be like even trying to translate something for her, even though I get it wrong, would be great with just something.*
>
> *-Karla (ALTB)*

Being brought up in an environment where the cultural practice of helping others and *"protecting our loved ones,"* as Cindy shared, influences one's responses to each other. Commitment, trust, and openness in the form of empathy contribute to (inter)dependent relationships of stability and confidence. Efforts to relate to their mothers created openness in the relationship. Gabriel used his own experiences to understand his mother's feelings of not knowing how to use a computer. When I asked him if he would help her and why, he answered:

> *I think I will help her, still. Just because I remember my first year coming here, I had no clue. And I needed someone there to help me. So I know*

how important it is to have a person to be there for you whenever you need it for interpreting.

-Gabriel (ALTB)

Other ALTBs framed their mothers' lack of computer skills in terms of generational challenges now and in the future. ALTBs saw the best way to engage was by having open communication with their parents in the hopes that cooperation and reciprocity would surface.

We come from two different generations. The generation without technology and the norms versus the world with technology and new ideas. So I know that maybe I won't be able to change the way she was taught to grow up with but maybe I can put an influence of, we're in a different time period. We're more accepting. So whether you want it or not, it's going to happen or you have to be capable of moving into the transition. And it's more of talking it through and finding a base where we can both be able to talk about it without there being any conflict.

-Maty (ALTB)

Age and experience contribute significantly to the development of commitment, trust, and openness. When to view a child as a child or an adolescent, can be complex especially when speaking within the context of (im)migrant families. A younger child might be more dependent on their parent, while an adolescent begins to exercise some levels of independence. The acculturation circumstances permit the development of expertise that help build adult cultural relationships with their mothers. The concerns,

worries, and feelings that ALTBs experience are expressed through commitment towards their mothers.

> *I feel like if I put in my thought to it and I see how it will affect those around me and I tell her-- but think about it more. Not just about how is it going to affect her now but it's also how is it going to affect it tomorrow, or the next day or in the future. How is it going to affect us?*
>
> *-Maty (ALTB)*

ALTBs are willing to disclose so much as they place themselves under the spotlight of two cultural groups—their mothers and the American culture. They develop expertise in culture, cultural interactions, and language. They also build relational expertise to assist in developing cultural relationships. Though they at times feel that they have no control over the relationship with their mothers, the fact that they are *buenos hijos* and *hijas* brings them comfort because they uphold *respeto* and *familismo*, which contributes to transforming their relationship into one of (inter)dependence.

Interdependence

> *Interviewer: Why do you think that you just openly help her?*
>
> *Participant: Because it's not something that's going to hurt me to do. Maybe it'll take five minutes out of my day. It's not going to affect the rest of lifetime if I help her, so I always help her.*
>
> *Interviewer: Do you think that you're always going to help her for the rest of her life? Participant: I don't think so [laughter]. I mean hopefully she'll get the hang of this.*
>
> *-Lili (ALTB)*

Lili understands that her mother's inability to use technology means that she needs to help her. However, Lili reveals through *"hopefully"* in the last sentence that dependence might be good because it does not take much time and it cannot go on forever. Interactions involve the consideration of needs, thoughts, and motives.

Interactions are essential to understanding closeness and relationships. Interactions do not only yield concrete outcomes or immediate experiences of pleasure versus displeasure, but yield experiences that rest on broader implications for social interactions (Kelley, 1979). Interactions that lead to the creation of (inter)dependent relationships rest on the intersections of communicative events, their tensions, and require mutual understandings. The ALTB experience is founded upon the tasks of helping one's mother, father, and/or family connect with mainstream American culture. Adolescents find themselves in need of keeping their heritage values at the forefront of their actions, especially if they are acting on behalf of their parent. They need to be able to predict the likely behaviors of their parent. The ALTB anticipates interactions based on the information harnessed with previous brokering interaction. When the adolescent is seeking to legitimize cultural practices, for example, the adoption of a new social media application, these more nuanced understandings assist in achieving certain outcomes that may benefit both the adolescent and their parent. In ALTBs' experiences, positioning, goal congruence, trust, and power are the major themes in connection to the (inter)dependence.

Positioning the Self: Assuming Familial Responsibility

No two interactions are the same. The brokering interactions that these adolescents engage in vary in context from just reading mail to interpreting in court or

searching for information for their parents online. Each of these contexts require cultural, language, interaction, and relational expertise. What always guides the ALTB in their interactions is the responsibility to protect their mother, regardless of previous patterns, cultural schemata, or anticipated outcomes.

Protecting one's mother responsibly is grounded in learned values. *Familismo* is a cultural value that emphasizes family closeness and loyalty, where individuals put the needs of their family before their own. ALTBs mentioned this value extensively as they shared that they needed to help their mothers connect to the English speaking society through either face-to-face interactions or technology. They expressed the need to be there at the side of their mother. This was not out of obligation, but out of responsibility—a responsibility anchored on the value of *marianismo* that speaks to nurturance, family, and self-sacrifice.

Responsibility appeared as having accountability for accurate brokering. As shared earlier, interpreting correctly was always a goal to achieve. Gustavo described the responsibility of "*not getting some things, or other words wrong, communicate wrong with other people,"* says Gustavo. Gabriel noted that being responsible meant being there "*just in case she needs someone to translate."* He tried to explain the uniqueness of assuming responsibility when he reflected on the various questions his mom asks when he interprets the mail. As I listened to him, I pictured his mother out somewhere, unprotected, and Gabriel unable to be there. Maria described what happens when her parents are alone and why there is a strong need to be present.

> *I feel a sense of "I need to protect" because we've encountered different times where some folks would mock my parents because they don't speak*

English. Or they would kind of play silly about, "Oh, I don't understand," when they do understand. So it has definitely created this feeling of "I need to be there for them to have--" So I just don't want somebody to play them or take advantage if they don't speak good English.

-Maria (ALTB)

Similar to Maria, Andres spoke about protection as being under his control, *"I feel like I can protect her as long as I'm there. I guess, I do. Yeah. Yeah."* I recall him telling me this in the small kitchen, cluttered with pots and pans. He looked down as he said this, almost as if he had a *"manto"* or a mantle over his head enacting *caballerismo* with a moral strength to support, protect, and nurture his mother. Mario said that his mother calls him when she gets text she cannot understand. He worries because the text messages are not all the same and what if she gets an important text from work and she cannot respond right away.

Lastly, their mother's inability to speak English created an opportunity for the ALTB to use their positioning to provide solutions and to continue to demonstrate their expertise in language and technology brokering. Mandy made efforts to emotionally comfort her mother when she found herself diagnosed with an illness. *"I try to find different recipes to just different things, or try to talk to her, make her laugh about different things, so she would at least get a little bit of not to always have that on her mind because she always said that it was so hard for a little bit but we found a way,"* she said. Others, like Angel, tried to be grown-ups and be more mindful of their mother's experience. This was interesting because in the following excerpt there is also a connection to goal congruence between Angel and his mother.

Sometimes she'll be serious, like "Yeah, I need help." And I'll ask like, oh, well, I got you. I'm going to do what I can do and you do what you could do. And if we get through all that. So, she gave me more respect. It's like, my son's paying bills with me, and all that. I can't treat them like little kids no more. They got to be grown up, so we got to like, we got to be equal, you know. I don't know if that makes sense. You know what I mean?

-Angel (ALTB)

Goal Congruence: Providing Support through my Mother's Openness

Feeling strongly connected to one's family as Angel demonstrated in the previous section provides a sense of emotional well-being for the ALTB. Engaging in actions that support the family also contributes to the creation of close family ties, and reveals levels of self-sufficiency and dependence. Mothers are independent in traditional family structures. And according to the ALTBs, when their mothers are open about their needs, they can better align their support in achieving their mother's goals. When mothers are not forthcoming, giving help is challenging. Jose identifies trust as missing when his mother keeps information from him.

For me, I think, when I don't know nothing about her, I get really upset because I feel like she doesn't have the trust in us. She might think that we're going to judge her. That really makes me upset because she doesn't trust us as much. I don't mind helping her but I don't know. Maybe she doesn't want to make us feel like upset or sad. She keeps it on her own self.

-Jose (ALTB)

Levels of openness between the ALTB and their mother are valued because it cultivates strong relational bonds and feelings of relational support. When adolescents talk about their close relationship with their mothers as the result of brokering interactions, their faces glowed. I inferred that levels of dependency were high and, their mothers' self-disclosure brought a sense of relief to tensions in their relationship.

> *I think the fact that we both help each other and they help me when I need stuff and they-- I help them when they need stuff like interpreting. I think it definitely has built our relationship. Made it stronger.*
>
> *-Andres (ALTB)*

> *It is funny because we're sitting there trying to figure out something, trying to figure it out or do something. And then at the end, finally we get it. So sometimes we do get a laughter out of it because we're both trying to explain but we can't get it until the very end.*
>
> *-Mandy (ALTB)*

Adolescents appear to be in the best disposition to fulfill the goal of providing support for their mothers. However, there are times when the mom wants to be independent and the ALTBs also wants the mom to independent. Laura and Lili mentioned that their mothers needed to be independent. Laura commented, *"If I keep helping her she's never going to learn."* But for other ALTBs, they perceived their mothers as making efforts to learn English, and even attempt to search for news on Facebook. After introducing Facebook to her mother, Karla was able to talk to her mother about which new stories were credible.

If I read something and I'm like, "Well, Mom, did you know about this?" She'll be like, "Oh, yes. I read it on the news, or I listened to it." But now my mom has been reading the news on Facebook, but she doesn't quite understand that they're not all credible sites [laughter]. So I'm like, "That doesn't sound right." So I'll go back to Google. I'm like, "Okay." I'm like, "Mom, that wasn't true." And she's like, "But I read it on the news." I'm like, "But they weren't credible news stories." She's like, "Okay."

-Karla (ALTB)

Even then, there is always support provided for the mothers. Here is where goal congruence and positioning connect to create a mixture that leads to the next major theme—Trust. Trust alleviates the uncertainty of not knowing or not having enough information.

Trust: Building Credibility through Certainty

Complementary behaviors in the ALTB experience are viewed as those behaviors that align or correspond in relation to the adolescent's mother. Meaning that the ALTB needs to have an understanding of values, norms, dispositions, and motives enacted by their mothers.

Interviewer: And what makes you a trustworthy person, you think, for them?

Participant: Because, for example, if they ask me to do something, I'll do it then they'll see the result. They'll say, "Oh, yeah. He actually did do it." And I think just things like that in general. And, let's see, with the baby. They trust me to take care of the baby because when she comes back,

they'll see that she's clean, diapers changed, she's fed well so they trust me, through actions.

-Mario (ALTB)

For example, Mario explained that trust from his mother comes from his actions and if they can confirm that he actually *"did do it."* In his example of caring for the baby, "the doing" takes concerns with the alignment to the expectations set by his mother. If he fulfills them, he is entrusted with watching the baby time and time again. If he does not, then he will not get another opportunity.

While one may think that support has great influence on trust, the ALTBs shared that trust was built through information accuracy. Accurate information is most critical in situations that are unfamiliar or risky. In the context of brokering language and/or technology, the absence of knowledge and language proficiency transform the interaction to one of uncertainty and risk. Information exchanges between the ALTB and their mother, either verbally or nonverbally, sediment the foundation for trust.

A mother may display frustration from not understanding the messages being given to her in a language brokering situation and she may look at her daughter with distrust. Mandy captured this situation when she described her mother's response, *"She's like, you're telling me but you're not telling me everything."* In this example, it can be inferred that there has been a disconnect or deviation from a previously developed frozen expectation (Holmes, 2002), which has powerfully shaped the mother's feelings. If a mother perceives the adolescent is being unresponsive to her needs, may lead to future conflicts and missed opportunities. On this note of frozen expectations, Karla described a parent teacher conference that she attended with her mother. Acknowledging that her

mother knew the structure of a parent teacher conference, she was unable to lie, or use two words to describe a very long speech given by the teacher. If she did, her mom knew she was not telling her mom what the teacher said.

> *But there was these times when like I would get in trouble, but wouldn't tell my parents when I got home, because I mean what kid tells their parents they got in trouble [laughter] at school? And they'd talk to them about it and I'm like, "Man." I don't know. But I would still tell her that I got in trouble, just because I felt like the teacher was giving this very long speech about what I did in class. And for me, just sum it up in like two words or like a sentence, I feel like she would know I was lying [laughter]. And there's the tone of voice of the teacher. I feel like she would know that wasn't what I was saying.*
>
> *-Karla (ALTB)*

Therefore, ideas, rules of talk, and information do have to align, according to the ALTBs, for trust to come about. When things did not align, the mother could be either understanding or helpless. Johnny was one ALTB who spoke about his experience when he had differences with him mother through a position of anger and resignation, *"It makes me feel a little bit mad. But if she wants to do it, I can't stop her. So I'll just accept it and bury it."* Angel on the other hand, tried to talk to his mother, introduce his perspective, and make attempts to get her to listen to his suggestions. This is what the he described to me:

> *At first, she didn't listen to me. She like, "I'll tell you what I think." I guess she has ideas and all, like ideas we got to be like, I don't know. For*

example, we be like-- she wants-- I don't know. Like bills-wise and all that, like, okay, so I got the rent due this week. But I got the bill due this week, too. So, it's three of us have like-- so, you got to get at least, I told her, you got to get at least like 400, 500. I mean, that could be put 200, put 200, like 100 for the bill, for the phone bill. So, just come together and all that. I taught her what's good for her.

-Angel (ALTB)

Here, Angel is assertively support raised an interesting situation that involved teaching his parent. This can be a source of tension for many mothers and their ALTB sons and daughters because teaching is an attribute reserved for those who have experience, expertise, and some formal knowledge. The ALTB is a still their mother's child. Under the traditional family structure, cultural knowledge can only be transferred vertically, from the parent to the child. Rarely is it envisioned bottom to top. But if the mother supports the actions of their adolescent, this means that she recognizes that there is some skill, expertise, and knowledge given by the ALTB. Jenny describes expertise as a tension between dependency and the mutuality of dependency in the relationship, which suggests the presence of power between who is dependent on who and the reasons why.

I mean I've always been honest with her. So I mean, there's no need for her to not trust me in certain situations because I've always told her what the doctors, or the teachers, or anybody has told me. And then sometimes she questions it, and then I'm like, "Well I can't tell you anything else. There's no other way for me to-- other way for you to know," because she doesn't know English completely.

-Jenny (ALTB)

Power Dynamics: ALTBs Information Flow Influence

Because sometimes she's so focused on like, "I need you to tell them this." And I'm like, "Okay. Yeah. But what about the minor details?" And she's like, "Oh yeah. Then this, and this, and this." She's like, "Oh--"

-Maty (ALTB)

The ALTB and mother relationship can be unilaterally or mutually dependent. If the dependence is unilateral, one of the individuals (either the mother or adolescent) is able to provide higher outcomes and holds more power. The more dependent the individual will have no power over the relationship. On the other hand, a mutually dependent relationship is based on both the mother and their adolescent experiencing feelings of dependency for one another. The ALTBs relationship with their mother is one that is equally dependent. The adolescent is trying to fill the language gap and the mother is trying to meet the needs of the child. The goal of mutual dependence is to help each other feel that both individuals are in control of the relationship and its outcomes.

When performing technolinguistic brokering, the control of information flows becomes a source of tension. The ALTB and their mother are trying to meet in the middle in this complicated relationship. The mother finds herself at a different acculturation level than that of her adolescent. Her language skills change everything. The inability of the ALTB's mother to speak English automatically disconnects her from having access to information, disempowering her not only in society but in the eyes of the ALTB.

To be an ALTB is to have knowledge and expertise in one's heritage and that of

the American values system. To be an ALTB is to smoothly transition within interactions because there is an in-depth cultural understanding that the mothers do not possess. To be an ALTB is to relationally think about one's mother and be able to apply their expertise in the context of technology. Consequently, questions arise about who controls the information for the mother. Is it the adolescent or the mother herself? But what about who controls the adolescent if this is a mutually dependent relationship? Things get tricky in this relationship as there are three relationships simultaneously running at different points in the ALTB experience.

The first relationship is the traditional mother and adolescent relationship. In this relationship, the adolescent is looking for ways to continue to uphold the heritage values of their mother. The mother is less dependent on the adolescent because mothers have the experience to guide, support and bring stability to their children. These are the instances where the mother helps her adolescent through *consejos* and the child aims to be a *buen hijo* or *hija*.

The second relationship surfaces when the relationship shifts to the adolescent becoming the ALTB. The original positions of mother and child now include what constitutes a non-English speaking mother and the adolescent becoming a broker. Tensions begin to surface because the child needs more independence to achieve the goals set by their mother. It may appear that the tension is coming from the child seeking permission under the values of familism and *respeto*. However, the actual tension is coming from the child having to assume adult responsibilities. To be the expert, as well as the child in the relationship, gives way to moments of tension. Adolescents usually opted to limit themselves to just speaking for their mothers and to do as they are told.

Here mothers may try to be independent, as Juan described that after helping as her broker, his mother just says thank you and appears to "*get a little frustrated because she's mad that she can't get it on her own."* Johnny similarly experienced this with his mother, *"She tells me "Oh, you have to say it this way, because if you say it this way, you might offend someone. Or you have said it wrong, it's not properly, the grammar is wrong."* A tension arises when there is a conflict between the credible role of mother and the unskilled struggle of the non-English speaker.

The last relationship occurs when the ALTB is performing cultural intermediation. This involves situations where the power shifts to the ALTBs because they have more cultural and relational expertise gained through countless interactions with their mother and mainstream society. Information flows are affected both in face-to-face interactions as the adolescent takes the initiative and adds information for clarity and precision or when technology is involved. The latter is where control becomes more evident, beginning with adolescents helping their parent learn to use technology. In this sense, many of the adolescents did their best to explain to their mothers why it was important to learn to use technology. Some resorted to utilizing the cultural value of familism to point out that technology could facilitate communication for them with their extended family. Others tried to explain that it was essential to learn to distinguish information online and what to share and not share in support of their parents' worry about internet dangers and disclosure. The most significant comments were those in connection to controlling the flows of information to their mothers in order to protect them from receiving wrong information. These comments tied back to the relational quality that they seek when maintaining their relationship with their mother. In a past

excerpt, Maria spoke about how Twitter shapes people. She added the following concerns about online information that she reshapes to protect her mother and to address communicating sensitive information for her family.

> *Interviewer: You mentioned earlier not allowing Twitter to shape your view. Underneath it all you almost have this idea of "Okay, I have to share this information with my parents. What if I don't share it the way it needs to be shared?"*
>
> *Participant: Because I don't want to create fear. I don't want to create panic. So I want to make sure that if I'm-- especially these conversations that we're having, these are the hard conversations to have with the family. Definitely, I don't want to act with no fear too if there's any fear or anything like that and I want to make sure that I don't create panic because we can't communicate. I try to do that also for my clarity and understand really what that information I'm passing on that it's correct and clear.*
>
> *-Maria (ALTB)*

So is there joint control? They may seek to coordinate with their parents through the use of their abilities and traits and take initiative at times. All is done with the intention to coordinate with one's mother to reach mutual success. The above excerpt demonstrates that adolescents are motivated by heritage values and not receiving the credit for helping their parents or legitimizing cultural practices.

Summary of Part One: Adolescent Language and Technology Brokering (ALTB) Perspective-Dimensions of Cultural Intermediation

The perspective of the ALTB speaks to an experience filled with learning and self-development that appears to be sought, but for the most part, it is circumstantial because their mother does not speak English and is trying her best to acculturate in the United States. Situations can be challenging when "being" and "acting" Mexican or American are always in tension in predominantly white spaces. When mothers ask their adolescents to assist them by brokering language or technology, this tension is to be set aside in hopes that what is left is a connection of the mother to the teacher, to the grocery clerk, to the doctor, or even to the technological interface on a cell phone. These brokering interactions consists of understanding two cultures, multilingualism, cultural interactions, and relationships. These types of expertise point to ALTBs' development of languaculture, which allows them to balance the difference and similarities of cultural interactions and further perform the process of cultural legitimization. But according to ALTBs, this language and technology brokering experience can lead to bringing value to new cultural elements based on a relationship of (inter)dependence, where the adolescent is supported in being an hijo(a), being a language and technology broker, and being an embodied image of various cultures.

Part Two: Mexican-Origin Non-English Speaking Mother Perspective-Dimensions of Cultural Intermediation of the ALTB Experience

Although the United States is one of the most technologically advanced nations in the world, there is still a large portion of the population that do not have access to technologies such as cell phones, email, social media platforms, and the internet. Araceli's words below reveal hope and a desire to learn even with the help of another person.

> *Porque a veces ni entiende uno ni qué onda, ni cómo meterte ahí. Pero vas aprender, vamos a aprender [risas*]. (Sometimes we don't even understand what's up, neither how to get in there. But you will learn, we will learn.)
>
> *-Araceli (mother)*

Communicative interactions generate knowledge that assist (im)migrants in the process of acculturation. In the United States, speaking English is of the upmost importance. It contributes to the establishment of cultural relationships which impact social acceptance due to the unique codes and sets of rules regarding interactions.

