

She is my Language Broker: How Does Cultural Capital Benefit Asian Immigrant Children in
the United States?

Sham'ah Md-Yunus, Ph D.
Associate Professor
Early Childhood, Elementary and Middle Level Education
Eastern Illinois University,
600 Lincoln Avenue, Charleston, IL. 61920

E-mail: smdyunus@eiu.edu
Tel 2170548 106215
Fax: 217-5 81-6300

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Abstract

Cultural capital benefits Asian immigrant children when they become language brokers. This skill can also benefit their parents and families in the United States. Language brokering may shape and possibly enhance students' academic performance and can further children's linguistic and academic achievement.

Descriptors: language broker; cultural capital; Asian immigrant children and families.

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It is estimated that Asian immigrant children and families will make up approximately 8.9% of total immigrants by 2030 (US Census of Bureau, 2004). Given the growing numbers of these children in US schools, it is important to understand their issues and challenges in educational achievement due to the language and cultural barriers they face (Fry, 2008; Omi, 2000; Tabors & Collier, 2002). Many of these children speak a language other than English at home, (US Department of Education, 2008) but they have been reported to have higher scores on academic tests than any other immigrant children (Lareau, 2001; National Institute for Early Education, 2009). The image of Asian immigrant children as obedient, silent, and nonassertive are normal traits for most Asian immigrant children in the US: “They do not *normally* initiate conversation, and behaviors such as timidity, overdependence, and lack of creativity can be manifestations of the *cultural* traits” (Mathews, 2000, p. 103, italics added).

Wu and Kim (2009) found that the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977) of the Asian home environment was one of the predictors of academic achievement of Asian immigrant children. This article discusses how cultural capitals benefit Asian immigrant children, their parents and families in the US when the children act as language brokers.

Cultural Capital

The term cultural capital refers to non-financial social assets, (e.g., educational or intellectual) which might promote social mobility beyond economic means (Coleman, 1998; Lee & Bowen, 2006). Cultural capital is a sociological concept articulated by the

French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu in 1973 as he attempted to explain differences in children's outcomes in France during the 1960s. For Bourdieu, capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange. The term is used to refer to "to all the goods material and symbolic, without distinction, that present themselves as rare and worthy of being sought after in a particular social formation" (cited in Harker, 1990, p.13). In particular, cultural capital acts as a social relation within a system of exchange that includes accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status. Cultural capital comes in the form of knowledge, skills, education, and advantages that a person has, give him or her a higher status in society (Matthews, 2000; Pearce, 2006; Zhou & Kim, 2006). In this case, parents provide their children with cultural capital by transmitting the attitudes and knowledge needed to succeed in the current educational system.

Cultural capital is defined as "family traits and cultural backgrounds that influenced individuals, including perceived ethnic and racial ties, language, neighborhood, and community" (Douglas, Roebken, & Thomson, 2007, p. 6). Bourdieu (1977) described three components of cultural capital: (a) the obligations and expectations of reciprocity in social relationships, (b) norms and social control, and (c) information channels. He viewed cultural capital as a means to an end. For instance, it is a means by which parents can promote their children's school achievement and educational attainment. Cultural capital is also related to the personal dispositions, attitudes, and knowledge gained from experience or from connections to education-related objects such as books, computers, academic credentials and institutions, such as schools and university libraries (Lee & Bowen, 2006; Orellana & Eksner, 2005).

Bourdieu (1977) indicated that educational expectations, parental involvement and parenting styles influence children's academic attainment and achievement because they represent specific values that can be transmitted to the children. In association with these values, education is embraced as a vehicle for social mobility, status and energy which is directed toward academic achievement and attainment. Bourdieu argued that children from a higher socio-economic standing are often socialized into highbrow cultural activities at home, and the exposure to this cultural capital will more likely ensure their school success.

In this article, cultural capital theory is utilized to illustrate how Asian cultural and religious values, beliefs, and practices influence the brokering process through language and literacy.

