

The Relationship Among Language Brokering, Parent–Child Bonding, and Mental Health Correlates Among Latinx College Students

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The purpose of the study was to identify distinctive types of language brokering among Latinx college students. A sample of 678 Latinx college students attending two Southern California teaching colleges participated in the study. A cluster analysis was conducted using the four subscales of the Language Brokering Scale: People, Places, Things, and Feelings. The analyses identified three types of language broker based on levels of brokering: high, moderate, and low language brokers. Each group was compared on their scores on the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale, the State and Trait Anxiety Inventory for Adults, and the Parent–Child Bonding Scale. The results revealed that high language brokers scored significantly higher on depression, anxiety, and parent–child bonding compared to the other two groups. Recommendations for future research and implications for theory and practice are discussed.

Children of immigrant parents in the United States support their families in multiple ways (Orellana, 2003; Valenzuela, 1999). Often the impact of these contributions goes unnoticed and is understudied in the literature. An example of such contribution is language brokering (LB), the action of interpreting and translating for parents and other members of the family (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). When studying the effects of LB, researchers stress the importance of the multidimensionality of this phenomenon. For example, some research indicates that LB has damaging and long-lasting effects on brokers, while other studies have found the opposite (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014a). LB scholars speculate that these patterns are due to distinctive types of LB (Love & Buriel, 2007; Martinez, McClure, & Eddy, 2009). This means that some child language brokers may find translating and interpreting beneficial because of stronger bonding with parents and bicultural/bilingual abilities, while others experience negative outcomes such as parentification and heightened psychological distress. To start untangling the multidimensionality of LB and its impact on those who play this role, a person-centered approach is needed to investigate the unique types of LB and their association with psychological health. This approach allows the assignment of people into groups based on categories and the observation of how groups are heterogeneous or homogenous (Muthén & Muthén, 2000). Thus, given the paucity of research in the literature, the purpose of this study is twofold. First, our study examined the distinct types of

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LB among Latinx college students actively brokering for their families, using cluster analysis. Second, our study investigated how these clusters differ in regard to mental health correlates (i.e., anxiety and depression) and parent–child bonding.

LB is an area of research studied in education, psychology, sociology, communication, and family studies. As a consequence, an array of theories, based on ecological, cognitive-development, interpersonal-communication, and acculturation approaches, are used to explain LB and its processes (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014a; Morales & Hanson, 2005). The terms *translation* and *interpretation* are used interchangeably in LB research, when in fact they are quite distinct. Translating refers to understanding and converting the text in documents from one language to the other. Interpreting, on the other hand, is associated with paraphrasing spoken communication between two languages (Westermeyer, 1989). Similarly, different terminology to operationally define LB is used, including *language brokers* (McQuillan & Tse, 1995), *cultural brokers* (Binnan & Trickett, 2001), *family interpreters* (Valdes, 2003), *para-phrasers* (Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003), and *immigrant children mediators* (Chu, 1999). In our study, we used the term *LB* to refer to the activity of translating and/or interpreting that children in immigrant families do for their families and to mediate conversations between adults, a widely accepted definition in psychology (Buriel, Perez, DeMent, Chavez, & Moran, 1998). Brokers may be more proficient in translating, interpreting, or both, depending on their experiences (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014a; Morales & Hanson, 2005). Thus, it is necessary to study the heterogeneity of this phenomenon as well as how distinctive groups of language brokers may differ on psychological outcomes.

Studies on LB have reported different findings regarding the effects of this experience in the psychological health of the children who play this role. Early research demonstrated that child brokers translate a variety of documents, interpret in different situations, and mediate conversations (e.g., Buriel et al., 1998). These studies also reported the negative consequences due to LB. For example, in a quantitative study it was found that Latinx adult brokers felt embarrassed and pressured to translate, and that they did not think those experiences helped them in any way (Weisskirch, 2005). Recently, more rigorous and sophisticated studies using larger samples of brokers have uncovered associations between LB and depression (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014b), school-related stress (Sy, 2006), family conflict (Lazarevic, 2012; Martinez et al., 2009), alcohol use and risky behaviors (Kam, 2011; Trickett & Jones, 2007), and parentification (Mercado, 2003). Conversely, other research found positive results with ethnic identity (Kam, 2009; Weisskirch, 2005), strengthened parent–child bonding (DeMent, Buriel, & Villanueva, 2005; Dorner, Orellana, & Jimenez, 2008; Sy, 2006), and high academic performance (Buriel et al., 1998; DeMent et al., 2005; Orellana, 2003). Parents of child brokers report that LB benefits their children's bilingual and bicultural skills and strengthens parent–child bonding (Morales, Yakushko, & Castro, 2012). Lastly, scholars have also found that the constant interaction with adults and mediation of communication may influence brokers in becoming better listeners and better communicators as well as more sociable, friendly, and empathetic (e.g., Orellana, 2010).