> *Hay veces que-- ya ahorita, le digo, ya no estoy tan cerrada, pero sí hay cosas que entiendo bien, pero de todas maneras le digo a él: "¿Qué dijo?" y ya él me dice, porque habla muy bien el español y puede traducir el inglés a pesar de su corta edad.* (There are times that- now, I say, that I am not so closed minded, but there are some things that I understand well, but no matter what I ask him, "What did they say?," and he then tells me,

because he speaks Spanish very well and can interpret English, in spite of his young age.)

-Felipa (mother)

Felipa mentioned that there were moments when she did understand what was said to her, and there were other times that even though she did understand, she would still ask her son to language broker.

For the non-English speaking mothers, it is the ALTB that connect them to mainstream America. These adolescents have grown up with technology and have become very familiar with the ins and outs of technology. "*Porque ella luego le pone allí la información y le saca"* (Because right away she input the information in there and then pulls it up), says Manuela. Her daughter's proficiency with technology allows her to make its use appear as easy. On the other hand, because the ALTB speaks both English/Spanish they operate more efficiently with the interfaces, unlike their mothers who, for the most part, are monolingual and struggle with accessing the internet for information.

These technological and language capabilities open up a world very different from their family life. ALTBs are more exposed to diverse sources, which provide opportunities to access new ideas from various social systems that may transform them individually. The reinforcement of English language skills through technology use contribute to fertile ground for a horizontal socialization process, that is rare in many Latino families. I remember my conversation with Margot in her small living room, where I noticed the television and the desktop computer side by side on the main wall.

Margot shared the following about being persuaded by her daughter to begin utilizing Netflix. She questions the value of it, but appears to try to make efforts to understand her daughter's perspective.

> *Entonces hizo que lo pusiera en mi teléfono para que viera películas ¿Cuándo voy a ver películas yo? "Pues ponlo ahí" le digo ¿Y? Y le digo yo, "Pero pónmelas en español. Para qué me pone eso en inglés, yo que voy a andar viendo en inglés."*
>
> (Then she made me put it on my phone to watch movies. When am I going to watch movies? "Well put it on there," I said. And I tell her, "But put them in Spanish." Why does she put them on in English, how am I going to be watching in English?)
>
> *-Margot (mother)*

Adolescents make efforts to influence their mother's thoughts on the adoption of technology and other issues of interest to the family. However, even when it is not easy to adopt new cultural practices, the influence of the ALTB is seen as powerful. According to their mothers, this power is reflective of various dimensions that utilize the ALTBs experience and multilingualism.

In this second part of the chapter, my goal is to highlight the perspective of the mothers of ALTBs as I provide an answer to RQ2: What are the dimensions that constitute the cultural intermediary experience for the Mexican- origin non-English speaking mothers with their Adolescent Language/ Technology Broker (ALTB)? In the next sections, I begin with the first dimension, the presence of (inter)dependent cultural values in the mother and ALTB relationship. Then, followed by the second dimension,

the creation of an (inter)dependent relationship with the ALTB, and I end with the dimension, expertise of the ALTB.

Interdependent Cultural Values in the ALTB and Mother Relationship

The family processes and the cultural values that exist within what constitutes family, create an (inter)dependent nature for the parent and child relationship that yields a variety of outcomes (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Sometimes children depend more on their parents, and other times, parents rely on their children. But all in all, a relationship that is (inter)dependent, can lead to social outcomes that may bring psychological well-being, high self-esteem, and high self-efficacy for all involved. Prevalent in the cultural traditions of Latino families, (inter)dependent cultural value systems emphasize collective cultural pride, upholding cultural values, and building collective cultural relationships that play a primary role in maintaining internal and external social relationships.

Family often represents the first setting for cultural socialization. Parental efforts instill a sense of cultural pride in their children via exposure to or sharing cultural traditions, cultural values systems, and associated practices. In their interviews, many of the mothers expressed that socialization begins with having pride in their Mexican roots and that pride should guide family life. Although, the ALTBs are growing up amidst American culture and technology, everything in the house remains Mexican.

> *Sí, aquí todo es más mexicano o más al estilo de uno, aquí nadie está-- así como americanizado [risas], no aquí todo es más a las costumbres de uno, porque uno les enseña las costumbres de uno y uno quiere que sigan las costumbres de uno, que no se hagan a la otra costumbre de aquí, porque*

es más liberal, se me hace a mí. (Yes, everything here is more Mexican or in our style, here no one is—kind of Americanized (laughs), no, here everything is more about our traditions, because we teach them about our traditions and we want them to follow our traditions. They cannot switch to the other traditions of here, because they are more liberal, that is how I see it.)

-Yolanda (mother)

ALTBs' mothers made sure to instill their values in their adolescents. The traditional heritage values that include *familismo*, *respeto*, *responsabilidad*, and *buen hijo(a)* were spoken of as fundamental building blocks of family. With the presence of technology, things become more difficult because mothers are up against the school and sources of information via technology. Flor mentioned that in her household, they speak to their children in Spanish as a way to remain connected to them.

Solamente les hablábamos español porque queríamos que aprendieran bien el español, porque dijimos: "Ya que entren a la escuela va a ser puro inglés y no van a querer hablar ya más que el inglés, la tele puro inglés", entonces era puro español lo que les hablábamos aquí. (We only speak to them in Spanish because we wanted them to learn Spanish well. Because we said, "When they start school it will be only in English and they will only want to speak English, the tv is all English," then it is all Spanish we speak to them here.)

-Flor (mother)

According to these mothers, maintaining Spanish was also another way to build and sustain cultural relationships. Mothers felt that by speaking Spanish, they maintained a special connection based on strong heritage values and a loss of values meant a possible disconnection with their children. "*Me siento bien porque él está aprendiendo mi idioma español, lo está aprendiendo, no lo está perdiendo,"* said Isidora as she shared that she felt good that her son was learning and maintaining her language of Spanish. Elisabeth added that*, "Yo me siento muy bien, porque están aprendiendo dos idiomas, inglés y español. Y esto me gusta a mí, que no se le olvide que su mama es mexicana."* She indicated that she felt good because her children were learning both languages, English and Spanish. This is what she wanted; for her children not to forget their mother is Mexican. These last words "forget their mother is Mexican" are of great significance because they reflect feelings of fear of disconnecting from their child due to the loss of Spanish language usage.

The hardship of fighting the influence of American culture may also reflect a mother imposing rules and limits upon the child as authoritarian versus authoritative control (Patterson, 1982; Bowlby, 1969). Interrelations between the communicative behaviors of the mothers and the interpretation on behalf of the adolescents connect to cultural values. In more 'individualistic' cultures (e.g., U.S. culture), self-interest, autonomy, and self-reliance are more valued in the socialization process. Parents from these cultures tend to be less authoritative; they promote independence, autonomy, exploration of the environment, with less emphasis on obedience and sociability. Collectivistic cultures, such as the Mexican culture, emphasize interdependence, the inhibition of the individual wants, and attention to the needs of others.

Aside from building relationships with their adolescents, mothers prided themselves on staying connected and building relationships with extended family, which reinforced the value of familism in their families. To the mothers, distance could not stop them from connecting with their loved ones, thus opening a window to the acceptance of technology in their lives. For Sandra, it meant that she now sent messages and pictures to her family in Mexico and stayed in contact with her people at no cost to her aside from the internet connection.

> *Encantada, no a mí me gusta, a mí me gusta porque me puedo comunicar con mi gente en México sin costo, bueno sí, si cuesta el internet, pero no tanto, entonces puedo estar en comunicación con mi familia en México todo el día así que-- entonces, por ese lado me gusta mucho.* (Delighted, no I like it, I like it because I can communicate with my people in Mexico at no cost, well at some, the internet does cost, but not a lot, then I can be in communication with my family in Mexico all day, so then on that part, I like it a lot.)
>
> *-Sandra (mother)*

In addition to seeing family, for others like Flor and Norma, technology also provided an opportunity to connect with other people who they had not been in contact with for years through social media platforms like Facebook and WhatsApp. Even when mothers appeared to embrace technology, they still took the opportunity to remind their adolescents on how technology should be used. Flor mentioned that her guidance was cellphones are used for emergency phone calls and do not use Siri to answer all the questions. Alternatively, phone applications like Facebook should not be *"used for*

everything" suggested Lydia. Clara shared that phones should not be used to simply pass the time or *"estar ahí,"* (being there).

The more the mothers shared their opinions on technology, the more I noticed that mothers did their best to use the behaviors of their adolescents as reasons to resist technology. Some did not approve of the amount of time their adolescents spent on the phone. There was an instance in which, scolding adolescents for being pm their phones too much came back to haunt one mother. Elisabeth mentioned that at some point, her children questioned her about always being on the phone at the same time she was trying to stop them from using their phone.

> *Sí, es lo que le digo a los niños, que si están en el celular perdiendo tanto tiempo pues aprendan algo productivo para ellos, les digo: "Porque estás perdiendo tiempo nomás por estar perdiendo tiempo". Porque me dice: "Tú también estás metida en el celular", "Sí, pero estoy trabajando", le digo [risas], "Yo estoy trabajando y a mí no me dice nada mi patrón si me mira con el celular - le digo- pero estoy haciendo mi trabajo, él sabe que estoy haciendo mi trabajo…. si supiera que no estoy haciendo mi trabajo, claro que me iba a regañar y me iba a quitar el celular", le dije.* (Yes, it is what I say to the children, that if they are there with their cellphones wasting time then they need to learn something productive for them, I tell them: "Why are you wasting your time just to waste time?". Then I am told, "You too are into your cell phone.. " yes but I am working, I tell them (she laughs). "I am working and my boss will not tell me anything if I am on my cellphone because I am doing my job, he knows I am doing

my job…If he knew I was not doing my job, of course I would be in trouble and he would take away my cellphone.)

-Elisabeth (mother)

To deviate from family value systems is something that a *buen hijo(a)* does not do. Mothers see themselves as role models. *"Es que también ellos saben, a ellos se les enseñó a-- por ejemplo, ellos aquí contribuyen, trabajan, aquí se ponen con la venta, y eso es bueno,"* (It is that they also know, they have been taught to—for example, they contribute here, work, they are here in the sales, and that is good.) says Clara. Therefore, the expectation of the ALTB is clear from the beginning for the ALTB. Through the lens of the mother they have been taught values to learn now and avoid suffering in the future. To uphold the mother's value system is to honor the heritage of one's mother. As long as technology use aligns with *familismo* and *respeto*, then technology is not a problem. *El ayudar a otros* (to help other) y *el ser útil* (to be of use) is what it means to be a *buen hijo(a).*

(Inter)dependent Relationship with my ALTB

Pues más chiquitos les decía, "Ándale, por favor, y hazlo", y no pueden ellos decir: "No, mamá", porque están chicos. Pero ya cuando crecen y ya lo pueden decir, porque pueden decir, "No, yo estoy ocupado", o "no puedo "y uno ya sabe que ya están grandes. Pues ya. Pero que lo hagan con gusto. (Well, when they were younger, I would say, "Come on, please, do it," and they could not say, "No, mom" because they are young. But, when they grow up and they can say it, because they can say, "No I

am busy" or "I can't" one knows that they are older. Well yeah, But they do it with pleasure.)

-Abigail (mother)

In the above excerpt, Abigail recounted her experience in asking her children to assist her with brokering interactions. She mentions that when they were young, she was able to exercise more of an authoritarian position in her request to them. Nevertheless, as they got older, asking for assistance became more challenging as they could now talk back to her to the extent of refusing to help her. As I listened to her that afternoon, what stood out to me was how her communication had changed as her children aged.

No longer did she have to assume an authoritarian position to receive assistance. "*She did not even have to be like a general and give them orders to them."* Abigail conversed more authoritatively and was more permissive at times in her style. Unlike research that reports parents of Mexican-descent to be strict and with high expectations set for their children, the words of the mothers reflected understanding, support, and guidance, a very permissive style of parenting.

Goal Congruence: Acknowledging the Need for Support

(Inter)dependent relationships are concerned with levels of satisfactions in the dyad as well as the available alternatives (Stafford & Canary, 2006). For the mothers of the ALTBs, the relationships with the rest of English speaking U.S. and technology seem very challenging. Within English speaking situations, the mothers described these as harsh because they did not have the expertise necessary to connect and understand English. Mothers relied primarily on one or two words that they knew well to start conversations and other encounters similar in structure, were learned for future use. As

Clara shared, *"ya uno va aprendiendo, va uno aprendiendo, a conforme pasan décadas, uno va aprendiendo"* (we start learning, we learn, and as decades past, we learn). Alternatively, they are always looking for someone who speaks Spanish at every opportunity. Manuela shared, *"Siempre anda uno viendo a ver quién habla español o quién llega para que le pueda decir"* (One is always looking to see who speaks Spanish or who arrived so that one can ask). For the mother, challenges come when the English person cannot understand, does not have the patience to understand, or despite their best hope, nobody is available to assist them. Abigail shared that she feels much more confident when she takes someone with her because she cannot speak English fast enough or is not understood. *"Siempre me sentía más segura llevarme a alguien pos si no podía hablarlo rápido o si no lo entendía bien* [el inglés]." She ended by also saying *"Entonces siempre me han ayudado."* (They have always helped me).

Mothers were not resistant to learning English or to use technology. The mothers did their best to be independent but for reasons from not having time, to not being able to learn fast enough, or because technology or speaking a language was too advanced for them. Whatever the reason, they just could not do it. Flor admitted that in a certain way she felt disconnected. After a pause, she then added that she was not disconnected. She justified this disconnect with the reason that she did not grow up with this technology as her adolescent did. She just needed more learning.

However, exposure to new forms of learning is what the mothers like Flor are referencing. How can mothers like Flor get exposure to learning technology or English? Unlike their children who attend school and live in a Spanish speaking community, it would be more challenging for her to learn. Hence, the ALTB becomes useful with their

expertise on language and technology (Katz, 2014; Correa, 2014). *"Nos beneficiamos de que él nos saca de un apuro cuando queremos saber algo. Porque si no-nosotros a lo mejor bueno pues si pudiéramos,"* (We benefit that he takes us out of the bind when we need to know something. Because yes, maybe us, we could do it) says Elisa. She acknowledges that her son has the necessary knowledge and skill to make things happen quickly and efficiently. Communicative interactions are fast paced, and occur in some instances, without wiggle room to build a cultural relationship. Her son with the *"ventaja de hablar dos idioma"* (Elisa: advantage of speaking two languages) or *"porque tienen un poquito más de conocimiento por la escuela que tienen, por el estudio que están en transcurso"* (Clara: because they have alittle more knowledge because of school or because their studies that they are in) is the appropriate person to help. Again, it is not that the mothers do not want to learn, but as Norma shared, *"Pues agusto, bien, porque me pude comunicar- con esa persona a través de él, el me ayudo."* (I feel great because I was able to communicate with the other person through him, because he helped me). These words point to a positioning enacted by the mothers where personal distress of acknowledging their dependence, perspective-taking, and empathic concern for their adolescent children lead to the beginnings of (inter)dependence.

Positioning Myself and the ALTB: Moving Beyond Obligation

Each interaction generates a series of dynamic changes where developmental outcomes towards and away from the adolescent influence how they are socialized (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). Furthermore, broader social structures especially those involving culture, are contributing factors to the socialization of adolescent within their family (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). How parents make sense and endorse their value systems

through their actions assist in the development of ethnic culture for their offspring. Experiences with the host culture have impact upon how the adolescents' understand their parent's feelings. Araceli had a moment when she reacted to her daughter's assistance that this should be different. Her daughter should not have to do this for her, but somehow there appears to be no choice.

> *No, se me cierran las puertas, no [risas]. Me siento que no, no. Le digo: "No, xxxxxxx, tienes que ayudarme". Siempre ahí está xxxxxxx. Pobrecita, en todo. Bien, gracias a Dios.* (No, the doors close on me, no (laughs). I feel that no, no. Then I say, "No, xxxxxxx, you need to help me. Xxxxxxx is always there. Poor of her, in everything. Well, thank God.)
>
> *-Araceli (mother)*

"*Poor of her, in everything. Well, thank God"* are impactful words of a mother who is trying to show empathy towards her child. Mothers expressed that they had moments of personal distress because their adolescents had to assist them with brokering. In Mexican families, mothers and fathers are the leaders in the dealings of family socialization. Specifically, mothers are, through the lens of *marianismo*, expected to protect, guide, and nurture their families. Mothers and fathers are the providers and caretakers of the family, not the children. Values of *familismo, respeto, buen hijo (a),* and responsibility, guide the relationships. Somehow, the words of these mothers indicated that their sons and daughters were obliged to helping them. Mothers could not help but to feel *"Que pena con ellos..."* or "*what pity with them"* as Felipa shared when her adolescent has to take on the responsibility to connect her with others through their English skills. Along with pity, there were feelings of frustration because mothers

preferred not to call upon their adolescents for assistance, and wanted to do it on their own. Camila mentioned that there were moments that she even felt intimidated because she cannot communicate in English and she had to tell her daughter, *"Pues dile esto, o que dijo? ¿Qué contesto?"* (Well, say this, or what did they say? What did they respond?) All of these questions indicated to having become routine for her interactions with her daughter. Furthermore, Camila added that she felt bad that she was unable to communicate with the other person and indicating feeling a sense of guilt that she cannot do it herself. Then there were the mothers like Graciela who asked for help with technology and they felt antiquated or *"antigua"* when her children said she needed to learn how to use technology like her cellphone.

Mothers understood that their adolescents were their only option, and dependency within the context of brokering was high. When things got tough, especially when the adolescent appeared to not be speaking as indicated, mothers would not let their feelings get in the way. They made efforts to assist their ALTB. None of the mothers mentioned that they acted aggressively with their adolescents or assumed parenting styles that were authoritarian and demanding. On the contrary, the mothers spoke from a permissive parenting style with perspective taking and empathic concern towards their ALTB.

> *Sí, también, porque a veces ella me decía "no, es que hay palabras que no le entiendo, hay palabras que--", no me sabía decir que querían decir, entonces ella también se sentía mal y por lo mismo, pues yo también me sentía mal.* (Yes, also, because there are times when she would say to me "no, there are words that I do not understand, there are words that-, she

would not know how to say or their meaning, then she would feel bad, and at the same time, I would feel bad.)

-Camila (mother)

Though they were adolescents in their mother's eyes, these were children. The interactions required adult knowledge and expertise, and this caused internal conflict for many of the mothers. They knew and understood what their children were doing, and they were grateful for their unconditional assistance. Their adolescent child did not know the words, how to interact with others, and maybe even felt as if they were not being *good hijos(as)*. Camila's daughter likely felt this way when she could not broker properly. However, as Manuela shared, there may not be another option. *"Sí, a veces uno siente, bueno a lo mejor ella también no va a saber cómo dice transmitir esa emoción o como decir-- bueno más que esto, uno dice "Bueno todos esos problemas y ella sabiendo y todo". Pero ya no queda otra opción, yo como me decía mi mama."* (Yes, sometimes one feels, well maybe she also will not know how to transmit that emotion or how to say- Well, more than that, one says, "Well, all those problems and she has to know them, and all." But, there is no other option left, as my mother used to say.) Manuela's words are from a position of almost asking herself the question of "why does this have to be?" These adolescents are young, with minimal emotional experience, and have to listen to all these problems. Is there no other option to avoid this from happening? Araceli voiced a similar opinion. "*No, y más a su corta edad eran cosas pues que no tenía que hablar con ella, y sin embargo las hablé. Y, pero ella me ha ayudado muchísimo, muchísimo, te digo. Tanto en la familia con el trabajo, ella es la que me ha ayudado mucho."* (No, and at such a young age what I did not have to speak to her about, and nonetheless I spoke to

her, but she has helped me alot, alot, I tell you, not only in the family, with work, she is the one that has helped me so much.)

The situations faced by these mothers and their adolescent children is associated with the dialectical nature of brokering and the need for relational communication to change. Beginning with the concern of positioning the adolescent, mothers appear to find themselves in contradiction of how to communicate with their children. In this role of brokering, adolescents have to speak and have access to information that they otherwise would not have had. Mothers did not have to focus on assuming a protective stance by monitoring their relational communication. Felipa would not be preoccupied with holding off having her son broker for her and be considerate of his time.

> *Sí, de repente sí pienso: "Híjole, no va a querer porque a cada ratito lo molesto, o no van a querer, ay, no, ¿qué hago?" [risas]. Me espero, hay veces que sí me espero un buen tiempo para que me traduzcan alguna carta o algo que me haya llegado, para poderles decir: "Me tienes que decir".* (Oh, he might not want to because I am always bugging him, or they will not want to, no, what do I do? Do I wait, there are times that I do wait a good time before he translates a letter or something that I have received, so I can say, "You have to tell me.")
>
> *-Felipa (mother)*

Other mothers noticed that their adolescents were not of age, had limited knowledge and experience, but faced the tension where the adolescents felt great about helping, as mothers, they felt terrible. Their feelings of guilt needed to be hidden because as mothers they were not doing any harm to their ALTB. Sandra addressed this amidst

some nervous laughter, which indicated that she was not worried about her ALTB since she has seen younger children engage in brokering and they appeared okay.

