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A Sociolinguistic Perspective on Child Language Brokering: Attitudes, Perception of Self and Interactional Contributions

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Abstract

Children and adolescents from immigrant families often mediate and translate for their parents and other family members who are not as proficient in the local language, a practice known as Child Language Brokering. The task that these children perform while brokering is multi-faceted and may have multiple consequences on all the parties involved as well as representing a source of power and agency for the children who perform it.

This doctoral thesis sets out to explore how child language brokering is perceived, remembered and performed by bilingual migrant children. By combining a qualitative and quantitative methodological approach, which draws on a multidisciplinary framework, the aim is to investigate child language brokers' attitudes and self-perceptions about this phenomenon and their interactional contribution within the interaction they broker.

A self-reported questionnaire was administered to high-school students attending vocational schools in the central and northern regions of Italy in order to examine the affective, behavioural, and cognitive components of their attitudes towards child language brokering. A semi-structured interview was conducted with junior high-school students to investigate their self-perceptions and feelings about this practice, and to explore their perceived agency when performing this activity. Real-life interactions brokered by children were audio-recorded in order to study how child language brokers co-construct meaning and participate in the communication they broker.

The findings from this research project suggest that implementing a mixed methodology to investigate such a multifaceted and complex phenomenon is a valuable approach. The findings highlight the interactional agency and the active role of child language brokers, who are agentic and empowered participant in the conversation they broker.

Dedication

To all the children and adolescents who took part in this doctoral thesis.
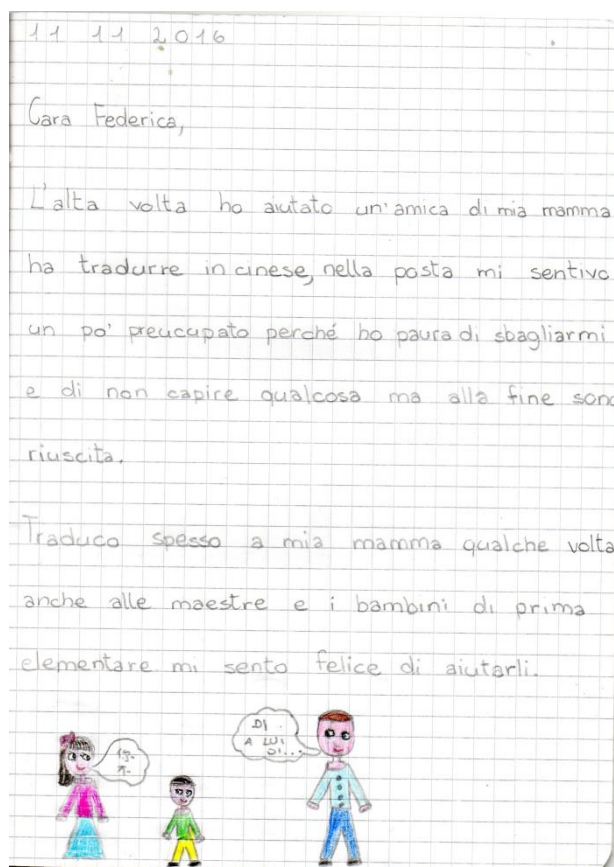
Acknowledgments

This thesis is the result of a long process that was only possible thanks to the help and contribution of many different people and institutions. I would like to thank all who participated in the research project and those who provided valuable assistance and support.

I am deeply grateful to my supervisor Professor Rachele Antonini for her guidance, continuous support, and for helping me find the right direction every time I was losing sight of the final objective. Her expertise and skill made this work possible.

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Special thanks goes to Professor Claudia Angelelli, my supervisor during the three months I spent at Heriot-Watt University. Her guidance allowed me to better define the theoretical framework underlying my work and learn the discipline and rigour of distinguished scholars.

My warmest thanks goes to all the ENGIM institutes and to the Welcome Youth Centre, in particular the head organiser of the centre, Adele, for agreeing to take part in this project. Without their help and without the contribution of all the students who were surveyed, interviewed, or audio-recorded, this project would not have been possible.

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Introduction

I.   Background and context of the study

Over the last thirty years many different academic disciplines have shown an increasing interest in the study of non-professional interpreting and translation (NPIT), in particular that carried out by children and adolescents, and have started to analyse the practice from different angles and perspectives.

The phenomenon of natural forms of translation and interpreting has a long history and has always represented a valuable tool for the integration of migrant families in their host countries (Harris 1973). Very often, migrant children and adolescents are the family members who take on the role of linguistic and cultural mediators to help their parents, relatives, or friends to communicate with local people and public officials. Since they learn the societal language and become familiar with the host culture much faster than their older relatives, they are often asked to support them by translating or mediating. This process has laid the foundation for the phenomenon defined in the international literature as Child Language Brokering (hereafter CLB) which involves the:

> interpreting and translation activities carried out by bilingual children who mediate linguistically and culturally in formal and informal contexts and domains for their family, friends as well as members of the linguistic community to which they belong (Antonini 2015b: 48).

Despite being a natural and frequent activity within migrant families, CLB has only recently gained academic interest, with the growing international migration flows. In Italian research and policy-making processes, in particular, the activity still remains relatively neglected.

Since the 1990s, when the studies on CLB began to develop systematically, various disciplines have focussed their attention on the multiple facets and outcomes of this phenomenon. Educational research (Tse 1995; Hall and Robinson 1999; Orellana et al. 2003a), developmental and social psychology (Buriel et al. 1998; Weisskirch and Alva 2002), and sociolinguistics (Angelelli 2010; 2016) are among the fields of research that have explored CLB patterns, feelings and outcomes. Studies have applied both qualitative and quantitative methodologies and most of them have been conducted among the Latino or Asian communities in the US and the UK.

Notwithstanding the involvement of interpreting and translation activities and the fact that the study of CLB was first initiated by professors of translation studies (Harris and Sherwood 1978; Harris 1992), the interest in investigating CLB within the translation and interpreting studies (TIS) community has developed very slowly, mainly since the 2000s in Italy (Antonini 2014; Antonini et al. 2017; Pugliese 2017) and the UK (Hall 2004; Napier 2016; 2017).

For this reason, work in CLB has more often paid attention to the personal, cognitive, family and relational outcomes of this practice, rather than to the ability that migrant children have to combine their bilingualism with the skills necessary to translate or broker concepts.

Within this framework, and given the very recent attention of interpreting and translation studies to the practice, little is so far known about the conversational and interactional contribution of bilingual migrant children who broker for their family members and friends, and how this linguistic competence is used to establish relationships between their migrant families and the host culture and society. Additionally, only a few studies have to date explored the practice using methodologies other than self-reported surveys and retrospective reports. For example, observation and the analysis of authentic data have not been widely employed.

For all these reasons, the present research study seeks to expand on and connect to previous investigations in CLB by applying a mixed methodology that allows child language brokers to be both heard and observed. In particular, child language brokers' attitudes and self-perceptions will be examined together with their interactional contributions when they perform CLB. The aim is to corroborate or refute previous findings, highlighting the attitudes and self-perceptions of child language brokers in terms of their feelings about this practice and its benefits, and to produce new insight into child language brokers' agency and participation.

II.   Aim and research questions

This study is an exploratory analysis of CLB, a still little explored type of NPIT, and focuses on child language brokers' attitudes, self-perceptions, and interactional contributions.

By analysing three different samples of respondents and by applying an interdisciplinary approach that draws from different methodological and theoretical paradigms and tenets, the aim is to examine how child language brokers perceive,

experience, and perform CLB, and to highlight their agency and participation within the interactions they broker. The emphasis is also on the analysis of the contextual conditions that contribute to shape the performance and outcomes of this practice, as it does not occur in a social vacuum but in a situated context.

This general outline leads to three main research questions that have driven the study and that relate to child language brokers' self-perceptions, attitudes, and contributions:

<u>Child Language Brokering as perceived:</u>

1) What are the affective, behavioural, and cognitive components of child language brokers' attitudes and self-perceptions regarding CLB?

<u>Child Language Brokering as achieved:</u>

2) How do child language brokers participate in the interaction they broker?

3) How do child language brokers contribute to constructing the meaning of the interaction they broker?

More specifically, the first research question sets out to examine CLB as perceived by migrant bilingual children by investigating the affective, behavioural, and cognitive attitudinal components and self-perceptions involved. The focus will be on their perceived feelings about CLB and on the perceived benefits produced by this activity. A mixed method combining the use of self-reported questionnaires administered to a sample of migrant high school students and semi-structured interviews, conducted with a sample of migrant junior high school students, is adopted.

This first research question is integrated with the other two in exploring CLB as achieved and performed by child language brokers. The purpose is to examine how they participate in the interaction they broker and to analyse how they contribute to constructing the meaning of such an interaction. To this end, authentic child-language-brokered data were recorded and analysed relying on a sample of four meetings in which four migrant families wanted to enrol their children in the after-school activities organised by a youth centre in Forlì.

In order to analyse in depth these three research questions and given the multidimensionality of CLB, multiple theoretical frameworks will be provided to explore CLB both as perceived by child language brokers themselves and as emerging in practice.

In particular, a social psychology approach will be applied to investigate the affective, behavioural, and cognitive components of child language brokers' attitudes and self-perceptions.

The new sociology of childhood will set the framework within which child language brokers are considered as social and active actors. It will help to lay the foundation for the contemporary understanding of children, and of child language brokers in particular, as having their own voice, status, and competencies and as key players who enable multilingual and multicultural communications.

The sociology of interaction and conversation analysis will allow the interactive and participatory role performed by child language brokers to be examined. These two approaches will reveal how child language brokers construct and convey their meanings and handle and co-participate in the interaction they broker.

Together, these different perspectives provide the tools for a comprehensive analysis of CLB and for a thorough study of child language brokers' attitudes and contributions as fully-fledged social actors able to act as competent participants in their family and social life.

As already stated, this interdisciplinary theoretical approach will be coupled with a mixed methodology, seeking to provide a complete view of the practice from different angles and by relying on three different samples. Quantitative analysis will be carried out with the data collected through a self-reported questionnaire administered to a sample of 155 vocational high-school students. Qualitative analyses will be conducted with the interview data collected from a sample of 8 migrant adolescents between the ages of 11 and 16 years, and with naturally-occurring data collected from four interactions brokered by 4 migrant young girls aged between 8 and 12 years.

In particular, the survey is designed in order to explore how child language brokers perceive CLB and their attitudes to the practice. The semi-structured interviews analyse how child language brokers experience and recall this activity. The child language brokered interactions examine the child language brokers' interactional contributions and the impact they have on the unfolding of the interaction.

By applying a mixed-method approach, this research intends to offer a comprehensive framework of child language brokers' perceptions and recollections, as well as their contributions and participation when brokering.

III. Justification and significance of this study

The purpose of this study is not prescriptive. It does not aim to promote or discourage ad hoc-interpreting carried out by children, but rather seeks to understand and describe it by relying on both self-reported and authentic data.

Moreover, the study does not even seek to evaluate child language brokers' opinions and behaviours, but only to describe what they perceive and do in real-time brokering situations by means of an appropriate theoretical framework and of a mixed methodology.

IV. Structure of the thesis

Following this introduction that defines the scope of the study, the thesis is divided into eight chapters.

Chapter One examines the characteristics of Italian migration flows and of the presence of migrants in Italy, with a focus on the different generations of immigrants and on immigrant children in Italian schools. The study will also review the main policies that have been implemented to regulate immigration in Italy since the 1970s, describing, in particular, the functioning and delivery of community interpreting services and highlighting the need for stricter regulations that guarantee the provision of such services. Finally, the correlation between the lack of efficient mediation services and recourse to child language brokering activities will be investigated.

Chapter Two provides an excursus of the relevant literature published on CLB, in particular that relating to the role and functions of child language brokers, and on the feelings and outcomes related to this activity. It will begin by highlighting the relationship between migration movements, bilingualism and child language brokering. Next, the focus will be on CLB definitions and terminology, and on the development of CLB studies over the last forty years. Then, the people, settings, and documents involved in this practice will be considered, examining the consequences related to CLB, the perceived feelings reported by child language brokers, and their brokering strategies. Finally, the controversial issues raised by CLB both in academia and for public institutions will be described.

In Chapter Three the conceptual frameworks employed in this study are presented. The chapter will begin with an overview of the theory on attitudes, examining how they are structured and how they affect child language brokers' opinions. The new sociology of childhood will then be presented with a focus on children's

agency and participation. In the final section, the sociology of interaction and conversation analysis will be described, in order to provide a framework for the analysis of CLB as a socially situated interactional event.

Chapter Four will consider the mixed methodology implemented to carry out this work, focussing on the design and purposes of each survey tool: the self-reported questionnaire, the semi-structured interview and real-life data. The advantages and disadvantages of each methodology and of the use of mixed-methods will be highlighted together with the samples taken into consideration. Additionally, the issues related to carrying out research with minors and the difficulties in collecting data will be described.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven provide the analysis of the data collected using the questionnaires, the interviews and the authentic data, respectively.

Regarding the questionnaire data, the sociodemographic and linguistic data will be examined by frequency distribution, mean, standard deviation and graphics. The data related to CLB activities will be assessed in terms of univariate analysis, as well as of multivariate analysis carried out with the statistical package SPSS 20. Inferential analysis will examine the affective, behavioural and cognitive attitudinal components about CLB and their relationship with each other.

In terms of interview data, the analysis will focus on children's perceived feelings, on their perceived benefits resulting from CLB, and on their perceived agency. A selection of excerpts will help present the informants' opinions on the issues at stake.

For the authentic data, this chapter will present a description of the contributions provided by child language brokers and of their status of participation at a turn-by-turn level, both when they broker and when they perform other interactional practices.

The participation framework and the structural organisation of the interactions recorded will be reported together with the description of the participants. Child language brokered sequences will be examined by focussing on how and by whom child participation as language brokers is initiated, and on child language brokers' renditions. Other interactional and discursive practices will also be presented to suggest child language brokers' agency and responsibility in the interactions they broker.

Chapter Eight returns to the previously analysed findings and discusses the results in relation to the aims and research questions. It will compare the key issues raised by this research against the results of previous studies on CLB by suggesting the advantages of a multidisciplinary method to examine such a multifaceted activity.

The Conclusion will reference some limitations of the present research and point to further implications for future work on CLB.

Chapter 1. Background of this study

1.1 Introduction

Globalisation, population growth, economic crisis, social inequalities, and wars are some of the major factors contributing to the increasing international migration movements that currently involve people from all backgrounds and walks of life.

Today, migration flows occur world-wide and follow four major corridors: south to south, south to north, north to north, and north to south. The south to north corridor has recently been the main driver of global migration patterns, with migrants moving from the less developed countries in the south of the globe to the more developed countries in the north (Martin 2013).

In 2015, Europe and Asia were the two continents hosting the highest number of migrants, at more than 75 million, and Asia was also the primary source country for migration flows (World Migration Report 2018 online[1]). Looking at Europe, Germany, France and the United Kingdom are the three countries with a more established migration history, meaning they were the countries with the largest migrant population. Spain and Italy ranked fourth and fifth among the most popular migrant destinations with more than 5.5 million migrants in each.

These figures highlight the recent experience of Southern European countries with the increasing presence of migrants crossing the "Central Mediterranean route" - the largest migration corridor between North African countries to Southern European countries - to reach France, Spain, and Italy. Between 2011 and 2016, for example, about 630,000 migrants used this route to reach Italy (European Political Strategic Centre 2017 online[2]).

The geopolitical, social, and economic changes occurring both in Europe and worldwide in the last decades have affected migration flows and trends. In particular, southern European countries with a long history of emigration flows, such as Italy, have experienced considerable structural changes by becoming one of the primary recipients of immigration (Eurostat statistics online[3]). The growing presence of migration fluxes has led to an increasing demand for linguistic services which could help migrants access

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[1] https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr_2018_en_chapter3.pdf
[2] https://ec.europa.eu/commission/sites/beta-political/files/irregular-migration-mediterranian-strategic_note_issue_22_0_en.pdf
[3] http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/First_and_second-generation_immigrants_-_a_statistical_overview

social services and health care, and educational and legal services. However, the provision of such services is not always guaranteed, especially in those countries with a recent history of immigration flows, such as Italy. For this reason, as a means of overcoming linguistic and cultural barriers, immigrants often rely on other family members, such as their children, thus giving rise to the phenomenon defined as child language brokering.

This chapter will begin with an excursus of Italian migrations flows, which aims to highlight the recent changes in migration trends that have recently characterised Italy. It will then review the main policies that have been implemented to regulate immigration since the 1970s and outline the presence of foreigners in Italy, with a focus on the different generations of immigrants and on immigrant children in Italian schools. It will finally describe the function and delivery of community interpreting services, highlighting the need for stricter regulations that guarantee the provision of such services.

1.2. Excursus of Italian migration flows

Italy had a long and well-established tradition of mass emigration movements, beginning with the unification of the country in 1861, which remained quite constant for over a century.

The reasons behind this mass exodus were primarily economic factors, such as the lack of jobs and low incomes caused both by weak agriculture and manufacturing sectors, and by the Italian government's inability to restore the national economy (Del Boca and Venturini 2003).

Italian emigration trends followed three main stages. During the first stage, from the mid to the end of the 19th century, nearly seven million Italians migrated to other richer European countries. During the second stage, from the beginning of the 20th century to the 1930s, large outflows of Italian migrants reached the USA, Brazil and Northern Europe. This emigration trend prevailed until the Italian fascist regime introduced anti-migration policies, causing migration flows to fall drastically. Restrictive legislation was introduced to limit emigration flows and foster returns. Emigration waves only resumed after World War II. In the third stage, which spanned from the 1940s to 1970s, more than five million Italians emigrated mainly to other European countries, such as France, Switzerland and West Germany (Centro studi e ricerche Idos 2011).

During the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, Italy was one of the leading European countries for emigration. As Del Boca and Venturini (2003: 3) reported, "between 1875 and 1928 emigration from Italy reached its peak with about 17 million emigrants abroad, between 1929 and 1985 about 9 million left the country".

It was during the 1970s that Italy started changing into a country of immigration, with an increase in foreign born residents from 143,838 in 1970 to half a million in 1985 (Del Boca and Venturini 2003).

Emigration flows began to decline sharply in the 1970s due to significant reforms that were implemented in Italy to foster voluntary return migration, alongside restrictive migration policies that were implemented in the main receiving countries, especially after the oil shock in 1973 (Zanfrini 2013). Italy, for the first time, experienced a positive migration balance. Additionally, the decades following the 1970s were characterised by major economic progress and Italy took its place among the most fastest-moving industrial nations in Europe. In this context of economic productivity, immigration prevailed over emigration flows and the number of people moving to Italy increased considerably.

This trend reached its peak in the 21st century when Italy saw a shift in the number of resident foreigners, which rose from 3% in 2003 to 8,2% in 2014. By 2050 the number of immigrants living in Italy is expected to account for 18% of the whole population (IOM 2017 online[4]).

The recent growth of immigration to Italy relates to different factors. First, the restricted immigration policies implemented in northern and western European countries (such as France, Germany, and Belgium) have gradually diverted the migration flows to replacement destinations, such as Italy, Spain, and Portugal (Zanfrini 2004: 51). Second, Italy's strategic position in the Mediterranean and its growing prosperity in the 1970s and 1980s further encouraged the arrival of foreigners, and contributed to Italy's role as one of the main receivers of labour migrations (King 1993; Zanfrini 2007). The Italian labour market has attracted a high number of migrants for the following reasons (Zanfrini 2007): (i) a growing need for unskilled and non-qualified workers; (ii) a rising trend of hiring migrants to perform low-paying jobs that are usually carried out only by other migrant workers (a process that risks to strengthen

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[4] http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/docs/MigrationReport2017.pdf

migrants' job segregation and wage discrimination); (iii) a weak welfare system that has led Italian families to resort to migrant house-help workers; (iv) the expansion of an underground economy that employs migrants irregularly (Reyneri 2003). All these factors have determined a growing presence of migrant workers in the Italian labour market and immigrant labour has played a key role for the Italian economic sector even though the local public opinion has often shared a pessimistic view considering migrants "parasites" or "potential deviants" (Zanfrini 2013: 40).

Additionally, the increasing number of foreign-born residents is also due to recent family reunifications and to the growing presence of children born in Italy to immigrant families (IOM 2017 online). The limited use of the Italian language outside the national borders has also contributed to the permanent settlement of migrant families and to the development of the second generations (Zanfrini 2009: 544).