PARENT-CHILD BONDING

Scholars have drawn upon different theories and frameworks to study LB. For example, ecological theories of child development and family systems state that in Latinx immigrant families, because children are forced to play adult roles, it is safe to speculate that LB causes significant disturbances in the broker's development and in the family system, leading to psychological distress and other negative health outcomes (Falicov, 2015; Minuchin, 2006; Santiago-Rivera, Arredondo, & Gallardo-Cooper, 2002). Children exposed to LB situations beyond their cognitive and social-emotional development can endure disruption in their identity formation, self-esteem, and family systems (McGoldrick & Shibusawa, 2012). However, studies have demonstrated that brokers and parents have a stronger bond due to LB, challenging the tenets of established theories of human development (DeMent et al., 2005; Dorner et al., 2008; Morales et al., 2012). A qualitative study with Mexican-immigrant families found that child and adolescent brokers felt more connected with their parents because it allowed them to witness the challenges they encountered (Morales et al., 2012). A similar study reported that LB allowed college students to understand the struggles their parents had to endure to support the family, which in return increased their empathy and intention to continue brokering (DeMent et al., 2005).

The connection between LB and parent-child bonding needs further examination due to the mixed results reported in the literature (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014a). A person-centered approach when studying LB can illuminate our understanding of how distinctive groups of brokers may be similar or different in their parent-child bonding. Our study is the first using a person-centered approach with Latinx language brokers. The focus on Latinx college students addresses a gap in the literature, as the majority of studies have focused on younger brokers in middle or high school (e.g., Kam & Lazarevic, 2014a; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Orellana, 2010). Additionally, given the increasing numbers and diversity of Latinx first-generation students on college campuses, studying their unique experiences as brokers can advance our knowledge on how LB may impact their mental health.

MENTAL HEALTH CORRELATES

Translating and interpreting can be daunting to brokers, causing a great deal of anxiety because of their lack of proper training for the activity. Different research and case studies have documented that child brokers often feel frustrated, angry, and embarrassed, experiencing body temperature changes and cognitive overload (Morales, 2009; Santiago, 2003; Villanueva & Buriel, 2010; Weisskirch, 2005; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Research looking at the effects of LB in Chinese immigrant families from Canada and the United States found that brokers felt a sense of burden as well as pervasive symptoms of anxiety and depression (Hua & Costigan, 2012; Wu & Kim, 2009). Furthermore, the anger and frustration experienced by language brokers are often projected onto their parents because they do not know how to speak English (Morales et al., 2012; Ng, 1998) and because the brokers are forced to miss school to interpret for their parents (Cline, Crafter, Abreu, & O' Dell, 2009; García-Sánchez, 2010). Due to the comorbidity between anxiety and depression, it is safe to speculate

that brokers may also deal with depressive symptoms as a consequence of brokering.

The constant translation and interpretation may lead to a disruption of the broker's social-emotional development as they are exposed to sensitive information about their families (e.g., diagnosis of critical illness or financial struggles) or forced to be absent. Personal anecdotes of adult brokers highlight that although they felt proud of helping their parents, they also felt parentified (Guske, 2010; Mercado, 2003; Morales, 2009). Results from studies with middle school students of Latinx and Asian descent showed a strong positive relationship between LB and depression (Chao, 2006; Love & Buriel, 2007). Furthermore, in a study with adult brokers of Eastern European descent (i.e., Poland, Bosnia, Romania) living in the United States, it was found that the relationship between LB and depression was mediated by family conflict (Lazarevic, 2012). The role of psycho-social-cultural mediators in LB can provide a clear understanding of what specific processes impact specific mental health outcomes. Studies have demonstrated that LB is influenced by gender. Female brokers who engaged in more translating and interpreting endorsed more traditional gender roles and reported more symptoms of depression (Céspedes & Huey, 2008; Rainey, Flores, Morrison, David, & Siltan, 2014).