Asian Cultural Capital

Asian cultural capital is "related to the social activities in and outside students' homes, parental involvement and investment in their children's education" (Li, 2005, p. 8), cultural and religious values, beliefs, and practices (Omi, 2008, p. 21). Asian cultural capital is also influenced by the socioeconomic status of immigrant parents and families (Yoon, 2008).

Although many Asian immigrant children and families are from low-income groups, some of the cultural practices and values of their homeland are quite similar to those of middle class families in the US. For example, Asian cultures place a high value on excellence in education, resilience, and competitiveness as predictors of success in life (Md-Yunus, 2007). Furthermore, the Asian family is a hub of distinct and positive cultural values, including education, hard work, and family cohesion. Asian immigrant

parents are seen as more strict and their emphasis on education and hard work as positive values and are interpreted as a “capital” for the children (Lee & Bowen, 2006; Zhou & Kim, 2006), whose success in education is reflected in their high scores in math and reading.

Children who have high scores in math and reading also tend to have good skills in speaking and solving problems (Duran, 2008). In the brokering process, these skills are important for children to be able to understand both languages in order to translate and interpret (Dorner, et al., 2007; Yeung, 2000).

Asian parents from middle class families tend to have better “capital” because their economic status enables them to provide their children with better metacognitive function in the brokering process (Coleman, 1998). This metacognitive function is useful tool to develop skills in planning, regulating and evaluating behavior in the process of translating and interpreting between the two languages and cultures. In lower-income Asian households, cultural capital comes in the form of traditional cultural values and practices. The traditional values and practices are assets to language brokers when they become “other children” in a new country (Dorner, Orellana, & Li-Grining, 2007).

Chao (2006) and Garcia (2006) found that Asian immigrant students, whose mothers had less than a high school education, had larger gains in standardized exams scores than students whose primary home language was English. This finding suggests that Asian children of less educated parents were also able to perform well in part because their experience as language brokers have given them the skills they need to succeed academically (Chao, 2006; Garcia, 2006). In this framework, language is a tool that helps language brokers enhance their competency in using English grammar.

Cultural capital, cultural traits, and parental expectations and beliefs in education and socio-economic status provide Asian immigrant children an alternative channel for upward mobility as parents not only invest more in their children's education, but also use a more direct intervention approach (e.g. through teaching and tutoring at home) to support their children's schooling and learning.

Immigrant parents of Asian descent prioritize education and use immigration to seek better educational opportunities for their children and economic opportunities for themselves (Zhou and Kim, 2006). Zhou and Kim further indicated that Chinese and Korean immigrants' success were specifically due to such values and the structural features of their communities; in particular the "Chinese background is beneficial for children's achievement" (p. 33). These elements become assets that children can use as a foundation for being successful language brokers.

Language Brokers

Researchers use different terms to define what a language broker is. The language skills children use to help their immigrant parents by translating English language and interpreting US cultural practice have been called "natural translation" (Orellana et al., 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 1996), "family interpreting" (Valdes, 2002), and "para-phrasing" (Orellana & Reynolds, 2009). Orellana (2010) found out that among fifth- and- sixth grade children in the settled immigrant community, "73% translated at least sometimes for their mothers, and 50% translated at least sometimes for their fathers" (p. 51). Study by Dorner, Li-Grining, and Orellana (2007) also found that children who were identified as "active" brokers had significantly higher scores in reading and math achievement in fifth- and- sixth grade.

In this article, the term “language broker” refers to Asian immigrant children’s position as interpreters (McQuillan & Tse, 1995) and translators (Dorner, et al., 2007; Orellana, et al., 2003). These terms highlight how the children of immigrants build and use both cognitive and linguistic knowledge in brokering for their families. Wu and Kim (2009) and McQuillan and Tse (1995) explained that these children become language brokers for their parents and families in situations, such as applying for legal documents or government assistance, registering children to attend schools, obtaining health insurance and receiving health care, seeking employment, and reading letters and documents in English. These children also help in social situations, such as watching US movies and television, ordering food in the restaurants, and reading labels and maps (Ng, Lee, & Park, 2007). Orellana (2010) found that children translated for their parents in numerous everyday ways with home scoring the highest percent of 69, at stores 57%, 40% in doctor’s office, 30% at parent-teacher conferences, 14% for legal document, and 20% for bank statements. Older siblings also translated for younger siblings and grandparents. Han (2006) reported that children of Asian immigrants assisted their family business as well as within the family and community, in the process shaping their own ethnic identities. She found that girls most often take on what she terms the roles of tutors (serving as translators, interpreters, and teachers for parents and siblings) and advocates (mediating or intervening for parents or households members).

