Title

“If I’d Heard That Earlier, It Would Have Changed My Academic Experience”: Connections Between Language Brokering and Undergraduate Academic Writing

Author

Woodbridge, Amy

Publication Date

2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

“If I’d Heard That Earlier, It Would Have Changed My Academic Experience”: Connections Between Language Brokering and Undergraduate Academic Writing

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

Amy Woodbridge

2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

"If I'd Heard That Earlier, It Would Have Changed My Academic Experience":
Connections Between Language Brokering and Undergraduate Academic Writing

by

Amy Woodbridge
Doctor of Philosophy in Education
University of California, Los Angeles, 2021
Professor Alison Bailey, Chair

Children who engage in *language brokering*, serving as translators and interpreters for their non-English-speaking families, develop cognitive, linguistic, and academic skills through their brokering activities. However, language brokers' linguistic assets are often undervalued or underutilized in higher education (Mazak & Carroll, 2017). The current study used a qualitative phenomenological approach to explore connections between language brokering and students' academic writing as undergraduates. It also examined students' own awareness of these connections. Finally, because written voice is a crucial aspect of academic writing and participation in the academic discourse community part of successful academic writing (Matsuda & Tardy, 2007; Wu, 2007; Zhao, 2017), the study explored undergraduate language brokers' views of academic written voice.

Drawing from an Enhanced Academic Performance framework of language brokering (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014) and the theoretical lenses of language socialization (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984) and translanguaging (e.g., Vogel & García, 2017), the study used data from semi-structured interviews and an online questionnaire to answer its research questions. Participants (*N*=22) were undergraduates at a large public university who had language brokered for their families as children, and in most cases continued to broker for their families as college students. Thematic analysis established fourteen *characteristics, skills,* and *strategies* common between language brokering and academic writing. All students demonstrated an explicit awareness of at least one connection between language brokering and undergraduate academic writing, although most connections became apparent to participants only after speaking about the activities at length during the interview. Of the total connections of characteristics, skills, and strategies (CSS) that occurred throughout students' interviews, 56% (*n*=44) were explicitly recognized by participants, while 44% (*n*=35) were connected only implicitly, meaning that the participant mentioned the CSS in the context of either language brokering or writing but did not appear to connect the CSS as something common to both language brokering and writing. Participants defined voice as being related to *stance* or *form* and clarified that voice also *differed by discipline.* Students' views toward the use of academic voice in writing varied, with some participants feeling confident or decisive when using academic voice, while others felt stressed, limited, detached, or like they were taking on a persona. Data on students' school experiences, while limited, suggested that having negative experiences in school was associated with connecting a lower proportion of CSS between language brokering and writing, lower authorial confidence, and a lower sense of identification as an author.

The findings of this study extend current language brokering research to an undergraduate population and provide empirical support connecting characteristics, skills, and strategies between the two activities. They support the use of translanguaging as a practice in writing and underscore the importance of school experiences on students' academic self-efficacy and writer identities. Implications of these findings apply to both higher education and K-12 education; I urge educators at all levels to guide bi- and multilingual students to recognize their skills and strategies as academic strengths.

The dissertation of Amy Woodbridge is approved.

Kimberley Gomez

Marjorie E. Orellana

Carola E. Suárez-Orozco

Alison Bailey, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To the students who participated in this study: thank you for sharing your time, your words, and your insight. I learned so much from speaking with each and every one of you, and I hope I have represented your experiences meaningfully.

I extend my deepest and warmest gratitude to my advisor and dissertation chair, Alison Bailey, whose guidance throughout my graduate career has pushed me to grow as a student, scholar, researcher, and teacher. You have shaped not only my academic knowledge but my approach as an educator. I also want to thank my committee members—Kimberley Gomez, Marjorie Orellana, and Carola Suárez-Orozco—whose advice and expertise strengthened this study from the conceptual stage to its final revisions.

I am grateful to Lily Gutierrez, Sukai Kato-Hopkins, Shannel Miranda, Armando Olea Romero, Mei Tam, and Kellina Tran for volunteering their time to assist with this research. Thank you also to Jeremy Kelley, Nicole Mancevice, and Steve Peterson for allowing me to visit their classrooms to speak to potential participants. To my RAC-mates and friends at UCLA, thank you for your endless encouragement.

To my parents, you have cheered me on from day one. Your constant support has gotten me through everything, and I am here because of the countless sacrifices you have made for me. Finally, my infinite thanks and love go out to my husband, without whom I would have *never* managed this.

VITA

EDUCATION

University of California, Los Angeles, School of Education and Information Studies
Master of Arts in Education 2017

University of Pennsylvania
Bachelor of Arts in Linguistics and English 2006

FELLOWSHIPS

2016-17	Graduate Research Mentorship
2016	Graduate Summer Research Mentorship
2015	Graduate Summer Research Mentorship
2014-16	Divisional Scholarship

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS AND REPORTS

Blackstock-Bernstein, A., **Woodbridge, A.,** & Bailey, A. L. (Forthcoming). Comparing elementary students' oral and written language: Explanations about academic and non-academic tasks. *The Elementary School Journal.*

Woodbridge, A. (2020). *Preliminary findings on undergraduate experiences related to COVID-19.* Report prepared by the Student Affairs Information & Research Office, University of California, Los Angeles.

Woodbridge, A. (2018). *Experiences of students with disabilities at UCLA.* Report prepared by the Student Affairs Information & Research Office, University of California, Los Angeles.

Bailey, A. L. & **Woodbridge, A.** (2016). *The policy and practice of dual immersion: Planning for the secondary years.* White paper prepared by the University of California, Los Angeles.

SELECTED CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Woodbridge, A., & Htut-Rosales, A. M. (2020, April). *Impact of First-Generation Status on College Students' Academic Engagement, Co-curricular activity, and Belonging.* Presentation at the American Educational Research Association 2020 Annual Meeting, San Francisco, California. (Conference canceled)

Woodbridge, A. (2019, March). *Experiences of First-Generation College Students: Integrating Research and Practice.* Presentation at NASPA 2019, Los Angeles, California.

Blackstock-Bernstein, A., & **Woodbridge, A.** (2017, April). *Syntactic Growth: Comparing Developmental Change in Elementary Students' Oral and Written Language.* Poster presentation at the American Educational Research Association 2017 Annual Meeting, San Antonio, Texas.

Blackstock-Bernstein, A., **Woodbridge, A.,** Chang, S., & Bailey, A. L. (2016, April). *Relating mathematical understanding to oral language proficiency: Elementary teachers' ratings of student mathematical explanations.* Presentation at the American Educational Research Association 2016 Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C.

Woodbridge, A. (2015, May). *Perspective taking and writing as moderated by second language exposure.* Poster presentation at the Symposium on Cognition and Language Development 2015, Irvine, California.

SELECTED RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Student Affairs Information & Research Office, UCLA 2016-2021
Research Analyst

Dynamic Language Learning Progressions (DLLP) Project, UCLA 2014-2016
Graduate Student Researcher

SELECTED TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor of Record:
ESL 25: Academic Reading and Writing 2017
Undergraduate Research Partnership Initiative (Instructor/Intern supervisor) 2018-19

Teaching Associate/Assistant: 2015-2020
Psychology 134I: Child, Family, and Community
Communication 150: Methodologies in Communication Research
Psychology 130: Developmental Psychology
Linguistics 1: Introduction to Language

Reader:
Communication 109: Entrepreneurial Communication

SELECTED SERVICE

Service to the Field:
2018-20 Research and Inquiry Conference, Reviewer
2018 *Educational Assessment,* Reviewer
2018 Creating Connections: 1st Annual Symposium on Writing Pedagogy, Organizer
2016 American Educational Research Association, Reviewer
2015-16 The Policy and Practice of Dual Immersion (Conference), Organizer
2014-2015 *InterActions,* UCLA Journal of Ed&IS, Peer Advisory Board Member

University Service:
2020 UCLA Annual TA Conference, TA Trainer
2018-19 Students with Dependents Task Force, Organizer
2017-2019 UCLA Language and Literacy Research Group, Website Creator/ Administrator

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The transition to university is an entry to a community of scholarship, where much of the intellectual discourse is communicated through writing. Many scholars agree that the presence of an author identity or voice within a text is a vital component of academic writing. Writers must understand how to represent themselves as credible members of the discourse community (e.g., Hyland, 2002b). This can be a formidable task for students. Not only are they still learning the norms of the register to which they must conform, they also may not yet see themselves as members of the discourse community, making it difficult to portray themselves as such. Students may feel tentative about asserting their identity too strongly due to a perceived lack of authority (Tang & John, 1999).

Students may struggle to reconcile the authority they are expected to portray with the lack of authority they perceive themselves to hold in the discourse community, yet for a certain population of students, this incompatibility is a daily reality. These are students who engaged as children (and may continue to engage as college students) in an activity known as *language brokering*, serving as translators and interpreters for their non-English-speaking families.

Twenty-six percent of US children, and 47% of children in California, had at least one immigrant parent in 2019 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2019 American Community Survey, as reported by Migration Policy Institute). Children assimilate more quickly than their parents in a new country (Martinez et al., 2011; Zhou, 1997), especially when acquiring their new language (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). As a result, children play an important role in helping their families acculturate. Language brokering is performed for a number of people, in various places, for many purposes. Children report brokering for parents, siblings, other relatives,

friends, neighbors, teachers, other school staff, "business people," medical staff, strangers, and police, among others. They broker at home, school, and parents' workplaces, in stores, post offices, banks, government offices, restaurants, and hospitals. The written documents they translate include letters from school, job applications, financial statements, bills, report cards, rental agreements, immigration forms, insurance policies, communication from parents' employers, prescriptions, and legal documents (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, Dorner, et al., 2003; Tse, 1995, 1996b; Valdés, 2003; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Many immigrant families, including the child language brokers themselves, view brokering as a natural activity (Bauer, 2016; Orellana, Dorner, et al., 2003; Orellana, 2009; Tse, 1996a).

Previous research has established that language brokers can experience mixed socioemotional outcomes as a result of their brokering work, ranging from pride and confidence to embarrassment or stress (e.g., Tse, 1996a; Weisskirch, 2007; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). However, not only can language brokers demonstrate metacognition, academic self-efficacy, and effective use of resources, they can also demonstrate an awareness of register and the ability to adjust their language for their audience (Buriel et al., 1998; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, 2001). The current study hypothesizes that students who served as childhood language brokers draw on these skills when developing their undergraduate academic writing.

All students enter academic discourse as outsiders or novices, but students "who are more linguistically and culturally distant from these [discourse] communities" face increased adversity because they must not only learn the rules, they must make a larger adjustment in terms of their own identity (Leask, 2006, p. 188). The transition to academia requires persistent and repeated help from instructors. As such, and due to the fact that college is a time when young adults explore their identities (Montgomery & Côté, 2006; Schwartz et al., 2006) and may closely

examine differences in their experiences as compared to their peers (Brittian et al., 2013), research on this age group is particularly crucial. As children of immigrants, many language brokers already face a number of disadvantages in their academic careers. Children who perform more acts of culture brokering generally come from families who have spent a shorter amount of time in the US, have lower levels of parent education, perform jobs of lower status, and live in heritage language communities (Jones et al., 2012; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Trickett & Jones, 2007). However, their experience language brokering might be one advantage, and their experiences may have aided them in developing strategies for academic writing. While research on child language brokers has explored the effect of brokering on academic outcomes, as well as concepts such as audience awareness and register, this area remains underdeveloped in comparison to what we know about the socioemotional realm of language brokering, particularly in young adult populations. Much of the existing research on language brokering focuses on childhood experiences, whether approached concomitantly (i.e., with child participants; Alvarez, 2014; Dorner et al., 2007) or retrospectively (i.e., with adult participants reflecting on childhood experiences; Bauer, 2016; McQuillan & Tse, 1995). However, additional research connecting these early experiences with later academic skills is needed.

Problem Statement

In the broader literature on bilingualism and biliteracy, students' diverse language experiences have often been viewed through a deficit perspective (González et al., 2005; Reyes et al., 2012). Many educators have seen bilingualism as a barrier rather than an asset (Valenzuela, 1999a). In the last decade, scholars have pushed to change this perspective, viewing bi- or multilingualism as an asset that provides children with a wealth of cognitive and linguistic resources (e.g., Bailey & Orellana, 2015; García & Wei, 2014; Souto-Manning, 2016). The skills

gained from bi- or multilingualism, and from language brokering more specifically, are skills that can contribute to academic performance (Eksner & Orellana, 2012; Katz, 2014; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, 2001; Valdés, 2003). However, the linguistic assets students bring with them are often undervalued or misunderstood in higher education (Mazak & Carroll, 2017), an environment in which monolingual ideologies have traditionally dominated (Corcoran, 2017; Matsuda, 2006).

This study approaches bilingualism, and language brokering in particular, as an asset. The mixed nature of children's attitudes and perceived outcomes of their language brokering reflect the complexity of the phenomenon. Some of that complexity may be due to individuals' changing attitudes toward their language brokering over time as a result of their current circumstances (Orellana & Phoenix, 2017), yet a relatively small proportion of the language brokering literature explores the phenomenon in college students. While I will outline the expected connections between language brokering and college-level academic writing, these connections have not yet been empirically established for this population. In addition, students' awareness of the abilities they have developed, and degree to which they are conscious of using those abilities in the environment of higher education, is not well understood.

Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The goal of this study is to establish an empirical basis for the connections between language brokering and academic writing and determine what abilities related to academic writing, if any, students attribute to their language brokering experiences. It also aims to examine students' views of their academic written voice in order to better understand undergraduate language brokers' views of themselves as members of the academic discourse community. Many individuals, including language brokers themselves, do not recognize brokering as a unique

activity or a skill that holds academic value (Bauer, 2016; Buriel et al., 1998; Orellana, Dorner, et al., 2003; Orellana, 2009; Tse, 1996a). Recognizing the work of language brokering demonstrates its importance for educators and provides insight to the way that students leverage their linguistic experiences for academic success. Understanding whether students see a connection between their language brokering and academic writing experiences, and whether they can articulate skills that have arisen from this connection, can inform both university educators as well as the K-12 educators preparing students with the skills to develop college-level writing.

The study aims to address the following research questions:

1. In what ways do undergraduate language brokers describe any connections between their undergraduate academic writing and their past and current brokering experiences?
2. To what extent do undergraduate language brokers consciously or explicitly draw these connections?
3. What are undergraduate language brokers' views of academic written voice?

Key Terminology

1. *Undergraduate language broker* refers to an undergraduate student with childhood language brokering experiences. This individual does not necessarily continue to serve as a language broker for their family as a young adult.
2. *(Undergraduate) academic writing* refers to writing students complete in school, generally for the purpose of summative (and occasionally formative) assessment, typically a class paper. It does not include informal writing done in the school environment, such as note-taking.

Researcher Position Statement

In conducting this research, I recognized that I would need to maintain an ideological balance. From one viewpoint, "learning to think, act, and speak like an expert in specific physical, temporal, cultural, and ideological spaces is a necessity to function successfully in any community" (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015, p. 319). However, analyses of "novice" work risk approaching student writing—or the writing of any group outside of the established academic structure—from a deficit perspective. Any research on this topic must navigate the sociolinguistic hegemony in academic writing, and students' uncertainty as to how much they should, or want to, conform to prescribed norms.

As an individual who grew up monolingual, I shared little of the experiences of the participants of this study. I have served as a writing instructor in a variety of settings, teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students of all ages in several countries. Many of my students have shared that they felt they were not able to express themselves in writing. In addition to this experience, I worked for five years in institutional research, gaining a better understanding of students' academic experiences on a broad level through campus-wide surveys. While this survey research allowed me to hear the voices of my university's student body as a whole, it could not capture the complex backgrounds and skill sets of all learners.

As an instructor in a field traditionally concerned with prescriptive norms, I have struggled to articulate to both myself and my colleagues the best ways to practice responsive and expansive pedagogy. I undertook this research in order to contribute knowledge to practices that would honor linguistically diverse learners in higher education. While conducting participant interviews, I was humbled by the remarkable insight shared by the students who were generous enough to share their knowledge and experiences with me.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This study is informed by two distinct bodies of literature: published studies on language brokering and studies on academic writing. I will begin by reviewing background literature on language brokering, including its cognitive and linguistic outcomes, skills related to academics, academic outcomes, and finally an illustration of the differences between language brokering and translation or interpreting. I will then discuss broad parallels between language brokering and academic writing before reviewing academic writing, including the development of academic written voice. This second section will address the challenges all students—not only language brokers—face in their academic writing. I will conclude with an argument based in the literature as to why language brokers are uniquely positioned to face those challenges.

Language Brokering

Language brokering is a form of translanguaging, an activity in which children draw from all of the languages in their repertoire to make meaning and communicate with others (e.g., García & Wei, 2014; Orellana & García, 2014). It is known by a number of different terms: natural translation (Harris & Sherwood, 1978), family interpreting (Valdés, 2003), or para-phrasing (Orellana, Reynolds, et al., 2003). The first two terms may obscure some of the nature of language brokering: the first suggests more of a straightforward translation activity, which I will establish is not the case in many language brokering situations. The second emphasizes the team-based nature of family language work, which can ignore the complicated power relationships between family members (Orellana, Dorner, et al., 2003). The hyphenated term "para-phrasing" is a play on words: it refers to translating between two languages—not unlike what one does when paraphrasing within a single language—for (*para*, in Spanish) members of

their family (Orellana, Reynolds, et al., 2003). I will use the term *language brokering*, the most frequently used in the literature, throughout this proposed study.

In two studies by Tse, 93% of immigrant adolescents interviewed report having acted as a language broker for their parents at one point; an additional 4% have not, but have an older sibling who serves as the family's language broker (Tse, 1996a, 1996b). The less acculturated the child reports herself as being, the more language brokering she must generally do (Weisskirch et al., 2011; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002), which may be explained by the fact that her parents are also less acculturated. In fact, 52% of child language brokers said they were brokering within one year of arrival, at a time when they themselves would only be learning English (Tse, 1996b). Many language brokers, therefore, may serve as translators for their families before they have developed sufficient linguistic or content knowledge (Tse, 1996a). As with other related tasks of culture brokering (a phenomenon that includes language brokering, as well as other responsibilities such as family caregiving and tutoring; Valenzuela, 1999b), the eldest sibling typically serves as the language broker, and—at least in Latino families—girls act as brokers more frequently than boys (Buriel et al., 1998; Chao, 2006; Orellana, Dorner, et al., 2003; Valenzuela, 1999b; Villanueva & Buriel, 2010), although some studies on language brokering in other cultures find no difference in language brokering based on gender (Hua & Costigan, 2012; Jones et al., 2012). Studies that have found a higher frequency of language brokering in Latina girls and adolescents attribute this difference to cultural expectations placed on girls to shoulder a higher level of responsibility within the home (Buriel et al., 2006), including work that entails explanation or translation (Valenzuela, 1999b).

Outcomes of Language Brokering

Language brokers have unique cognitive and linguistic advantages that they can leverage in academic writing. Understanding and translating between registers requires metalinguistic awareness. Bilingual children in general—not only translators—are experienced in the metalinguistic practice of noting differences in linguistic forms and recognizing which linguistic system is appropriate when speaking to various audiences. By developing this advanced level of control in oral language, bilingual children may have a metalinguistic advantage in literacy (Bialystok, 1991). Language brokers demonstrate both metalinguistic and social skills in the ways they are required to process information and then transmit it to others (Orellana, Reynolds, et al., 2003; Vasquez et al., 1994). The metalinguistic awareness demonstrated by child language brokers exceeds that of their monolingual peers (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991; Valdés, 2003). Drawing from Bialystok and Ryan (1985), Malakoff and Hakuta define metalinguistic awareness as "both an awareness and a skill" (p. 148); that is, a problem solving skill where the child can understand what is expected in the situation. They identify four processes used in natural translation, or language brokering: understanding the vocabulary of the source text, understanding the overall meaning of the source text, converting the message into the target language, and finally assessing the accuracy and fidelity of the target language's text. The last two steps operate on both a semantic and structural level. Brokering, they argue, is therefore both a communicative and metalinguistic skill requiring evaluation and reflection on the child's part as to whether she has adhered to the standards of the target language.

Additional literature directly examines the linguistic and metalinguistic demands of language brokering, although this body of literature remains relatively small (Reynolds & Orellana, 2014). Language brokering "enables children to tap into a broad range of their

linguistic repertoire" (Orellana & Reynolds, 2008, p. 62). Adult language brokers report that their childhood experiences helped them learn vocabulary in both of their languages and helped them understand adult-level texts (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). When struggling to translate difficult words or syntax in a brokering situation, children use a variety of strategies: they may describe the word, test various pronunciations to search for cognates, use context clues, or paraphrase (Eksner & Orellana, 2012). Remember that Orellana and colleagues (2003) introduced the term "para-phrasing" to refer to language brokering, in part due to the similarities between the skill sets of brokering and the kind of paraphrasing required in writing. Paraphrasing is important to the work of translators, as it demonstrates semantic and grammatical understanding (Gleitman & Gleitman, 1971; Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991). Malakoff and Hakuta refer to translating as "interlanguage paraphrasing" and paraphrasing as "intralanguage translation"; both display the ability to recode.

As they work in a variety of environments, child language brokers learn to accommodate necessary changes in register. When play-acting a typical language brokering scenario, children demonstrate an understanding of the more formal register a shopkeeper would use, and how they as brokers would then change their register when translating for the parent (Reynolds & Orellana, 2014). Language brokers also demonstrate an understanding of audience and register in writing. Students as young as 5th grade understand the importance of differences in audience (Orellana & Reynolds, 2008). Sixth grade students instructed to write for different audiences make different choices in terms of vocabulary, grammar (such as the use of conditionals), and argument structures. They are also able to establish common ground using rhetorical strategies and highlighting shared experiences and consequences they think their audience will care about (Carbone & Orellana, 2010; Martínez et al., 2008); research on Mexican-American preschoolers

suggest these skills may begin to develop as early as age four (Vu et al., 2010). Of course, while we can draw from these studies for support, it is important to note that we cannot necessarily assume that these students are more skilled than their non-brokering peers at "translating" their oral language into academic writing. However, considering this in the context of other studies on the cognitive and linguistic benefits of language brokering makes it a compelling argument.

Much of the research conducted on language brokering focuses on social, emotional, or cultural outcomes. It is important to acknowledge language brokering as a complex process that, seen from different perspectives, can have either positive or negative outcomes on immigrant youth (Orellana, 2009). Positive attitudes and emotions associated with language brokering include pride, confidence, maturity, and independence (Chao, 2006; Dorner et al., 2008; Orellana, Dorner, et al., 2003; Shannon, 1990; Tse, 1996b; Weisskirch, 2007). While fewer children and adolescents report negative socioemotional outcomes, some do report feeling embarrassed or burdened (Tse, 1996b). Brokering is also associated with anxiety, depression, stress, and emotional distress (Chao, 2006; Jones et al., 2012; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Telzer & Fuligni, 2009; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). After entering high school, adolescents report additional pressure to balance school and extracurricular activities with the need to be home to help their parents (Dorner et al., 2008). The transition to college adds to this stress, as students learn to manage distance and new demands on their time (Weisskirch et al., 2011). Longitudinal studies show that language brokers feel mixed attitudes toward their work at different times of life, and that their memories of childhood brokering are shaped by their current experiences (Orellana & Phoenix, 2017).

Other studies focus on the potential benefits of language brokering in terms of children's cognitive development, academic performance, and language development. Language brokers, as

a result of their experiences, become experts in both linguistic issues and specific subject matters for their families. They report problem-solving and decision-making abilities that members of the dominant culture would consider adult level (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). Valdés (2003) argues that the ability to broker for others is a form of giftedness. The frequency of language brokering may impact children's outcomes; frequent language brokers appear to demonstrate more developed cognitive and socioemotional abilities than their same-age peers who broker infrequently or not at all (Buriel et al., 1998).

Language Brokering and Academic Skills

The work language brokers do for their families can be connected to the work they are asked to do in school (Orellana, 2001), and a number of studies have found links between language brokering and academic performance. Language brokers can effectively utilize physical resources (e.g., dictionaries and websites), social resources such as peers or adults, and context clues; these skills may help foster their academic success (Eksner & Orellana, 2012; Katz, 2014; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, 2001). They also use metacognitive strategies such as chunking, breaking oral or written texts into chunks in sizes inversely proportional to the difficulty of the subject matter (Eksner & Orellana, 2012).

The current study investigates students' awareness of the connections that exist between their language brokering experiences and academic writing experiences. This is predicated on the logic that awareness of one's own unique skills and strategies is related to self-efficacy, or a person's belief in her ability to accomplish an act to achieve a desired result (Bandura, 1997). Self-efficacy is a factor of academic motivation (Pajares, 2003). Academic self-efficacy predicts academic performance (Acoach & Webb, 2004; Buriel et al., 1998; Castro-Villarreal et al., 2014; Chun & Dickson, 2011; Edman & Brazil, 2009; Niehaus et al., 2012), and additional literature

has established that the effect of self-belief increases when considering subject-specific self-belief as opposed to general academic self-belief (Valentine et al., 2004). In K-12 students, increased self-efficacy in writing leads to improved writing performance, measured by structure and coherence (Garcia & de Caso, 2006) as well as composition, mechanics, and grammar (Pajares & Valiante, 1997). Research suggests that elementary-aged emerging bilinguals have a lower sense of self-efficacy than their English monolingual peers (LeClair et al., 2009). However, high school language brokers show higher academic self-efficacy than their non-brokering bilingual counterparts (Acoach & Webb, 2004).

Few studies examine a direct link between language brokering and academic outcomes, and those that do arrive at mixed results. Tse (1995) finds that high school language brokers have lower English grades than their peers, although she argues that school assessments may not sufficiently capture language brokers' unique linguistic abilities. Taking a decontextualized academic assessment is a different skill than comprehending authentic texts with a specific audience and intended outcome, as child language brokers are expected to do (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). Another study directly examining academic outcomes finds the opposite: Dorner, Orellana, and Li-Grining (2007), researching 5th and 6th graders, conclude that language brokering may have academic benefits, particularly for reading comprehension. The authors determine that active brokering, in particular—brokering for a variety of people, in numerous places, on a near-daily basis—is a significant predictor of standardized test scores in reading comprehension, even when controlling for children's standardized test performance in early elementary grades. This is unsurprising when considered from the viewpoint that children's home language practices can be considered a rehearsal for academic language tasks (Bailey & Moughamian, 2007; Bailey & Orellana, 2015). Given the mixed findings in the literature, it is

difficult to reach a definitive conclusion regarding the connection between language brokering and academic outcomes measured by grades or test scores. However, the evidence discussed in previous paragraphs suggests that language brokers develop skills that can help them academically, particularly in the language arts. Whether they know how to apply these skills, or whether they recognize that they even possess them, is less certain.

When interviewed, language brokers generally do not attribute their academic success to their brokering experiences. While a group of 6th grade students confirm that they recognize the link between language brokering and their understanding of the social purpose of language, they do not indicate that they recognize any benefits in the cognitive or academic dimensions, and do not mention links between their language brokering and school performance (Martínez et al., 2008). Similarly, adult language brokers report that they do not believe their brokering experiences impacted their academic performance other than their language acquisition (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). Buriel and colleagues (1998) suggest that these links may nonetheless exist, and that by the time child language brokers have reached adolescence or adulthood, their brokering has become so ingrained that they do not recognize it as a unique quality about themselves the way that they recognize other abilities. Martínez et al. (2008) offer another explanation, proposing that children have already learned that schools only place value on certain "voices," and that their own skill sets do not hold value.

More than Translators: Mediators of Communication

While language brokers do translate, their role is not simply one of a translator. They navigate a power differential not present in many other translating situations: language brokers typically occupy a lower social status than those for whom they are brokering, such as their parents, school officials, or legal officials (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). These third parties often

have a higher level of knowledge of the subject at hand. Unlike official translators, brokers employ their understanding of audience and pragmatics to "mediate, rather than merely transmit, information" (Tse, 1996b, p. 485). They make decisions about what information to pass on, and how (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, Dorner, et al., 2003; Tse, 1996a; Valdés, 2003). Brokers negotiate cultural norms by taking it upon themselves to change the message in ways they feel will help the outcome of their situation. Harris and Sherwood (1978) illustrate this using an example of a young girl who, instead of directly translating her father's order, "Tell him he's an imbecile," instead responds to their interlocutor with "My father won't accept your offer," making the (likely wise) choice to soften the tone of the sentence and change its meaning completely while moving the negotiation forward (p. 157). Child language brokers also decide how vague or specific to keep the details of legal documents; for example, when conveying serious legal consequences (Orellana & Reynolds, 2008). They understand how to tailor messages to their audience and how to navigate emotions during exchanges, such as when information is potentially embarrassing for their parents (Katz, 2014).

Implicit in the above studies on language brokering is a view of language as socially constructed. Aspects of language brokering can suggest a theory of language situated in individual cognition (e.g., information processing), as language brokers are required to process input from one language and transmit information to a third party in a second language. However, an "input-output" theory of language does not account for the "fundamentally social" nature of language brokering (Eksner & Orellana, 2012, p. 199). The examples cited from previous research demonstrate the negotiations in meaning inherent between interlocutors and the language broker's consideration of audience when making meaning (Carbone & Orellana, 2010; Martínez et al., 2008; Vasquez et al., 1994). Researchers who approach the study of

bilingualism and language brokering from a sociocultural perspective (e.g., Vygotsky, 1978) emphasize the recognition and validation of students' daily home language practices as applied to school settings (Martínez et al., 2008).

Parallels Between Language Brokering and Academic Writing

Child language brokers demonstrate many of the skills needed for later academic writing. They paraphrase and manipulate pragmatics and demonstrate an understanding of audience and register. From a wider perspective, language brokering can be another way of asserting one's identity, or even defining that identity. When translating for families, children are forced to develop a voice and assume a sense of authority without truly having authority. Growing up, they often do so without help from institutions or authority figures (Reynolds & Orellana, 2009, 2014). Encouraging young students to see the parallels between the work they do at home and at school, and to use their linguistic capabilities as brokers to serve their own academic writing, can foster their academic identities as well as their roles in the family (Carbone & Orellana, 2010). Child language brokers are accustomed to operating in "social spaces generally reserved for adults" (Katz, 2014, p. 195). Though they may have developed sophisticated linguistic abilities, they often lack the content knowledge or decision-making abilities necessary in the situations they are brokering (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse, 1996a). They are expected to speak or write as experts despite not being experts, similar to the challenge faced by many college students. In the following section, I will review these claims about academic writing more in-depth, beginning with an overview of academic language and literacy and continuing with a dissection of academic written voice and its relationship with students' perceptions of themselves as authors of academic work.

Academic Writing

Throughout this study, I use the term *academic writing* to refer to the writing students do in school. Specifically, the academic writing discussed in this study is writing completed for the purposes of formative or summative assessment—typically, class papers—as opposed to other types of writing performed in a school context, such as note-taking. The term *academic writing*, as used throughout this paper, is not interchangeable with *academic literacy*. However, I will briefly review literature on academic literacy, and the broader construct of academic language, as necessary background.

Academic Literacy

Academic literacy is "much more than the ability to use words correctly" (Molle, 2015, p. 16). It is one of many types of literacies, all of which depend not only on recognition and production of linguistic features, but on interactions, thought processes, beliefs, and values (Gee, 2008). As such, it can be considered a practice rather than a skill; specifically, it is the practice of meaning-making through interaction with the knowledge of others in both contextualized and decontextualized spaces (Bailey & Orellana, 2015; Molle, 2015). Inherent in the consideration of academic literacy is the concern of power dynamics in education and broader society, in which some practices are deemed to hold value while others are considered inferior (Birr Moje et al., 2008; Cook-Gumperz, 2006).

The practice of academic literacy provides students the opportunity to develop "high-order thinking skills" (Molle, 2015, p. 19), which include cognitive processes such as reasoning, interrogation, drawing relationships between concepts, and transferring knowledge from familiar to novel settings. These skills, particularly the process of knowledge transfer, have a reciprocal relationship with students' understanding of academic content: an in-depth mastery of a concept

allows students to transfer knowledge more easily, and the process of transferring knowledge from one context to another, in turn, facilitates in-depth conceptual knowledge (Bransford et al., 2000). A similar reciprocal relationship is observed between students' confidence and academic literacy practices. As students grow more confident in their academic literacy, they become more comfortable in their academic discourse environment, and their familiarity with the discourse environment increases their confidence further (Langum & Sullivan, 2020).

Academic Language

Academic language is also commonly referred to as academic English (e.g., Anstrom et al., 2010; Bailey, 2007; Scarcella, 2003; Schleppegrell, 2004). Broadly defined, academic language is language used in the context of school that allows students to acquire, use, and impart new knowledge (e.g., Bailey, 2007; Schleppegrell, 2004). Its acquisition requires understanding social and cultural norms as well as nonverbal cues. Therefore, definitions of academic language must also consider linguistic, cognitive, and sociocultural contexts (Scarcella, 2003; Staehr Fenner & Snyder, 2017). Academic language is not the opposite of colloquial language; rather, we can view the two as operating on a continuum (Snow & Uccelli, 2009) or in tandem to recreate meaning for others (Bailey, 2020). Proficiency in academic language requires the use of "complex grammatical structures, specialized vocabulary, and uncommon language functions" (Bailey, 2007, p. 9).

Features of Academic Language

Numerous scholars have attempted to identify features of academic language using corpus analysis, often comparing the work of students or novices to that of experts (e.g., Aull et al., 2017; Hyland & Tse, 2007; Snow & Uccelli, 2009). At the lexical level, academic language contains formal expressions, a high level of lexical diversity, precision, nominalization, and

abstract or technical vocabulary (Chafe & Danielewicz, 1987; Halliday & Martin, 1993; Snow & Uccelli, 2009). At the syntactic or grammatical level, academic language is characterized by complex sentences, embedded clauses, conciseness, and a high level of lexical density (Halliday & Martin, 1993; Schleppegrell, 2001; Snow & Uccelli, 2009). Nominalization, listed above as a lexical feature of academic language, can also be considered a syntactic feature, as employing nominalization contributes to lexical density (Snow & Uccelli, 2009). In addition, the sentences of academic language frequently contain "abstract concepts as agents" (e.g., "*Gentrification* is an issue of frequent debate" as opposed to "*The mayor* passed new zoning laws," Snow & Uccelli, 2009, p. 121). At the discursive level, academic writing is marked by tightly constructed arguments. Conciseness and density also function on a discursive level, as academic language demands that information, and not only sentences, be presented concisely and densely (Snow & Uccelli, 2009).

Academic writing is also defined by its metadiscourse, aspects of the text that do not directly refer to the facts, hypotheses, or theories being discussed. These moments of text represent the social aspect of writing, as they are the moments in which the writer is "speaking" to her reader. Metadiscourse has two major functions: *interactive* and *interactional* (Hyland, 2005; Hyland & Tse, 2004; Thompson, 2001). *Interactive* markers guide the reader through the text and organize the discourse. These features enhance the overall cohesion of the writing, making it more understandable for the reader. Interactive markers include transitions; endophoric markers or text connectives, which direct the reader elsewhere in the text (e.g., *as mentioned above* or *in Figure 2 below*); and evidentials that credit other works as sources of information, such as *according to Smith* (Hyland, 2005; Vande Kopple, 1985). *Interactional* markers establish the writer's stance toward the subject matter or in relation to her audience, as well as her

engagement with the reader. A detached and authoritative stance is another feature characterizing academic writing (Schleppegrell, 2001).

Snow and Uccelli (2009) outline the challenges of academic communication on three levels. I will discuss these challenges here as they pertain to writing. Students must first organize their written discourse by selecting appropriately technical or discourse-specific terms. They must also use discourse markers to aid in organization. Their next challenge lies in representing the message they wish to convey, which entails considering their audience when deciding on the level of detail to include or communicating abstract or theoretical concepts. The final challenge facing academic writers is representing themselves and their audience. To do this, they must consider their non-present readers, demonstrate their own knowledge, and select (and successfully portray) an academic written voice.

Academic Written Voice

Researchers have described "voice" as "the ways writers express their personal views, authoritativeness, and presence" (Hyland, 2008, p. 5) or "the amalgamative effect of the use of discursive and non-discursive features that language users choose, deliberately or otherwise, from socially available, yet ever changing repertoires" (Matsuda, 2001, p. 40). Another closely related term, "authorial identity," refers to "the sense a writer has of themselves as an author and the textual identity they construct in their writing" (Pittam et al., 2009, p. 154). Voice and authorial identity can both be considered a co-constructed identity between reader and writer: the reader is able to envision an author's identity based on the features presented in the text. The author, meanwhile, learns with practice to anticipate what her reader expects from her (Matsuda & Tardy, 2007).

Students' Perceptions of Voice and Authorship

Before undergraduates can portray an academic voice or authorial identity, they must first see themselves as authors. Studies suggest that they have difficulty seeing themselves as authors for several reasons: they feel they lack the purpose or audience necessary for authorship, or they do not feel that their assigned class topic reflects their own original thoughts (Pittam et al., 2009; Rodgers, 2011). Among Rodgers's (2011) undergraduate participants, some revealed only feeling like authors after they had defended their positions in debates with professors, suggesting that perhaps only after they perceive a sense of power in their roles as students are they able to take authorship.

Students also struggle to see themselves as authors when they feel they will be marked down for including too many of their own opinions in their texts, rather than citing the work of others (Pittam et al., 2009). This is something that can develop with practice and experience, but it speaks to the importance of understanding one's own position within a discipline. Students may find it difficult to understand the nuanced difference between expressing their own stance toward a topic as opposed to "developing a point of view in relation to evidence" (Pittam et al., 2009, p. 159). Similarly, students report being more concerned with their ability to represent themselves through what they say, rather than how they say it (Stacey, 2009). Undergraduate writers face a multi-step process of learning to develop original essay content that reflects their own views while presenting it in a way that is accepted within institutional standards.