All these factors have led to the development of the "Mediterranean model of immigration" (Baldwin-Edwards 1997; Pugliese 2000; Ricci et al. 2004), which could be added to the three immigration models originally conceived by Castles and Miller (1993). The first of these three models is the differentialist or temporary or exclusionary model (typical of Germany), which completely excludes immigrants from the dominant population. This model considers immigration as a means to satisfy short-term labour demands and migrants are not expected to settle in the host country (Freeman 1995). The second is the assimilationist model (typical of France) that allows the inclusion of the foreign minority communities into the dominant community. Migrants expected to accept and shares the values and culture of the host country. The third is the the multiculturalist model (typical of Great Britain and Sweden), which partly integrates minorities while preserving cultural heterogeneity and equality "as marks of a diverse heritage" (Simon 2012). The Mediterranean model of immigration was conceived and added to these three models to define the new immigration patterns affecting Southern European countries of new immigration, such as Italy, and contributing to changing them into the main target countries of immigration flows.

The latest migration trends shaping Europe in the 21st century have confirmed the new key role of the Italian peninsula within the international migratory scene.

1.3. Review of Italian immigration laws

As noted earlier, since the 1970s, Italy has changed from a country of mass emigration into one of the main receivers of immigration flows. This is one of the reasons why,

until the 1980s, the only policy regulating immigration was the Royal Decree-Law, which came into force in 1931, requiring foreigners to register their presence with the Italian authorities. It was only in 1986 that the first law on immigration (Law 943/1986) was approved with the aim to regulate immigrants' access to the Italian labour market and to control the presence of irregularly employed migrants.

During the following decade, the phenomenon of immigration started gaining more visibility and social tensions and inequalities increased. In 1991, Law 39/1991, the so called Martelli Law, was passed. This law aimed at regulating, above all, (i) the immigration flows and the legal entries, (ii) the renewal of residence permits, (iii) the protection of displaced persons and refugees, and (iv) job opportunities for immigrants.

However, this law did not regulate the integration and reception processes of immigrants and in 1998 Italy came under pressure to limit its illegal immigration flows in order to become a full member of the Schengen Agreement. On 6th March, 1998, Law 40/1998 (the Turco-Napolitano law) was adopted. Law 40/1998 was designed to further restrict illegal immigration, to implement measures to better integrate legal foreigners, to better manage immigrant labour, and to regulate immigration flows on the basis of an appropriate quota established by the government. The Turco-Napolitano Law also included, for the first time, the procedures for immigrants to become legal residents.

Despite the restrictive measures implemented with Law 40/1998, in 2002 the right-wing government led by Silvio Berlusconi approved a new Law 189/2002, the Bossi-Fini law, which included stricter immigration regulations that triggered intense debate across Italy. This law introduced mandatory employment contracts for immigrants before they enter Italy, it strengthened immigrant quotas, and set harsher illegal immigration deportation practices.

In 2009, the Italian government continued its rigid approach towards immigration flows by passing Law 94/2009, the "Maroni law", which introduced a set of severe security regulations. This law required immigrants to sign an integration agreement with the Italian state when applying for their permit of stay. By signing the agreement, the applicants agreed to earning 30 credits within two years in order to have their permit of stay renewed. To obtain these credits, the applicants had to reach an A2-level mastery of Italian and to comply with a set of rules in line with the charter of the values of citizenship and integration. These credits could be curtailed if the applicants were accused of crimes. The "Maroni law" also introduced stricter punishments for

illegal entries and it authorised the organisation of city patrols to guarantee public safety. This law was highly criticized by the European Union.

In the following years, Italy faced considerable migration challenges caused by the high number of immigrants and asylum-seekers reaching Italy from Africa by crossing the Mediterranean sea. This surge in the number of arrivals is due to the European migrant crisis, a term used to describe the rising presence of asylum seekers and economic migrants reaching the European Union. In order to manage the overall reception system, Italy responded to this emergency situation by adopting emergency decrees. In April 2017, in order to provide a quick solution to the growing number of arrivals, the Italian Parliament approved Law 46/2017, the Minniti-Orlando law, with the purpose of curtailing illegal immigration. This law established several new immigration and asylum control measures. It aimed at accelerating forced returns through bilateral agreements with the migrant's home countries and provided funds for Assisted Voluntary Returns. It also sought to increase the number of centres for identification and expulsion, and to speed up court decisions about asylum procedures.

Since the beginning of the European migrant crisis, Italy has tried to cooperate with the other European member states to formulate a common strategy with both the countries of origin and transit to better manage the incoming migration flows. The Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU, for example, were adopted by the Justice and Home Affairs Council in 2004 and included eleven principles aimed at promoting a shared definition of integration and at identifying the conditions for fair inclusion in the host society (European Integration Policy online[5]). However, mainly due to the divergent national attitudes and interests, a common European migration strategy is yet to be implemented and the legislation on immigration still remains weak (Cesareo 2013).

Likewise, Italy struggles to find the adequate means to fully integrate its foreign population and to benefit from the cultural variety and richness that they bring to society. Immigration has always been considered as a problem or as a temporary or emergency situation and so far migration policies have had the goal to guarantee security for Italian citizens and to fight against illegal migration (Caneva 2014). Adequate laws targeted to a fully integration of migrant people are not mature yet (Penninx et. al. 2004).

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[5] https://www.eesc.europa.eu/resources/docs/common-basic-principles_en.pdf

1.4. Foreign presence in Italy

The strategic position of the Italian peninsula in the Mediterranean sea and its socio-economic development are among the main reasons for which a growing number of both temporary and permanent migrants have been reaching its costs every year since the 1970s.

As of 1 January 2018, there are 5,065,000 foreign nationals legally residing in Italy, which is equivalent to 8.4% of the entire population (Istat 2018 online[6]).

The largest foreign-born community comes from Romania, accounting for 23.1% of the total number of foreign residents, followed by Albania (8.6%) and Morocco (8.1%). Chinese and Ukrainian immigrants ranked fourth and fifth among the largest immigrant minorities with respectively 5.7% and 4.6% (Statistiche demografiche 2018 online[7]).

As for the regional distribution of migrant residents, in 2016, 61.8% lived in Northern regions, 24.2% in Central regions, and 14% in Southern regions. The Lombardy region registered the highest number of foreign-born residents (22.9), followed by Lazio (12.8%), Emilia Romagna (10,6%) and Veneto (9,9%) (Caritas e Migrantes 2016 online[8]).

1.5. Immigrant children in Italian schools

The recent increase in foreign-born residents in Italy is strictly related to the high birth rates within migrant families. According to the official figures provided by the ISMU foundation (ISMU online[9]), the number of foreign resident minors in Italy increased from 288,950 in 2002 to 1,038,046 in 2017.

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[6] https://www.istat.it/it/files/2018/02/Indicatoridemografici2017.pdf
[7] https://www.tuttitalia.it/statistiche/cittadini-stranieri-2018/
[8] http://s2ew.caritasitaliana.it/materiali/Rapporto_immigrazione/2017/Sintesi_RICM2016.pdf
[9] http://www.ismu.org/minori/

Table 1.1   Number of foreign resident minors in Italy from 2002 to 2017

Minorenni stranieri residenti in Italia al 1° gennaio. Anni 2002-2017
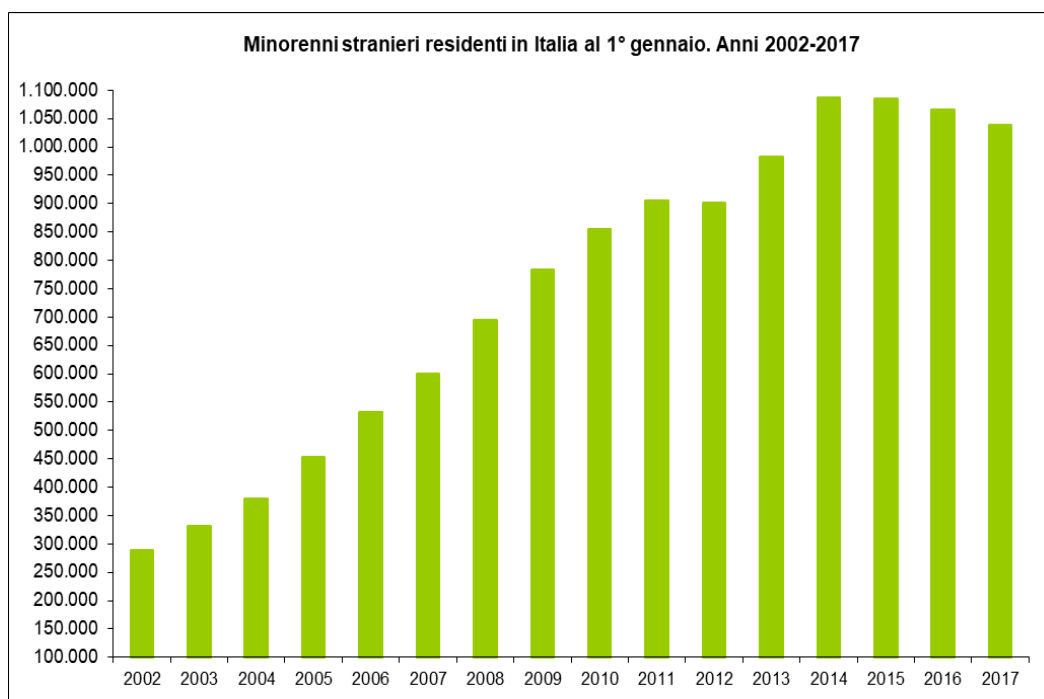
This increasing presence of foreign minors is also seen in the greater percentage of foreign students enrolled in Italian schools.

As reported by the Ministry of Education, University, and Research, in the 2001/2002 school year the number of non-Italian students was 196,414 (2.2% of the total population), it increased to 802,844 in the 2013/2014 school year (8% of the total population), and to 826,091 in the 2016/2017 school year (9.4% of the total population) (Miur 2018 online[10]).

In the 2016/2017 school year Lombardy hosted the largest number of foreign students (25.2%), followed by Emilia Romagna (11.9%), Veneto (11.1%), Lazio (9.5%), and Piedmont (9.2%). In particular, 50% of the total number of foreign students were students with foreign citizenship but born in Italy.

The three main nationalities were Romanian, Albanian, and Moroccan. The number of females was slightly lower than the male component (respectively 48% and 52%).

This high number of foreign pupils in Italian schools is also related to the right of foreign children, including unaccompanied asylum-seeking children and children of asylum seekers, to equal education services as the Italian children.

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[10] http://www.miur.gov.it/documents/20182/0/FOCUS+1617_Studenti+non+italiani/be4e2dc4-d81d-4621-9e5a-848f1f8609b3?version=1.0

Access to the Italian school system for migrant students is regulated by Article 38 of the Legislative Decree no. 286/1998, also called Consolidated Act on Immigration (TUI online), which states that foreign children in Italy are guaranteed the education services and assistance they need and they are subject to the same compulsory education until the age of 16, as their Italian peers. It also promotes the linguistic and cultural differences within school communities as an added value for mutual respect and cultural enrichment. With this decree, the Italian state aims to guarantee each child's right to be educated and to enjoy a level of education that corresponds to his/her own ability.

Examining the school career of migrant students living in Italy, the statistics provided by the Italian Ministry of Education, University, and Research (Miur 2017) show that despite the recent improvement in their school success, academic failure and delays persist among foreign pupils, who mainly attend technical and vocational institutes (37.1% in school year 2015/2016). The reasons for this choice are twofold. First of all, migrant families consider vocational schools as a better investment for future job opportunities. Second of all, Italian teachers often encourage foreing pupils to opt for short-term school careers instead of long-term educational paths, thus leading them to enrol in vocational institutes (Minello and Barban 2012).

1.6. Generations of immigrants

The migrant population can be divided into different migration statuses: first-generation immigrants, who are foreign-born, first-and-a-half-generation immigrants, who usually arrive in the host country during childhood or adolescence, and second-generation immigrants, who are usually born in the country where they reside with at least one foreign-born parent (Tassello 1987; Ambrosini 2005). These generations of immigrants face different challenges when dealing with integration and social inclusion in Italian culture and society.

Migrant adults, who are usually the first generation of immigrants, face greater challenges in becoming part of the new society and learning the host country language than their children, who are usually the first-and-a-half or second-generation of immigrants, and who integrate more easily mainly because of compulsory education.

Adult immigrants are usually employed as unskilled workers with lower social status in the agriculture and building sectors (Zanfrini 2009; Rapporto OIM 2011). According to the Twenty-third Italian Report on Migrations (2017: 44) 76.6% of migrants are blue collars (compared to 30.7% of Italians) and only 8.6% of foreign

employees are office workers (compared to 35.9% of Italians). Managers and executives do not reach 1% and only 2.5% (0.3% of all employed migrants) are entrepreneurs.

Often their jobs do not require great communicative skills, so they generally only develop the basic linguistic competencies that are necessary for survival (Demetrio and Favaro 1997). The workplace also represents one of the few opportunities they have to be socially included, but the relations they establish in this environment are often too weak to contribute to their social and linguistic integration (Ambrosini 2014). Sometimes immigrant adults themselves do not want to learn Italian since they perceive it as the language of duties and administrative burdens. Safeguarding and keeping their own native language represents a bond and a sign of loyalty towards their communities of origin and this consideration holds all the more true for those refugees who consider their native languages as a symbol of continuity and as a guarantee of their going back to their home country (Balsamo 2003: 41). Likewise, their poor command of Italian prevents these people from expressing their opinions and judgments and from having access to information and public services (ibid).

The situation is different for their children who generally integrate into the new society more rapidly thanks to peer socialization and education. The children of migrant families can either be born in their parents' country of origin and move to a new country usually in their early childhood, or they can be born in the host country where their family has migrated. Very often, both these groups are referred to as belonging to the second generation of immigrants.

However, given the different outcomes that the age of their arrival can produce on their adaptation and integration processes, researchers have identified three subcategories within the second generation of immigrants (Portes and Rumbaut 2005). In particular:

- the 1.75 generation, which includes children who migrate to the host country in their early childhood (from 0 to 5 years old);

- the 1.5 generation, which includes children who migrate to the host country when they are between 6 and 12 years old;

- the 1.25 generation, which includes children who migrate to the host country when they are between 13 and 17 years old;

Referring to the Italian experience, Favaro (2004) identified two main subgroups of second generation immigrants. The first subgroup refers to the children born in Italy from migrant families or who migrated to Italy during their early childhood. These

children experience their socialization and acculturation processes in Italy and they thus face fewer difficulties integrating with the Italian culture and society. The second subgroup includes those children who arrived in Italy either as non-accompanied minors or following family reunifications when they were 12 years old or older. These adolescents usually face greater difficulties in their social, linguistic, and educational integration processes.

Zanfrini (2007: 47) adopted the categories established by Rosoli and Cavallaro (1987) who identified three groups of second generation immigrants: (i) the native or primary second generation (*seconda generazione nativa o primaria*), including those who were born in the host country and who have developed strong relationships with its people and culture since birth; (ii) improper second generation (*seconda generazione impropria*), including those who were born in a country from which they migrated when they were between 1 and 6 years old, thus beginning their schooling in the host country; (iii) spurious second generation (*seconda generazione spuria*), including those who arrived in the host country when they were between 11 and 15 years old, thus interrupting their schooling or after completing it in their country of origin.

Despite these differences within the category of second generation immigrants, for most of these children the issue of integration is handled differently than their parents.

Since they were born in Italy, or moved to this country at compulsory school age, they tend to learn the language much more easily, manage to establish stronger social relations and their integration is usually less complicated.

Nonetheless, they have to take on multiple burdens and deal with conflict situations as well. One of the main issues they have to face, for instance, is related to their identity, which is divided between two communities having different values, traditions and languages. Parents very often require their children to preserve their national identities, but at the same time they ask them to be more integrated in the host society and to obtain good academic results (Balsamo 2003: 42). Similarly, given that a migrant child's positive integration can result in a positive acculturation processes for the migrant family as a whole, the host society, especially through its education system, encourages these children to be better integrated (Silva 2009).

These contradictory demands may lead to conflict situations for immigrant children who often struggle to build their own status (Ambrosini 2014).

Furthermore, their desire for emancipation often clashes with their family's cultural traditions and integration choices. They may not agree with the approaches adopted by their parents, and may not approve of the dangerous and exhausting jobs their parents have to carry out in order to earn an income and play a role in the foreign country (De Marie and Molina 2004: XV).

Despite these elements of discontinuity, the socialization of immigrant children represents a fundamental element for the interethnic relations of the whole migrant family. Since second-generation immigrants speak Italian and grow into the Italian culture, they often provide a positive contribution to the relationship between their family members and the host society, thus reducing their parents' exclusion and helping them to become citizens of the new country (Ambrosini and Molina 2004:2).

1.7. Community interpreting services

In light of the background described above, the increasing and changing patterns of migration flows characterising Europe in the 21st century have led to the development of multilingual and intercultural societies.

To describe these new patterns of immigration and their societal outcomes, Vertovec (2007) adopted the term superdiversity. Superdiversity refers to the "dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade" (Vertovec 2007: 1024). The variables that the author mentioned and that contribute to the development of super diverse societies are, *inter alia*, the different countries of origin, the migration channels used, the legal status of the migrants, the human capital of the migrants and their access to employment (*ibid*: 1049). The interplay of all these factors has shaped the social and economic relations that characterise the multicultural societies of the 21st century.

This "new multiculturalism" (Vertovec 2001) and multilingualism are also promoted by the European Union, which adopted the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages that seeks to protect the languages spoken by minorities and encourage both multiculturalism and linguistic pluralism.

The emergence of multicultural and multilingual societies has posed new challenges to public institutions and service providers, which need to interact and communicate with people from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds.

The lack of a shared language between the migrant population and the host community has triggered the need for community interpreting services, which could facilitate migrants' access to public services.

Community interpreting can be defined as:

> interpreting in institutional settings of a given society in which public service providers and individual clients do not speak the same language […] community interpreting facilitates communication within a social entity (society) that includes culturally different sub-groups. Hence, the qualifier ´community` refers to both the (mainstream) society as such and its constituent sub-community (ethnic or indigenous community, linguistic minority etc.) (Pöchhacker 1999: 126-127).

Community interpreting is provided in settings that range from medical consultations to courtroom cases, police interviews, and immigration and educational related contexts. In all these settings community interpreting provides migrants with the right to be treated as "relevant others; through interpreting services, migrants are 'literally being addressed or hailed in their (language) difference and it is arguably easier to invest in the subject-position of intercultural contact if the host society is addressing you as a subject with a specific identity than if you are treated as a generic other whose language and cultural differences are simply ignored' (Cronin 2006:63)" (Baraldi and Gavioli 2010: 142).

However, despite the importance of community interpreting, the implementation of integration policies that affect the provision of such linguistic services is not equally guaranteed in all European countries. A variety of elements may influence a government's choice to implement specific linguistic policies. In particular, Ozolins (2010: 194) identified four macro and universal factors that affect national and local responses to the need for public service interpreting. The first factor is the presence of increasing linguistic diversity, which requires a growing number of linguistic professionals speaking minority languages; the second factor is related to the reliance on public sector funding and budgets, which influences the quality of the services provided; the third factor regards the presence of standards and practices that are institution-led rather than profession-led; and the forth factor is associated with the cross-sector interpreting needs that differ from the traditional sector-specific policy development.

These four factors apply in all countries and have a considerable effect on the degrees to which community interpreting services are implemented and guaranteed.

Generally, the countries with a more established immigration history usually promote and enforce comprehensive linguistic services, whereas the countries with more recent immigration flows, such as Italy, still struggle to ensure adequate community interpreting services, as the next section will describe in detail.

1.8. Linguistic and cultural mediation in Italy

In Italy, the growing immigration flows that started in the 1970s have led to increasing requests of linguistic and cultural mediation services, as they are called in Italy, which could help migrants obtain equal access to public services.

Initially, these services were organised and provided by NGOs, local organisations, and private charity institutions, such as the Caritas Catholic organisation (Rudvin and Tomassini 2008). It was only in 1996, with Legislative Decree 286/96 (*Testo Unico sull'Immigrazione*), that the role of cultural and linguistic mediators was officially acknowledged (*Ibid*: 248).