Language Brokers as Interpreters and Translators

McQuillan and Tse (1995) used the term “language brokers” for children who “interpret and translate between culturally and linguistically different people and mediate interactions in a variety of situation including those found at home and school” (p. 226).

Language brokers do far more than transmit information. Evidence from research studies has revealed that these students benefit from being language brokers for their parents (Chao, 2006; Orellana & Reynolds, 2009). In particular Orellana (2009) noted that language brokers with transcultural skills and language brokering experience tended to have higher scores on standardized tests in both reading and math. Furthermore, language brokering enhances cognitive skills, increases comprehension of adult-level texts, helps children gain the trust of their parents, and lets them become more bilingual (Borrero, 2006; Borrero & Yeh, 2010; Dorner, et al., 2007; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Wu & Kim, 2009).

Unlike formal interpreters and translators, brokers mediate, rather than merely transmit information (Tse, 2006). Language minority students, who broker assume parental duties that include making educational decisions and communicating directly with schools, play a pivotal role in determining their own educational experiences (Orellana, 2010; Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, & Meza, 2003). More specifically, language brokers are a tremendous help to parents who speak another language in everyday life because language minority parents may face a number of challenges when trying to communicate or become involved with their children's school. For instance, the inability to understand English, lack of familiarity with the school system, and differences in cultural norms concerning appropriate levels of parent-school involvement can hinder parents from communicating or being involved with their children's school (Quezada, Diaz & Sanchez, 2003).

The National Center for Education Statistics (2004) reported that more than 90% of students had a parent who reported receiving newsletter, memos or notices from school

or teacher addressed to all parents, 50% of students had a parent who reported receiving personal notes or e-mails from the school or teacher about the students; and 43% of students had a parent who reported receiving a phone call from school or teacher.

Therefore, the role of language brokers is critical in helping their parents and families to bridge the gap between school and home.

Therefore, language brokers play an important role in bridging the gap between home and schools especially, older children who have retained their home language skills and have a better understanding of life experiences between the two countries (Han, 2006).

Orellana further indicated that use of practice-based categorical distinction as a way of considering the relationship between engagement in the practice and measurable outcomes of standardized test scores of math and reading. Language brokers must acquire English very well to handle the difficult task of brokering. The child brokers translated texts in their second language that are far above grade level, such mortgage documents, tax forms, and letters and notes intended for their parents. This evidence strongly suggests that brokers develop high levels of language proficiency in order to perform interpretation and translation tasks (Orellana, 2010).

Interpreting and translating in the language brokering process involves multi-linguistic as well as meta-cognitive skills and cultural mediation and modeling. These skills are critical in activities that involve saying “the same thing” in different ways to different audiences and thinking about appropriate forms for each of the words or statements (Orellana, et al., 2003). Language brokers will also consider how their words will be received in order to analyze what they say and how they speak to different

audiences, dimensions of tone, register, vocabulary, grammar form, context, and the degree of formality of their speech (Orellana & Eskar, 2005). When immigrant children translate and interpret for others they draw on language strategies that good readers and writers use.

The main characteristics of cultural mediators are reciprocal knowledge and comprehension that involve communicative competence, empathy, active listening and good knowledge of both the host country and country of origin (Lee, 2005). The specific knowledge gained by a child through these interactions also represents the shared knowledge of a culture in the specific ways in which one set skill set can be transformed for use in another setting through students' routines and practices in and outside of schools (Orellana, 2009).