Ballantine and Larres (2012) determine that second-year undergraduates, compared to first- and third-year students, face the most difficulty putting source texts into their own words and doing so in a way that reflects their own identity. The authors hypothesize that by their second year, students have progressed to written assignments more complex than first-year

compositions, but still lack the disciplinary knowledge that more advanced students possess, causing them to struggle with their academic voice when writing in their disciplines. Despite this, second-year students respond more positively than first-year students to items of authorship in a questionnaire (e.g., "I am confident that when I write something about [discipline] it will look impressive"). We see no comparable difference between second- and third-year students (Ballantine & Larres, 2012). The findings suggest that students do gain confidence after practice in and exposure to the academic discourse community, but this confidence in their identity as writers does not manifest textually until a later point.

Intra- and Extra-Textual Identity

The challenges undergraduates face may be partially explained by a dissimilarity between students' intra- and extra-textual identities. I have previously defined the term "voice" as the representation of a textual identity constructed by the author through her linguistic choices. Here, though, I will discuss another widely-used term in the literature, *writer identity*, used to describe a social identity of being a writer (Fernsten, 2007). We can think of writer identity as something that is asserted *outside* of the text, while voice or authorial identity is asserted *in* the text. Understanding how to merge an academic writer identity with an already-existing identity membership allows students to interact naturally with written content and knowledge (Bird, 2013).

Voice, or authorial identity, is necessarily situated within a writer identity. Some argue that identity is not merely expressed in writing, it is formed through the process of writing, and that any act of communication is a formation of an identity (McKinley, 2015). In particular, academic identity, which is "discursively and dynamically constructed," is often established through writing (Flowerdew & Wang, 2015, p. 84). A student's writer identity can shape the

voice she projects, and the lack of a strong writer identity may impede her development of a written voice in a new discourse. In addition, writer identity is an essential component of broader academic identity (Langum & Sullivan, 2020).

Challenges and Supports in the Development of Academic Writing

I have thus far established some of the challenges facing undergraduates in their writing. Writers must first develop awareness of the norms of a particular discipline and discourse community before they can begin to present their own identities in a way that aligns with those norms (Luzón, 2009). Exposure to academic writing may help students' writing become more consistent with the standards of academic discourse (Storch, 2009). Inexperienced students lack assurance in their authority (Tang & John, 1999), and this timidity may be especially pronounced for anyone belonging to an underrepresented linguistic or academic population. However, while students face many challenges, they also possess diverse skills that may help with this discourse acquisition. Many scholars of writing pedagogy (e.g., Gardner, 2014; Martin & Dismuke, 2015; Norton-Meier et al., 2009) subscribe to the view of writing as a social practice focusing on "building a community of writers and developing a sense of self-efficacy or writing identity" (Bomer et al., 2019, p. 201). Researchers who hold this view argue that writing pedagogy should embrace students' diverse linguistic experiences (Sherry, 2017). I believe the study of language brokering connects to the study of transitioning to undergraduate academic writing, and that studying language brokers can give educators and researchers insight to the process of developing students' writing abilities and voice. If child language brokers have been speaking for someone else—essentially projecting the voice of another—and learning to adjust their register since childhood, does this rehearsal ease the transition to writing in the academic discourse community?

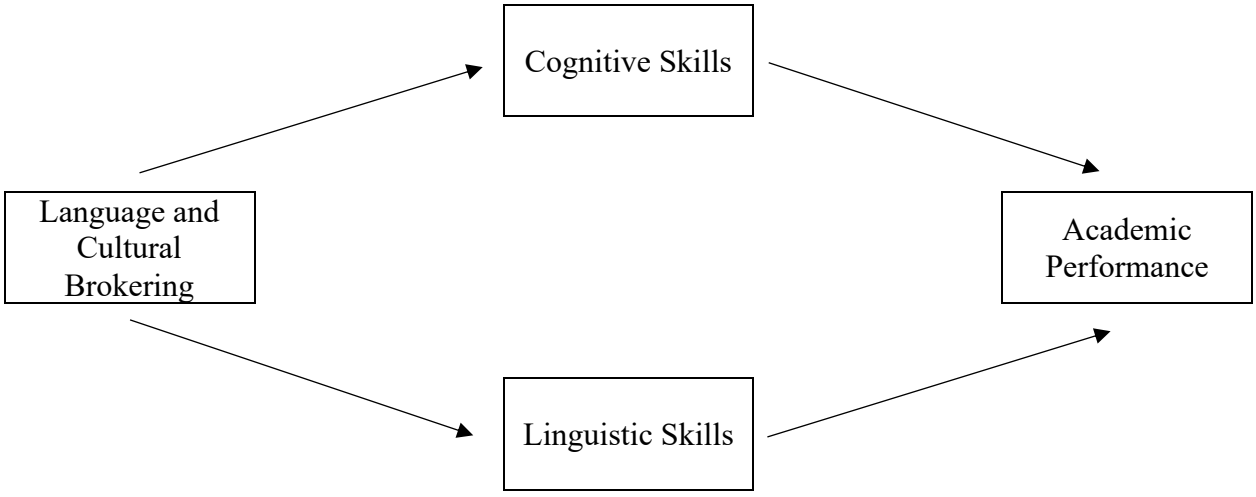
Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

Enhanced Academic Performance Perspective of Language Brokering

The current study fits within the framework of an Enhanced Academic Performance perspective of language brokering as defined by Kam and Lazarevic (2014). In this perspective, language brokering is viewed as directly benefiting cognitive and linguistic development, which in turn positively impact the academic performance of child language brokers. A model of this perspective is shown in Figure 1. Many of the studies cited above represent this perspective (e.g., Buriel et al., 1998; Eksner & Orellana, 2012; Katz, 2014). The present study builds on this literature by approaching language brokering as an activity through which children develop crucial linguistic skills. However, throughout the analysis, I remained attentive to the possibility of detecting potential costs of language brokering identified by participants as detrimental to their academic performance.

Figure 1

Enhanced Academic Performance Perspective of Language Brokering (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014)



Language Socialization Theory

In designing the interview protocol and developing the resulting codebook, I drew primarily from a language socialization framework, which addresses "socialization through the use of language and socialization to use language" (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, p. 163). Language acquisition is affected by the process of becoming a knowledgeable member of a community, and the process of becoming a member of the community is in turn shaped by language use and the understanding of how others interpret its use (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984). Lee and Bucholtz (2015), revisiting this theory, define language socialization as "the process by which individuals acquire, reproduce, and transform the knowledge and competence that enable them to participate appropriately within specific communities of language users" (p. 319). Scholars drawing from a language socialization framework study children or other novices, as the process of socialization can occur fluidly and in different stages of life (Duranti, 2009; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Novices are viewed as possessing valuable knowledge or assets of their own, though this knowledge is nurtured through interaction with members of their language community (Pontecorvo et al., 2001).

A fundamental tenet of language socialization theory is its bidirectionality: though novices' language development is shaped by their environment, they can also shape aspects of their environment, particularly as new perspectives replace previous ways of thinking (Baquedano-López & Mangual Figueroa, 2011; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Considering this perspective will help maintain the ideological balance mentioned in Chapter 1. Different dialects and registers reflect sociocultural significance, and adhering to a language socialization framework entails viewing language and culture as intertwined (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2008). It also entails

acknowledging an inherent imbalance of power in socializing situations, as it considers the interactions of novices and experts (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Finally, it considers identity an outcome of socialization, something that is constructed through language rather than simply reflected through it (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Lee & Bucholtz, 2015). In the field of academic written voice, this idea is mirrored by Flowerdew and Wang (2015), who argue that identity is constructed through writing.

Historically, language socialization frameworks have applied mainly to children, and only in longitudinal ethnographies (Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004). However, more recent research has employed its use with participants of different ages in new learning spaces (Duff, 2008). An expanding body of research explores students' socialization into academic discourse communities. These studies include explorations of conflicting identities in university (Kim & Duff, 2012), oral and written interactions of ESL students (Chang & Sperling, 2014), and the role of feedback and instruction on students' socialization into written discourse (Séror, 2014; Waterstone, 2008; Yamada, 2016).

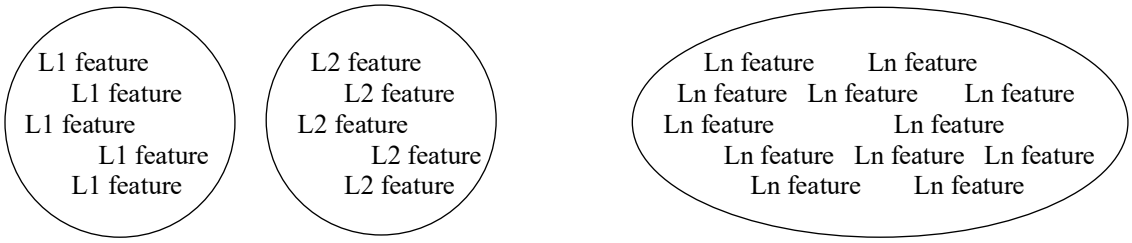
Translanguaging

When interpreting the analyses of the study data, it became clear that the study's findings and significance were best explained through the lens of translanguaging. Translanguaging is both a phenomenon and a theoretical lens (García & Leiva, 2014; Vogel & García, 2017; Wei, 2018). As previously noted, the term *translanguaging* is used to describe a phenomenon in which speakers make meaning using their full linguistic repertoire (e.g., García & Wei, 2014; Orellana & García, 2014). As a practical theory, it draws from the concepts of *additive bilingualism*, which views bilingualism as a second language added to a primary language, and *dynamic bilingualism*, which considers bilingualism a single, expansive system of language (García &

Wei, 2014). An illustration of these perspectives is shown in Figure 2, although García provides an effective visual through her written description of bilingualism as "not like a bicycle with two balanced wheels" but "like an all-terrain vehicle… making possible, over highly uneven ground, movement forward that is bumpy and irregular but also sustained and effective" (García, 2009a, p. 45).

Figure 2

Visualization of Additive and Dynamic Bilingualism (adapted from García & Wei, 2014)



Additive Bilingualism Dynamic Bilingualism

Translanguaging posits that bi- and multilinguals draw not from two (or more) autonomous linguistic systems, but from one unified system. It also provides a framework supporting educators in enabling students to use their full linguistic repertoire in their learning (Vogel & García, 2017). The practice of translanguaging is used by students and teachers in order to aid students' comprehension as well as support the development of both languages (Duarte, 2020; C. Williams, 2002). Researchers and educators working through this theoretical lens see translanguaging as a necessary educational practice that links students' use of language with their families, in their communities, and at school (García & Leiva, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012). However, translanguaging as a practice has historically not been accepted in classroom writing practices (Canagarajah, 2011). The application of translanguaging as a theoretical framework will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 5, where I will defend its use

as an interpretive framework by considering the implications of the study's findings through translanguaging theory.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

This study explored connections between childhood language brokering and the development of undergraduate academic writing, including students' views toward their academic written voice. It was guided by the following research questions:

1. In what ways do undergraduate language brokers describe any connections between their undergraduate academic writing and their past and current brokering experiences?
2. To what extent do undergraduates with language brokering experience consciously or explicitly draw these connections?
3. What are undergraduate language brokers' views of academic written voice?

Study Design

The current research was conducted using a qualitative phenomenological approach. Phenomenology emphasizes the participant's own interpretation of their lived experiences to understand a phenomenon—in this case, the connections between early home language experiences and academic writing—from the participant's perspective (Seidman, 2013; Wertz, 2005). I selected a qualitative research design for several reasons. First, no current measure or scale comprehensively examines the characteristics of language brokering as they apply to academic skills. Previous research has used quantitative methods to examine socioemotional (e.g., Weisskirch, 2007) or academic achievement (Dorner et al., 2007) outcomes of language brokering in children and adolescents, but these measures do not sufficiently capture the range of constructs potentially linked to academic writing, particularly for undergraduate students. In addition, the aim of this study was to explore language brokers' experiences rather than draw comparisons (for example, comparing language brokers to non-language brokers) or assess

outcomes such as academic performance but rather to explore the skills held by language brokers.

Participants

Participants (*N*=22) were undergraduate students at LAU, a large public research university in the southwestern United States. Men and women in any year of their undergraduate career were recruited to participate. Participants came from a variety of language backgrounds, and the research team attempted to recruit a linguistically diverse sample. Students who were considered international were excluded from the study, as the experience of brokering for family members in the United States was essential for participation. Undergraduates were selected from fields in the social sciences[1] or humanities, as they were more likely to have completed multiple courses requiring writing assignments. An overview of participants is shown in Table 1.

[1] Three participants were permitted from life science majors that included components of social science, such as human biology & society and cognitive science.

Table 1

Participant Overview

Name	Gender	Year	Major	Home language
Gabriela	F	4th	World arts & cultures	Spanish
Teresa	F	3rd	Political science, Chicana/o studies	Spanish
Diana	F	1st	Political science	Spanish
Sarah	F	4th	Psychology	Cantonese
Andrea	F	4th	Human biology & society	Vietnamese
Krista	F	1st	Political science	Korean
Martin	M	4th	Chicana/o studies	Spanish
Katrina	F	3rd	Psychology	Filipino languages[a]
Laura	F	3rd	Chicana/o studies	Spanish
Claudia	F	4th	Chicana/o studies	Spanish
Grace	F	1st	Public affairs	Mandarin
Vanessa	F	4th	Psychology	Spanish
Carmen	F	4th	Philosophy	Spanish
Fernanda	F	3rd	English	Spanish
Natalia	F	4th	Sociology	Spanish
Ximena	F	3rd	Psychology, Education	Spanish
Erica	F	4th	Anthropology	Nuer[b]
Janette	F	3rd	Sociology	Cantonese
Harpreet	F	4th	Psychobiology	Punjabi
Ben	M	3rd	History	Korean
Daniel	M	4th	Psychology	Vietnamese
Christopher	M	4th	Cognitive science	Vietnamese

Note. All names are pseudonyms.

[a] Katrina listed "Filipino languages" as her non-English home language. In her interview, she explained that Cebuano/Visaya was her mother's dialect and what she considered her primary home language. Her father's dialect was Dabawenyo. Katrina understood Tagalog but did not speak it. Throughout her interview, she referred to her language as "Filipino," which I will use when reporting the findings of this study as she did not specify which language was in use during each description of past events. [b] Nuer is a language of South Sudan.

Participants may have begun language brokering at any age. However, eligible interview participants must have brokered for their families as recently as high school, as students who had not acted as brokers for their families for several years may have been too far removed from their brokering experiences to draw parallels. Although most of the 22 final participants could not remember the exact age at which they began acting as language brokers for their families, 20 had memories as early as elementary school. Two participants stated that they had not begun brokering for their parents until middle school. Twenty-one of the 22 participants had brokered for their families within the last few weeks or months; only Carmen stated that she had stopped brokering for her family after high school because her younger brother had assumed the primary language brokering responsibilities at home. The COVID-19 crisis likely impacted many participants' recent brokering experiences, as many of the participants had returned home for remote instruction during the time this study's data were collected. Twelve participants stated that they were brokering for their families on a frequent or near-daily basis due to the fact that they were once again living in their family home.

In a pre-interview questionnaire, students were asked to specify how frequently they language brokered for different individuals (e.g., mother, father, grandparent) as children. Over half (*n*=13) of the participants responded that they brokered "nearly every day" for at least one individual, with eight additional respondents responding that they brokered "1-2 times a week" for someone. Participants were also asked to indicate the types of documents or media they translated for their families. All participants reported translating at least three (out of a possible 14) types of documents or media, with 9 being the median. An overview of participants' language brokering behaviors can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2

Childhood Brokering Frequency and Types of Documents

Frequency or type	*n*	%
Frequency		
Nearly every day	13	59
1-2 times a week	8	36
A few times a month	1	5
Types of documents or media		
School information (other than homework)	22	100
Signs, menus	20	91
TV shows, movies, radio	19	86
Homework	17	77
Phone calls	17	77
In-person conversations	17	77
Medical documents	16	73
Bills or financial statements	16	73
Insurance policies	14	64
Legal, immigration, or tax documents	13	59
Job applications/ parent work communication	12	55
Rental or mortgage agreements	10	46
Newspapers	10	46
Other	0	0

Participant Demographics

The final participant sample included 18 women (82%) and four men (18%). Sixteen participants (73%) had entered LAU as freshman, while six (27%) were transfer students. Three participants (14%) were first-year students, seven (32%) were third-year students, and 12 (55%) were fourth-year students. Nineteen (86%) were born in the US, while three (14%) had emigrated to the US as children. Eleven participants (50%) spoke Spanish in addition to English. Other home languages spoken by participants included Vietnamese (*n*=3), Korean (*n*=2), Cantonese (*n*=2), Mandarin (*n*=1), Cebuano/Visaya ("Filipino"; *n*=1), Nuer (*n*=1), and Punjabi (*n*=1). These demographics can be seen in Table 3.

Table 3

Participant Demographics (N=22)

Characteristic	*n*	%
Gender		
Female	18	82
Male	4	18
Entry status		
Direct entry	16	73
Transfer	6	27
Year in school		
1st year	3	14
2nd year	0	0
3rd year	7	32
4th year	12	55
Country of birth		
United States	19	86
Philippines	1	5
South Sudan	1	5
South Korea	1	5
Primary home language other than English		
Spanish	11	50
Vietnamese	3	14
Korean	2	9
Cantonese	2	9
Mandarin	1	5
Filipino	1	5
Nuer	1	5
Punjabi	1	5

Note. Not all percentages total 100 due to rounding.

Participants were asked to rate their difficulty speaking and writing in English and the language they considered their other primary home language. These ratings were completed on a five-point scale: *Very easy, Easy, Neither easy nor difficult, Difficult,* or *Very difficult.* They were also asked to rate their parents' abilities in both languages in all four domains of language: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Parental abilities were rated on a four-point scale: *None, Basic, Intermediate,* or *Advanced.* Student self-ratings and parental ratings can be seen in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4

Student Self-Ratings of Language Difficulty (N=22)

Language	Difficulty				
	Very easy	Easy	Neither easy nor difficult	Difficult	Very difficult
	n (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)
English					
Speaking	16 (73)	2 (9)	4 (18)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Writing	15 (68)	3 (14)	1 (5)	3 (14)	0 (0)
Other home language					
Speaking	6 (27)	10 (46)	5 (23)	1 (5)	0 (0)
Writing	1 (5)	9 (41)	4 (18)	6 (27)	2 (9)

Table 5

Student Ratings of Parent Language Abilities (N=38)

Language	Ability			
	None	Basic	Intermediate	Advanced
	n (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)	*n* (%)
English				
Listening	1 (3)	19 (50)	15 (39)	3 (8)
Speaking	7 (18)	17 (45)	12 (32)	2 (5)
Reading	9 (24)	15 (39)	11 (29)	3 (8)
Writing	13 (34)	14 (37)	9 (24)	1 (3)
Other home language				
Listening	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3)	37 (97)
Speaking	0 (0)	1 (3)	0 (0)	37 (97)
Reading	0 (0)	1 (3)	6 (16)	31 (82)
Writing	0 (0)	1 (3)	11 (29)	26 (68)

Note. The numbers in this table represent the total number of parents reported by students. Six participants did not have someone they considered a second parent at home.

Contextual Information

Participants were undergraduate students at LAU, a public research institution in a large urban center in the southwestern United States. Demographics of LAU's undergraduate

population are shown in Table 6 below. As of 2019, 55% of incoming LAU freshman and 67% of incoming transfer students reported speaking a language other than English at home (LAU 2019-20 Undergraduate Profile, 2019). LAU's undergraduate population is 58% female and 42% male. The undergraduate population's racial and ethnic breakdown is 3% African American, less than 1% American Indian or Alaska Native, 28% Asian, 22% Hispanic, less than 1% Pacific Islander, 26% white, 6% reported two or more races, and 3% "other." An additional 11% of students are identified as international students, with no racial and ethnic breakdown available.

Table 6

Demographics of LAU Undergraduates (2019-20)

Demographic characteristic	%[a]	
Gender		
Male	42	
Female	58	
Race/ethnicity		
African American	3	
American Indian/Alaska Native	<1	
Asian	28	
Hispanic	22	
Pacific Islander	<1	
White	26	
Two or more races	6	
Other (domestic student)	3	
International student	11	
First language[b]	% Freshmen	% Transfers
English only	46	34
English and another	36	32
Another language only	19	35

Note. Information retrieved from LAU 2019-20 Undergraduate Profile, 2019.

[a] Data source did not provide raw numbers. [b] First language information is only available for incoming students.

Procedures and Instruments

Recruitment Procedures

IRB approval was received in December 2019. Participants for the study were recruited on campus and through remote channels such as social media groups. Fliers were distributed on campus, and researchers acquired instructor permission to introduce the study in classrooms in Writing Programs, Communications, and Education. Emails were sent to students in departments with language, cultural, or social focuses (e.g., International Development Studies, Education & Social Transformation) via department administrators. In addition, researchers reached out to student groups (e.g., Vietnamese Student Union, Association of Hmong Students, First Gen Facebook page) via email or social media channels. The recruitment flier and information sheet can be found in Appendices A and B. Following a shift to remote instruction midway through data collection, subsequent recruitment efforts occurred remotely, including visits to remote class meetings. In an effort to recruit as many participants as possible, existing participants were asked to forward the study's information to friends who might also be interested and eligible. Participants were sent a $5 Amazon gift card for anyone referred by them who completed the initial questionnaire.

Eligible students were invited to complete an online pre-interview questionnaire. Any individual who completed the questionnaire was entered into a drawing for a $25 Amazon gift card. In total, 37 individuals completed the questionnaire. Those who were eligible based on the criteria described above were contacted to ask if they would be willing to participate in a follow-up interview lasting approximately 90 minutes, resulting in a final sample of 22 study participants. All interview participants were given a $20 Amazon gift card as an incentive.

Instruments

Pre-Interview Questionnaire

Potential participants completed a pre-interview questionnaire combining two existing survey measures, described below. The questionnaire also included items on basic background information (for example, asking for the environments in which the student brokered in the past) to determine eligibility and allow more time in the interview to explore topics in depth.

Student Attitudes and Beliefs about Authorship Scale. The Student Attitudes and Beliefs about Authorship Scale (SABAS) was developed by Cheung, Stupple, and Elander (2017) based on a previous Student Authorship Questionnaire by Pittam and colleagues (2009). The SABAS measures three factors: *Authorial Confidence, Valuing Writing,* and *Identification with Author,* using items such as "I am able to document my ideas clearly in my writing" and "I have my own style of academic writing." Cronbach's alpha values for baseline and test-retest reliability were .83 and .89, respectively. Although this questionnaire has higher psychometric properties than the original Student Authorship Questionnaire, I included three items from the original questionnaire: "I am confident that when I write something about my field of study it will look impressive," "I am afraid that what I write myself about my field of study will look weak and unimpressive," and "Writing an academic assignment is all about making an argument based on my own thoughts about the subject" (Pittam et al., 2009, p. 169). I included these items based on their relevance to the literature. Permission to use items from both questionnaires was obtained from the authors.

Measure of Active Language Brokering. The measure of active language brokering is a questionnaire adapted from a survey developed by Dorner, Orellana, and Li-Grining (2007) asking for information about children's language brokering experiences, particularly their

"translating, interpreting, reading, writing, and technology experiences" (p. 459). The inclusion of this measure was informed by previous research demonstrating that cognitive and socioemotional outcomes are affected by the frequency of language brokering (Buriel et al., 1998). The original survey was developed following several rounds of pilot testing with bilingual elementary-aged students. I made minor adjustments to the language of survey items when needed to make questions more age-appropriate for undergraduate students. I also included additional items when necessary to capture students' experiences in childhood and their current experiences (e.g., "*Since you have entered university*, whom have you spoken this language with?" and "*When you were a child*, whom did you speak this language with?"). Finally, for some items—such as items asking where students translated as children, and what sorts of documents they translated—I included additional answer choices based on knowledge obtained from the literature (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, Dorner, et al., 2003; Tse, 1995, 1996b; Valdés, 2003; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). Permission to use and adapt the original questionnaire for participants of this age group was obtained from the survey's authors.

The full questionnaire, including the two measures described above and additional demographic questions, is included in Appendix C.

Semi-Structured Interviews

Interview Procedure. After individuals had completed the pre-interview questionnaire, their responses were reviewed to determine their eligibility. Eligible participants were contacted to ask if they were interested in participating in an interview lasting approximately 90 minutes. Those who affirmed their interest were asked to bring a piece of writing on which they were currently working for a class. They were also asked in advance to share a paper they had previously written for a class that they felt represented them as a writer. Participants were

provided the study's information sheet (see Appendix B) prior to the interview during their initial email contact.

The first three interviews were conducted in person in private rooms reserved on the university campus prior to the COVID-19 closure. Following the change to remote instruction, all remaining interviews took place over Zoom. Zoom participants were asked prior to their interview session if they were comfortable with their location and were encouraged to reschedule the interview for a later time if they felt any discomfort regarding privacy, although none chose to do so. At the start of the interview session, I reviewed the study's information sheet and consent form with participants, informed them of the purpose of the study, and answered any questions they had. I assured participants their identities would remain confidential and asked for verbal assent. I reminded each participant that their participation was voluntary and that they could discontinue participation at any point. Zoom participants were given the option to keep their cameras on or off as they felt most comfortable.

Interview Protocol. Interviews served as the primary sources of data. Interview methods are ideal for phenomenological approaches, as they allow the researcher to focus on the participants' subjective interpretation of their experiences (Seidman, 2013). Following IRB approval, I piloted a preliminary interview protocol with five participants. Piloting allowed me to determine whether questions captured the full extent of participant's experiences (Arthur & Nazroo, 2003) and whether any questions contained pre-existing assumptions on my part. I also refined question language, eliminated questions that participants found too difficult to understand and answer, and added questions as needed. Because the final interview protocol underwent significant changes, data from pilot interviews were not included in the analysis. Notably, piloting the interview prompted me to add two questions I would have otherwise felt redundant.

Based on participant's responses to the question *Do you feel your voice is represented in your writing for school?*, I added a second question, *Do you think your writing sounds like you?* I also added a question at the end of the interview asking students whether they saw parallels between the work they had done as language brokers and the work they did writing papers for school. Although I had asked a similar question earlier in the interview, the piloting process revealed that participants drew additional parallels after they had spoken about language brokering and writing at length, and asking them to consider this question a second time provided new information. The final interview protocol is included in Appendix D.

Interviews were conducted in a single 60-90 minute session comprising three distinct components: questions about language brokering, questions about academic writing, and a reflection component. After asking basic introductory information and any clarifying questions based on the student's questionnaire, I asked about their language brokering experiences. I began by asking broadly about their family and their home language experiences. I then asked them to speak about some of their earliest and more recent memories language brokering before continuing to probe in more depth.

At the end of the language brokering component of the interview, I asked participants a series of three questions, each increasingly specific: *What do you think you have learned from language brokering?,* followed by, *Can you see any ways that your brokering experiences shaped your learning in school?* Finally, if the participant had not discussed writing in the previous two questions, I asked, *Can you see any ways you think your brokering experiences specifically shaped your writing in school?* These questions were asked prior to the interview component asking about academic writing, as I believed that speaking at length about writing

would prime students to respond with information about writing rather than allowing them to share the aspects that were most meaningful to them.

Following the language brokering component, I transitioned to asking students about their experiences in academic writing. Again, questions began broadly and grew more specific. This portion of the interview included questions asking students about their definitions of written voice, whether they felt their voices were represented in their writing, and their feelings when using an academic written voice. At the end of this portion of the interview, I asked participants to think once again about the work they did when composing academic writing and the work they had done for their families as child language brokers, and whether they saw parallels between the two activities. The purpose of this question was to invite any additional connections that had become apparent to participants throughout the course of the interview.

In the final portion of the interview, I asked students to reflect on a piece of writing they had previously completed for a class that they felt represented them as a writer. Reflective writing exercises in the classroom encourage metacognition and self-efficacy (Cannady & Gallo, 2016; Gardner, 2014); in this study, the self-reflection was intended to encourage students to more deeply consider the skills and strategies they had utilized when writing their papers.

Seven participants also completed an additional component, a think-aloud exercise, that was not included in the resulting analysis. I had originally intended all participants to complete a think-aloud while working on a current class writing assignment. However, few participants had an assignment on which they were prepared to work at the time of their interviews. Of the think-alouds that were completed, most were not informative. Students struggled to remember to think out loud while writing, likely due to the cognitive load of writing (De La Paz, 2007; Peskin et al., 2014); I frequently prompted them to verbalize what they were thinking. When they did, many

had difficulty explaining the in-the-moment revisions and edits they made to their word choices or sentence structures, an objective of the think-aloud procedure. Given the minimal value I ultimately felt the information would yield, and the fact that only one-third of participants had completed the activity, I omitted this portion from coding and analysis, choosing instead to focus on students' self-reflections on completed papers.

Remaining Interview Procedure. Throughout the interviews, I took brief notes to emphasize important points or note follow-up questions. All interviews were audio recorded. For interviews conducted in person, a short video recording captured the participant's computer screen during the reflection portion of the interview. Interviews conducted over Zoom were video recorded through the software; videos were later edited to contain only the reflection portion of the interview (during which participants shared their screens), with any identifying information censored. Following the conclusion of the interview, I sent the participant a $25 gift card. I immediately recorded a more extensive set of notes to record elements of the interview that had stood out to me, highlight responses I found interesting or insightful, and note points the participant had made that suggested implicit connections between language brokering and writing or that echoed a similar point made by previous participants.

Data Storage and Organization

A data organization plan was created before data collection began. I maintained a password-protected database of potential participants to ensure timely communication and scheduling. I also maintained a separate database of final participants to ensure that all participant data had been collected and appropriately processed, stored, and de-identified. Any data including potentially identifying information was stored in password-protected folders. Questionnaire data, which had been administered through Qualtrics, was downloaded and

participants' identifying information redacted. At the conclusion of each Zoom interview, the Zoom file was saved. The audio recording was uploaded to Otter Voice, an online transcription service that had also been IRB approved, and the resulting transcript was saved in the same location as other sources of data. Researchers checked the automated transcriptions for accuracy and made corrections where necessary. The edited transcripts were uploaded to Dedoose, a qualitative data analysis software. Videos, as noted, were cut and edited to remove identifying information. School papers that had been provided by participants were also saved with identifying information removed or redacted.

Coding and Analysis

Coding

I first reviewed data holistically, listening to recordings and re-reading transcripts and post-interview notes. This process co-occurred with ongoing data collection. As qualitative analysis is an iterative process, I used analytic memos to track emerging concepts and patterns (Saldaña, 2013) and explored early data recursively as new themes and concepts emerged. I also engaged in "pre-coding" (Saldaña, 2013), highlighting, bolding, and commenting on participant quotes that stood out as especially relevant, explanatory, or insightful. I asked three trained research assistants to do the same in order to support the credibility of the resulting analyses. Although my interview protocol had been informed by previous literature and theory, I did not begin with a priori codes. Seidman (2013) encourages an inductive approach to phenomenological research, and while I revisited theory throughout the coding and analysis of the data, I began by allowing codes to emerge empirically (Gibson & Brown, 2009) through repeated close readings of interview transcripts.

With the help of research assistants, I began to generate inductive codes. To begin this process, my research assistants and I isolated the four questions at the heart of the interviews designed to elicit direct answers from students as to the connections between language brokering and academic writing. These questions were as follows: *(1) What do you think you have learned from language brokering? (2) Can you see any ways that your brokering experiences shaped your learning in school? (3) Can you see any ways you think your brokering experiences specifically shaped your writing in school?* Finally, at the end of the interview, I asked, *(4) Now that we have discussed it further, I'd like you to think again about the work you do composing papers for college courses, and the work you have done translating for your family. Do you see any parallels between the two activities?* The research team and I reviewed each participant's responses to these four questions. Each research assistant reviewed 11 interview transcripts, while I reviewed all 22. Using an open coding process, we independently applied in vivo and descriptive codes (Saldaña, 2013), then met to compile a master list of preliminary codes. Through discussion, we combined codes that were close or identical in meaning and eliminated codes that appeared only once in the transcripts. Additional analytic memos allowed me to note concepts that repeated within and across multiple data sources (Gibson & Brown, 2009).

The team repeated this process, and the processes described below, when developing additional codes specific to Research Question 3, *What are language brokers' views of academic written voice?* Unlike the codes that informed the analysis of the themes common to language brokering and writing (which could be applied to the entire interview transcript), this set of codes was applied only to the questions of the interview specifically asking about written voice.

Using the preliminary codes, the team began an initial round of consensus coding on small portions of interviews, discussing difficulties with the codes and codebook and suggesting

additions where needed. The codebook was adjusted throughout this process; I collapsed similar codes and adjusted boundaries of code definitions as necessary. Following several weeks of consensus coding, we began a round of independent coding using discrete portions of randomly selected interviews. I served as a master coder (Campbell et al., 2013; Syed & Nelson, 2015) coding the entire sample. Each research assistant was given an interview segment to code independently, and I met with each assistant weekly to compare results. Over the course of several weeks, the codebook underwent iterative amendments. We repeated this process until each research assistant reached over 0.80 in simple percent agreement with the master coder, ultimately agreeing on a final codebook. The codebook is provided in Appendix E.

Our third round of coding began using the finalized codebook. During this round, we coded for reliability, again using a master coder approach. To approach reliability coding, interviews were divided into four segments: language brokering, academic writing, the "four key questions," and the reflection paper. Keeping segments to approximately 20-25 minutes reduced cognitive load. I used stratified sampling, in which each of the four segments served as a stratum, to assign research assistants to excerpts at random. I began with the language brokering portion and assigned one transcript to each research assistant, using a random number generator from 1-22 (i.e., the number of participants) to ensure that assignments were given at random. I then assigned excerpts for the academic writing portion, the "four key questions" portion, and the reflection paper portion using the same strategy of random assignment. This accounted for potential coder bias by ensuring that all research assistants were coding all portions of the interviews and were presumably coding different participants due to the random assignment within each stratum. Each excerpt was broken into coding units. For our analysis, a coding unit was one response or "turn." Therefore, units ranged from a single sentence to longer, multi-

sentence responses. In a few instances, exceptionally long responses that contained clear shifts in ideas and content were broken into multiple units; this was done at my discretion on a case-by-case basis. Each unit could receive simultaneous codes (or no codes). Research assistants and I worked in separate spreadsheets to code excerpts independently. Once we had completed an excerpt, the research assistant shared their spreadsheet with me. I combined our responses in a single spreadsheet to calculate reliability. We met weekly to discuss each excerpt and any discrepancies that had occurred. Approximately 30% of the sample was coded in this way.

Inter-rater reliability was calculated using both percent agreement (P_A) and Cohen's kappa (κ). Both statistics were calculated to better facilitate the interpretation of interrater reliability (Roberts et al., 2019; Syed & Nelson, 2015). Though kappa is considered "the gold standard of reliability indexes" (Syed & Nelson, 2015, p. 380) due to its accounting for chance agreement, datasets with an extensive number of coded units, such as the dataset of the current study, risk inflated kappa values due to high rater agreement in "non-application" of codes for any given unit (Korobov & Thorne, 2006). Therefore, different inter-rater reliability techniques were applied. For the current study, pooled P_A was 0.85, and pooled κ was 0.92 (Rater 1 P_A = 0.87, κ = 0.93; Rater 2 P_A = 0.84, κ = 0.91; Rater 3 P_A = 0.84, κ = 0.91).

Finally, each research assistant was assigned one additional excerpt per week for consensus coding. As with the reliability coding, I coded all excerpts that had been assigned to the research assistants. Regular consensus coding allowed us to check in with each other frequently and discuss code application.

Analysis

Analyses Informing RQ1

I conducted thematic analysis to answer Research Question 1, *In what ways do undergraduate language brokers describe any connections between their undergraduate academic writing and their past and current brokering experiences?* The three major aims of thematic analysis are examining commonality, examining differences, and examining relationships (Gibson & Brown, 2009). To examine commonality, I frequently employed counts. I attempted to explain differences and relationships by cross-referencing data sources and comparing code co-occurrences. Analyses were conducted in Excel and Dedoose. Dedoose was particularly helpful in analyzing differences and relationships, as it allowed me to explore multiple data sources simultaneously and sort codes by frequency and patterns of co-occurrences.

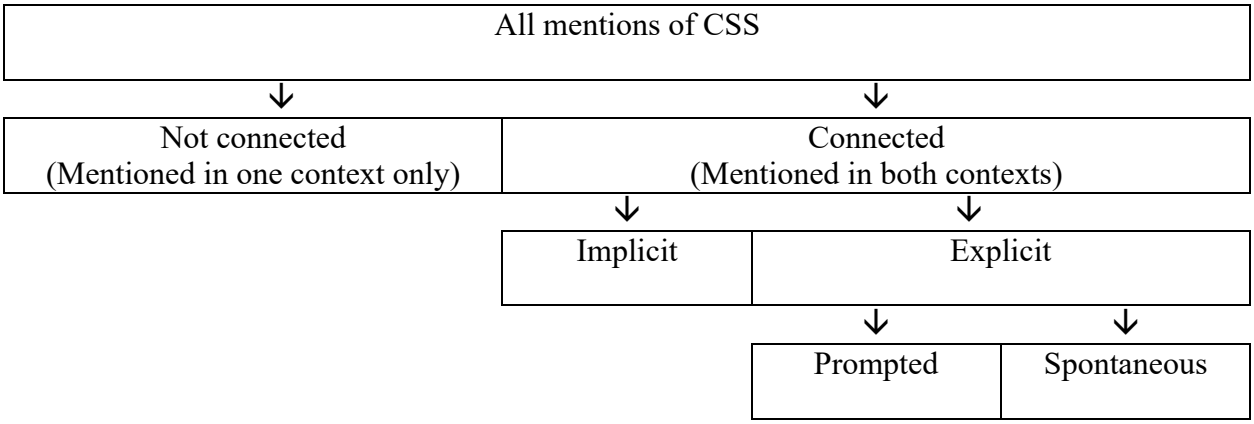
Analyses Informing RQ2

Once the themes informing Research Question 1 had been finalized, I began to analyze data in order to answer Research Question 2, *To what extent do undergraduates with language brokering experience consciously or explicitly draw these connections?* In an Excel spreadsheet, I listed the resulting codes from RQ1 that applied to language brokering and writing, which I had categorized as characteristics, skills, or strategies (CSS). If a participant did not mention a CSS when speaking about either her brokering experiences or academic writing experiences, that CSS was labeled *Not Mentioned*. If the participant mentioned the CSS when speaking about one behavior but not the other (for example, it was mentioned in relation to her language brokering but not academic writing), that CSS was labeled *Not Connected*. If the participant mentioned the CSS when speaking about both activities, that was considered a connection. Connections were,

in turn, labeled either *Implicit* or *Explicit.* An implicit connection meant that the participant mentioned the CSS in relation to both activities at separate points of the interview but did not say anything indicating they saw a connection between their experiences. An explicit connection meant that the participant made a direct statement indicating that the presence of the CSS in language brokering was related to its presence in her academic writing. Often, this statement was made in response to a direct question by the interviewer, although many participants made unprompted explicit connections as well. An illustration of this breakdown is shown below in Figure 3.