Given the gap in the literature, we proposed a study examining the distinct LB groups among Latinx college students and their relationship to mental health correlates (i.e., anxiety and depression) and parent-child bonding. To our knowledge, this is the first study examining different types of LB using sophisticated statistical procedures with a large sample of Latinx college students who had brokered in the past year. This study addresses the following research questions: (a) What are the different LB groups in Latinx college students? (b) How do these groups differ in their relationship to mental health outcomes and parent-child bonding? (c) What are the differences when these groups are compared in terms of gender and generational status?

METHOD

Participants

A sample of 800 adult self-identified Latinx college students participated in an online study, of whom 678 (80% completion rate) completed the entire survey. Only completed surveys were included in the analysis. The students were enrolled in two large 4-year Hispanic-serving public universities located in southern California. Both institutions have a culturally diverse student body, with the majority being first-generation college students. Participants' mean age was 21 ($SD = 3.44$). The majority of the participants were female (80%, $n = 542$). About three quarters of the participants were born in the United States (74%, $n = 501$). About 76% ($n = 518$) of the participants reported Spanish as their first language. In terms of class status, 34% ($n = 230$) were in their senior year of college, 28% ($n = 189$) in junior year, 21% ($n = 143$) in sophomore year, 16% ($n = 109$) in freshman year, and 1% ($n = 7$) in graduate school. Participants reported they began translating as early as 5 years of age (10%, $n = 68$), with a mean age of 9 years ($SD = 3.27$). Responses on when participants last translated included less than a week ago (53%, $n = 360$), 1 to 2 weeks ago (24%, $n = 163$), 3 to 4 weeks ago (13%, $n = 88$), 2 months ago

(3%, $n = 21$), 3 months ago (2%, $n = 13$), 6 months ago (2%, $n = 13$), and 1 year ago (3%, $n = 20$).

Measures

Language brokering. The Language Brokering Scale (LBS) was developed by Tse (1995) and later revised by Buriel et al. (1998). The scale consists of four subscales: (a) persons for whom one has brokered (People), (b) places where one has brokered (Places), (c) things one has brokered (Things), and (d) one's feelings about brokering (Feelings).

The **People** subscale consists of 10 questions asking participants how often they translate for their family, friends, neighbors, teachers, and strangers, using a scale of 0 (*never*) to 3 (*always*). Sample items include "How often do you translate for your parents?" and "How often do you translate for your neighbors?"

The **Places** subscale asks participants to choose *yes* or *no* for 12 places they may have brokered. Due to the complexities and intricacies in brokering in certain situations, a 1 to 3 scale is used. For example, a score of 3 is given to an answer of *yes* for translating at the hospital, because it requires interpretation and translation of sophisticated medical terminology; a score of 2 is given to translating at the post office, because of the familiarity with their services; and a score of 1 is given to translating at a restaurant, which requires translating and interpreting information that a broker is more familiar with. A *no* response is given a score of 0. Sample items include "Have you ever translated at school?" and "Have you ever translated at the doctor's office?"

For the **Things** subscale, participants answer *yes* or *no* to 12 things they may have brokered. As in the previous subscale, a 1 to 3 scale is used. A score of 3 is given to an answer of *yes* for translating insurance forms, which require a higher level of vocabulary; a score of 2 is given to translating credit card bills, because the vocabulary is less complex; and a score of 1 is given to translating over the phone, because of the everyday vocabulary. A *no* response is given a score of 0. Sample items include "Have you ever translated immigration forms?" and "Have you ever translated credit card bills?"

The **Feelings** subscale asks participants to select the feelings that best describe their experience about translating. It consists of 15 items and uses a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*always*). Sample items include "I think translating helped me learn English" and "I am embarrassed when I translate for others."