Cultural modeling (Orellana & Eksar, 2005) is drawing analogies between disciplinary constructs and modes of reasoning and students' cultural fund of knowledge (Gonzales, Moll, & Amanti, 2005). The students develop a deep understanding of the routine practices they engage in both in and outside of schools. Then they probe how these skills map onto some discipline, topic, mode of reasoning, or procedure. According to Orellana, et al. (2003), immigrant children were also depicting of the sociocultural perspectives on language and literacy through cultural mediation and modeling. They viewed language as a tool for navigating in the social world, constructing meaning, displaying identities, and otherwise accomplishing social goals (Mancilla-Martinez & Kieffer, 2010).

How Does Cultural Capital Benefit Asian Immigrant Children as Language Brokers in the United States?

There are two hypotheses regarding how Asian cultural capital contributes to the development of language brokers. The first hypothesis is that the family's values, beliefs, and traditions are intergenerational transfers to children. The second hypothesis is that parental expectations influence their children's success in education and life. These two hypotheses are considered significant in the discourse of Asian immigrant cultural capital (Lee & Bowen, 2006).

Asian Cultural Values, Beliefs, and Traditions

In the first hypothesis, Asian cultural capital is defined as values, beliefs, and traditions. It is heavily influenced and guided by family practices, interactions, and environments (Md-Yunus, 2006). The cultural capital of Asian immigrant children is also based on the structural features of Asian cultural practices and faith which are grounded partly in values and beliefs from the teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam (Pearce, 2006). For example, the central tenet of Confucius' teaching is the concept of filial piety. As part of the practice of filial piety children must respect and be obligated to adults in order to pay back their parents' sacrifices and take care of them when they are old. These values and the lifestyles that influences are transmitted to the children are tied to the outcomes of the beliefs and values taught and learned in the family and community. Values such as obedience to parents and elders, family honor, respect for elders, and filial piety are the essence of the cultural capital that Asian parents transfer to their children through cultural modeling (Wu & Kim, 2009).

In Bronfenbrenner's (1978) ecological approach to human development, the ecological context of children's learning is heavily influenced by culturally guided family practices, interactions, and the surrounding environment. From this perspective, Asian immigrant children are in the best position to play a role as language brokers. They help their parents and families in everyday life by translating English and being a "spokesperson" for their parents and families. According to Bronfenbrenner, the family is the closest, most durable and influential part of the mesosystem. The influences of the family extend to all aspects of the child's development; language, beliefs, practice and are all developed through the input and behavior-related feedback within the family. Children are affected by their culture through the communication of beliefs and customs parents receive from other structures in the mesosystem and exosystem and become a basis for a child's sense of self such as bi-directional interactions between school and home. The skills and confidence that developed through these relationships will increase the child's ability to effectively explore and grow as bilingual and language brokers.

Parental Influence and Expectation

The second hypothesis is that parental educational expectations influence their children's success in education. Asian cultures place greater emphasis on education, ambition, and persistence in children (Ng, Lee, & Pak, 2007). Coleman (1998) argues that family cultural capital is characterized by the parental investment of time and effort into the child's educational endeavors. In the 2008 report on Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups published by the Institute of Education Sciences (2010), a higher percentage of children who identified as Asian (51%) had a mother with at least a bachelor's degree than did children who identified as White (36%), Black

(17%), American Indian (16%), and Hispanic (11%). Sacrifice and investment in their children's education are traditional practices of most Asian parents. Furthermore, Asian immigrant parents' expectations and encouragement in children's education are linked to their immigration experiences, socioeconomic status, locality, and social positioning in the host society (The Chronicle of Higher Education, 2008).

This is especially true for first and second generation children from Asian countries, who tend to have higher scores in most assessments of math and reading (Han, 2006; Lee & Bowen, 2006). The Institute of Educational Sciences study's results further indicated that Asian American children's math and reading scores in fourth, eighth, and twelfth grades were higher compared to those of other ethnicities in 2009 (see Table 1).

Table 1. Asian American Children's Math and Reading Scores in Fourth, Eighth, and Twelfth Grades Compared to Other Ethnicities in 2009.

	Fourth Grade		Eighth Grade		Twelfth Grade	
	Math	Reading	Math	Reading	Math	Reading
White	248	230	293	273	161	296
Asian	255	235	501	274	175	298
Black	222	205	261	246	131	296
Hispanic	227	205	266	249	138	274
American Indian	225	204	266	251	144	283

Source: Institute of Education Sciences (2011). Nation's Report Card 2009. US Department of Education: Washington DC.