Figure 3

Categorization of Types of Connections



Some participants connected specific CSS multiple times in an interview. Counting each instance of a CSS for every participant would have inflated the number of connections (for example, by counting all mentions of a CSS throughout one interview and counting each as a separate implicit connection). Therefore, the numbers reported in this study's findings represent only one connection per participant per CSS. If participants made multiple types of connections in their interview, their connection was coded as the more explicit/spontaneous. For example, if a participant made an explicit connection regarding a CSS

in their interview, their connection was coded as Explicit, even if they also mentioned the CSS elsewhere in the interview without mentioning a connection. Similarly, if a participant made both Prompted and Spontaneous connections of a CSS, they were counted as having made a Spontaneous connection. This imposed a somewhat artificial limit on the number of overall mentions and connections that could be made but avoided unintentional inflation of counts.

Analyses Informing RQ3

Research Question 3 asked, *What are undergraduate language brokers' views of academic written voice?* This research question also relied on thematic analysis. I drew from students' responses to items from the Student Attitudes and Beliefs about Authorship Scale (Cheung et al., 2017) for additional data informing this research question. In particular, I examined participants' scores on three factors: *Valuing Writing, Authorial Confidence,* and *Identification with Author.* These three factors were identified by the questionnaire's original authors. I calculated mean scores for each factor and examined within-subject differences on factor scores using paired samples t-tests.

Trustworthiness

I applied Lincoln and Guba's (1985) four criteria of trustworthiness of qualitative data, *credibility, transferability, dependability,* and *confirmability*. These four criteria roughly parallel the respective criteria of *internal validity, external validity, reliability,* and *objectivity* common in postpositive paradigms.

I employed multiple strategies to establish credibility (Bazeley, 2013; Creswell, 2014; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 2013). Data triangulation, or the use of multiple, complementary sources of data, is an essential component of credibility. Interview data were compared against questionnaire responses, when applicable, and I examined the written work

submitted by students to compare their reflections against the contents of their writing. I also engaged in peer debriefing to support the credibility of the data. My research assistants, all but one of whom were themselves undergraduate language brokers, provided valuable input during the pre-coding and coding stages. Frequent dialogue with my committee members and fellow graduate students served as additional debriefing. Member checks were employed when a participant's response required additional clarity. Finally, I identified discrepant cases in the data, determining whether they suggested alternate pathways I had not previously considered. Discrepant cases are reported in the findings; however, as noted in the findings and discussion of this study, discrepant cases are to be expected due to differing outcomes of language brokering both within and between participants (e.g., Tse, 1995; Weisskirch, 2007).

I aimed to establish transferability by connecting analyses and findings to existing theory. In addition, I have illustrated the findings as richly as possible with participant quotes, explanations, and vignettes. Rich detail allows the reader to connect the relevance of particular findings to outside contexts (Creswell, 2014).

To achieve dependability, approximately 30% of the data was coded for reliability in the procedures described earlier in this chapter. Interview transcripts were checked for accuracy by trained research assistants following initial transcription via online software. In addition, I documented my decision-making process using coding memos, memos for analysis, meeting minutes, and journaling, creating an audit trail (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The previously-mentioned peer debriefing supports the confirmability of the data. Data were shared with fellow researchers and committee members to ensure that the interpretations were understood and accepted by individuals other than the primary researcher (Creswell, 2014). Check-ins with committee members added to the audit trail described above.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The following chapter is organized by research question. The first research question, informed by thematic analysis, explored connections between language brokering and academic writing as described by participants. The second research question examined the extent to which participants demonstrated awareness of the connections apparent in their interviews. The third research question investigated undergraduate language brokers' views of academic written voice.

Connections Between Language Brokering and Academic Writing

To identify commonalities between students' descriptions of their language brokering and academic writing, I conducted a thematic analysis using an iterative coding process, reflexively modifying codes and classifying them into broader themes. I identified codes as belonging to three descriptive themes: *characteristics* common to language brokering and academic writing, *skills* developed through language brokering used in academic writing, and *strategies* developed through language brokering used in academic writing. I will use *CSS* when necessary throughout the text to refer to the repertoire of characteristics, skills, and strategies.

Characteristics Common to Language Brokering and Academic Writing

Students discussed the following characteristics common to language brokering and academic writing: *confidence, self-doubt, focus on conveying meaning, focus on conveying accuracy,* and *viewing writing as a form of translation.* Consistent with previous literature on language brokering (e.g., Tse, 1996a; Weisskirch, 2007), participants differed in the characteristics shared in their language brokering and academic experiences. For example, some expressed confidence in their brokering skills, writing skills, or both, while others expressed self-doubt. Some felt that brokering had taught them how to distill essential meaning from longer

exchanges and communicate that meaning; others had been more concerned with capturing accuracy and detail due to the nature of their exchanges.

Table 7 shows a breakdown of these characteristics and the number of participants who discussed each characteristic in reference to their language brokering, academic writing, or both. See Table F1 in Appendix F for a full list of characteristics mentioned by each participant.

Table 7

Participants Mentioning Characteristics of Language Brokering and Academic Writing

Characteristic	*n* mentioned in brokering	*n* mentioned in writing	*n* mentioned in both
Confidence	5 (23%)	16 (73%)	3 (14%)
Self-doubt	7 (32%)	19 (86%)	5 (23%)
Conveying meaning	18 (82%)	21 (95%)	17 (77%)
Accuracy	13 (59%)	11 (50%)	8 (36%)
Writing as a form of translation	N/A[2]	9 (41%)	N/A

Confidence

Five participants reported feeling confident in their language brokering abilities or developing a sense of increased confidence as they served as language brokers. Janette, for example, explained that she lacked confidence in her language brokering as a young child. "Why are my parents asking me to translate something when I was so young?" she recalled thinking. As she gained experience, however, her confidence grew. By the time she was in university, she felt a sense of pride in her ability to translate quickly and address situations directly.

Other brokers' confidence was related to their ability to interact with people that they developed through brokering. "I speak to adults, not being afraid of what they're going to say or they're going to question me. Something I've done at a really young age," Laura told me. Laura

[2] "Writing as a form of translation" is listed only in the context of writing, as this characteristic linked brokering and writing either theoretically or directly by the participants, but it was not an action that applied in brokering activities.

directly related her actions at a young age with her confidence asserting herself in her writing, which she saw as "defending" herself in language.

As is the case for other characteristics, skills, and strategies discussed in this analysis, individual participants had mixed feelings toward their own writing. Over half (*n*=16) reported a sense of confidence in their writing skills, although 13 of those 16 participants also expressed self-doubt toward their writing at some point during their interview. While few participants asserted confidence in both their writing and brokering (due to the fact that only 23% of the participants reported confidence in their brokering), it is possible that the skills and strategies they developed directly or indirectly led to increased confidence in their writing. Christopher, for example, was characterized as a participant who doubted his brokering skills. However, Christopher revealed that he was more confident in his own resourcefulness as an indirect result of his language brokering. He felt comfortable completing college-level writing for several reasons: he had become an avid reader, in part due to the motivation that came from being a language broker. He learned new vocabulary and complex syntactic structures due to the adult-level documents he translated. Finally, he was unafraid to seek resources and was in the habit of researching unfamiliar words frequently. Like Christopher, all of the participants who did not express confidence in their language brokering skills—but who did express confidence in their writing—had developed skills and strategies that likely helped develop them into confident writers. When asked directly what they learned from language brokering and how their brokering experiences may have related to their scholastic learning and writing, participants varied in their answers, but all listed multiple skills and strategies that will be discussed throughout this analysis. These skills and strategies included the use of mental translation for comprehension and production (*n*=6); register awareness (*n*=5); working under pressure and time constraints (*n*=3);

reading aloud (*n*=2); the ability to simplify language (*n*=2); attention to word choice (*n*=2); analytical skills (*n*=1); use of social resources (*n*=1); and the use of physical resources (*n*=1). In addition, six participants stated they had gained subject matter knowledge as a result of their brokering due to the advanced subject matter being translated (e.g., legal information). An additional four, including Christopher above, spoke of their brokering responsibilities as a motivating factor pushing them to improve their English language skills to better help their families. Although analyses did not reveal a direct connection between being a confident broker and a confident writer, it is reasonable to believe, based on participants' discussion of the effects of their language brokering, that they gained confidence in their writing as a result of the skills and strategies they developed as a language broker.

Self-Doubt

While some participants in the current study developed confidence in their language brokering, others had feelings of self-doubt. One participant, Laura, described having felt both confidence and doubt throughout her childhood experiences. She confessed that she was not able to remember an instance in which she felt proud of the job she had done. "I just feel like, 'Wait, did I say the right thing? Did I not say the right thing?'... I don't quite remember any good moments or feeling good about it," she told me. She described feeling "relief" when the brokering task at hand had finished. Yet, as described above, Laura also credited her language brokering with allowing her to develop the confidence to communicate fearlessly with adults and defend her own viewpoints. While she had not felt confident in her abilities as a child, she grew more self-assured over time due to the situations she faced as a language broker.

All of the students who experienced self-doubt in their language brokering either questioned their language skills—whether in English or in their heritage language—or their

authority in the situations in which they found themselves brokering, often a combination of the two. “It was like, ‘I’m younger, I don’t I don't have any authority to say this,’” Ximena told me, admitting immediately afterward, “My translation skills were definitely not good. They weren’t that great.” In total, seven brokers felt self-doubt during their childhood brokering.

In terms of their academic writing, 19 of the 22 participants expressed a level of self-doubt. However, the fact that 13 of the 19 also expressed some confidence indicates that students’ feelings about their writing were overwhelmingly mixed. Students’ conflicting feelings about various aspects of their language and writing abilities will be discussed in additional detail throughout this analysis. In general, however, students frequently second-guessed their own abilities and the writing they produced. Claudia, who used the word “embarrassed” several times when speaking about her writing experiences, said that her academic writing “doesn’t sound smart enough.” Even Diana, who said she enjoyed writing and had always considered herself a strong writer, experienced moments of doubt. She described re-reading pieces of writing she had completed the previous year and feeling that they were “absolute garbage,” despite the fact that the external feedback she received suggested otherwise. Still others, however, felt the opposite. Harpreet, for example, remarked that she was pleasantly surprised by her own writing during the reflection portion of the interview.

> “I guess when I’m writing, I just undermine my potential. So, it’s just interesting to look back at it and I’m like, ‘okay, like I did pretty good’” (Harpreet).

Others’ self-doubt arose when comparing themselves to their classmates in the university setting. Hearing their classmates’ ideas and comparing their writing, often in peer review, cast their own language use in a negative light. Grace and Andrea both doubted their own abilities when comparing themselves to peers.

> "I was so intimidated coming into college because I felt like there were so many smart people in my class, and the things that they were saying in class discussions were just so intelligent. I was kind of doubting myself as a writer. I just was struggling with my confidence in my own writing and in myself" (Grace).

> "When I compare [my writing] to my classmates', their use of the vernacular, it's very elevated. It's not as—I think it's still formal, but even more formal and sophisticated, with the words that they put together and the way they write their sentences. There's like a metaphor behind everything. Not necessarily metaphor, but it's just kind of like there's like a hidden meaning and analogies, and just every creative element is in the paper. For me, I just kind of write to get it done and I don't think my voice comes out very well, and it's just very bland and very basic" (Andrea).

Finally, much like in their brokering, some students' self-doubt derived from a perceived lack of authority. As children, they questioned their role as a language broker due to the fact they did not feel they had the authority to hold a position of power. I had hypothesized at the start of this study that language brokers' acclimation to this feeling would allow them to adapt more easily to academic discourse. However, a number of students continued to question their authority in the college academic environment.

> "Most authors that we read, they have PhDs and all of that. They are very well known and the experts of their area. They're very knowledgeable on what they're writing. They know what they're doing. I think of myself, like, 'Oh, I'm an undergraduate. I'm still learning. I'm still trying to catch up. I'm trying my best'" (Vanessa).

However, Vanessa's statement about her authority as a writer conveyed a sense of potential that was lacking in participants' accounts about their brokering experiences. When speaking about language brokering as children, students' responses were tinged with frustration. "Unfortunately, I grew up at a very young age," Martin told me. Ximena, recalling having to mediate a dispute between her parents and an angry store customer, reflected, "I was little and I didn't know how to defend myself." However, when speaking about their writing, students communicated a sense of motivation and self-efficacy—if only briefly—even while recognizing

their lack of authority in an academic environment. Table 8 lists a comparison of participants' statements about their own authority in their language brokering and their writing.

Table 8

Comparison of Statements on Authority in Language Brokering and Writing

Students' feelings on lacking authority in their childhood language brokering	Students' feelings on lacking authority in their academic writing
"I remember going into the bank basically with my parents. And because I was super small as a kid, like a lot smaller than my parents, I would be the one at the front and they'd be in the back, and I would just be looking up and trying to translate for them, and the banker would look at us really weird. And it would make me feel kind of intimidated." (Ben)	"Since they were writers that have a lot of like pedigree, they were like PhD, they had their Master's degree, and they were very, very influential in their own field in terms of this historical period of time. And trying to find my own bias amongst all these intellectuals was super hard." (Ben) *[Note: here Ben was discussing a challenge he faced when writing the paper he had chosen to share; ultimately, he felt he had done well.]*
"Growing up, I really had no confidence in myself because, why are my parents asking me to translate something when I was so young?" (Janette)	"Hopefully that I'm reliable in a sense where I've presented evidence in a logical way, that I'm a credible person. And that I do think about what I'm writing about, that I'm not just some fool typing away with no intention." (Carmen)
"I wouldn't be able to answer other questions that they're asking, and I feel like that happens a lot in terms of documents where I translate and tell them what is it that they're asking, but they assume I'm probably an expert in that field and they want to know more." (Claudia)	"I think I feel intimidated. It's scary to have a professor with years of experience—and know what they're talking about—to look at a paper like an amateur like me." (Carmen)
"Unfortunately, I grew up at a very young age." (Martin)	"In terms of just the fact that the professor is coming from a position where they are more knowledgeable than I am, it doesn't feel as like I'm teaching them, it just feels like I'm arguing my point." (Christopher)
"It's like, oh, I know I'm translating, but I hope the doctors take me seriously." (Vanessa)	"Most authors that we read, they have PhDs and all of that. They are very well known and the experts of their area. They're very knowledgeable on what they're writing. They know what they're doing. I think of myself, like, 'Oh, I'm an undergraduate. I'm still learning. I'm still trying to catch up. I'm trying my best.'" (Vanessa)
"I was little and I didn't know how to defend myself." (Ximena)	

Though the examples above show that students still felt "intimidated" in an academic environment, several participants believed that their hard work would eventually lead to progress. Ben, who had a "super hard" time finding his own stance among the expert stances he read, ultimately felt proud of how successfully he had integrated his own opinions and source material. Carmen viewed herself as lacking authority and expressed self-doubt related to her writing, yet she channeled her feelings into a strong work ethic, checking and re-checking sources to prove to her professors that she could interpret them correctly to support her own arguments. When I asked her how she believed she was perceived in her writing, she said she hoped she came across as credible.

> "Hopefully that I'm reliable in a sense where I've presented evidence in a logical way, that I'm a credible person. And that I do think about what I'm writing about, that I'm not just some fool typing away with no intention" (Carmen).

Despite her doubts, Carmen appeared hopeful that her efforts were enough to establish her authority in the classroom.

Focus on Conveying the Meaning of a Message

As childhood brokers, students learned to convey the meaning of what conversational partners were trying to express, which often entailed summarizing and paraphrasing. Participants noted that this was different from translating with complete accuracy or translating word-for-word. "It's not just a direct translation of the words," Krista explained. "I feel like it's more interpreting than translating, if that makes sense."

Krista and other participants described the complexity of translating between parties, especially as a child. They first had to ensure they understood what was being said, even when conveying difficult medical, legal, or financial information that exceeded their subject matter knowledge as children. They then parsed the necessary details while deciding which components

of the conversation or document to keep. Certain components might have been deemed unnecessary for a variety of reasons: being too complicated or technical, being overwhelming in terms of volume, or containing extraneous detail not relevant to their family. For example, Katrina recalled that her parents would sometimes "freak out" over documents related to their rent payments, requiring Katrina to discern which parts of the document contained general information and which parts pertained to her family specifically. After fully understanding the information themselves, language brokers gauged their parents' (or third party's) own subject matter knowledge while deciding how to convey the information. Finally, they provided a translation for the message they wanted to convey.

Many child language brokers undertook this challenge while still learning English themselves or while lacking subject-specific vocabulary in their heritage language. Some brokers, in explaining their tendency to convey general meaning, indicated that this tendency was related to their own language skills. Sarah, below, had expressed perceived weaknesses in both her English and Chinese language skills; she discussed how this affected both her language brokering and academic writing.

> "So let's say, for example, the mail—if I read it, I don't necessarily need to say it correctly grammar wise in Chinese to my parents. I just need to give the meaning and then they're usually able to interpret… So I feel like for me it's about getting the content still. Yeah. So the meaning, the intention of what that piece of writing is supposed to be intended for—I think that's what I focus on too in both my English writing and also my translating" (Sarah).

Sarah's description of her own brokering (and writing) behaviors demonstrated that she had learned to accommodate her parents' goal of understanding content while easing her own language burden.

An aspect of conveying meaning was concern with being understood. In language brokering, this often, but not always, entailed summarizing information.

> "…when I'm translating, I'm doing it for the purpose of communicating, and you're going to do it at all costs to communicate. You're going to do it anyways. Doesn't have to be perfect, as long as you get the point across. It could be like a summary and it doesn't have to be word for word" (Ximena).

However, while conveying the overall meaning usually entailed some amount of summary, language brokers were not necessarily transmitting less information. Some brokers described a process in which they summarized *components* of a message but provided additional information (also summarized or paraphrased) to aid understanding. Harpreet, for example, repeatedly mentioned trying to ensure that her parents understood what was being communicated or correcting them when she felt they misinterpreted information, and Christopher reported that he felt he had done well as a broker when his parents did not have remaining follow-up questions. Summary, therefore, was used to convey meaning, but did not necessarily reflect the length of a message.

The importance of conveying meaning manifested in the writing process of many participants. Nearly all participants expressed wanting to ensure that their meaning and argument came across clearly to their reader and expressed a desire to be understood through their writing. Daniel stressed that one of the most important aspects of writing papers for class was being sure to get the main idea across. Ben, whose goal was similar, stated that when he synthesized ideas from outside sources, he examined each source and put its main idea in his own words before committing those words to paper. He believed it was best to keep to a formula when writing class papers to keep the product "nice and simple." However, while these students felt that imparting their main idea was one of the more important aspects of their writing, they did not always do so easily. Ximena had difficulty in both her language brokering and her writing achieving what she wanted to say:

> "Actually, writing down an academic paper and having to put it to the degree where a professor can understand or wants in an academic paper is kind of similar to when you're translating between people. Because when you're translating, you want to put the point across, make your statement clear, because you can't say something and they won't understand it. Or it won't always come out exactly how you want to say it, and in a paper the same way, where you want to say something, but it won't always be exactly what you're trying to say because you can't really find the words for it" (Ximena).

Claudia also complained that she was not understood by her professors or TAs, despite feeling that she worked hard to connect her points to the prompt being asked. Nearly every participant mentioned the desire to convey their argument clearly and to be understood, with approximately half (n=12) naming it as a top priority in their writing.

Focus on Accuracy

On the other hand, approximately half of the participants (n=13 and n=11 regarding language brokering and writing, respectively) were concerned with conveying detail as accurately as possible in their brokering and writing. This focus was not mutually exclusive with a focus on conveying meaning, as some participants discussed attempting both. This overlap will be further examined in the discussion chapter.

Brokers concerned with accuracy and detail saw themselves as intermediaries. One such participant, Ben, refrained from editorializing when he translated news articles for his parents, opting to provide the most faithful translation of the original he could. "If anything, they'll ask me after, so I'll explain to them after," he told me, "but never during the translation part." Throughout his brokering, Ben was careful to omit "[his] own pizzazz" from exchanges, striving to capture his interlocutors' tone and intent.

For some brokers, a focus on conveying accuracy was a result of parental expectations. "[My mom] just wanted to make sure I was translating exactly what she wanted," recalled Carmen, describing her mother as "really nitpicky" about what she wanted conveyed in

translation. Sarah described a negative experience brokering between her father and a credit card company in which she realized there was a disconnect between what she wanted to do as a broker and what her father wanted from her:

> "I think what happened was that because I feel like I know more, so I kind of set things on my - even though my dad told me to say this, like a certain thing, I said it and I added more of my stuff to it. And then when I translated it back to him, he got mad. He was like, 'stop, just stop saying what you think. Tell me what he's saying so that I can respond to [it].' And I think at that moment, I was like, 'hmm.' I felt - it didn't feel good, obviously. Because I realized, 'Oh, I thought I kind of knew what to say.' But in reality, it was something different, and my dad wanted something different" (Sarah).

Sarah had tried to help her father by adding explanation of her own in a way she thought would make the situation more understandable for him; however, following this experience, she changed her brokering behavior to focus on relaying what was said as accurately as possible.

Ten participants spoke about focusing on the accuracy of what they were conveying in their writing. For most, this meant ensuring they were communicating the source material thoroughly and faithfully. Students cited concerns about misinterpreting information, omitting important points, or transmitting ideas in ways that differed, even slightly, from the author's original statements.

Quotations and Paraphrasing in Relation to Accuracy. Students' focus on accuracy was reflected in the extent to which they used direct quotations when citing sources in their academic writing as opposed to paraphrasing source material. "With paraphrasing," Fernanda told me, "I kind of stray away from it. Just because I don't want to mix it up or like say the wrong thing." Fernanda's memories of language brokering centered around translating medical information—"every single word, and making sure I get the answer correct"—so her fear of conveying inaccurate information was understandable. Although participants were not asked whether they preferred to quote directly from sources or paraphrase in their writing, 12 offered

this information over the course of the interview, with six stating that they preferred to use direct quotes, and six saying that they tried to paraphrase sources in their own words as much as possible.

Evidence from Student Writing. To investigate a potential link between a focus on accuracy and a preference for direct quotation, I examined the class papers students had submitted for reflection. An excerpt from a student paper is shown in Figure 4. I calculated the percentage of text (based on word count) in each student's written work that appeared as a direct quote. The median for all papers was 6% quoted text. Most participants who professed a focus on accuracy in their language brokering used direct quotes at a higher rate than the median. Details of this analysis are shown in Table 9. Participants in the table are displayed in ascending order based on the percentage of their text that contained direct quotations.

Figure 4

Sample of Student Writing (Janette)

American economy is important to America. “Systemic racism theory defines and systematically analyses in related field research both ‘whites’ and ‘elite whites’ as necessary units of empirical and theoretical analysis (Feagin and O’Brien 2003; Picca and Feagin 2007). An adequate theory of US racial matters is impossible without forthright discussion of these dominant groups. Since USA’s founding, whites have been the most powerful, resource-laden, socially, politically and economically influential US racial group. (Feagin & Elias 939)” This proves that white Americans have been on the top of other racial groups because of racism. I agree with Morrison on racism will disappear when it is no longer profitable. She later states that current racist individuals make a lot of money off of racism. Using color-blind racism to support this argument ties it all together because racist individuals will state that they do not see color when clearly they are ignorant and does not want to say they are a racist. With using systematic racism theory, it adds an explanation to hierarchy in the American society. When racism loses this hierarchy, it will disappear like Morrison stated.

Moving from of profiting off of racism, Morrison stated that if racism disappeared it would no longer be psychologically useful. “Then it dawned upon me with a certain suddenness that I was different from the others; or like, mayhap, in heart and life and longing, but shut out from their world by a vast veil. (Du Bois 4)” What the veil means in Du Bois’ piece is that it is intangible and it is a pervasive structure that determines social relations, it functions to sediment

Table 9

Connections Between Focus on Accuracy and Direct Quotations

Participant	Preference stated in interview	Percent of text containing direct quotation	Mentions a focus on accuracy in language brokering?	Mentions a focus on accuracy in academic writing?
Grace	*Not mentioned*	0.1%	No	No
Sarah	Paraphrase	0.2%	**Yes**	No
Diana	*Not mentioned*	0.2%	No	No
Daniel	Paraphrase	0.2%	No	No
Harpreet	*Not mentioned*	0.3%	No	No
Christopher	Paraphrase	0.4%	No	No
Martin	*Not mentioned*	1%	**Yes**	No
Krista	*Not mentioned*	3%	No	No
Natalia	*Not mentioned*	4%	No	**Yes**
Ben	Paraphrase	5%	**Yes**	No
Laura	Direct quote	5%	**Yes**	**Yes**
Vanessa	Direct quote	7%	**Yes**	**Yes**
Ximena	*Not mentioned*	7%	**Yes**	**Yes**
Carmen	Paraphrase	7%	**Yes**	**Yes**
Katrina	*Not mentioned*	8%	**Yes**	**Yes**
Andrea	*Not mentioned*	9%	**Yes**	**Yes**
Claudia	Paraphrase	10%	No	**Yes**
Gabriela	*Not mentioned*	12%	**Yes**	**Yes**
Fernanda	Direct quote	13%	**Yes**	No
Janette	Direct quote	15%	**Yes**	No
Teresa	Direct quote	21%	**Yes**	**Yes**
Erica	Direct quote	21%	No	**Yes**

Viewing Writing as a Form of Translation

For 9 participants, language brokering and writing connected on a fundamental level; they felt that writing papers was a form of translation itself. A component of this characteristic was the idea that students, as writers, needed to translate "from thought to paper," as Natalia explained. Students also stated that transforming ideas from original sources into original language felt like translating material for a reader.

> "A lot of times people refer to writing as translating your thoughts onto paper. And then it's like, language brokering is quite literally like translating someone else's words into your own words, which I guess is also the thing in writing.

> Especially if I'm mentioning sources and stuff, I guess. It is kind of like you're putting someone else's words into your own words" (Diana).

Ben echoed this sentiment, explaining that "It's kind of like I'm translating the documents to the professor." When reflecting on a piece of his own writing, Ben took this explanation further.

> "First, it was hard trying to understand what [the source authors] were saying. And two, it was hard to almost translate it into my own words, because it was super, super dense. Yeah, I keep bringing it back to the whole translating thing, but it really feels like I'm translating something in English when I was younger because it just feels like I need to find my own voice throughout this writing, and just looking at all these intimidating figures and authors and writers, it was just hard to feel like I'm making like my own claims and whatnot" (Ben).

Ben's sentiment above connects several issues at the heart of the current study: writing as translating, feeling a lack of authority, and a desire to feel ownership of his own writing.

Skills Developed through Language Brokering Used in Academic Writing

Analyses revealed four skills[3] students had developed as language brokers that they used in their academic writing: *register awareness, word choice, analytical skills,* and *the ability to work under pressure or in time-sensitive situations.* The number of participants mentioning each skill in the context of brokering and academic writing is shown in Table 10 (see Table F2 in Appendix F for a full representation of skills mentioned by each participant). In the following section, I discuss these skills in the context of brokering and writing environments.

[3] Students also discussed an increased knowledge about advanced subject matter (e.g., medical terminology, legal information, financial information). Some participant interviews suggested their academic writing may have been indirectly impacted by this knowledge through its effect on their general academics. Grace, for example, said that her language brokering "gave me a lot of exposure and opened my mind to different ways of writing, if that makes sense." However, the data did not fully support the claim that interacting with advanced subject matter impacted students' academic writing. I suggest future researchers consider this as a possibility, although it remains a speculation based on the data in the current study.

Table 10

Participants Mentioning Skills Used in Language Brokering and Academic Writing

Skill	*n* mentioned in brokering	*n* mentioned in writing	*n* mentioned in both
Register awareness	12 (55%)	22 (100%)	12 (55%)
Word choice	7 (32%)	21 (95%)	7 (32%)
Analytical skills	5 (23%)	18 (82%)	3 (14%)
Work under pressure	8 (36%)	7 (32%)	4 (18%)

Register Awareness

Existing literature has established that language brokers are adept at shifting register (Reynolds & Orellana, 2014). All 22 of this study's participants spoke to some extent about register when discussing their academic writing. Over half (*n*=12) also addressed this when speaking about their brokering experiences. As language brokers, students had to understand when and how to use a more formal register. Daniel compared register shifts within a language (i.e., casual spoken English to formal spoken English) to a form of code switching and said that being a language broker had taught him to "read the room and understand the environment in which you are translating things," adjusting his language accordingly. Some credited their brokering experiences with allowing them to successfully navigate formal contexts. Grace, motivated to help her mother, pushed herself to develop her English language skills by reading books in order to be able to sound "official" when necessitated by the situation.

Gabriela directly connected her language brokering and academic writing in this sense, noting that at times she was required to translate formal information such as legal documents. These language brokering tasks closely resembled the work she did when writing for school in that they required a "proper" register.

> "…when I was translating, for example, legal documents—which I would assume is more similar to my academic work, you know, in terms of professionalism—I

> have had to think about it in the sense of like, 'Okay, how is it going sound proper?' It's not just anybody reading this, you know. It's a very estimated [sic] profession within American and Mexican culture, like a lawyer" (Gabriela).

Students used a variety of terms to explain the concept of register. Some alluded to the "tone" or "diction" of the material they produced, with most (*n*=18) describing academic register as "professional." Students strove to achieve the professional quality of academic register in their own writing. Sarah, pointing to a section in her own writing, told me, "Sometimes when I read a sentence, I'm like, 'Oh, this doesn't sound very professional and stuff.' So then I go explore for more words that would fit it so that at least the tone is more formal."

While all participants demonstrated register awareness, they diverged in terms of when and how they employed various registers. Teresa stated that her academic writing was less formal than that of other academics owing to the types of interactions she had experienced as a language broker. Though another individual might have seen a lack of formal academic writing as a weakness, Teresa valued her ability to communicate informally, because it allowed her to aid members of her family and community. Grace, on the other hand, felt that she could best help her mother by learning to communicate in a "more official" register when needed; as a result, she began reading more as child in a conscious effort to expand her vocabulary and overall English language knowledge. She felt this effort was evident in her current academic writing style. Ximena's register awareness was defined by its fluidity. She drew parallels between language brokering and writing in terms of her ability to "accommodate" her interlocutor based on the context. In her brokering, this meant simplifying information for her family. However, in her academic writing, she believed accommodating an interlocutor entailed using a more formal register to communicate the appropriate intent. Awareness of register, then, was not as

straightforward as knowing how to make language more formal; language brokers also understood when to adjust their language to a more formal register.

Word Choice

Students carefully attended to their vocabulary choice in both their brokering and writing. Participants described struggling to find the right words in both activities. "One thing I definitely understood from translating and just my experiences in school in general is that some words may sound similar, but they don't convey the same meaning. So I try to be very particular on that," Ben explained. Christopher took this explanation further, stating that in more "rigid" academic essays—those that leaned toward STEM-adjacent fields, or essays with limited creative freedom—he approached word choice more carefully.

> "I think in other essays, more cookie cutter and rigid ones, I would say I put even more effort in those word choices just because it doesn't come naturally to me anymore. And those ones, I would actually have to be sure to choose a word that fully conveys what I want it to convey, without any unnecessary emotion or, nothing too colloquial, nothing too informal, and want to make sure that it sounds professional and academic. I typically spend more time word choice in those essays" (Christopher).

Christopher suggested that the deliberation with which he approached word choice was affected by the field (he compared psychology reports to those in education), prompt, and topic. An additional five students confirmed that their word choices were influenced by the field or topic about which they were writing, demonstrating an awareness of the variation in disciplinary norms in academic discourse (e.g., Hyland, 1999, 2002a).

While participants reflected on the effort put into their vocabulary choices, how they felt about the vocabulary they used in their writing—and to a lesser extent, their brokering—was not straightforward. Some, like Ben above, felt they had learned precision as a result of their childhood translating experiences. Eight participants pointed to their brokering experience as an

activity that motivated them to learn English (as well as their home language, in many cases). They increased their time reading and studying, learning subject-specific vocabulary in order to better help their families when translating. These students felt their English language skills had benefited as a direct result of the extra work they had put in due to their role as a language broker.

However, many of the language brokers expressed negative or conflicting feelings about their own vocabulary, often deriving from their experiences as a child language broker. Five participants explicitly connected vocabulary use with being regarded as "smart" and worried about whether their own vocabulary affected their readers' perceptions of their intelligence. When discussing her academic writing, Harpreet worried, "I tried too hard… to make myself seem smarter or just kind of like everyone else, you know, like, 'oh, they're using big words, maybe I should use big words.'"

Sarah's Example: Conflicting Feelings about Word Choice and Vocabulary. Sarah demonstrated conflict throughout her interview, reflecting the incongruities displayed by a number of participants regarding their vocabulary and word choice. When recalling her experiences in academic writing, Sarah illustrated her path from self-doubt to confidence, stating that she had not initially liked to write due to what she perceived as a lack of vocabulary knowledge. The English composition class she attended in university increased her confidence by emphasizing the importance of conveying ideas rather than using "a lot of big vocabulary." This message was reiterated in an educational psychology class, where she learned that college applicants who chose clearer, simpler vocabulary were more successful in their applications. This, she said, buoyed her confidence in her own writing. Sarah had received information

directly from the academic institution that the use of simpler language in writing was acceptable, even preferable, leading her to believe that her own vocabulary would not hinder her academics.

However, only moments later, Sarah contradicted herself by calling her writing "average, just average," and explaining that she envied other writers' abilities to use sophisticated vocabulary while maintaining clarity.

> "I'm not that confident about my own writing, unfortunately. And I think it's because like when I see other people's writing and they have a lot of complex words. Even though I tell myself it's about the meaning, but it's still like I think sometimes when their vocabulary is like really advanced, and the meaning is going through, it just makes me think like, wow, I would never be able to write such a piece" (Sarah).

Shortly after this statement, Sarah's confidence appeared to recede further. She characterized her writing as "below college average" (in contrast to her previous description of "average"), citing her grammar and vocabulary as elements negatively impacting her ability to articulate her ideas in writing. Sarah understood the benefit of simplifying language for clarity, a point that this study will explore further as a strategy used by other language brokers. Despite this knowledge, she wanted to write with what she felt was a more advanced vocabulary. Her initial anecdotes suggested that she did not think her writing was significantly harmed by her lack of vocabulary, but she felt she compared unfavorably to her peers who were able to achieve both clarity and sophistication based on their word choices. After reflecting on her own piece of writing for some time, Sarah spoke more, unprompted, about her own feelings toward her vocabulary.

> "I think for me, because I grew up in a household where we didn't have to read a lot, just because my parents didn't know really how to kind of educate us and I think also because we had to go to Chinese school at the same time, so we didn't have a lot of opportunities to increase our vocabulary. I think because of that, I feel like—I think vocabulary matters a lot to me. I think because of my circumstances that I grew up as a bilingual, I just didn't have a lot of English vocabulary. Sometimes I even think I have more Chinese vocabulary than English

> vocabulary. Because I grew up watching Chinese shows, talking to my parents in Chinese. They would teach us like different Chinese terms because they're advanced in their Chinese. So I just think sometimes like, that's why I feel like it's for English it's a bit harder just because I feel like I have limited vocabulary" (Sarah).

Sarah revealed that she had come to this realization as we were talking about her writing, as doing so had allowed her to connect her feelings about her vocabulary use in her own writing to her experiences growing up in a bilingual household with non-English-speaking parents. Her complicated, even contradictory, feelings were understandable given that she had been untangling them during her interview. Despite that fact that early in her college career she had been encouraged to learn of the adequacy of her own vocabulary—and believed in the importance of her ability to write clearly without obscuring her meaning behind complex vocabulary—this knowledge did not seem to be enough to suppress her own self-doubt when comparing her words to those of her peers. Her classes had boosted her confidence in her word choices; however, Sarah did not consider the vocabulary she used in her paper a conscious word choice. In her view, the fact that her clear, simple words sufficed (and might have even been preferred) in academic writing was a fortunate happenstance rather than a conscious effort on her part.

In summary, evidence from participants supports the claim that their attention to word choice was partially influenced by their translating experiences. Whether they felt their childhood experiences benefited or limited the vocabulary at their disposal, however, varied by individual.

Analytical Skills

Fewer students acknowledged the development of analytical skills in brokering, although five participants alluded to it. Some spoke of needing to use context clues and insight to

understand documents that contained unfamiliar words or concepts. Others, like Teresa and Andrea, concerned themselves with understanding the background and implications of material: why was the event (such as an eviction) occurring, and what did it mean for the people involved? Teresa described the materials she needed to translate as "multifaceted" and felt that she needed to provide background and explanation for others in order to capture the nuance of the situation. This type of critical thinking, she later noted, was a necessary skill for her work in Chicana/o studies, and she felt capable in her mastery of the skill. However, she felt less prepared in her second major, political science, where she described the writing as "more data; state only the facts." Interpreting data, policies, and charts was a skill she described as new to her, and she felt more comfortable in the environment of Chicana/o studies conducting analyses like those she had developed in her home language practices for years.

Participants also used analytical skills in brokering to scrutinize what had been said in order to ensure they truly understood, or to unify segments of a conversation or document to achieve a global understanding.

> "I think maybe my brokering experience, it has helped me like analyzing stuff, analyzing quotes. And the reason why I'm saying this because once I'm done translating, I'll analyze what I said. Or just overthink what my mom said, or overthink what that person that is speaking the language that my mom is familiar with, I'll just analyze what they said and be conscious, like, 'What did I say right? Am I understanding it?'" (Laura).