Previous studies have found good internal consistency of the LBS, with alpha coefficients ranging from .70 to .84 for the total scale (Diaz-Lazaro, 2002; Love & Buriel, 2007). Scholars recommend subscale scores for stronger and more theoretically interesting relationships with outcome variables compared to a total composite score (Buriel et al., 1998; Love & Buriel, 2007). For this study, the four subscales of the LBS showed adequate internal consistency (Cronbach's $\alpha = .78$ for People, $\alpha = .75$ for Places, $\alpha = .85$ for Things, and $\alpha = .79$ for Feelings).

Parent-child bonding. The Parent-Child Bonding Scale (Kim, 1989) was used to assess participants' emotional closeness to their parents. The scale consists of 10 items using a 4-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree*

to *strongly agree*. Sample items include “I feel the responsibility to take care of my parents when I get older” and “My parents are the most important people in my life.” The Parent–Child Bonding Scale has been found to have good internal consistency (.78 to .95) with culturally diverse college samples (Kim, 1989; Love & Buriel, 2007). The internal consistency in this study for the scale was adequate, $\alpha = .75$.

Depression. The Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977) was used to assess depressive symptomatology among participants. The scale consists of 20 items on a scale of 0 (*rarely or none of the time*) to 3 (*most or all of the time*). Sample items include “I did not feel like meeting,” “My appetite was poor,” and “I felt depressed.” The Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977) has been found to be a reliable and valid measure of depression and is used widely with adults from culturally diverse backgrounds. Studies have reported good internal consistency for the total scale, ranging from .88 to .90 (Eaton, Muntaner, Smith, Tien, & Ybarra, 2004). In this study, the internal consistency for this scale was excellent, $\alpha = .91$.

Anxiety. The State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (Spielberger, Gorsuch, Lushene, Vagg, & Jacobs, 1983) was used to measure participants’ level of anxiety. The scale consists of 40 items using a 1 (*not at all*) to 4 (*very much so*) Likert scale. State anxiety and trait anxiety subscores can also be calculated. Sample items for state anxiety include “I feel upset” and “I feel satisfied.” For trait anxiety, sample items include “I feel like a failure” and “I am happy.” Studies have shown good internal consistency for the total scale in college and community samples, with alpha scores ranging from .86 to .95 (Barnes, Harp, & Jung, 2002; Kabacoff, Segal, Hersen, & Van Hasselt, 1997). In this study, the internal consistency for the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory (Spielberger et al., 1983) was adequate, $\alpha = .78$.

Procedure

To participate in the study, students had to self-identify as Latinx, to be enrolled as full-time college students, and to have translated and/or interpreted for one of their family members at least once in the past year. Upon approval of the two universities’ internal review boards, an online survey was created. We used the Qualtrics online survey service to collect the data. The link to the survey was posted on the online subject pool through the psychology departments at the two universities. This pool allows researchers to collect data from students enrolled in psychology courses who participate in research as part of their class requirements or extra credit. The link to the survey was also e-mailed to professors from different disciplines at the two universities. Coordinators of cultural centers were contacted and asked to forward the link to their respective listservs. Informed consent was obtained from all participants. The online survey remained active for a period of 9 months during 2016/2017 and took approximately 20 to 25 minutes to complete.

RESULTS

Intercorrelations

Correlations between the study variables were conducted and are shown in Table 1 along with descriptive statistics. The four LB subscales had moderate to strong positive correlations with each other ($r = .35$ to $.63$). All four LB subscales were positively correlated with Anxiety scores ($r = .09$ to $.31$). The LB–People and LB–Feelings scores were positively correlated with Depression scores, but not with the other two LB subscales. The LB–Places, LB–Things, and LB–Feelings scores were all significantly and positively correlated with the Parent–Child Bonding scores.