> *Y lo he mirado en las tiendas, en las tiendas yo he mirado que niños pequeñitos traducen a su mamá, y me da un ternura-- no sé, no sé. Están chiquitos. Y lo hacen con un gusto, ellos se sienten como que saben mucho, y se sienten importantes, y mami es que ella dice, y se sienten tan grandes ellos.*
>
> *Interviewer: ¿Y usted ve eso reflejado en sus hijos cuando hacen eso también? Participant: Sí, sí sí también. A lo mejor ellos están súper bien, ellos sabrán que estoy muy mal [risa].*
>
> (I have seen it at the stores, and in the stores, I have seen young children translate for their mother, and I feel such tenderness—I don't know, I don't know. They are little. And they do it with such pleasure, they feel like they know so much, and feel important, and mommy she is saying this, and they feel so old.)
>
> *-Sandra (mother)*

Nevertheless, the *"I don't know, I don't know"* illustrates the struggle that Sandra is feeling. These words suggest that internally, the mothers are continually negotiating how their feelings about the mutuality of dependence that is evident. In a dyadic relationship like this one, where there are no alternatives or the adolescent holds greater resources than the mother, dependence and (inter)dependence are in struggle. In the brokering context, the less dependent person will provide higher outcomes and has control over the person. Adolescent children engaged in brokering develop skill to

connect their mother in interactions and hold power over the parent who becomes relatively dependent for communicating in English and connecting with technology. However, when parental hierarchy is reinstated, things change. When we consider who is providing for the child, this also changes who is in control. Disparities in power between the mother and ALTB become dramatically salient during moments of relational conflict, where levels of vulnerability are exposed (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). As mentioned previously, the mother understands that her adolescent has power or else she would not consider the ALTBs assistance as her last option. The curious part is how the mothers do not exert a forceful control over the ALTB. Mothers seek positive results, positive emotional experiences, and positive relationships through less coercion and greater congeniality (Rusbult & VanLange, 1996). Mothers aim to minimize the hard and conflictive nature of their ALTBs assistance with empathic concern for their adolescent as a way to begin to build trust with them and to move beyond responding to an obligation.

Trust: Building Confianza through Evolution of the ALTB Skills

Accurate information is most critical in situations that are unfamiliar or risky. Relationships involving individuals who feel vulnerable, as is the case of the non-English speaking mothers, the level of uncertainty about information is one of the layers that defines the mother and ALTB relationship. In the previous section, I examined mothers' engagement in a form of permissive parenting where the mother engages in high responsiveness to the adolescent's needs while providing few guidelines. However, the mothers spoke about building trust in their relationship, the evolution of the adolescent's

capabilities. This played a significant role along with upholding cultural values in how trust was constructed and maintained.

> "*Yo pienso que ahora que tiene este trabajo, ahora le ha ayudado mucho, ahora si. Como: "Sí hago las cosas bien", porque en su trabajo se requiere interpretar. Entonces dice, dice: "no, pues sí me siento bien mamá", dice, porque a veces como hay muchas palabras que yo no conozco, pero no, dice: "sí, sí". "Sí sé que me desenvuelvo", dice.* (I think that now that she is working, this now has helped her much more, yes now. Like "I do the things better" because in her job she is required to interpret. Then she says, she says, "No, well I do feel good mom.," she says because sometimes there are lots of words that I do not know, but no, she says, "yes, yes. I can develop myself,")
>
> *-Margot (mother)*

For some, like Margot, her daughter getting a job made her feel that her daughter was becoming more of a reliable source. She was now interpreting at her new job and developing her skills. The development of skills in language and interactions was valuable to the mothers because they understood that more opportunities to learn and develop new skills provided their adolescents with a potential brighter future. The presence of technology also provided their children access to much more information than they had as adolescents. This does not mean that age was not a significant element that the mothers considered. Mothers realized that their adolescents were no longer ten year olds and were able to understand Spanish phonics and their mothers' struggles. Mothers understood that their adolescents have invested a lot of effort into brokering for

them in the best way they know how. However, even if mothers were mindful of this, there were instances as Manuela mentioned that she trusted her daughter, but still was left with the sensation of uncertainty each time she brokered her, *"Could she be telling me what they said?"*

If what guides the parent ALTB relationship were mutual understandings of responsibility, *respeto*, and being *buenos hijos,* why would Manuela's daughter not be brokering correctly or with precision? Rising levels of trust meant mothers saw their adolescents placing family values into action. Rosa mentioned, *"Entonces yo sé que de alguna manera lo que le dice uno les queda un poquito en la cabeza."* (Then I know that somehow that what we tell them a little remains in their heads.) Isidora also mentioned that she has to trust her parenting to raise her son through good advice—"*Sí, pero tengo que confiar en ellos porque yo les he dado una buena educación, no los he descuidado. les he dado buenos consejos."* (Yes, I have to trust them because I have given them a good education, and have not uncared for them. I have given them good consejos.) Good advice is granted by the mothers to guide their children to be mindful to embracing their heritage values. Araceli would remind her daughter not to lie to her or else she would let her teacher know as if the respect towards elders was going to persuade her daughter not lie.

Helping others, being buenos hijos (as) was an expectation. Rosa mentioned that she expected her son to behave towards others in accordance to how she raised him. *"Cuando ocupo cosas. Pero no, yo les doy las gracias de todo, o sea aparte de eso, por ser mis hijos, por ser como son en la escuela, son buenos, y uno tiene confianza de como los ha criado a que van a hacer lo correcto."* (When I need things. But no, I say thanks

to them for everything, and aside from this, for being my sons, for being how they are in school, they are good, and I have trust in how I have raised them and how they will do the right thing.) These comments reflect the expectation to give help without any reservations. For the mother, you may have all those skills, but to be respectful to the needs of others and provide assistance is a reflection of your mother. Moreover, this is what confianza or trust should mean to the ALTB.

Power Dynamics: Mother's Consejos vs. ALTBs Knowledge and Expertise

Mothers trust their parenting style. They trust in their *consejos* coming across correctly and that they, in turn, are understood by the ALTB. Nevertheless, the adolescent can say the same each time he or she hopes that their mother learns the English words introduced to her or learns to use a phone to text. *Consejos* (mother's experience) and brokering skills (teachings from books) are not mutually exclusive. Meaning that tit might not be proper to compare them both as a source of power. But if we think about mutuality of dependence and how two people are mutually dependent upon one another because of the possibility of powerful and attractive outcomes from either side, then the relationship will rest on exchanges based on reciprocal norms to achieve the goal and the outcomes desired.

Let me begin with how the parent positioned herself. Mothers enact a parental style that is authoritative but, at times, permissive. But, giving *consejos* distinguishes how they negotiate the dialectical relationship with their ALTB. Mothers rely on giving *consejos* as proof of their knowledge and experience to guide and when necessary, to impose their expectations. Values are significant frameworks that keep the family in line. Upholding heritage values through *haciendo las cosas bien* (doing things right), *portarse*

bien (behaving good), and *no hagas lo que todo el mundo hace* (don't do what the rest of the world does) not only increased the trust in the relationship when followed but is also the foundation to give them more responsibility. Mothers wanted their adolescent to understand that if they assisted their mothers, they would always be there for them with support and guidance. If you do what you are told, you are being respectful to your mother.

The intergenerational transmission of values through consejos is an opportunity to maintain pride in one's heritage. This is a difficult conversation to have with ALTBs because they are intermediating between two cultures. Nevertheless, mothers did not resist in sharing their thoughts on their heritage pride. Camila made sure that her daughter knew that she needed to have pride in her background. She said that even though they [her daughters] were born here in the U.S. and they say they are Americans, they are to view themselves as 100% Latinas. She continued to state that because she is Mexican and their dad is Mexican, that they too are Mexican.

> *Pues, de hecho, yo les digo a ellas: ¿Es que ustedes dicen: 'Yo soy americana'?. les digo: "pero ustedes son 100% o 99% son latinas. Ustedes nada más porque nacieron aquí, pero de hecho pues ustedes son latinas. Nosotros les hemos inculcado nuestras raíces; claro, que en la escuela ustedes pues tienen todo el conocimiento de aquí, de América, pero son ustedes 100% latinas. Ustedes todos los días no están comiendo comida americana, están comiendo la comida que nosotros hacemos"; entonces les digo: "pues ustedes son más— 100% latinas", porque su papá es*

latino, o sea, su papá es también mexicano, entonces les digo: "usted es mexicano por tu papá y mexicano por tu mamá"

(Well, in fact, I tell them: You guys say: I am American? I tell them: "But you are 100% Latinas or 99% are Latinas. Just only because you were born here, but in fact you are Latinas. We have raised you without roots; of course, in school you have all the knowledge of here, of America, but you are 100% Latinas. Every day you are not eating American food, you are eating the food that we make." Then I tell them: "But you are more-100% Latinas, because your dad is Latino, in other words, your dad is also Mexican." Then I tell them: "You are Mexican because your dad and Mexican for your mom.")

-Camila (mother)

Camila exposes the dialectical tension that envelopes the ALTB experience—heritage values and American values. Camila's words mean that pride in your heritage is because of your parents, and not necessarily for any other reason. There is more to this sentiment than an (inter)dependent relationship. The ALTB is expected to accept their mother's viewpoint. In this message, the basis of dependence gets shifted as the mother does not recognize the help she receives from her adolescent to connect to the English speaking community. This omission right away places the son or daughter in a disempowered position, as they have to make a decision to align with either American culture or Mexican culture. To add to this tension, Elisabeth expressed the opinion that adolescents in the U.S. view their relationships with their parents as equal, which is different than her parents in Mexico. The ALTB is continuously struggling with

discourses that guide the cultural interactions, as mothers appear to make their heritage values a priority.

> *Se sienten con lo mismo derechos de aquí de los papás. Porque uno allá en México se veía más baja que el papá, porque el papá es el que manda casa, mamá es la manda en casa, y si tú contestas feo a tu mamá y a tu papá, ya sabes lo que te espera. Y aquí no, aquí se igualan al papá y a la mamá.* (They feel with the same rights here like those of the parents. Because in Mexico we would see ourselves lower than the father, because the father is who orders in the house, the mom is who order in the house, and if you were to respond bad to your mom and your dad, you would know what to expect. And here no, here everything is equal to the dad and the mom.)
>
> *-Elisabeth (mother)*

These different forms of rights are powerful and reveals the power struggle that mothers perceive in the ALTB experience. On the one hand, heritage values instilled by mothers help ALTBs remain connected to their mothers and the rest of their Latino community. It provides a starting point for ALTBs to build culture relationships that permit mothers to retain their power. Adolescents gain knowledge from education and cultural experiences outside the boundaries of family and ventures into the American culture. Mothers have no other option than to follow her adolescent child, in order to obtain resources. Unable to speak English or access technology, her adolescent child becomes the ALTB. The stakes are high without English. People have to go to the doctor, and there only interpreter machines that speaks formal Spanish with no emotion. The

mother's consejos become words of encouragement to convince her adolescent to broker. *"You can find a better job if you practice"*, says Elisa. *"Eres buena interprete..."* says Manuela. And slowly, the adolescent becomes a teacher and a problem solver with their expertise because they do not want to lose their trust and their relationship with their mother.

Expertise

Let us turn our attention to the last dimension, expertise, and how the ALTB utilizes the (inter)dependent cultural values and relationship to create the necessary expertise to maintain cultural relationships. I highlighted the perspective of the mothers of ALTBs and the dimensions of cultural (inter)dependent values and the (inter)dependent relationship found within the ALTB experience. Furthermore, mothers of ALTBs shared that goal congruence of receiving support, building trust, perspective-taking in their parenting style, and a constant negotiating of values with their adolescents that can lead to (inter)dependent relationships. Amidst the tensions of power, adolescents' expertise is at the core of this (inter)dependent relationship. According to their mothers, ALTBs' expertise is driven and sustained by adhering to family cultural values and their multilingual skill. There are four types of expertise: cultural, cultural interactions, multilingualism, and relational maintenance. Let us turn to the first type, cultural expertise that consists of upholding the values of community and responsibility.

Cultural Expertise: ALTB Exercising Values of Community and Responsibility

The cultural relationship of the mother and ALTB becomes cultural when the mothers expect their adolescent to have an understanding of the family cultural values and to adhere to these in an honoring way. This means that ALTBs need to embody

private codes, systems of rules for interactions, and cultural understandings of their heritage not just as a means of survival, but to maintain relationships with their mothers. For example, if the adolescent is going to say that they also know best in comparison to their mother, the adolescent needs to utilize a "let's learn together" approach instead of just taking control over the mother. This is exemplified when Abigail identified brokering as an opportunity to build the relationship: *"Esta es otra manera de que tenemos que aprender entre los dos,"* (This is another way that we have to learn between the two of us.) To approach it in another way on the part of the adolescent would be too risky as it is disrespectful to challenge authority. Lidia affirms her position, *"Cuando yo digo algo es porque eso así, se tiene que hacer."* Mothers assert their authoritarian parenting with no consideration given to the viewpoint of the adolescent. Furthermore, American values are known to exist, but are not be a part of the expertise necessary to build cultural relationships with the mother. If they were to serve a function, it is to remind the adolescents that they are Latino(a), but not guide them through interactions.

Value of community

The value of community aligns with the value of familism as it expands its definition from bloodline relatives to society. ALTBs are raised with the value of community and to help others, regardless of who the other is. Many of the women spoke about their children with pride as they said that their ALTBs loved to help others. Felipa's son is working part time for a non-profit to help young people after school. Margot's daughter works in a clinic that provides services for young teen mothers. Flor was another mother who had a strong sentiment for helping others and she expected the

same of her ALTB. She shared with me that she teaches her daughter to always notice the needs of the other, even if the situation appears unpleasant to them, they need to help.

> *Siento que uno trata de enseñarlos a ayudar a las personas y a que no pierdan eso también, porque ellos van a ayudar a quien sea, ya sea de cualquier cultura, yo siempre les he inculcado que no tiene que haber diferencias de nada, ellos tienen que ayudar parejo; y siento que no se pierde eso.* (I feel that one tries to teach them to help other people and to not lose it, because they need to help whomever, that is from whatever culture, I have always inculcated in them that there are no differences in anyone, they need to equally help. I fell that this will not get lost.)
>
> *-Flor (mother)*

There is an expectation for adolescents to help unconditionally. Clara said, *"Ellos nos ayudan, yo los ayudo, y viceversa."* (They help us, I help them, and vice versa.) This is achieved by keeping lines of communication open to help with any problems. Sara explained that all her children understood this and if any one deviated from this value, then they really needed to think about how their actions may have consequences. Mothers like Lidia expected their children to connect the value of community to their future and helping someone homeless, in poverty, or simply looking for assistance in understanding English, which may bring good rewards for them in the future.*"Si tú te cohíbes de ayudar a la gente, entonces nunca vas a salir adelante; en cambio tú los ayudas y todo el tiempo te van a estar abriendo más puertas, porque tú estás ayudando a la gente que no sabe".* (If you abstain from helping people, then you will never move forward; on the contrary if

you help, all the time the door will open, because you are helping the people who do not know). In other words, treat others, as you would like to be treated.

In the end, cultural expertise was about upholding and understanding one's family values and disconnecting to the American value system. In addition, the ALTB needed to be mindful of personal hardships or even the advancements of technology affect how families communicate and understand each other. The value of community always prevails, and the mothers believe that it is everyone's responsibility to interact with this in mind.

Cultural Interactions and Multilingualism: Being on Two Sides, but With Help

Porque tienen esa capacidad de estar doblemente en todos lados.

(Because she has the capability to be doubly in all sides.)

-Abigail (mother)

Abigail acknowledges her daughter's ability to be on both sides of English and Spanish speaking interactions and research indicates that a level of expertise or capacity is needed (Berry, 1997; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Mothers understood this expertise as being intertwined. Interactions and multilingualism, went hand in hand, and were driven primarily by being proficient in Spanish, English, and technology. In addition to this finding, mothers spoke about the ALTBs expertise using emotionally descriptive words, like their adolescent not being afraid of people (*no tiene miedo*), or not being shy *(no tiene vergüenza*), and with an ability to pay attention and engaged (*es hábil en poner atención*).

Cultural interactions require individuals involved to have a clear understanding of the language and the cultural practices being used, but the mothers spoke from a

marianismo standpoint of protection and nurturing. In describing the adolescents' maneuvering their interactions, mothers reflected on two things—language is challenging, and their sons or daughters needed assistance when engaging in brokering situations. *"El español se oye como tú lo escribes, no como el inglés, pues lo escribes de una manera y lo pronuncias de otro,"* (Spanish sounds like how you write it, not like English, where you write it one way and pronounce it another) said Lidia. She noted forgetting one letter, in an English word it is spelled wrong. She found that unlike Spanish, there was no way to correct it in English. It sounded as though she was telling her ALTB, "be careful as you cannot erase your words." On the other hand, Camila noted that the vocabulary required in translating was much more advanced in certain brokering interactions. This was challenging to interpret sometimes because she just did not yet have the vocabulary.

Mothers did not mention about expertise in terms of the nuances of actual interactions and the back and forth of communication and its rules of conversation needed to engage the English speaker. Mothers focused on being there to assist their adolescents. Maybe this desire to help was motivated by their own experiences of disconnection or just sincerely wanting to help or to enact their responsibility as mothers to help their children be the best they can be.

There were instances when the adolescents acknowledged their lack of skill and had to request their mother's help to explain what the English speaker was saying. This happened more often than not. For many of the mothers, it felt great when they were requested to help because it as an opportunity to nurture and teach their children. Rosa mentioned that she likes helping her son out because she thinks that she is helping him

learn both languages and he can feel more confident. *"Pero sí, o sea de los dos, tratamos de darle los dos. Así para que el también, se trate de-- aprender más y sentirse con más seguridad."* (But yes, both of them, try to do it in both. That way he can, he can try-learn more and feel much more confident.) There were other instances when neither the mother nor the ALTB child knew the words and they asked the English speaker to clarify or use other words that might be easier for the ALTBs to share with their moms. These instances displayed (inter)dependent relationship building moments because both mother and ALTB exposed high levels of vulnerability. The mothers believed support and care helped their ALTBs feel comfortable and unafraid.

Indeed, speaking English requires practice and technology use needs preparation with practice comes proficiency.

> *Ellos ya están más prácticos para eso yo pienso. Como les gusta navegar andan buscando, ellos tienen más conocimiento de estas redes sociales y todo esto de la navegación, las aplicaciones, ellos conocen más. Entonces como las practican más, ya saben, están sabiendo más. Y uno como pues no practica uno, pues se va uno quedando así. Pero sí, en sí no es tan difícil, es solo cosa de practicar y preguntar dónde está esto, cómo se hace esto, cómo le hago, porque muchas de las veces ve que los websites tienen tanta cosa ahí, si no le pones un punto o una letra, un número no agarra.* (They have lots of practice I think. Like they like to navigate, they are looking, they have more knowledge about these social networks and all this navigating. The applications, they know them more. Then because they practice more, they know, they are knowing more. And we like we

don't practice, well we are staying like this. But yes, in itself it is hard, but it is a matter of practicing and asking where is this, how do you do this, how do it, because many times there are so many things on the website there, if you don't put a period here or a letter, a number it won't work.)

-*Clara (mother)*

"It is not that difficult," suggests Clara, and then ends that same sentence by saying, *"If you miss a period or number, it won't work."* This conflictive statement speaks to the similarities of technology brokering to language brokering as both require extensive knowledge to navigate and effectively connect. For instance, more technical language may be needed to talk to the doctor and knowing how to navigate online is needed to get information. Therefore, practice is essential for the accumulation of expertise and knowledge.

In the end, it appears amongst mothers that brokering interactions requires expertise. However, they could not define expertise, aside from the emotional descriptors of fear, shyness, and paying attention out of fear of missing something. The mothers think they know what their ALTB are doing but beyond speaking a language or typing some words on the computer, the cultural values of other groups are not acknowledged. Mothers do not consider the necessity of cultural expertise during brokering interactions. If they are, it is only in connection to the family's heritage. At times, the ALTBs is as inexperienced as their mothers and she is the only support available. Flor describes this process in her account about helping her daughter with homework.

Una palabra que no sabía, porque a veces con una palabra y ya no sabía qué seguía todo lo demás, entonces descifraba esa palabra y ya me daba

cuenta de qué exactamente estaba, y yo le decía en español lo que quería decir para que ella lo pudiera entender. (One word that was not known, because sometimes one word and then she did not know what followed, then she tried to decipher the word, and I would notice what it was, and I would tell her in Spanish what it meant so she could understand it.)

-Flor (mother)

Relational Maintenance: Building ALTBs with Self-Efficacy

Ese sentido de poder manejar los dos idiomas… porque habla muy bien el español y puede traducir el inglés a pesar de su corta edad.

(That sense of power of managing two languages…because he speak Spanish very good, and he can interpret English at such a young age.)