Laura credited her brokering experience for imparting in her a conscientiousness when synthesizing sources for discussion in her own writing. Vanessa reported using similar skills in her own language brokering. "Sometimes, you know, you're not translating sentence by sentence. Sometimes someone will say a whole paragraph, a whole conversation. And then you're like, 'okay, I have to analyze all that,'" she related. Students spoke of performing this manner of synthesis when incorporating multiple sources into an argumentative paper.

Working Under Pressure and in Time-Sensitive Situations

Language brokers learned to work in high-pressure situations under time constraints. Their brokering itself became quicker and more efficient due to practice. “It used to take me longer, and now it doesn’t take as long, or I can condense it enough so it’s simpler,” Fernanda reflected. The constant practice of performing under pressure also helped them in situations beyond brokering. Martin connected this practice to his academic writing, explaining that he had grown accustomed to generating language rapidly, which allowed him to deliver academic papers on tight deadlines.

> “Once I’m down to the wire—let’s say I have a paper due tonight at midnight, and I haven’t started it—I’ll crank out a 10 page paper before midnight, and submit it and get it an A on it. But for some reason, I can’t type out this paper starting two weeks ago. And it’s not because I don’t understand the material. It’s not because I haven’t done the readings. It’s not because I don’t know what type of argument I want to make… once the pressure comes on, it’s like my brain unblocks itself and I can do everything. So, it may be part of the brokering where I really I grew up with the pressure of someone being like, ‘Translate this now. Or, I need to have this conversation with someone and you need to translate it live’” (Martin).

Martin’s description above, however, suggests he felt he could only a, a possible detriment to his overall academic performance. Of the seven participants who mentioned this ability in their writing, four of them admitted to working best when under pressure or threat of a deadline, which Gabriela described as “not good.” However, when recalling their childhood language brokering, participants overwhelmingly spoke of their ability to operate under pressure as a skill that they felt helped them. “I think it helps me think on my feet more,” Natalia told me, and Ben felt that he could process thoughts more quickly as a result of his daily brokering activities.

Strategies Developed through Language Brokering Used in Academic Writing

Students described five major strategies in their writing associated with past brokering experiences: *linguistic simplification, use of physical resources, use of social resources, mental translation,* and *reading aloud.* The number of participants who mentioned these strategies in the context of brokering and/or writing is shown in Table 11 (refer to Table F3 in Appendix F for a full representation of strategies mentioned by each participant). The following section will explore these strategies and the ways in which they are linked in language brokering and writing.

Table 11

Participants Mentioning Strategies Used in Language Brokering and Academic Writing

Strategy	*n* mentioned in brokering	*n* mentioned in writing	*n* mentioned in both
Linguistic simplification	9 (41%)	16 (73%)	8 (36%)
Use of physical resources	9 (41%)	17 (77%)	8 (36%)
Use of social resources	6 (27%)	15 (68%)	4 (18%)
Mental translation	N/A[4]	10 (45%)	N/A
Reading aloud	N/A	7 (32%)	N/A

Linguistic Simplification

Many participants chose to simplify language as part of their translating, a process that several referred to as "dumbing down" information. This simplification occurred at a lexical (e.g., substituting "common" words for specific medical terminology), syntactic (e.g., "You're being evicted because…"), and discursive level (e.g., conveying large amounts of information in discrete points), although lexicon was most commonly cited in students' explanations. Participants simplified language in order to allow their parents to focus on the content of the message. Many pointed to the types of information being translated—medical, legal, or financial

[4] "Mental translation" and "Reading aloud" are listed only in the context of writing, as these strategies were linked to brokering either theoretically or directly by the participants, but they were not actions that applied in brokering activities. Mental translation, in particular, is inherent in the language brokering process and not a specific action or strategy employed during brokering.

information—as the reason they felt they needed to break down language, as it was something the "common person" would struggle to understand. Martin explained that he continued to help broker for his father, even though his father spoke intermediate English: "I still do this with my father," he told me. "I broker in terms of not Spanish to English but the verbiage—academic verbiage, professional verbiage—to understandable English."

Teresa described the development of her strategy of simplifying language. In addition to language brokering for her family, Teresa began translating legal information for members of her community as part of an internship. Teresa explained that as a child, she often simplified the language she translated not only for her parents' sake, but out of necessity due to her own limited knowledge. As she matured, her vocabulary expanded, but she continued to simplify the language that she brokered for the benefit of her family. After she began translating for her court internship, she continued this practice.

> "I tried to just break it down in more common language. And then I know that if they understand like, say, they're asking questions, they're engaged, and then they realize, 'Oh, yeah, you know, that is actually happening here.' Like, they're actually engaging with me. Then I understand I'm doing a good job" (Teresa).

Teresa also valued this accessibility in her writing, asking herself, "If I were to give it to a regular person, would they understand my paper?" Other participants similarly invoked hypothetical readers in explaining their strategy of linguistic simplification in writing. "I think it's just valuable in its own self, to translate that information into something that other people can understand easier," Daniel said.

Participants agreed that they simplified vocabulary or syntactic structures for the sake of clarity. Like Sarah, discussed earlier, who was taught that simpler vocabulary could be more effective in writing, Natalia shared an experience from a sociology class in which a professor reassured the class that "sociology researchers didn't know how to write. Sometimes they sound

really confusing." Hearing this increased Natalia's confidence by allowing her to recognize her strengths: focusing not on trying to elevate her vocabulary, but keeping her writing clear, simple, and coherent. "I feel like that matters," she told me. Martin agreed, asserting that he wanted to challenge his readers' thinking without making his writing unnecessarily complicated.

> "Sometimes I'll read some articles that are really dense that authors just don't get to the point, or they do all this weird crazy [expletive] that doesn't make sense. And I'm like, 'I have to go back and read through it again and again until I understand it.' And that's not the type of writing that I want to do. I want to do writing that challenges people. Challenges them in the way they *think*, not challenges them because my writing is so convoluted that it's hard to understand what I'm trying to say. And I think that comes from growing up brokering and translating for my family" (Martin).

However, while most participants discussed their ability to simplify language as a strength, Claudia found it to be a detriment. Claudia felt she habitually simplified her language based on the interactions she had had as a child language broker, despite the fact that her writing received critical feedback as a result.

> "I feel like that's where this whole feedback comes from, that I write the way I speak, because I'm so used to having to break everything down in Spanish that I feel like I need to do the same in English for my professors to understand what I'm trying to get to" (Claudia).

Claudia employed a strategy she had successfully used as a language broker but was unable to achieve the desired result in her academic writing, leading her to feel frustration. However, many of the students interviewed felt that their writing was clearer and more understandable thanks to their strategy of linguistic simplification, whether they had begun this practice out of necessity in their language brokering due to their developing language abilities or had done so purposefully.

Use of Physical Resources

Students sought help from physical resources, such as online or paper dictionaries and thesauruses, in both their language brokering and their writing. As children, many relied on Google to decipher unfamiliar medical, legal, or financial terms. Not only did many of the language brokers not know how to translate terms from one language to another, they often lacked the term in either language due to its subject matter. The use of resources allowed them to operate within the spaces in which they needed to broker; as university students, they relied again on physical resources—Google, dictionaries, and thesauruses—to operate in the world of academic discourse.

Use of Social Resources

Six participants reported turning to other people—siblings, neighbors, or nearby professionals (for example, a Spanish-speaking nurse working in the doctor's office)—for assistance when they struggled with unfamiliar terms while brokering for their families. Two-thirds of brokers who did so, as well as numerous other participants, sought help from other people in their writing. Help came from peers, family members (generally siblings or spouses), resources such as the Writing Center, and additional time spent with professors or TAs (for example, seeking help in office hours). Many participants praised the Writing Center for helping them develop general writing skills throughout their college career. Others cited peer editing as a strategy for editing difficult blocks of text or becoming familiar with new vocabulary. Carmen, rather than asking peers for help with revision, read her papers to friends in STEM majors to ensure she was portraying her ideas clearly to an audience naïve to her field.

> "If you read it out loud, and if you are able to understand what you're saying—or if you read it to someone else too, that helps. Often I'll read it to maybe my friends that are like mathematics majors or something to make them understand what my points are in my papers" (Carmen).

Mental Translation Aiding Comprehension and Production

Ten participants, when discussing their writing process, noted that they mentally translated ideas or material to themselves as part of the process. This mental translation was done for two purposes: to better understand and interpret source material (comprehension), and to overcome writer's block by aiding them in putting concepts into words (production).

Comprehension. Several students translated source material—often multiple times—to themselves when trying to understand challenging concepts. While many struggled to explain the reason behind this strategy, Martin believed that it derived from the necessity of understanding ideas in both English in Spanish as a child broker before being able to communicate those ideas to his parents.

> "I just have to translate back and forth between Spanish and English to understand something. I have to understand that in Spanish and in English to fully grasp the concept. And I think that has to do because I would have to understand something in English. I would have to understand it myself first, before I could translate it to my mother, father, whoever it was. Sometimes, I would read something, and I would get nervous because it would be just sitting there staring at me. Like, 'What does it say?' And I'm like, 'Hold on, I need to read it a couple more times.' So then I would take what I was reading in English, and I would translate it literally into Spanish. And I'd be like, 'Okay, that doesn't make sense. A literal translation doesn't make sense. Let me start playing with the words around'… especially when I was younger, I had to read things a couple of times and translate it and go back and forth to really understand the concept. It's almost like I had to understand that in both languages to fully grasp the concept" (Martin).

Martin's explanation was supported by Katrina, who said that she knew that she "truly understood" academic material if she was able to think about it to herself in Filipino. She used mental translation as a way of testing her own comprehension and committing ideas to memory, a practice that extended beyond writing into other areas of learning as well.

Production. A few participants used their bilingual abilities to their advantage when developing new ideas. Diana described a process in which she generated ideas by first thinking

of them in Spanish, then translating them to herself in English before committing them to writing. Krista, similarly, shifted languages as a way of easing her cognitive load when thinking in English for long periods of time. “My mind would feel a little more fresh if I suddenly started thinking in Korean,” she said. Many of the students who used mental translation as a strategy found it helpful in terms of selecting an appropriate word. “If I think of a word in Spanish that I want to describe something in, it forces me to look for words in English that best fit it,” Fernanda explained. Sarah also found it easier to search for vocabulary in her other home language.

> “Sometimes I think of the word in Chinese, and then I would translate it. And I would like that word, and I would use it in here because I feel like that word is the one that would best fit this context” (Sarah).

Reading Aloud

Seven participants employed the metacognitive strategy of reading aloud to revise their writing, a strategy shown to aid revision on a mechanical level (e.g., Çetinkaya, 2020; Tseng, 2014). Carmen used the strategy for this purpose, stating that she was able to catch errors of agreement or verb tense when hearing her words read out loud. Mainly, though, students read out loud as a way of determining whether the sentence had an appropriate sound or sense of flow.

> “I know that whenever I write, I always try to like, look back. I read my sentence out loud to myself. If I’m not sure if it sounds good, I’ll read it to someone else. You know, see if it sounds good to them” (Diana).

Participants in this study were not asked about reading aloud, nor were they asked specifically about revision processes, but those who mentioned the strategy spoke about it with a surprising matter-of-factness. “I hate reading my papers out loud or even re-reading them. I don’t like that. I obviously do it, but I don’t like me reading them,” Gabriela said. Katrina, too, stated that not only did she read every sentence out loud for herself, she worked with the assumption that her reader might also read aloud to themself. Reflecting on a past rough draft of her own, she

pointed out a phrase she found particularly awkward, *such a notion rejected beliefs of causation based upon supernatural phenomena.* "That's already bad," she told me, laughing and stopping herself. "How I can tell that it's a bad sentence to say out loud is the words. Like if it's too many long words and it seems like it's not going anywhere, it's bad. I don't even know what I meant there." She grappled for a few minutes with the difficulty of writing words that did not have her intended effect when read out loud.

> "Maybe it just deserves to be put on paper and not be read out loud. Maybe just some sentences are like that. I don't know what you think about that, though. Do you think some sentences are just not meant to be read aloud?" (Katrina).

Katrina's question implied that writing, in general, was meant to be read aloud. Though she did not directly ascribe this assumption to her childhood brokering practice, the link was apparent based on her description of her language brokering behaviors. Katrina, like other language brokers, was accustomed to reading written documents for her family—school emails, progress reports for her younger sister, rent notices—and translating them verbally. Reading aloud may have been a natural extension of this behavior.

Summary of Characteristics, Skills, and Strategies

Overall, a thematic analysis found five characteristics common between language brokering and academic writing, as well as four skills and five strategies students developed as language brokers that emerged in their academic writing process. However, while some characteristics, skills, and strategies—such as the development of confidence—had clear benefits, others had potential costs, as will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

Awareness of Connections Between Language Brokering and Academic Writing

The previous section presented students' descriptions of the characteristics common to language brokering and academic writing and the skills and strategies that students developed through language brokering that they employed in their writing (CSS). The following section examines students' awareness of these connections; that is, the extent to which they explicitly discussed these commonalities versus the extent to which the connection was merely implied through the student's descriptions of their behaviors or processes.

Establishing the Connections Between Characteristics, Skills, and Strategies of Language Brokering and Academic Writing

The findings for Research Question 1 reported connections between language brokering and academic writing. Language brokers recognized connections between these activities, but they generally needed guidance or prompting in order to do so. After speaking about their past brokering experiences, participants were asked a series of three questions with increasing specificity: *What do you think you have learned from language brokering?, Can you see any ways that your brokering experiences shaped your learning in school?,* and finally, *Can you see any ways that your brokering experiences shaped the writing that you did in school?*

When asked the first and broadest question, only one participant, Ben, directly connected the skills he learned as a language broker to his academic writing. Ben felt that the pressure on him to parse meaning and translate exchanges quickly for his parents improved his abilities to draw meaning from a source and communicate that meaning in his own "voice."

> "And that kind of translated over to my schoolwork, because when I'm writing a paper, for example, I would like to look at the document or whatever I'm researching and I'd be like, 'Okay, this is what they're trying to say, I'm going to try to get it out in my own words on paper.' And that made me find my 'writing voice' a little bit more clear" (Ben).

Many other participants spoke about developing the above-listed characteristics, skills, and strategies as a result of their language brokering—for example, analytical skills, or the ability to simplify their language—but none directly connected what they had learned in their brokering experiences to their academic writing as they did so. When prompted to consider how their brokering shaped their learning in school, six participants mentioned writing. When directly asked whether they saw ways in which their brokering experiences had shaped their writing, 20 of the 22 participants named ways in which it had. Two participants replied that they did not see a connection between the two activities. "I feel like it hasn't, personally," Daniel said. "I would say that my grammar is not, like, 100%, but I'm not sure if that's just more of a me thing than it is because I'm Vietnamese [laughs]. I wonder if it's also potentially because the focus of my Vietnamese is more so me speaking than it is writing."

In fact, nearly half of participants (*n*=10) perceived a lack of connection between their verbal language skills and their writing (although 8 of these 10 participants nonetheless saw ways in which their language brokering had shaped their writing in school). Some felt they could broker verbally but struggled when trying to broker written documents; others felt that they could explain their thoughts in academic settings but were less successful at putting them in writing. "If it was an argument, if it was in person, I'll be able to explain it," Laura told me, expressing the difficulty she felt trying to communicate a written argument. Martin shared her frustration:

> "But every time I sit down to write something, I always doubt myself or I just freeze up. I can't write about it. I can talk about it. And I think that comes from because I spent most of my life interpreting verbally, not rewriting things so that someone would understand it, because I would fill out everything in English. I would interpret it verbally and then write what I needed to write" (Martin).

A small number of participants (*n*=2) reported difficulty mastering different registers in different language domains. While Vanessa did not have difficulty understanding spoken slang

in Spanish, she struggled to parse the slang-filled texts sent to her by Spanish-speaking family members. Gabriela also noted that her language use was compartmentalized: Spanish was spoken and more colloquial, whereas academic writing was formal. Her experiences, she felt, did not transfer in terms of either domain or register.

After completing the brokering portion of the interview, including the three direct questions above, participants were interviewed about their experiences in and views of academic writing. When this second portion of the interview had concluded, the participants were asked once again to consider the work they had done as language brokers and the work that they did in their writing for their academic classes and whether they saw parallels between the two activities. Having spoken at length about the two activities for approximately one hour, most participants discussed new parallels not mentioned in their responses to the previous direct questions. Daniel, one of the participants who had not previously seen any connections between the two activities, identified the act of simplifying language as a parallel between his job as a language broker and as a college student.

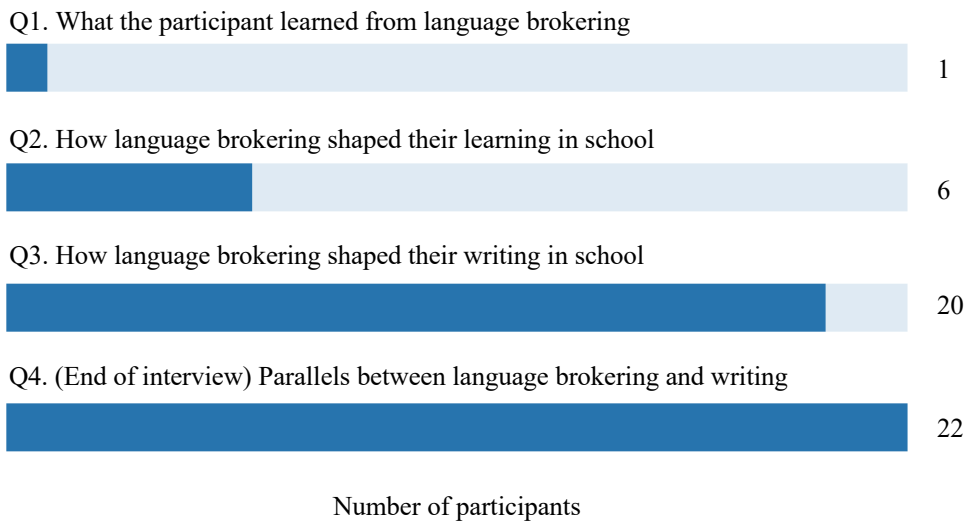
> "I see a sense of parallel whereas I understand my parents struggle with—there is a lot of confusing information outside in the world and we want to make that simpler. And I think for me with academia, too, sometimes academia for me also is a very jargony, and I'm not always as interested because that's also very complicated. But I want to learn to fight and parse through this information to make it more simplified. So I think that there are parallels sometimes where it's like, translating-wise too, you go back and forth, there are things that may be complicated and might frustrate you, but you do your best to take in that information. And kind of make it more simplified for people to understand" (Daniel).

When asked the final question, all 22 participants (including the two who had not previously seen similarities) stated that they saw parallels between the work they had done when

brokering for their families and the work they undertook in their academic writing. An overview of the path taken by participants' responses is shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5

Participants Connecting Language Brokering and Writing Experiences (N=22)



Several participants affirmed that they had only considered ties between the two activities during the course of their interview. "You know, it's definitely interesting to reflect and think about stuff," Vanessa said. "There are some things that overlap between writing and translating, now that I think about it, definitely." The fact that few participants connected the two activities in the beginning of their interviews is unsurprising, as all but four (Martin, Ximena, Sarah, and Vanessa, all of whom had heard the term spoken in a university course) were unfamiliar with the notation of language brokering as a phenomenon prior to their participation in the study, although all had behaviors and practices consistent with the definition of language brokering.

To examine students' awareness of these connections in more depth, I analyzed the characteristics, skills, and strategies as follows: if a participant mentioned a CSS in only one context (e.g., spoke about word choice in language brokering but not academic writing), the CSS

was labeled *Not Connected* for that participant. If the participant mentioned the CSS when speaking about both activities, I determined that to be a connection. Connections were *Implicit* if the participant had mentioned the CSS in relation to both activities at some point in their interview but gave no indication she recognized the relationship. Connections were *Explicit* if the participant made a direct statement regarding the characteristic, skill, or strategy in both the participant's language brokering and academic writing activities. Counts of mentions and connections were limited to one per participant for each CSS.

I examined which characteristics, skills, and strategies had the highest proportion of connections given the number of participants who mentioned them at all. Table 12 displays the total number of participants making connections and the proportion of connections for each CSS.

Table 12

Number and Percentage of Participants (N=22) Connecting CSS

Characteristic, skill, or strategy	Connections	% of total mentions
Focus on conveying meaning	18	82
Register awareness	12	55
Focus on accuracy	8	50
Use of physical resources	8	44
Linguistic simplification	7	41
Pressure/time	4	36
Word choice	7	32
Self-doubt	5	24
Use of social resources	4	24
Confidence	3	17
Analytical skills	3	14

Note. Includes both implicit and explicit connections

Of the connections made by participants, 56% (*n*=44) were explicit, and 44% (*n*=35) were implicit. Participants generally made explicit connections as a result of prompting; 20% (*n*=9) of students' explicit connections were made spontaneously. To further explore the nature of students' explicit and implicit connections, I examined the CSS that had the highest

proportion of explicit connections out of the total connections. A full overview of each CSS is presented in Table 13. The percentage of explicit connections for CSS ranged from 0% explicit (social resources) to 100% explicit (analytical skills).

Table 13

Number and Percentage of Explicit Connections

Characteristic, skill, or strategy	Explicit connections (*n*)	% of total connections
Analytical skills	3	100
Self-doubt	4	80
Pressure/time	3	75
Register awareness	9	75
Focus on conveying meaning	13	72
Linguistic simplification	5	71
Word choice	3	43
Confidence	1	33
Accuracy	2	25
Physical resources	1	13
Social resources	0	0

These percentages illustrate the CSS for which students are aware of possible connections between their language brokering and academic writing experiences. While relatively few participants (*n*=3) spoke about their analytical skills in relation to both brokering and writing, all three explicitly attributed their analytical skills as a writer to their practices as a child language broker. Unfortunately, students who connected their feelings of self-doubt also did so directly: 80% of participants who spoke about self-doubt in both contexts explicitly linked their feelings of doubt as a writer to their bilingual[5] or brokering experiences. “I have, like, language fear. It’s a problem that a lot of us have overcome, that a lot of us can relate to,” Andrea responded when asked how her language brokering had shaped her writing. On the other end of the spectrum, a

[5] It is important to note that participants often referenced their bi- or multilingualism as well as their specific brokering experiences throughout their interview. These responses were analyzed as responses related to brokering, as the context was frequently inextricable. Whenever possible, the interviewer encouraged participants to expand on their answers by thinking more specifically about “the work you’ve done translating for your family.”

low proportion of participants explicitly connected their tendency to use physical or social resources in both language brokering and academic writing.

Analyzing the intersection of these calculations—the proportion of total mentions that were connections, and the proportion of connections that were explicit—provides a clearer picture of the connections that existed, and the level of awareness students had regarding these connections. For each CSS, I examined whether a relatively high or low proportion of participants connected its use in language brokering and writing and whether a relatively high or low proportion of those connections were explicit. I operationalized *high* and *low* using the median percentage, shown in Tables 12 and 13 above, as a cut point.[6] I then divided the CSS into quadrants. This process provided clarity as to which CSS were highly connected with a high level of explicit participant awareness, highly connected with a low level of explicit participant awareness, infrequently connected but with a high level of explicit participant awareness, and infrequently connected with a low level of explicit participant awareness. This intersection is shown in Figure 6.

[6] Two CSS fell directly on the medians of their respective tables. Linguistic simplification, which represented the median value for proportion of explicit connections (71%), aligned more closely with the next-closest percentages in the High group (72% and 75%) than the Low group (43% and 33%). Working under pressure or time constraints represented the median value for proportion of total connections (36%); however, it was relatively equidistant in proximity from its two closest neighbors. I made the decision to assign that CSS to the Low Proportion of Connections group in order to achieve a more even number of items in quadrants.

Figure 6

High/Low Proportion of Connections and High/Low Proportion of Explicit Connections

Percent of Connected Mentions

Percent of Explicit Connections		**High**	**Low**
	High	Conveying Meaning Register Awareness Linguistic Simplification	Pressure/Time Self-Doubt Analytical Skills
	Low	Accuracy Physical Resources	Word Choice Social Resources Confidence

High Proportion of Connections, High Proportion of Explicit Connections

CSS in the "High-High" quadrant included focus on conveying meaning, register awareness, and linguistic simplification. These were frequently connected, with a high proportion of explicit connections.

Despite the fact that these CSS are classified as highly explicitly recognized, it is important to reiterate that almost no connections were directly evident to participants at the onset of the interview. Participants drew connections only after they had reflected for some time on their language brokering and academic writing experiences.

Low Proportion of Connections, Low Proportion of Explicit Connections

At the other end of the spectrum, the "Low-Low" quadrant contained CSS that were not frequently connected (i.e., many participants mentioned them in only one context); when they were mentioned in both contexts, the link was primarily implicit. These CSS included word choice, use of social resources, and confidence.

High Proportion of Connections, Low Proportion of Explicit Connections

CSS in the "High-Low" quadrant—focus on accuracy and use of physical resources—were frequently connected, but implicitly. Participants who mentioned these CSS in both contexts did not often demonstrate awareness of a relationship between their previous and current experiences.

Low Proportion of Connections, High Proportion of Explicit Connections

Finally, CSS in the "Low-High" quadrant included working under pressure and time constraints, self-doubt, and analytical skills. Relatively few participants spoke about these characteristics, skills, and strategies in terms of both their language brokering and academic writing skills together, but those who did usually associated them directly.

The implication of these intersections, and why understanding them is of use to researchers and educators, is discussed in the following chapter.

Influence of School Experiences

The academic writing portion of the interviews began by asking participants broadly about their academic writing experience. When asking this question, I guided participants by specifying that I was most interested in their college writing experiences, although they were welcome to share what they felt were formative earlier writing experiences. Participants were not asked directly about their experiences with teachers or the quality of writing education they had received. However, 14 participants specifically discussed *positive, negative,* or *mixed* (at least one positive and one negative) experiences with either their schools or with individual teachers. Examples of positive experiences included teachers who challenged the participants with rigorous standards or teachers who provided extra care or attention. Examples of negative experiences included high school classes that failed to prepare the participant for college or

teachers whose feedback led the participant to doubt her abilities as a writer. Vanessa, for example, felt that her time in high school had been wasted. “Definitely school did not prepare any of us from my high school for college,” she told me. “We didn’t do a lot of writing… We did mostly no work. It was just basically on our own if we wanted to read a book or not. So those were like two years wasted.” Sarah recalled a high school class in which her essays were never chosen by the teacher as examples of “good” papers and received only negative feedback. “It just made me even less confident about my writing,” she said. However, she described her freshman composition course as a “turning point,” stating that the feedback she received, which included both praise and constructive criticism, allowed her to see the strengths she possessed and improve as a writer.

Despite the preliminary nature of the data on participants’ school experiences, examining these experiences together with their tendencies to connect their language brokering and academic writing experiences revealed a pattern: participants who reported negative educational experiences (n=4) were among the participants who made a lower proportion of connections between their language brokering and writing experiences. A numerical breakdown of this explanation is shown in Table 14.

Table 14

Relationship Between Negative School Experiences and Percentage of Connections Made

School experiences	Percentage of connections
Unknown	70%
Unknown	63%
Unknown	60%
Mixed	60%
Unknown	56%
Positive	50%
Positive	45%
Mixed	44%
Positive	44%
Unknown	43%
Negative	40%
Positive	38%
Mixed	36%
Unknown	33%
Negative	33%
Mixed	30%
Positive	27%
Unknown	27%
Unknown	22%
Negative	20%
Positive	18%
Negative	11%

The same pattern was not present when examining the percentage of *explicit* connections participants made, although this may have been due to a lack of variability in the data (each participant made between zero and five explicit connections in total across all CSS). While the exploratory nature of this data limits the conclusions we can draw from it, there is reason to suggest that negative experiences in school impacted the extent to which students connected the characteristics, skills, and strategies of their language brokering to their academic writing.

Participant Profiles

In the following section, I depict the profiles of four participants whose experiences in language brokering and academic writing differ in several areas: their language backgrounds, attitudes toward their bilingualism, resources available to them, and experiences in school. These profiles provide a more comprehensive picture of students' experiences and illustrate the importance of the above-mentioned key areas—particularly experiences in school—in terms of how much these students appeared to draw from their childhood skills and strategies in their undergraduate academic writing.

Gabriela

Gabriela, a senior majoring in world arts and cultures, was the youngest of her family's four children by a large margin (24 years younger than her next-closest sibling) and the only member of the family born in the US. Gabriela's parents had emigrated from Mexico with their teenaged children years earlier; therefore, Gabriela was the only family member who spoke English from a young age. However, she attended Spanish-English bilingual classes through fifth grade due to her mother's desire to "solidify" her Spanish. Growing up in a predominantly Spanish-speaking neighborhood, Gabriela considered Spanish her primary language through elementary school. Though she learned English in school, it was not until middle school that Gabriela began using English as her primary social language with friends.

Gabriela's Brokering Experiences. Gabriela's earliest memories of language brokering occurred in stores, doctor's offices, and at home translating school information for her parents. Her mother, Gabriela stated, could understand some English, but only when spoken slowly. Gabriela felt that because her mother knew she could depend on Gabriela, she relied on her translations even if she did not truly need to. "Even if she understands, she will completely block

herself out and be like, 'Gabriela, what did they say?'" she told me. As she grew older, Gabriela was entrusted with "bigger translations," such as helping her mother, a professional knitter, communicate with clients by text. Gabriela had recently translated a 30-page Facebook conversation for a legal case involving her nephew. She described it as a very difficult task, translating Spanish slang (for example, using *ke* for *que*) to an English register more appropriate for a legal case. Though Gabriela's sister also spoke English, Gabriela knew that her sister only would have been able to provide a word-for-word translation and that she, Gabriela, was the only family member who was able to complete the task. Completing this difficult translation was a source of pride for her and gave her a sense of appreciation for her bilingual abilities.

Gabriela's Writing Experiences. Gabriela attended a poorly funded high school that she felt had not prepared her for college. She attended community college before transferring to LAU. When applying for her major, she asked a friend to edit her personal statement and was told that he could see from her writing that she spoke another language. This was the first anyone had said this to her, and she told me she was "devastated." Shortly after that incident, Gabriela was enrolled in a summer course taken mostly by Latino students in which the professor made a similar statement, announcing that he was able to identify who in the class spoke another language by their writing. After class that day, Gabriela remembered, she and her classmates worried about whether they would succeed in college. She felt they would have to work hard to assimilate "to what they [academics] want." Gabriela believed that because her high school and community college were predominantly Latino, her previous instructors were "more used to seeing students that have a similar experience to me. They wouldn't call this out."

Gabriela viewed her writing as very straightforward and stated that she would like to write in a more abstract way. However, she was conscious of the differences between writing in

a discipline such as Chicana/o studies and her major of world arts and cultures. In Chicana/o studies, she explained, "they're not really looking for how well you can write… I feel like they understand where a lot of us come from, so that's why I would like try to simplify [my word choices] even more, so I can't be like—I don't want to sound pretentious in this discipline." Gabriela made deliberate choices in her writing based on what she felt the scholars in her field expected. At the time of the interview, Gabriela had recently worked for an Israeli artist in Berlin, translating media such as social media posts published by the artist. She spoke about the complexity of the work, which entailed working with the original text of the author's posts while modifying syntax and other grammatical aspects for an American audience and adjusting the language to a more professional register while attempting to maintain the artist's original "voice" as much as possible.

What Gabriela Learned as a Language Broker. Like many of the participants, Gabriela had never heard of language brokering prior to the study and said she had "never really thought about" any connections between her language brokering experiences and her academic writing. As a child and early adolescent, Gabriela felt ashamed of her bilingualism and saw speaking Spanish as stigmatized. However, in recent years, she had undergone an abrupt shift in which she valued in her bilingualism and ability to communicate in two languages; this shift was partially facilitated by the pride she had felt when helping her family through their legal case.

When I first asked Gabriela about any impacts of her language brokering on her writing, she stated that she was not able to see any. At the end of the interview, I again asked her if she saw parallels between language brokering and academic writing, but she said once again that she could not think of any. Curious, but not wanting to push too hard for an answer, I mentioned her experience translating documents for her family's legal case and asked if she saw any similarities

between that activity and her academic writing. “Oh, I see! Yeah, I think I can,” she replied, then spoke at length about her consideration of audience and “professionalism” when translating legal documents and her subsequent writing for professors.

After our interview had concluded, Gabriela, who ultimately wanted to pursue a PhD, chatted with me about her interest in the study and the idea that language brokering could be a unique ability. “If I’d heard that earlier, it would have changed my academic experience,” she told me. When I asked her to elaborate, she explained that she had only ever faced discrimination due to her ethnicity and language background and had tried to hide her accent, never considering that she had skills that were beneficial and unique.

> “When I was growing up, I kind of experienced some—honestly, I did not know what it was, but I want to say some kind of discrimination. Obviously, I look like I’m Mexican or some kind of ethnic Hispanic group. So I feel like I face a lot of discrimination, which I think forced me to change my accent. My parents have videos of me when I was younger, and I would speak English really young. I had an accent like what’s common with Latina women or Latinx people in general. So because of that, I was like, ‘I don’t want to sound like that.’ I would hear other people sound that way and I would be like, ‘Oh no, I can’t. I’m trying to avoid that as much as possible.’ But I think if a teacher would have been like, ‘Oh, hey, your skills are unique or they’re different, it’s not a bad thing,’ I think I would have been easier on myself.”

Summary of Gabriela’s Experiences. Gabriela demonstrated sophisticated metalinguistic awareness. She translated sensitive documents, understood register, and considered her unseen audience in writing. Her translating and writing skills intersected in her recent internship, where she negotiated register and voice when writing for another individual. However, Gabriela recalled only negative experiences in school, including an exchange with a professor that caused her to worry about her potential for academic success. The shame she felt toward her bilingualism had only recently begun to abate. Gabriela was among the participants

who made the lowest proportion of connections between their language brokering and writing experiences.

Erica

Erica, along with her twin sister, was the youngest of multiple siblings. Born in South Sudan, she moved to California with her mother and siblings as an infant. She and her siblings were most comfortable speaking English to each other, and typically only spoke their home language of Nuer with their mother. Other than adult English language classes in California, Erica's mother had no education. Erica was a fourth-year anthropology student at LAU.

Erica's Brokering Experiences. Although her older siblings had grown up in South Sudan and spoke Nuer more easily than she did, Erica often found herself the sole language broker for her mother. She was often able to translate verbal conversations without difficulty but struggled more with written documents, largely due to her lack of vocabulary in Nuer. She felt her Nuer vocabulary was diminishing as she grew older. Erica lacked resources to help her; because of the small size of the Nuer-speaking community, she had no dictionaries growing up, nor was she able to look up words in Google. Her siblings were her only source of assistance when language brokering in Nuer. Erica felt frustrated as a language broker and preferred not to translate in situations when she felt it was not necessary for her mother to converse. "Oh, Mom, just leave it alone," she remembered thinking during a recent exchange with a neighbor to whom her mother was trying to offer the use of a phone when he was struggling to get into his house.

As she grew older, Erica felt that she was losing touch with her culture and realized that her own home was the only place she would be able to maintain her heritage language. She began to make more of an effort to speak to her siblings in Nuer to preserve her remaining language abilities.

Erica's Writing Experiences. Erica told me that she had never had difficulty writing in English, although due to poor preparedness from high school, her academic writing as a freshman was not at the level she wanted it to be in terms of mechanics. With experience, peer review, and assistance from writing centers on campus, she gained skills and techniques and felt more comfortable writing academic papers of increasing length. She described herself as a good writer, though not an advanced one. "I'm able to get the point across, and I have very good grammar and very good writing skills," she explained. She believed that learning to incorporate her own opinions in her writing, rather than focusing solely on delivering what she believed the professor wanted, had strengthened her writing.

What Erica Learned as a Language Broker. Erica had learned to prepare herself prior to difficult brokering situations in order to better manage the frustrations she felt as a language broker. She did not see ways in which brokering had directly shaped her academic experiences, including her writing. When I asked her again at the end of her interview, Erica replied that she did see parallels between the two activities, but mainly in terms of her frustration and approach to both.

Summary of Erica's Experiences. Like Gabriela, Erica cited a lack of preparation for college academics from her high school. Also like Gabriela, she had undergone a shift in her language ideology, valuing her bilingualism more as she grew older and growing increasingly protective of maintaining her heritage language. Erica was unique among the study's participants in that she had very few language resources available to her due to the size of the Nuer community. She made the fewest percentage of connections between her language brokering and writing experiences of any participant, connecting only one characteristic implicitly. While she did ultimately see parallels between language brokering and academic writing, she did not feel

that there was any connection between the skills and strategies she had developed; instead, the parallels she discussed were negative characteristics of language brokering and writing.

Teresa

Teresa's parents emigrated to the US from Mexico and Guatemala. Both had basic receptive English language skills but lacked productive English language, so they relied on Teresa and her two older siblings to broker between Spanish and English. Although brokering duties were shared among the three siblings, most fell to Teresa as her older brother and sister were less willing to help. Teresa was a third-year student double majoring in political science and Chicana/o studies.

Teresa's Brokering Experiences. As a child, Teresa felt she lacked sufficient English vocabulary and knowledge of the subject matter she was asked to broker. Though she often shouldered the responsibility of brokering for her parents, she asked her siblings for help translating words she did not understand. She saw her translating acts as multi-step processes: first breaking down an English-language document into vocabulary she could understand, then translating that into Spanish she felt her parents would understand. While she encountered unfamiliar words in documents, she found that she could generally parse the meaning well enough to convey it to her parents. "There's this word that I don't understand, Mom, but it's regarding this concept, you know. Like, it's about this," she would explain. She learned "reading between the lines" and listened closely to other concepts being discussed in order to infer meaning.

As a child, Teresa's primary challenge as a language broker was overcoming English words or concepts she did not understand. After attending college, however, she developed an extensive vocabulary through which she was able to speak and write about abstract concepts

("like colonialism and patriarchy," she offered) but struggled to translate these into language her parents would understand. At the time of our interview, she worked as an intern in the court system; part of her internship entailed translating legal information for members of the community. She was proud of the work she did clarifying information for people who needed assistance. Again, she highlighted the multifaceted aspect of this work: she not only had to translate from English to Spanish but also had to simplify the language and concepts for the general public. "I've been in a lot of political and law settings and stuff like that, but it's kind of hard passing it onto people who don't have that knowledge," she told me. "[They] are just common people, you know. They don't deal with the law at all."