After this initial recognition of the role, other specific legislative decrees were approved. Legislative decree no. 286 of 1998, for example, provided for the presence of cultural and linguistic mediators to facilitate interactions with non-Italian families in the school setting. The National Plan for Integration and Security, adopted by the Council of Ministers on 10th June 2010, supported the need of integrating foreigners into the Italian job market by relying on the assistance of cultural and linguistic mediators. Legislative decree no. 7 of 2006 included the provision of professional and specialized mediators to assist migrants in health care situations. Legislative decree no. 32 of 2014 implemented the European directive 2010/64/UE regarding the right of migrants to have interpreting and translation services in legal proceedings.

At a regional level, the role, skills, and competencies of linguistic and cultural mediators are officially established and recognised by means of regional laws in the following ten regions: Tuscany, Abruzzo, Campania, Emilia Romagna, Friuli Venezia Giulia, Lazio, Liguria, Piemonte, Trentino Alto Adige, and Val d'Aosta (La Mediazione interculturale nelle regioni italiane online[11]).

The presence of these national and local regulations that acknowledge interpreting as a right in public service settings notwithstanding, a unique national regulatory framework in terms of linguistic and cultural mediation services is still

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[11]http://www.integrazionemigranti.gov.it/Attualita/Approfondimenti/approfondimento/Pagine/Mediazione/QUADRO_REGIONALE.aspx

needed and, as a consequence, community interpreting is not always available in institutional contexts. It often is the exception rather than the rule (Antonini 2016).

In addition, insufficient linguistic services are also due to economic reasons and to the absence of an appropriate recognition of the profession.

In Italy, the funding for the provision of these services is granted by both national and local governments. However, very often, it does not meet all the linguistic requests for each specific setting, and the budgets granted are mainly used to pay professional mediators to translate informational materials, such as brochures or leaflets. Apart from few exceptions and despite the increasing visibility of the need for professional mediators, this situation still persists in most Italian regions.

Given this situation, one of the solutions adopted by migrant families and public officials alike to overcome the cultural and linguistic barriers is the use of ad-hoc interpreting practices, which is the "spontaneous use (and sometimes abuse) of bilingual employees, family members or other available individuals to provide interpreting services" (Meyer et al. 2010: 164).

A telling example of ad-hoc interpreting is represented by the linguistic and cultural assistance provided by migrant children.

Since migrant adolescents and children often become integrated into the new society more rapidly than their parents thanks to peer socialization and education, when their family members have to communicate with representatives of public institutions, they often rely on their children for help. In so doing, they contribute to the phenomenon defined as child language brokering (Tse 1996a; 1996b; Orellana et al. 2003a; Antonini 2014; Antonini 2015b), where they contribute not only to the well-being of their families, but also to a better functioning host society (Bauer 2010) .

However, as Antonini (2016) aptly argued, despite the key role played by these children both for migrant families and host societies, their help is often invisible and not recognised. There is a clear lack of laws mentioning or acknowledging the existence of child language brokering. Only a bulletin on the integration of foreign students published in 1989[12] and the guidelines for the reception and integration of foreign students published by the Ministry of Education, University, and Research in 2014 (Miur 2014 online[13]) made a direct reference to this practice, by encouraging those

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[12] http://www.edscuola.it/archivio/norme/circolari/cm301_89.html
[13] http://www.istruzione.it/allegati/2014/linee_guida_integrazione_alunni_stranieri.pdf

students who have different ethnic origins or linguistic backgrounds to assist their newly-arrived peers who still struggle with Italian.

Given this background, this thesis aims to explore this still invisible phenomenon by giving voice to migrant bilingual by documenting the children' opinions and beliefs about this activity, and by highlighting their valuable contribution to the success of the interactions they broker.

1.9. Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the history of Italian migration movements and it has highlighted how different generations of migrants deal with their assimilation and integration processes. It has also provided a general framework on how Italy is responding to the issue of integrating migrants in public and social services by adopting regulations that, among others, ensure the provision of interpreting services.

After centuries of massive emigration, in the 1970s Italy has become a country of immigration, thus becoming a multilingual and multicultural society. This change in the societal structure has triggered a need for implementing community interpreting services to guarantee migrants' access to institutional services.

However, the lack of a comprehensive law at a national level that regulates the presence of professional mediators in all public settings has contributed to the lack of adequate and well-implemented community interpreting services.

This condition has led to the unregulated development of non-professional interpreting practices. Given the insufficient provision of adequate linguistic services, both users and institutions resort to using non-professional mediators, who, very often, are the family members who have developed better linguistic skills, as in the case of migrant children. Bilingual migrant children are thus very often asked to mediate both culturally and linguistically in order for their parents and families to overcome the language barriers that would prevent them from obtaining equal access to public services.

The next chapter will describe in detail the help and assistance provided by these children by reviewing the main studies conducted on child language brokering and focussing in particular on the children's opinions, beliefs, and active participation.

Chapter 2. Child language brokering: review of relevant literature

2.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has suggested how the recent migratory movements have resulted in major demographic changes in most European countries that are now struggling to meet the challenges of guaranteeing migrants the access to institutional services. In particular, the lack of appropriate linguistic services has contributed to the emergence of ad-hoc solutions, such as the development of CLB practices.

This chapter aims to position the research project by providing a critical overview of the relevant literature on CLB.

The first section will highlight the relationship between migration movements, bilingualism and child language brokering; the second section will focus on CLB definitions and terminology; the third section will present the development of CLB studies; and the fourth section will investigate the who, where, and what of this practice.

The overview will then continue by examining the consequences related to CLB, the perceived feelings reported by child language brokers, and their brokering strategies. Finally, some reasons why this practice is still controversial both in academia and for public institutions will be presented.

2.2 Immigration, bilingualism and child language brokering: a fil rouge

The migration flows and population movements that have been taking place in Europe over the last twenty years have largely contributed to the presence of a wider multilingual landscape in which the minority or heritage languages spoken by the migrant people interact with the dominant languages of the host countries.

The contact between different languages is a natural consequence of migration flows, that lead migrants to learn the societal language and to become familiar with the culture of the country where they have moved (Kerswill 2006).

The acquisition process of a new and different language from that spoken by the communities of origin is strictly intertwined with the increased number of people who are able to understand and/or speak two or more languages, thus giving rise to growing bilingual communities or speakers within European countries (Meyer and Apfelbaum 2010).

When referring to bilingual speakers or to bilingualism, providing a unique and shared definition is a challenging task, since various researchers have reported different

interpretations, to the point that Haugen (1970: 222) argued that the term bilingualism had become virtually meaningless.

The concept of bilingualism began to broaden at the beginning of the 20th century when it started to be considered as the "the practice of alternately using two languages" (Weinreich 1953: 1), irrespective of the degree of mastery of each language. As Wei (2000: 5) argued, "many people believe that, to be described as bilingual, the person has to have equal proficiency in both languages. The fact is, however, that balanced bilinguals of this kind are a rarity". This is one of the reasons why "*bilingual* has thus come to mean knowing and using two autonomous languages. The term *multilingual* is often used to mean knowing and using more than two languages" (García and Wei 2014: 11).

For the purposes of this study, the concept of bilingualism will be interpreted drawing on Valdés and Figueroa's (1994: 8) interpretation, according to which:

> bilingualism can be defined in its broadest terms as a common human condition in which an individual possesses more than one language competence. Expanding further on this notion, it can be said that bilingualism is a condition that makes it possible for an individual to function, at some level, in more than one language. Again, the key to this very broad and inclusionary definition is the descriptor more than one (1994: 8).

Following this perspective, the term bilingualism refers to the practice of using more than one language, and it highlights the condition of language contact and its consequences in a communicative event (Weinreich 1953). Bilinguals are thus considered as all those individuals who are able to communicate in two languages, irrespective of their levels of proficiency in each language.

In addition to the various definitions that have been offered, multiple subcategories have also been identified to provide a better outline of this complex phenomenon.

Wei (2000: 5) identified four key variables to define a person as bilingual: age and manner of acquisition; proficiency level in specific languages; domains of language use; self-identification and attitude. Based on these factors, more than forty subcategories were used to describe the different varieties of bilinguals (e.g. achieved bilingual, balanced bilingual, recessive bilingual).

For the purposes of this research study, the two groups of circumstantial or natural bilinguals (who become bilinguals because of the circumstances in which they

live), and elective or academic or elite bilinguals (who become bilinguals by choice) will be taken into consideration (Valdés and Figueora 1994: 11). These two categories differ because of the motivations that lay behind the acquisition of two or more languages and the circumstances that brought about the bilingualism.

Migrant people usually belong to the category of circumstantial bilinguals (Valdés 1992), since their need to acquire the societal language of the country where they migrated is imposed by external circumstances. Migration movements are often among the causes that lead to the contact between the language of the country of origin (L1) and the language of the host country (L2), thus urging migrant people to become bilingual in order to fully participate and integrate in the new society.

Circumstantial bilinguals may develop different levels of language proficiency depending on multiple factors that affect the acquisition process of the new dominant language, such as their age, education, occupation and cultural beliefs.

First generation bilinguals usually arrive in the host country in adulthood and remain dominant in the language of their country of origin. In contrast, second generation bilinguals were born in the host country and they thus tend to develop better linguistic skills in the societal language.

In light of this, parents and other adult family members in migrant families usually face greater difficulties in their linguistic integration process than their children.

Migrant parents tend to speak their native languages at home, in the neighbourhood where they have settled, and at work. As Demetrio and Favaro (1992: 99) maintain, the kind of occupation generally found by migrant adults, who are mainly employed as blue collars (Zanfrini 2013), does not require high linguistic proficiency thus discouraging the learning of the societal language[14]. The desire and the need of migrant adults to learn the new language also play a key role in their language acquisition process. Some migrant adults believe that safeguarding their native language is the only strategy to keep a close relationship with their country of origin and they are not interested in learning the dominant language. Others realise that learning the societal language is a decisive factor for their integration and assimilation in the new country (Demetrio and Favaro 1992). Additionally, migrant mothers, who in specific linguistic and ethnic communities tend to stay at home, may attain a limited competence in the language of their new country of residence (Rubin et al. 2008).

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[14] For detailed data about migrant labour in low-skilled jobs, see Benach et al. (2011) and the Migration Advisory Committee's Report (2014 online).

The background can be different for migrant children, who undergo heterogeneous experiences and whose level of bilingualism may vary considerably. Children who arrive in the new country during adolescence may be dominant in their heritage language, whereas those who arrive during childhood may shift quickly to the host language in a similar way to children who were born in the host countries from migrant families. They may all develop an academic vocabulary in the dominant language of the country where they moved to, while building a home-life vocabulary in the heritage language of their families (Weisskirch 2017: 10).

Despite this diverse array of situations, migrant children often learn the societal language at school and integrate with their peers at a faster pace than their parents. They engage in an acculturation process whereby the language and culture of the new society intertwine with the language and culture of the country of origin of their families, so developing a stronger bilingual and bicultural identity. Migrant children have sufficient bilingual competence to help those family members, often their parents, who still struggle to speak and understand the societal language, and these skills are crucial for the integration process of the whole migrant family (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001; Weisskirch 2005).

In order to facilitate their parents' social and cultural inclusion and to allow them to establish relationships with local people and monolingual officials, migrant children self-select or are selected to serve as cultural and linguistic brokers. In so doing they give rise to the phenomenon defined as Child Language Brokering (hereafter CLB), a practice that refers to the linguistic and cultural mediation activities performed by children and adolescents belonging to linguistic minorities and carried out "in formal and informal contexts and domains for their family, friends as well as members of the linguistic community to which they belong" (Antonini 2015: 48).

2.3. The practice of CLB: definitions and terminology

Children acting as language brokers engage in multiple and complex tasks, such as, for example, mediating face-to-face interactions, translating written documents, but also acting as advocates for the migrant family or as intermediaries in sociocultural communications (Shannon 1990; De Abreu and O'Dell 2017).

When CLB takes place, there are usually three parties involved in the interaction: two monolingual speakers of different languages (usually one speaker of the dominant language and one relative of the language broker speaking his/her own heritage

language) and a child/adolescent acting as language broker who enables the communication between the other two speakers. It may also happen that the communication is dyadic (Orellana et al. 2003b), such as, for example, when a child translates or paraphrases texts for his/her parents, or facilitates the communication between a speaker and a cultural artefact, practice or norm (Orellana et al. 2003a).

Bolden defined language brokering very clearly, by arguing that:

> to broker a (potential) problem of understanding is to act as an intermediary between the other participants (i.e. between the speaker of the problematic talk and his/her addressed recipient) and to attempt to resolve the problem in a way that would expose and bridge participants' divergent linguistic and/or cultural expertise – for instance, by providing a translation or a simplified paraphrase of the problematic talk (2012: 99).

Given the non-professional nature of this practice, CLB refers to those non-professional interpreting and translation activities (NPIT, Lörscher 2005) performed by children and adolescents.

NPIT is a recent strand of research that started to be investigated as an independent object of study about 50 years ago, when Harris (1973) as well as Harris and Sherwood (1978) used the expression "natural translation" to define and shed light on "the translation done in everyday circumstances by bilinguals who have no special training for it" (Harris 1976: 96). However, the term non-professional interpreting and translation "is only one of a plethora of terms used by various scholars from different perspectives and vantage points" (Antonini et al 2017).

In particular, the term CLB was coined by Tse in 1995, following the anthropologist Wolf's (1956) conceptualization of the practice of cultural brokering. He defined as brokering those activities carried out by "groups of people who mediate between community-oriented groups in communities and nation-oriented groups which operate through national institutions" (Wolf 1956: 1075). In his view, cultural brokers are able to establish relationships between local and national communities and to create bonds between the main culture of a pluralistic society and its different subcultures (Robbins 1996).

Tse (1995) and, shortly after, Hall and Sham (1998) adopted the term child language brokers to specifically indicate those children born of migrant families who translate and interpret for their family members, friends, and other people belonging to their same linguistic communities. As Tse specified, they "are our language minority

students who interpret and translate between parents, teachers, friends, neighbours, and many others" (Tse 1995: 16). The term child language brokering was thereby chosen with the purpose of underlining the role of these children as intermediaries between two parties who do not share the same language or the same culture and who "influence the contents and nature of the messages they convey, and ultimately affect the perceptions and decisions of the agents for whom they act" (Tse 1995:180).

Other expressions have subsequently been implemented to refer to the complexity of this practice. Orellana et al. (2003a: 15) developed the term "para-phraser" to indicate "a play on the Spanish word para and its English translation (for), to name what children do when they phrase things for other, and in order to accomplish social goals", while Valdés (2003) referred to these children as "family interpreters", thus highlighting the collaborative nature of this activity among family members. Jones and Trickett (2005: 407) opted for the expression "culture brokers", because they considered translation as a task requiring, among other abilities, the communication of cultural knowledge. The term culture brokers acknowledges the relationship between language and culture and suggests how these children mediate not only between two languages but also between their parent culture and the culture of the host society. In 2015, Antonini provided a definition of child language brokering specifying that the practice includes those

> interpreting and translation activities carried out by bilingual children who mediate linguistically and culturally in formal and informal contexts and domains for their family, friends as well as members of the linguistic community to which they belong (Antonini 2015b: 48).

All these designations shed light on the multiple activities that migrant children perform in order to: (1) develop their own social and linguistic skills, (2) adapt to the setting where they are asked to broker, and (3) establish relationships and facilitate communication between their migrant family members and the societal language speakers.

As the following sections will show, child language brokers manage to understand, interpret, translate and handle intercultural relations between two parties who do not share the same values or expectations (Tse 1996; Buriel et al. 1998; Trickett et al. 2010; Antonini et al. 2017). As Hall and Robinson (1999) pointed out, the task they carry out is neither neutral nor formal, but represents a real intercultural transaction since they have to convey meanings, solve problems and negotiate concepts. When

child language brokers mediate and translate, they take on the responsibility to manage the interaction and to explain to the other family members how the host culture and society work, thus constructing versions of the new world for both themselves and the whole family (Orellana 2010).

In view of all the different terms adopted to describe the complex processes involved in the non-professional interpreting and translation activities performed by children and adolescents, I have decided to adopt the term child language brokers for the purpose of this study. The rationale for this choice is twofold: it highlights the young age of the non-professional interpreters and translators who are the object of this research (and who are underage children) and it stresses the concept of brokering, which includes both the translation and interpreting activities and the interactional and cultural responsibilities engendered by this practice (Antonini 2017: 316).

2.4. Child language brokers: not merely bilinguals but gifted children

The activities performed by child language brokers when they assist their families linguistically and culturally are multifaceted and complex, and often require specific skills that go beyond the ability to speak and/or understand two or more languages.

Despite the potential correlation between bilingualism and child language brokering, language brokering does not merely imply being bilingual. Bilingualism deals with the ability to learn, understand and speak two or more languages. Language brokering deals with the practice of mediating, translating and/or interpreting from one language into another.

Some scholars (e.g. Harris 1976; Harris and Sherwood 1978) maintain that the two phenomena are naturally related, since being able to interpret is a natural consequence of bilingualism. In contrast, other researchers (Orellana 1987; Valdés et al. 2003; Valero-Garcés 2008) have highlighted the different and specific skills that are required when mediating, interpreting and/or translating that need to be developed and trained.

The natural relationship between bilingualism and translation was first identified by Harris (1973; 1976), who recognized the innate abilities of bilingual or multilingual speakers to interpret and translate and to observe the cognitive and linguistic skills that "natural" interpreters implement. He argued that natural translation is produced by individuals who have not received any formal training in translation and who rely on a set of natural linguistic skills. In his view, all people who acquire a second language can

translate in all cultures, languages and registers (Harris and Sherwood 1978). Lörscher (1991) shared this perspective by talking about a "rudimentary" ability to mediate that every bilingual or multilingual speaker has.

Other scholars hold divergent views. Bell (1997: 95) suggested that "the ability to use two or more languages, even at a high standard, is no guarantee of a person's capacity to work between them or to operate as an interpreter or translator for sustained periods of time or at reasonable speeds". Neubert (1985) claimed that, while anyone can learn two or more languages, only intelligent people can become interpreters, thus stressing the specific cognitive and metalinguistic skills required by interpreting. Toury (1986) partially challenged the assumption of translation as an innate skill by developing the concept of translation competence. He maintains that bilingualism is not a sufficient condition to guarantee translation competence, which is strictly related to interlingualism, i.e. the ability to establish relationships between the similarities and differences of the two languages. Toury acknowledges the relationship between bilingualism and translation, however he also highlights the presence of other factors that are essential to the predisposition to translation skills, such as the context, the social motivations and the social functions of translation. Similarly, Gile (1995) argued that natural and innate aptitudes are necessary to become translators or interpreters, and that bilinguals need training to develop the interpreting skills and to fully unlock their potential.

Other researchers (Weber 1984; Valdés et al. 2003) also suggested that those bilinguals who exhibit natural translation and interpreting skills display high performance in what Treffinger and Renzulli (1986) termed "gifted behaviours". More specifically, Valdés et al. (2003) identified giftedness from cultural and linguistic perspectives in their ethnographic study with 25 students who accomplished some interpreting assignments. At the end of the study, these students were able to report information accurately and to perform complicated activities that are rarely found in bilingual children with no experience in interpreting or translating. As Angelelli (2000) suggested, the abilities exhibited and performed by these language brokers may fall into Sternberg's definition of human intelligence, which is a "mental activity directed toward purposive adaptation to, selection and shaping of, real-world environments relevant to one's life" (Sternberg 1985: 45). Sternberg (1985; 1986; 1988) developed a triarchic theory of intelligence that included three sub-theories: the componential sub-theory, the experiential sub-theory, and the contextual sub-theory. The componential sub-theory is

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composed of three information-processing components: the metacomponents used to plan and monitor a task, the performance components used to execute a task, and the knowledge-acquisition components used to learn new things. All these components can be observed in CLB activities, which include problem-solving and decision making processes (metacomponents), the construction of plans and relations (performance components), and the encoding of new information and the assessment of behavioural and translation processes (knowledge-acquisition components). The experiential sub-theory and the contextual sub-theory could also be applied to language brokers. The experiential sub-theory implies the ability to automatize information processing, while the contextual sub-theory entails the ability to adapt or shape to different environments. As Valdés et al. (2003) pointed out, all these intellectual skills may be developed by child language brokers.