The US Department of Education (2008) reported two main points about Asian immigrant children. First, they make up the second largest group of language-minority students, after Hispanic students. Second, Asian immigrant children as English language learners had larger gains in academic tests than their Hispanic peers. Higher gains in the

academic tests reflect the children's ability to understand and comprehend the language. The children tend to use these abilities to help their parents and families to translate both languages in many contexts and use English in their everyday lives acquiring sophisticated vocabulary and knowledge to perform language brokering tasks. He or she must also understand complex aspects of the adult world in order to competently convey messages between the parties involved. The comprehension and vocabulary skills gained from many types of reading and level help in the understanding the context to translate from English to native language. For example in the domain of paraphrasing, children use internet search for certain words, concepts, and information then translate these words to the native language for their parents and families (Institute of Education Sciences, 2011).

Many children also act as translators at parent-teacher conference for teachers. They translated what the teachers said to the parents and vice versa. Their responsibilities were far beyond being translators and even edit their parents' writing by checking grammar, verb-noun agreement, and tenses using standard English words. They also fill out forms and read and explain letters report cards, notes, and newsletters from schools. Some language brokers help parents to make choices about school or family matters such as coursework or medical decisions.

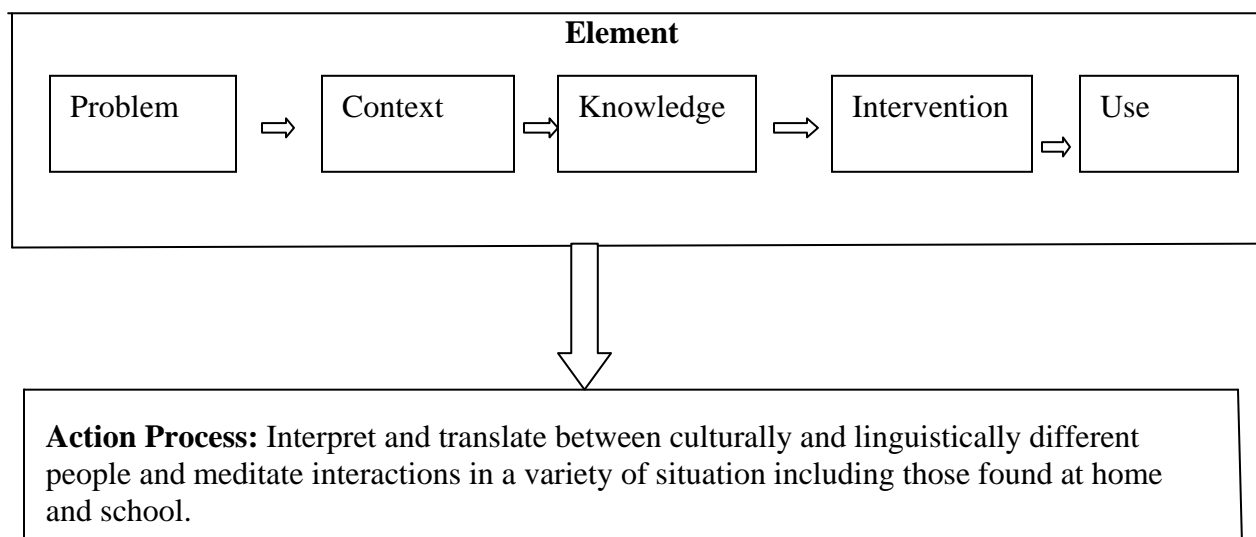
These experiences allow the children to not only help their families but also to learn subjects in science or health studies in school. Some language brokers reported that they used these experiences in the classes and homework in school (Tse, 2006). They were not only must have the acquisition of cultural knowledge but also the language development, especially their acquisition of English. This process requires brokers to

possess metalinguistic awareness, defined as an awareness of the underlying linguistic nature of language use and interpretation strategies, in addition to the cognitive and linguistic skills. Brokers use subjects to seek out resources, including peers, adults, and textual aids such as bilingual dictionaries, to help complete linguistically demanding tasks normally performed by adults. Tse reported that 57.8% of the participants in her study said brokering helped them learn English (2006).