-Felipa (mother)

Felipa's words capture the sentiment that the mothers have toward the experience of their ALTB children. They understand that the power that they possess is great. Relational maintenance addresses sustaining the existing ALTB and mother relationship and its contribution to the future of the ALTB. Researchers have identified a variety of communicative behaviors that contribute to relationship maintenance. They include positivity (behaving cheerfully and optimistically), openness (talking about the relationship and disclosing needs), assurances (emphasizing commitment and continuation of the relationship), networks (spending time with common friends and relatives), and sharing tasks (performing tasks such as household chores) (Canary & Stafford, 1992). Moreover, research indicates that the beliefs that parents and children

hold about their capacity to meet reciprocal obligations are critical to the family's smooth functioning and relational quality (Stafford & Canary, 2006). In turn, these beliefs transform the longer that children live with their parents, and the more their freedoms expand and they experience the world. Thus, adolescents and their parents need to continuously revisit their ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving not only to fit the different demands, role changes, and personal expectations encountered, but also to influence their relational futures.

The many adult like experiences the ALTB encounters assist in the development of self-efficacy. ALTBs develop a sense of personal empowerment and motivation to learn English to help their parents adapt to life in the United States. Relational maintenance in the form of creating shared meanings bring stability to a continuously changing relationship is vital for stability and well-being. Adolescent took care of their relationships by looking towards their future and aligning their values with their mother's. Through open communication, clarity, and rule consistency, adolescents were encouraged to engage in the process of *"desenvolver"* or self-development to unleash their potential (Ardelt & Eccles, 2001). Through the ALTB experience, mothers provide their children with opportunities to fulfill their values, mature, and build trust with them.

Commitment to protect the mother

It would seem that emotional strategies that have to do with open communication and emotional expressiveness are the most potent maintenance strategies (Stafford & Canary, 1991). However, within the ALTB experience, minding one's mother and protecting her are motivational factor that reinforces a shared perspective guided by the value of *respeto* and *familismo*. Consistent with arguments that everyday talk and

behaviors fundamentally constitutes relationships, mothers agreed being assisted by their adolescents created moments of feeling cared for. Araceli felt trust, confidence, and security when her daughter was with her. In other words, she felt protected and saved as she highlighted the value of *buen hijo(a).*

> *"Pero no, ha dicho que no, y siempre hemos estado juntas, y es bonito porque como que te sientes tú también en confianza, segura donde vas, adonde estás y qué no entiendes, y es tu salvación."* (But, she has not said no, and we have always been together. And that is nice because one feels confident, secure wherever you go, wherever you are and they don't understand, and she is salvation.)
>
> *-Araceli (mother)*

Araceli's experience also suggests the adolescent contributes more to the mother beyond just hanging out with them or speaking for them. These adolescents include their mothers with themselves and the use of *"siempre hemos estado juntas"* by Araceli reflects this relational connection. Adolescents do not conform only to their own needs, but their mother's needs. They understand the history of those needs. They understand the emotions in connection with those needs. These actions towards their mother reflect community by making their mother's resources, perspectives, and identities as his or her own (i.e. my mother's heritage, my mother's struggles with English). The inclusion of self leads the adolescent to shape their communication responses in ways that will leave a positive impact on the mother. Norma shared with me how she has noticed in past experiences that people ridicule her when she does not say things properly in English, and this is always a source of tension for her when she is out and about. When her son is

around her, and she makes efforts to speak English, he never ridicules her in such a way. On the contrary, he is more willing to help her and provide guidance when she needs it.

Emotional maturity from protecting

Mothers consider ALTBs to be engaging in a form of maturity viewed as a familial obligation that entails the responsibility to provide support to one's mother. Furthermore, the emotional experience of engaging in language brokering is variable. Children and adolescents can see language brokering as a positive experience because they are trusted and placed into a position of responsibility, while others may see it as a negative experience full of challenges and frustration (Halgunseth, 2003; Umaña-Taylor, 2003). Adolescents are asked to learn new vocabulary and literacy skills to serve as a language broker and at the same time may hone their native language skills as well (Orellana et al., 2003). In contrast, negative experiences, as Norma mentioned, may lead to negative attitudes toward the minority language and culture and impact their self-perception (Tse, 1995).

Given the variations of feelings towards brokering, ALTBs' mothers perceived the development of maturity during brokering interactions. There was a common understanding that many of the interactions positioned adolescents to act as adults. They were listening to problems and information considered well beyond their years and the expectation of achieving connectivity goals could be taxing. Many of them exhibited maturity by asking for help when needed, even though it meant recognizing a deficiency in skill. ALTBs developed high levels of confidence in their communication skills with others while also being mindful to the needs of all parties involved. They gracefully made efforts to understand their mothers, as they felt uncertain and anxious about not being

able to do things on their own. Mothers recognized the integrity of their adolescents when they acknowledged their mistakes. Sandra noticed that the recognition of error was a quality her son had developed during moments of brokering. She added, *"Allí es fuerte para ellos, y pare mi incómodo."* (It is tough for them there and uncomfortable for me). However, this vulnerability expanded to the mother, who when leading by example, allowed her adolescent to view her in a vulnerable state.

> *Porque yo pienso que como me ha ayudado mucho, el mayor también me ayuda mucho, yo pienso que tienen el mismo derecho de decirme: "Oye mamá, estás mal o estás bien, o vas a hacer esto, no lo hagas".*
>
> *-Elisabeth (mother)*

This vulnerability, led Elisabeth to realize that he has earned the right to let her know when she is incorrect herself. This is how open and trusting these relationships have become.

Building trust through openness

Language and technology brokering and the shifting dynamics within the family contribute to how the ALTB feels about his or her own self-worth (Weisskirch, 2007). The self-worth affects the relational quality and the motivation to maintain relationships. Relationship maintenance in the parent-child relationship is not in reference to maintaining the existence of a relationship. In the context of this research, maintaining a relation includes the degree of closeness, commitment, and trust within the relationship.

Clara felt that to increase trust, she needed to be open to ALTB's suggestions and not shy away from speaking about different things. There is already trust in the parent-adolescent relationship. "*En sí, abiertos a lo que ellos sugieren es por lo mismo, por la*

confianza que se tiene uno, la confianza entre hijos y padres, para que se logre el objetivo." Examples of topics include bills, future plans, and strategies to reach goals.

As a parent who does not speak English, Yolanda accepts that she has to self-disclose to have her daughter broker for her. She recognizes that her daughter needs information that she might not otherwise share with her child in order to assist. *"Pienso como que tal vez -no sé si estoy interpretando las cosas bien-, pero como que ella dice en su mente: "Yo sé lo que necesita mi mamá y lo que necesita saber."* (I think maybe- I don't know if I am interpreting things correctly, but it seems like she mentally says to herself, "I know what my mom needs and I know what she needs to know.)

Summary Part Two: Mexican-Origin Non-English Speaking Mother Perspective-

Dimensions of Cultural Intermediation of the ALTB Experience

ALTBs' mothers perceive their experience is driven by the heritage values of their families-*familismo*, *respeto*, *buen hijo (a), caballerismo, marianismo, comunidad, responsabilidad*. This experience is structured to fit the needs of the adolescent because the parents are guiding their child to be self-efficacious in the future. The mothers understand the influence of the American value system in their adolescent's life. The conflict between these competing values and cultures adds to the conflictive nature of the ALTB experience. The mothers did not speak about their adolescents as being bilingual, but instead highlighted the language skills and capabilities in connection to their (inter)dependent relationship cultivating a cultural relationships. The cultural expertise of the ALTB resides upon the embodiment of heritage values and not in combination with American values. (Inter)dependence comes as a formal alignment on behalf of the ALTB

with the heritage values of the mother. The intention to rely on and build one's strength upon heritage values was not the mother's intentional act but instead focused on how their adolescents could get a better job in the future as an interpreter or work in the court system because of their high skills. Mothers were proud at the fact that their adolescents are capable because of their dedication to learning and the ALTBs determination to find ways to keep the heritage values as their guiding force. ALTBs learn to be proactive, to self-regulate, to have confidence (even in the most challenging of moments), to seek help when needed, to be open, to mature, and to have agency. They are able to learn this because their mothers nurture and guide their path. These qualities are built through a cultural (inter)dependent relationship that has its sights on creating commitments and not just cultural schemata.

Part Three: Cultural Relationship of ALTB and Mexican-Origin Non-English Speaking Mother in Tension

I don't know, it's just super crazy to me that there's different languages and that I can do both. Although sometimes it's really difficult, again, because you can't find a word or you're thinking in English and in Spanish it's totally backward, and it's like ahhh. But the fact that you can challenge yourself that way mentally and still be able to communicate with somebody, I think it's just a good feeling.

-Maria (ALTB)

During adolescence, an integral part of the development phases is the development of autonomy and relatedness. Young people must establish and maintain both a sense of self as an individual and its connection to significant others (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986). With these changes in autonomy come changes in parenting styles from parents. The more freedom and independence, the more the pattern of a traditional parenting authority needs to transform to accommodate for a relational equality. Although the process is likely to result in increased conflict, at least in the early adolescence, most adolescents maintain a harmonious relationship with their parents (Socha & Yingling, 2010).

Ethnicity is a component of influence during the period of adolescence they connect to family through their systems of value. Ethnic minority families in this research are families who emphasize (inter)dependence, harmonious relationships, obedience to parents, and respect for elders (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). In comparison to

American families who are more individualistic in their cultural orientation, Mexican-origin families are more collectivist, with an emphasis on values beneficial to the overall group. In the previous sections, when the mothers speak about their ALTBs experiences and their parenting style, strong influence of cultural values upon the interactions undertaken by the ALTB is evident. Adolescents in these families adhere to values of family (inter)dependence where autonomy may be restrained, leading to a cultivation of relationships with parents that reflect a greater closeness, deference, and commitment.

Along with ethnicity, individuals come to understand their cultural heritage and the culture of others during dialogic moments. Dialogic moments are opportunities to construct new cultural meanings from different discourses found in our interactions (Suter & Norwood, 2017). Carbaugh (2006) suggests that culture needs to be viewed as socially constructed through communication practices enacted in cultural moments, as it is in these moments where opportunities arise to build cultural schemata. Cultural relationships that are considerate of the cultural values of others help individuals who encounter difference, to learn about these differences and similarities (Teilanyo, 2015). These relationships teach the nuances of culture found within each group. Cultural values serve as a guide for action and create consistency and patterns of behaviors that lead to regularity in relationships. However, cultural values can also be a source of tension when they inhibit and constrain relationships, transforming them into obligation or an expectation.

In part three, I will discuss the findings in answer to RQ3: What are the factors affecting the power relationship that are negotiated by the Adolescent

Language/Technology Brokers (ALTBs) and their Mexican-origin non-English speaking mothers? Findings point to a cultural relationship of tension due to an accumulation of expertise by the adolescent in the areas of language and culture. The ALTBs and their mothers are continually dealing with a dialectical relationship of power that on the one hand, is guided solidly by traditional values of *familismo*, *respeto*, *buen hijo (a), marianismo, and caballerismo*. On the other, ALTBs and their mothers are dealing with a relationship of (inter)dependence that involves knowledge, skills, and power. This section showcases the factors that shape power in this relationship.

Expertise: When I Have More Skills and Knowledge than My Mother

Sí es un experto para traducir.

-Felipa (mother)

Parents like Felipa acknowledge the level of expertise their adolescents children have. And as we sat on the porch one Saturday morning, she added, *"Ya no estoy tan cerrada"* (I am not that closed) as if she was trying to add that she was doing her best to be open to learning English.

> *Sí es un experto para traducir. Ese sentido de poder manejar los dos idiomas, pienso que sí, y lo mismo le estoy haciendo a él. Hay veces que-- ya ahorita, le digo, ya no estoy tan cerrada, pero sí hay cosas que entiendo bien, pero de todas maneras le digo a él: "¿Qué dijo?", y ya él me dice, porque habla muy bien el español y puede traducir el inglés a pesar de su corta edad.* (Yes, he is an expert in interpreting. That sense of power in managing two languages I think yes, and the same I am doing to him. There are times that—like now, I tell him, I am not so closed, but

there are some things that I understand well, but nonetheless I tell him: "what did they say?" and then he tells me, because he speak very good Spanish and can interpret English even at his young age.)

-Felipa (mother)

When I (re)read the transcript, I noticed how her words shifted from saying something positive about her adolescent, then something in regards to her efforts in English, and then something positive again about the adolescent. The mother's words spoke of a struggle that was in connection to*, "he can do it, I can too, but let me go ahead and have him help*." Felipa is not taking advantage, but truly recognizing his capabilities in comparison to her own.

For (im)migrant families, the family system is in constant tension. The elements of the new culture, at times, are very different from those in the country of heritage, and this may cause challenges in adapting. Other times families may feel both included and then excluded by the host community and may marginalize themselves (Berry, 1997). How families deal with these tensions are in connection with the supportive cultural relationships built within of the home (Baxter, 1987). For (im)migrant families who have made the United States their home, accessibility to information poses unique challenges to the adaptation process and the degree of integration. Thus, as a result of their expertise in language and technology, children of (im)migrant families are forced at times to be in relatively powerful positions. Thus, children affect the whole family structure and how relationships are understood (Weisskirch, 2013).

Indeed, family is a community of practice and a social unit that has its norms for speaking, acting, and believing. Hence, family provides a focus on praxis and becomes

the cornerstone for language socialization. Due to the kinds of expertise employed to communicate, the brokering activities adolescents engage in are inherently (inter)dependent. Additionally, the cultural knowledge is necessary to understand the meanings of some interactions. Even during moments when ALTBs take cues from past experiences and act on their own volition, they act in service to their families and with parental guidance. More often, their actions are in response to an explicit or implicit request of their mothers who provides some direction. Whether their mother's English skills are basic or non-existent in comparison to the ALTB's skills, or if the ALTB is deficient in their vocabulary, the actions taken speak about a communal relationship where learning and growth are cultivated during moments of tension. It is challenging to picture language and cultural expertise being the source of tension in this relationship. The (re)structuring of relationships reveals differing levels of language expertise and cause stress for families.

Levels of Language Expertise in Adolescents and their Mothers

Language can be defined as the system of communication comprising of codes and symbols which are used by humans to store, retrieve, organize, structure and communicate knowledge and experience (Kim, 2003). Language is not a static process. It is the primary instrument in the expression, transmission, and adaptation of culture. Language is used to maintain one's own culture and to acquire a new culture and new knowledge.

Not Enough Time vs Enough Time to Become a Language Expert

The learning of a second or foreign language enables one to view life through another cultural lens. On this note, mothers described their lack of expertise was due to

not having exposure to technology, and various interactions to learn English as their adolescents have. They also noted that because of their limited time, it was almost impossible for them to try to learn English. Unlike their adolescents who speak English in schools and at home, their opportunities were limited. They had things to do and families to care for. When opportunities surfaced, they did their best to overcome the language barrier. Mothers avoided being alone in public and always made efforts to have their adolescent children with them to provide necessary assistance. When I asked mothers if they saw this as an opportunity to learn, Yolanda mentioned that she was too old and she was unable to learn.

When mothers spoke about their adolescents, they highlighted the *esfuerzo* (effort), the practice, the studying, and the overall talent to execute language. In comparison to their own lack of time, mothers understood their children's investments of time to build their language skills. Mothers realized it takes talent and skills to speak to learn the rules of language and to know how to maneuver language and technology practices. Abigail spoke about this very descriptively.

> *Pues sobresaltar esos aspectos como talentos, pues más antes que si hablaban español hasta los castigaban. Entonces sobre todo ahora es como una habilidad más, igual la tecnología, que te la pasas en el teléfono o así. Por ejemplo, que están trabajando o están haciendo algo, no lo había tomado en cuenta como un tercer lenguaje, porque si el science language es así, y es un lenguaje, yo creo que este también podría, porque para mí no es tan fácil acceder a estas cosas, ¿dónde me pongo?, ¿dónde le hago? Y ellos sí lo saben.* (So let's highlight those aspects like

talents, before when Spanish as spoken people were punished. Then today it is now like another skill, technology in the same way. That you are the phone. For example, I had not thought of it as a second language because it's like science language, it's a language and I think that it is easy for them to access those things, where do I place myself? How do I do this? And they know it.)

-Abigail (mother)

Language Expertise as Normal Action

When adolescents talked about their multilingualism, it was treated more as a normalized task and unsurprising. Unlike their mothers who viewed them as experts or talented, they spoke about brokering as just another they did. *"For me, it's really nothing. People are surprised sometimes, but I feel like it's nothing since I grew up speaking both. And I'm just able to talk to people who speak Spanish and English," said Lydia.* Jose felt the same way as he shared, *"Like a piece of cake. Just do it."* There is no acknowledgement of time being invested. Adolescents did not mention, in this instance, that it was hard or caused pressure or even that it required extensive learning to broker. It was a piece of cake for them. When I (re)read the transcript, Jose's words of *"Just do it"* sounded more like an order, than the words describing the easiness of a process.

Parents like Araceli view their adolescent's interactions as acts of salvation, which can explain why the parents see brokering as valuable. Without their expertise and the time invested, ALTBs are not be able to save the world through their brokering. But when I asked Andres, *"You save the day here at your house through speaking Spanish and English?"* He replied, *"I guess, it doesn't really feel like that anymore because I*

speak Spanish to my mom all of the time. But I guess, yeah." The fact that ALTBs speak English and Spanish and use technology all the time transforms this activity into one of ordinariness. The phrase *'all of the time'* means it never stops or has no ending point. There is probably a starting point involved, but because ALTBs are constantly helping, it may seem as if there is no ending to this help. Mothers may only be thinking and speaking out of their positioning as monolinguals, but their adolescents are thinking in English, Spanish, and through technology, a mixture of languages all the time. This can result in adolescents feeling that they are always brokering. This may contribute to feelings of disliking brokering because there are no boundaries between languages being used in particular interactions and when brokering stops. The development of language and culture becomes a non-stop activity, where the ALTB is working in every interaction accumulating cultural information.

The Expectation that You Always Need to be Multilingual.

There is an implicit tension created when parents expect their adolescents to have a deep understanding of culture and language skills. In other words, mothers expect their adolescents to save the day in both English and in Spanish because ALTBs should have the knowledge because of the constant practice. Abigail spoke about the tension with her ALTB child resulting from the differences in expertise and her disconnected feelings. *"Ellos ya están más prácticos para eso yo pienso. Como les gusta navegar andan buscando, ellos tienen más conocimiento de estas redes sociales y todo esto de la navegación, las aplicaciones, ellos conocen más. Entonces como las practican más, ya saben, están sabiendo más. Y uno como pues no practica uno, pues se va uno quedando así."* (They have more practice for that I think. Like they like navigating they are

searching, they have much more knowledge of social media and all that navigation, the apps, they know more. Then because they practice more, they know, and are knowing more. And we since we don't practice, well we are staying like this.)

-Abigail (mother)

There are a couple of points made. First, the words practice, navigate, searching, knowledge are used by Abigail identify the skills that she considers necessary to be a proficient technolinguistic broker. Adolescent did not apply these terms when they spoke of themselves, but they did use these terms when speaking of their mothers' lack of expertise. These words are aimed to describe and elevate the contribution of the ALTB, but also reveal the insecurities of the mothers. These words make their lack of skill real and points to a possibly deficient mother. Mothers can begin to feel as if they are taking advantage of their adolescents because they are not fulfilling their maternal responsibilities.

The second point is in connection to feeling disempowered and disconnected due to the adolescent's ability to use technology. The fact that Clara mentioned, *"Pues vas quedando así"* (well you stay like this), speaks to the standstill mothers experience. No movement, you remain there, almost as if you are left behind because you cannot use technology. That could be the case that one can be left behind, especially with the presence of more advanced forms of technology. However, if the adolescent is moving on without her, this is a problem for the mother. A moving on and leaving behind is a source of tension for the mother. Since their childhoods, mothers have instilled the value of family in their adolescents. In this study, mothers expressed that in order for their children to be connected to her, they also need to be connected to her values. If you

disconnect from your mother by allowing your interactions to be taken over by technology, the values of *familismo* and *buen hijo(a)* will suffer. Mothers are aware of the power of technology and resist technology based on their experiences of how family communication can change if a mother's *consejos* are not followed.

Back and Forth of Talk to Reach Understanding

Language expertise, from the ALTBs view, entails a full grasp of all languages and their cultural rules of usage. Adolescents spoke about the various areas they brokered for their mothers. All of these places offered opportunities to develop more skills for clarity and precision in vocabulary and understanding the rules of conversations. On the other hand, mothers expressed that they understood some of the rules of language and were sometimes able to follow the translations. But there were moments when the complexity of the conversation by the English speaker, lost some of the mothers and their adolescents. These moments required mother and their ALTB to have a sidebar conversation engaging in a back and forth exchange of expertise.

Trying to find a common word or understand the conversation in English and Spanish presented the need to connect and understand one another through communicative practices (listening, miming, vivid language use) that would help in reaching an understanding. Throughout the interviews, both the adolescents and the mothers spoke very candidly about how they interacted in moments when neither of them had the words necessary to understand or communicate with the English speaker. There were instances where, after a lot of back and forth occurred, the couple resorted to comparing terms. Johnny shared, "*We pretty much compared things. I say like, "Ladder."* And she says, *"Escalera."* And I say, "*Una cosa para subir a las casas."* And she says,

"Ah. Escalera. Estás hablando de eso." Then, there were some mothers who said, *"Dime que dice haber si yo entiendo."* (Tell me what they said to see if I know). Mothers were strongest in their mother/first language, and provided help when their children were stuck in telling them something in Spanish. Sara describes an exchange that appeared to be a game of charades: She tried to describe words to the ALTB. Since they spoke little to no English, they had limited support. They recognized moments when the ALTB felt frustrated with the exchanges. The mothers found that the google translator app provided some help, but they still felt embarrassed that they did not have the answers or the words to express themselves. These circumstances contributed to moments of tension.