In view of these different positions, it is important to acknowledge that even though bilingualism is a precondition in order to broker between two or more languages or cultures, and even though assisting other people linguistically can be a natural activity that bilinguals usually perform, the success of this practice and its consequences on both the participants and the whole interaction are linked to specific skills that bilinguals develop or train.

Having said that, the study of natural translations (Harris 1992), especially performed by family members and children, should be pursued both to observe and value the help that these non-professional interpreters provide to support the family, and to provide useful tools for the training of professional interpreters and translators.

2.5. Child Language Brokering as a field of research: three main stages

After having outlined the practice of child language brokering and its origins, and before reviewing the main results obtained by previous studies on CLB, this section aims to frame the development of child language brokering as a field of research.

Studies on child language brokering belong to a quite young area of research that combines works from different disciplines and whose development can be subdivided into different stages, as reported by Harris (2008).

CLB studies began with the publication of work by Harris (1973) and Harris and Sherwood (1978) on the concept of natural translation. In the preceding decades, child language brokering had been examined by sociolinguistic and educational scholars only as a sub-component of bilingualism, and not as the main research topic. Harris notes

that "the precursors made valuable and sometimes copious observations, [but] they did not realise the significance of what they were observing" (Harris 2008). In 1978, Harris and Sherwood investigated non-professional translation and interpreting studies in their own right. They defined the translation activities carried out by family members and friends as "natural translation" or "naïve translation" (Harris 1992: 1-2), and they argued that data on translation studies "should come primarily from natural translation rather than from literary, technical and other professional or semi-professional branches of translation" (Harris and Sherwood 1978: 155). They considered translation as an innate skill, "a specialized predisposition in children to learn how to speak from the language they hear in their environment" (1978: 168). This assumption argued in favour of the study of bilingual children's natural translating activities as the starting point for empirical and academic studies of professional translation. It thus laid the foundation for the acknowledgement of NPIT as a field of research.

The natural origins of this practice were also stressed by Wadensjö (1998: 49) who contended that dialogic interpreting and mediation were the most common forms of interpreting performed only by volunteers, friends and relatives, while nowadays "this type of interpreting has, during the last few decades, been developing into a profession". During the two decades following the 1970s, multiple disciplines, such as education, psychology, sociology and linguistics, started to investigate CLB by focussing on those aspects that were relevant for their research fields. They mainly examined the who, where, and what of this practice and the feelings about it (Tse 1995, McQuillan and Tse 1995; Buriel et al. 1998). These studies came almost exclusively from the US and the UK and were published in different specialized journals related to each specific discipline that was dealing with CLB (Antonini 2016).

From the beginning of the 2000s, new issues related to CLB began to be examined, such as the frequency and purpose of this activity (Weisskirch and Alva 2002; Orellana et al. 2003a), its effects on the educational and psychological development of child language brokers (Dorner et al. 2007; Love and Buriel 2007), and its impact on family relationships (Chao 2006; Tilghman-Osborne et al. 2015). These studies used a wide array of methodologies, from qualitative (case studies, interviews and focus groups, e.g. Vasquez et al. 1994; Guo 2014; Bauer 2017) to quantitative (surveys, e.g. Acoach and Webb 2004; Weisskirch 2007; Titzman and Michel 2017), and mixed-methodology approaches (Dorner et al. 2007; Guan et al. 2014; Antonini 2014; Antonini et al. 2017).

Over the past decade, the fragmented academic output from different fields of research have begun to converge, going beyond disciplinary and methodological boundaries to examine in detail those aspects of CLB still unexplored. As Antonini (2016: 714) argues, this new shift in the studies of CLB has helped the practice to become "more visible to those 'political, educational, research, policy and, inevitably, adult perspectives' (Hall and Guéry 2010: 29) that until a few years ago were not aware of its existence, even though they were benefiting from it".

The organisation of the first international conference on non-professional interpreting and translation in Forlì in 2012 (followed by Germersheim in 2014, Winterthur in 2016, and Stellenbosch in 2018), was a clear recognition of this new academic convergence. These conferences have helped to draw new attention to this activity and to establish the study of ad-hoc interpreting and child language brokering as a field of research *per se* (Angelelli 2016).

However, despite this growing attention, CLB studies in particular, and NPIT studies more in general, have been and still are relatively disregarded within the field of translation and interpreting studies (TIS).

The scepticism and low level of interest within TIS regarding non-professional practices could have coincided with the limited attention that TIS has also paid to community interpreting, the professional counterpart of many NPIT practices.

Traditionally, TIS have placed special emphasis on the study of conference interpreting and on the simultaneous mode in particular (Angelelli 2000). Until the 1990s, the field of interpretation focused on the role of the interpreter as a "conduit", a neutral participant who transfers the message between two languages without distortions and by being invisible (Kaufert et al. 2009).

Only during the last decade of the twentieth century has, TIS also started to focus on community interpreting, and as Garzone and Viezzi (2002: 5) reported "the most single element of novelty in the field is the recognition that interpreting in not only conference interpreting". In particular, the seminal studies conducted by Berk-Seligson (1988), Roy (1993), Wadensjö (1998), and Angelelli (2000) contributed significantly to the growing attention towards community interpreting and to an analysis of the interactional and active role of the interpreter.

The greater recognition achieved by community interpreting during the 1990s could have been among the main factors contributing to the growing attention paid to NPIT and CLB within TIS studies in the last decade.

However, despite the increasing interest in community interpreting in academia, many countries are still struggling to implement adequate linguistic services that would allow foreigners to access public services. In those countries with a longer tradition of immigration, such as the UK, the US, Sweden, and Australia, community interpreting services are well established and available in a wide array of languages in most public offices and institutions (Roberts 1997). In contrast, in countries with more recent immigration movements, such as Italy and Spain, the provision of these services is still not adequate, and NPIT practices remain very common (Valero-Garcés and Martin 2008; O' Rourke and Castillo 2009).

Within this framework, this thesis aims to contribute to and expand the analysis of CLB within the field of TIS by focussing on the active role and significant contribution of child language brokers within the interaction. The rationale behind this choice follows Harris' assumption, according to which:

> the risk that observation of reality may become biased by prescriptive attitudes is particularly virulent for us who teach translation, because in order to teach effectively we are forced to be prescriptive to some degree. We want students to learn good habits so we set up idealized models for them to aim at, knowing there are real-life constraints which will eventually prevent them from adhering to them perfectly. The danger is, though, that idealism may degenerate into dogmatism (1988: 95).

The study of non-professional practices, such as CLB, should not fuel suspicion, but should be considered the starting point in providing new insights into the studies and training of professional forms of interpreting and encouraging the development of adequate community interpreting services (Antonini et al. 2017).

2.6. A detailed overview of the "who", "where", and "what" of CLB

As the review of the main stages of the development of CLB studies has shown, child language brokering has been the object of investigation of many disciplines that have focussed on various perspectives, including cognitive, relational, sociological, educational, linguistic, psychological and cultural approaches. They have all helped to outline the main features of this practice from different points of view.

Studies focussing on the relationship between CLB and bilingualism (Malakoff and Hakuta 1991; Valdés et al. 2000; Valdés et al. 2003), for example, have looked at the metalinguistic skills developed in child language brokers as well as at the life

experiences of bilingual children and at the communicative needs of their multilingual communities. Research from education and sociology has analysed the social and interpersonal impact of CLB by focussing on how language brokers negotiate new cultural identities (Cline et al. 2014). Linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics have proposed a framework to analyse the interactional relationships between identities and ideologies in family interpreting (Del Torto 2008), while the feminist analysis of citizenship provided the groundwork to explore the active citizenship undertaken by language brokers (Bauer 2010). The recent attention within translation and interpreting studies (Antonini 2010; Napier 2016) has also helped shed light on language brokers' metalinguistic awareness (Bucaria and Rossato 2010) and on their interactional power responsibilities (Torresi 2017).

All of these studies have jointly contributed to focussing attention on this phenomenon and to outlining the main characteristics of language brokers, the settings in which they broker, the people for whom they broker and the documents they usually broker.

The next section will provide a description of who child language brokers usually are.

2.6.1. Who are child language brokers?

By building on the results of previous research on CLB, it is possible to draw a general profile of child language brokers, mainly focussing on their age and gender.

The majority of studies revealed that 57% to 100% of migrant bilingual children surveyed admitted having been involved in CLB (Straits 2010 and Weisskirch 2017).

These studies mainly focussed on specific communities, such as the Latino (Acoach and Webb 2004; Benner 2011; Niehaus and Kumpiene 2014) and the Asian communities (Hall 2004; Hua and Costigan 2012; Shen et al. 2014) in the US and THE UK, and the Moroccan and Sub-Saharan communities in Spain (Valero Garcés 2001; García-Sanchez 2007). The seminal work conducted in Italy (Antonini 2014; Antonini et al. 2017) was among the few examples of research that did not single out a specific ethnic and linguistic group, but focussed on all the migrant communities present in the area under investigation.

According to these studies, child language brokers usually begin to broker soon after they have moved to the host country, since they are able to acquire the societal language very rapidly. They can start as young as eight or nine years of age (McQuillan

and Tse 1995), and the average age is usually between eight and twelve years old (Tse 1995; 1996; Morales and Hanson 2005). Normally, first-born children are appointed to translate, because they may have spent more years at school and master the societal language better than their younger siblings (Angelelli 2010). However, when first-born children are not available to broker because of school commitments or other activities, their younger siblings are called to replace them (Dorner et al. 2008; Orellana 2009). Language brokering may also carry on after adolescence, as happened to the college students interviewed by DeMent et al. (2005) who continued to broker for their parents when they felt unsure about their English skills.

As far as gender is concerned, opinions vary considerably. According to some studies, children are asked to take on this role irrespective of their gender. This is highlighted, for example, by Jones and Trickett (2005), who investigated the acculturation and adaptation of family refugees from the former Soviet Union and focussed on how the demographic variables related to language brokering.

Other research reveals that parents may prefer their daughters to play this role, since they develop greater communicative skills compared to boys and usually spend more time with their mothers, who are often the members of the family most in need of help (Valtolina 2010). This view was shared by Valenzuela (1999), who explored the gendered ways in which boys and girls contribute to the settlement of their Mexican immigrant families. The same perspective was also suggested in the surveys conducted in Latino communities (Buriel et al. 1998; 2006) focussing on the relationships between CLB and biculturalism, self-efficacy, and academic performance, which reported that those daughters who master the societal language and have great social skills are more likely to be elected as language brokers by their family members. Studies on CLB in deaf communities (Singleton and Tittle 2000; Napier 2017) too have confirmed the greater incidence of females as language brokers.

In their longitudinal study, Orellana et al. (2003b) observed that gender-related differences are more evident when child language brokers grow older, since girls are more likely to continue this practice than boys.

Further studies have revealed that other characteristics prevail over gender in the choice of language brokers, such as children's willingness to help their families, their linguistic skills and the ability to be precise and convey feelings at the same time (Tse 1995; Morales and Hanson 2005; Martinez et al. 2009).

These findings have all contributed to the collection of relevant data to identify who child language brokers are. However, given the specific feature of CLB as a family and community activity, it is not an easy task to draw a precise profile of child language brokers, since they all have different personal experiences. For this reason, further research is needed to outline more precisely the characteristics of child language brokers that determine the circumstances leading to this practice.

2.6.2. The "where" and "what" of child language brokering

Studies of child language brokers report brokering mainly for family members, and, within this category, parents rank first (Tse 1996; Weisskirch and Alva 2002; Bucaria and Rossato 2010; Cirillo 2017). Besides relatives, the other people for whom children broker more frequently are their friends, neighbours, schoolmates and teachers (Cirillo 2017; Napier 2017; Ceccoli 2018). Along with teachers and schoolmates, in institutional settings, they also broker for, among others, public service providers, doctors and hospital staff (Free et al. 2003; Green et al. 2005), police officers (Cirillo et al. 2010) and jail officers and detainees (Rossato 2017).

The most frequently brokered written documents (either orally or in writing) include both informal texts, such as labels, shop signs, hoardings, books and newspapers (Tse 1995; Degener 2010; Cirillo 2017), and formal material, such as teachers' notes, medical prescriptions, job-related documents for their parents, bank documents, tax and immigration forms (Buriel et al. 1998; Acoach and Webb 2004; Villanueva and Buriel 2010).

The same distinction between formal and informal can be applied to the settings in which child language brokers usually take part. They may broker in various situations, including at home, on the street, in shops, at restaurants (informal contexts), and in public offices, at the police station, at courthouses, in hospitals or at school (formal contexts) (Dorner et al. 2007; Pimental and Sevin 2009; Cirillo 2017). New evidence also points to brokering in digital spaces and online (Guan 2017).

Among all these settings, the situation in which language brokers most frequently undertake brokering is at home, followed by hospitals and doctors' offices and schools.

Hall and Guéry aptly described the wide array of situations in which CLB can occur by maintaining that:

The demands made upon children when literacy brokering can range from the relatively trivial, maybe just writing out a note for the milkman, to the massively complex, like helping a father fill out a tax form, but at the higher level the children are responding to challenges that their fellow students are unlikely to meet until they are adults (2010: 41).

The majority of these studies examine healthcare and school settings, because of the high frequency of CLB activities that take place in these situations, as well as the controversial issues raised by this activity when carried out in these delicate and complex circumstances. For these same reasons, the following two sections will consider such instances of CLB.

2.6.2.1. CLB in the healthcare setting

In the healthcare setting, seminal studies have highlighted the adverse consequences that linguistic barriers may have on migrant patients' access to treatment and health services (Hu and Covell 1986; Feinberg et al. 2002; Jacobs et al. 2006). Very often, medical institutions are not equipped to provide adequate linguistic and cultural services to patients from different backgrounds (Meyer et al. 2010), or, as noted by Singy and Guex (2005), the medical institutions are unaware that trained cultural mediators are available to help them.

Given this framework, both migrant patients and medical professionals tend to rely on the linguistic help provided by bilingual staff or bilingual family members.

Indeed, CLB researchers have sought to assess healthcare professionals' opinions regarding the linguistic and cultural help provided by child language brokers.

Cohen et al. (1999), for example, examined doctors' points of view on CLB during doctor-patient meetings in the United Kingdom. They reported that child language brokers' help may be accepted in those consultations that are considered to be linear, namely when patients suffer from more common diseases, such as a sore throat or back pain, which are easier to diagnose. This perception is correlated to the belief that child language brokers may have suffered from those same illnesses and therefore be familiar with the concepts and terms necessary to describe them. In these straightforward consultations, doctors can give the diagnosis using a simple and easily understandable language:

> There are occasionally straightforward situations like somebody has
> come in with a cough and, or a sore throat, that kind of situation is
> quite easy, it's not very personal and it's okay, it's been possible to
> use a child in that way, or it's been relatively okay (Cohen et al. 1999:
> 172).

On the other hand, doctors oppose the presence of child language brokers during those consultations considered to be more complex, those dealing with acute diseases, and where the risk of translation mistakes is higher. These circumstances can raise thorny issues, as technical and medical terms may be used and specific concepts may be involved.

This opinion was also held by Free et al. (2003), whose respondents reported having more difficulties translating in those situations of which they had no previous direct experience.

Cirillo et al. (2010) carried out a similar study regarding healthcare professionals' opinion of CLB in Italy. According to the data collected, health and social staff may agree to rely on family mediators' help when the lack of well-implemented professional mediation services means this is the last resource available for them to communicate with immigrant patients. They also declared that they were satisfied with the translations performed by children, but argued that child language brokers should not be asked to translate when the pathology is serious and when gender issues are tackled, since they could be involved in topics that are not suitable for their age (Cirillo 2014).

The satisfaction partially perceived by Cirillo et al.'s (2010) healthcare professionals was not confirmed by Ebden et al.'s (1988) and Pöchhacker's (2008b) findings: both studies reported the presence of poor quality translations and of renditions that could lead to additional misunderstandings.

This same perception was shared by Flores, who argued that:

> family members, friends, untrained members of support staff, and
> strangers found in waiting rooms or on the street [...] are more likely
> than professional interpreters to commit errors that may have adverse
> clinical consequences (2006: 231).

All of these studies have collected data on CLB in the medical setting and have pointed to the sensitive issues raised by the practice in this context. Most experts agree on negative consequences on child language brokers' development. Healthcare professionals believe that mediation activities carried out by children could damage their childhood, especially when delicate topics related to gender issues or to

psychological experiences are tackled, since they could compromise the psychological balance of the child (Cohen et al. 1999; Flores 2006; Barron et al. 2010). They also stress child language brokers' limited linguistic skills, difficulties in interpreting complex topics and inadequacy in managing all the health-related practices.

However, other studies (Meyer et al. 2010) have highlighted that the help provided by family interpreters may be useful in providing second opinions and additional information that the patient is unable to recall.

Since for structural reasons, such as the lack of adequate and promptly available mediation services provided by professionals, the practice remains frequent in many countries (e.g. for Germany and Italy see, respectively, Pöchhacker 2008b and Antonini 2014), hence "it seems necessary in each case to reflect on whether the use of a family interpreter is really an appropriate approach to overcoming language barriers in the given situation" (Meyer et al. 2010: 318).

2.6.2.2. CLB in the school setting and good practices

Another institutional and sensitive setting in which CLB often occurs is the school context, especially given the large number of migrant students attending schools both in Italy and in other European countries.

As in the healthcare setting, school staff and school children resort to CLB because of the general lack of official policy guidance (Cirillo et al. 2010; Crafter et al. 2017) and due to the immediate availability of migrant bilingual students.

Given the frequency of this activity within this setting, numerous studies have relied on the help of schools to collect data about CLB (Cline et al. 2002; Weisskirch 2006; Cirillo 2017), and they have presented mixed results with respect to the benefits and adverse consequences of this activity at school.

Bayley et al. (2005) and Pugliese (2017), for example, focussed on the instrumental function of CLB as peer teaching. Through this practice, all the pupils in the classroom can follow the lesson and interact with both the teachers and the other students.

Coyoca and Lee (2009) suggested that child language brokers' help for their newly arrived schoolmates was an efficient tool to foster the schoolchildren's inclusion and participation in classroom activities. However, at the same time, they also revealed that CLB could result in child language brokers being less motivated to learn and experiencing difficulties in keeping up with lessons while brokering.

Starting in 2007, Antonini et al. carried out the MediO PUER(I) project, which, among other things, set out to describe CLB in Italian schools by means of questionnaires, interviews, and narratives.

The data collected indicate that teachers or school staff mainly relied on CLB because of the lack or inadequacy of professional mediation services (Antonini 2014). Teachers and other representatives of Italian schools reported that they did not want to rely on the help provided by child language brokers in delicate situations, but, at the same time, they underlined the importance of the practice as an opportunity to promote positive values such as collaboration and mutual help (Rossato 2014).

Other studies have highlighted how in school-related contexts parents' and children's objectives may diverge. Kaur and Mills (1993), for example, described the experience of a child language broker who admitted lying to his parents when translating his own grades. Hall and Sham (2007) reported the episode of a student who modified the communication his father wrote to the teachers, because she did not want her teachers to know that she was working in her family-own restaurant. Bauer (2010) examined the reasons given by former child language brokers who explained why they changed the information during parent-teacher meetings. They argued that they did not want their parents to get angry as a result of their bad marks and therefore tried to protect their relatives by avoiding the truth.

Crafter et al. (2017) produced further insight on CLB at school by revealing that the approach by school staff can reduce the disadvantages related to the practice and increase its advantages. Their respondents reported positive attitudes regarding CLB when they were helped by sensitive personnel who valued their help, whereas they exhibited negative perceptions when they did not receive any support.

Following these results, the British research group (Cline et al. 2010; Cline et al. 2014; Crafter et al. 2017) published a good practice guide including some specific measures when relying on CLB at school (Cline et al. 2014). These Internet-based guidelines were grouped in the final report, *Child Interpreting in School: Supporting Good Practice*[15]. This document provides useful recommendations on how to choose the best person to act as mediator (e.g. professional interpreters, multilingual school staff, or adult brokers invited by the school or the family). It suggests that child

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[15] The report can be dowloaded at http://child-language-brokering.weebly.com/final-report.html

language brokers' help should be acknowledged, but their assistance should not be abused, and they should not deal with sensitive topics.

These guidelines were also adopted by the "Hampshire Young Interpreter Scheme" (Hampshire Services online), a programme that provides support for both multilingual schools and families. This project recognizes the value that bilingual students can provide in helping the newly-arrived pupils integrate at school. Potential child language brokers are selected on the basis of specific criteria, such as sufficient competence both in their native and foreign languages, and then trained to accomplish their role as brokers[16].