Types of Language Brokers

Participants were classified into different types of language brokers using a two-step cluster analysis procedure that involved both hierarchical and nonhierarchical analyses. The first step involved a hierarchical cluster analysis in which we used Ward's linkage method with the squared Euclidian distance measure. The standardized scores for the four LB subscales (i.e., LB–People, LB–Places, LB–Things, LB–Feelings) were used as variables in the analysis. A relatively large increase (25%) in the agglomeration coefficient occurred in the step where the solution decreased from three to two clusters, indicating that the two clusters joined at that step resulted in a joint cluster that was distinctly less homogeneous (Hair & Black, 2000). In other words, it suggested a three-cluster solution, which we used for the second step involving a nonhierarchical k-means cluster analysis. We also used standardized means of each cluster's LB–People, LB–Places, LB–Things, and LB–Feelings scores as starting values. The k-means analysis classified participants into three groups—high language brokers ($n = 192$), moderate language brokers ($n = 280$), and low language brokers ($n = 206$).

Study variables were compared across these three types of language brokers using Tukey's HSD post hoc comparisons (see Table 2). High language brokers reported higher anxiety levels than the other two groups. High language brokers also reported significantly higher depressive mood levels than low language brokers. However, high language brokers reported stronger levels of parent–child bonding than the other two groups.

Table 1 Intercorrelations Among Study Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean	SD
LB–People								1.88	0.44
LB–Places	.44***							1.48	0.49
LB–Things	.35***	.63***						1.41	0.65
LB–Feelings	.44***	.46***	.38***					2.28	0.48
Anxiety	.16***	.14***	.09*	.31***				2.25	0.28
Depression	.12**	.06	.05	.10*	.08*			0.81	0.53
Parent–Child Bond	.07	.11**	.12**	.23***	.07	-.04		3.04	0.32

Note. LB = language brokering.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$, two-tailed.

We also compared the groups on two categorical variables: gender and generational status. There was a significant gender distribution difference, $\chi^2(2, N = 678) = 6.03, p < .05$, across the three language broker groups. Overall, there was a relatively higher proportion of men (24%) in the low language broker group, and a lower representation (15%) in the high language broker group, when compared with the overall 19% of men in the whole sample. There was a significant generational status distribution difference, $\chi^2(6, N = 678) = 51.90, p < .001$, across the three language broker groups. There was a relatively higher proportion of first-generation (22%) students in the high language broker group, and a lower representation (10%) in the low language broker group, when compared with the overall 17% of first-generation students in the whole sample. There was a relatively higher proportion of third-generation (18%) students in the low LB group, and a lower representation in the moderate (2%) and high (5%) LB groups, when compared with the overall 8% of third-generation students in the whole sample.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the different types of LB in a sample of Latinx college students using a person-centered approach and how these distinct groups compared in terms of mental health outcomes (i.e., depression and anxiety) and parent-child bonding. The cluster analysis revealed three distinct types of language brokers among Latinx college students: high, moderate, and low language brokers. When comparing the three groups found in this study, brokers who engaged in significantly more translation and interpretation (i.e., high language brokers) scored higher on anxiety and depression while also feeling closer parent-child bonding. The moderate and low language broker groups did not differ significantly on anxiety, depression, or parent-child bonding. LB is emotionally charged when brokers may feel worried or scared depending on the people involved, the context of the situation, the information exchanged, and past negative experiences (Kam, 2011; Kam & Lazarevic, 2014a; Love & Buriel, 2007). Brokers lack the necessary skills in regulating and mediating emotions. Past studies have demonstrated

Table 2 Means and Standard Deviations by Language Broker Groups

Subscale	High language brokers (<i>n</i> = 192)		Moderate language brokers (<i>n</i> = 280)		Low language brokers (<i>n</i> = 206)		<i>F</i>	η^2
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
LB-People	2.37 ^a	0.38	1.75 ^b	0.25	1.61 ^c	0.27	369.90***	.52
LB-Places	1.83 ^a	0.30	1.65 ^b	0.31	0.95 ^c	0.37	417.41***	.55
LB-Things	1.81 ^a	0.44	1.66 ^b	0.45	0.71 ^c	0.45	374.89***	.53
LB-Feelings	2.74 ^a	0.35	2.22 ^b	0.36	1.95 ^c	0.39	232.60***	.41
Anxiety	2.37 ^a	0.26	2.2 ^b	0.27	2.22 ^b	0.28	19.45***	.06
Depression	0.91 ^a	0.59	0.79 ^{a,b}	0.51	0.73 ^{a,b}	0.51	5.49**	.02
Parent-Child Bond	3.13 ^a	0.29	3.03 ^b	0.31	2.97 ^b	0.32	13.19***	.04

Note. LB = language brokering. Values with different superscripts indicate significant within-row differences between the clusters using Tukey's HSD post hoc comparisons, significant at $p < .05$.

that brokers often report feeling embarrassed, frustrated, and anxious when they are asked to interpret or translate (Hua & Costigan, 2012; Villanueva & Buriel, 2010). Our study also supports previous research, as students in the high LB group reported significantly higher feelings of depression and anxiety.