Language expertise is essential in connecting and reaching an understanding. And although ALTBs did not express their feelings about brokering aside from saying they needed to help their mothers, because they were their moms, ALTB language learning is motivated by making efforts to stay connected to their mothers. The fact that inside the brokering context, their mothers understand the need to speak English, outside the brokering context, their mothers expected otherwise. Yolanda in her interview did express directly, *"Todo se hace Mexicano aquí."* or everything is done in Mexican. This includes language and for the ALTB this adds to a one sided tension that prevents them from addressing the issue of speaking English and Spanish because of the deep cultural understanding they have of their mother's feelings towards heritage pride.

Levels of Cultural Expertise in ALTB and Mother Relationship

Clifford (1986) states that culture is not an object to be described, nor is it "a unified corpus of symbols and meanings that can be definitively interpreted. Culture is contested, temporal, and emergent" (p. 476). Britzman (1991) defines culture as a site

where identities, desires and investments are mobilized, constructed, and reworked. Therefore, if culture is such a dynamic negotiation site, then there is much to be understood about linguistic and cultural goals that build effective relationships.

Relationships are mini-cultures in which the parties construct meaning systems in a variety of ways, including, ritual enactments, stories, and symbols. At their core, relationships are purposive; they add and structure meanings in a person's life. Relationships forged with others develop personality. Meaningful relationships can also change self-concept through the expansion of new domains or the reinforcement of self through mechanisms that impact self-worth and self-esteem. Since the meaning of a relationship is given by those involved, understandings within the relationship requires a mastery of not only speaking of a language, but also significant cultural immersion.

Controlling the Flows of Information

During moments of technolinguistic brokering, ALTBs are required to take the responsibility to exercise cultural knowledge about both parties and to bring meaningful value to cultural texts. They are translators of languages, norms, rules, and tastes within their families through their cultural expertise. Their understandings about the needs and concerns permits them to imitate their communication habits and standards, and use this expertise as a negotiation tool for their intended audience (Hutchinson, 2013). Leveraging their in-between position and connections, intermediaries gain access to, broker, and translate valuable social and cultural resources. For example, Gabriel talked about teaching his mother about political information; however, he does not teach his mother about American culture.

I don't think I teach them much about American culture. I teach her about political stuff and what's happening around us that just part of my job is to learn all that stuff. So I teach her how everything works and what decisions mean, that are coming out, especially with [inaudible] stuff. But as far as American culture, I don't think I teach her much about it. Just because there's certain views that I have as well, that I don't like the American culture as well, so—

-Gabriel (ALTB)

Formalizing their cultural expertise through countless brokering interactions elevates the ALTB to a level where they have the power to control the flows of information for their mother. Information flows becomes a source of tension in the relationship especially when the outcomes are not complementary. For example, when a face-to-face conversation was unsuccessful, or mothers were not allowed to access what they wanted on the internet. The revealing of a mother's dependency brought great discomfort to the mothers. I recall when Margot mentioned her daughter first showing her how to use Netflix, Margot made it clear to her daughter that she wanted a Spanish film and *"no una de esas que ves tu."* (Not one of those that you watch.) Her comment was memorable because it was the way that Margot said, "I am your mother" and "I am not a child." She simply did not want her child to choose the television shows for her. Margot was resisting to the tension that her daughter brings through her expertise by asserting her motherhood and adultness. In other word, the adolescent views their mothers through the lens of "I know what she needs."

Adolescents who perform cultural intermediation are often viewed as not having the necessary cultural capital because of their age to say what the mother needs. This

creates a challenging task for young people because while they are in tune with their mother's needs, they cannot make decisions about what the mother needs. *"I don't think that that would be important for her,"* said Gustavo as he shared with great responsibility how he expresses what his mother values. Furthermore, these words speaks to one of the biggest tensions in relation to cultural expertise that was experienced by the ALTB and their mother—How does one tell their mother that they don't need this information without being disrespectful?

The fact that mothers were not able to speak and understand English contributed to the adolescents taking of initiative while culturally intermediating for their mothers. All mothers, except for Elisa and Flor, mentioned that their ALTB always wanted to help and took initiative. Karla (ALTB) did not shy away from saying that maybe she does control her mother as she makes assumptions about her mother's needs. Even though she might make mistakes, she still pushes her ideas.

> *I guess I just make these assumptions of what I think is right for her and I find out when I voice my opinions to her whether she likes it or not even though I know she thinks I might be wrong. Or I might be wrong. I still try to push them on her just because I feel like it's what I want for her, whether necessarily she wants it or not. But I think my Mom makes the last ultimate decision whether she wants to or not. Whether she wants to listen to what I say or not. So whether I think it's right for my Mom or not, I can voice it and she can take it in and then do something or not. And I feel like that's okay because I told her what I thought, I told her what I think she*

should do and if she doesn't want to then it's her decision and I have to respect her.

-Karla (ALTB)

ALTBs expressed a strong sense of responsibility. They provide emotional and relational work in order to ensure that their mothers are taken care of. Throughout every interaction, the mother's heritage values implicitly reminds them about the boundaries that sometimes blur. Karla was aware of her expertise, but in the end, she also recognized how her mother who had to decide what to do during brokering interactions. This acknowledgement of her mother having the last say displays her connection to her heritage value which influences how she makes sense of her mother's response.

Parents work to preserve and reassert their power in the face of their children's possession of power. On the other hand, there are adolescents like Maty who is constantly taking on the role of looking out for both themselves and their mothers by asserting their power. Here Maty may be trying to control the flows of information, but it is with the intent of protection, which is a relational maintenance strategy usually reserved for the mother to enact, and not the adolescent.

There's some things where I'm like, "Oh, this is not really important in what's going on in my life and what could affect my mom and my future," so I choose and pick, "Okay, maybe not this," or, "This is really important," and for me, it's more of, how will my mom take it? How will this affect my mom because she's the only person around that I trust and she has always been there, so how is this going to affect her, and if it does affect her, what am I going to do to help, right?

-Maty (ALTB)

Maty chooses, thinks about the value, and then ask the question, *"How will my mom take it?"* and this speaks to what mothers see as a consequence of always "being there" for them. The ALTB and their mother are in a (inter)dependent relationship where both parent and child rely on each other's expertise. Parent also acknowledge their adolescents proficiency over their own, and begin to allow them to exercise independence. Kwak (2003) posits that there is a major tension between (im)migrant parents' preference for family (inter)dependence and adolescents striving for their own independence and autonomy. In the end, parents do their best to balance their desires between adopting cultural norms that will ensure scholastic success and financial security and, at the same time, the desire that their children's values will be rooted in the beliefs of their culture of origin.

Summary of Part Three: Power Relationship of ALTB and Mexican-Origin Non-English Speaking Mother

During adolescence, children attempt to reconcile their own desires and needs with that of their parents. As Matthews and Smith Maguire (2014, p. 7) suggests, "cultural intermediaries serve as an empirically grounded point of entry to highly complex political, economic and cultural processes." The findings presented in this chapter demonstrate that the ALTBs technolinguistic experience is filled with tensions that involve the levels of expertise between the mother and the adolescent.

The goal of the adolescents' contribution were in connected to upholding the cultural values treasured by their mothers. They provide assistance, support, and make

available their expertise like buenos hijos (as) to relieve stress from interactions with the outside world. The ALTBs felt that they had a shared responsibility with their mothers to protect and nurture the family. Hence, the ALTBs saw technolinguistic brokering as easy or as not requiring much effort. They also acknowledged they needed to project calmness for their mother in moments of great vulnerability

The mother, with her great desire to see her adolescent succeed, expects to protect her adolescent through *marianismo* and the cultural values of her family. She understood the hardships of learning a new language while taking care of her main responsibility, the family. She expressed the need for her adolescent to engage with *respeto* when engaging with others and herself. Mothers wanted to be treated as mothers and not as individuals who were dependent on their children to achieve tasks where they lacked skill. It is in the back and forth moments between mother and adolescent, when a word or a meaning is searched for, is that one sees (inter)dependence surface. The mother and ALTB both contribute through their expertise solutions to overcome the obstacle of not being understood.

ALTBs engage in brokerage, translation, communal, interpersonal, and relational support activities, far beyond simply presenting cultural objects to interested audiences by only speaking English, Spanish, or ICT proficiency. What always becomes a source of tension are the levels of expertise of culture and language between mother and adolescent. While the ALTBs knowledge surpasses that of their mother, communicative practices of (inter)dependence are enacted as a way to maintain the relationship. The ALTBs expertise is easily gathered through a wide range of tasks, but at the same time, they are supported by enacting this expertise inside the circle of heritage culture.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

(Im)migrant families who wish to connect to mainstream American culture often have no choice but to rely on younger family members to engage in language and technology brokering (Katz, 2015). This is especially true in (im)migrant childhoods, in which many bilingual adolescents use their bicultural fluency to navigate social inequality in adult-centric public spaces (Kwon 2015; Orellana 2009). Families also have to make decisions about which cultural values, attitudes, and practices, to adopt and which to retain from their heritage culture (Schwartz et al., 2010; Berry, 2005). Scholars have demonstrated that children's work as language and cultural brokers facilitates family settlement by connecting their (im)migrant families to a wide range of institutions such as schools, housing resources, and medical resources (Weisskirch, 2005; Valdes 1996; Guntzviller, 2017). Language and technology brokering literature has started to explore the influential agency of adolescent brokers upon their parents through their language and technological capabilities (Katz, 2015; Correa, 2015). Kwon (2015) explores from an intersectional approach how bilingual adolescents navigate multiple inequalities when they broker for their (im)migrant parents. However, more work remains to be done in gaining insights on how the development of ALTB's expertise and experience builds cultural relationships within their families. In this final chapter, I review theoretical implications, practical applications, limitations, and future directions of the research.

Theoretical Considerations and Contributions

The rationale of this study was to explore the adolescent experience of language and technology brokering through the concepts of expertise, knowledge,

(inter)dependence, and power. By focusing on technolinguistic brokering, I contribute a more nuanced description of the expertise performed by the ALTB (Adolescent Language Technology Broker) and experienced by the mothers of ALTBs. The foundation of literature positions this study within a series of existing theoretical frameworks and empirical works involving (im)migrant parents and ALTB shared experiences. Literature on acculturation, language and technology brokering, Mexican-origin value systems, intergenerational transmission, interdependence theory, relational maintenance theory, social efficacy, and cultural intermediation grounded the meaning of the study's emergent themes. Previous research has yet to directly explore how ALTBs develop their expertise and build cultural relationships of expertise, knowledge, (inter)dependence, and power. By highlighting how adolescents and mothers understand their experience in the context of language and technology brokering, this study seeks a better understanding surrounding the phenomenon of cultural intermediation.

RQ 1: What are the dimensions that constitute the cultural intermediary experience for the Adolescent Language/Technology Broker (ALTB)?

Research question one addressed the way ALTBs experience cultural intermediation. Findings suggest the presence of two dimensions as part of the language and technology brokering experience—Expertise and an (Inter)dependent Relationship. ALTBs have expertise linked to the ALTB's habitus, field, and capital (i.e., cultural, social, economic) allowing these individuals to make claims about their personal and professional expertise. This expertise distinguishes, brings authority, and bestows credibility upon the ALTB (Maguire & Matthews, 2012).

This expertise spoke to a series of cultural interactions that became the core of my research project. The ALTB attributed their knowledge to the opportunities to learn and practice. Their language, cultural, and technological skills applied during brokering continued to reinforce their cultural backgrounds. These adolescents had a "feel for the game" and read the environment and its cultural content, identified the cultural groups involved, and appraised the potential of the outcome based on what he or she could contribute to the interaction (Bourdieu, 1990). A variety of acquired knowledge facilitates the process of knowledge transfer leading to more than just acting as a link for their parent, but to being a cultural partner that helps transform ideas, knowledge, and culture via English, Spanish, and technology (Howells, 2006).

The development of cultural schemata and its connection with neighborhoods and communities influence and shape the attitudes and values of individuals (Castro, Stein, & Bentler, 2009). Technolinguistic brokers do not only necessarily translate messages word-for-word, but also mediate and influence the content, and in so doing, have an effect on the parties' perceptions of each other, their perceptions of the messages, and their subsequent actions (Orellana, 2008). ALTB participants in my study shared their experiences by describing the impact of cultural schemata in their awareness of being members of two cultures (Dorner, et al., 2007). They mentioned the development of cultural understandings of the unique sets of rules, knowledge, and forms of capital in specific cultural interactions along with the emotions that are carried during moments of talk. Byram (2012) referred to this as "being" vs. "acting" the cultural self. To "act" bilingual is to speak the language, and to "be" bilingual means having a cultural connection and engaging in cultural brokering (Lazarevic, 2017). Cultural brokering is

not a neutral act, and as assistance is provided, brokers may alter or omit messages to benefit those who they are assisting. Some of these altered/omitted messages have the purpose of preventing embarrassment or conflicts, or negotiating a better deal for the family member. Adolescents in this study expressed that having an understanding on the role emotions play during cultural interactions was an essential part of having effective interactional outcomes that would lead to high relational quality with their parents.

Research emphasizes parents as the primary source of socialization, usually a top-down approach that adheres to vertical socialization processes (Berry, 2007; Macoby, Grusec & Hastings, 2007). My study indicates that since the traditional social hierarchies create dialectical tensions over control, horizontal transmission of values best describes the ALTB experience. Participant commentary on behalf of the ALTBs exemplified that (inter)dependence, based on a horizontal form of communication, allowed the embodiment of their family's values, and simultaneously gained the perspective of others. When mothers spoke to the ALTB from a top down, vertical style, they expressed feeling an imbalance of authority in their interactions. It became very challenging when ALTBs needed under a vertical form of communication to view things from their mother's perspective while enacting the values of *respeto* and *buenos hijos(as)*.

Orellana (2008) found brokering to be a practice "embedded in relationships" (p. 530), meaning that adolescent brokers did not translate things in isolation and without the participation of their mothers. On the contrary, ALTBs were active participants and contributed to the decision-making and problem solving during technolinguistic moments alongside their mother. Mothers spoke about how their adolescents provided solutions for them with their language and cultural expertise and ALTBs spoke about the trust that

mothers exemplified towards them during these moments of collaboration. ALTBs aimed to include their mother's heritage language and culture as a guide to navigate the brokering moment in English and mainstream U.S. culture and be responsive to helping their mother.

The second theme evolving from my data was the dimension of (inter)dependence. This theme centered on how the ALTB described the relationship with their mother. My findings align with the theoretical underpinnings of Interdependence Theory (Kelley & Thibaut, 1978). The ALTB were able to: (a) correctly distinguish the values, norms, dispositions, and motives relevant to the existing interaction; (b) predict the likely behavior of partners in this situation; (c) anticipate potential events over time; and (d) imagine each of these events from the mother's perspective. These behaviors suggest the ALTB has the capabilities to reach interpersonal understandings that will increase their levels of responsibility when providing support and bringing certainty to their mothers.

From the parentification perspective, children adopt adult responsibilities that often challenge the behavioral expectations associated with childhood roles (Weisskirch, 2005). *Parentification* refers to an adult's functional or emotional reliance on a child to the point where such reliance risks obstructing the adolescent natural and appropriate developmental process (Castro, Jones, & Mirsalimi, 2004). The ALTB experience challenges the appropriate power structure and behavioral expectations associated with the roles of adults and younger family members. ALTBs negotiate power imbalances pertaining to age, race, class when translating in various institutional contexts (Kwon, 2015). Adolescents often interact in adult situations, handle adult content, and support

their non-English speaking mothers as ALTBs move between various behavioral codes and language to accomplish normative American behaviors (Kwon, 2015; Orellana, 2009). The ALTBs ability to anticipate the difficult, challenging, or even happy moments of technolinguistic brokering interactions with their mother point to an information advantage that is created by openness and trust on behalf of the mother. ALTBs spoke of their experiences from a perspective where they viewed themselves with a privileged understanding of what their mother was thinking and feeling during certain interactions. Comments such as "I know what she needs," "I give her advice on how to pay her bills," or even when the ALTB acknowledges how openness contributes to relational quality, help provide an understanding of how (inter)dependence is created through openness, self-disclosure, and trust.

RQ2: What are the dimensions that constitute the cultural intermediary experience for the Mexican-origin non-English speaking mother with their Adolescent Language/Technology Broker (ALTB)?

My study indicated the presence of three dimensions that capture the essence of the ALTBs mother's experience when she is alongside her adolescent— (1) (Inter)dependent Cultural Values in the ALTB and mother relationship, (2) (Inter)dependent Relationship with ALTB, and (3) Expertise.

The first dimension addresses the presence of (inter)dependent values in their relationship with the ALTB. Research suggests that family processes and cultural values exist within an (inter)dependent parent and child relationship, yielding a variety of outcomes (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). All of the mothers in this study expressed that they always did their best to instill their values in their adolescents because values were the

building blocks of their family. The inculcated heritage values of *familismo*, *respeto*, *responsabilidad, and buen hijo(a)* encouraged family unity, obedience, and asked of adolescents to be present and listen to their parents without force (Yu, Lucero-Liu, Gamble, Taylor, Hendricksen-Christensen, & Modry-Mandell, 2008). The experiences shared by the mothers demonstrated that *marianismo* in the form of sacrifice for family, was enacted by their adolescents as well as the mothers (Arciniega, Anderson, Tovar-Blank, & Tracey, 2008). These were prideful moments for the mothers because values brought about a sense of connection between the mothers and the ALTB. Mothers thrived on seeing their adolescent follow their values. This reflects Baxter's (1987) notion of culture relationships, where relational behaviors expand beyond verbal words leading to a complete embodiment of culture. For these mothers, their purpose was to maintain the heritage culture and to uphold the strong age-based familial hierarchies, where mothers have authority over the younger (Telzer, Gonzales, Fuligni, 2014).

The second dimension is in connection to the (inter)dependent relationship that mothers have with their ALTB. In this dimension, what is noticeable is a connection to the first dimension in the value of having (inter)dependent values to equalize the relationship through horizontal communication. Part of what allows youth to transition into emerging adulthood is the connection to the parent recognizing the child as an equal, creating an opportunity for the child to be of influence over the parent (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004). Many of the participants expressed that their adolescents knew when assistance was needed due to their lack of skills. These were moments of discomfort and tension for both mothers and adolescents because they were asked to revisit and change the ways that they communicated with one another. Adolescents did their best when

brokering and mothers understood this and did their best to understand when they could not find the right words or could not explain further. These experiences align with what McHale and Crouter (2003) encountered with Latino parents with young adult children. It was suggested that when the parent reduces control over their young adults, an increase in collaborative interaction styles is experienced. This study indicates that as adolescents grow in age, and in this case with the ALTBs, grow in experience, such awareness of these shifts benefit the quality of these relationships.

Mothers positioned themselves in a collaborative parenting style to attend to the needs of the ALTB. Though ALTBs are more than capable of brokering on their own, mothers felt inclined to continue to socialize their adolescents by assisting their children during technolinguistic brokering moments. Technolinguistic brokering is a form of instrumental and emotional assistance that adolescents provide their parents and may lead to negative developmental consequences (Orellana, 2009). It was important for mothers to have their adolescent feel comfortable in moments where interactions became extremely tough because of the adolescent's lack of expertise. These actions of the mothers are linked to a desire to maintain high control, but at the same time rely upon (inter)dependent communicative exchanges that support the independent skills of the ALTB (Rusbult & Van Lange, 2003). The degree of cultural maintenance points to the intensity of the cultural transmission process from parents to their children. The significant implications for adaptation, the persistence of culture, and relationship dynamics lead to tensions of uncertainty and certainty, openness and closedness, and the traditional and modern (Berry, 1997; Perez-Brena, Updegraff, & Umana-Taylor, 2015; Baxter, 1998). Tensions in the ALTB experience require mothers and adolescents to

construct new meanings to enhance familial functioning that will support the uneasiness of the brokering interaction (Trickett & Jones, 2007).

Interactions between mothers and ALTB involve needs, thoughts, and motives in relation to their context. These interactions are complex and at times difficult to manage. Putting an adolescent in a position of power, in which they are the sole communicators for their acculturating mother, is a role that adds tension to the mother adolescent relationship. In this role, some see the adolescent as being emotionally and behaviorally responsible for the parents. In addition to this responsibility, the ALTB is also seen as sacrificing their own needs for their mother. Despite these hardships, the mothers and ALTBs faced these moments with positivity and confidence. According to Rusbult and Van Lange (2003), interactions with mutual dependence are likely to yield positive results, including more equitable and positive emotional experiences (e.g., less anxiety, guilt, and comfort), reduced coercion, and less reliance on contractual agreements. Mothers indicated they were there to provide support and collaborate with their ALTBs. As Norma mentioned, “Tenemos que ayudarles.” (We have to help them). Even during moments when the mother did not have the knowledge to help her son or daughter, mothers did their best to help them find the right English word or to pay attention to their instructions on accessing an application on their phone. Mothers positioned themselves in a way that the ALTB felt they had the expertise and were able to fulfill their responsibility as *buen hijo(a)*. The shifts in power dynamic due to the absence of language and the high levels of uncertainty did not change how mothers behaved. The intention of mothers was to assist in building the *confianza* their ALTBs needed to be self-efficacious.