A similar project was developed by Angelelli et al. (2000), who published "Guidelines for Developing Curriculum at the High School Level", a monograph addressed to school administrators and teachers "who have an interest in identifying and developing the special talents and abilities of children who are not normally viewed by schools as either gifted or talented" (Angelelli 2010:91). These guidelines set out to develop an interpretation and translation curriculum at high school level which would enhance child language brokers' linguistic abilities, recognize the value of speaking more languages, and prevent their talents going un-nurtured given the growing need for interpreters (Angelelli 2010). The programme was successfully implemented by Borrero (2007) at the Bay School in the San Francisco Bay Area by providing bilingual students with interpreting and translation training. The final aim of the programme was to develop students' literacy skills and value their bilingualism as a benefit for the school community. After following this programme, child language brokers performed significantly better in reading comprehension and paraphrasing compared to their classmates (Borrero 2011).

The academic development of these programmes and the schools' interests in promoting these projects show how CLB can be turned into a beneficial practice for both the child language brokers and the school communities. This is the reason why certain scholars (Valdés et al. 2003; Angelelli 2010) have argued in favour of the enhancement of children's bilingual and brokering activities to improve their literacy skills and support the multilingual and multicultural societies in which they live.

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[16] More information can be found at: http://www3.hants.gov.uk/hyis

This analysis of the who, where, and what of CLB has provided evidence about the wide array of people, settings and documents involved in the practice and the related challenges.

Through this analysis, this section has also produced some first suggestions regarding the mixed outcomes of CLB.

Relying on child language brokers in sensitive institutional contexts can have adverse consequences both for the parties involved and for the success of the interaction. It can result in a breach of confidentiality or an excessive emotional involvement on the part of the children. At the same time, however, it may help the development of children's social and cognitive skills, and it can promote child language brokers' integration and active participation in the host community.

The following section will look further at these contrasting effects, by stressing the strengths and weaknesses of this multifaceted phenomenon and by showing that there is still no agreement in the literature on the effects and appropriateness of CLB.

2.7. Child language brokering as a multifaceted challenging task

The review of the literature conducted so far has clearly suggested that CLB is a multifaceted activity. Child language brokers perform in different settings and for various people by carrying out multiple tasks that are not only limited to translating and interpreting but may include assuming demanding responsibilities and making choices that affect the survival of the whole family in the host countries (Tse 1995).

Against this background, it is no wonder that CLB is associated with both beneficial and adverse consequences on child language brokers, who may experience both positive and negative feelings about it. As the next sections will show, research has not yet reached a consensus on this subject, thus confirming the complexities of the practice and the need for further studies.

2.8. Consequences of child language brokering on children

There is no agreement among researchers on the impact of CLB on children and adolescents, since studies have reported conflicting results showing both advantageous and damaging effects.

Some research has suggested that child language brokers may be burdened or emotionally charged by CLB (Jacobs et al. 1995; Oznobishin and Kurman 2009),

whereas others have provided strong support for children's socio-emotional and cognitive development (Walichowsky 2002; Valdés et al. 2003; Dorner et al. 2007).

These different positions depend on multiple factors, such as family relations (Love and Buriel 2007; Weisskirch 2007), children's willingness to help, but also the neighbourhood where the immigrant family has settled or the community in which they live (Valdés et al 2003; Chao 2006). Child language brokering might also have different consequences on children depending on their age. Younger brokers tend to feel more inadequate whereas older language brokers learn to seize and appreciate the positive aspects of the practice thanks to the improvement in their linguistic skills and the greater experience they might gain (Weisskirch and Alva 2002).

The following two sections will describe in detail the beneficial and adverse consequences of CLB together with the factors and conditions that could lead to such outcomes.

2.8.1. Beneficial effects

A positive impact of child language brokering, which has been measured in multiple studies (*inter alia*, Buriel et al. 1998; Valenzuela 1999; Orellana et al. 2003a), is the correlation between language brokering and academic achievement.

When children translate or mediate, they have to understand and interpret messages using a specific terminology and technical concepts that may be complex for individuals of their age (Buriel and De Ment 1993). Language brokers tend to translate documents that require a high level of understanding, such as school notes, bank documents and job application forms (De Ment and Buriel 1999; Dorner et al. 2007). This experience may prove demanding, since it involves the use of various metalinguistic strategies (Malakoff and Hakuta 1991; Bucaria and Rossato 2010). For example, child language brokers might learn to paraphrase, to use synonyms or to detect and grasp the main concepts of a text (Orellana and Reynolds 2008). They learn to focus their attention on particular information, develop their vocabulary and use higher cognitive skills to solve problems and understand and interpret this type of document. Additionally, CLB requires children to be able to convey concepts and reformulate messages so that they have the same meaning in the target language. All these activities facilitate the development of metalinguistic and cognitive abilities that ultimately help the children obtain better academic scores. In their study on immigrants in Chicago, for example, Dorner et al. (2007) showed that students who translated for friends or family

members got a higher score in their reading tests. This research confirmed the data collected by Orellana et al. (2003b) that showed a positive relation between language brokering and scores in maths test. Acoach and Webb (2004) also reported that child language brokers showed greater self-efficacy and obtained higher Grade Point Averages (GPA) than their non-brokering peers, while Halgunseth (2003) found that brokering school-related vocabulary at school enriched students' lexicons.

From a linguistic point of view, the continuous contact between the two languages may enrich child language brokers' first language and improve the acquisition of their second one (Flores et al. 2003; Angelelli 2016), thus strengthening their bilingualism and biculturalism.

It has also been suggested that CLB may produce positive socio-emotional results. The relationships that child language brokers establish with adults and professionals and their need to represent their parents' point of view in the best possible way help them to develop better interpersonal skills, to strengthen their social self-efficacy and self-esteem (McQuillan and Tse 1995; Weisskirch 2007), and to maintain socio-cultural competence both in the culture of origin and in the culture of their host country (Acoach and Webb 2004).

Similarly, some studies have reported a positive correlation between CLB and interpersonal relationships. For example, frequent involvement in CLB has been positively associated with child language brokers' greater respect for one of their parents (Chao 2006), while increased parent-child bonding have been correlated with positive feelings about CLB (Buriel et al. 2006).

These research findings have contributed to highlighting how children may benefit from CLB, and they may partially support Bullock and Harris's (1995: 234) assumption that "a well-guided child community interpreting service becomes not only a service to others but also a means of personal development and socialization for the interpreters themselves".

However, as suggested in the previous sections, this practice is challenging and complex and may also result in harmful consequences for the children involved.

2.8.2. Negative effects

The beneficial impacts of CLB on the previous dimensions (e.g. academic, socio-emotional, and relational domains) are also often coupled with adverse effects.

Child language brokers, for example, may perceive this role as stressful and embarrassing and they may not want to take on the burdens and responsibilities related to the task. The fear of making mistakes and the desire to accomplish this role in the best way possible can cause frustration and anxiety and may lead to a psychophysical decline in the children (Dorner et al. 2008). Child language brokers might also feel isolated, marginalized and not fully accepted by their families or by the hosting society, thus causing identity issues. Depression, loneliness, low self-esteem, and low self-efficacy have also been identified in correlation with CLB (Love and Buriel 2007; Oznobishin and Kurman 2009; Benner 2011). As Hall and Sham (2007) acknowledged, child language brokers' desire not to deceive their relatives could put them under pressure, as one of their informants reported:

> I grow up with fear, worry and uncertainty. Every time when I need to help our parents to translate letters or do interpreting because I get all stressed up and worry if I have done the correct translation or interpretation (Hall and Sham 2007: 23).

Very often children are reprimanded by their parents for their inaccuracy instead of being rewarded for their efforts and help, and this may cause not only negative socio-emotional consequences but also disruptive behaviours. For example, adolescents in high language brokering contexts reported a greater likelihood of alcohol, tobacco or substance abuse than their peers in low language brokering contexts (Martinez et al. 2009).

Many negative impacts are often related to the performance of child language brokering activities in sensitive settings, such as healthcare. Corona et al. (2012), for instance, reported the example of a 12 year-old girl who became nervous because she could not understand the doctor and was confused by the words. They also described another example in which a child language broker had to go with her mother to the gynaecologist's office and interpret for her without having received any proper training beforehand. These experiences may negatively influence the child's life, and both parents and doctors should be aware of these negative repercussions. Ebden et al. (1988: 347) focussed on the problem related to embarrassment, stating that children "found it embarrassing to translate questions about menstruation or bowel movements to their parents."

The Health Education Authority of London (1994) also maintained that child language brokers might feel ashamed or inhibited, as described in the following extract:

> Patients who use informal interpreters report difficulties. These include inhibitions in talking about women's health issues via the husband or son or daughter, as well as problems with inaccuracy and interpretation (Health Education Authority 1994: 66).

These negative consequences can also affect the development of child language brokers' linguistic skills. They are asked to report information accurately, without neglecting the different nuances that each language may have. However, child language brokers may not master the specific terminology of the context in which they are asked to broker, thus facing linguistic and psychological challenges. In this regard, Villanueva and Buriel (2010) identified the use of appropriate vocabulary as one of the most difficult issues for family mediators.

Furthermore, despite the positive outcomes associated with better academic results reported in some research, other studies have shown that there is not a direct correlation between child language brokering and academic achievement. CLB may increase school stress (Sy 2006), lead to poorer academic performance, e.g. in homework quality (Martinez et al. 2009) and damage children's school careers (Morales and Hanson 2005).

Additionally, CLB was correlated with family conflicts and problematic family relationships, such as low levels of mother-adolescent agreement (Hua and Costigan 2012; Kim et al. 2014; Titzmann et al. 2015).

Academic studies have also revealed the presence of some moderator variables that can mitigate the presence of these deleterious effects. The first moderating element that can minimize the disadvantages related to CLB is child language brokers' age (Titzmann and Michel 2017). Negative outcomes are more likely to be found when child language brokers are very young, whereas favourable consequences can be found in older language brokers who may have developed better problem-solving competence, social skills and brokering strategies. The second moderating element is parent-child relationships. When positive parenting practices and high parental support were reported, CLB had low detrimental influences on children (Hua and Costigan 2012).

This section has offered a framework regarding the benefits and disadvantages of CLB, especially on children's psychological, academic and relational effects. It has also highlighted the influence that contextual factors (e.g. the length of residence in the host country, the settings in which CLB occurs, the family relations, and children's personal characteristics) can play on the outcomes of this practice.

The reviewed literature has reported mixed evidence regarding the consequences of CLB and has shown that researchers' opinions are still divided.

Despite the increasing academic interest in this field of research, further studies are needed to define more fully the implications of CLB, especially within the super-diverse, multilingual and multicultural societies that are developing both in Europe and worldwide.

2.9. Emotional impact of child language brokering

The analysis of the consequences of CLB has suggested the presence of multiple factors that can influence the potential outcomes of the practice and these may often also be associated with positive or negative feelings.

The benefits of CLB are often coupled with disadvantages, and the same holds true for child language brokers' feelings. Their emotions regarding the practice may vary considerably from positive to negative according to multiple factors, such as the local contexts in which CLB takes place and the relationship between the parties involved in the brokered event.

The following sections will investigate child language brokers' perceptions and offer evidence of complexities of this phenomenon.

2.9.1. Positive, negative or mixed feelings?

Child language brokers' feelings about CLB is a complex question, and researchers have not reached consensus regarding the emotions aroused by this practice.

Multiple studies (McQuillan and Tse 1995; Valdés et al. 2003; Weisskirch 2006; Orellana 2009) have observed positive feelings associated with language brokering experiences.

Corona et al. (2012: 792), for example, reported that language brokers felt "great" or "bien" and they were happy to help their families: ''I felt great … because I mean I could do something for my mom''. Such confident attitudes were often related to the feeling of being responsible towards their families and to the belief that it is their duty to assist their parents and meet their expectations, as reported by a participant in the study conducted by Hall and Sham (2007: 26):

> I feel I am useful. I can help my parents and that is a son's responsibility. With my peer group I can speak and understand two languages, so I feel I am better than my friends. My "gweilo" friends also think I am so clever because I can speak two languages.

Child language brokers also contended that CLB helped them become more mature and independent and promoted greater self-esteem and sense of belonging to their community of origin (McQuillan and Tse 1995; Weisskirch 2006).

Positive feelings were usually associated with the awareness that by translating and interpreting for others, child language brokers could learn new vocabulary, foster their literacy skills, and maintain and improve their bilingual language skills (McQuillan and Tse 1995; Orellana 2003; Valdés et al. 2003). They were also pleased to support those people who needed their assistance (Napier 2013), following the natural instincts that children often have to help others (Hepach et al. 2012).

Angelelli (2016) identified pride and satisfaction as the most positive feelings. The participants she interviewed reported enjoying the feeling of being satisfied with the good brokering job they performed and they felt proud of their abilities. She reported the child language broker Anita describing her feelings in the following terms: "…when the doctors took breaks…I did feel a sense of relief, I thought I had done a good job…and I also noticed my Mom's reaction " aha, ok, ok" as if she were understanding what I was saying… but seldom did I feel really really great…" (2016: 18).

By examining this last sentence, Anita's description also helps to reveal that positive feelings were often also coupled with less satisfying perceptions that were mainly linked to feelings of anxiety, embarrassment, and worry.

Puig (2002), for example, interviewed some Cuban children who reported feeling humiliated by their parents because they could not speak English fluently, while participants in the study carried out by Orellana et al. (2003a; 2003b) revealed that they felt embarrassed and ashamed when they needed to broker in public commercial environments. Jones and Trickett (2005) highlighted a correlation between language brokering and high levels of emotional stress in those circumstances in which there were family discussions or troubled relationships between language brokers and their schoolmates. Guske (2008) carried out a study in which he interviewed students of Turkish, Italian and Greek origins who expressed their dissatisfaction in having to translate for their family members and who admitted feeling embarrassed because of

both their lack of fluency in the dominant language and their lack of knowledge of the social habits of the hosting country. Other language brokers perceived this practice as counter-productive and as a source of stress and depression (Buriel et al. 2006). They also felt inadequate in taking on the interactional responsibilities related to this activity (Hall and Sham 2007), especially when they did not know the concepts or the technical issues they were asked to broker (Angelelli 2016: 18).

Negative associations were also observed between CLB and parent–child relationships. Weisskirch and Alva (2002) queried some students who admitted feeling uncomfortable brokering for their parents and other family members, while Weisskirch (2006) revealed that negative perceptions about language brokering were more likely to be related to problematic family relationships. He observed that his sample of college students reported feeling anxious, frustrated or guilty when their score on the Family Relations Index, which was applied for this study, revealed significant disharmony within the family. Cline et al. (2017) expanded this analysis by examining the situations that influenced such feelings. Their results confirmed that family dynamics affect the perspectives of child language brokers, who assess the practice in function of how they perceive their family situation and their parents' position in the host country at that time. One of their informants, for example, belittled her mother because she was struggling to learn English, and she offered a negative view of brokering for her.

Weisskirch (2007) also argued that in Latino adolescents positive emotions when language brokering were positively correlated with self-esteem, while negative feelings were negatively correlated.

Oznobishin and Kurman (2017) revealed that the frequency of CLB and the pressure to assimilate into the host society were related to negative feelings, such as burden and resentment. Hua and Costigan (2017) suggested that language brokering for fathers could pose greater challenges than language brokering for mothers. Such challenges might include adjustment difficulties, more depressive symptoms, and more father-child conflicts.

Other researchers (Morales and Hanson 2005; Love and Buriel 2007; Weisskirch 2007) examined the impact of family relations on child language brokers' feelings about CLB by showing that positive emotions were related to stronger parent-child bonds, whereas anxiety and shame were associated with problematic family relations.

This analysis has clearly suggested the presence of mixed reactions in which feelings of greater confidence and self-esteem are often coupled with negative perceptions.

Orellana (2009) explained and justified the presence of these ambivalent emotions by highlighting the peculiarities of each context in which child language brokering may occur, and by stressing the diversity of factors that can influence this activity.

Dorner et al. (2007) reported that children were usually happy and proud to help their family members, except in those settings that they considered as more demanding and in which they tended to be stressed and anxious.

Bucaria and Rossato (2010) conducted four individual interviews and four focus groups with former child language brokers who expressed divided opinions. Some of them perceived CLB as a normal activity especially when performed within a family context. Others reported feeling frustrated or annoyed, mainly because they considered the activity time-consuming. Contradictory relational impacts were also suggested by the results of a questionnaire-based survey administered in junior high schools in the Emilia Romagna region in Italy (Cirillo 2017). Respondents described their brokering experience both at school and for their family members and despite preferring brokering in the family rather than in a school environment, they expressed pride, enjoyment, but also a sense of obligation and dislike in both contexts.

Similar divergent opinions were noted by Torresi (2017) when analysing the writings and drawings collected during a contest organized for primary and secondary schoolchildren. By examining space arrangements and the use of colours, the author found that participants perceived language brokering as an everyday experience during which they support their peers or family members. At the same time, the lack of bright colours in some drawings may also reveal "cold and repressed, brooding and moody" attitudes (Van Leeuwen 2011: 61 in Torresi 2017: 350). Within the same school competition, written narratives were also obtained and analysed (Antonini 2017: 329). They revealed that students experienced mixed feelings, with more positive attitudes shown by those participants who benefited from language brokering themselves when they first arrived in Italy.

The presence of mixed feelings can also change over time. Bauer (2017: 377) maintained that earlier feelings regarding language brokering as stressful and cumbersome were replaced by feelings of self-confidence and maturity when language

brokers got older. Antonini (2017: 330) argued that as language brokers grow up, their language brokering tasks become more complex and demanding and they perceive the burden of the activity more intensively.

This review of extant literature has shown that the wide array of feelings and emotions that child language brokers experience is often strictly related to the multiple and heterogeneous factors that characterise CLB. On the one hand, assuming greater responsibilities and addressing adult-related issues may be a reason for confidence and self-esteem when child language brokers are happy to take on this role. On the other hand, negative feelings may be the cause of difficult family relationships and of adverse consequences on child socio-emotional development. Hence, it is no wonder that positive and negative perceptions may also coexist and are often described by the same child language broker.

The academic studies conducted to date belong to different fields of research, have implemented different methodologies and are focussed on different aspects related to CLB, so producing the heterogeneous results described above.

In particular, the studies that considered the outcomes and feelings related to CLB were primarily conducted within the field of psychology (e.g. Hua and Costigan 2012; 2017; Crafter et al. 2017) and human and child development (Weisskirch 2007; 2017; Kim et al. 2014), using surveys as the main methodological tool.

The contribution of other disciplines, such as TIS, and the implementation of other methodologies, such as the analysis of authentic data, could be of value in furthering the understanding of the feelings and consequences associated with CLB. In particular, in order to verify the impact of these aspects on the perceived feelings and outcomes, they could focus on the analysis of the complex brokering strategies implemented by children, on the different degrees of agency that children could take on, and on their varying participation status within the interaction brokered.

Indeed, the combination of different approaches and methods is encouraged to obtain new in-depth insights into this complex practice, and to address issues that remain unexplored.

2.10. Consequences of child language brokering on family relationships

Besides the effects that CLB can have on child language brokers themselves, the practice is also strictly intertwined with the dynamics and relationships that develop within the migrant family, thus producing consequences on family well-being.

Many scholars (Weisskirch and Alva 2002; Umaña-Taylor 2003; Acoach and Webb 2004) have studied CLB as a phenomenon related to the family acculturation process in the host country and the result of an "intergenerational disparity in the pace of cultural adaptation between children (including adolescents) and their parents, which is also termed *acculturative dissonance* (Wu and Chao, 2011) or *acculturation gap* (Telzer, 2010)" (Titzmann and Michel 2017: 75).

The acculturation process that affects all the members of migrant families starts immediately after their settlement in the new country. Migrant adults may find it more stressful and difficult to handle compared with their children (Baptiste 1993), who adapt to the cultural norms of the host society faster, thus developing a different level of cultural integration (Kurtines and Szapocznik 1996; Santisteban et al. 2002; Martinez 2006). Such an acculturation gap within migrant families often results in greater responsibilities for child language brokers, who may find themselves in a position of power.

As suggested in the previous sections, in their role as language brokers, children take on important responsibilities and exercise great influence on the flow and content of the interaction. In so doing, they become powerful social actors (Orellana 2009).