As a child language broker, Teresa focused on conveying the meaning of the documents and media she brokered for her parents. She was confident that her close listening skills and use of context clues were sufficient to express the general message to her parents in a way that was accessible to them. In her current internship, she focused on balancing accuracy with accessibility. "My job is to make people understand, not give them more complications," she said, while acknowledging that the people she served relied on her to deliver accurate information.

Teresa's Writing Experiences. Teresa felt she had helpful language arts teachers in her junior and senior years of high school, recalling that they taught her about mechanics, formatting, and synthesizing information. She found writing in her political science major more challenging than her Chicana/o studies major due to the novel skill set it required. The analyses she completed for Chicana/o studies felt familiar to her—the presentation of background information, the critical skills required, and the explanations requiring nuance. She was also

more familiar with the subject matter. Political science writing, on the other hand, required communicating data in a more straightforward manner, which she found unfamiliar.

She visited the Writing Center a few times early in college, which she described as "preventative," and felt that the tutors at the center helped in her terms of argument structure in her papers. Once she was satisfied that she was achieving high grades on her writing assignments, she gained confidence. I asked Teresa whether going to the Writing Center had improved her writing and her grades and confidence had improved as a result, or whether her visits to the Writing Center were mainly to gain confidence early in her college career. She replied that she felt it was a combination of both; she believed she was a good writer, but she wanted more feedback in her freshman year, particularly when writing about subjects with which she was less familiar. She also felt the Writing Center had helped her continue to improve her technique. Teresa stated that she valued simplicity, clarity, and accessibility in her writing.

What Teresa Learned as a Language Broker. Teresa's language brokering experiences instilled in her the value of being bilingual. She appreciated being seen as a resource by others. "That feels good for me, because they put that trust in me that I'm doing stuff accurately," she said. As a result of her work as a language broker, Teresa learned to simplify information and language for others, and this impacted her writing style, which she described as "clear cut, understandable—like simple—but it gets the point."

Summary of Teresa's Experiences. Teresa valued her ability to simplify information and language. She attributed this ability to her early language brokering abilities but honed it in later translating work outside of her family. She felt confident in her skills as an academic writer, which she credited at least in part to her high school teachers and guidance from the college writing center. Teresa repeatedly affirmed her commitment to what she saw as her language

brokering responsibilities for her family and community and took pride in delivering necessary, valued services.

Sarah

Sarah was a fourth-year psychology student. As a child, she spoke Cantonese with her family while learning Mandarin in weekend language classes. Eventually she began speaking Mandarin more frequently than Cantonese with her parents, although the family used a mixture of both languages. Like Gabriela, Erica, and Teresa, Sarah was the youngest sibling in her family, but due to her more expansive vocabulary, she shouldered the majority of brokering responsibilities for her family from the time she was a child.

Sarah's Language Brokering Experiences. As reported earlier in this chapter, Sarah had a negative experience translating for her father in high school when calling a credit card company to dispute a late fee. While communicating information between her father and the company representative, Sarah translated what was said "and added more of my stuff to it," including what she felt was necessary information. When her father realized she was adding information to the exchange, he became angry with her.

> "He was like, 'Stop, just stop saying what you think. Like, tell me what he's saying so that I can respond to [it].' And I think at that moment, I was like, hmm. I felt—it didn't feel good, obviously. Because I realized, like, oh, I thought I kind of knew what to say. But then in reality, it was something different, and my dad wanted something different."

She also had difficulty brokering information for which she did not know the appropriate Chinese vocabulary. Her mother had recently been in the hospital, and Sarah had struggled to broker the necessary medical information for her. Though she used an online translator to help, she was unsure of its accuracy and worried that her parents would not understand what was being said, regardless of its fidelity. Sarah's brokering struggle was similar to that described by Teresa,

who explained that it was not enough to simply translate the words; she needed to translate the information in a way that her parents would understand. Notable in Sarah's anecdote was her concern with ensuring that her mother understood what was being said. Given her previous experience, where she realized that her father wanted the most direct translation possible without editorializing on her part, she might have decided to transmit information more straightforwardly. However, she was determined to convey information to her mother in the way she thought would provide the most help. Despite isolated negative experiences, Sarah did not portray her overall language brokering experience as negative. Rather, she described it as a "family obligation," something for which she did not expect thanks. She recounted a situation brokering for her aunt about a passport issue; at the end of a long and difficult phone call, her aunt thanked her profusely for helping. Sarah, surprised, realized it was the first time she had been thanked by a family member for her language brokering. "I think the reason why I remembered it so much was because I think it was the first time I was actually thanked," she remarked.

Sarah's Writing Experiences. Prior to college, Sarah disliked English: she scored poorly on tests and felt she had a low vocabulary. In her sophomore year of high school, she remembered, her teacher would select student work as examples of "good" papers, but Sarah's were never chosen. Her work received primarily negative feedback. She turned to friends whose writing she believed was better than hers to help proofread her work, but her confidence was low. English Composition, which Sarah took in college, was a "turning point." "I was really surprised, because I got positive feedback," she told me. Her instructor provided specific feedback, both positive and critical, that allowed her to see her strengths and improve aspects of her writing where needed. The course helped her gain confidence, and she learned that her

writing should focus on imparting her message rather than focusing on complexity and vocabulary. Sarah also took a class in education and psychology that taught her that students were more successful on their college applications if they used less complex vocabulary, focusing instead on simplicity and clarity. Sarah had felt self-doubt regarding her vocabulary, so hearing this resonated with her. “I always just thought, like, I don’t have a lot of vocabulary, so I wouldn’t be able to write anything good. But I think college kind of enforced the idea of more of the content rather than the writing.”

Visiting the Writing Center also helped Sarah’s writing development when she realized she could go there to receive help with grammar. Sarah defined a “good” piece of writing as one that flowed well and conveyed her meaning to the reader. However, as previously noted in this chapter, Sarah worried about her vocabulary throughout her interview, even after saying she had developed confidence in her writing. She referred to her writing as “average, just average,” and told me, “I’m not that confident about my own writing, unfortunately,” despite having shared earlier that her confidence in herself as a writer had grown. She went on to explain that she envied the fact that other writers were seemingly able to convey their meanings as they intended while also using complex vocabulary. It appeared that Sarah most valued conveying her meaning to her reader but ultimately wanted to achieve both.

What Sarah Learned from Language Brokering. As a language broker, Sarah learned the difficulty of conveying the intention behind what was being said. She used mental translation in order to overcome writer’s block to come up with ideas and wording for her papers. As she grew older, Sarah grew more confident in her brokering, which she felt was related to her use of mental translation as a writing strategy. Translating sentences in her head, she explained, often enabled her to see a better, simpler way of conveying her father’s ideas. “Oh, is it more like this

way?" she would ask her father, verifying his meaning. If he confirmed that her paraphrasing was correct, she would offer the new translation. "I can say that better," she would insist, then proceed to do so with his permission.

Summary of Sarah's Experiences. Despite early negative experiences with her family, Sarah continued to broker for them (and had continued to do so at the time of our interview) by translating in the way she felt was best: presenting clear, simplified information. Feedback from her college instructors encouraged her to see this as a strength, solidifying the relationship between her brokering and writing practices.

Summary

The participants highlighted in the above profiles diverged in terms of their home languages, attitudes toward their bilingualism, available resources, familial expectations, and school experiences. However, the four profiles contain common threads as well. All four participants engaged in the use of resources in their college writing: Gabriela asked a friend to check her writing, and the others used a combination of peer review and help from the writing center. As language brokers, Gabriela, Teresa, and Sarah all valued the fact that they were able to help their families or community members and were viewed as resources. Erica, however, mostly felt frustration as a language broker. Erica's linguistic isolation was unique among participants, which may have accounted for some of her frustration, as well as the lack of connections she drew between her language brokering and academic writing.

Gabriela and Erica both described experiencing a shift in their language ideologies as they grew older. Gabriela had felt shame toward her Spanish, and Erica felt frustrated as a language broker and often would have preferred not to engage in the situations in which she was asked to help. However, both later appreciated their bilingual abilities. The two also shared

similar negative experiences in school; both felt that their high school writing instruction had poorly equipped them for college. Teresa, on the other hand, felt she had received a rigorous high school education that had prepared her for college writing. Sarah, who had negative experiences in K-12, had a positive experience when she began at LAU, which improved her confidence in her writing abilities. Erica and Gabriela's negative school experiences may have contributed to the fact that the two made a lower proportion of connections between their language brokering and writing experiences than other participants.

Undergraduate Language Brokers' Views of Academic Written Voice

The final section of this chapter addresses the findings for Research Question 3, *What are undergraduate language brokers' views of academic written voice?* These findings were informed by thematic analysis. I answer this question by presenting three major subsections: participants' definitions of academic written voice, the extent to which participants felt their voice was represented in their academic writing, and participants' feelings when writing in academic voice. I then discuss how participants described their preferences regarding written voice and consider the impact of school experiences on students' views.

How Language Brokers Defined Voice in Academic Writing

Student definitions of "voice" comprised three overall themes: *voice relates to stance or topic, voice relates to form,* and *voice differs by field*. These definitions were not mutually exclusive within participants. *Voice relates to stance or topic* encompassed students' definitions of voice as the representation of one's personal opinion or perspective and voice as the representation of passion. *Voice relates to form* included definitions of voice as a representation of personal style or personality and voice as represented through structural features. Eight participants also felt the portrayal of voice was dependent on the field in which they were writing. The number of participants using each definition of voice is shown in Table 15. A table displaying all participants' definitions of voice can be seen in Appendix G (Table G1).

Table 15

Participants' Definitions of Voice (N=22)

Definition of voice	Participants (*n*)
Stance or topic	17
Opinion or perspective	15
Passion	4
Form	9
Style or personality	7
Structural features	6
Differs by field or topic	8

Voice Relates to Stance or Topic

Opinion or Perspective. Seventeen participants defined voice as related to the stance or argument of a paper. Of these 17 participants, most (*n*=15) felt it was important that their own stance or personal perspective—as opposed to simply *a* stance—was represented in their writing in order to feel that their paper had a voice. "Voice in writing would be to have the reader hear what you want to say and understand what you want to say and have them get your perspective right off the bat," Harpreet defined.

For some, this meant drawing from their own background or experiences. "When you write, putting your voice in your writing is pretty much bringing that narrative of yourself in that writing," Laura explained. Ximena, Janette, and Erica stated that they felt freer to express themselves in papers that explicitly asked students to connect their own experiences to the topic. "I feel like a lot of those are like, you have more freedom and voice to what you want to say, versus like another class where it's a specific argument, and you have to take a standpoint, and there's not a lot of flexibility for that," Ximena said, suggesting that she felt that expressing herself as she wanted was, at least at times, in opposition with the need to take a strong stance. However, most participants felt that stance and argument were necessarily inherent in the concept of voice.

Several participants found it difficult to establish their own voice amid other sources. Martin felt that his own voice was usually portrayed in his writing ("Sometimes it comes out a little too much," he joked). When he did struggle to represent it, he believed his difficulty stemmed from an inadequate understanding of the source material that left him only able to "regurgitate" it. However, he felt he was usually successful in synthesizing his own voice and source material by interpreting the source material through the lens of his experiences. He illustrated his point using an analogy:

> "My own voice is kind of like—I take [the source] information and I push it through my experiences, and what comes out the other end is not the original idea. Something that that is mixed in with, I would say. Maybe this is the best way I can explain it: what I read is a primary color, my filter is a primary color, and what comes out is a mixture of that" (Martin).

In Martin's description, conveying an idea that was his own was essential to feeling that he was exercising his voice. For Martin and others, the incorporation of their own experiences was inextricably linked to feelings of voice and ownership of their writing.

Passion. Four participants felt that written voice was achieved through passion for the topic. Fernanda felt she had difficulty portraying her own voice otherwise: "It's just, like, me analyzing things." Daniel agreed, stating that he was able to convey his voice when writing on his "passion topics," which included mental health, gender and sexuality, Asian American experiences, and disability studies.

> "I never really found my voice. I feel like I would go about an assignment as in like, I just need get this done. I feel like the work that I identify with the most are the things I'm more so personally passionate about. At least for me, it's more about the content than it is about how I write… I know with other people, voice might be defined as how they write and how they articulate. But at least for me, it's more about, like, how I convey my own thoughts. And I think that comes with having my own personal passion" (Daniel).

The concept of passion was related to the concept of incorporating the writer's opinion or perspective. However, expressing a personal opinion or including personal narrative, as described above, did not necessarily entail having a passion for the subject.

Voice Relates to Form

Style or Personality. Seven participants felt that voice was defined by a distinctive style that would alert a reader to the author's identity—"your own touch," Katrina described. "How others can perceive you through your writing. Like the way you kind of think…like, are you more thoughtful? Are you more attuned with your feelings?" Diana, expressing a similar sentiment, felt voice in writing meant "spicing it up with a little personality."

Structural Features. Six participants believed that academic voice was achieved through structural choices such as wording, sentence structure, and organization. "I feel like when you write, you can tell who it is because of how they make the words come together and their sentences flow. Like for me specifically, I feel like my sentences usually tend to be compound complex," Natalia reflected. Christopher also felt his voice was recognizable through the form taken by his writing.

> "If someone's reading my paper, they would know it's my writing because it's kind of the sentence structure I choose or the certain type of vocabulary, or maybe even the way I approach answering questions" (Christopher).

These responses also reflected a view of academic voice as a personal style, but participants who described voice as being represented through structural features pointed to decisions specifically related to lexical, syntactic, or discursive features.

Voice Differs by Field or Topic

Students felt the extent to which they were able to convey their own written voice depended on the field in which they were writing. "It's hard to convey my own writing style if

I'm talking about hormones," Grace commented, revealing the challenge she faced representing her voice in STEM papers. Others also felt they were unable to represent themselves in STEM or STEM-adjacent fields. Vanessa, for example, felt she had the ability to convey her own voice successfully, but felt stifled by the conventions of psychology research papers.

> "If it's like, 'opinion based but use your readings for backup,' I think definitely my voice is shown through it. But if it's more like, 'you're going to be arguing this' with these scientific papers, then I feel like all voices sound the same. Make it sound standard, make it sound scientific. Like a research paper for psychology, they all sound the same to me, kind of. I know there's individuality in the intro and the conclusion, but for the most part, it's a certain way it has to be done. So when it comes to like scientific psychology papers, I feel like it sounds very standard. But when it comes to other papers, I think that those are more representative of my own style" (Vanessa).

However, while multiple participants experienced difficulty portraying a written voice in papers written for STEM classes, Carmen's challenge was most pronounced in her philosophy classes due to the fact that her writing was "based off of other papers."

Representation of Voice in Writing

After asking students to define voice, I asked whether they felt their own voices were represented in their writing in college thus far. Approximately half (n=10) felt their voices, for the most part, were represented. Eight felt their voices were largely not represented in their college academic writing, and four were mixed. Of the four participants who expressed mixed feelings, two articulated that they felt their voice had been represented in certain fields (i.e., humanities), but not in papers they had written for science classes. The remaining two, Fernanda and Janette, felt that they had succeeded in portraying their own voice in classes where they felt passionate about the topic or free to express their own opinions but stated that this was common in their academic experience.

I then asked[7] whether their college academic writing "sounded like them." Only seven participants felt their writing sounded like them for the most part, as opposed to the 10 who had previously replied that their voices were mostly represented in their writing. Five participants, when answering this question, replied that their writing sounded like a version of themselves. Grace felt that her writing represented "a different layer of myself," and Martin agreed, offering, "It sounds like the academic me." While Ben felt that his academic writing did not sound like the version of him that would talk to his friends, he did feel it reflected the way he sounded when speaking to his parents or professors in situations where he needed to appear "professional."

Finally, nine respondents replied that their writing did not sound like them for the most part. Counts of participant responses are shown below in Table 16.

Table 16

Representation of Voice in Writing (N=22)

Voice represented?	*n*	Writing sounds like them?	*n*
Mostly yes	10	Mostly yes	7
Mostly no	8	Mostly no	9
Mixed	4	A version of them	5

Though the two questions (*Do you feel your voice is represented in your writing in college?* and *Does your writing sound like you?)* were similar, they yielded different information from respondents. In some cases, answers differed within participants due to individuals offering a mixed answer in terms of their voice representation but going into further detail in their subsequent answer, or because some students who responded that their voices were generally represented (or not represented) later explained that only a version of them was represented in their writing. However, two participants, Gabriela and Carmen, offered responses that were in

[7] One participant was not asked the second question

opposition to each other within their respective interviews: Gabriela responded that her voice was represented in her academic writing but that her writing did not sound like her, and Carmen responded that her voice was not represented in her academic writing but that her writing did sound like her. For both Gabriela and Carmen, this apparent incongruity was due to the fact that they assessed how closely their writing sounded like them based on how their writing sounded when read aloud. When I asked Gabriela if her voice had been represented in her college writing, she paused for a moment before answering, "Yeah, I think it has," explaining that she felt she had her own style of writing (although she did, notably, describe that voice as "kind of fake"). However, when I asked her if her academic writing sounded like her, she responded firmly, "No. It doesn't." She felt her academic writing, if read aloud, would not be spoken in her natural accent. However, if she were explaining the same concept to her friends, "I would say it in my own accent, you know, kind of growing up in the area I grew up in with the words I normally use." As previously established, reading aloud was a strategy ingrained in Gabriela's academic writing process. Her responses here highlight the extent to which writing and speech were intertwined for her.

Carmen, unlike Gabriela, felt her voice was not represented in her academic writing. She felt her work was not her own due to the proportion of text in her papers spent analyzing other sources. "I articulate them in a way that I want them done, but it's still not my material," she said. However, she did feel that her writing sounded like her, stating that when she read her work aloud to herself, it sounded the way she would speak. Carmen, like Gabriela, shifted between spoken and written language as a writing strategy, though this strategy served the two participants differently in the way they perceived their written voices.

Language Brokers' Views Toward Academic Voice

Analyses revealed six major views language brokers held toward writing in academic voice. Using an academic voice made them feel *confident and empowered, stressed, decisive, limited, detached,* or feel like they were *taking on a persona*. The number of participants relating to each view is shown in Table 17. Each participant's views towards academic writing can be seen in Table G2 in Appendix G.

Table 17

Students' Views of Academic Voice

Feelings toward academic voice	Participants (*n*)
Feel confident and empowered	8
Feel stressed	5
Feel decisive	2
Feel limited	7
Feel detached	4
Feels like a persona	5

Feeling Confident and Empowered by Academic Voice

Eight students felt empowered when writing in an academic voice. "I feel like a strong person, like I actually have something to say," Ximena reflected. Other students, like Christopher, also felt that writing in an academic voice served as a reminder of their own knowledge and abilities, increasing their confidence.

> "Honestly, I feel really powerful almost, knowledgeable, like if I write this paper then I can formulate ideas that will actually be understandable to a reader" (Christopher).

Laura, too, expressed the sentiment that writing in an academic voice made her feel confident. "If I change [my writing] to academic voice, I feel like a professional. Like I know how to write, but then it does empower me and be like, 'Oh, yeah, I could do this,'" she revealed.

Feeling Stressed by Academic Voice

Five participants, on the other hand, described the use of academic voice as stressful.

> "I do feel stressed. Because this is not how I usually talk in person or how I talk in my writing. It's not my voice at all, but I have to use it. I have to be highly skilled at it, otherwise I won't pass my classes" (Janette).

Janette's stress stemmed from both internal and external conflict. She felt a disconnect between her own voice and "academic voice." In addition, the expectations placed on her by the academic environment, and the gravity of what was at stake—her grades—increased her stress. Sarah also felt the pressure of the academic environment when she wrote in academic voice.

> "So when I take on an academic voice, I think I'm more stressed, definitely. Like, when I write academic papers especially, I feel like there's a lot more pressure on me. Just because I feel I need to sound academic and my points have to be more clear and more concise than like if I were not writing an academic paper. Because I feel like since I'm using so many other academic articles I need to be able to make sure that they are clear and that I'm not talking about two different points in one paragraph" (Sarah).

Feeling Decisive When Using Academic Voice

Two participants stated that the use of academic voice enabled them to portray themselves as more decisive than they appeared in person.

> "I feel like I'm arguing, if that makes any sense. I always feel like when I'm taking an academic voice, well, maybe not arguing, but like a debate or fighting for your own point, fighting for your opinion type of thing. That's how I feel. I feel like outside of academia, I tend to be, for lack of a better word, more reserved or just kind go with the flow. Like, 'okay, that's your opinion, cool.' Like, 'I agree,' like, 'I can see where you're coming from.' But when I'm taking on an academic voice, I think I'm relatively firm about what I think is right" (Ben).

> "I feel like a lot of people, when they meet me, they say that I'm very soft spoken. While that is true, I feel like in my writing, I'm more rooted in my ideals and my thoughts, and it may not come across as such when I'm interacting with people" (Grace).

Both participants later said that using academic voice felt like taking on a persona, a view I will discuss below. Their responses above allude to that sentiment. Ben, for example, spoke

about his identity "outside of academia" and contrasted it with the identity he portrays in his writing. Ben and Grace described academic voice as a tool that allowed them to communicate in a certain way rather than forced them to. Grace's statement that her conviction in her own ideals "may not come across" in person suggested that she welcomed the opportunity to portray a different side of herself.

Feel Limited by Academic Voice

Unlike Grace, seven students felt limited by the constraints and expectations of academic voice. "I think [academic papers] kind of restrict your writing in a way, because you do have to find a way to write within the prompt, within the research topic, within the main ideas," Katrina shared. Because participants were university students, the expectations they felt regarding academic written voice typically came from (or were perceived as coming from) instructors. Speaking about her professors, Erica expressed, "I feel like with like an academic voice it's just more so giving the reader what they want. I feel I'm—like I said, it's not really speaking your own voice." Andrea also felt unable to portray her own voice within the restrictions of academic norms.

> "I feel like for an academic paper, professors and TAs, the way they grade it, are looking for certain elements. And the ways I write, when it comes to formal papers, I feel like it's very hard to create that style of voice and just do two things at once, where it's to trying to accomplish the goal of writing the paper and [satisfying] your professors per se, but what the prompt is asking and what your writing style has to say about your voice. So it's hard to portray both at the same time in a college paper. Because I feel in high school, they were more geared towards, like, trying to find that voice. But I feel in college, they're neglecting that. And there is no—unless you take, like, an English composition—class that focuses on that. I feel the classes in college [are] kind of set up like, Oh, they have a prompt. Accomplish the goal of answering that prompt, with the sources and readings and the class lectures, don't excite them" (Andrea).

Andrea felt that academic conventions did not permit her as a writer to "excite" her reader, and she felt frustrated by their limitations. Several times throughout our interview,

Andrea mentioned that she enjoyed writing personal statements and reflective essays where she was asked to draw from her own experiences, stating that she was able to write those essays in her own voice and appreciated the element of freedom. Claudia expanded on this by saying she appreciated lower-stakes assignments such as reflection journals in which she was able to write like herself without focusing on whether she "sound[ed] smart."

Feel Detached When Using Academic Voice

Unsurprisingly, given her statements above, Andrea also described feeling "robotic" when taking on an academic voice, a term that was also used by Diana and Daniel during their interviews. Students used words such as "dry," "monotone," or "cookie cutter" when describing academic written voice. "Oh, maybe I shouldn't put my voice in there, but make it more objective," Harpreet worried when writing papers. Three of the four participants who described academic written voice as detached felt their own voices were not represented in their academic writing; the fourth, Christopher, felt that his ability to portray his voice was topic dependent.

Academic Voice Feels Like a Persona

Several participants described academic written voice as inauthentic. "I feel like I take on—I don't even know what it is, but like this persona, I guess, when I'm writing," Krista explained. "Or like this very professional poise, kind of like voice. And I feel like that's the writing that I want to send out, I guess. So that would be my academic voice." Gabriela, as mentioned above, described her academic voice as "kind of fake."

The perception of academic written voice as a persona is not surprising when considering students' previous descriptions of the concept. Both Ben and Grace, as discussed above, felt that their academic writing allowed them to portray an identity distinct from their extratextual identity. Laura, too, felt that writing in academic voice made her feel "like a professional." Each

of these participants, in describing aspects and effects of using academic written voice, suggested diverging intra- and extratextual identities.

Students' Preferences Toward Their Written Voice

Participants' feelings toward the voice they wanted to portray in their academic writing varied. Approximately half the students in the sample (*n*=10) stated that, ideally, they preferred their writing to sound "more academic"; that is, they wanted their writing to blend in with the work they read in their field and in academia more generally. In comparison, fewer participants (*n*=5) felt that they wanted to be able to write in a way that felt more natural to them. However, an additional four participants said that while they currently wrote in a voice they felt was more academic, they hoped to get to a point where they could feel more comfortable writing in a more natural voice or register. Ben described the hesitation holding him back from expressing a more personal style of writing, ascribing it to a fear of "rock[ing] the boat."

> "I think right now definitely on the spectrum of imitating or kind of looking at the other academic writings… but at some point, I really hope that I am almost brave enough to throw in a writing that I feel comfortable with, that maybe not necessarily reflects like other academic writings. I think that would be awesome. But definitely I have not done that yet. It's been more so like, 'Okay, let's not rock the boat. Let's just go with the conventional, something that kind of like looks like an academic writing for sure'" (Ben).

Ben's language suggested that he would not feel he had entirely achieved a voice that satisfied him until he felt greater control over the execution of his own writing. Two of the three other participants who voiced this preference, Janette and Christopher, pointed to class requirements or grading criteria as reasons they felt unable to write more naturally. "When I'm writing a paper, I'm doing this for a grade above all. And I want to write something that will get me a good grade," Christopher explained. These participants' feelings toward their writing did not reflect a lack of confidence in their linguistic abilities to achieve a particular voice or move

fluidly between registers, but dissatisfaction rooted in the expectation of their courses and the amount of power they held in their academic environment.

Claudia's preferences were similarly ambivalent, but she appeared to lack the same confidence in her abilities. Her discomfort revolved mainly around the construct of academic register. She complained about receiving feedback that she wrote the way she spoke, which she saw as an issue that detracted from the professionalism of her academic writing. Claudia blamed her brokering experiences for what she believed was a weakness in her academic writing. "I feel like that's where this whole feedback comes from, that I write the way I speak, because I'm so used to having to break everything down in Spanish that I feel like I need to do the same in English for my professors to understand what I'm trying to get to," she told me. Claudia utilized resources, such as the help of her brother, to edit her writing in order to attain what she regarded as an appropriate academic register. While she did lack confidence, Claudia's primary challenge with her writing was not a lack of ability. Like Ben, Janette, and Christopher, she felt that she had to write in a certain way because it was expected of her.

> "I feel like it's the only way that I can get my thoughts taken seriously or myself taken seriously. Because if I write how I write, I feel I'm going to be taken in terms of like, 'Oh, I don't know how to write, I don't know how to speak or I don't know—' My ideas and my thoughts wouldn't really be considered as much" (Claudia).

Claudia strove to achieve a register—and overall written voice—she felt would be accepted by her professors due her fear of not being regarded seriously. However, she stressed that she would like to be able to "be at the other side" and feel at ease writing in her natural voice.

Student Authorship and School Experiences: Data from Student Questionnaires

The language brokers participating in this study expressed differing, often contrasting, views toward academic written voice. Some found it easier to portray their own voice in certain disciplines or when writing on topics about which they were passionate. As a whole, participants expressed commitment to writing that represented their thoughts and ideals but struggled to balance this aspiration with their desire to write in a manner that would be accepted by professors and achieve high grades. Students' commitment to their writing was supported by their responses to the Student Attitudes and Beliefs about Authorship Scale (Cheung et al., 2017), which assigns participants a score on three factors: Valuing Writing, Authorial Confidence, and Identification with Author. The mean score for Valuing Writing ($M = 5.51$, $SD = 0.42$) was significantly higher than that for Authorial Confidence ($M = 4.46$, $SD = 0.64$), $t(21) = -8.322$, $p < 0.001$, and Identification with Author ($M = 4.65$, $SD = 0.85$), $t(21) = 4.455$, $p < 0.001$, using paired samples t-tests. Items included in the Valuing Writing factor included "My ability to write academically is important to me" and "It is important to me to keep developing as an academic writer," among others. Considered with the findings above, these responses indicate that students cared about their academic writing and the voice they were projecting in their writing, despite disagreeing on their definitions and views of academic written voice.

Questionnaire data provided further insight into the impact of school experiences on participants' beliefs about authorship, a construct closely related to voice (Pittam et al., 2009; Rodgers, 2011). Participants' factor scores for Valuing Writing, Authorial Confidence, and Identification with Author ranged from 4.80 to 6.00, 3.00 to 5.73, and 2.50 to 5.75, respectively. Participants who reported negative school experiences (n=4) scored in the lower half of the ranges for Authorial Confidence and Identification with Author. However, all participants were

equally distributed throughout the range of scores for the Valuing Writing factor. Table 18 presents a representation of these findings; in the table, scores for each factor are sorted in descending order, visually highlighting the relationship between negative school experiences and a low score in the factors of Authorial Confidence and Identification with Author.

Table 18

Relationship Between Negative School Experiences and Authorship Factor Scores

Factor score range	Factor					
	Valuing Writing		Authorial Confidence		Identification with Author	
	Factor score	School experience	Factor score	School experience	Factor score	School experience
Highest	6.00	Mixed	5.73	Mixed	5.75	Mixed
	6.00	Positive	5.55	Positive	5.75	Unknown
	6.00	Positive	5.45	Positive	5.50	Positive
	6.00	Unknown	5.09	Mixed	5.50	Unknown
	6.00	Negative	4.82	Unknown	5.50	Unknown
	5.80	Mixed	4.82	Unknown	5.25	Positive
	5.80	Unknown	4.73	Unknown	5.25	Positive
	5.80	Unknown	4.73	Mixed	5.00	Positive
	5.80	Negative	4.45	Positive	5.00	Mixed
	5.60	Mixed	4.45	Positive	4.75	Mixed
	5.60	Unknown	4.45	Negative	4.75	Mixed
	5.60	Negative	4.36	Unknown	4.75	Unknown
	5.60	Positive	4.36	Negative	4.75	Negative
	5.40	Unknown	4.27	Unknown	4.75	Unknown
	5.20	Negative	4.27	Unknown	4.50	Unknown
	5.20	Mixed	4.09	Negative	4.50	Positive
	5.20	Positive	4.00	Mixed	4.00	Negative
	5.00	Unknown	4.00	Unknown	4.00	Unknown
	5.00	Unknown	3.91	Negative	3.75	Unknown
	5.00	Unknown	3.82	Positive	3.50	Negative
	4.80	Positive	3.82	Unknown	3.25	Negative
Lowest	4.80	Positive	3.00	Positive	2.50	Positive

These results suggest that negative school experiences relate to a lower overall sense of authorial confidence and writer identity. However, because students with positive or "mixed" (i.e., at least one positive and one negative) school experiences demonstrated similar patterns of

factor score distribution to one another, we may conclude that a meaningful positive experience in school can serve as a protective factor for students, even when the student has had other negative school experiences. Finally, the data support the above claim that all students highly valued writing (factor scores here had the most restricted range along with the highest mean); school experiences did not appear to impact students' attitudes regarding the value of writing.

As discussed in the previous section, I suggest interpreting these findings with caution. Because the interview protocol did not include a direct question about school experiences, data were limited. These analyses were provided to triangulate findings regarding students' views toward authorship and voice.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Overview of Findings

Participants in this study identified 14 characteristics, skills, and strategies common to language brokering and academic writing. Several of the CSS reflect findings in previous language brokering research (i.e., confidence, register awareness, analytical skills, linguistic simplification, use of physical resources, use of social resources, mental translation; Eksner & Orellana, 2012; Katz, 2014; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, 2001; Reynolds & Orellana, 2014; Tse, 1996a; Valdés, 2003; Weisskirch, 2007; Wolfersberger, 2003). The study extended previous research, most of which has been conducted on children, by asking undergraduates to speak about their childhood experiences and connecting the resulting characteristics, skills, and strategies with those used in undergraduate academic writing. It also identified novel characteristics, skills, and strategies—focus on conveying meaning, focus on accuracy, viewing writing as a form of translation, word choice, working under pressure or time constraints, and reading aloud—specific to undergraduate academic writing.

The second question this study addressed was the extent to which participants recognized existing connections between their language brokering experiences and their academic writing. Previous literature suggested that students were unlikely to attribute academic success to their language brokering (Martínez et al., 2008; McQuillan & Tse, 1995). The current study found that, of the connections observed, roughly half (56%) were explicitly recognized by participants. Of the total explicit connections (n=44), nine (20%) were spontaneous, whereas the remainder were stated in response to direct questions. Only eight participants in total made a spontaneous connection between the characteristics, skills, and strategies present in language brokering and

academic writing. I did not focus the analyses on the proportion of spontaneous versus prompted responses, as it was impossible to know how many participants would have made spontaneous connections without being asked to think and speak on their experiences for approximately 90 minutes. Gabriela, Vanessa, Diana, and Ben, all of whom made a spontaneous connection over the course of their interviews, stated that the connections were only apparent to them after discussing the issue. "I just thought of it," Diana told me after discussing the parallels between her language brokering and academic writing. "That's interesting." When asked broadly how language brokering had impacted their learning in school, most respondents (*n*=16) did not mention academic writing in their responses. Only after being asked more specifically about connections between language brokering and writing did the majority of participants (and later all participants) speak about aspects in which they were connected.

Finally, this study explored undergraduate language brokers' views of academic written voice. Previous research has established that undergraduates struggle to see themselves as authors (Pittam et al., 2009; Rodgers, 2011) and that a mismatch between students' extratextual identities and the voices they strive to portray in their texts may impact their interactions with written knowledge (Bird, 2013). Therefore, it is important to understand how students whose identities have traditionally been non-dominant in academia regard academic written voice. The language brokers in this study defined academic voice as relating to stance (*n*=17), relating to form (*n*=9), or differing by field (*n*=8). Ten participants felt that their own voice was represented in their academic writing, although only seven believed that their academic writing sounded like them. When asked about their feelings on writing in an academic voice, eight participants stated that it made them feel confident or empowered. Others stated that academic voice made them feel stressed (*n*=5), decisive (*n*=2), limited (*n*=7), or detached (*n*=4). Five participants articulated

that writing in an academic voice felt like taking on a persona. This view, and the fact that slightly fewer than half of participants felt their voice was represented in their academic writing, suggests that undergraduate language brokers do indeed face challenges in reconciling their intra- and extratextual identities.

Discussion of Characteristics, Skills, and Strategies

Confidence and Self-Doubt

All 22 of the study participants reported feelings of confidence or self-doubt in at least one context. Most students' feelings could best be described as "mixed," meaning that they expressed a mixture of confidence and self-doubt toward a certain activity (language brokering or writing). One participant, Laura, had mixed feelings toward her language brokering, while 13 participants had mixed feelings toward their writing. The findings showed no clear trajectory from being a confident language broker to being a confident writer. Rather, they suggested a likelihood that language brokering led to the development of skills and strategies that in turn increased students' confidence in their academic writing abilities.

Focus on Conveying Meaning and Focus on Accuracy

Parallels between language brokering and academic writing were evident in students' descriptions of their endeavors to convey a source's broader meaning and ensure they were understood by their listener or reader. As the characteristics of conveying meaning and conveying accuracy emerged, I expected individual participants to adhere more closely to one characteristic than another; however, this was not the case. This is largely due to the fact that every participant was concerned with conveying meaning in at least one context (n=18 and n=21 for language brokering and academic writing, respectively); therefore, overlap was inevitable.

Of the 13 participants who demonstrated concern with accuracy in brokering, five did not mention the same concern in their writing. However, an individual concerned with conveying accuracy in brokering may have justifiably taken a different approach in writing. Consider the example of Ben, who described his own accuracy-focused brokering behaviors in which he refrained from inserting opinions, extraneous explanation, or "pizzazz." Academic writing requires the author's opinion woven into a carefully crafted argument that includes both summary and detail (Siu, 2018; Snow & Uccelli, 2009). Accordingly, a preference for direct translation, indiscriminate inclusion of detail, and the absence of editorializing in language brokering may create obstacles for students who retain these tendencies in their writing. Particularly when writing in "soft" disciplines, such as the humanities and social science fields from which participants were drawn, the insertion of one's own stance through linguistic markers such as hedging and "boosting" language, questions, and personal asides is typical and expected (Hyland, 2002b, 2002c, 2005). These disciplines require authors to craft deliberate relationships with their readers, and information is open to interpretation and subject to contextual factors. Consequently, authors must convince the reader of the significance of their findings, necessitating the strategic insertion of their own voice throughout the text (Hyland, 2008; Jiang & Hyland, 2015). Given these disciplinary norms, a determination to convey information with rigid accuracy without the insertion of features indicating the writer's stance and engagement could function as an impediment. The socialization of "accuracy-focused" language brokers into academic norms may have allowed them to succeed despite the tendencies they developed as children.

Selecting Linguistic Features: Register Awareness, Word Choice, and Linguistic Simplification

This study's findings aligned with previous research establishing that language brokers develop the ability to shift register (Reynolds & Orellana, 2014). Students demonstrated register awareness in both brokering and writing, and 12 participants linked their competence in written academic register to the practice they had received as language brokers. Teresa and Grace described their use of register in writing as reflecting the register they most commonly employed in language brokering. For Teresa, this meant writing in a relatively informal register; for Grace, this meant employing formal register in her language brokering. Ximena felt she had developed the ability to assess the needs of her interlocutor based on the context of their interaction and shift to a colloquial or formal register accordingly, taking into consideration the necessary situational characteristics of the exchange (Biber & Conrad, 2009).

Several of the study's participants spoke about what they perceived to be a lack of sophistication in their written word choices. Some regarded this as a weakness, while others valued their ability to write with clarity and simplicity. Some, like Teresa and Martin, purposely developed a writing style they felt an "average" person could understand. Others, such as Natalia and Sarah, had been taught by instructors that academically prized writing prioritized simplicity over unnecessary complexity, which increased their own confidence in their writing. Given this study's additional findings on the effect of school experiences (including experiences with teachers) on students' awareness of the connections between their home and school experiences, instructors should be encouraged to help students frame these qualities as strengths. Previous findings on younger writers (Parsons, 2001) and college-level writers (Sommers, 1980) show that students typically pay close attention to word-level revisions while disregarding the broader discourse of a written draft. While the current study did not examine students' specific revision

processes, it found that when considering their academic writing as a whole, the language brokers in the study were concerned with conveying meaning in their writing, which they often achieved through linguistic simplicity. This concern can be seen as an advantage in writing and should be supported as an asset.