The last dimension is in connection to expertise. Mothers spoke more about expertise from an (inter)dependent relational standpoint and less from the perspective of authoritative parent. Mothers were aware that their adolescents found themselves being on two sides. They understood the hardships of their ALTB in trying to learn and maintain a language. Mothers relied on their own experiences of trying to learn English and technology on their own. They also had an understanding that brokering required a lot of dedication, commitment, and some self-efficacy. These findings support Acoach and Webb's (2004) conclusion that language brokering helps adolescents build self-efficacy and Katz and Gonzalez (2017) who found that adolescents from lower income families develop agency due to the various tasks engaged in when assisting their families through brokering. Wu and Kim (2009) found that some of the adolescents who brokered for their mothers perceived a sense of burden. For these ALTBs, however, in this study this was not the case. Mothers spoke about how their ALTB was always willing to take on the responsibility for helping, embracing the values of *familismo*, *respeto*, and community. Technolinguistic brokering is a practice that reinforces a sense of obligation to family and a normal act of (inter)dependence (Orellana et al., 2003).

Consistent with Wu and Kim (2009), mothers spoke of noticing greater efficacy in this study. Mothers expressed that their ALTB showed high levels of social self-efficacy during moments of stress as these young individuals built positive social relations. Three themes were shared in this regard that are in connection to perceived levels of high efficacy and "I can do it!" and "You can do it!" attitudes (Matsushima & Shiomi, 2003). The first is in connection to commitment, the second is trust, and the third is in connection to emotional maturing. These themes resonate with Ardelt & Eccles'

(2001) research on parents who believe in their adolescent's self-efficacy. Parents who trust their childrearing practices are more likely to work towards cultivating their adolescent's full potential. These parents build their children's aspirations and sense of intellectual efficacy through encouragement and support that, in turn, contributes to their social relations, emotional well-being, academic development, and career choices (Pastorelli, Steca, Gerbino, & Vecchio, 2001). The ALTB experiences that the mothers (inter)dependently participated in permitted for the building of trust and commitment that lead to an emotional maturing of ALTB that is (re)negotiated with affection and control (Eccles, Midgley, Wigfield, & Buchanan, 1993). The elements of affection and control connect to the mother's desire to position herself in a collaborative parenting style versus an authoritative parenting style that will enable multi-directional contributions by the ALTB and their mother. These contributions reflective of mutual control, understandings of dependence, and congruency of goals became useful relational tools during moments of tension when encountering complex interactions. These relational tools led to an increase in emotional maturing and self-efficacy of the ALTB to establish (inter)dependence within the relationship. The mother can trust that the ALTB will assist while also making sure that she provides the support necessary to see her adolescent thrive.

RQ3: What are the factors affecting the power relationship that are negotiated by the Adolescent Language/Technology Brokers (ALTBs) and their Mexican-origin non-English speaking mothers?

The final question, RQ3, addresses the factors—language expertise and cultural expertise. Both factors connect with the dialectical tensions of knowledge and skills found within the dimension of expertise discussed earlier.

Data indicates that mothers and the adolescents valued the support from each other. This was especially true when each of them tried to be independent. Mothers wanted to be independent from their child's assistance, but could not afford the time to learn English or learn technology like their adolescent. Adolescents shared that there were moments when they did their best to teach their mothers, but they did not pick up either the language or how to use their phone. The manner in which the participants described their tensions focused on making sure that they came across as caring for their adolescent or their mother. In other words, they did not want to sound annoyed or frustrated, but sometimes they did feel this. The parents and the adolescents resorted to being kind with one another and with a hope that things might change. These actions are reflective of Matsushima & Shiomi's (2003) finding that individuals with high social efficacy expect to cope more positively during moments of stress in their relationships with others based on past experiences.

Halgunseth (2003) argued that the process of mediating in complex, adult-like situations teaches social, negotiation, and decision-making skills, as well as family responsibility. These experiences also instill confidence, pride, and high self-efficacy in young language brokers. Another theme mentioned concerning adolescents is in regards

to the mother's expectation that you always need to be multilingual. In other words, ALTBs were implicitly expected to always know Spanish and English. Adolescents did not feel like experts, even if their mother said that they viewed them that away. Some shared that having language expertise was a normal action on their behalf and nothing else. Tension came with what Schunk and Meece (2006) propose as a method of acquiring self-efficacy. This method has to do with providing encouragement to the ALTB by others who observe their actions. The constant implicit positioning of the ALTB as an expert by their mother prompted ALTBs to always ask themselves questions about self-efficacy rather than self-esteem. Individuals like the ALTB engage in a constant self-regulating of cognitive, motivational, and affective processes, which can be self-helping or self-debilitating in their technolinguistic experience (Bandura, 2004).

The second factor is in connection to levels of cultural expertise. Cultural expertise becomes a necessary component to building relationships because the exercising of human agency is based on cultural knowledge of the other individual in the relationship (Bandura, 2006). The ALTB enacts agency each time they control the flow of information to and from their mothers. As individuals do not always have direct control over the conditions of an environment and institutional norms, ALTBs assume the responsibility to protect their mothers. ALTBs might be gatekeepers because of their knowledge and skills in technolinguistic brokering. This becomes evident when mothers go on the internet and try to access information and their ALTB provides assistance. Araceli expressed that her daughter sometimes would not allow her to play the game "Candy Crush" because it would add stress to her and she did not need that extra stress. In other instances, ALTBs were protecting their mother from a *buen hijo(a)* position

because of the undesired situations that can be encountered during brokering interactions. Some adolescents censored some words to protect their mothers from others who were disrespecting them because they could not speak English. Other ALTBs needed to protect their mother from the in-app purchases that sometimes popped up on phone applications that mothers may not know about. Bandura suggests, "People are often inaugurated into new life trajectories through fortuitous circumstances, "and this does not mean that conquering life's obstacles will stop them (2005, p.2). This is evident in the participants' experiences especially since the ALTB lacks the necessary knowledge in the early stages due to the absence of cultural schemata. Mothers shared that engaging in brokering outside of the home was something valuable to building their child's experience. I recall Margot sharing how her daughter works in clinic where she brokers all the time. Felipa shared how her son worked in a nonprofit after school assisting the Spanish speaking community. All these opportunities permit the ALTB to gather more language and cultural expertise and continue to build the cultural schemata that will guide their next interaction. According to the mothers, with each interaction the adolescent becomes more proficient and they can protect and be *buenos hijos(as)*.

Mothers did not express any real discomfort in having their children be more proficient in language or culture. However, they did feel disconnected from their child, which lowered their levels of self-efficacy. Bandura (2006) found that social conditions lead people to respond in ways that give them self-worth, satisfaction, and prevent self-censure while also providing an opportunity for the examining of their own self-efficacy. It was interesting to listen to how mothers felt disconnected, but also to listen to them speak so positively about their adolescents. The dialectical tension of knowing and not

knowing was dealt with by attempting to assist the ALTB. If mothers viewed their adolescents with self-efficacy, then mothers felt their example would lead their children in a positive direction. There were many moments when the mothers spoke of being independent and doing things on their own. They made attempts and they were okay with them even, if at times, the outcomes were not so positive. Their words always circled back to being a supportive mother. Their intentions aligned with values that expressed how mothers needed to contribute to the evolvement and the development of their ALTBs agency (Bandura, 2006).

Some of the mothers' words expressed fear towards their adolescents having too much knowledge and deviating from the cultural values learned. The adolescents, especially Karla, voiced that she knew more than her mother did, but in the end, it was her mother's decision. As I remember her sitting on the couch, what struck me was the fact that she said it so passively ("I do what I can for my mother"), aligning with the submissiveness to authority under the value of *respeto*. Then there were mothers like Felipa, who considered her son an expert. And even though she might not need help, she said that she still allowed him to take over and help her. I recall when she mentioned that she felt *"pena"* or shame in asking her son to help. Uncertainty of not having fluency in the English language can lead to a loss of control over their ALTB is what the mothers experience in each brokering interaction. *Familismo*, *respeto*, confianza, buenos hijos(as), *marianismo*, *caballerismo* serve as the anchor to the cultural relationship between the mother and their ALTB which transforms into one of (inter)dependence even during moments of tension.

Practical Contributions

This study presents a portrait of adolescents and their mothers in a Phoenix-Metropolitan area non-profit organization. Their experiences developed a foundation of knowledge regarding how ALTBs and their mothers understand their technolinguistic brokering experience. The voices of the adolescents and their mothers through their lived experiences defined the phenomenon. It is through their words that I base my recommendations for practice.

This study initiates a research dialogue regarding the (inter)dependent relationship of the ALTB and their mother. While I explored how these individuals experienced and understood language and technology brokering, my findings revealed that further investigation is needed regarding how these brokering interactions transcend to cultural intermediation. The ALTB experience points to the development of expertise as crucial to building cultural relationships. Additional focus, differing methodologies, and expanded samples are considerations to seek an understanding on how the legitimization of culture is enacted within (im)migrant families. My research offers a starting point that encourages this further exploration.

Parents are responsible for their adolescents who perform cultural intermediation through language and technology brokering. According to my findings, each brokering experience has meaningful impact upon the mother and adolescent relationship. The ALTB experience is valuable in providing an opportunity to engage in relational maintenance strategies that lead to quality relationships. These findings may encourage mothers to be more expressive about the normalized experience of brokering and cultural intermediation as ways to continue to cultivate trust, commitment, and openness with

their ALTB. As part of their talks with their adolescents, parents should make efforts to build moments of informal interactions as a way to share their language experiences to complement existing understandings of their relationship. The intentionality of these moments between mothers and their ALTBs can be a part of the relational maintenance routine and cultivate a relationship built on culture.

Adolescents are also responsible for creating the spaces to speak with their mothers. Utilizing the (inter)dependence that language and technology brokering provide, adolescents can begin to look towards their futures. Their parents can join the ALTBs in their achievements through communicative acts that continue to support the self-efficacy they know they embody. Adolescents are aware that their parents know their challenges, but seek more reinforcement through direct styles of communication that allow them to know the meaningfulness of their contributions to the family.

As communities continue to experience technological advancements, technological brokering practices will be the strategy utilized for connecting with vital information resources (Gonzalez & Katz, 2016). This work makes a practical contribution in two ways. The first is in connection to technological literacy and the second to the development of digital literacy through the context of technolinguistic brokering.

Technological literacy arises from shifts that coincide with changes in the way people interact with technologies, with each other, and with the rules/expectations established to participate in technological contexts (Swarts, 2011). Literate users of ICTs (Information Communication Technologies) include individuals who manage access to information and exercise their user expertise to organize, think, and collaborate within

and across boundaries (Swarts, 2011). This study contributes in further expanding the literature of brokering by adding the context of technology and by extending the literature of technology literacy by including a more refined definition of the expertise performed by the ALTB. The expertise of culture, cultural interactions, multilingualism, and relational quality contribute to an increased understanding of the nuances of the development of cultural trends, but also to how ALTBs and others who are literate users of ICTs can produce, distribute, and consume cultural information.

Innovative forms of technology will always be present and require communities to find ways to adopt these new mediums of communication. As families navigate through the tensions of traditional and modern technologies, the role of technolinguistic brokers becomes of great value due to the relational expertise that they bring to these interactions. The experiences shared by the ALTBs speak to the value of creating (inter)dependent relationships based on the relational elements of trust, commitment, and openness with their mothers. When families are looking to increase technological literacy or increase the likelihood of adopting new technology, interdependent relationships are valuable because the relational component is one of the factors driving the decision-making process. Indeed, issues of accessibility, knowledge and skill building, and socioeconomic status influence decision on technology adoption (Livingstone & Helsper, 2007). But, the interpersonal relational elements of trust, commitment, and openness can begin to provide a way for individuals to communicatively construct their own ways of how to increase technological literacy in their homes.

Digital literacy speaks to an individual's ability to find, evaluate, and compose information on various digital platforms (Koltay, 2011). This study offers unique insights

on how digital literacy skills within the parent and adolescent dyadic relationship are developed through the small, routine, everyday acts of technolinguistic brokering. Findings of this exploratory study suggest that as more information is digitized and accessible online, adolescents and their mothers will be faced with great amounts of complex information that require digital literacy skills. ALTBs spoke about their efforts in increasing the digital literacy skills of their mothers as they assisted them in maneuvering their cellphones, accessing new digital applications, and learning to be critical consumers of information. Maria (ALTB) spoke about how she was trying to show and explain to her mom how to consume online information especially since she strongly believed that this information "shapes" one's worldview. Mothers also spoke about the high expertise engaged in by the ALTBs and the expertise that their adolescents exemplified when they were accessing information for them. These communicative interactions between mothers and the ALTBs reveal the potential to develop an (inter)dependent understanding that may lead to higher levels of self-efficacy in technology (Livingstone, 2002). There is no single literacy that will not require a constant updating of concepts and skills, but the most important thing is for all citizens to feel supported when making efforts to have their voices heard. Individuals, like the ALTBs, intend to provide support to increase the human agency of others.

Lastly, this study also contributes in addressing concerns on how institutions can be more inclusive of (im)migrant families and their ALTBs. For example, when brokering at the bank, the established rules in the bank limit how communicative interactions will be carried out especially if the speaker is an adolescent. Is there a form that is filled out to open an account? In what language is this form? What are the banking

terms that are used? Do they consider that a child or adolescent will be reading/filling out the form? What kind of training is in place to speak for bank officials to speak to these ALTBs? Are there official interpreters available? What training are the individuals receiving that considers the ALTB and the assistance they provide? Is it training that recognizes and respects the ALTB's work as a valuable contribution or does it dismiss them by using jargon? Kwon (2015) speaks to how adolescent technolinguistic brokers perform in adult-like situations that require the use of knowledge structured around established adult institutional norms. Institutions needs to be mindful of how children of (im)migrant families contribute to their families. The ALTB should not have to have more "responsibilities" than their non-immigrant peers. Institutions that service (im)migrant families or other populations that require brokering should consider the questions posed. Solutions may include having forms with accessible language, hiring bilingual staff with the training that focuses on the cultural needs of these communities, and creating bridges of inclusion through community outreach programs that speak to the assistance that the institution provides.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study has limitations. The study (1) focused on adolescents and mothers of Mexican-origin descent and there was an absence of demographic information and acculturation indicators, (2) the scope of study limited discussion on the influences of structural institutions (class, race, gender, economics, citizenship) upon the mother and adolescent interpersonal relationship (3) the influence of the mother's presence upon the adolescent's responses, and (4) presently insufficient research in the area of cultural intermediation within the context of brokering.

In regards to the first limitation, to protect the identity of the mothers and the adolescents, only first names of participants (if participants desired) and information pertaining to the ages of adolescents was gathered. Under the host organization's advisement, it was recommended that I not collect data regarding contextual factors (e.g., acculturation, socio-economic status, legal status) for the protection of the participants. The organization mentioned that given the current sensitive time concerning the issue of immigration, many families would not want to participate in the research if they were asked such questions.

The second limitation addresses the inability to engage in an in-depth discussion on the presence and influences of structural institutions (class, race, gender, economics, and citizenship) upon the interpersonal mother and ALTB experience. Due to the scope of the dissertation and the perspective centered on the interpersonal relationship of parent/adolescent within this context, the potential to discuss how these structures shape (im)migrant families was limited. In future research with (im)migrant families, efforts will be made to focus on these influential structures by utilizing an intersectional lens that will lead to deeper understandings of the structural forces guiding the ALTB experience (Romero, 2008).

Although assent was conducted with each of the adolescents, it is important to mention that adolescents agreed on their own to participate, but the presence of their mother during the interview process (even if they were not in the room) may have affected how they responded in the interview. The presence and attitudes of other people significant to the young person may have had a marked influence on the interview process.

It is essential to mention that during my research, I encountered very limited amounts of literature concerning cultural intermediation. Some literature addressed the performance of cultural intermediation within the context of creative industries like fashion design and music. Other work focused on journalism, museum guides, and business corporations. From a theoretical standpoint, most of the published work provided various understandings of Bourdieu's basic concepts. My desire was to extend the concept of expertise from cultural intermediation within the language and technology brokering experience.

Future Directions

This dissertation study on the experience of the Adolescent Language and Technology Broker (ALTB) and their (im)migrant non-English speaking mother has contributed to providing an understanding of how cultural relationships form within and outside families. The goal of this research is to develop relationships with organizational leaders and community members to create a series of community workshops and collaborative projects. The valuable contributions made by the (im)migrant community provides moments of self-reflection for these families about their experience. Specifically, this suggests that future work should (1) continue to examine the ALTB experience, specifically that of the adolescent and father relationship, (2) explore the relationship between the ALTB and their non-English speaking parents and the development of a third culture within the performance of cultural intermediation, (3) assist communities (schools, community centers, government institutions) in developing collaborative tools that assist ALTBs and their parents reflecting on their experiences in order to build communities of self-efficacy.

First, scholars should further engage in examining the formation of cultural relationships within families. Specifically, exploring the relationship and interactions of the ALTB and their father when technolinguistic brokering and exercising expertise. Since this work focused on mothers, it will be important to explore the ALTB experience from the fathers' perspective to gain a more holistic view of the ALTB experience. Given the theoretical implications, it would be valuable to understand how cultural relationships are constructed and maintained between the father and the ALTB during moments of technolinguistic brokering.

It would be interesting to see how the fathers understand and react to the actions undertaken by their ALTB and the legitimization of culture for the father, which is an overreach in some families while in others it is a part of the values of *familismo*. The (inter)dependent relationship engendered by the fact a parent needs to connect to an English speaking society can create tensions in the relationship that require adjustments that will maintain relationship quality. To listen to the voices of the father would possibly reveal differences in how the adolescents broker for their father, but also how power and gender are negotiated.

From a communicative standpoint, this relationship points to a constant back and forth between the adolescent and their mother. This dialogic feedback loop is worth exploring in regards to the development of languaculture to fit the needs of cultural relationships. In this research, I discussed the difference between "acting" bilingual and "being" bilingual. The skill of speaking languages achieves goals that are founded upon the need to connect. However, when one seeks understanding, to assume a position of "being" bilingual is valuable, as culture becomes the central driving force of the

connecting message that ALTBs construct. Families can be sites of cultural production that may lead to the development of cultural citizenship. Exploring the concept of cultural citizenship from a lens of intersectionality can also provide us with a deeper understanding on how (im)migrant families empower themselves during the process of acculturation.

Scholars need to assist communities (schools, community centers, government institutions) in developing collaborative tools that assist ALTBs and their parents reflecting on their experiences to build communities of self-efficacy. There is extensive work that has assisted in providing an understanding of the contribution of these adolescents. Nevertheless, work still remains in making this research translatable to various audiences and inclusive of their needs. At the end of my interviews, the adolescents and their mothers said that they had never participated in anything like this. Where opportunities are available to share their story and primarily, take time to think about this experience. After listening to their thoughts, I felt a mixture of emotions. I thought to myself if I had never returned to school to learn, I too would be feeling the same way. I picture someone speaking to me about brokering during my adolescence and think about how that would have influenced my life. Scholars thus need to make efforts to engage in doing research with children and adolescents to gain their valuable insights and together create communities of self-efficacy through scholarship that is reflective of the needs of the community.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the theoretical and practical contributions demonstrating how continuous development of relational expertise from cultural interactions prove to be useful in maintaining (inter)dependence with their mothers. In addition, the perspective of the mothers of these adolescents was shared to highlight how they experienced the phenomenon of language and technology brokering from an often dependent perspective, that transforms into one of (inter)dependence when their ALTB performs cultural intermediation. In exploring adolescent language technology brokering, I have been able to create dimensions of expertise, contributing to the existing literatures of cultural intermediation. This includes contributing to the literature on relational maintenance, relational interdependence, and adolescent self-efficacy.

This research project began with my story as an Adolescent Language and Technology Broker (ALTB), who unknowingly has transformed her parents' life in the past 35+ years through cultural intermediation. Throughout this journey, I not only understood what it is to legitimize culture but how bi-culturalism comes in two forms: you "act bi-cultural" or "be bi-cultural." Two very different things. To "act bi-cultural" is to use your skills in the hopes of bridging a divide. It means to cross one's fingers in the hopes that the bridge does not collapse when we forget a word or a rule of conversations. "Being bi-cultural" involves a complete immersion of one's body to cement the foundation of cultural relationships, an embodiment that I saw reflected in the words of these adolescents and their mothers who spoke proudly of their *hijos* and *hijas,* an embodiment that brings trust and self-efficacy into the family through cultural relationships. As I ended my journey, I asked my dad, *"Entiendes la cultural*

Americana?"(Do you understand American culture?) He then replied, "*No, pero te entiendo a ti."* (No, but I understand you.) This is what it means to perform cultural intermediation—CREATING CULTURAL RELATIONAL UNDERSTANDING FOR OTHERS.