This situation can influence the relations between child language brokers and their parents both positively (e.g. greater support and trust), and negatively (e.g. family conflicts due to less parental authority).

CLB may facilitate the creation of a stronger relationship between parents and children who start to work together for their common survival. Children, for example, use their position of power to protect their relatives from humiliating or embarrassing situations (Orellana et al. 2003a; 2003b; Valdés et al. 2003) and this greater solidarity among family members can positively affect the sense of duty that children perceive towards their parents. They can understand their parents' concerns and frustrations when they are not able to communicate, thus seeing language brokering as a way of helping their families.

Valdés et al. (2003) defined this process as the result of the work of a performance team, where adults keep their parental role (especially using facial expressions or gestures) while their children broker. This view is also shared by Orellana et al. (2003a: 521) who argue that language brokers do not gain control over their family members but "participate in family decisions but do not generally *make* these decisions themselves". This is also the reason why Kibria (1993: 19) defines

immigrant families as a "strategic arena, a social site within which members collectively construct strategies that will help them to survive and realize collective goals." Accordingly, child language brokering is perceived as a normal activity performed within family-related practices.

However, CLB may also alter the typical and expected patterns of authority within the family. Orellana (2009), for example, reported that despite usually being subordinated to their parents, children did have more power when they refused to translate. In these situations, their parents tried to take back their authority by summoning them to broker.

Other researchers revealed that the acculturation gap that could emerge may lead to greater adverse consequences. Parents may feel embarrassed and powerless, while their children may be placed in a position of power leading to tensions within the family.

This situation entails what Martinez et al. (2009) and Umaña-Taylor (2003) called role reversal, stressing the parental authority taken on by children, or what has been defined as parentification (Weisskirch 2007; Peris et al. 2008) or adultification (Trickett and Jones 2007), focussing on the emotional and behavioural responsibilities that children have towards their parents.

Martinez et al. (2009: 73) feared that CLB may cause parents to lose their own authority, thus becoming "less influential in their role with their children". This reduced parental power could lead to a role-reversal between adults and children and may result in family conflicts and in negative experiences for child language brokers, such as greater exposition to stressful situations (McQuillan and Tse 1995; DeMent and Buriel 1999; Valenzuela 1999; Weisskirch and Alva 2002). Buriel et al. (1998) defined this same process as parental disempowerment and argued that migrant parents with lower education backgrounds could have greater difficulties in intercultural interactions and depend excessively on their children's help. Padilla et al. (1988) have reported how this role-reversal can cause stress and frustration in child language brokers. Additionally, Weisskirch (2007) claimed that a possible situation of distress could be even more dangerous for those child language brokers already experiencing family issues and contrasts.

However, there is not full agreement among researchers about the degree to which CLB can result in role reversal (Sy 2006; Wu and Kim 2009). Some studies have shown that CLB does not always entail a process of adultification (Buriel et al. 1998; Orellana 2003; Jones and Trickett 2005). When child language brokers consider this

practice as a stressful activity, it is not because of the "parentification" process but because it interferes with their daily activities such as watching TV or going out with friends (Dorner et al. 2007). Language brokering is an integral part of their daily life (Orellana et al. 2003) and, as Valdés et al. argue, the roles within the family remain unchanged:

> Parents [using juvenile language brokers] see themselves as retaining their parental roles, and that children see themselves as simply carrying out tasks that may more appropriately be thought of as analogous to specialized household chores (Valdés et al. 2003: 96).

The circumstances described above suggest the intense interaction between parents and children and the strong influence that each member of migrant families has on the others. By this same token, parents' appreciation of their children's brokering skills is crucially important. If the adults value the help they receive, their children feel appreciated, thus preventing adverse consequences and feelings. For these reasons, in families with a high frequency of language brokering, parents should trust their children, respect them, and be grateful for their help (Hall and Sham 2007).

This section has indicated that CLB can have significant effects on family relations. Child language brokers find themselves in a position of interactional power, which can be used to protect their family members and to increase family solidarity. At the same time, however, this powerful position may undermine parental authority, resulting in harmful outcomes for family well-being. Through the process of adultification or role-reversal that certain scholars have observed, child language brokers are more empowered than their non-language brokering peers and they act as responsible agents by taking on adult-like responsibilities. In particular, they make independent, interactional decisions by performing specific brokering strategies.

The next section will elaborate further on these brokering strategies with the aim of focussing on child language brokers' metalinguistic skills.

2.11. Brokering strategies

Child language brokering is a multifaceted activity that implies not only interpreting or translating, but also bridging cultural gaps and assuming family responsibilities. When children act as language brokers, they take on different roles and they act in order to reach their desired outcomes by displaying full agency within the interaction (Shannon 1990; Bauer 2010; Hall and Guery 2010).

Through the analysis of the potential strategies implemented by children when brokering, it is possible to examine whether they are aware of the tasks they perform and to identify the cognitive and metalinguistic skills they apply to perform such an active role.

In 1991, Malakoff and Hakuta conducted two studies of bilingual elementary students showing that bilingual children have the metalinguistic skills necessary to allow them to monitor meaning, even when they may not have reached full bilingual proficiency. Bialystok and Hakuta (1994) also examined the ability of child language brokers to transfer cultural meaning across linguistic forms. The use of paraphrase was identified among the communicative strategies adopted to overcome linguistic barriers (Irujo 1986).

Valdés et al. (2003) maintained that children are able to communicate meaning even if they use poor sentence structures. The elementary-school students who took part in their study were able to convey the message of the source speech despite some minor mistakes in the target-language syntax. Additionally, as Angelelli et al. (2000) pointed out, child language brokers are able to anticipate potential conflicts and to monitor, repair, and assess their production while they continue to render new utterances. They develop cognitive and metalinguistic skills, such as greater cognitive abilities and social skills (McQuillan and Tse 1995; Dement and Buriel 1999; Halgunseth 2003), and when they transfer a message into another language, they take into consideration multiple factors, such the context and the intention of the speaker.

Dirim (2005) undertook two case studies in which she analysed the translation skills of bilingual children. Her respondents were able to translate a story that was read to them in a comprehensible and grammatically correct way.

More recently, Bucaria and Rossato (2010) investigated if and how child language brokers develop a system of brokering and translation strategies. Their informants revealed they were aware of the meaning of language brokering and of its complexities. Among the brokering strategies they mentioned, they included simplifying sentences, giving examples, and omitting unnecessary details. They also reported using gestures to communicate and asking for help when they were having difficulties. The most common strategies they preferred to use were translating what they could understand and asking for clarification (Bucaria 2014).

Bauer (2017) referenced the skills that child language brokers need to have when they broker, such as being able to reformulate the message and judging their own

reformulations before rendering the message. The use of paraphrase and the ability to reformulate by relying on cultural tools were also among the strategies highlighted in the seminal work carried out by Orellana (2009).

Research conducted so far has suggested that child language brokers do not usually translate literally what they hear or read, but they mainly paraphrase, summarise, edit, and even censor or omit certain information. In so doing they display remarkable metalinguistic and cognitive skills.

Apart from a few exceptions (Valdés et al. 2003; Dirim 2005; Del Torto 2008), the studies focussing on brokering strategies have relied on the information reported by child language brokers through interviews, narratives, or simulated child-language-brokered encounters. The analysis of real-life child-language-brokered interactions is still unresearched, both because of the difficulties in recording such a spontaneous activity and in view of the ethical issues regulating the collection of data from minors.

However, the study of authentic data by means of new methodologies, such as conversation analysis or discourse analysis, especially within the theoretical framework of interactional studies, could be a suitable way to complement past research findings by examining key issues that are still unexplored, such as child language brokers' conversational moves and interactional agency while in action.

2.12. Is Child Language Brokering a controversial issue?

The studies carried out so far have suggested that CLB is quite an established practice performed in many multilingual areas. The development of the activity can either be related to the lack of professional interpreting services to help migrants to communicate, or to migrant families' desire to rely on their children's help rather than on external professionals (Rhodes and Nocon 2003).

Migrant families may prefer to resort to the assistance provided by their children because they are more quickly available in the here-and-now, they understand the family's needs and they defend the family's interests and confidentiality (Abreu and Lambert 2003; Free et al. 2003).

However, professionals and researchers alike disagree on the appropriateness of this practice. Those scholars who cogently argue against child language brokering emphasise results showing that this activity can be stressful and burdensome. They believe that, as all non-professional interpreters, child language brokers are more likely to make translation mistakes (Pöchhacker and Kadric 1999; Flores et al. 2003). This

could happen for multiple reasons, such as the misunderstanding of technical words, the absence of an equivalent translation in the target language, or the discussion of sensitive issues (Ebden et al. 1988).

According to other professionals, public sector staff and civil servants, children should not be asked to play the role of brokers in those situations that are more delicate and from which they should be protected. Rack (1982: 199–200), for example, issued a clear statement on the complete inadequacy of the linguistic support provided by child language brokers, especially in the medical setting: "Under no circumstances should children be asked to interpret medical details for their parents. It appears to us to be unethical, unprofessional, uncivilised and totally unacceptable". In 2008, the British Psychological Society (BPS) published some guidelines for psychologists on the use of interpreters in the medical setting, arguing that:

> As a general rule, it is not appropriate to ask family members or other professionals to "help out" because they appear to speak the same language as the client or have sign language skills. Interpreting is a highly skilled role and not something that any person or even any professional can just slip into. The use of family members also creates difficulties with regard to confidentiality although some clients may insist upon it. This should be discussed with them. Children, however, should never be used as interpreters as this places them in a difficult and prematurely adult role towards their parent or relative (BPS 2008: 6).

This position is not shared by other researchers (e.g. Cohen et al. 1999) and healthcare professionals who have reported that many doctors rely on children to communicate with their sick relatives especially when the patient asks for this support.

A number of studies have suggested that not only in the medical setting, but also in other contexts, migrant parents prefer a language broker who belongs to their own family rather than a professional interpreter. This is mainly due to the fact that they are more easily available than professionals (Free et al. 1999), they understand the family's needs more fully and they respect the family's privacy (Cohen et al. 1999).

It is evident, then, that there is disagreement between academia and local institutions, on the one hand, and the perspective of migrant families, on the other, while researchers themselves also hold differing positions.

However, even though CLB fuels these controversies, it is important that academia and public institutions acknowledge Antonini's apt argument:

> Because of cultural reasons, and for a host of other motives, immigrant parents will continue to ask their children to translate and interpret for them regardless of the law and of other resources available to them, such as professional interpreters and language mediators. Therefore, before ruling out completely the possibility and appropriateness of having their children mediating for them, it would be useful for these children, for their families and for the institutions they need to communicate with, to assess how this "invisible" area of childhood affects these children (2010: 10).

Ignoring the presence of CLB or studying it only as a marginal phenomenon because of its non-professional nature and its theoretical inappropriateness is not the most adequate strategy to reduce the negative effects of the practice and to produce scientific evidence in favour of the development of better community interpreting services.

Wide gaps still exist in understanding the complexities of CLB that may be perceived differently by the various ethnic and linguistic groups within today's highly diverse societies. A wider variety of immigrant communities should therefore be included in the studies of child language brokering, which should also develop new methodologies suitable to carry out research with minors and to reveal those aspects that are still under-researched.

From this perspective, further contributions from translation and interpreting studies would be of paramount importance to integrate and expand prior work. Specifically, these could provide new insights, such as the impact of child language brokers on the unfolding of the interaction, their perceived responsibilities when performing this activity, and the brokering skills they implement while in action. A close inspection of these elements could yield significant findings that may be useful to leverage child language brokers' skills in the development of better academic results or to influence their future occupational choices towards becoming professional interpreters, thus bridging the gap caused by the lack of professionals speaking less common languages. They would also provide valuable authentic data for the training of professional interpreters. Such new studies adopting different methodologies and implementing new theoretical frameworks are necessary in order to investigate the breadth and depth of this phenomenon.

2.13. Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the key features of the relevant international literature on child language brokering and has discussed the theoretical and practical issues raised by

previous research. The characteristics of child language brokers, their feelings about this practice, and the implications of this activity have been highlighted. CLB is known to provoke intense debate concerning both the reasons why it takes place and the consequences it may have on the children and on their family relationships.

Besides showing the increasing interest in academia in this phenomenon, this overview of the extant literature has also highlighted the need for further studies investigating the aspects that are still less studied and that make the practice so controversial. In particular, the field of translation and interpreting studies could contribute massively to enriching the data on CLB, especially by adopting new methodologies and frameworks, such as conversation analysis and the sociology of interaction, which have recently been applied to investigate professional interpreters' visibility and agency.

Against this background, the following chapter will present the different theoretical lenses that will be combined in this thesis to present child language brokers' attitudes, self-perceptions, and interactive contributions. The ultimate aim is to gain a more robust understanding of CLB and to start to reveal some of the issues that are still unexplored.

Chapter 3. Theoretical framework

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter has addressed how research on CLB has produced valuable insight into the activities that child language brokers perform and into the role they play as active agents in the success of their family's integration into the host country. They do not only mediate or translate for their family members, but they also act as agents of socialization (Tse 1995), they contribute to the fulfilment of their families' social goals (Orellana et al. 2003b) and they co-participate and co-construct the communicative event they broker (Angelelli 2004a).

The aim of this thesis is to provide an in-depth analysis of children's attitudes towards the practice of language brokering and of their contributions when performing such an activity.

In particular, when exploring child language brokers' attitudes, the focus is on their perceived feelings and benefits regarding CLB, whereas when examining their contributions, attention is paid to their active participation and responsibility within the interaction they broker.

In order to gain a more robust understanding of both child language brokers' attitudes and contributions, the present study relies on different theoretical frameworks: social psychology, the new sociology of childhood, the sociology of interaction and conversation analysis.

A social psychology approach is considered to be particularly appropriate for the study of children's attitudes towards CLB. It has therefore been adopted to investigate the three main components of child language brokers' attitudes: the affective, behavioural and cognitive components.

The new sociology of childhood is the framework of reference within which child language brokers are observed as social and active actors in their own right. This new sociological theory considers children as "human beings" rather than "human becomings" (Qvortrup 2005: 5) and places emphasis on what children do rather than on "what they do not yet do" (Butler 2008: 2). By following this perspective, child language brokers are regarded as active agents who take part in the creation of meaning when they interact with other parties, either adults or children.

The sociology of interaction and conversation analysis are the two theoretical underpinnings that are applied to analyse the interactive and participatory role

performed by child language brokers. These two approaches were selected because by focussing on the context and the sociocultural dimension of the event which is brokered, they are particularly effective in uncovering how child language brokers construct and convey their meanings and handle and co-participate in the interaction. Given the interactional dimension of CLB, when analysing how they play such a role, it is important not only to focus on the words and utterances pronounced by child language brokers, but also on the situations in which they broker, the roles of the participants involved in the interaction, and the goals that each participant wants to pursue. The combination of these two specific frameworks allows the researcher to observe the roles of all the participants involved in a child-language-brokered event by studying their situated behaviours and communicative actions.

Together, all the perspectives described above provide the tools for a comprehensive analysis of CLB and a thorough study of children's attitudes and behaviours as active agents who enable multilingual and intercultural communication. Moreover, they also highlight the complexity of the role that these children are asked to play when they language broker.

This chapter begins with an overview of the theory regarding attitudes, in order to understand how attitudes are structured and which elements affect the way in which they positively or negatively shape opinions. Subsequently, theories from the new sociology of childhood will be presented together with the related concepts of children's agency and children's participation. The focus will then shift to the sociology of interaction and conversation analysis that provide a framework for the analysis of CLB as an interactional event situated in specific social and cultural contexts. To conclude, the last section will offer an overview of how these theoretical perspectives have been adopted by previous studies to highlight the active contribution of non-professional interpreters or child language brokers to the unfolding of the interaction and mutual understanding.

3.2. Attitudes and opinions

In order to define and provide an in-depth assessment of children's attitudes towards CLB, we need to gain an overview of the literature on attitudes and to discuss the theories and models developed in the field of social psychology.

Understanding the concept of attitudes and reviewing the main studies which addressed this topic is of paramount importance to interpret more precisely the data

collected by means of questionnaires and interviews, which aimed at investigating child language brokers' attitudes towards, above all, their emotions about CLB and their perceived outcomes of CLB.

3.2.1.What are attitudes?

An attitude is "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs, feelings, and behavioural tendencies towards socially significant objects, groups, events or symbols" (Hogg and Vaughan 2005: 150). It refers to a favourable, unfavourable or neutral evaluation of an attitude object that can be represented by a person, a product, or a social group (Wood 2000; Albarracín et al. 2005).

Originally, the term "attitude" was commonly and simply related to a bodily posture, whereas it has subsequently come to describe a social orientation and its underlying reaction to the attitude object (Oskamp 1991; Baker 1992). Nowadays, when expressing their attitudes, people show the relationship between themselves and the attitude object by manifesting a preference for or against it.

Research on attitudes includes five main approaches that focus on different perspectives (Oskamp 1991):

(i)   the descriptive approach, which studies, among other things, the opinions that a group of people hold about a specific topic;

(ii)   the measurement approach, which is interested in creating and applying methods to measure attitudes;

(iii)   the polling approach, which sets out to assess the attitudes shared by a wide group of people;

(iv)   the theoretical approach, which seeks to explain the development and charge of attitudes; and

(v)   the experimental approach, which examines the factors that lead to attitude change and tests hypotheses.

These different approaches have led to the development of different definitions of the concept of attitude. However, as Rokeach observed, "most of the definitions of attitude seem to be more or less interchangeable insofar as attitude measurement and hypothesis testing are concerned" (1989: 110).

3.2.2. Structure of attitudes

Attitudes are structured into three components that constitute the ABC model:

- the affective component, which deals with the feelings or emotions about the attitude object;
- the behavioural component, which describes how attitudes influence people's behaviours;
- the cognitive component, which includes people's beliefs and knowledge about the attitude object.

Since these three components are very different from one another, there is debate among researchers on whether they should be considered as independent entities (tri-componential approach) or elements of the same concept (uni-dimensional approach). According to the tri-componential position, an attitude is a single entity including the three components (Oskamp 1991; Baker 1992; Eagly and Chaiken 1993), whereas the uni-dimensional approach argues that each component may or may not be related to the others (Fabrigar et al. 2005). As both viewpoints are equally supported by empirical research, scholars now argue that the two positions should be combined together into a complex structure of attitudes that may be constituted by all three components, but also by only one of them (Zanna and Rempel 1988). Following this perspective, an attitude can derive from beliefs, feelings, past behaviours or from a combination of these three elements (Fazio and Petty 2008: 4).

Additionally, special attention is given to the relationship between the affective and cognitive components, on one hand, and the behavioural component, on the other, since there is evidence that they do not always match (LaPiere 1934; Millar and Tesser 1986).

According to the principle of consistency (Haddock and Maio 2004), people's behaviours are expected to be rational and consistent with their attitudes. However, even though this principle may partially hold true, it can also happen that attitudes do not predict behaviours. These two positions are represented respectively by the behaviourist and mentalist approaches.

The behaviourist approach is in favour of a direct correlation between attitudes and behaviours by assuming that attitudes can explain, influence or motivate people's behaviours. A valid theory supporting the relationship between attitudes and behaviours is provided by the "Theory of Reasoned Action" (TRA), developed by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975; 2010). According to this theory, the interplay between attitudes and behaviours is influenced by both personal factors, such as personality traits, and external variables, such as socio-demographic characteristics that affect the individual's

intention to perform the behaviour. Ajzen (1988) further developed this theory into the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB), arguing that people's beliefs also affect the feasibility of a certain behaviour. In particular, he maintained that the attitude towards the behaviour, the subjective norms and the perceived behavioural control influence the behaviour that will be performed.

Unlike the behaviourist approach, the mentalist viewpoint supports the theory that argues in favour of a discrepancy between attitudes and behaviours and suggests that attitudes represent an "internal state of readiness" (Fasold 1984: 147) that influences people's responses when it is activated (Agheyisi and Fishman 1970). This lack of correlation between attitudes and behaviours was also shown in LaPiere's (1934) and Corey's (1937) experiments revealing that attitudes and behaviours may actually diverge.

Besides the behaviourist and mentalist approaches, a key factor determining whether attitudes can be good predictors of behaviours is the attitude strength (Fazio 1990; 1995; Krosnich and Petty 1995). Strong attitudes are more likely to influence behaviours and to exert powerful effects.