Model of Knowledge Brokering

In the Model of Knowledge Brokering (Ward, Smith, Carruthers, Hamer, & House, 2010) for Asian children, the brokering process involves knowledge transfer rather than involving a simple linear process and is complex, dynamic, and iterative. The model has been operationalized as two practical frameworks for thinking about the issues associated with knowledge transfer -one for the producers and the other for the users of applied knowledge in academic settings. Figure 1 below illustrates these processes.

Figure 1. Model of Knowledge Brokering



Source: Ward, V., Smith, S., Carruthers, S., Hamer, S., & House, A. (2010). Knowledge brokering: Exploring the process of transferring knowledge into action. Leeds Institute of Health Sciences, University of Leeds, UK.

As shown in figure 1, the brokering process generally begins with the problem or question asked to the children. Then the children will need to put the problem or question in the proper context before they can look for the right knowledge they need to use to translate. Sometimes they need to use some interventions before they can put the problem and question in the context. For example, a parent might ask a child to track down a store employee to ask him or her question. Then the child had to translate for them and it was up to the child to convey the parent's thoughts and feelings to others. Based on this model, brokering skills are especially useful in comprehension and speaking as the child is able to develop a large vocabulary to write and speak effectively through the act of brokering for the family. The process would apply to other subjects such as in math, science, health studies, and social studies. Knowledge from reading and understanding government papers and forms, communicating with personnel in hospital, reading labels on medicine, communicating with realtors, insurance agents, auto dealers, and many more help brokers expand their vocabulary and understanding of school subjects. Figure 2 below shows a sample of some of the English skills learned in school that are used in the brokering process according to domains of brokering, paraphrasing, and translation based on the Model of Knowledge Brokering's Framework.

Put Figure 2 about here

Meta-Cognition and Meta-Linguistic Skills of Language Brokers

An increasing number of studies indicate that children who become language brokers experience benefits to their academic performance as well as social and communication skills (Gracia, 2006). Bilingualism has an impact on early cognitive development (Bialystok, 2006; Pearce, 2006). Buriel et al. (1998) argued that the

brokering process enhanced the cognitive skills of bilingual children who interpret for their parents and this process can develop greater awareness in language competencies.

Language brokering may also increase meta-linguistic skills (Duran, 2008; Fry, 2008; Garcia, 2006; Lee & Bowen, 2006) and social abilities (Chao, 2006; Han, 2006; Lareau, 2001; Tabor & Collier, 2002; Valdes, 2002). In the brokering process, the cultural modeling framework is used to examine what is involved in practices of translation. Cultural modeling is constructed between students' reasoning skills and cultural knowledge between native and adopted countries (Orellana & Eksar, 2005).

As language brokers, Asian immigrant children focus on how they "interpret and translate between culturally and linguistically different people and mediate interactions in a variety of situations" (Dorner, et al., 2007, p. 452). Their recounts of their experiences reveal considerable meta-cultural awareness and sophistication as they using different words for different audiences and framing their ideas in particular ways to achieve social effects (Wu & Kim, 2009).

Brokers who have improved their performances in school can be considered due to three reasons. First, the complex translation strategies used by children may result in higher academic outcomes than those of non-brokering peers. Orellana (2010) and Dorner et al. (2007) found that children whom they identified as active brokers had significantly higher scores in reading and math assessment in fifth- and- sixth grade. Second, language brokers' school-related vocabulary is enhanced as a result of years of experience as translators. Finally, experience in certain language activities and genres such as different types of reading materials required the same skills students need to achieve academic, cognitive, and linguistic competencies at school. Thus, language

brokers who develop and practice school-related competencies may perform better in school than their peers (Han, 2006). These arguments may explain why many Asian immigrant children who become language brokers have high academic achievement (Lee & Brown, 2006).