Analytical Skills

Valdés (2003), studying child language brokers, establishes that children decide what to edit, omit, or soften in their brokering practices. A major component of academic writing is the synthesis and analysis of sources in creating an argument, and several of the language brokers in this study felt that their brokering experiences had trained them to analyze source information in a way similar to the analyses they did for their academic writing assignments. “Sometimes, you know, you’re not translating sentence by sentence. Sometimes someone will say a whole paragraph, a whole conversation. And then you’re like, ‘okay, I have to analyze all that,’” Vanessa recounted, recalling brokering behaviors similar to those described by Valdés.

Working Under Pressure and in Time-Sensitive Situations

Participants stated that their ability to work quickly and under pressure when language brokering impacted their academic writing. While participants generally felt that this skill benefited them academically, several felt they performed best only when under pressure. Martin found that even when he had completed his reading and formed the argument of his paper, he was unable to write the paper without an imminent deadline, stating that he had become accustomed to the sense of urgency he felt when language brokering for family. He and others who expressed similar sentiments acknowledged a potential cost of their language brokering to their work habits.

Use of Resources

Previous literature has established that language brokers effectively utilize both physical and social resources (Eksner & Orellana, 2012; Katz, 2014; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana, 2001), and students' responses in this study were consistent with these findings. The majority of language brokers in this study also used these resources in their college academic writing, supporting the assertions by both Bailey and Moughamian (2007) with young children and Bailey and Orellana (2015) with adolescents that home language behaviors serve as preparation for later academic language requirements.

It is possible that language brokering allowed participants to reach out to others more freely by giving them the confidence at an early age to do so. Evidence in the data supports this claim: Daniel, for example, pointed to his brokering experience as something that forced him to undertake intimidating and anxiety-producing interactions with adults. "It's part of the experience for me, I guess, to just know that because of what I went through, I am more mature and I know how to handle these situations more so on my own end," he said. However, for many participants, the impetus behind their social resource seeking may have been their negative self-perception of their English language writing skills. Of the 15 students who reported seeking help from others in their writing, 14 of them reported negative feelings about their English language skills at some point in their interviews. Not all 14 participants had a negative overall perception of their skills—10 of these participants reported both negative and positive perceptions of their English language skills, therefore having mixed feelings overall—but seeking help from others may have been an adaptive behavior (J. D. Williams & Takaku, 2011). It is likely that both explanations are at play: that brokering did give many students the confidence to seek help from

others, and that they felt they needed that help due to what they perceived as weaker language skills.

Metacognitive Strategies and Awareness: Mental Translation, Reading Aloud, and the Recognition of Writing as a Form of Translation

Many participants reported employing metacognitive strategies related to language brokering in their academic writing processes. These strategies included translating academic material from one language to another in order to better understand the material or assist the participants in written production, a practice akin to *back-translation* in the writing processes of language learners (Wolfersberger, 2003). Students also read their own written drafts aloud during the revision process, and nine participants discussed the cognitive aspects of writing that led them to equate it with a form of translation. Metacognitive approaches to learning can lead to deeper understanding and better knowledge retention (Cannady & Gallo, 2016; Pintrich, 2002). Such approaches also lead students to feel better equipped to succeed in their writing and general academics and aid self-understanding (Cannady & Gallo, 2016). Pintrich (2002), in identifying types of metacognitive knowledge, describes *self-knowledge* as the understanding of one's own motivation and the strategies one is most likely to rely on in learning. Self-knowledge, Pintrich argues, allows students to adapt to new academic tasks quickly. Participants demonstrated self-knowledge throughout the study, notably when identifying mental translation and reading aloud as useful strategies they had learned as childhood language brokers. The self-knowledge gained through their early work extends beyond the use of these particular strategies; mere possession of this metacognitive knowledge enables them to adapt to university-level academic work in general.

Students' Awareness of Connections between Language Brokering and Academic Writing

To understand students' awareness of the connections between language brokering and academic writing, the study examined the intersection of total connections and explicit connections. CSS that had a relatively high percentage of overall connections, including a high percentage of explicit connections, were register awareness, focusing on conveying meaning, and linguistic simplification. I suggest educators who encourage students to see connections between their brokering and academic writing begin by developing students' awareness of these characteristics, skills, and strategies, as the data from student interviews suggest that college students are most apt to recognize these connections. As previously emphasized, though participants in this study drew explicit connections, the majority of these connections were prompted, meaning that they were possible only with guidance.

The characteristic of focusing on accuracy, as well as the strategy of using of physical resources, were areas in which students made a relatively high proportion of connections but few were explicit, indicating that participants commonly linked the use of these features in their language brokering and academic writing but were generally unaware of doing so. As such, students may also explicitly recognize the connections between these features with guidance from instructors. However, as discussed above, teachers should consider whether language brokering students employ a focus on accuracy constructively in their writing or whether they should be encouraged to recognize it as a characteristic that impairs their writing if overapplied.

Lack of Transfer of Characteristics, Skills, and Strategies From Language Brokering to Academic Writing

Though every participant made at least one connection (whether implicit or explicit) between the characteristics, skills, and strategies in their language brokering and academic writing, each also mentioned several CSS in one context that they did not connect to the other.

What accounted for this lack of connection? First, of course, is the possibility that the participant simply did not mention a particular CSS in one context despite having developed it. The analysis of the study depended on a largely inductive coding process; as a result, not every CSS was addressed in direct questioning in the interview protocol. In addition, I propose that children's language brokering may have, at times, indirectly led to the development of certain characteristics, skills, and strategies through mediating factors. For example, though confidence in brokering did not appear to lead to confidence in writing, students may have developed confidence in their academic writing as a result of other skills and strategies learned through the act of language brokering, such as register awareness or the use of mental translation for comprehension and production of texts.

Another explanation is that the transfer of skills and strategies may have been inhibited by the disconnect between verbal and written language skills. Nearly half of the participants, at some point in their interviews, reported a disparity in their ability to communicate verbally as opposed to in writing, and some felt that differences between the two linguistic domains attenuated the impact of their language brokering on their current academic work. Recall Martin's explanation of the difficulty he had connecting his largely verbal brokering activities to his academic writing:

> "But every time I sit down to write something, I always doubt myself or I just freeze up. I can't write about it. I can talk about it. And I think that comes from because I spent most of my life interpreting verbally, not rewriting things so that someone would understand it, because I would fill out everything in English. I would interpret it verbally and then write what I needed to write" (Martin).

However, within this same explanation, Martin revealed that he had, in fact, found a way to utilize his language brokering skills by using the strategy of reading aloud. Martin discussed this strategy more directly at another point in his interview, but in the excerpt above, he

presented this tendency as a weakness rather than seeing it as an asset skillfully employed in his academic work.

Gabriela, too, originally stated that she did not see parallels between her brokering and academic work due to the differences in domains between them. However, when asked directly about specific experiences, such as translating legal documents for her family, she immediately agreed that these experiences paralleled the work she did in academic writing. Gabriela appeared to have tightly compartmentalized her language experiences, which may be explained by a number of factors she shared in her interview. She discussed a long-held shame regarding her bilingualism that had only recently abated as she began to see it as an asset. Though she felt she successfully portrayed an academic written voice, she described that voice as "fake" and said it did not sound like her. She also shared negative experiences in school, including a high school that left her ill-prepared for college and feedback on her writing that left her "devastated." Had she encountered a teacher who allowed her to recognize the skills she possessed, she may have been able to facilitate the transfer of skills from her familiar home language practices to the unfamiliar setting of higher education, a crucial cognitive process that is developed when students' academic literacy practices are valued (Molle, 2015). Yet Gabriela, months from her college graduation, told me she had never heard anyone classify her skills as valuable.

Views of Academic Voice

The undergraduate language brokers participating in this study defined voice as related either to stance or written form, with some also stating that voice differed by field. Researchers suggest that stance is an aspect through which voice is measured (Hyland, 2005; Hyland & Tse, 2004), though part of a larger inventory of metadiscursive features. Voice, as defined by the literature, constitutes the *manner* in which writers establish their stance (Hyland, 2015; Vande

Kopple, 1985), yet the majority of participants (*n*=17) expressed that the stance of the paper was, it itself, what characterized voice. Previous literature has established that students struggle to see themselves as authors if they do not feel that their assigned class topic reflects their opinions (Pittam et al., 2009; Rodgers, 2011). Students are likely to struggle to feel like an author if they believe their voices are expressed through the topic or argument of a paper and that topic or argument is outside of their control. It is not surprising, then, that 12 of the 22 participants either felt that their voice was not represented in their college writing or had mixed feelings.

Five participants, when asked if their writing sounded like them, responded that it sounded like "a version of them." Three of these five (along with two other participants) reported that academic voice felt like a persona. The discrepancy between participants' extratextual writer identity and intratextual voice may partially explain the challenges these participants, like many undergraduates, faced in asserting their written voice. When responding to the SABAS questionnaire (Cheung et al., 2017), participants rated themselves as valuing writing more highly than they rated their self-identification as authors. Establishing congruity between identities enables students to interact with written knowledge (Bird, 2013); as such, it is a necessary aspect of academic literacy and broader academic identity (Langum & Sullivan, 2020). Voice is part of successful academic writing (Wu, 2007; Zhao, 2017) and part of learning to operate in a discourse community (Matsuda & Tardy, 2007).

Discussion of Overall Significance

> *"The pedagogical task for educators, then, is to develop students' implicit knowledge of their practical language and rhetorical mastery in play to a level of explicit awareness"* (Corcoran, 2017, p. 61).

Understanding the connections between early language experiences and academic tasks is a form of metacognition. A metacognitive approach to learning, in which students are aware of

their own processes and relationships between their areas of knowledge, encourages deeper learning, better retention, and increased self-efficacy (Pintrich, 2002). This has shown to be true for writing specifically (Cannady & Gallo, 2016; Riddell, 2015). As previously mentioned, academic self-efficacy relates to academic performance (Acoach & Webb, 2004; Buriel et al., 1998; Castro-Villarreal et al., 2014; Chun & Dickson, 2011; Edman & Brazil, 2009; Niehaus et al., 2012), and writing self-efficacy specifically predicts writing performance (Garcia & de Caso, 2006; Pajares & Valiante, 1997; Valentine et al., 2004).

Self-efficacy is measured by a "mastery criterion of performance" (Zimmerman & Cleary, 2006, p. 48) rather than comparison to a norm; to achieve self-efficacy, an individual evaluates how well they believe they are able to perform to a certain standard rather than how well they perform compared to peers. Therefore, it is possible to harbor feelings of self-doubt when comparing one's own work to others while simultaneously possessing high self-efficacy. Understanding this aspect of self-efficacy aids in the interpretation of students' conflicting feelings about their own skills. Sarah, for example, expressed sentiments of self-efficacy in her own writing, believing she had the ability to communicate her ideas clearly and effectively, yet her confidence eroded when she compared her work to her peers. Despite this introduction of self-doubt, the self-efficacy she possessed in her own writing likely benefited her academically.

It is vital that language brokers develop self-efficacy through awareness of the connections between their home language practices and their academic writing skills. As established in the preceding paragraphs, self-efficacy can be supported through metacognitive approaches to learning through which they become aware of their cognitive processes. Participants in the current study demonstrated no awareness of nearly half (44%) of the connections verbalized in their interviews linking the characteristics, skills, and strategies of

language brokering and academic writing. They did, however, draw new explicit connections as the interview went on; recall that only six participants mentioned writing when initially discussing how language brokering had shaped their learning in school (early in the interview), yet all 22 participants drew parallels between language brokering and academic writing after they had reflected on both activities at length.

The findings of the current study, possibly due to limited variability within the data, did not support a claim that students' school experiences impacted their explicit awareness of existing connections. However, they did suggest that negative school experiences, including discouraging experiences with teachers and inadequate academic preparation, negatively impacted the percentage of overall connections made by language brokers as well as brokers' authorial confidence and identity as authors. I call on educators to facilitate metacognitive learning by encouraging students to recognize and draw from their skill sets and allowing them to view the characteristics of their writing (e.g., a focus on conveying meaning, an emphasis on simplicity and clarity) as strengths.

Re-Examining Positionality and Validity

Many of the connections discussed in these findings were implicit only, mentioned by participants in the individual contexts of language brokering and academic writing but never explicitly connected by the participant, despite being asked directly at two separate points of the interview. In balancing a perspective of asset-based, dynamic bilingualism with the need to honor participants' own lived experiences, I frequently stepped back to examine my own assumptions and ensure the implicit connections I saw in the data were valid. Evidence supports the claim that the participants in this study possessed abilities that remained unrecognized not only by the academic institution, but by the participants themselves, which reflects previous

findings in literature (Buriel et al., 1998; Martínez et al., 2008; McQuillan & Tse, 1995). Participants communicated that they had not previously considered any connections between their early language brokering experiences and their current academic work. Only four were familiar with the concept of language brokering as a phenomenon prior to the study. In addition, participants showed a pattern of increasing awareness throughout the study. While few participants drew parallels between the characteristics, skills, and strategies of language brokering and academic writing initially, all 22 had done so by the end of their interviews. Furthermore, of the 20 participants who responded that their language brokering had somehow impacted their academic writing (i.e., the third of four such direct questions asked in the interview), 17 made new points when the topic was revisited at the end of the interview, suggesting that continued attention to the subject had triggered additional realizations. Four participants explicitly confirmed that the parallels they discussed had only become apparent to them throughout the course of the interview.

Revisiting Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

Enhanced Academic Performance Perspective of Language Brokering

My findings support, and are supported by, an Enhanced Academic Performance perspective of language brokering, which views academic performance as mediated by the cognitive and linguistic skills developed through language brokering (Kam & Lazarevic, 2014). Although this study did not assess students' academic performance in writing, it explored the skills and strategies used in writing that students developed as language brokers: register awareness, word choice, analytical skills, the ability to work under pressure or in time-sensitive situations, linguistic simplification, use of physical and social resources, mental translation, and reading aloud. Future studies may test these relationships, a possibility I will discuss in more

detail below. However, given the study's findings related to self-efficacy, I propose that researchers applying this framework in future studies consider testing self-efficacy as an additional mediator alongside cognitive and linguistic skills.

Language Socialization

Language socialization theory posits that individuals are socialized to use language and socialized through the use of language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Participants in the current study demonstrated an awareness of the expectations of academic discourse by showing register awareness and acknowledging differences in disciplinary norms, such as the adjustment of word choice based on the field or topic at hand. Language socialization theory also acknowledges an inherent power imbalance between novices and experts (Lee & Bucholtz, 2015; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Participants struggled to assert their authority as child language brokers and as college-level writers, although they expressed a sense of possibility in their ability to achieve a sense of authority in their academic writing. For some, this possibility entailed eventually being able to write in a way that felt natural to them, although they did not feel they were able to do that as students due to the expectations of the academy. A central principle of the theory maintains that language novices are not only socialized by the language community but that they, in turn, enact change within that language community (Baquedano-López & Mangual Figueroa, 2011; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). This principle connects language socialization with translanguaging and motivated the current study, which has aimed to supplant deficit perspectives of bilingualism in education and understand undergraduate language brokers' views of their position in the academic discourse community.

Translanguaging

As I began to analyze and interpret data, it became clear that the analyses would be most effective, and their impact most critical, through the lens of translanguaging. This research aimed not only to explore students' transitions to academic writing but to empower students who, based on previous research, face significant barriers when exercising their own voice within the hegemonic structure of academia. Language socialization and translanguaging theories agree that speakers drive change in their own discourse communities. Whereas language socialization theorists focus on novices in a discourse community, those who adhere to translanguaging theory refer specifically to bi- or multilingual individuals (Lu & Horner, 2013). Lu and Horner argue that conventions of language exist only to the extent they are practiced and authorized by speakers; in other words, they exist because they are permitted to do so.

Translanguaging involves "*flexible* and *meaningful* actions through which bilinguals select features in their linguistic repertoire in order to communicate appropriately" (Velasco & García, 2014, p. 7; emphasis added). The brokers in this study strategically drew from English and their home languages as they fluctuated register, carefully considered word choice, and intentionally simplified linguistic structures in order to negotiate meaning with interlocutors and achieve their communicative goals. Gabriela, for example, spoke of the choices she made when writing for her internship, her major of world arts and cultures, and her Chicana/o studies classes. She cited concerns about sounding "pretentious" in Chicana/o studies, where "the people that are there work really hard to be where they are," and intentionally shifted her written register to avoid that. Her choices were "flexible and meaningful," and she drew from her full linguistic, cultural, and academic repertoire in making those choices.

Translanguaging functions as a pattern of cognitive routines (Velasco & García, 2014). The results of this study support this principle of translanguaging by establishing that many of the characteristics, skills, and strategies students used in their academic writing had developed years earlier through participants' quotidian childhood experiences. García and Leiva (2014) argue that only when educators embrace the principles of translanguaging are all students able to exercise their right to learn. The current study, which finds that experiences with teachers impact the connections language brokers make between home and academic language experiences, reinforces this argument. Students who expressed a lack of support from their teachers or school system made fewer of the connections crucial to their metacognitive awareness and self-efficacy. Gabriela is one such example: having previously been "devastated" to hear that her bilingualism was evident in her writing, she worried about needing to work harder to "assimilate" to academic writing. Deeply affected by her experiences, Gabriela stated that understanding the value of her language brokering experiences on her writing would have changed her academic experience.

Limitations and Future Directions

The current study explored students' awareness of the characteristics, skills, and strategies in language brokering and academic writing. Though it relied in part on participants' reflections on their own pieces of writing, it did not assess their writing proficiency. The aim of the current study was not to assess students' writing against a predetermined rubric, nor was it to compare the writing of language brokers to that of their peers. Rather, this study aimed to determine the tools language brokers have at their disposal and the extent to which they used, and were aware of using, those tools. Future studies may build upon these findings by examining the characteristics, skills, and strategies I have identified in more detail and the path through

which the relationship between language brokering and academic performance is mediated through the CSS described in this research.

The interview protocol was designed to provide ample opportunity for students to discuss their awareness of the connections between language brokering and academic writing, including awareness of connections that had only become apparent to them throughout the course of the interview. It employed self-reflection and close examination of students' own writing. As a result, approximately two-thirds of the interview centered around students' writing experiences (as opposed to their language brokering experiences): students spoke about their language brokering experiences, then their academic writing experiences, then reflected on a piece of their own writing. This gave more opportunity for students to mention characteristics, skills, and strategies related to writing, which may have resulted in more students mentioning CSS in relation to writing than in relation to language brokering. As some of the analyses relied on examining the number of students who mentioned codes in both contexts, this aspect of the interview protocol created a potential weakness in the analyses. This weakness, however, does not negate the connections that were found; the implication is that additional participants may have mentioned certain CSS in relation to their language brokering experiences had that portion of the interview been extended, and therefore more connections may exist than are evident here.

I conducted a thematic analysis rather than a narrative analysis as it was the most effective way to identify the range of CSS present in participants' interviews when participants may have been unaware of the connection of those CSS between their language brokering and academic writing experiences, a central question of the study. However, this analytic choice necessarily introduced a tension in which the findings drawn from students' narratives were, at times, unrecognized by the participants themselves. A future study using narrative analysis on

the same data might represent the findings differently by presenting a holistic view of each participant's awareness of the CSS present in their language brokering and academic writing.

A limitation in the findings is the lack of coding for a wider array of social factors—those other than teachers and schools—impacting students' awareness of the connections between their language brokering and writing. It was my intent to explore more of these factors; however, due to the general nature of the interview questions surrounding participants' language brokering experiences, the research team was unable to systematically identify familial influences and reliably code for these. In addition, the data that was analyzed on school experiences is exploratory in nature; because participants were not asked directly about their interactions with teachers or their perceived quality of their K-12 education, data were available only for participants who volunteered this information in the course of broader questioning. Future studies can and should explore these factors through more targeted interview protocols or surveys. The current research has laid the groundwork for continuing study by establishing the characteristics, skills, and strategies that might form the basis of focused inquiry. A social cognitive framework (Bandura, 1986), which presents a typology of social resources that shape motivation and development, would be useful in developing protocols and interpreting findings of future research.

Finally, participants in the current study were drawn only from disciplines in the humanities or social sciences. This was done to maintain a degree of cohesion in participants' responses, as including students from all disciplines would yield a wide range of writer identities, potentially introducing excessive noise in the data. However, the resulting data present a narrower perspective on students' views of their writing than might be seen when including participants across all fields of study. Future researchers have the opportunity to build upon these

initial findings by exploring these themes as they relate to students in the hard sciences, creating a more comprehensive picture of the array of characteristics, skill, and strategies demonstrated by students who have chosen to study in fields with different written norms (e.g., Hyland, 1999) and those that are typically less writing-intensive.

Implications

Implications for Research

The findings of this study build on existing knowledge of the characteristics, skills, and strategies of language brokering with specific implications for college students' academics. For example, it has extended findings on the register awareness of child language brokers (Orellana & Reynolds, 2008; Reynolds & Orellana, 2014) to an undergraduate population. It has also contributed by identifying novel academic skills and strategies undergraduate language brokers apply in their academic writing that they associate with their prior language brokering experiences, such as their analytical skills. Many of the findings were expected based on previous research—for example, I predicted that undergraduates would demonstrate flexibility in shifting registers and would understand ways to mediate communication by summarizing and paraphrasing to convey meaning (McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Orellana & Reynolds, 2008)—but the current study has established an empirical connection between the previous understanding of language brokers' skills and their application to the task of undergraduate writing. It joins the body of literature (e.g., Buriel et al., 1998; Eksner & Orellana, 2012; Katz, 2014) contributing to the Enhanced Academic Performance framework of language brokering, described above, and proposes potential adjustments to the framework in the addition of self-efficacy as a construct mediating the relationship between language brokering and academic performance. It also adds to the ideology of language brokering as an asset through which children develop cognitive and

linguistic dexterity. In doing so, it challenges deficit-perspective approaches in the field of writing instruction. However, the findings exhibit that while children develop skills and strategies as language brokers, there is still more work to be done to allow students to recognize these skills and draw on them in their academics.

This research adds to the growing body of literature studying language brokers who have transitioned to college, a topic that has received less attention than language brokering in childhood. This period of transition adds to the demands of language brokers' workloads (Weisskirch et al., 2011), and brokers' attitudes toward their work undergo shifts based on their current experiences (Orellana & Phoenix, 2017). The current research addresses postsecondary education as a pivotal time of change for language brokers and identities and provides a developmental perspective of undergraduate writers' skills and strategies.

The current study also contributes to literature on translanguaging, particularly for college-aged students. Literature on translanguaging in education focuses primarily on K-12 students (e.g., Duarte, 2019, 2020; García & Leiva, 2014; Stewart & Hansen-Thomas, 2016; Velasco & García, 2014), although several studies extend this body of research to the college classroom (Corcoran, 2017; Hornberger & Link, 2012). The current research continues this extension of the study of translanguaging in students navigating the academic environment of the university, where inexperience can lead students to lack confidence in their authority (Tang & John, 1999), a challenge that is especially onerous for students belonging to linguistic populations historically underrepresented in higher education. Further implications for practice, both at the K-12 and post-secondary level, will be discussed at length below.

Implications for Practice

The findings of this study apply to both writing classes and content classes that incorporate academic essays as formative or summative assessments. The implications also apply to education settings prior to college. In presenting the above findings, I affirm my view of writing as a social practice, joining fellow researchers who encourage writing educators to develop students' self-efficacy and writing identity through community (e.g., Gardner, 2014; Martin & Dismuke, 2015; Norton-Meier et al., 2009). However, many K-12 educators and policy makers focus on a "skills discourse" of writing (Ivanič, 2004), teaching writing as a set of discrete skills, possibly as a result of a focus on external standards and high-stakes assessment (Bomer et al., 2019). If students' writing experiences are to change at the undergraduate level, this change must begin as part of a systemic processes earlier in their scholastic experiences.

The findings suggest that educators must guide students in making connections between their home language practices and academic work and seeing the value of their language skills and strategies prior to students' entry to higher education. Language brokers' skills have predominantly been valued at the community level (Alvarez, 2014; García, 2009b). In order to empower language brokers and facilitate a school environment where students' home language practices hold value in the classroom, K-12 teachers must first recognize the strengths students bring to the classroom. They can further develop these strengths by promoting situations in which the child serves as an expert (Orellana, 2009), such as creating a "buddy system" in which an experienced language broker assists a newer emerging bilingual student navigate language use in the classroom. In addition to benefiting the student receiving assistance, purposeful incorporation of this practice into the learning environment can honor and amplify the language broker's unique skills. Teachers can also utilize students' language brokering and overall

translanguaging practices by allowing students to translate media (e.g., news reports) from another language, discussing the importance of specialized language in academic contexts, asking students to report on language use in their own homes, and scaffolding students in articulating the skills and strategies they use in their language brokering by asking questions about when and how they decide to translate for someone or the challenges they face when brokering (Alvarez, 2014; Bailey & Orellana, 2015; D'warte, 2014).

Velasco and García (2014), focusing on K-12 education, note that pedagogies that adhere to the principles of translanguaging have slowly emerged, but that this development is slowest in the area of writing. Canagarajah (2011) offers several explanations for this: first, because writing lacks many of the nonverbal cues of speaking, many scholars view the process of negotiating meaning in writing less suitable for a translanguaging approach. In addition, due to academic writing's status as a more formal and high-stakes activity than speaking, educators are reluctant to endorse translanguaging practices. Velasco and García suggest encouraging translanguaging in the planning, drafting, and revising stages of writing, such as experimentation with vocabulary, insertion of glosses (marginal annotation), and engagement with the reader. The current study builds on these findings for the undergraduate population. For example, students used mental translation not only to produce an appropriate vocabulary word for their context but to ensure they fully comprehended their source material. This research argues that while some students employ translanguaging strategies such as mental translation, the imperative for educators is to ensure that all students recognize the strategies available to them. I also urge undergraduate writing programs faculty to consider the suggestions cited above from Bailey and Orellana (2015): helping students verbalize the skills and strategies they use in their language brokering and prompting students to explicitly identify the skills and strategies used in their

home language practices that are also necessary for academic writing. The participants in the current study, when demonstrating awareness of the connections between their home and academic language practices, overwhelmingly came to this awareness when prompted directly to speak about influences or parallels between the two activities. Early in their interviews, participants spoke about their successes and challenges in past brokering experiences and were asked to reflect on what they had learned. Harpreet, for example, spoke about the challenge of conveying the meaning of medical information in a way her family members understood and continued to discuss this characteristic frequently in her interview. When asked about ways that her brokering had shaped her writing and the parallels she saw between the two activities, Harpreet discussed the similarities of striving to convey meaning in her writing in order to make herself understood. Other language brokers may also come to these moments of realization after first identifying characteristics, skills, and strategies common between their language brokering and writing experiences followed by direct prompts from instructors encouraging the broker to connect the two.

This study has also highlighted the importance of metacognition when performing the task of academic writing. Teachers can teach explicitly about metacognition, but findings suggest most only do so implicitly (Pintrich, 2002). One way to encourage metacognition, as well as self-efficacy, in writing is to use reflective writing exercises (Cannady & Gallo, 2016; Gardner, 2014), much like this study utilized in its methods. During the reflection portion of these interviews, students critiqued their own writing, highlighting characteristics they felt had been particularly effective and those that, upon reflection, they believed did not represent the best of their linguistic abilities. For an excellent example of a large-scale reflective writing project, please refer to Corcoran (2017), in which the author assigned students a semester-long

ethnography incorporating personal narrative, literature on linguistics and language use, interviews, and a reflective cover letter.

Content classes that may not be able to accommodate such an intensive implementation of reflection papers may consider assigning papers that allow students to draw from their personal experiences. Several participants felt these types of assignments amplified their own voice in writing by allowing them to exercise a greater degree of control over the topic and insert their own narrative. “I feel when it comes to reflection, my voice comes out a lot more. For academic purposes it’s very hard to have that voice come out,” Andrea related. Lower-stakes assignments can also help alleviate students’ self-doubt. Claudia, who frequently described herself as “embarrassed” of her writing, was relieved of her stress—“Okay, I need to sound smart. I need to find a better way to write”—when writing low-stakes reflection assignments and felt that her identity as a writer had benefited as a result.

The findings of this study suggest that input from educators affects the degree to which students appear to utilize the skills and strategies developed as language brokers in their academic writing. Participants recounting school experiences spoke about receiving instruction that held them to a high standard of writing (or, conversely, spoke about the disappointment they felt in realizing the deficiencies of their previous instruction). They found encouragement not from perfunctory praise, but from teachers who pointed to specific skills that the students had not recognized as strengths. In particular, several students reported feeling empowered when hearing that clear, straightforward writing was considered effective by the academic discourse community. Natalia, for example, was surprised to hear that published authors in sociology “didn’t know how to write.” Following this experience, Natalia internalized the value of her own academic writing. “Perhaps the words aren’t the most advanced, but it’s coherent. And I feel like

that matters," she asserted. Educators have a responsibility to engage in meaningful interaction (Pontecorvo et al., 2001) in which they model "desirable" characteristics of academic writing; however, they must also participate in critical self-reflection regarding their own views of the language and literacies that hold value in the academic environment. By not doing so, they perpetuate existing standards and ideologies academic discourse, inhibiting the bidirectional component that both language socialization and translanguaging frameworks argue are natural and necessary (Baquedano-López & Mangual Figueroa, 2011; Duff & Talmy, 2011; Kulick & Schieffelin, 2004; Lu & Horner, 2013; Ochs & Schieffelin, 2011). Embracing heteroglossic ideologies in academic writing and imparting to students that their skill set "matters" requires reflection on the part of educators as well as their students.

Appendix A

Recruitment Flier

Please share your experiences as a family translator for a study exploring the connections between "language brokering" and academic writing.

WHAT IT ENTAILS

The study will consist of a short survey, and you may be asked to follow up with an interview lasting approximately 90 minutes.

WHAT YOU WILL RECEIVE

All participants who complete the survey will be entered to win a **$25 gift card.***

+

Everyone who is selected to participate in an in-person interview will receive an additional **$10** Amazon gift card for interview participation, and **$10** Amazon gift card for the short think-aloud component (up to **$20 total**).

Earn an additional **$5** gift card for referring another eligible participant.

FOR MORE INFORMATION

Please contact Amy Woodbridge if you are interested and would like more information.

awoodbridge@ucla.edu

*Participation in the study is not required in order to participate in the drawing. Chances of winning the drawing are no less than approximately 1 in 100.

Appendix B

Study Information Sheet

University of California, Los Angeles

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

UCLA Research Study: Connections between Childhood Language Brokering and the Development of an Academic Written Voice

You are being asked to participate in a research study conducted by Amy Woodbridge at the University of California, Los Angeles. You have been selected as a possible participant in this study because you have identified yourself as a language broker: someone who has served as a translator and/or interpreter for family members. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. The faculty advisor for this study is Alison Bailey, Ed.D.

Why is this study being done?
This study is being conducted to explore the ways that students' previous experiences language brokering may relate to their understanding of an academic "voice" in college writing. Interviews with you, language brokers who are now undergraduates at LAU, will provide insight into the ways that language brokering may connect to the awareness and development of an academic voice in writing.

What will happen if I take part in this research study?
If you volunteer to participate in this study, the researcher will first ask you to complete a 5-10 minute survey about your background as a language broker and your attitudes towards writing. You may then be asked to participate in an interview lasting approximately 90 minutes, which will be audio recorded. The interview will ask you about your experiences language brokering, your experiences writing papers at LAU, and the voice you feel you project in writing.

If you are participating in the interview, you will also be asked to bring a paper you are currently working on and talk about the process of writing that paper with the researcher. The final portion of the interview will ask self-reflection questions about a paper you have previously written for a class, which you will be asked to email prior to the interview. During these portions of the interview, you will be asked to share your screen so that the researcher can follow along, and this screen share will be captured on video.

Some participants may be asked to answer follow-up questions after they have completed the paper they were working on.

Are there any potential risks or discomforts that I can expect from this study?
There are no anticipated risks or discomforts.

Are there any potential benefits if I participate?
You will not directly benefit from your participation in the research, although the research is intended to contribute to knowledge on language brokering and undergraduates' feelings towards writing. The

purpose of this study is to gain a better understanding of the experiences of language brokers and their academic writing.

Will I receive any payment if I participate in this study?
By completing the survey, you will be entered into a drawing for a $25 Amazon gift card. (Participation in the study is not required in order to participate in the drawing.) The chance of winning the raffle is not less than approximately 1 in 100.

If you are asked to meet for an in-person interview, you will receive an additional $10 Amazon gift card for the interview and $10 Amazon gift card for the think-aloud portion ($20 total for completing both portions).

Will information about me and my participation be kept confidential?
Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can identify you will remain confidential. It will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of pseudonyms rather than real names.

What are my rights if I take part in this study?
You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty or loss of benefits to which you were otherwise entitled. If you are asked to participate in the interview and decide to withdraw at any point within the interview, you will receive the $10 gift card. If you begin participating in the think-aloud portion of the interview and decide to withdraw at any point during that stage, you will still receive the additional $10 gift card.

You can choose whether or not you want to be in this study. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may leave the study at any time without consequences of any kind. You are not waiving any of your legal rights if you choose to be in this research study. You may refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.

Who can answer questions I might have about this study?
If you have any questions, comments or concerns about the research, please contact Amy Woodbridge at awoodbridge@ucla.edu. Additionally, you may contact Alison Bailey at (310 825-1731) or abailey@gseis.ucla.edu with additional concerns you do not feel have been addressed.

UCLA Office of the Human Research Protection Program (OHRPP): If you have questions about your rights as a research subject, or you have concerns or suggestions and you want to talk to someone other than the researchers, you may contact the UCLA OHRPP by phone: (310) 206-2040; by email: participants@research.ucla.edu or by mail: Box 951406, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1406.

Appendix C

Pre-Interview Questionnaire

Survey of Childhood Language Brokering and Academic Writing

You have been selected to participate in this survey on childhood language brokering and academic writing because you have identified yourself as someone who has served as a translator and/or interpreter for family members. This survey is being conducted as part of a larger study exploring the ways that students' previous experiences language brokering may relate to their understanding of an academic "voice" in college writing.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can identify you will remain confidential. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of pseudonyms rather than real names.

The survey should take about 10-15 minutes to complete. By completing the survey, you will be entered into a drawing for a $25 gift card.

By clicking the "I Agree" button below, you consent to participating in the survey. Your participation is voluntary. You may choose to exit the survey at any time without penalty.

[I agree]

--Page break--

1. What is your year at LAU?
   - 1st year
   - 2nd year
   - 3rd year
   - 4th year
   - 5th year+

2. Did you enter LAU directly as a freshman, or did you transfer from another institution?
   - Direct entry
   - Transfer

3. What is your major?
[open text]

4. Were you born in the US?
   - Yes
   - No

5. [*Display if Q4 = "No"] In what country were you born?
[open text]

6. [*Display if Q4 = “No”] How old were you when you emigrated to the US?
[open text]

--Page break--

7. Other than English, what language(s) does your family speak at home?
[open text]

8. Please rate the language abilities of your “Parent 1.” If your parent’s language abilities have changed over the years, please choose the answer that best describes their abilities when you were in high school.

- Basic
- Intermediate
- Advanced

A. English – speaking
B. English – listening
C. English – reading
D. English – writing
E. Other home language – speaking
F. Other home language – listening
G. Other home language – reading
H. Other home language – writing

9. Please rate the language abilities of your “Parent 2.” If your parent’s language abilities have changed over the years, please choose the answer that best describes their abilities when you were in high school.

- Basic
- Intermediate
- Advanced
- N/A – I do not have someone I consider a second parent at home

I. English – speaking
J. English – listening
K. English – reading
L. English – writing
M. Other home language – speaking
N. Other home language – listening
O. Other home language – reading
P. Other home language – writing

--Page break--

For the following questions, please think about the "home language" you identified in Question 7 (e.g., Spanish, Cantonese, Korean, etc). If you identified more than one, please choose the one you use the most.

10. **Since you have entered university,** whom have you spoken this language with? (Choose all that apply)
- Your mother
- Your father
- Younger brothers or sisters
- Older brothers or sisters
- Grandparents
- Other relatives
- Teachers
- Friends or classmates
- Other people, please specify [open text]

11. **When you were a child,** whom did you speak this language with? (Choose all that apply)
- Your mother
- Your father
- Younger brothers or sisters
- Older brothers or sisters
- Grandparents
- Other relatives
- Teachers
- Friends or classmates
- Other people, please specify [open text]

12. **Since you have entered university,** where have you spoken this language? (Choose all that apply)
- At your family home
- At your current residence (if you do not live in your family home)
- In classes at school
- In other places at school (e.g., clubs or other extracurriculars)
- At church
- Other places, please specify [open text]

13. **When you were a child,** where did you speak this language? (Choose all that apply)
- At your family home
- At your current residence (if you do not live in your family home)
- In classes at school
- In other places at school (e.g., clubs or other extracurriculars)
- At church
- Other places, please specify [open text]

14. Speaking in **English** is
- Very easy
- Easy
- Neither easy nor difficult
- Difficult
- Very difficult

15. Speaking in **my other home language** is
- Very easy
- Easy
- Neither easy nor difficult
- Difficult
- Very difficult

16. Writing in **English** is
- Very easy
- Easy
- Neither easy nor difficult
- Difficult
- Very difficult

17. Writing in my **other home language** is
- Very easy
- Easy
- Neither easy nor difficult
- Difficult
- Very difficult

--Page break—

Please tell us about your experiences translating between English and your other home language(s).