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APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

ASU Knowledge Enterprise Development

APPROVAL: EXPEDITED REVIEW

Pauline Cheong
Human Communication, Hugh Downs School of
480/965-8730
Pauline.Cheong@asu.edu

Dear Pauline Cheong:

On 12/3/2017 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	From Child Language Brokering to Cultural Intermediary: A qualitative study on the development of the child language broker identity and its influence upon their Mexican-origin non-English speaking parent
Investigator:	Pauline Cheong
IRB ID:	STUDY00007356
Category of review:	(6) Voice, video, digital, or image recordings, (7)(b) Social science methods, (7)(a) Behavioral research
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Cheong_Cayetano_From Child Language Broker to Cultural Intermediary_IRB Protocol, Category: IRB Protocol; • Cheong_Cayetano_From Language Broker to Cultural Intermediary_recruitment script, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Cheong_Cayetano_From Language Broker to Cultural Intermediary_Parent Interview, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Cheong_Cayetano_From Language Broker to Cultural Intermediary_Child Interview, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions

	/interview guides/focus group questions); • Cheong_Cayetano_From Language Broker to Cultural Intermediary_parent consent, Category: Consent Form; • Cheong_Cayetano_From Language Broker to Cultural Intermediary_child assent, Category: Consent Form;

The IRB approved the protocol from 12/3/2017 to 12/2/2018 inclusive. Three weeks before 12/2/2018 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

If continuing review approval is not granted before the expiration date of 12/2/2018 approval of this protocol expires on that date. When consent is appropriate, you must use final, watermarked versions available under the "Documents" tab in ERA-IRB.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Catalina Cayetano
Catalina Cayetano

APPENDIX B

RECRUITMENT SCRIPT

Protocol Title: From Child Language Brokering to Cultural Intermediary: A qualitative study on the development of the child language broker identity and its influence upon their Mexican-origin non-English speaking parent

Pauline Cheong and Catalina Cayetano

Recruitment Script

My name is Catalina Cayetano. I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Pauline Cheong, Ph.D. in the Hugh Downs School of Human Communication in the College of Letters and Sciences at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to explore the effects of the use of technology upon the identity of bilingual children and how these bilingual children frame the cultural content for their non-English speaking parent.

I am inviting you and your child's participation in this study, which will involve one interview for you and one for your child of about 45 to 60 minutes in length. In these separate conversations, you and your child will be asked to share on each of your experiences with using technology and on your experience with receiving or providing interpreting and translating assistance.

I would like to also audio record this interview. The interview will not be recorded without your permission. Please let me know if you do not want the interview to be recorded. You also can change your mind after the interview starts, just let me know. You and your child's participation in this study are voluntary. You and your child may decline participation at any time. If each of you chooses to complete the interview in full, you will each receive one movie ticket.

If you have any questions concerning the research study or your child's participation in this study, please call Pauline Cheong at (480)965-8730 or Catalina Cayetano at (602) 543-1631.

Protocol Title: From Child Language Brokering to Cultural Intermediary: A qualitative study on the development of the child language broker identity and its influence upon their Mexican-origin non-English speaking parent

Pauline Cheong and Catalina Cayetano

Escrito de Reclutamiento

Mi nombre es Catalina Cayetano. Soy un estudiante de posgrado bajo la dirección de la profesora Pauline Cheong, PhD. de la escuela de Comunicación Humana de Hugh Downs del colegio de Letras y Ciencias de la Universidad Estatal de Arizona. Estoy conduciendo un estudio investigativo para explorar los efectos del uso de tecnología sobre la identidad de niños(as) bilingües y como estos niños(as)bilingües explican contenido cultural hacia sus padres que no hablan inglés.

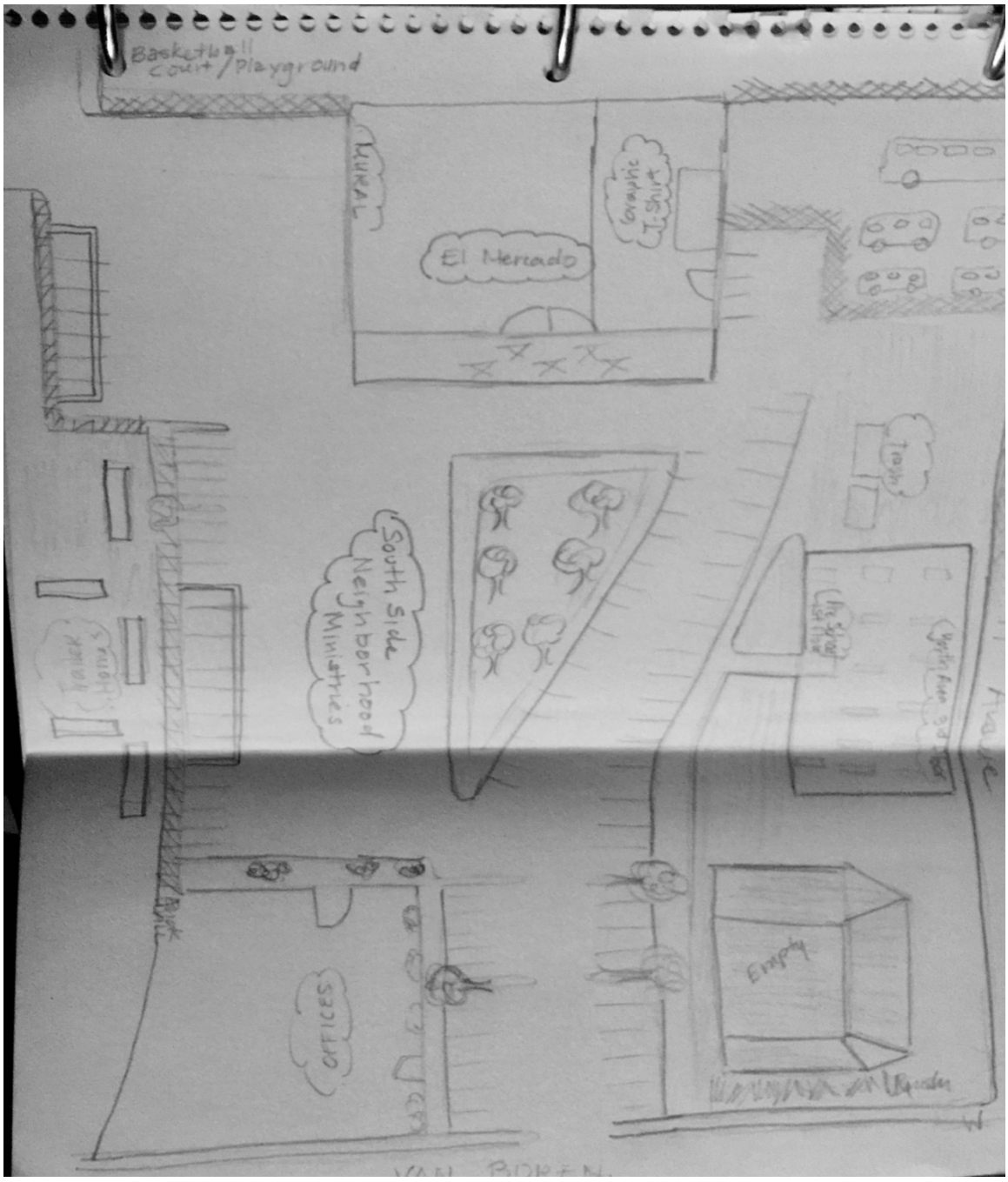
Estoy invitando a usted y a su niño(a) a participar en este estudio, que involucrara una entrevista para usted y otra para su niño(a), cada una con una duración de 45 a 60 minutos. En estas conversaciones separadas, usted y su niño(a) se le pedirá que compartan sobre sus experiencias usando tecnología y sobre sus experiencias cuando reciben o proveen asistencia de interpretación.

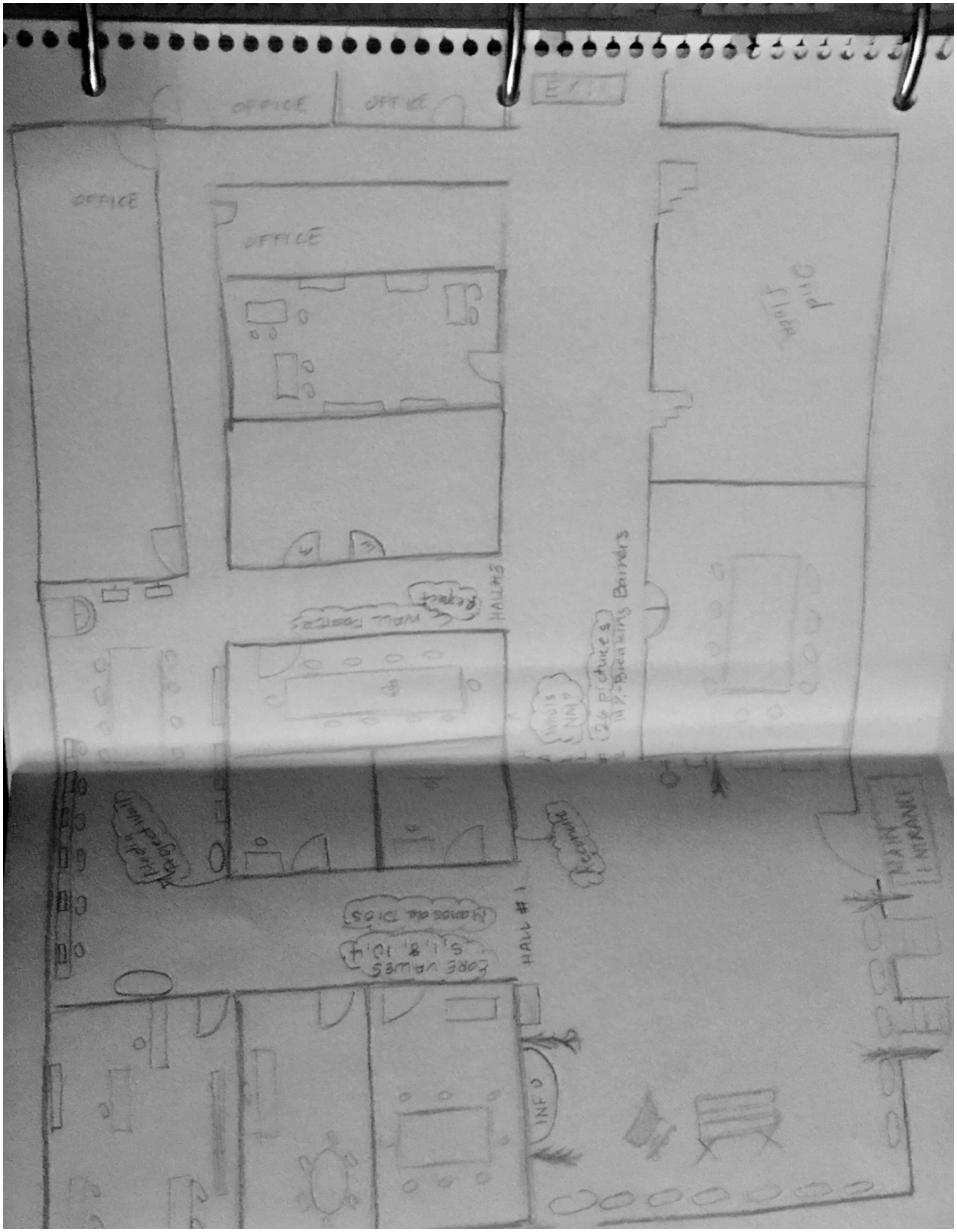
Quisiera audio grabar esta entrevista. La entrevista no será grabada sin su permiso. Porfavor déjeme saber si usted no quiere que la entrevista sea grabada. También puede cambiar de idea después de que comience la entrevista, nomás déjeme saber. La participación de usted y su niño(a) es voluntaria. Usted y su niño(a) puede declinar en cualquier momento su participación. Si cada uno de ustedes escoger completar la entrevista por completo, cada uno recibirá un boleto de cine.

Si tiene cualquier pregunta sobre el estudio investigativo o sobre la participación en este estudio de su hijo(a), porfavor lláme a Pauline Cheong al (480)965-8730 o a Catalina Cayetano al (602) 543-1631.

APPENDIX C

NARRATIVE MAP


Basketball court / playground
MURAL
El Mercado
Graphic T-Shirt
South Side Neighborhood Miniatures
OFFICES
Empty


OFFICE
OFFICE
OFFICE
OFFICE
HALL #1
HALL #3
WALL POSTERS
Respect
CORE VALUES
Manos de Dios
INFO

APPENDIX D

CONSENT FORM

Protocol Title: From Child Language Brokering to Cultural Intermediary: A qualitative study on the development of the child language broker identity and its influence upon their Mexican-origin non-English speaking parent

Pauline Cheong and Catalina Cayetano

Parent Consent/Parent Permission Form

Dear Parent,

My name is Catalina Cayetano. I am a graduate student under the direction of Professor Pauline Cheong, PhD in the Hugh Downs School of Human Communication in the College of Letters and Sciences at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to explore the effects of the use of technology upon the identity of bilingual children and how these bilingual children frame the cultural content for their non-English speaking parent. The purpose of this form is to provide you with information that will help you decide if you will give consent for you and your child to participate in this research.

I am inviting you and your child's participation in this study, which will involve one interview for you and one for your child of about 45 to 60 minutes in length. In these separate conversations, you and your child will be asked to share on each of your experiences with using technology and on your experience with receiving or providing interpreting and translating assistance.

I would like to also audio record this interview. The interview will not be recorded without your permission. Please let me know if you do not want the interview to be recorded. You also can change your mind after the interview starts, just let me know.

You and your child's participation in this study are voluntary. You and your child may decline participation at any time. You have the right not to answer any question, and to stop participation at any time. You may also withdraw yourself or your child from the study at any time; there will be no penalty. Your decision will not affect your relationship with Arizona State University, there are no repercussions to saying no or loss of benefits to which you might otherwise be entitled. Likewise, if your child chooses not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. If each of you choose to complete the interview in full, you will each receive one movie ticket.

Although there may be no direct benefit to you or your child, the possible benefit of you and your child's participation is that you and your child will have an opportunity to think about each of your experiences and how these experiences have influenced your parent and child relationship. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to you and your child's participation.

Your confidentiality will be protected. No sensitive information will be collected. Only the research team will have access to the interview recordings. The recordings will be deleted after being transcribed and any published quotes will be anonymous. Your name will be removed from all materials and replaced with a code number. All study records, including paper surveys and audio recordings will be erased within three years of the end of the study.

Responses will be confidential. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name and your child's name will not be used.

If you have any questions concerning the research study or your child's participation in this study, please call Pauline Cheong at (480)965-8730 or Catalina Cayetano at (602) 543-1631.

Sincerely,

Catalina Cayetano

By signing below, you are giving consent for you and your child _____ (Child's name) to participate in the above study.

_____	_____	_____
Signature	Printed Name	Date

If you have any questions about you or your child's rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you or your child have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Protocol Title: From Child Language Brokering to Cultural Intermediary: A qualitative study on the development of the child language broker identity and its influence upon their Mexican-origin non-English speaking parent

Pauline Cheong and Catalina Cayetano

Consentimiento para Padres/Forma de Permiso

Estimado Padre,

Mi nombre es Catalina Cayetano. Soy una estudiante de posgrado bajo la dirección de la profesora Pauline Cheong, PhD en la escuela de Comunicación Humana del Colegio de Letras y ciencias en la Universidad Estatal de Arizona. Estoy conduciendo un estudio investigativo para explorar los efectos del uso de tecnología sobre la identidad de niño(as) bilingües y como estos niños(as) bilingües se expresan sobre el contenido cultural a sus padres que no hablan inglés. El propósito de esta forma es proveerle a usted con información que le pueda ayudar a decidir si quiere dar su consentimiento para su participación y la de su niño(a) para participar en la investigación.

Le invito a usted y a su niño(a) a participar en este estudio, que involucra una entrevista para usted y otra para su niño(a) de una duración de 45 a 60 minutos. En estas conversaciones separadas, a usted y a su niño(a) se les pedirá que compartan sobre sus experiencias usando tecnología y sobre su experiencia al recibir o proveer asistencia en interpretación.

Me gustaría también audio grabar esta entrevista. La entrevista no ser grabada sin su permiso. Porfavor déjeme saber si no quiere que la entrevista sea audio grabada. También puede cambiar de pensar después de que la entrevista comience, nomás déjeme saber.

La participación de usted y su niño(a) es voluntaria. Usted y su niño(a) puede declinar su participación en cualquier momento. Usted tiene el derecho de no contestar ninguna pregunta y en parar su participación en cualquier momento. También usted puede salirse del estudio y/o sacar a su niño(a) en cualquier momento. No habrá penalidad. Su decisión no afectara su relación con la Universidad Estatal de Arizona, y no habrá ninguna repercusión al decir que no o una pérdida de beneficios a los que usted tenga derecho. Por lo tanto, también si su niño(a) decide no participar o salir del estudio en cualquier momento, no habrá penalidad. Si deciden completar la entrevista entera, cada uno recibirá un boleto de cine.

Aunque no haiga ningún beneficio directo para usted y su niño(a), los posibles beneficios de la participación de usted y su niño(a) son que usted y su niño(a) tendrán una oportunidad para pensar sobre cada una de sus experiencias y como estas experiencias han tendido influencia en su relación como padre e hijo(a). No hay ningún riesgo o incomodidad esperada hacia la participación de usted y su niño(a).

Su confidencialidad será protegida. Ninguna información sensible será colectada. Solamente el equipo investigativo tendrá acceso al audio grabaciones de las entrevistas. Las grabaciones serán borradas después de la redactacion de ellas, y cualquier mención directa de palabras será anónima. Sus nombres serán removidos de todo material y reemplazado con un numero código.

Todos los records del estudio, incluyendo cuestionarios de papel y audio grabaciones serán borradas después de tres años de terminar el estudio.

Respuestas serán confidencial. Los resultados de este estudio pueden ser utilizados en reportes, presentaciones, o publicaciones, pero su nombre y el del su niño(a) no será usados.

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre el estudio investigativo o sobre la participación de su niño(a), porfavor llame a Pauline Cheong al (480)965-8730 o a Catalina Cayetano al (602) 543-1631.

Sinceramente,

Catalina Cayetano

Al firmar abajo, esta usted dando consentimiento para usted y para su niño(a) _____ (nombre del niño(a)) para participar en el estudio indicado arriba.

_____ _____ _____

Firma Nombre Fecha

Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos como un sujeto/participante en esta investigación, o si siente que ha sido puesto en riesgo, puede contactar a la catedra de la junta de revisión institucional de sujetos humanos por medio de la oficina de integridad y garantía de investigación perteneciente a la universidad estatal de Arizona, al (480) 965-6788.

APPENDIX E

ASSENT FORM

Protocol Title: From Child Language Brokering to Cultural Intermediary: A qualitative study on the development of the child language broker identity and its influence upon their Mexican-origin non-English speaking parent
Pauline Cheong and Catalina Cayetano

Child Assent

My name is Catalina Cayetano. I work at Arizona State University.

I am asking you to take part in a research study because I am trying to learn more about children who interpret and translate for their non-English speaking parents. I want to learn about how you use technology and how technology has helped you with information when helping your parents understand English content. Your parent(s) have permitted you to participate in this study.

If you agree, you will be asked to participate in one interview that will be 45 minutes to 60 minutes in length. You will be asked to share your experience with technology, how you help your parent when they use technology, and how you use technology to help you acquire new knowledge. You do not have to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable.

I would like to also audio record this interview. The interview will not be recorded without your permission. Please let me know if you do not want the interview to be recorded. You also can change your mind after the interview starts, just let me know.

You do not have to be in this study. No one will be mad at you if you decide not to do this study. Even if you start the study, you can stop later if you want. You may ask questions about the study at any time.

If you decide to be in the study, I will not tell anyone else how you respond or act as part of the study. Even if your parents or teachers ask, I will not tell them about what you say or do in the study. If you and your parent choose to complete the interview in full, you will each receive one movie ticket.

Signing here means that you have read this form or have had it read to you and that you are willing to be in this study. If you have any questions you can have your parent call Pauline Cheong at (480)965-8730 or Catalina Cayetano at (602)543-1631

Signature of subject_____

Subject's printed name _____

Signature of investigator_____

Date_____

Protocol Title: From Child Language Brokering to Cultural Intermediary: A qualitative study on the development of the child language broker identity and its influence upon their Mexican-origin non-English speaking parent

Pauline Cheong and Catalina Cayetano

Consentimiento de Niño(a)

Mi nombre es Catalina Cayetano. Y yo trabajo en la Universidad Estatal de Arizona.

Te estoy pidiendo que participes en un estudio investigativo porque estoy queriendo aprender más sobre los niños(as) que interpretan para sus padres que no hablan inglés. Yo quisiera aprender sobre tu uso de tecnología y como la tecnología te ha ayudado con información cuando estas ayudando a tus padres a comprender contenido en inglés. Tu(s) padre(s) han permitido que tu participes en este estudio.