Lee and Brown (2006) found that many brokers felt that English was one of their easiest subjects. They were good at grammar and writing as well as correcting their own work. This is due to the fact that they had to help their parents to translate the English into their native language. They had a lot of practice correcting sentences and making them clearer to the readers in schools. Knowing grammar and correct use of the English language, gave them confidence in school. They did not speak broken English, so there was no language barrier and they knew how to express their thoughts and feelings clearly to others. As a result, they would raise their hands in class and received more participation points. Furthermore, the other students did not think of them as outsiders. With more confidence and friends, they started joining more clubs in school, which gave them even greater confidence.

Other researchers have reported a positive correlation between first language, language brokering, and academic self-efficacy (Buriel, et al., 1998; Yeung, 2000, Yoon, 2008). Specifically, Yoon found that home language has a positive effect on English and other academic outcomes. Bialystok (2006) and Pearce (2006) also found that maintaining and improving their native language influenced children's academic performance due to their competencies in meta-linguistic skills. For example, some Asian languages such as Mandarin, Korean, Urdu, and Kenji contain words that are written in very different characters and read in different ways depending on context. This

makes it very difficult for Asian immigrant parents and families not only to read but also to write the words in English. This is where the children come in and help need a different level of understanding to convey the right meanings.

It is important to note that language brokers' meta-linguistic abilities depend on the generation status of the children. In a study of the associations between children's immigrant generation status and academic performance among 16 different Asian immigrant groups, child and family characteristics accounted for a large share of the differences in children's academic achievements (Yoon, 2008). The first- and 1.5-generation children who had schooling in their home countries before coming to the US used these experiences to guide them in learning their new language which gives them a tremendous advantage for understanding both languages (Orellana & Eskner, 2005).

Language brokers who interpret and translate between culturally and linguistically different people and mediate interactions in a variety of situations can also advocate for their parents and families. In these and other instances, language brokers and their parents work as a "performance team" (Valdes, 2002) in which parents and children work together and help each other, in what might be considered as a Vygotskian "zone of proximal development" (Vygotsky, 1978, p.103). In this process, parents scaffold children's understanding of the genre, topic, and purpose of various artifacts, while children scaffold parents' understanding of linguistic and social practices. Children take the lead in translation encounters when they answer questions posed by adults or act as teachers and tutors.

Vygotskian theory suggests that these sorts of scaffold learning experiences are quite powerful and provide "benefits for children on cognitively demanding tasks, who

get placed in the “expert” position where they are forced to articulate their understanding for novices” (Dorner et al., 2007, p. 458). Language brokering involves activities in which children facilitate their parents’ abilities to accomplish tasks that these adults would not be able to accomplish on their own. In the process, children also support their parents’ acquisition of English language and literacy skills. Thus, in many ways, translation episodes represent zones of proximal development for parents, where children serve as the expert.

In language brokering encounters, children are expected to advocate for the family’s rights with people who often make racialized assumptions about their own and their families’ abilities, intelligence, social positions, and financial status. The children use meta-linguistic competencies to meet the challenges of translating, to their immigrant parents so that they can understand the meaning of the translated language (Orellana & Eskar, 2005). In addition, the children can translate the situation for their parents or families using the knowledge and experience of being bilingual to help them encounter the oppressions as being immigrants.

Social Competence and Language Brokers

Many Asian immigrant students immigrated with their families soon after birth. Thus, they are more likely to be first- or “1.5 generation” children growing up alongside their second-generation peers (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996). Since these children grow up experiencing both cultures and languages, they are the most convenient source of information and reference for their parents and families. Their efforts can open up pathways of development for others such as when children assist their siblings with homework and foster their interactions with computers and books. They also advance

their parents' language skills as well as their understanding of how things are done in the US by facilitating their parents' abilities to access information and resources that in turn open up further possibilities for family members (Love & Buriel, 2007). With their immigration experiences and their position in the mainstream culture, Asian immigrant children are on the advantage to become language brokers. Most translating involves everyday matters such as when the children read signs, labels, or directions for their parents, but these translations may also involve the most challenging kinds of mediating work in which children speak to and for the authority figures representing educational, legal, medical, and financial institutions. Language brokering helped the children excel in education because they can ask the right questions or understand how to explain things. And with the confidence in the language, there was no language barrier between the children and fellow students and teachers they could excel in other courses because they were able to convey thoughts properly.