Specifically, six elements mainly contribute to increasing the strength of attitudes: personal relevance, knowledge, certainty, elaboration, accessibility, and ambivalence.

Personal relevance refers to the psychological value and to the degree of importance that the individual assigns to the attitude object. When the attitude object is of interest and importance for a person, this person's attitude will have a strong influence on his/her behaviour. The knowledge factor refers to the amount of information that people have about the attitude object. People tend to hold strong attitudes towards direct experiences and knowledgeable topics. The certainty and elaboration factors refer, respectively, to people's beliefs about the validity and correctness of their attitudes, and to the amount of time they have spent in thinking about the attitude object. The accessibility factor refers to the rapidity with which an attitude is developed and made cognitively accessible, whereas the ambivalence factor reflects people's experiences towards both positive and negative reactions to the attitude object.

Regarding these factors, attitude strength can be measured by assessing how quickly an attitude is activated when the individual is exposed to the attitude object, and by considering previous direct positive or negative experiences. Additionally, the

attitudes that people deem to be important and valid, and that they do not change frequently, guide their behaviours more effectively (Ferguson et al. 2005). Attitudes also become stronger when the affect, behavioural and cognition components are aligned.

The current study adopts the mentalist approach because apart from presupposing the tri-componential model of attitudes, it allows the researcher to describe attitudes as a mental state and to relate them to actual, individual, or group behaviour. In order to obtain a detailed picture of child language brokers' attitudes and perceptions about CLB, the three components of attitudes (affective, behavioural, and cognitive) will be explored deeply together with the degree of intensity and strength with which these attitudes are held by child language brokers.

3.2.3. Measurement of attitudes

The majority of social psychologists have raised the issue of the latent nature of attitudes, by stressing that they are "inaccessible to direct observation" (Ajzen 1989: 242). Consequently, attitude measurements were developed to assess the favourable or unfavourable evaluations of the attitude object. These measurements can be direct, such as Likert scales, or indirect, such as projective techniques. The use of direct measurements is often advisable and it includes questionnaires with attitude scales that are designed to measure specific dimensions accurately (McLeod 2009).

However, critics claim that even though attitudinal questionnaires can be of use to assess theoretical orientations, they fail to "make direct comparison between the reactions secured through questionnaires from actual experience" (LaPiere 1934: 234).

Moreover, since attitudes are related to self-image and social acceptance, people may provide the answers that they believe are more socially desirable, thus producing the social desirability bias (a detailed discussion on the social desirability bias is provided in the Chapter 4).

A possible solution to reduce any bias and to ascertain the validity of the responses provided by the respondents is to implement a mixed-method approach, which combines quantitative and qualitative data that allow attitudes and behaviours to be verified.

3.3. From attitudes to behaviours

As previously mentioned, this study sets out to examine children's attitudes and interactional contributions when they act as key players who enable a multilingual and intercultural communication.

After having examined children's attitudes towards CLB, their behaviours when performing this activity will be studied in order to define this practice more precisely.

In order to explore how children enact CLB practices and to acknowledge children's contributions to the construction of meaning, we must first review the representation and understanding of childhood over the last decades and highlight how the sociology of childhood has evolved.

3.4. The Sociology of childhood

Over the last century and until very recently, childhood in Western societies has been perceived as a period of immaturity and dependency during which children are viewed as incapable of assuming major responsibilities (Crafter et al. 2009).

This perspective was founded on two main assumptions: (i) children were vulnerable and incompetent, and (ii) childhood was considered as a powerless period during which children's voices have rarely been heard. Furthermore, children were also regarded as immature, irrational, and asocial (MacKay 1973). Therefore, they were marginalized, and their contribution to the economy of the family was often undervalued (Qvortrup 1994; Morrow 1996; Solberg 1996).

The perception of children as passive agents prevailed until the late twentieth century, which marked a turning point in the studies of childhood by highlighting the position of children as social actors in their own right and by refusing to consider them as passive and invisible agents, especially when in institutions rather than homes or schools (Orellana 2009).

The recognition of childhood as a social construct began in the 1980s and gained momentum in the 1990s, when social and historical changes occurred and led to the contemporary understanding of children as having their own voice, status and competencies (Neale and Flowerdew 2007).

The shift towards this new perspective was also promoted by the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) in 1989. Article 12 stipulates that "States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child,

the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child" (UNCRC 1989)**.** Children are thus entitled to enjoy the right to express themselves and to participate in decision-making processes that affect them, while receiving protection from adults. Hence, the UNCRC has contributed to the development of the new sociology of childhood by acknowledging children's rights to express their own opinions. This new sociology argued for the recognition of children's agency and of childhood as a social structural form (Qvortrup 1994; Mayall 2002) by stressing children's social competence.

In particular, this new paradigm emerged with the double task of creating a space for childhood and of dealing with the complex issues that characterize this state and period of an individual's life. The paradigm was based on three main assumptions (James and Prout 1990): (1) children should be perceived as active social agents; (2) childhood is considered as a social construction and as an object of social analysis; (3) childhood should be studied in its own right, and ethnography could be a useful method to do so.

The advocates for this new turn in the sociology of childhood argued for the recognition of children's agency and for childhood as a social structural form (Qvortrup 1994; Mayall 2002), by emphasizing that children possess social competence.

From this perspective, children are active agents with specific competence that they implement in the multiple arenas of social actions (James and Prout 1990; Qvortrup 1994; Mayall 2002). This social competence leads to children's "agentic" participation in society (Prout 2011) and it is exercised in social activities

> involving struggles for power, contested meanings and negotiated relationships, rather than the linear picture of development and maturation made popular by traditional sociology and developmental psychology (2011: 9).

The development of the new sociology of childhood has led to the acknowledgement that children are agents able to contribute powerfully to the society in which they live.

3.5. The Sociology of childhood and child language brokering
Within the frame of reference described in the section above, the actions and contributions performed by child language brokers can be analysed by considering these children as fully-fledged social actors who are competent participants in their family and social activities. From this point of view, they are active social players who

challenge the traditional expectations about childhood and the normative perspective that prevailed until the last decades of the twentieth century, and, on occasion, still persists (Crafter et al. 2009).

This partially explains why CLB often raises controversial issues. The active participation and the interactional power of child language brokers seem to alter the family hierarchy and the distribution of roles between children and their parents.

CLB is often deemed as inappropriate because children are believed not to have the necessary skills, and because the normative expectation is that adults speak on behalf of children rather than the opposite. Consequently, as de Abreu and O'Dell (2017: 197) have said, "child language brokers' activities are seen as non-normative and constructed in many research papers as burdensome for the child".

This view struggles to accept and value the complex tasks performed by child language brokers who are far from being passive and immature, but, rather, active players within their families and the society in which they live.

3.6. Children's agency and participation

Since child language brokers are perceived as agents, it is necessary to describe how this concept is interpreted for this study.

In the context of the new sociology of childhood, James and Prout (1990: 8) introduced the concept of children's participation in social activities, describing children as agents who are "active in the construction of their own lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live". This description emphasizes the contribution that children make and the active role they play in their personal and social development and recognizes children's agency in the promotion of social interactions.

When referring to children's agency, various scholars have provided different definitions that highlight the multifaceted nature of this interdisciplinary concept. Below the interpretations of agency that are consistent with and that help to define the agentic role of child language brokers will be reported.

In 1998, Emirbayer and Mische, for example, defined agency as "the capacity of actors to critically shape their own responsiveness to problematic situations" (Emirbayer and Mische 1998: 971). This interpretation underlined the ability of agentic individuals to react promptly to any difficulty they might encounter.

Additionally, the authors highlighted the importance of both the temporal orientation of agency and the contexts in which it is promoted, arguing that agency is a temporal phenomenon achieved in dynamic contexts. They termed it "a temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments – the temporal – relational contexts of action – which, through the interplay of habit, imagination and judgement, both reproduces and transforms those structures in interactive response to the problems posed by changing historical situations" (*ibid.*: 970). The different temporal contexts can orient the behaviours of agents "toward the past, the future, and the present at any given moment, although they may primarily be orientated toward one or another of these within any one emergent situation" (*ibid.*: 964). Furthermore, the "key to grasping the dynamic possibilities of human agency is to view it as composed of variable and changing orientations within the flow of time" (ibid.: 964). Based on these assumptions, they maintained that it is possible to explain "how the structural environments of action are both dynamically sustained by and also altered through human agency – by actors capable of formulating projects for the future and realizing them, even if only in small part, and with unforeseen outcomes, in the present" (*ibid.:* 964). Emirbayer and Mische's representation provides a powerful insight into the concept of agency as temporally and context oriented and into the ability of agentic individuals to change their relationships according to the structure of the situation in which they act. Their interpretation of agency is of help in investigating child language brokers' contributions in a situated social context in which context-related conditions influence the way in which child language brokers act and react during the unfolding of the conversation.

In 2006, Biesta and Tedder (2006: 18) further developed Emirbayer and Mische's representation of agency by applying a transactional approach. In their view, agency may be promoted only in specific situations depending on the interactional contexts and on other parties' reactions.

Focussing more on the concept of agency in children, Moosa-Mitha (2005) defined it as the ability of children to "respond, mitigate, resist, have views about and interact with the social conditions in which they find themselves" (Moosa-Mitha 2005: 380). As Baraldi (2014: 65) argued, this definition reflects the three main features of children' active participation, namely their action (they respond to, mitigate, and resist social conditions), their perspective (they have views), and their social conditions (they are able to socially interact).

James and James (2008) expanded Moosa-Mitha's definition by stressing the independence of children's action from the inputs that they receive from adults. In their view, "the concept of agency draws attention to children's subjectivity as independent social actors within the social, moral, political and economic constraints of society" (James and James 2008: 11).

The representations of children's agency described above are very useful for the study of child language brokers' contribution and participation in the encounter they broker. By sharing the concept of agency as a temporally constructed phenomenon in dynamic contexts (Emirbayer and Mische 1998) and by considering children as agents who are able to think, perceive, act, and interact (Biesta and Tedder 2006; Baraldi 2014), child language brokers can be considered as fully-fledged active agents. They are able to negotiate and manage challenging brokering situations, they apply specific brokering strategies to adapt to the different contexts in which they are, and they act to benefit themselves, their parents and their communities (Bauer 2010; Bauer 2017).

3.7. Towards the interactional and participatory role of child language brokers

The new sociology of childhood has contributed to defining and recognizing children's agency accurately. Their active participation has also been confirmed by the review of the relevant literature on CLB that has suggested children's agency by virtue of their role as language brokers.

In order to examine such an active role thoroughly, this study will adopt the perspectives offered by the sociology of interaction and conversation analysis (CA). These two theoretical frameworks will allow us to observe the contribution of child language brokers by focussing on the conversational sequences that enable participants to construct their contributions and on the interactive roles that each participant assumes as the interaction unfolds.

Over the past three decades, studies on community interpreting have been implementing these two approaches to examine the visibility of interpreters and the active and social role they play (Berk-Seligson 1990; Wadensjö 1998; Davidson 2000; Angelelli 2004b). CLB has recently gained official recognition within translation and

interpreting studies[17], and child language brokers' performance as ad hoc mediators has started to be acknowledged.

On that premise, this thesis discusses the CLB paradigm as part of the broader field of dialogue interpreting studies and of the specific body of research exploring interpreter-mediated encounters as interactional dialogic social activities.

The role of the interpreter as a co-participant and the study of interpreting as an interactional activity or communicative "pas de trois" (Wadensjö 1998: 152) have brought to the fore the notion of a visible and participatory interpreter (Metzger 1999; Angelelli 2004a; 2004b; 2011; 2012). The factors that determine such visibility and participation have now begun to be examined, and they include, for example, the concept of "social turn" (Pöchhacker 2008a; 2012) and the acknowledgement of interpreters' power relationships and social responsibilities (Inghilleri 2003). As Angelelli (2008: 149) argues:

> the interpreter brings not only the knowledge of languages and the ability to language-switch or assign turns, but also the self. Through the self, the interpreter exercises agency and power, which materialize through different behaviours that may alter the outcome of the interaction (2008: 149).

The active role of child language brokers will therefore be explored by following this new awareness regarding the visibility and agency displayed and enacted by interpreters, and by building on conversation analysis and the sociology of interaction. These two disciplines will help to focus on the participatory and interactive framework of CLB rather than on the correctness of child language broker's contributions, with the final aim of treating CLB as "an interactional phenomenon to be explored and described, rather than a form of unprofessional behaviour" (Wadensjö 1998: 61).

In order to conceptualise more clearly the active contributions of child language brokers, it is also essential to acknowledge the interactional and interpersonal nature of CLB as a situated social event. To this end, it is helpful to draw on Kam and Lazarevic's (2014) conceptualization of interpersonal communication applied to language brokering. They maintained that language brokering is a complex and situated social process that aims to produce shared meaning and to achieve social goals. In their

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[17] In 2011, a chapter devoted to the "natural translator and interpreter" was included in the Handbook of Translation Studies (Antonini 2011: 102 – 104), and in 2015 the entries "Non-professional interpreting" and Child language brokering" were included in the Routledge Encyclopedia of Interpreting Studies (Antonini 2015a, 2015b).

view, language brokering is thereby both a social practice (since it includes two or more parties) and a situated activity that occurs in specific settings. Hence, the context of child language brokering is an important element that affects the outcomes of this practice and influences children's contribution within the interaction.

Conversation analysis (CA) pays special attention to the context, an approach that provides the methodological tools to explore how participants engage in the ongoing interaction and how they interpret one another's actions by performing specific conversational moves. In so doing, CA also allows the social world of children to be observed from their own perspectives, while the children's understanding of the interaction can be examined *in situ,* as it is constructed and negotiated as the conversation unfolds. By applying CA, some researchers have also suggested that children are sometimes able to express their agency freely and their interactional participation can be neither pre-established by social structures nor supervised by adults (Baraldi 2014).

When interacting with adults, child language brokers manage to act as fully-fledged participants who are able to open, negotiate or close interactions. They might also conflict with or fail to respect adults' requests by ignoring their attempts to control their actions or by not displaying compliance (Hutchby 2007).

3.8. Conversation analysis as the theoretical foundation to examine child language brokered interactions

Children's active participation in the interactions they broker can be thoroughly explored by drawing on CA, a theoretical approach aiming to explore the unfolding of conversation through the analysis of real-life naturally occurring data. CA allows children's agency to be highlighted by mainly focussing on the sequences of turns that both child language brokers and the other parties involved in the interaction produce.

CA emerged in the early 1970s in California through the work of Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson (Sacks et al. 1974). The scholars developed a research program that drew on ethnomethodology (Cicourel 1964) and was influenced by the works of the sociologist Erving Goffman (1983), sharing the latter's idea that social interaction is a form of social organization in its own right, with its own order and structure.

Goffman (1971) considered everyday interpersonal interaction as a site of social order and contended that interlocutors present their social selves and affect the way in which other participants orient towards them. CA developed these assumptions and started to examine the interactional organization of naturally occurring talk-in interactions considered as social activities and accomplishments (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008).

Analysing interaction as a social organization implies considering it as a context-related structure. In CA terms, context is a structure in action that evolves continually and cannot be represented by any pre-arranged framework. As Heritage (1995) argued, "CA works with a dynamic conception of social context which is treated as both the project and product of the participants' own actions and therefore as inherently locally produced and transformable at any moment" (Heritage 1995: 407). Actions always depend on their social context (Goodwin and Duranti 1992) and they are therefore "context-shaped" and "context-renewing" (Heritage 1984: 280). According to this conversational representation of context, interlocutors orient their utterances to the preceding talk (Schegloff and Sacks 1973; Sacks 1987; Sacks and Jefferson 1992), and they also demonstrate their understanding of the previous talk by producing the next action.

In order to explore more fully the unfolding of these dynamics, CA "has placed a primary focus on the sequential organization of interaction" (Heritage 2009: 304) and on conversation as a sequence of turn-taking moves.

3.8.1. Turn-taking and sequential organization

As mentioned in the previous section, actions accomplished by talking are performed through the succession of turns-at-talk (Heritage 2009).

Turns are pragmatic units consisting of Turn Constructional Units (TCU) that can be represented by grammatical, phraseological or lexical items and can be produced either phonetically or non-verbally (Ten Have 1999). The point in which the turn could be taken by another interlocutor - located at the end of the unit that constructs the turn - is called the "transition relevant place" (TRP). It is in this position that the turn could be allocated to a next speaker according to three main possibilities: the next interlocutor may be selected by the previous one (as mainly happens in institutional interactions), an interlocutor can self-select (as often happens in ordinary conversation), or the interlocutor holding the turn can continue speaking.

Turns are usually sequentially ordered (Hutchby and Wooffitt 2008) and each sequence of turns correspond to a sequence of actions. The meaning of each action is thereby heavily shaped by the sequence of previous actions or turns from which it emerges, while the action that an utterance performs strictly depends on its sequential position.

This concept of sequencing is also helpful in establishing and aligning the exchange of roles between speaker and hearer during the interaction, and it reveals participants' status and coordination within the conversation (Schegloff 1968: 1093).

The interplay between turn-taking and sequential organization is at the heart of CA and is primarily explored by analysing the concepts of adjacency pair and conditional relevance.

Adjacency pairs are paired actions that represent the minimal sequential turns, such as question-answer, greeting-greeting, offer-acceptance or declination. Schegloff and Sacks (1973: 295) defined adjacency pairs as "sequences which properly have the following features: (1) two utterance length, (2) adjacent positioning of component utterances, (3) different speakers producing each utterance".

Conditional relevance indicates the situation in which a second item or speaker following a first item or speaker is expectable. When this item does not occur or this speaker does not take the floor, they are officially singled out as absent (Schegloff 1968: 1083).

The two conversational features of adjacency pair and conditional relevance contribute to monitoring the flow of interaction and its coordination, as well as the participatory statuses that interlocutors assume within the conversation.

The next section will look in greater detail at the organization of adjacency pairs, which can be expanded in different positions. These expansions will be useful in showing child language brokers' conversational participation and their contribution to the interaction.

3.8.2. Side sequences

Adjacency pairs are usually composed of two turns that are ordered respectively into "first pair parts" (FPPs) and "second pair parts" (SPPs).

First pair parts include utterances such as requests, offers, invitations; second pair parts are utterances such as answers, accepts, or declines (Schegloff 2007). This

construction is the typical structure of the minimal adjacency pair, which, however, can also be expanded in three different positions: before the first pair part (pre-expansion), between the first and the projected second pair part (insert expansions) and after the second pair part (post-expansions).

These expansions constitute side (or insertion) sequences and reveal how participants contribute to the construction of talk and to the direction-giving activity (Psathas 1995).

The analysis of side sequences can be instrumental in examining child language brokered sequences as collaboratively-built actions and in highlighting child language brokers' initiatives and contribution to the direction of the talk.

3.8.3. Repair

The previous section has shown that speakers can work together to build interactional actions and realise a successful conversation. Similarly, when speakers intend to display their mutual understanding, they can align with each other by using feedback tokens, continuers, minimal answers, and other devices showing positive assessment. However, miscommunication may also occur, and, in this case, participants can disalign to each other or they may resort to conversational repair to manifest their disagreement.

Repairs are communicative actions performed to solve trouble in the progress of interaction such as, for example, problems of hearing, misunderstanding, disagreements or rejections. As Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008: 62) reported, there are four varieties of repair: (i) self-initiated self-repair, which takes place when the speaker of the repairable source takes the initiative to repair that source; (ii) other-initiated self-repair when others take such an initiative; (iii) self-initiated other-repair when the speaker of a problematic source may initiate the repair of that source which is then carried out by the recipient of the problematic source; and (iv) other-initiated other-repair when the recipient of a problematic source takes the initiative and carries out the repair.

The analysis of repairs is relevant to understand whether an interlocutor has understood what the previous utterance sought to accomplish and it can help to check whether participants are receiving each other's intended meanings and if they are connected to the context in which they are communicating.

3.8.4. Conversational analysis and institutional talk

The analysis of conversational moves, such as turn-taking, side-sequences or repair, can be of use to examine daily life interactions in informal contexts and also institutional talks.

Interactions can occur within family or informal settings, thus leading to ordinary conversation; or they may occur within social institutions, so producing institutional conversation, which usually "involves an orientation by at least one of the participants to some core goal, task or identity (or set of them) conventionally associated with the institution in question" (Drew and Heritage 1992: 22).