18. **When you were in high school,** did you ever translate (between English and your other home language) for members of your family?
- Yes
- No

[*For all following questions, display only if Q18 = "Yes"]

19. **When you were in high school, whom** did you translate for and **how often** did you translate for them?
- Nearly every day
- 1-2 times a week

- A few times a month
- Rarely / not on a regular basis
- Never

A. Your mother
B. Your father
C. A grandparent
D. Younger brothers or sisters
E. Older brothers and sisters
F. Other family members
G. Teachers or school staff
H. Friends or classmates
I. Neighbors
J. Medical staff (e.g., doctors, dentists, nurses)
K. Police, government, or legal officials (e.g., lawyers, immigration officers, DMV staff)
L. Other people

20. **When you were a child, whom** did you translate for and **how often** did you translate for them?

- Nearly every day
- 1-2 times a week
- A few times a month
- Rarely / not on a regular basis
- Never

A. Your mother
B. Your father
C. A grandparent
D. Younger brothers or sisters
E. Older brothers and sisters
F. Other family members
G. Teachers or school staff
H. Friends or classmates
I. Neighbors
J. Medical staff (e.g., doctors, dentists, nurses)
K. Police, government, or legal officials (e.g., lawyers, immigration officers, DMV staff)
L. Other people

21. **When you were in high school,** in what places did you ever translate for your family? (Choose all that apply)

- At home
- At school
- At your parents' workplace
- In medical offices or hospitals
- In police stations
- In law, tax, or government offices (e.g., Immigration Services, DMV, post offices)

- In banks
- In stores or restaurants
- On the street (e.g., with neighbors or strangers)
- Other places, please specify [open text]

22. **When you were a child,** in what places did you ever translate for your family? (Choose all that apply)

- At home
- At school
- At your parents' workplace
- In medical offices or hospitals
- In police stations
- In law, tax, or government offices (e.g., Immigration Services, DMV, post offices)
- In banks
- In stores or restaurants
- On the street (e.g., with neighbors or strangers)
- Other places, please specify [open text]

23. **When you were in high school,** what kinds of documents or media did you ever translate for your family? (Choose all that apply)

- Homework
- Other school information (e.g., permission slips, report cards, teacher communication, invitations to events)
- Job applications or communication from your parents' work
- Medical documents or forms
- Insurance policies
- Bills or financial statements
- Legal, immigration, or tax documents
- Rental or mortgage agreements
- Signs, menus
- Newspapers
- Phone calls
- In-person conversations
- TV shows, movies, or radio
- Other, please specify [open text]

24. **When you were a child,** what kinds of documents or media did you ever translate for your family? (Choose all that apply)

- Homework
- Other school information (e.g., permission slips, report cards, teacher communication, invitations to events)
- Job applications or communication from your parents' work

- Medical documents or forms
- Insurance policies
- Bills or financial statements
- Legal, immigration, or tax documents
- Rental or mortgage agreements
- Signs, menus
- Newspapers
- Phone calls
- In-person conversations
- TV shows, movies, or radio
- Other, please specify [open text]

25. **When you were in high school,** was there **one main person** doing most of the translating for your family?
- Yes – one person had most of the responsibility for translating
- No – translating duties were shared fairly equally among multiple people

[Display if Q25= "Yes"] If you answered "Yes" to the previous question, who is this person?
- You
- An older brother
- An older sister
- A younger brother
- A younger sister
- Your mother
- Your father
- Someone else, please specify [open text]

--Page break--

26. For the following items, please indicate your level of agreement.
    - Strongly agree
    - Agree
    - Slightly agree
    - Slightly disagree
    - Disagree
    - Strongly disagree

A. I have my own style of academic writing
B. Being able to write clearly is an important part of being a student
C. I am able to convey my ideas clearly in my writing
D. What I write communicates my confidence about the area to the reader
E. It is important to me that my essays are well written
F. I feel that I am the author of my assignments
G. I think of myself as an author
H. Academic writing is an important skill

I. I generate ideas while I am writing
J. I feel that I own my written work
K. I have my own voice in my writing
L. I feel in control when writing assignments
M. I am able to formulate my ideas in my writing
N. Academic writing allows me to communicate my ideas
O. I consider myself to be the author of my academic work
P. My ability to write academically is important to me
Q. It is important to me to keep developing as an academic writer
R. I am confident that when I write something about my field of study it will look impressive
S. I am afraid that what I write myself about my field of study will look weak and unimpressive
T. Writing an academic assignment is all about making an argument based on my own thoughts about the subject

Appendix D

Interview Protocol

Semi-structured Interview

Brokering

- Can you tell me about…
  - One of the earliest memories you have of language brokering?
  - Your most recent experience language brokering?
- How familiar were you with the term "language brokering" prior to now?
- Can you tell me about…
  - A situation where you had to broker (translate) that made you feel proud?
  - A situation where you had to broker that didn't go well?
- What do you think you have learned from language brokering?
- Can you see any ways that your brokering experiences shaped your learning in school?
- [If they do not bring up writing, prompt]: How do you think your brokering experiences specifically shaped your writing in school?

Writing

- Tell me about your experiences with academic writing.
- On what dimensions do you judge your academic writing? (e.g., clarity? Sophistication?)
- How do you feel about the writing you've done here at LAU?
  - What has been easy? What has been hard?
- If I asked you to define the term "voice" in writing, how would you define it?
  - Do you feel your own "voice" is represented in your writing in college?
  - Does your writing sound like you?
- How do you feel when you take on an academic voice?
- [From questionnaire]: I see that you responded _____ when asked if you feel like an author. Can you tell me about that?
- Setting aside the topic of language brokering, what are some of the biggest influences on your writing?
- [Need to find a way to properly word this question]: Imagine two ends of a continuum. On one end is the perspective, "I want my writing to achieve a "properly" academic sound. I want it to blend in seamlessly with the writing of other experts I read." On the other end of the continuum is the perspective, "I want to write in a style that feels natural to me, and I think my professors should learn to accept that." Where do you fall on this continuum?
- Tell me about other kinds of writing do you do – for example, informal writing.
  - Do you ever do this in a language other than English? Can you tell me about that?
- Finally, now that we have discussed it further, I'd like you to think again about the work you do composing papers for college courses, and the work you have done translating for your family. Do you see any parallels between the two activities?

Think aloud

Have student bring out a paper they are currently working on for class.
These questions will be very loosely structured; the student will be asked to talk through their process, and I will provide prompts to encourage them to continue talking more specifically.

Warm-up

I'm going to ask you to work on your class paper you've brought with you. As you work, I'd like you to think out loud as much as possible so that I can understand what you are thinking and why you are making certain writing decisions. This can feel a little awkward, so I'm going to ask you a few questions to warm up. As you answer these questions, please think out loud.
Let me do an example for you so you can get a better understanding of the process. If given the question, "How many TOTAL other students are in your classes?," your think-aloud may sound something like, "Well, my psych class is in a really big lecture hall, and I think it's one of the bigger capacity ones on campus, so I'll say about 300 in that one. Then I'm in a chemistry class that is also really big, but I think it's a little bit smaller than the psych class, so I'll say maybe 250 people in that one? So that's 550. And then I'm in a writing class that only has 13 people, and a linguistics class. That one's mostly online, so I don't know how many actual students it has, but we have an in-person discussion section and I think there are 20 students in there. So, what did I say? 550 plus 13 is 563, and another 20 is 583."
Warm up questions

1. Think about the house you lived in in high school. How many windows does it have? Please think out loud as you talk through your answer.
2. How many hours have you studied in the last week?

Think-aloud prompts
Keep prompts minimal – mainly "what are you thinking about?" or "please keep talking"

- What are you thinking about here?
- What are you trying to do here?
- Tell me about the voice you are taking up in this essay
- Other than your professor or TA, do you have an audience in your head you imagine reading this paper?
- Can you tell me what you are thinking as you decide…
    - what word to use?
    - how to make this sentence?
    - how to organize this section?

Self-reflection

Prior to meeting, students will be asked to email a paper they have previously written for a class that they feel best represents them as a writer.

- Why did you choose this essay as one that represents you as a writer?
    - Imagine I am your instructor and I've asked you to defend who you are as a writer based only on this paper. What features of it would you point out to me?
- How much does this paper reflect your own opinions and stances?
- What were the most challenging aspects when writing this paper?
- What challenges (either those you've named, or others) do you think you did well on?
    - What skills did you draw on that helped you do well?
- Tell me about the vocabulary you used in this paper. How did you choose which words to use?
    - How much effort did you put into these choices?
- [Have sections pre-highlighted] Tell me about these sentences you've written. How did you choose the way you would structure this?
    - How much effort did you put into these choices?
- [Point to a citation] When you needed to paraphrase something a source has said, like right here, how did you do that?
- When you paraphrase sources, do you feel the vocabulary words you've chosen are as sophisticated as the original author's? Less sophisticated?
- If you were writing for a different forum – say, a newspaper or online forum – how would this change how you wrote it?

Appendix E

Codebook

Set/Theme	Code	Description	Examples
Themes			
Characteristics *Apply at any point throughout interview*	Confidence (brokering)	Participant refers to their level of confidence gained by language brokering Note that being good at something often reflects confidence, but not necessarily (for example, if a participant says that her English is better than her Spanish, it does not necessarily mean she is confident in her English skills - only that they are better than her Spanish skills). Similarly, feeling proud about something after they have done it - for example, feeling like they did a good job in a difficult brokering situation - does not necessarily equal feeling confident in their abilities.	"it's just my way that I've learned how to communicate with adults at a very young age. And I speak to adults, not being afraid of what they're going to say or they're going to question me. Something I've done at a really young age." (INT9) "Learning how to talk to people and like be more, like, confident, I guess with talking to people." (INT3)
	Confidence (writing)	Participant feels confident in their writing abilities Note that being good at something often reflects confidence, but not necessarily (for example, if a participant says that the best quality in her writing is her vocabulary, it does not necessarily mean she is confident in her vocabulary abilities - only that she feels it is better than others). Similarly, feeling proud about something after they have done it - for example, doing well on a	"Again, it's not that I can't write. I know that I can write and I know that I can write really well." (INT7)

		paper - does not necessarily equal feeling confident in their abilities.	
	Self-doubt (brokering)	Participant expresses a lack of confidence, self-doubt, or insecurity in their brokering abilities	"Like if they're questioning “wait, what do you mean?” I'll be like, Oh, this is what I mean. I feel like that's kind of like a defense mechanism. Like do you not get what I'm trying to say like, this is what I'm saying. I feel that's the way I started to defend myself in language. Because sometimes I know, I don't speak the perfect English, but it's kind of like this is the way I practice." (INT9)
	Self-doubt (writing)	Participant expresses a lack of confidence, self-doubt, or insecurity in their writing (or academic/literacy) abilities	"Growing up I've always been insecure about my writing in English, about how others and my teachers perceive it, but I am proud of what I end up writing. But it just makes me rethink and also, like, when I was younger, my grandma would always say always speak English, this is the only way you're gonna learn. So it makes me feel less capable, I would say of being able to speak to two languages because it does get confusing when I write my papers." (INT8) "I feel like it's always been my struggle just because I feel like I overthink things in terms of like, “Okay, I need to sound smart. How does smart sound like?”" (INT10)
	Conveying meaning (brokering)	Participant is concerned with conveying the meaning of what is being translated, rather than transmitting information word for word. This can also be applied whenever a participant talks about wanting to "make sure [they are] understood."	"I think I've learned like the communicating and like transmitting ideas in a way that like both parties can understand because I think a lot of like terms or words even ideas are very like culturally like specific and so when translating like I feel like I've definitely had to like take into consideration like if this like phrase or if this like concept even exists in in like American culture or

			like Korean culture so I think it's really interesting that like, it's not just like a direct translation of like the words but also just like, like it's I don't know, I feel like it's more like interpreting than translating if that makes sense." (INT6) "They don't quite get it. No matter how hard I try, so I just get the main idea like, Oh, don't do this. So basically saying don't do this or do this." (INT8)
	Conveying meaning (writing)	Participant is concerned with getting the main point across in their writing and/or making sure their point is understood.	"I think like, lately, what LAU has really emphasize on me is just taking the main idea of something and just ignore the other, like what can be confusing statements." (INT8)
	Accuracy (brokering)	Participant was/is concerned with accuracy when brokering. This code can also include "translating word-for-word": when the participant tries to translate exactly what is being said, rather than trying to paraphrase or get the main idea across.	"So, that feels good for me because they put that trust in me that I'm doing stuff accurately. And so, that's something I've learned, like always delivering accurate information because they're relying on you, especially for like, in legal context." (INT2)
	Accuracy (writing)	Participant was/is concerned with accuracy when writing	[on preferring direct quotes to paraphrasing]: "I just feel more comfortable with the quote. I just don't want to mess up what they said, misinterpret what they said or being caught plagiarizing where I'm just kind of like am I saying the right thing? To me it's a bit more easier when I have the quote" (INT9) [When asked what is difficult about paraphrasing] "I feel like I won't convey the same thing the author would. The author did a really good job at doing this. I don't know if I can do it. I'll just write what they wrote like quote it. Yeah I guess just like – yeah. It

			kind of reminds me like when it comes to translating, you're translating it into your own words. I don't know if I'm going to do it the right way or accurately enough, convey it the same way the author did it so I'd rather not." (INT12)
	Writing as a form of translation	Participant talks about writing as a form of translation. Examples: translating thoughts onto paper (including statements indicating that the student has trouble putting their thoughts into words); translating the words of another author into the student's own words	"A lot of times people refer to writing as like translating your thoughts onto paper. And then it's like, language brokering is like quite literally like translating, you know, someone else's words into your own words, which I guess is also the thing in writing. Especially if you're doing like if you're like, I'm like mentioning sources and stuff, I guess. It is kind of like you're putting like someone else's words until like your own words. So I mean, there's like a little parallel there." (INT3) "Well, I think I have the ideas cognitively but I can't put it into words, into writing in English. It just blocks my productivity, but I have the ideas in my head. I don't know where it goes or should go." (INT8) "Yeah, so when I'm about to write, I think I get my ideas somewhere. So it's similar to when I translate for my parents. So when I translate for my parents, my translating in English comes from the translation in Filipino language, right? And when I'm writing, I'm translating my ideas into physical words, into physical writing. So like from a cognitive state to a physical state, and then we're translating from my language or language to translating in English. So there's

			that process of putting something from point A to point B that…I don't have the word for it. But it really requires some thought to do that. So requires a process." (INT8)
Skills *Apply at any point throughout interview*	Register (brokering)	Participant discusses register or tone while brokering. For example, needing to use (or having difficulty achieving) correct register in certain situations, or adjusting tone based on the situation/emotions at hand. This code can also be applied when the participant discusses the "audience," or the people for whom they are adjusting the register/tone. (e.g., speaking differently when addressing a doctor or lawyer, a parent, etc)	"when I was translating, for example, legal documents, which I would assume is more similar to my academic work, you know, in terms of professionalism. I have had to think about it in the sense of like, "Okay, how is it going sound proper?" It's not just anybody reading this, you know. It's a very estimated profession within American and Mexican culture, like a lawyer." (INT1) "But it's more of so where you could - like it sounded more like a conversation rather than professional speaking and wording, if that makes sense." (INT10) "We go to formal events, and sometimes I'd go with some friends like we'd be walking to lecture, or we'll be walking to some ceremony that's going on at LAU with free food or there's a professor from a class that I took that maybe I want a recommendation at some point. He's going to be there, and he invited me, offered me to show up. So, we'd be walking there. We'll be talking a mix of Spanish English. We'll be joking around. We'll be picking on each other. We'll be pushing each other around, talking. We'll be speaking. And then as soon as we walk in, I can walk up to anyone and be like, "Hey, my name is [Martin]. I'm a student at LAU. I'm a resident supervisor in residential life. I

			supervise students. I am in charge of creating culture for students, creating a safe space, blah blah blah, social justice." I can I can do it. I can do all that." (INT7)
	Register (writing)	Participant discusses register or tone while writing. For example, needing to use (or having difficulty achieving) correct register for different types of writing. This code can also be applied when the participant discusses the "audience," or the people for whom they are adjusting the register/tone. (e.g., the professor, TA, or other people who will read the paper). This may overlap with the code "Professor expectations/grading," but will not in every case	"I don't have a very formal academic writing, you know, when I compare it to others, but I think that's also because of the interactions I've had in this situations I'm in." (INT2) "I've always gotten this comment, especially from teachers saying that "You write the way you talk." I feel that's always been my problem, as much as professional that I want to sound on my papers." (INT10)
	Word choice (brokering)	Participant talks about paying attention to, struggling with, or being careful with word choice when language brokering The participant does NOT need to indicate they feel their word choices are skillful, sophisticated, or "good." They only need to indicate that they work hard to try to consider them and attend to them.	"I'm pretty particular about my diction and my writing at least, maybe not so much when I'm speaking, but one thing I definitely understood from translating and just my experiences in school in general is that some words may sound similar, but they don't convey the same meaning. So I try to be very particular on that." (INT20) [speaking about both brokering and writing] "I often have trouble finding the right words, and it kind of makes me rethink English. [Interviewer: How so?] Just in how some words don't exactly correlate well to English." (INT8)
	Word choice (writing)	Participant talks about paying attention to, struggling with, or being careful with word	"I'm pretty particular about my diction and my writing at least, maybe not so much when

		choice when writing The participant does NOT need to indicate they feel their word choices are skillful, sophisticated, or "good." They only need to indicate that they work hard to try to consider them and attend to them.	I'm speaking, but one thing I definitely understood from translating and just my experiences in school in general is that some words may sound similar, but they don't convey the same meaning. So I try to be very particular on that." (INT20) [speaking about both brokering and writing] "I think in other essays, more cookie cutter and rigid ones, I would say I put even more effort in those word choices just because it doesn't come naturally to me anymore. And those ones, I would actually have to be sure to choose a word that fully conveys what I want it to convey, without any unnecessary emotion or, nothing too colloquial, nothing too informal, and want to make sure that it sounds professional and academic. I typically spend more time word choice in those essays." (INT22)
	Analytical skills (brokering)	Participant talks about their abilities to analyze situations, information, or language when language brokering	"I think maybe my brokering experience it has helped me like analyzing stuff, analyzing quotes. And the reason why I'm saying this because once I'm done translating, I'll analyze what I said. Or just overthink what my mom said, or overthink what that person that is speaking the language that my mom is familiar with, I'll just analyze what they said and be conscious, like, what did I say right? Am I understanding it?" (INT9) "Because sometimes, you know, you're not translating sentence by sentence. Sometimes someone will say a whole paragraph, a whole conversation. And then you're like, Okay, I have to analyze all that [XXX]." (INT12)

	Analytical skills (writing)	Participant talks about their abilities to analyze information, sources, or language when writing. This code also applies when the participant is talking about forming or constructing their argument.	"Now that I think of it I think it kind of promotes problem solving skills, too. So just going through a certain process- I think LAU has really emphasized that on me like tests are super hard. So from going from an idea to the answer requires all a lot of processing to do." (INT8) "I know my writing like I'm very self conscious about my writing so I've never really…I think maybe my brokering experience it has helped me like analyzing stuff, analyzing quotes. And the reason why I'm saying this because once I'm done translating, I'll analyze what I said. Or just overthink what my mom said, or overthink what that person that is speaking the language that my mom is familiar with, I'll just analyze what they said and be conscious, like, what did I say right? Am I understanding it? And so when it comes to writing, with quotes, like, I'm a fan of quotes, so I like analyzing them or sometimes I do have a hard time analyzing them. But I think because the broker and the broker experiences, like trying to understand what that person is saying, trying to understand what they're arguing? Am I understanding what they're arguing? So I feel that's something that has helped me." (INT9)
	Speed/Pressure (brokering)	Participant learned to work quickly and/or under pressure	"So, it may it may be part of the brokering where I really I grew up with the pressure of someone being like, “Translate this now. Or, I need to have this conversation with someone and you need to translate it live.”" (INT7)

	Speed/Pressure (writing)	Participant mentions writing quickly and/or under pressure	"Once I'm down to the wire, let's say I have a paper due tonight at midnight, and I haven't started it. I'll crank out a 10 page paper before midnight, and submit it and get it an A on it. But for some reason, I can't type out this paper starting two weeks ago." (INT7)
	Subject matter knowledge	Participant talks about developing knowledge in areas they previously did not know OR talks about struggling to translate or write about certain things because of the advanced subject matter (for example, medical or legal information) Examples: saying that brokering taught them a lot about medical, legal, or technical knowledge. Saying that the writing they did for a class taught them more about the class topic with which they were previously unfamiliar	"I think a lot of the things that I learned, I would have eventually had to learn, like hospital bills, talking about immigration, talking about banks, talking about policies and like how to fill out paperwork. I would have eventually learned that. I just learned that at a younger age." (INT7)
Strategies *Apply at any point throughout interview*	Physical resources (brokering)	Student uses physical resources to help with brokering. Examples: Google, dictionaries, other websites, etc	"I'm always wondering how to break down this information for, you know, community members or like, you know, other folks who would like might not understand it. So I'm always trying to learn about resources, trying to learn about how I can better help my communities, so it's better - it's definitely been that and how to make services accessible and yeah, and delivering accurate information." (INT2)
	Physical resources (writing)	Student uses physical resources to help with writing. Examples: Google, dictionaries, thesauri, outside websites that are not part of class	"And sometimes I have to google translate it, because I know that that Chinese word is a perfect way of expressing what I need, but I don't remember the English of it." (INT4)

	Social resources (brokering)	Student employs the help of other people when they are having difficulty translating a certain point. Examples: asking a professional/doctor/salesperson to explain a point they are making; asking someone else if there is a word they don't know	"I also asked my older sister sometimes, in case she might have known something." (INT22)
	Social resources (writing)	Student employs the help of other people when working on their writing. Examples: having a friend edit a paper; asking someone else to help them re-word something; going to the Writing Center	"I remember I had one of my friends, he's a lot older than me, and he's from Canada. So he, what did I do? I asked him I was like, “Hey, can you like look over my personal statements?"" (INT1) "So, it has definitely affected and impacted the way I write because my brother edits all my papers, and he tells me he's like, “Okay, you're struggling with this or you need to like - you talk a lot.”" (INT10)
	Simplify/break down (brokering)	Participant INTENTIONALLY tries to simplify or break down information when language brokering so that others will be sure to understand what is being said.	"I feel like having all this background and - I don't know how to put it in more like professional terms, but being able to dumb things down a little bit or break things down into specific details." (INT10) "But I think like, lately, what LAU has really emphasize on me is just taking the main idea of something and just ignore the other, like what can be confusing statements and that applies to my daily life to daily language speaking with my parents, just taking the main ideas, tell them what to do, what not to do." (INT8)
	Simplify/break down (writing)	Participant INTENTIONALLY OR UNINTENTIONALLY simplifies information	"I try to see that if I were to share my paper with anyone that they would understand it. I guess it goes back to, you know, making it

		when writing - for example, uses simpler vocabulary.	simple, understandable, but still getting the points across. [Note: Teresa talked about this extensively in terms of her brokering experiences] And still using - like, maybe not calling them these big words we learned here at school, but it's alluding to that, you know, it's exactly that. It's just not the words that school setting has imposed." (INT2) "And sometimes I'll read some articles that are really dense that that authors just don't get to the point and/or they do all this weird crazy shit that doesn't makes sense. And I'm like, "I have to go back and read through it again and again until I understand it." And that's not the type of writing that I want to do. I want to do writing that challenges people. Challenges them in the way they think. Not challenges them because my writing is so convoluted that it's hard to understand what I'm trying to say. And I think that comes from growing up brokering and translating for my family." (INT7)
	Mental translation	Can encompass the act of translating in one's head, or simply refer to "thinking in another language." The participant translates or thinks in both languages. This may - but does not have to - result in them understanding something more fully, help them come up with new ways of saying things, etc.	"You know, actually, when I read stuff in English, and I don't really understand it, I tried to translate it to Spanish in my head or sometimes I'll Google translate this to the Spanish, just in English and then I understand the Spanish version better." (INT1) "When I'm writing then when I get stuck, I kind of talk to myself in Chinese, I guess. Like I kind of summarize what I've written and then I talk to myself. And the reason why I use Chinese too is because I

			sometimes think in Cantonese, and then I sometimes think in Mandarin, so it's like, if I'm just using an overarching Chinese term, but then I guess I talked to my myself in Chinese and then somehow just by talking to myself in Chinese a new idea just comes up." (INT4)
	Read out loud	Participant mentions reading out loud when writing Often they will talk about this in the context of editing their own writing. They may also refer to reading source material out loud, or reading their own work out loud for other more general purposes.	"Once I got through the flow of writing, I would literally go every sentence and read it out loud. I would read it out loud. That's what I did. And now I would probably do the same thing and read it more out loud to see if other people- just some sentences don't flow the right way when you say it out loud. I'm not sure if that's because it's just a bad sentence or maybe just some sentences when you read them out loud just sounds so differently when put in writing." (INT8)
Additional Information *Apply at any point throughout interview*	Verbal skills don't transfer	Participant feels that verbal translating skills have minimal transfer when it comes to writing; i.e., they do not feel that their experience with mostly-verbal translations have helped them much in writing. This does not mean that they do not feel it has helped them at all. Use this code when they mention this aspect as a limitation. This also includes instances where participants talk about having an easier time saying something than writing something, or preferring to talk to someone verbally rather than writing (e.g., phone versus text or email) due to the added difficulty of writing.	"Honestly, I don't think [there are similarities]. It's because I don't write a lot in Spanish. It's mostly spoken translation." (INT1)

	Value of bilingualism	Participant feels they have come to appreciate the value of being bilingual OR the value of knowing/speaking their home language. For example, they may speak about the importance of knowing Spanish, even if they do not specifically mention being "bilingual."	"I think that I have learned that it's a very important for me to like be able to communicate in two languages like especially like, the Spanish language because it's like, there's like a very large Hispanic community and like Los Angeles, or like, within the US in general." (INT1)
	Professor expectations/grading	Participant talks about professor expectations or grading as a reason for writing in a particular way. For example, using large vocabulary words because that is what the professor wants to hear; constructing a paper in a certain format because they believe that is what is expected for the class; choosing (or not choosing) a particular topic because of how they believe it will impact their grade This DOES NOT apply to each instance where the participant talks about receiving advice or instruction from professors. Trying to incorporate professors' teachings and advice does not necessarily mean the student is "writing for a grade."	"I got to choose doing the Unapologetically Brown Series which is an Instagram page. I didn't even run this through my professor because he had said, “Do an art piece.” And I was like this is Instagram, I don't know if this counts. I was like, I should have run it by him when I submitted it. I was second guessing myself. I was like, I don't know this counts. Maybe it's good, but it's not what he wanted." (INT10) "I feel like I use the type of diction and word choices that I feel like my professors will like." (INT6) "I was really confident on a paper, and I thought I did great. I took my time on it. And the material was not exactly how my professor wanted it portrayed." (INT13)
	English language skills - positive	Participant talks about learning or maintaining language skills in English; participant feels positively about their English language skills (e.g., vocabulary, sentence structures, grammar, discourse/flow, or unspecified general language skills) They may or may not explicitly connect this to their bilingualism/brokering experiences	"I feel like because I know another language I think that has, in a way kind of helped me formulate different ideas and like, formulate different like sentence structures. Especially because like English and Korean, like they have different like, noun, like, noun, verb, like positions, if that makes sense. And so like, I feel like that has given me kind of like an interesting perspective on how to like, formulate sentences." (INT6)

		This may include the following, among many other possibilities: -feeling like they have an appropriate vocabulary, or that their vocabulary has grown/improved -feeling like their structures have grown appropriately complex, varied, or that their sentence structures help them clearly express themselves -feeling like their writing is well-organized (this would be an example of discourse in writing) This applies to both oral and written language. Some inference can be applied here. For example, if a participant talks about writing with simple vs. complex sentences, this does not NECESSARILY imply a negative vs. a positive - but we can often have a good sense if that is their implied meaning.	"So I feel like it does help, or even with Latin words, Latin root words like I'll learn how to spell them because I know how to do it in Spanish, and I'll know how to try and use those root words in English." (INT9) "Like for me specifically, I feel like my sentences usually tend to be compound complex. Because I feel like that's the best way for me to convey my ideas." (INT15)
	English language skills - negative	Participant feels negatively about their English language skills (e.g., vocabulary, sentence structures, grammar, discourse/flow, or unspecified general language skills) or feels that their English skills have been negatively impacted They may or may not explicitly connect this to their bilingualism/brokering experiences This may include the following, among many other possibilities: -feeling that they have an inadequate vocabulary -feeling that their sentence structures are simpler than they should be, or overly long/"rambling" -feeling that their writing is disorganized or	"I can't remember what he said, but I think he said that my syntax sometimes is like backwards or it kind of shifts. He's like, "It's not a bad thing. You know, it's just little things that you're going to do because you speak another language and English is your second language."" (INT1) [Note: participant goes on to explicitly state she sees this as a negative] "So I was kind of bothered. I was like, 'Oh, that's like not cool. I need to sharpen my writing.'" (INT1)

		rambling (this would be an example of discourse in writing) This applies to both oral and written language. Some inference can be applied here. For example, if a participant talks about writing with simple vs. complex sentences, this does not NECESSARILY imply a negative vs. a positive - but we can often have a good sense if that is their implied meaning.	
	Home language skills	Participant talks about learning or maintaining their home language	"I feel like having to balance the Spanish language or English language has made me not been able to fully dominate both language[s]" (INT10) "Also expanded a lot of my Spanish language. So, you know, interacting with people, older folks, younger folks, you know, and my Spanish has gotten better." (INT2)
	Motivation to learn/Challenge self (brokering)	Participant says that they are motivated to learn more or to challenge themselves (in relation to language brokering) Examples: as a child, they read more because they wanted to improve their English; they looked up legal info so they could be more knowledgeable for their family; they enjoy challenging themselves academically	"I remember when I was in elementary school there was a moment where I had an epiphany. Where I just became really determined to be better at like writing and English in general because I wanted to help my mom. So, I started , reading a lot of books and I started to use bigger words because I wanted to help my mom. When she needed help, I wanted to know what words to use to sound like official, and I feel like that really led me toward fostering and honing in on particular writing skills and reading skills that have helped me since then in school." (INT11)
	Motivation to learn/Challenge self	Participant says that they are motivated to learn more or to challenge themselves (in relation to	"And when I came in, I did so bad in school. So I was really obsessed with finding new

	(writing)	academics and writing) Examples: they enjoy challenging themselves academically; they take classes related to language and literacy because they are curious or motivated (not because it is a requirement); they want feedback from the professor because they want to improve (not just because they need to improve their grade)	study skills, kind of connecting what I was thinking I had to do in daily life and how I could put that in my in my academic studying." (INT8) "I feel like my instructor didn't push me as much or give me enough criticism as I could have used in my writing. He'd be like, oh, it's good. Like every one, "oh, this is good, this is good. Maybe you could add this." And I'd be like, I can't get good, I've never been criticized on writing. I need to improve, I need some feedback." (INT10)
	School experience - positive	Participant talks about positive experiences in school (K-12 or college) that helped them develop skills or confidence Examples: being well prepared by high school, a good or memorable teacher, an interaction that led them to feel more confident in their academic skills	"I think one of the major experiences that I had was in ninth grade, high school. I had this really amazing English teacher. He was kind of strict and he gave a lot of homework and stuff and a lot of readings. But I feel in that class was where I was able to grow the most as a writer." (INT11) "In high school, I had a teacher who really helped me flourish that learning, like that desire that I really like to write, and encouraged me a lot more and he made me improve a lot." (INT15)
	School experience - negative	Participant talks about negative experiences in school (K-12 or college) that harmed or failed to develop their skills or confidence Examples: a poor quality high school, a teacher who did not teach a lot, a teacher whose actions hurt the student's self-esteem or belief in themselves	"I feel like as a freshman my writing wasn't so good. It wasn't on the academic level I wanted it to be because I feel like my high school wasn't so focused on writing and essays and stuff like that." (INT17) "I was a sophomore and I had this one teacher, and I didn't have very good papers. And I think it was hard because the teacher that I had would choose from the students

			like, ‘Oh, this is an example of a good paper.’ And my paper was never chosen, and I would always get a lot of comments about my paper. So I think it just made me even less confident about my writing.” (INT4)
	Voice - brokering	Participant talks about the development or use of "voice" when brokering. This could refer to them developing their own voice, or portraying the voice of another [Apply this code when the participant mentions "voice" OUTSIDE of the section of the interview where they are specifically asked questions about voice. For that portion of the interview, use the more specific sub-codes.]	"I feel it's really rewarding to me to be able to help her have a voice in her health-related discussions because I feel like if I weren't there, there'd be so much miscommunication." (INT11)
	Voice - writing	Participant talks about developing their own "voice" when writing [Apply this code when the participant mentions "voice" OUTSIDE of the section of the interview where they are specifically asked questions about voice. For that portion of the interview, use the more specific sub-codes.]	[When participant is asked how they judge their own writing]: "I noticed that when I'm writing something that I'm not really interested in or it's on a topic that I can't really relate to, or I have no experience in, I feel like it's harder to be authentic until I convey my true voice through my essay." (INT11) "I feel like when I was younger, I would read books, and then I would like try to mimic the author's tone or style of writing. But then, I felt it was very - reading it over, I felt it was very bland or not creative in a sense, and so the more I like read and the more I wrote, I was able to kind of like move away from mimicking other author styles that I liked and instead honed in on what I like specifically or what felt truer to myself." (INT11)

Voice Definition *Apply only to the questions directly asking about written voice*	Voice: Style/personality	Participant describes "voice" in writing as a style or one's own personality	"I think that's an angle in which like, it's your own kind of character. So it makes the writing your own it like it kind of puts your own touch to the writing, which is everything, you know, and that also refers to the flow… I would think. So something that makes it distinctly your own writing." (INT8)
	Voice: Opinion/perspective	Participant describes "voice" in writing as the writer's opinion, stance or perspective They may describe voice as showing one's thoughts, interpretation, point of view, or ideas	"I do put my own stance in it. So all the evidence that I show, it is what I believe as well, too. So I do think it does have my voice." (INT4) "I feel voice is just to me it's your perspective, your voice, my background, my experience. Like who I am, I feel when you write putting your voice in your writing is pretty much bringing that narrative of yourself in that writing." (INT9) "Maybe like, I have a strong argument or I'm able to support my argument. Or I'm able to express my opinion, maybe. And I make it clear where I stand, and I know a lot of papers are argumentative. So I know you have to state, not your opinion, but what you think there's stronger evidence for without explicitly saying 'this is what I believe.'" (INT16)
	Voice: Differs by field or topic	Participant says that their definition of "voice" differs by the field, topic, genre, or even class in which the paper is being written	"If it's a scientific paper, I feel like not as much. But if it's more, I don't know, like in my like Poli-Sci papers, the ones that I've had to do for those classes, because those are a lot more opinion based, obviously that would have more, like, voice, you know?" (INT3)

			"Depends what classes, I think. For my humanities based research papers, yes. But I think in science or in like, lab research? I don't think so." (INT8)
	Voice: Passion	Participant describes "voice" in writing as being related to what they are passionate about, or allowing passion or interest to come through in their writing This is similar to opinion/perspective; however, for the "passion" code, the participant should explicity talk about having a personal interest, emotional attachment, passion, etc.	"If I have to write about for example, an argumentative piece where I don't really believe in either one but I have to support one regardless, because that's the prompt - that's not really me because I have to force myself to choose a side and it's hard, versus another issue that I take more to the heart... When it's something I really believe in, I can write about it for long." (INT16) [When asked if participant's voice is represented in writing]: "I think for the most part, yes, when I have a prompt that I'm particularly interested in. Sometimes when I'm writing an essay where it's something that I find almost boring or too restricting, I'll find that my writing seems kind of dry, kind of cookie cutter, and like it seemed like anyone wrote this, really." (INT22)
	Voice: Written structural features	Participant describes "voice" in writing as being related to the actual structure or mechanics of the writing. For example, they feel that voice is conveyed through the use of vocabulary, certain sentence structures, word choices, or paper structure. It is concerned with THE WAY people write more than what they write.	"I feel like when you write, you can tell who it is because of how they make the words come together and their sentences flow. Like for me specifically, I feel like my sentences usually tend to be compound complex. Because I feel like that's the best way for me to convey my ideas. There's slight informalities, but I try to keep it as formal as I can. I feel like it sounds like me when I read it. And I feel like when I've asked friends to read it, I feel like they know what I sound like. And then when I read theirs, I

			know what how they sound like. Some people like to write more simple sentences or some compound sentences. And that's just how- they're all combinations of sentences." (INT15)
Academic Voice *Apply only to the questions directly asking about written voice*	Academic voice: Feel like a persona	Using an academic voice makes the participant feel fake or as if they are putting on a persona. The valence could range from negative to positive (for example, students who feel "fake" may feel negatively about it, whereas putting on a different "persona" may have a range of association)	"I feel like first of all, if I were to be reading my paper to an audience, my accent would change. I would try to sound more academic or professional. And in person, if I were to be telling my friends, I wouldn't tell them the way I'm writing my paper. So if they were to be like, "Hey, tell me - summarize your paragraph to me in person." I would say it in my own like, accent, you know, kind of growing up in the area I grew up in with the words I like you normally use. " (INT1) "Sometimes, I feel it's not authentic. When I'm writing something for - when I'm writing a paper, I feel like, "Oh, I need to like sound academic and I need to sound like I know what I'm talking about" and stuff. And so it's kind of like I use like a specific structure and a specific approach to my writing that I feel is not very authentic." (INT11)
	Academic voice: Feel confident/empowered	Using an academic voice makes the participant feel confident or empowered They may describe feeling like they are able to show off their knowledge, intellectual, professional, knowledgeable, or generally like they are able to make themselves "sound good"	"If I change it to academic voice, I feel like a professional. Like I know how to write but then it does empower me and be like, Oh, yeah, I could do this." (INT9)
	Academic voice: Feel stressful	Using an academic voice makes the participant feel stressed, pressured, or intimidated	"When I take on an academic voice, I think I'm more stressed definitely. Like, when I

			write academic papers, especially, I feel like there's a lot more pressure on me." (INT4)
	Academic voice: Feel detached	Using an academic voice feels detached, passionless, or objective	"I feel very robotic." (INT5)
	Academic voice: Feel decisive	Using an academic voice makes the participant feel more decisive or aggressive than they are in "real" life	"I feel they would see me as... more decisive and more persuasive or, I don't want to say aggressive, but more confident in my thoughts because I feel I tend to write in a way that's very confident, maybe. I don't know. I feel like in person I'm much more open to, well in writing too, but I'm much more amenable if that makes sense." (INT11)
	Academic voice: Feel limited	Using an academic voice makes the participant feel limited in how they can or can't express themselves For example, limited by professor expectations, assignment demands, or academic norms	"I feel like for an academic paper, professors and TA's the way they grade it are looking for certain elements. And the ways I write, when it comes to formal papers, I feel like it's very hard to create that style of voice and just do two things at once where it's to trying to accomplish the goal of writing the paper and [satisfying] your professors per se but what the prompt is asking and what your writing style has to say about your voice. So it's hard to portray both at the same time in a college paper." (INT5)
Connecting Language Brokering and Writing *Apply only to the four central questions, once per question*	See connection	Participant -discusses writing in terms of what they have learned from language brokering (Q1) -discusses writing in terms of how language brokering shaped their learning in school (Q2) -feels that language brokering shaped their writing in school (Q3) -sees parallels between language brokering and academic writing (Q4)	
	Do not see connection	Participant does NOT	