Si estás de acuerdo, te pediré que participes en una entrevista que tomara entre 45 minutos a 60 minutos en duración. Se te preguntara que compartas tu experiencia con tecnología, como tu ayudas a tus padre o madre cuando él o ella usan tecnología, y como usas tecnología para adquirir nuevos conocimientos. No tienes que contestar ninguna pregunta que te haga sentir incómodo.

Yo quisiera también audio grabar la entrevista. La entrevista no será audio grabada sin tu permiso. Porfavor déjame saber si no quieres que la entrevista sea audio grabada. También puedes cambiar de parecer después que empiece la entrevista, nomás déjamelo saber.

No tienes que estar en este estudio. Nadie se va a molestar contigo si decide no hacer el estudio.

Aunque empieces el estudio, puede parar cuando lo desees. Puedes hacer preguntas sobre el estudio en cualquier momento.

Si decides participar en este estudio, yo no le diré a nadie como respondes o actúas al hacer parte de este estudio. Aunque tus padres o maestros pregunten, yo no les diré nada sobre lo que digas o hagas en mi estudio. Si tú y tu papa o mama escogen completar la entrevista completa, cada uno de ustedes recibirá un boleto para una película.

Si firmas aquí eso significa que has leído esta forma o que te la han leído la forma y que estás dispuesto a participar en este estudio.

Firma de participante _____

Nombre de participante letra de molde _____

Firma de investigador_____

Fecha_____

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW GUIDE-CHILD

Protocol Title: From Child Language Brokering to Cultural Intermediary: A qualitative study on the development of the child language broker identity and its influence upon their Mexican-origin non-English speaking parent

Pauline Cheong and Catalina Cayetano

In-Depth Interview Guide: Adolescent

I would like to thank you for allowing me to talk with you today about a topic that is very important to the Latino (a) community and your family. Before we begin, I would like to give you this informed consent for you to read. I will then read the statement: Let me know if you agree to participate in this audio-recorded interview. If they respond 'yes,' I will then proceed with the following:

As you read in the form where I explain my interest in the topic of bilingualism, my goal is to gain a better understanding of your intermediary experience with your parents. Within immigrant Non-English speaking families, children like yourself, become an essential influence for their parents because you speak English and also because you can connect with your heritage and the American culture.

To begin, I would like to take a moment to explain the term "cultural intermediary." (The definition that will be used is not a dictionary/academic definition. It will be more of a descriptive one). The cultural intermediary is a term used to describe the activity of a bilingual speaker, and how the speaker influences how words are understood. Because kids like yourself have access to so much information through technology when they are interpreting, they might be influencing how their parents perceive American culture.

Opening questions

Demographic question

Before continuing, I would like to begin our interview with some questions about your family.

(Purpose is to give the child a moment to think about the information given to him or her. This will be the low point before we pick up with generative questions).

1. How old are you?
2. How many children are in your household?
3. Are you the oldest, middle, or youngest?
4. What language is mainly spoken at home? Why?
5. Do you speak both Spanish and English in same amounts? Or more English than Spanish?

Rapport Question

6. How do you feel about your ability to speak two languages (being bilingual)?

Questions about Language Brokering Experience (Generative questions)

Tour Questions

7. Have you ever assisted your parents in interpreting or translating for them?
    a. Probe–In what situations?
    b. Probe-How often does this happen?
    c. Probe-Explain to me why you think that your parents asked you for help?
8. Can you describe a time when you assisted your parents?
    a. How did you feel at that time?
    b. Do you think that you helped your parent?
        i. In what way do you think that you helped your parent?
        ii. How did your parents react to your help? What did they say to you?

Motives Questions

9. Do you think that your relationship has been different after helping your parents in this way?
    a. How so? If not, why?
10. Do you think that you always will need to help them with anything that is in English? Why or why not?
11. What do you think are the benefits of your help to your parents?
12. What do you think are the benefits to you when helping your parents?

Directive Question

Let me ask you about technology. How do feel about having access to technology?

<u>Questions about technology use and influence (Generative questions)</u>

Tour Questions

13. Can you describe to me how you use technology?
    a. What kind of technology do you use?
    b. Tell me about the kind of stuff that you use technology for?
    c. What kind of content do you access? Why?
14. Do you create content and post online? Why? If not, why?
    a. Can you describe what kind of content do you create? Why?
    b. Can you describe what kind of content do you post online? Why?

Motive Questions

15. If you share content, who do you share your content with?
    a. Why them?
    b. Who do you not share with?
16. How do you think technology has influenced how you access information?
17. Can you share with me how you think the information that you access via technology shapes how you understand the world?
    a. If it does not, why does it not shape?

18. Do you feel that you are a significant influence on others because of your capability to access information through technology? Why? Why not?

Questions about technology, information, and parents (Generative questions)

Tour question

19. Do you ever help your parents with the use of technology?
    a. Probe –Which one of your parents or both?
    b. Probe-When?
    c. Probe-What situations?
    d. Probe-How often?
    e. Probe-How did your parent approach you? What did they tell you?
20. Can you describe for me how you help your parent with technology?

Motive question

21. Do you think that your skills have influenced how your parents view technology in your house? Why? Why not?
22. We spoke earlier about who you share content/information with. Do you ever share your content with your parents?
    a. If yes, why? If not, why not?

Tour Question

23. What kind of content do your share with your parents?
    a. Can you give me an example?
    b. How do you share it?
    c. Either via online or face to face?

Motive Question

24. Do you think sharing the information you learned from accessing social media, the internet, television, helps your parents with learning about the American culture?
    a. Why? Why not?
25. How do you think sharing information with your parents has helped you or complicated things?

Closing Question

I would like to thank you once again for allowing me to converse with you today.
Is there anything else that you would like to add to our conversation?
What pseudonym would you like me to use to identify you in the project?
Do you have any questions for me?

Protocol Title: From Child Language Brokering to Cultural Intermediary: A qualitative study on the development of the child language broker identity and its influence upon their Mexican-origin non-English speaking parent

Pauline Cheong and Catalina Cayetano

Guía de entrevista: Adolecente

Quisiera darte las gracias por permitirme hablar hoy contigo sobre este tema que es muy importante para la comunidad latina y para tu familia. Antes de comenzar, quisiera darte este consentimiento de información para que lo leas. Luego voy a leer la oración: Déjame saber si estás de acuerdo en participar en esta entrevista audio grabada. Si ellos(as) responden que 'si,' entonces procederé con lo siguiente:

Como leíste en la forma donde explico mi interés en el tema bilingüe, mi meta es obtener un mejor entendimiento sobre tu experiencia intermediaria con tus padres. Dentro de las familias inmigrantes que no hablan inglés, niño(as) como tú, se convierten en una influencia esencial para sus padres porque tú hablas inglés y también porque te puedes conectar con tu herencia y la cultura americana.

Para empezar, quisiera tomarme un momento para explicarte el termino "intermediario cultural." (La definición que usare no será la del diccionario o académica. Sera una con mas descripción.) El intermediario cultural es un término que se usa para describir la actividad de una persona bilingüe, y como la persona que habla tiene influencia sobre como las palabras se entienden. Porque niño(as) como tu tiene acceso a tanta información por medio de la tecnología cuando interpretan pueden tener una influencia sobre como sus padres perciben la cultura americana.

<u>Preguntas de apertura</u>

Preguntas demográficas

Antes de continuar, quisiera comenzar la entrevista con algunas preguntas sobre tu familia. (propósito es para darle al niño(a) un momento para pensar sobre la información dada a él o ella. Esto será el punto bajo antes de usar preguntas generativas.)

1. Cuantos ninos(as) hay en casa?
2. Eres el(la) mayor, del medio, o el pequeño?
3. Cual idioma se habla mas en casa? Porque?
4. Hablas espanol e ingles en las mismas cantididades? O mas ingles que espanol?

Preguntas rapport

1. Como te sientes sobre tu habilidad de hablar dos idiomas (ser bilingüe)?

<u>Preguntas sobre la experiencia de agente lingüístico (preguntas generativas)</u>

1. Haz assistido a tus padred en interpratar para ellos?
    a. En cuales situaciones?

    b. Cada cuanto sucede esto?
    c. Explicame porque crees que tus padres te han pedido que los ayudes?
2. Puedes describir una vez donde asististes a tus padres?
    a. Como te sentistes en esa vez?
    b. Si crees que ayudastes a tus padres?
        i. De que manera crees que ayudastes a tus padres?
        ii. Como reacionaron tus padres hacia tu ayuda?Que te dijeron?

Preguntas de motivacion

1. Crees que tu relacion ha sido diferente despues de que has ayudado a tus padred de esa manera?
    a. Como? Y si no, porque?
2. Crees que siempre vas a tener que ayudarles con cualquier cosa que este en ingles? Porque si o no?
3. Cuales crees que son los beneficios de ayudar a tus padres?
4. Cuales crees que son los beneficios para ti al ayudar a tus padres?

Preguntas directivas

Dejame pregunarte sobre la teconologia. Como te sientes teniendo acceso a la teconologia?

<u>Preguntas sobre uso de teconologia y su influencia (preguntas generativas)</u>

Preguntas explorarias

1. Me puedes desctibir como usas la teconologia?
    a. Que tipo de tecnologia usas?
    b. Dime para que utilizas la tecnologia?
    c. Cual es el tipo de contendio al que tienes acceso? Porque?
2. Creas y subes contenido en linea? Porque? Porque no?
    a. Puedes describir cual tipo de contenido creas? Porque?
    b. Puedes describir cual tipo de contenido subes en linea? Porque?

Preguntas de Motivacion

1. Si compartes contenido, con quienes compartes?
    a. Porque ellos?
    b. Con quien no compartes?
2. Como crees que la tecnologia ha influenciado la manera en como obtienes informacion?
3. Puedes compartir conmigo como crees que la informacion que obtienes via la tecnologia forma tu entendimiento sobre el mundo?
    a. Si no, por que no te forma?
4. Sientes que tienes una influencia significante sobre otros por tu habilidad de obtener informacion por medio de la tecnologia? Porque? Porque no?

<u>Preguntas sobre la tecnologia, informacion, y padres (Preguntas generativas)</u>

Preguntas Explorarias

1. Algunas veces ayudas a tus padres cuando usan tecnologia?
    a. Cual de tus padres o a los dos?
    b. Cuando?
    c. En que situaciones?
    d. Cada cuanto?
    e. Como se acerco tu padre o tu madre? Que te dijeron?
2. Me puede describir como ayudas a tus padres con tecnologia?

Preguntas de motivacion

1. Crees que tus habilidades han tenido influencia sobre la perspectiva de tus padres hacia la tecnologia en tu casa? Porque? Porque no?
2. Hablamos anteriormente sobre con quien compartes contenido/informacion. Algunas veces compartes contenido con tus padres?
    a. Si, porque? Si no, por que no?

Preguntas Explorarias

1. Que tipo de contenido compartes con tus padres?
    a. Me puedes dar un ejemplo?
    b. Como lo compartes?
    c. Via internet o cara a cara?

Preguntas de motivacion

1. Crees que compartir la informacion que has aprendido por medio de los medios sociales, internet, television, ayuda a tus padres ha aprender sobre la cultura americana?
    a. Porque/ porque no?
2. Como crees que compartir la informacion con tus padres te ha ayudado o ha complicado las cosas?

Preguntas de Cierre

Quisiera darte las gracias una vez mas por permitirme conversar contigo a hoy.

Hay alguna otra cosa que te gustaria anadir la conversacion?

Que seudonimo te gustaria yo utilice pare identificarte en el proyecto?

Tienes alguna pregunta para mi?

APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW GUIDE-MOTHER

Protocol Title: From Child Language Brokering to Cultural Intermediary: A qualitative study on the development of the child language broker identity and its influence upon their Mexican-origin non-English speaking parent

Pauline Cheong and Catalina Cayetano

In-Depth Interview Guide: Parent

I would like to thank you for allowing me to talk with you today about a topic that is very important to the Latino(a) community and your family. Before we begin, I would like to give you this informed consent for you to read. I will then read the statement: Let me know if you agree to participate in this audio-recorded interview. If they respond 'yes,' I will then proceed with the following:

As you read in the form where I explain my interest in the topic of bilingualism, my goal is to gain a better understanding of your child's intermediary experience with you. Within immigrant Non-English speaking families, children often become an important influence for their parents because they speak English and because they can connect with their heritage and the American culture.

Before continuing, I would like to take a moment to explain what the term "cultural intermediary" means (The definition that will be used is not a dictionary/academic definition. It will be more of a descriptive one).

The cultural intermediary is a term used to describe the activity of a bilingual speaker when he or she interprets for another non-English speaking person. It is very similar to what we call interpreting, but the difference is that in interpreting the purpose is to connect by speaking a language, but in cultural intermediation, the speaker also directly or indirectly tries to influence how words are understood. Because kids have access to much more information through technology, when they are interpreting for you, they might be changing how you know American culture."

<u>Opening questions</u>

Before continuing, I would like to begin our interview with some questions about your family.

(Purpose is to give the parent a moment to think about the information provided. This will be the low point before we pick up next with the generative questions).

Demographic question

1. How many children are in your household?
2. What language is mainly spoken at home?
3. What kind of technologies are available in your home? Who uses them?

Rapport Question

4. How comfortable do you feel with using technology?
    a. Can you tell me more about why or why not?

Questions about parent technology use and child involvement (Generative questions)

Tour Question

5. Can you describe a time that your child assisted you with the use of technology?
    a. Probe – Who?
    b. Probe-What situations?
    c. Probe-How often?
    d. Probe-How did you ask your child to help you?
6. Can you describe to me how your child has helped you with the use of technology?

Motives Questions

7. How did you decide to have your child help you?
    a. What elements of the child did you consider in your decision?
8. How do you think your child felt about your decision?
9. What do you think are the benefits for you in having your child help you?
10. What do you think are the benefits for your child in helping you?

Directive Question

11. What types of help does your son or daughter provide for you when using technology?
    a. Probe- So one of them might be to create a Facebook account, but what about …accessing news, skyping/facetime, or posting your content on social media websites
    b. If no help is given, what kind of help would you like for them to assist you with? Why?

Hypothetical Question

12. Imagine the first time that you were introduced to technology. What did you do? How were you introduced to it?

Tour question

13. Can you describe how your child influenced your use of technology?
    a. What did he or she do?
    b. What did they say?
    c. What influenced your decision to adopt technology or not?

Motive Question

14. Do you think that your child's skills have influenced your views of technology? Why? Why not?

15. Why are the skills beneficial to the child? To you as a parent?

Questions about the technology use and influence (Generative questions)

Tour question

16. Can you describe to me how your child uses technology?
17. Does your child share content/information with you? Why? Why not?
18. What kind of content does your child share with you?
    a. Can you give me an example?
    b. How do he or she share?
19. What do you think are the impacts of this information sharing with you?

Motives Questions

20. Do you think that the information your child has access to from social media, internet, television, helps you understand the American culture?
    a. Why? Why not?
    b. In what instance, what did he or she do and say?

Tour question

21. Can you describe how your family dynamic changed as a result of your child's access to many forms of information?

Timeline question

22. When did you notice things changed?

Future predication

23. How do you envision your child's technological, language, and information skills influencing the future of your relationship?
24. If you had to thank your child, what would you tell them?

Closing

I would like to thank you once again for allowing me to converse with you today.
Is there anything else that you would like to add to our conversation?
What pseudonym would you like for me to use to identify you?
Do you have any questions for me?

Guía de Entrevista: Madre

Quisiera darle las gracias por permitirme hablar con usted a hoy sobre un tema que es de gran importancia para la comunidad Latina y para su familia. Antes de comenzar, quisiera darle este formulario de consentimiento para que lo lea. Luego voy a leerles la siguiente oración: Déjeme saber si está de acuerdo a participar en esta entrevista audio grabada. Si responden que "sí", luego procederé con lo siguiente:

Como leyó en la forma donde se explica mi interés en el tema de bilingües, mi meta es obtener un mejor entendimiento sobre la experiencia de su niño(a) como intermediarios para usted. Dentro de familias inmigrantes que no hablan inglés, los niños(as) suelen convertirse en una importante influencia para los padres porque ellos hablan inglés y porque pueden conectarse a su cultura de origen y a la cultura americana.

Antes de continuar, quisiera tomar un momento para explicarle el termino "intermediario cultural" (La definición que usare no será la del diccionario o académica. Sera una con mas descripción.)

El intermediario cultural es un término que se usa para describir la actividad de una persona bilingüe cuando él o ella interpretan para una persona que no habla inglés. Es muy similar a lo que le llamamos interprete, pero con la diferencia de que el propósito del interprete es conectar por medio de hablar un idioma, pero en intermediación cultural, la persona que habla directamente o indirectamente trata de influenciar como las palabras son comprendidas. Porque los niños(as) tienen acceso a mucha más información por medio de la tecnología, cuando están interpretando para usted, puede ellos tal vez estar cambiando como usted conoce la cultura americana.

<u>Preguntas de apertura</u>

Antes de continuar, quisiera comenzar la entrevista con algunas preguntas sobre su familia. (el propósito es para darle al padre o padre un momento para pensar sobre la información proveída. Esto será un punto bajo en la entrevista antes de continuar con preguntas generativas.

Preguntas demográficas

1. ¿Cuantos niños(as) hay en su casa?
2. ¿Que idioma se habla en casa?
3. ¿Qué tipo de tecnologías están disponibles en casa? ¿Quien o Quienes las utilizan?

Preguntas de rapport

4. ¿Que confortable se siente usted en utilizar tecnología?
    a. ¿Me puede decir porque o porque no?

<u>Preguntas relacionadas al uso tecnológico de padres y el involucramiento del niño(a) (preguntas generativas)</u>

Preguntas de Explorarías

1. ¿Puede usted describir una vez donde su niño(a) le ha asistido con el uso de tecnología?
    a. ¿Quien?
    b. ¿En cuales situaciones?
    c. ¿Cada cuánto?
    d. ¿Como le pregunto a su niño(a) que le ayudara?
2. ¿Me puede describir como su niño(a) le ha ayudado a usted con el uso de tecnología?

Preguntas sobre motivaciones

1. ¿Como decidió que su niño(a) le ayudara?
    a. ¿Que elementos de su niño(a) usted considero en su decisión?
2. ¿Como cree que su niño(a) se sintió sobre su decisión?
3. ¿Qué piensa usted que son los beneficios para usted en tener que a su niño(a) en ayudarle?
4. ¿Qué piensa usted que son los beneficios para su niño(a) en ayudarle?

Preguntas directivas

1. ¿Qué tipo de ayuda su hijo o hija le provee cuando usted usa tecnología?
    a. Por ejemplo, una puede ser cuando una cuenta de Facebook es creada, pero también cuando …. viendo las noticias, skyping o facetime, o subiendo contenido en redes de medios sociales.
    b. ¿Si no le da ayuda, que tipo de ayuda usted le gustaría en que le ayudara? ¿Por qué?

Preguntas hipótesis

1. Imagínese la primera vez cuando usted fue introducido(a) a tecnología. ¿Que es lo que hizo? ¿Como fue introducido(a)?

Preguntas explorarías

1. ¿Puede describir como su niño(a) lo influencio para usar tecnología?
    a. ¿Que fue lo el o ella hizo?
    b. ¿Que le dijeron?
    c. ¿Que influencio su decisión para adoptar la tecnología o no?

Preguntas sobre motivaciones

1. ¿Cree usted que las habilidades de su niño(a) han influenciado su perspectiva sobre la tecnología? ¿Por qué? ¿Porque no?
2. ¿Porque estas habilidades son beneficiosas para su niño(a)? ¿Para usted como padre?

<u>Preguntas sobre el uso de tecnología y su influencia (preguntas generativas)</u>

Preguntas explorarías

1. ¿Puede describirme como su niño(a) usa tecnología?

2. ¿Su niño(a) comparte contenido o información con usted? ¿Por qué? ¿Porque no?
3. ¿Qué tipo de contenido comparte su niño(a) con usted?
    a. ¿Puede darme un ejemplo?
    b. ¿Como él o ella comparte?
4. ¿Cuáles cree que son los impactos de compartir información con usted?

Preguntas sobre motivaciones

1. ¿Cree usted que la información a la que tiene su niño(a) acceso en los medios sociales, internet, televisión, le ayuda a usted a entender la cultura americana?
    a. ¿Por qué? ¿Porque no?
    b. ¿En que instancias, que es lo que él o ella hace o dice?

Preguntas explorarias

1. ¿Puede usted describir como su dinámica familiar a cambiando a resultado de las muchas formas de acceso a información que tiene su niño(a)?

Preguntas de Tiempo

1. ¿Cuándo noto que las cosas cambiaron?

Predicción Futura

1. ¿Como visualiza que las habilidades tecnológicas, de idioma, e información de su niño(a) han influenciado el futuro de su relación?
2. ¿Si tuviera que darle las gracias a su niño(a), que le diría?

<u>Cierre</u>

Quisiera darle las gracias una vez más por permitirme en conversar hoy con usted.

¿Hay alguna otra cosa que le gustaría añadir a nuestra conversación?

¿Que seudónimo le gustaría que yo utilizar para identificarle?

¿Tiene alguna pregunta para mí?