Scholars have found that acculturative stress and feeling obligated to broker are stressors brokers endure that often lead poor mental health outcomes, including depression and parent-child conflicts (Kam, 2011; Lazarevic, 2012; Martinez et al., 2009; Trickett & Jones, 2007; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Our study supported previous research regarding LB and psychological distress. However, our study also found that participants in the high language broker group scored significantly higher on the Parent-Child Bonding Scale. Adult language brokers may view their role as a way to help their families and indirectly feel closer to their parents. Another potential explanation is that learning about the family's struggles may serve as means to empathize with their parents and then decide to continue brokering (Dorner, Orellana, & Jimenez, 2008; Villanueva & Buriel, 2010).

Looking more closely at each of the three groups' characteristics, we found that a vast majority of participants in the high language broker group were female and first-generation college students. Our study supports previous research by demonstrating that LB appears to be a female-dominated activity (Buriel et al., 1998; Villanueva & Buriel, 2010) and mainly performed by first-generation college students (Buriel et al., 1998). Female brokers also translate and interpret in more complex situations as they grow older (Céspedes & Huey, 2008; Hua & Costigan, 2012; Morales et al., 2012).

Implications

The person-centered approach (Love & Buriel, 2007; Martinez et al., 2009; Muthén & Muthén, 2000) to LB provided more explicit results about LB and its relationship to mental health outcomes and parent-child bonding among Latinx college students. From an ecological theoretical perspective (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014a; Weisskirch, 2017), the role reversals between brokers and their parents may be classified as detrimental to their parent-child bonding. However, this study found that although those in the high LB group experienced feelings of depression and anxiety, brokers still retained a strong bond with their parents. As adults, Latinx college students may choose to continue LB because they are helping, and/or empathize with, the family. From the family systems standpoint, the results showed that when brokers are engaged in high levels of LB, they can have a strong parent-child bond.

Our study provides practitioners with recommendations for the assessment and treatment of language brokers and their immigrant families. A thorough assessment of past and current LB situations can provide useful insight about the experiences of Latinx college students. This information may be useful to identify strengths and protective factors (e.g., parent-child bonding) and risk factors that may assist in treatment. For mental health professionals working with Latinx families, our study indicates the importance of exploring how LB may impact dynamics and bonds between parents and child. It is possible that LB may enhance parent-child bonding while causing disruption in

the sibling system, where brothers and sisters who do not broker may resent the broker and their parents.

Limitations

One limitation of our study is that the majority of the participants were female; hence, it did not allow us to see a clearer picture of LB among Latinx male students. Previous studies have reported a similar pattern with overrepresentation of female participants in LB research (Buriel et al., 1998; Morales & Hanson, 2005). A second limitation is that our sample came from the western United States, not considering those language brokers who live in areas with limited resources in their first language, like the Midwest. Finally, our study did not include non-college-educated language brokers and therefore does not allow us to see how not attending college may serve as a protective or risk factor.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS AND CONCLUSION

Research on LB remains relevant and needed. Our study found three distinct groups of LB in Latinx college students. Future research may examine whether these forms of LB are also found in child and adolescent brokers. It may also be of interest to investigate LB on non-college-educated adult brokers. Demographic variables like socioeconomic status could inform us on the role of social class in LB research. Particularly, LB researchers may want to focus on the human strengths such as resilience in language brokers and their families. The available literature on language brokers from other diverse groups (e.g., Asian Americans, African refugees) remains understudied. Finally, qualitative studies may provide a deeper understanding about the distinct processes occurring within the three different types of LB found in our study. As immigrant families continue growing and contributing to U.S. society, understanding the role LB plays in their lives remains an active line of research that can inform social scientists, practitioners, and policy makers.

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