		-discuss writing in terms of what they have learned from language brokering (Q1) -discuss writing in terms of how language brokering shaped their learning in school (Q2) -feel that language brokering shaped their writing in school (Q3) -see parallels between language brokering and academic writing (Q4)	
Voice Representation *Apply only to direct questions about voice representation*	Voice represented: Yes	Participant feels their voice is represented in their college academic writing FOR THE MOST PART	
	Voice represented: No	Participant feels their voice is not represented in their college academic writing FOR THE MOST PART	
	Voice represented: Mixed	Participant has mixed feelings about their voice representation in their college academic writing Apply this code only if the participant does not lean at all in one direction.	
	Writing sounds like them: Yes	Participant believes their college academic writing sounds like them FOR THE MOST PART	
	Writing sounds like them: No	Participant believes their college academic writing does not sound like them FOR THE MOST PART	
	Writing sounds like them: A version of them	Participant believes their college academic writing sounds like a version of them Examples: “the academic me,” a part of me used for certain situations	
Placement on Continuum of Writing Style	More academic	Participant would prefer their writing sound like other writing in their field	
	More natural	Participant would prefer they be able to write in a way that feels natural to them	

Apply only to the question of the continuum	Currently academic but ideally more natural	Participant prefers to write in a way that sounds like other writing in their field but expresses a wish to develop (either in skill, confidence, or authority/respect from others) and be able to write in a more natural way in the future	
	Depends	Participant's writing preferences depend on the field or topic	
	50/50	Participant describes themselves as exactly halfway on the continuum	

Appendix F

CSS Code Applications by Participant

Table F1

Characteristics Codes Applied to Participants

Participant	Characteristic code applied								
	Confidence		Self-doubt		Focus on conveying meaning		Focus on accuracy		Writing as translation
	Brokering	Writing	Brokering	Writing	Brokering	Writing	Brokering	Writing	
Gabriela	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No	No
Teresa	No	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Diana	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**
Sarah	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**
Andrea	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	No	No
Krista	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	No
Martin	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Katrina	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**
Laura	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No
Claudia	No	No	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No
Grace	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Vanessa	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Carmen	No	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Fernanda	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Natalia	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Ximena	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Erica	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No
Janette	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Harpreet	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No
Ben	No	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Daniel	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Christopher	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No

Table F2

Skills Codes Applied to Participants

Participant	Skill code applied							
	Register awareness		Word choice		Analytical skills		Pressure/ speed	
	Brokering	Writing	Brokering	Writing	Brokering	Writing	Brokering	Writing
Gabriela	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Teresa	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No
Diana	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No	No	No
Sarah	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Andrea	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	No
Krista	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Martin	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Katrina	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Laura	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Claudia	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Grace	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Vanessa	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No
Carmen	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Fernanda	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Natalia	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Ximena	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Erica	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Janette	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Harpreet	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Ben	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Daniel	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Christopher	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**

Table F3

Strategies Codes Applied to Participants

Participant	Strategy code applied							
	Linguistic simplification		Physical resources		Social resources		Mental translation	Reading aloud
	Brokering	Writing	Brokering	Writing	Brokering	Writing		
Gabriela	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Teresa	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Diana	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Sarah	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Andrea	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	No
Krista	No	No	No	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	No
Martin	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Katrina	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Laura	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Claudia	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Grace	No	**Yes**	No	No	No	No	No	No
Vanessa	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No
Carmen	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Fernanda	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	No
Natalia	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	No	No
Ximena	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No
Erica	No	No	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Janette	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Harpreet	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No
Ben	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No
Daniel	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	No	No	No	No
Christopher	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	No

Appendix G

Voice Code Applications by Participant

Table G1

Voice Definitions Given by Participants

Participant	Definition of voice				
	Related to stance		Related to form		Differs by field
	Opinion/Perspective	Passion	Style/Personality	Structural features	
Gabriela	No	No	No	**Yes**	No
Teresa	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Diana	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Sarah	**Yes**	No	No	No	**Yes**
Andrea	No	No	No	No	No
Krista	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Martin	**Yes**	No	No	No	No
Katrina	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Laura	**Yes**	No	No	No	No
Claudia	No	No	No	No	No
Grace	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Vanessa	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Carmen	No	No	No	No	**Yes**
Fernanda	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	No
Natalia	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	No
Ximena	**Yes**	**Yes**	No	No	No
Erica	**Yes**	No	No	No	**Yes**
Janette	**Yes**	No	No	No	**Yes**
Harpreet	**Yes**	No	No	No	No
Ben	**Yes**	No	No	No	No
Daniel	No	**Yes**	No	No	No
Christopher	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No

Table G2

Participants' Views Toward Writing in Academic Voice

Participant	Views toward writing in academic voice					
	Feel confident/ empowered	Feel stressed	Feel decisive	Feel limited	Feel detached	Feels like a persona
Gabriela	No	No	No	No	No	**Yes**
Teresa	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	No	No
Diana	**Yes**	No	No	No	No	No
Sarah	No	**Yes**	No	No	No	No
Andrea	No	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Krista	No	No	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**
Martin	**Yes**	No	No	No	No	**Yes**
Katrina	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	No	No
Laura	**Yes**	No	No	No	No	No
Claudia	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**	No	No
Grace	No	No	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**
Vanessa	**Yes**	No	No	No	No	No
Carmen	No	**Yes**	No	No	No	No
Fernanda	No	No	No	No	No	No
Natalia	No	No	No	No	No	No
Ximena	**Yes**	No	No	No	No	No
Erica	No	No	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Janette	No	**Yes**	No	No	No	No
Harpreet	No	**Yes**	No	**Yes**	**Yes**	No
Ben	No	No	**Yes**	No	No	**Yes**
Daniel	No	No	No	No	No	No
Christopher	**Yes**	No	No	No	**Yes**	No

References

Acoach, C. L., & Webb, L. M. (2004). The influence of language brokering on Hispanic teenagers' acculturation, academic performance, and nonverbal decoding skills: A preliminary study. *Howard Journal of Communications*, *15*(1), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/10646170490275459

Alvarez, S. (2014). Translanguaging tareas: Emergent bilingual youth as language brokers for homework in immigrant families. *Language Arts*, *91*(5), 326–339. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24575544

Anstrom, K., Dicerbo, P., Butler, F., Katz, A., Millet, J., & Rivera, C. (2010). *A review of the literature on Academic English: Implications for K-12 English Language Learners*. George Washington University Center for Equity and Excellence in Education.

Arthur, S., & Nazroo, J. (2003). Designing fieldwork strategies and materials. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice: A guide for social science students and researchers* (pp. 109–137). SAGE Publications.

Aull, L. L., Bandarage, D., & Miller, M. R. (2017). Generality in student and expert epistemic stance: A corpus analysis of first-year, upper-level, and published academic writing. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *26*, 29–41. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2017.01.005

Bailey, A. L. (2007). *The language demands of school: Putting academic language to the test*. Yale University Press.

Bailey, A. L. (2020). The discourse of explicitness: Mathematics explanatory talk and self-assessment by Spanish-speaking emergent bilingual students in elementary classrooms. *Theory Into Practice*, *59*(1), 64–74. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2019.1665416

Bailey, A. L., & Moughamian, A. C. (2007). Telling stories their way: Narrative scaffolding with emergent readers and readers. *Narrative Inquiry*, *17*(2), 203–229. https://doi.org/10.1075/ni.17.2.04bai

Bailey, A., & Orellana, M. F. (2015). Adolescent development and everyday language practices: Implications for the academic literacy of multilingual learners. In D. Molle, E. Sato, T. Boals, & C. A. Hedgspeth (Eds.), *Multilingual learners and academic literacies: Sociocultural contexts of literacy development in adolescents* (pp. 53–74).

Ballantine, J., & Larres, P. M. (2012). Perceptions of authorial identity in academic writing among undergraduate accounting students: Implications for unintentional plagiarism. *Accounting Education*, *21*(3), 289–306. https://doi.org/10.1080/09639284.2011.650452

Bandura, A. (1986). *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Bandura, A. (1997). *Self-efficacy: The exercise of control*. W.H. Freeman.

Baquedano-López, P., & Mangual Figueroa, A. (2011). Language socialization and immigration. In A. Duranti, E. Ochs, & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The handbook of language socialization* (pp. 536–563). Wiley-Blackwell. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444342901.ch23

Bauer, E. (2016). Practising kinship care: Children as language brokers in migrant families. *Childhood*, *23*(1), 22–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/0907568215574917

Bazeley, P. (2013). *Qualitative data analysis: Practical strategies*. Sage.

Bialystok, E. (1991). Metalinguistic dimensions of bilingual language proficiency. In E. Bialystok (Ed.), *Language processing in bilingual children* (pp. 113–140). Cambridge University Press.

Bialystok, E., & Ryan, E. B. (1985). Toward a definition of metalinguistic skill. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *31*(3), 229–251. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23086295

Biber, D., & Conrad, S. (2009). *Register, genre, and style*. Cambridge University Press.

Bird, B. (2013). A basic writing course design to promote writer identity: Three analyses of student papers. *Journal of Basic Writing*, *32*(1), 62–96. https://www.jstor.org/stable/43443933

Birr Moje, E., Overby, M., Tysvaer, N., & Morris, K. (2008). The complex world of adolescent literacy: Myths, motivations, and mysteries. *Harvard Educational Review*, *78*(1), 107–154. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.78.1.54468j6204x24157

Bomer, R., Land, C. L., Rubin, J. C., & Van Dike, L. M. (2019). Constructs of teaching writing in research about literacy teacher education. *Journal of Literacy Research*, *51*(2), 196–213. https://doi.org/10.1177/1086296X19833783

Bransford, J. D., Brown, A. L., & Cocking, R. R. (Eds.). (2000). *How people learn: Brain, mind, experience, and school*. National Academy Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/9853

Brittian, A. S., Umaña-Taylor, A. J., & Derlan, C. L. (2013). An examination of biracial college youths' family ethnic socialization, ethnic identity, and adjustment: Do self-identification labels and university context matter? *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *19*(2), 177–189. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0029438

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005). Identity and interaction: A sociocultural linguistic approach. *Discourse Studies*, *7*(4–5), 585–614. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445605054407

Buriel, R., Love, J. A., & de Ment, T. L. (2006). The relation of language brokering to depression and parent-child bonding among Latino adolescents. In M. H. Bornstein & L.

R. Cote (Eds.), *Acculturation and parent-child relationships: Measurement and development* (pp. 249–270). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Buriel, R., Perez, W., Ment, T. L. de, Chavez, D. V., & Moran, V. R. (1998). The relationship of language brokering to academic performance, biculturalism, and self-efficacy among Latino adolescents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *20*(3), 283–297. https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863980203001

Campbell, J. L., Quincy, C., Osserman, J., & Pedersen, O. K. (2013). Coding in-depth semistructured interviews: Problems of unitization and intercoder reliability and agreement. *Sociological Methods & Research*, *42*(3), 294–320. https://doi.org/10.1177/0049124113500475

Canagarajah, S. (2011). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, *2*(2011), 1–28. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110239331.1

Cannady, R. E., & Gallo, K. Z. (2016). Write Now! Using reflective writing beyond the humanities and social sciences. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, *40*(2), 188–206. https://doi.org/10.1080/0309877X.2014.938266

Carbone, P. M., & Orellana, M. F. (2010). Developing academic identities: Persuasive writing as a tool to strengthen emergent academic identities. *Research in the Teaching of English*, *44*(3), 292–316. https://www.jstor.org/stable/27784363

Castro-Villarreal, F., Guerra, N., Sass, D., & Hseih, P.-H. (2014). Models of pre-service teachers' academic achievement: The influence of cognitive motivational variables. *Journal of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning*, *14*(2), 71–95.

Çetinkaya, G. (2020). A comparative evaluation on silent and read-aloud revisions of written drafts. *International Journal of Curriculum and Instruction*, *12*(2), 560–572.

Chafe, W., & Danielewicz, J. (1987). *Properties of spoken and written language* (Technical Report No. 5). University of California, Berkeley and Carnegie Mellon University.

Chang, Y., & Sperling, M. (2014). Discourse and identity among ESL learners: A case study of a community college ESL classroom. *Research in the Teaching of English*, *49*(1), 31–51. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24398663

Chao, R. K. (2006). The prevalence and consequences of adolescents' language brokering for their immigrant parents. In M. H. Bornstein & L. R. Cote (Eds.), *Acculturation and parent-child relationships: Measurement and development* (pp. 271–296). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Cheung, K. Y. F., Stupple, E. J. N., & Elander, J. (2017). Development and validation of the Student Attitudes and Beliefs about Authorship Scale: A psychometrically robust measure of authorial identity. *Studies in Higher Education*, *42*(1), 97–114. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2015.1034673

Chun, H., & Dickson, G. (2011). A psychoecological model of academic performance among Hispanic adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *40*(12), 1581–1594. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-011-9640-z

Cook-Gumperz, J. (2006). *The social construction of literacy* (2nd ed., Vol. 25). Cambridge University Press.

Corcoran, L. (2017). "Languaging 101": Translingual practices for the translingual realities of the SEEK composition classroom. *Journal of Basic Writing*, *36*(2), 54–77. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26556899

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches* (Fourth edition). Sage Publications.

De La Paz, S. (2007). Managing cognitive demands for writing: Comparing the effects of instructional components in strategy instruction. *Reading & Writing Quarterly*, *23*(3), 249–266. https://doi.org/10.1080/10573560701277609

Dorner, L. M., Orellana, M. F., & Jiménez, R. (2008). "It's one of those things that you do to help the family": Language brokering and the development of immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *23*(5), 515–543. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558408317563

Dorner, L. M., Orellana, M. F., & Li-Grining, C. P. (2007). "I helped my mom," and it helped me: Translating the skills of language brokers into improved standardized test scores. *American Journal of Education*, *113*(3), 451–478. https://doi.org/10.1086/512740

Duarte, J. (2019). Translanguaging in mainstream education: A sociocultural approach. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *22*(2), 150–164. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2016.1231774

Duarte, J. (2020). Translanguaging in the context of mainstream multilingual education. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *17*(2), 232–247. https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2018.1512607

Duff, P. (2008). Language socialization, higher education, and work. In P. Duff & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Language socialization* (2nd ed., Vol. 8, pp. 257–270). Springer.

Duff, P. A., & Talmy, S. (2011). Language socialization approaches to second language acquisition. In D. Atkinson (Ed.), *Alternative approaches to second language acquisition* (pp. 95–116). Routledge.

Duranti, A. (2009). The relevance of Husserl's theory to language socialization. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *19*(2), 205–226. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1395.2009.01031.x

D'warte, J. (2014). Linguistic repertoires: Teachers and students explore their everyday language worlds. *Language Arts*, *91*(5), 352–362. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24575546

Edman, J. L., & Brazil, B. (2009). Perceptions of campus climate, academic efficacy and academic success among community college students: An ethnic comparison. *Social Psychology of Education*, *12*(3), 371–383. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11218-008-9082-y

Eksner, H. J., & Orellana, M. F. (2012). Shifting in the zone: Latina/o child language brokers and the co-construction of knowledge: Child language brokers and knowledge construction. *Ethos*, *40*(2), 196–220. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1352.2012.01246.x

Fernsten, L. A. (2007). Teaching story: Academic writing and the silence of oppression. *Counterpoints*, *315*, 33–42. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42979124

Flowerdew, J., & Wang, S. H. (2015). Identity in academic discourse. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, *35*, 81–99. https://doi.org/10.1017/S026719051400021X

Garcia, J. N., & de Caso, A. M. (2006). Changes in writing self-efficacy and writing products and processes through specific training in the self-efficacy beliefs of students with learning disabilities. *Learning Disabilities: A Contemporary Journal*, *4*(2), 1–27.

García, O. (2009a). *Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective*. Wiley-Blackwell.

García, O. (2009b). Education, multilingualism and translanguaging in the 21st century. In A. K. Mohanty, M. Panda, R. Phillipson, & T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Eds.), *Multilingual education for social justice: Globalizing the local* (pp. 128–145). Orient Blackswan.

García, O., & Leiva, C. (2014). Theorizing and enacting translanguaging for social justice. In A. Blackledge & A. Creese (Eds.), *Heteroglossia as practice and pedagogy* (pp. 199–216). Springer Netherlands. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7856-6_11

García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism, and education*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Gardner, P. (2014). Becoming a teacher of writing: Primary student teachers reviewing their relationship with writing. *English in Education*, *48*(2), 128–148. https://doi.org/10.1111/17548845.2014.11912509

Gee, J. P. (2008). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses* (3rd edition). Routledge.

Gibson, W., & Brown, A. (2009). *Working with qualitative data*. SAGE Publications.

Gleitman, L. R., & Gleitman, H. (1971). *Phrase and paraphrase; some innovative uses of language*. Norton.

González, N., Moll, L. C., & Amanti, C. (2005). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practice in households, communities, and classrooms*. Erlbaum Associates.

Halliday, M. A. K., & Martin, J. R. (1993). *Writing science: Literacy and discursive power*. Routledge.

Harris, B., & Sherwood, B. (1978). Translating as an innate skill. In D. Gerver & H. W. Sinaiko (Eds.), *Language interpretation and communication* (pp. 155–170). Plenum Press.

Hornberger, N. H., & Link, H. (2012). Translanguaging in today's classrooms: A biliteracy lens. *Theory Into Practice*, *51*(4), 239–247. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2012.726051

Hua, J. M., & Costigan, C. L. (2012). The familial context of adolescent language brokering within immigrant Chinese families in Canada. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *41*(7), 894–906. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-011-9682-2

Hyland, K. (1999). Disciplinary discourses: Writer stance in research articles. In C. N. Candlin & K. Hyland (Eds.), *Writing: Texts: Processes and practices* (pp. 99–121). Longman.

Hyland, K. (2002a). Directives: Argument and engagement in academic writing. *Applied Linguistics*, *23*(2), 215–239. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/applin/23.2.215

Hyland, K. (2002b). Authority and invisibility: Authorial identity in academic writing. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *34*(8), 1091–1112. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(02)00035-8

Hyland, K. (2002c). Options of identity in academic writing. *ELT Journal*, *56*(4), 351–358. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/56.4.351

Hyland, K. (2005). Stance and engagement: A model of interaction in academic discourse. *Discourse Studies*, *7*(2), 173–192. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445605050365

Hyland, K. (2008). Persuasion, interaction and the construction of knowledge: Representing self and others in research writing. *IJES, International Journal of English Studies*, *8*(2), 1–23.

Hyland, K. (2015). Genre, discipline and identity. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *19*, 32–43. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2015.02.005

Hyland, K., & Tse, P. (2004). Metadiscourse in academic writing: A reappraisal. *Applied Linguistics*, *25*(2), 156–177. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/25.2.156

Hyland, K., & Tse, P. (2007). Is there an "academic vocabulary"? *TESOL Quarterly*, *41*(2), 235–253. https://doi.org/10.2307/40264352

Ivanič, R. (2004). Discourses of writing and learning to write. *Language and Education*, *18*(3), 220–245. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500780408666877

Jiang, F. (K.), & Hyland, K. (2015). 'The fact that': Stance nouns in disciplinary writing. *Discourse Studies*, *17*(5), 529–550. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461445615590719

Jones, C. J., & Trickett, E. J. (2005). Immigrant adolescents behaving as culture brokers: A study of families from the former Soviet Union. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *145*(4), 405–428. https://doi.org/10.3200/SOCP.145.4.405-428

Jones, C. J., Trickett, E. J., & Birman, D. (2012). Determinants and consequences of child culture brokering in families from the former Soviet Union. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *50*(1–2), 182–196. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-012-9488-8

Kam, J. A., & Lazarevic, V. (2014). Communicating for one's family: An interdisciplinary review of language and cultural brokering in immigrant families. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, *38*(1), 3–37. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.2014.11679157

Katz, V. (2014). Children as brokers of their immigrant families' health-care connections. *Social Problems*, *61*(2), 194–215. https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2014.12026

Kim, J., & Duff, P. A. (2012). The language socialization and identity negotiations of generation 1.5 Korean-Canadian university students. *TESL Canada Journal*, 81–81. https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v29i0.1111

Korobov, N., & Thorne, A. (2006). Intimacy and distancing: Young men's conversations about romantic relationships. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, *21*(1), 27–55. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558405284035

Kulick, D., & Schieffelin, B. B. (2004). Language socialization. In A. Duranti (Ed.), *A companion to linguistic anthropology* (pp. 349–368). Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Langum, V., & Sullivan, K. P. H. (2020). Academic writing, scholarly identity, voice and the benefits and challenges of multilingualism: Reflections from Norwegian doctoral researchers in teacher education. *Linguistics and Education*, *60*, 100883. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2020.100883

LAU 2019-20 Undergraduate Profile. (2019). https://apb.ucla.edu/file/43270191-33ff-4596-b8c4-1f955105563b

Leask, B. (2006). Plagiarism, cultural diversity and metaphor—Implications for academic staff development. *Assessment & Evaluation in Higher Education*, *31*(2), 183–199. https://doi.org/10.1080/02602930500262486

LeClair, C., Doll, B., Osborn, A., & Jones, K. (2009). English language learners' and non–English language learners' perceptions of the classroom environment. *Psychology in the Schools*, *46*(6), 568–577. https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.20398

Lee, J. S., & Bucholtz, M. (2015). Language socialization across learning spaces. In N. Markee (Ed.), *The Handbook of Classroom Discourse and Interaction* (pp. 319–336). John Wiley & Sons, Inc. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118531242.ch19

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. SAGE Publications.

Lu, M.-Z., & Horner, B. (2013). Translingual literacy, language difference, and matters of agency. *College English*, *75*(6), 582–607. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24238127

Luzón, M. J. (2009). The use of we in a learner corpus of reports written by EFL Engineering students. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *8*(3), 192–206. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2009.04.001

Malakoff, M., & Hakuta, K. (1991). Translation skill and metalinguistic awareness in bilinguals. In E. Bialystok (Ed.), *Language Processing in Bilingual Children* (pp. 141–166). Cambridge University Press.

Martin, S. D., & Dismuke, S. (2015). Teacher candidates' perceptions of their learning and engagement in a writing methods course. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *46*, 104–114. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2014.11.002

Martinez, C. R., McClure, H. H., Eddy, J. M., & Wilson, D. M. (2011). Time in U.S. residency and the social, behavioral, and emotional adjustment of Latino immigrant families. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *33*(3), 323–349. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0739986311411281

Martínez, R. A., Orellana, M. F., Pacheco, M., & Carbone, P. (2008). Found in translation: Connecting translating experiences to academic writing. *Language Arts*, *85*(6), 421–431. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41962419

Matsuda, P. K. (2001). Voice in Japanese written discourse: Implications for second language writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, *10*(1), 35–53. https://doi.org/10.1016/S1060-3743(00)00036-9

Matsuda, P. K. (2006). The myth of linguistic homogeneity in U.S. college composition. *College English*, *68*(6), 637–651. https://doi.org/10.2307/25472180

Matsuda, P. K., & Tardy, C. M. (2007). Voice in academic writing: The rhetorical construction of author identity in blind manuscript review. *English for Specific Purposes*, *26*(2), 235–249. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.esp.2006.10.001

Maxwell, J. A. (2013). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (3rd ed.). Sage Publications.

Mazak, C. M., & Carroll, K. S. (Eds.). (2017). *Translanguaging in higher education: Beyond monolingual ideologies*. Multilingual Matters.

McKinley, J. (2015). Critical argument and writer identity: Social constructivism as a theoretical framework for EFL academic writing. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, *12*(3), 184–207. https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2015.1060558

McQuillan, J., & Tse, L. (1995). Child language brokering in linguistic minority communities: Effects on cultural interaction, cognition, and literacy. *Language and Education*, *9*(3), 195–215. https://doi.org/10.1080/09500789509541413

Migration Policy Institute. (2019). *Children under 18 in immigrant and native families* [Data file]. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/children-immigrant-families

Molle, D. (2015). Academic language and academic literacies: Mapping a relationship. In D. Molle, E. Sato, T. Boals, & C. A. Hedgspeth (Eds.), *Multilingual learners and academic literacies: Sociocultural contexts of literacy development in adolescents* (pp. 13–32). Routledge.

Montgomery, M. J., & Côté, J. E. (2006). College as a transition to adulthood. In G. R. Adams & M. Berzonsky (Eds.), *Blackwell handbook of adolescence* (pp. 149–172). Blackwell.

Niehaus, K., Rudasill, K. M., & Adelson, J. L. (2012). Self-efficacy, intrinsic motivation, and academic outcomes among Latino middle school students participating in an after-school program. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *34*(1), 118–136. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986311424275

Norton-Meier, L., Drake, C., & Tidwell, M. (2009). Writing a mathematics community: a pen pal inquiry project. *Language Arts*, *86*(4), 245–256. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41483535

Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. (2008). Language socialization: An historical overview. In P. Duff & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.), *Language socialization* (2nd ed., Vol. 8, pp. 3–16). Springer.

Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. (2011). The theory of language socialization. In A. Duranti, E. Ochs, & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language Socialization* (pp. 1–21). Wiley-Blackwell.

Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1984). Language acquisition and socialization: Three developmental stories and their implications. In R. A. Shweder & R. A. LeVine (Eds.), *Culture theory: Essays on mind, self, and emotion* (pp. 276–322). Cambridge University Press.

Orellana, M. F. (2001). The work kids do: Mexican and Central American immigrant children's contributions to households and schools in California. *Harvard Educational Review*, *71*(3), 366–390. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.71.3.52320g7n21922hw4

Orellana, M. F. (2009). *Translating childhoods: Immigrant youth, language, and culture*. Rutgers University Press.

Orellana, M. F., Dorner, L., & Pulido, L. (2003). Accessing assets: Immigrant youth's work as family translators or "para-phrasers." *Social Problems*, *50*(4), 505–524. https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2003.50.4.505

Orellana, M. F., & García, O. (2014). Conversation currents: Language brokering and translanguaging in school. *Language Arts*, *91*(5), 386–392. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24575550

Orellana, M. F., & Phoenix, A. (2017). Re-interpreting: Narratives of childhood language brokering over time. *Childhood*, *24*(2), 183–196. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0907568216671178

Orellana, M. F., Reynolds, J., Dorner, L., & Meza, M. (2003). In other words: Translating or "para-phrasing" as a family literacy practice in immigrant households. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *38*(1), 12–34. https://doi.org/10.1598/RRQ.38.1.2

Orellana, M. F., & Reynolds, J. F. (2008). Cultural modeling: Leveraging bilingual skills for school paraphrasing tasks. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *43*(1), 48–65. https://doi.org/10.1598/RRQ.43.1.4

Pajares, F. (2003). Self-efficacy beliefs, motivation, and achievement in writing: A review of the literature. *Reading & Writing Quarterly*, *19*(2), 139–158. https://doi.org/10.1080/10573560308222

Pajares, F., & Valiante, G. (1997). Influence of self-efficacy on elementary students' writing. *The Journal of Educational Research*, *90*(6), 353–360. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.1997.10544593

Parsons, L. (2001). *Revising & editing: Using models and checklists to promote successful writing experiences*. Pembroke.

Peskin, J., Prusky, C., & Comay, J. (2014). Keeping the reader's mind in mind: Development of perspective-taking in children's dictations. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *35*(1), 35–43. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2013.11.001

Pintrich, P. R. (2002). The role of metacognitive knowledge in learning, teaching, and assessing. *Theory Into Practice*, *41*(4), 219–225. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip4104_3

Pittam, G., Elander, J., Lusher, J., Fox, P., & Payne, N. (2009). Student beliefs and attitudes about authorial identity in academic writing. *Studies in Higher Education*, *34*(2), 153–170. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075070802528270

Pontecorvo, C., Fasulo, A., & Sterponi, L. (2001). Mutual apprentices: The making of parenthood and childhood in family dinner conversations. *Human Development*, *44*, 340–361. https://doi.org/10.1159/000046155

Reyes, I., Kenner, C., Moll, L. C., & Orellana, M. F. (2012). Biliteracy among children and youths. *Reading Research Quarterly*, *47*(3), 307–327. https://www.jstor.org/stable/43497522

Reynolds, J. F., & Orellana, M. F. (2009). New immigrant youth interpreting in white public space. *American Anthropologist*, *111*(2), 211–223. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1433.2009.01114.x

Reynolds, J. F., & Orellana, M. F. (2014). Translanguaging within enactments of quotidian interpreter-mediated interactions. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, *24*(3), 315. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jola.12057

Riddell, J. (2015). Performance, feedback, and revision: Metacognitive approaches to undergraduate essay writing. *Collected Essays on Learning & Teaching*, *8*, 79–95. https://doi.org/10.22329/celt.v8i0.4256

Roberts, K., Dowell, A., & Nie, J.-B. (2019). Attempting rigour and replicability in thematic analysis of qualitative research data; A case study of codebook development. *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, *19*(66), 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12874-019-0707-y

Rodgers, J. (2011). Defining and experiencing authorship(s) in the composition classroom: Findings from a qualitative study of undergraduate writing students at the City University

of New York. *Journal of Basic Writing*, *30*(1), 130–155. https://doi.org/10.2307/43443910

Saldaña, J. (2013). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. SAGE Publications.

Scarcella, R. (2003). *Academic English: A conceptual framework*. (Technical Report 2003-1). The University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute. https://escholarship.org/uc/item/6pd082d4

Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986). Language socialization. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *15*(1), 163–191. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.an.15.100186.001115

Schleppegrell, M. (2004). *The language of schooling: A functional linguistics perspective*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Schleppegrell, M. J. (2001). Linguistic features of the language of schooling. *Linguistics and Education*, *12*(4), 431–459. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0898-5898(01)00073-0

Schwartz, S. J., Montgomery, M. J., & Briones, E. (2006). The role of identity in acculturation among immigrant people: Theoretical propositions, empirical questions, and applied recommendations. *Human Development*, *49*(1), 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1159/000090300

Seidman, I. (2013). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in education & the social sciences* (Fourth edition). Teachers College Press.

Séror, J. (2014). "Or, just it's my fault, right?": Language socialization through reflexive language writing feedback. In J. S. B. Clark & F. Dervin (Eds.), *Reflexivity in language and intercultural communication: Rethinking multilingualism and interculturality* (pp. 64–80). Routledge.

Shannon, S. M. (1990). English in the barrio: The quality of contact among immigrant children. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *12*(3), 256–276. https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863900123002

Sherry, M. B. (2017). Prospective English teachers learn to respond to diversity in students' writing through the Student Writing Archive Project (SWAP). *English Education*, *49*(4), 347–376. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26492537

Siu, F. K. (2018). The usefulness of using generalizing words for teaching summary writing. *Teaching and Practice in Language Studies*, *8*(5), 482–491.

Snow, C. E., & Uccelli, P. (2009). The challenge of academic language. In D. R. Olson & N. Torrance (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of literacy* (pp. 112–133). Cambridge University Press.

Sommers, N. (1980). Revision strategies of student writers and experienced adult writers. *College Composition and Communication*, *31*(4), 378–388. https://doi.org/10.2307/356588

Souto-Manning, M. (2016). Honoring and building on the rich literacy practices of young bilingual and multilingual learners. *The Reading Teacher*, *70*(3), 263–271. 10.1007/s10643-006-0146-3

Stacey, J. (2009). Writer identity while learning discipline-specific academic literacy in an additional language. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, *27*(3), 345–356. https://doi.org/10.2989/SALALS.2009.27.3.11.945

Staehr Fenner, D., & Snyder, S. (2017). *Unlocking English learners' potential: Strategies for making content accessible*. Corwin.

Stewart, M. A., & Hansen-Thomas, H. (2016). Sanctioning a space for translanguaging in the secondary English classroom: A case of a transnational youth. *Research in the Teaching of English*, *50*(4), 450–472. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24889944

Storch, N. (2009). The impact of studying in a second language (L2) medium university on the development of L2 writing. *Journal of Second Language Writing*, *18*(2), 103–118. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jslw.2009.02.003

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Harvard University Press.

Syed, M., & Nelson, S. C. (2015). Guidelines for establishing reliability when coding narrative data. *Emerging Adulthood*, *3*(6), 375–387. https://doi.org/10.1177/2167696815587648

Tang, R., & John, S. (1999). The 'I' in identity: Exploring writer identity in student academic writing through the first person pronoun. *English for Specific Purposes*, *18*, S23–S39. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0889-4906(99)00009-5

Telzer, E. H., & Fuligni, A. J. (2009). Daily family assistance and the psychological well-being of adolescents from Latin American, Asian, and European backgrounds. *Developmental Psychology*, *45*(4), 1177–1189. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0014728

Thompson, G. (2001). Interaction in academic writing: Learning to argue with the reader. *Applied Linguistics*, *22*(1), 58–78. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/22.1.58

Trickett, E. J., & Jones, C. J. (2007). Adolescent culture brokering and family functioning: A study of families from Vietnam. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *13*(2), 143–150. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.13.2.143

Tse, L. (1995). Language brokering among Latino adolescents: Prevalence, attitudes, and school performance. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *17*(2), 180–193. https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863950172003

Tse, L. (1996a). Who decides? The effect of language brokering on home-school communication. *The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students*, *16*, 225–233.

Tse, L. (1996b). Language brokering in linguistic minority communities: The case of Chinese- and Vietnamese-American students. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *20*(3–4), 485–498. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.1996.10668640

Tseng, T. J. (2014). The role of reading aloud in EFL writing revision. *NCUE Journal of Humanities*, *9*, 221–252. https://doi.org/10.29602/XLZY

Valdés, G. (2003). *Expanding definitions of giftedness: The case of young interpreters from immigrant communities*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Valentine, J. C., DuBois, D. L., & Cooper, H. (2004). The relation between self-beliefs and academic achievement: A meta-analytic review. *Educational Psychologist*, *39*(2), 111–133. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326985ep3902_3

Valenzuela, A. (1999a). *Subtractive schooling: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring.* State University of New York Press.

Valenzuela, A. (1999b). Gender roles and settlement activities among children and their immigrant families. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *42*(4), 720–742. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764299042004009

Vande Kopple, W. J. (1985). Some exploratory discourse on metadiscourse. *College Composition and Communication*, *36*(1), 82–93. https://doi.org/10.2307/357609

Vasquez, O. A., Pease-Alvarez, L., & Shannon, S. M. (1994). *Pushing boundaries: Language and culture in a Mexicano community*. Cambridge University Press.

Velasco, P., & García, O. (2014). Translanguaging and the writing of bilingual learners. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *37*(1), 6–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2014.893270

Villanueva, C. M., & Buriel, R. (2010). Speaking on behalf of others: A qualitative study of the perceptions and feelings of adolescent Latina language brokers. *Journal of Social Issues*, *66*(1), 197–210. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2009.01640.x

Vogel, S., & García, O. (2017). Translanguaging. *Oxford research encyclopedia of education* (pp. 1-21). Oxford University Press USA.

Vu, J. A., Bailey, A. L., & Howes, C. (2010). Early cases of code-switching in Mexican-heritage children: Linguistic and sociopragmatic considerations. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *33*(2), 200–219. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2010.502798

Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Harvard University Press.

Waterstone, B. (2008). I hate the ESL idea!: A case study in identity and academic literacy. *TESL Canada Journal*, 52–67. https://doi.org/10.18806/tesl.v26i1.390

Wei, L. (2018). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied Linguistics*, *39*(1), 9–30. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amx039

Weisskirch, R. S. (2007). Feelings about language brokering and family relations among Mexican American early adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence*, *27*(4), 545–561. https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431607302935

Weisskirch, R. S., & Alva, S. A. (2002). Language brokering and the acculturation of Latino children. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, *24*(3), 369–378. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986302024003007

Weisskirch, R. S., Kim, S. Y., Zamboanga, B. L., Schwartz, S. J., Bersamin, M., & Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2011). Cultural influences for college student language brokers. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *17*(1), 43–51. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0021665

Wertz, F. J. (2005). Phenomenological research methods for counseling psychology. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *52*(2), 167–177. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.167

Williams, C. (2002). *A language gained: A study of language immersion at 11-16 years of age*. University of Wales.

Williams, J. D., & Takaku, S. (2011). Help seeking, self-efficacy, and writing performance among college students. *Journal of Writing Research*, *3*(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.17239/jowr-2011.03.01.1

Wolfersberger, M. (2003). L1 to L2 writing process and strategy transfer: A look at lower proficiency writers. *TESL-EJ*, *7*(2).

Wu, S. M. (2007). The use of engagement resources in high- and low-rated undergraduate geography essays. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes*, *6*(3), 254–271. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2007.09.006

Yamada, K. (2016). Cross-disciplinary variations: Japanese novice writers' socialization into the undergraduate thesis. *The Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, *25*(2), 207–217. https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-015-0252-3

Zhao, C. G. (2017). Voice in timed L2 argumentative essay writing. *Assessing Writing*, *31*, 73–83. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.asw.2016.08.004

Zhou, M. (1997). Growing up American: The challenge confronting immigrant children and children of immigrants. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *23*(1), 63–95. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.23.1.63

Zimmerman, B. J., & Cleary, T. J. (2006). The role of self-efficacy beliefs and self-regulatory skill. In F. Pajares & T. Urdan (Eds.), *Self-efficacy beliefs of adolescents* (pp. 45–69). Information Age Publishing.