Conclusions

Some Asian immigrant children have complex feelings about having to act as family translators (Pearce, 2006; Woerner, 2009). On one hand, they do a service free for their families, come to better understand their parents, develop self-confidence, and gain a better grasp of a foreign language (Weisner, 2002). On the other hand, some children also feel as if they are switching roles with parents, assuming the role of protector or guardian (Wu & Kim, 2009b). They may wonder who is the child and who is the adult in the family. There is also concern about how the constant pressure of having to translate affects the education of children who have to miss school to translate for their parents (Woerner, 2009).

There are many ways to understand children's work as translators and interpreters for their families. Sometimes it places burdens on children that can create stress which may affect their growth and development. However, despite the occasional embarrassment of having to translate for the parents in public, most children feel good about being able to help (Chao, 2006; Han & Bonstead-Bruns, 1998). Children often benefit from translating. For example, children who read complicated text and then explain it to someone else build reading comprehension skills, which help their reading scores in school. Some students have parents who are attending classes and help with their parents' college assignments such as by editing their term papers or research papers and helping them choose the right words to express their thoughts in English. This saves the parents from having to find and hire translators or editors.

Translation is one of the most complex types of communication (Yeung, 2000). The challenge of finding equivalences of words and ideas across languages and cultures involves not only transactions that demand cognitive and linguistic skills, but also social sensibilities, awareness of others, the ability to take appropriate roles and voices, and the management of others' emotions as well as the translator's own emotions. The intertwining of the social and cognitive demands of translation and the emotional work that it involves makes everyday language brokering even more complex than any other translation acts. For children, speaking more than one language is a cultural, academic, and social asset that generally affirms their sense of self identity.

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Figure 2. Model of Knowledge Brokering: Exploring the Process of Transferring Knowledge into Action

Element	Stream	Domain of Brokering/Para-Phrasing/Translation	What English Skills Learned in School Used in the Brokering Process	How Does Brokering Assist Children in Academic Achievement
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem • Context • Knowledge • Intervention • Use 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifying • Reviewing • Clarifying • Exploring characteristics personal and interpersonal communication • Locating • Assessing • Classifying • Usability • Relevance • Iterative • Integrating • Clarifying • Negotiating • Linkage • Managing information • Developing capacity • Supporting decisions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Translating • Reading • Writing • Speaking and communication skills • Listening and thought process • Paraphrasing • Code switching • Cognate • Construct viable arguments and critique the reasoning of others • Look for and make use of structure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reading • Comprehension • Spelling • Grammar • Speaking • Listening • Categorizing • Organization 	<p>Language Arts and Reading</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grammar, spelling structures in comprehension; Use grammatical rules to do homework and assignments. • Organizational and thought processes skills in writing, thought process in speaking and communication skills • Construct viable arguments and critique the reasoning of others • Use professional words <p>Mathematics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reason abstractly and quantitatively in problem solving • Construct viable

				<p>arguments and critique the reasoning of others</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Reasoning and proof, communication, representation, and connections• Adaptive reasoning, strategic competence, conceptual understanding comprehension of mathematical concepts, operations and relations• Procedural fluency (skill in carrying out procedures flexibly, accurately, efficiently and appropriately, and productive dispositions.• Measurement, number system• Ability to understand the mathematical rules and procedures• Using mathematics and computational thinking
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				<p style="text-align: center;">Science</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Asking questions and defining problems• Developing and using models• Planning and carrying out investigations• Analyzing and interpreting data• Constructing explanations and designing solutions• Engaging in argument from evidence• Obtaining, evaluating, and communicating information• Construct conceptual and procedural schemes with productive and insightful ways of thinking about and integrating a range of basic ideas that explain the natural and designed world. <p>History, Social Studies,</p>
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				<p>and Geography.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Know and understand map and road directions, and directions, able to understand the locations.• Know and understand the cultural and history of traditional values and custom of local community.
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Source: Modified from Ward, Smith, Carruthers, Hammer & House, 2010. Model of Knowledge Brokering. University of Leeds, UK.