Institutional interactions are highly influenced by encounter-specific constraints and they are characterised by goal-oriented actions. Drew and Heritage (1992: 36) identified six elements constituting the main framework for institutional conversation:

- turn-taking organization;
- overall structural organization of the interaction;
- sequence organization;
- turn design;
- lexical or word choice;
- epistemological and other forms of asymmetry.

Both the presence of a turn-taking organisation and of a well-structured sequence organization highlight the interactional and contextual order of conversation, whereas the use of precise lexical choices refers to a specific terminology that characterises each institutional encounter. The reference to asymmetries reveals the presence of interactional power relationships.

Institutional conversation usually occurs in institutional settings where

"one primary participant is typically a professional – a police officer, a lawyer, a doctor, a psychologist, a professor, a social worker, etc. – with a certain amount of power, while the other primary participant is typically a non-professional (and a member of a linguistic minority) with only a limited amount of power" (Jacobsen 2008: 159 - 160).

The unequal knowledge between those participants who are members of the institution they represent and have command of the language and the rituals of that institution, and lay participants who act on their own behalf and are unfamiliar with the rules and rituals of the setting and often belong to a minority community, causes

unbalanced interactional relationships in which people have unequal cultural and social capital (Bourdieu 1985).

Child language brokered interactions may occur both in everyday contexts and in institutional settings. In this latter case, the migrant family and the child language brokers themselves are the lay participants who need to communicate with the members of the public institution.

The rationale for choosing CA as the method to analyse child language brokered events lies in its effectiveness in examining institutional social interactions and in studying how child language brokers organize the sequences of turn-taking that may favour or hamper the communication.

Through the analysis of sequential orientations, child language brokers may also demonstrate to hold a sufficient epistemic status, to have enough knowledge to be among the more knowledgeable participants in the interaction, and to be actively engaged in the construction of talk.

3.9. Erving Goffman and the sociology of interaction

As previously mentioned, CA studies have developed further over the years, exploring and transforming the interactive and social psychology theories developed by the sociologist Erving Goffman in his sociology of interaction (Goffman 1981).

The sociology of interaction plays an important role for this study, since it takes account of both the context and the interactive dimension of spoken events. It sets out to explore face-to-face interactions, their dialogic relations as well as the mutual influence that all parties exercise on one another (Goffman 1959). This provides a valuable participation framework for the analysis of child language brokered events.

Erving Goffman developed an interactionist approach that adopted a dramaturgical perspective to describe the different behaviours people assume in everyday life.

He used the metaphor of theatrical production with its different components to describe situated social interactions and to explain how individuals change their actions according to the image of the self they want to convey. He introduced the concept of social performance, described as "the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers" (Goffman 1959: 26). The individuals who take

part in a social performance often collaborate as if they were part of a team. This is the reason why Goffman used the term performance team to refer to people engaged in social interactions. This approach allowed him to stress the importance of three factors: the context or setting, the role that people play, or their appearance, and their behaviour or manner during social performances (Goffman 1959). This perspective also recognized the influence of other relevant elements that affect social interactions, such as the time and place in which they occur, the audience present, and the norms and beliefs shared by the social groups to which participants belong.

Goffman also identified three different positions that participants can take up during a performance: front stage, back stage and off-stage. Front stage behaviour is engaged when participants know that there is an audience watching and listening to them. The actions performed reflect the norms and expectations envisaged by the setting and the role played in such an interaction. This behaviour is shaped by a social routine ordered by cultural norms. Back stage behaviour is adopted when people think they do not have an audience listening or watching to them and thus it is considered as the place where "the performer can relax; he can drop his front, forgo speaking in his lines, and step out of character" (Goffman 1959: 488). The expectations and norms that characterize front stage behaviours are different from those that influence back stage behaviours. People are thought to express their true selves when on back stage. Off stage, or outside, refers to those situations during which individuals are not involved in the performance.

Similarly, Goffman also identified three categories of people in function of their right of access and responsibility in the performance: the performers, who have access to both front and back stages, the audience, who only appears in the front stage, and the outsiders, who are excluded from both the front stage and the back stage.

Goffman further highlighted the importance of the concept of role, which he subdivided into four categories: "normative role", "typical role", "activity role" and "role performance". The normative role refers to the expected role that a speaker should play according to a set of codes and normative role expectations; the typical role refers to the role played when acting under the influence of specific circumstances; the activity role refers to the role performed in particular contexts, such as the role of the "broker" or of the "representative of public institutions" in a child language brokered event; and the role performance refers to the actual behaviour presented by the person in accordance with his/her social role and personal style. The emphasis of Goffman's

analysis was on the concept of role performance, since he believed that the way in which participants perform their social roles is strictly related to the other performers and to the different elements of the face-to-face interaction. The different role-sets that a person may play are related to the roles of the other participants in the interaction. These roles constitute what Goffman called a "situated activity system", "a face-to-face interaction with others for the performance of a single joint activity, a somewhat closed, self-compensating, self-terminating circuit of interdependent actions" (Goffman 1961: 96).

This situated system is described as an interaction with a set of rules that governs it: "the workings of the interaction order can easily be viewed as the consequences of systems of enabling conventions, in the sense of the ground rules for a game, the provisions of a traffic code or the rules of syntax of a language" (Goffman 1983: 3).

Goffman also underlined the influence of participants' cultural background when they have to select, organize and handle different roles: "since norms regarding the management of one's multiple identifications derive in part from the general culture, we should expect differences in this regard from society to society and this is certainly the case" (1961: 140). Sometimes, however, there should be divergences between a role and its role performance. As Goffman pointed out:

> the individual must be seen as someone who organizes his expressive situational behaviour in relation to situated activity roles, but that in doing this he uses whatever means are at hand to introduce a margin of freedom and manoeuvrability (1961: 132–133).

Such a margin of freedom can be related to the concept of role distance, which is seen as one part of the role that does not belong to its associated normative framework (Goffman 1961: 115). The role distance has a significant influence on the analysis of role, since it allows individuals' personalities to be examined by means of the way in which they handle, co-ordinate and organize their roles, but without changing their images in other people's eyes.

This dramaturgical model developed by Goffman can also be applied to the analysis of the role of child language brokers. Goffman's idea of role as something that is to be performed and that can change according to the expectations of the people surrounding the participant who is speaking is an idea that can be studied within child

language brokered situations, where the child language broker is surrounded by other parties playing different roles and with different expectations.

All the elements described above constitute what Goffman defined as the social situation, a "full physical arena in which persons present are in sight and sound of one another" (Goffman 1981: 136). Such a strategic arena is related to the concept of a participation framework. As Goffman (*ibid.*: 3) contended: "when a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it". The different participation status and the roles that individuals can assume influence the organization of the communicative event and the distribution of responsibility in face-to-face interactions (Wadensjo 1998: 86).

According to Goffman, participating in a communication act implies taking on specific but variable roles within the dynamics of that interaction. This is one of the reasons why he argued in favour of the term participants instead of the simple speaker-hearer dyad that is inadequate to describe real interactive discourse.

Following this same logic, he further elaborated the concept of speaker and hearer. Based on their levels of participation in the conversation, listeners could be identified as listeners, hearers or recipients. They could also be ratified or unratified addressees (depending on their official status in the interaction), or addressed or unaddressed recipients, or bystanders. As for the speakers, they could be animators, authors or principals. In Goffman's terms (1981: 226), the animator is a "sounding box from which utterances come", the author is the person who composes the words uttered by the animator, and the principal is the person whose beliefs and ideas are represented by the words uttered. By breaking down the role of speaker into these three categories, Goffman provided a useful tool to analyse where the words originate, and which viewpoint they represent.

In 1998 Wadensjö complemented Goffman's production format by proposing a reception format, including three different modes of listening: reporter, responder, and recapitulator (1998: 91).

Reporters memorize and report words uttered by another speaker, responders are the recipients of the speech and they are expected to develop the discourse addressed to them, and recapitulators recapitulate what was said by a previous speaker giving him/her an "authorized voice".

Depending on which of these roles is performed, the production format and the reception format change, while the participation framework and status of each individual are constantly negotiated and re-evaluated during the interaction.

These distinctions within the production format and the reception format offer a way to analyse participants' alignment, or footing, with other interlocutors.

Goffman (1981: 128) defined footing as "the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present". Participants' footings can also change over the course of their speaking. This may happen, for example, when someone who has given up a floor in a conversation and taken up the footing of a recipient, is asked to re-enter the speaker role on the same footing with which s/he left. Speaker and hearer are two statuses that can be interchanged rapidly during a conversation, thereby changing the level of participation of the interlocutor.

The multiple roles and footings that participants assume may also be affected by participants' expectations about how their face, or public image, may be perceived by others. When introducing the concept of face, Goffman (1974) referred to "the positive claim on social value made by an individual and the line he or she takes".

Participants adopt specific behaviours or roles in order to handle their own and each other's face and to protect it from being threatened by face-threatening acts (FTA). FTA can question the interactional moves of the previous speakers, and can lead to the performance of face-saving acts by the participant whose face was threatened. Both face-threatening acts and face-saving acts influence the construction of the interaction and the relationship between participants.

3.10. Interpreting as a form of social interaction: Cecilia Wadensjö's taxonomy

Drawing on the sociology of interaction developed by Erving Goffman, Wadensjö (1998) applied the concepts of the participation framework and footing to the study of interpreters' participation in interpreter-mediated interactions. In particular, she adopted the notion of a participation framework to compare the ideal status of interpreters, traditionally considered as mechanical conduits, with their actual role performance in which they fully participate in the interaction.

The participatory role of interpreters is largely related to the interactional power that they hold in terms of linguistic and cultural competence. They represent the only party in a multilingual three-party interaction with access to the cultures and languages of both primary participants, thus controlling and coordinating the interaction.

Interpreters' position, linguistic repertoire and translating and coordinating activities are the key elements that reveal interpreters' full participation and can also be pivotal in enabling, promoting or hampering the participation of other participants (Pöchhacker 2012). As Wadensjö (1998: 42) argued, interpreters perform "on others' behalf various activities, such as persuading, agreeing, lying, questioning, claiming, explaining, comforting, accusing, denying, coordinating interaction, and so forth".

These activities show that interpreters' tasks include both "relaying", that is rendering what a participant says in the source language into the target language, and "coordinating" the talk, which means managing the turn-taking system and co-constructing the meaning (Wadensjö 1995; Wadensjö 1998; Metzger 1999; Roy 2000; Baraldi and Gavioli 2012). Interpreting is thus perceived as interaction (Wadensjö 1998) and can be studied by taking into account both the text that needs to be translated (defined by Wadensjö talk as text) and the interactive and social aims that participants intend to achieve (defined by Wadensjö talk as activity).

In order to analyse interpreters' participation and contributions in greater depth, Wadensjö (1998) developed a taxonomy based on two types of texts: those produced by primary participants and those produced by interpreters (defined as renditions). She identified the following seven types of renditions:

- close rendition: the rendition produced by the interpreter is similar in content and style to the original utterance;

- divergent rendition: the rendition produced by the interpreter differs substantially from the original in form and/or style;

- expanded rendition: the rendition produced by the interpreter adds information that was not present in the original utterance, such as explanations or clarifications;

- reduced rendition: the rendition produced by the interpreter is less fully expressed than in the original utterance;

- substituted rendition: a combination of reduction and expansion of information;

- zero renditions: the interpreter does not produce any rendition of the primary participants' utterances;

- non-renditions: the rendition is produced by the interpreter who takes the initiative and produces an utterance which is not the translation of someone else's utterance.

This taxonomy acknowledges the nature of interpreter-mediated encounters as authentic interactions that go beyond the text-to-text relationship and contributes to displaying the interpersonal nature of interpreting encounters considered as "communicative pas de trois" (Wadensjö 1998: 152).

By applying Wadensjö's taxonomy to child language brokered interactions, it is possible to reveal the active participation of child language brokers, which is not limited to the rendition of the source utterance into the target utterance, but includes challenging interactional activities, such as negotiating the meaning and managing the turn-taking system.

3.11. Relevant studies on the interactional nature of non-professional interpreting and brokering

As described in the previous sections, CA and the sociology of interaction have been applied by researchers investigating interpreting studies in order to highlight professional interpreters' visibility and agency. The same approach has been implemented in studies on non-professional or ad-hoc interpreting activities by analysing real-life data.

For example, in 1999, Pöchhacker examined the behaviour of a hospital cleaner acting as an ad-hoc interpreter for a patient of non-German-speaking background in a hospital in Vienna. Through the analysis of the ad-hoc interpreter's renditions, the author suggested that the non-professional interpreter often failed to provide renditions and tended to adopt a passive attitude. This study suggested that untrained interpreters fail to concentrate on their translation tasks and often introduce shifts in the gist of communication (Pöchhacker and Kadric 1999: 177).

The behaviours of ad-hoc interpreters were also examined by Baraldi (2016), who explored interactions during educational activities in international camps for children where English was used as a lingua franca. Italian educators acted as ad hoc interpreters for those Italian children experiencing difficulties in understanding and speaking English. Conversation analysis helped the author determine that despite the linguistic assistance provided by ad hoc interpreters, their renditions often tended to

limit children's active participation, mainly because of how ad hoc interpreters oriented their gatekeeping activities.

Ticca (2008; 2013; 2017) analysed the interpreting activities performed by bilingual speakers acting as untrained interpreters during face-to-face medical consultations in a rural Mexican village. She showed the challenges that non-professional interpreters face when translating linguistic meanings and bridging cultural differences. She also described ad hoc interpreters' identities as they emerged during the medical consultation in which they were mediating. The findings of these studies revealed that participants' identity is not static nor pre-established, but it is locally constituted and related to the activity that needs to be accomplished. The identity of the interpreter can be negotiated and can turn into multiple other identities, such as that of a peer or co-participant.

In 2017, Hlavac carried out a micro and macro level examination of three mediated Macedonian-English interactions that also included the presence of a non-professional interpreter, whom he defines as a broker. The results of his study suggested that any possible mistake or translation failure made by the broker could lead to tension and ambiguity. It also emerged that non-professional interpreters take up multiple roles, such as those of reporter, responder and recapitulator, while they perceive a sense of responsibility towards other participants' intentions and towards the interaction as a social situation (Hlavac 2017).

These studies are instrumental in highlighting the contributions of non-professional interpreters by observing their actions through the analysis of authentic data. They suggest the multiple roles that non-professionals take on and also report some of the limitations that may result from a reliance on ad hoc interpreters, e.g. "lack of renditions" or "non renditions" (Pöchhacker and Kadric 1999: 175), as well as their influence in limiting the participation in the social interaction of the recipients of ad-hoc interpreting (Baraldi 2016).

However, these studies focussed on the help provided by non-professional interpreters who are adults and who are not relatives of the beneficiaries of their help. The situation could be different when the non-professional is a child who brokers for his or her own family members.

Consequently, it can be helpful to also report the findings of other studies that have looked at real-life interactions to explore the contribution provided by child language brokers.

In 2004, Hall examined how Pakistani immigrant children in the UK handled and brokered the interaction during parent-teacher meetings. The author organised simulated encounters with actors playing the roles of mothers and teachers and authentic child language brokers. The analysis of these mock child language brokered interactions revealed that brokering was a multi-level interactive activity in which child language brokers were aware of the local and global contexts in which they interacted (Hall 2004). Despite providing useful insight into child language brokers' contributions, it is important to note that this study relied on simulated interactions, which might not correspond to how the participants would behave in real-life situations.

Sanchez and Orellana (2006) observed child language brokers interactions by examining how immigrant children co-construct their moral and social identities during real-life parent-teacher meetings; while Garcia Sanchez (2010) examined Moroccan child language brokers' role and active participation in negotiating cultural and generational habits between the host country and the migrant family. These two studies were among the first attempts to document authentic data involving the presence of minors whose participation was examined in terms of descriptive analysis and by focussing on their moral, social, and cultural identities.

Study of the conversational contributions of child language brokers using CA only began in 2010 with the work of Del Torto, who explored conversational and social aspects of CLB by focussing on linguistic shift and maintenance in a multi-generational North American Immigrant community. By recording and analysing sixty-five hours of family conversations, the author identified recurrent patterns in interpreting in the interactions of a multi-generational Italian-Canadian family. The focus was, *inter alia*, on triggered interpretation (when family interpreters interpreted because of perceived problems in the conversation) and non-triggered interpretation (when they interpreted even though it was not requested nor triggered by any turn-sequence problem) and on linguistic shift and maintenance: shift to English to interpret for older relatives, and maintenance of Italian with the other family members (Del Torto 2010).

A similar approach was adopted by Pugliese (2017), who analysed eighteen sequences of CLB between two schoolchildren in the same classroom using CA and by focussing on their translation strategies, paraphrasing and conceptual explanations. This study revealed that CLB for peers may correspond to peer teaching and may represent an example of "constructive classroom conversation".

Del Torto's (2010) and Pugliese's (2017) work was relevant to suggest the value of exploring such a complex phenomenon by means of CA. However, the two authors focussed on specific topics, such as linguistic shift and maintenance, and peer teaching. Further research should follow their examples to examine new aspects of CLB, such as child language brokers' ability to interact with the unfolding conversation and their agency within the brokered interaction.

This section has reviewed some of the studies that have relied on the analysis of real-life data and on the application of an interactional approach. They have all contributed to a better overview of the role and help of ad-hoc interpreters and child language brokers. However, only two of these studies used CA as a methodological approach to explore the conversational moves that child language brokers perform. Since CA is devoted to the study of authentic data, in particular of naturally-occurring talk-in interactions and highlights how participants relate to each other to bring social actions into being, it would be a valuable tool in the study of all those aspects of CLB that remain unexplored, e.g. child language brokers' interactional contribution and participation.

3.11. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the theoretical frameworks underpinning this research that can be used to examine CLB as a situated social interaction.

The study of social psychology helps to define and explore children's attitudes towards CLB. The new sociology of childhood offers a framework for defining and recognizing child language brokers' agency. CA allows us to explore how such an agency is performed in real-life interactions by examining how child language brokers co-construct the meaning of the talk. Finally, the sociology of interaction examines how child language brokers relate to other people and which roles they take on during their performances as language brokers.

Taken together, these theoretical approaches provide the most suitable tools to investigate in depth child language brokers' attitudes, self-perceptions, and interactional contributions.

The next chapter will offer a detailed description of the methodology implemented to gather and analyse the three data samples: the questionnaire, the interview, and the audio-recorded child-language-brokered interactions.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

The primary objective of the present research is twofold: examining child language brokers' attitudes and self-perceptions about language brokering, and investigating child language brokers' interactional contributions while brokering. The aim is to explore how CLB is perceived, experienced and performed by Italian migrant children and adolescents, with a focus on how they perceive this activity, and on how they handle and co-participate in the interaction they broker. Considering that emotions and feelings are some of the social factors that most influence actions and interactions (Webster and Foschi 1998), the measurement of child language brokers' attitudes and self-perceptions about this practice is considered to be of the utmost importance for the analysis of their interactional contribution while brokering.

The study of attitudes, self-perceptions, and interactional contributions was carried out in three separate but parallel stages and by implementing a mixed-methods approach, relying on three different samples and seeking to provide a comprehensive picture of this practice. Such a methodology combines quantitative data, provided by the administration of a self-reported questionnaire, with qualitative data, provided by the recording and transcript of interviews and real-life child-language-brokered-interactions. The three different stages are instrumental in gaining deeper insight on CLB conceived as a multifaceted and complex situated social practice.

The first stage involved the revision of the questionnaire design and its administration to migrant high school students who might have experienced child language brokering, with the purpose of examining their affective, behavioural and cognitive attitudes about this practice. The second stage included in-depth interviews conducted with migrant junior high school students who experienced child language brokering, with the intent to delve more into child language brokers' self-perceptions about this practice. The third and final stage consisted of recording real-life data related to child-language brokered interactions, in an effort to observe and examine child language brokers' contributions when in action.

By applying a mixed-method approach, this research intends to offer a comprehensive framework of child language brokers' perceptions and recollections about this activity and of their interactional behaviour when brokering.

This chapter will elaborate on the methodologies applied within this thesis by starting with two sections (4.2 and 4.3) dealing with the ethical considerations and the

difficulties in doing research with minors. It will then delve into the use of mixed methodologies and it will explain each method in detail. Section 4.5 will describe the construction and design of each research instrument, with a focus on their advantages and disadvantages and the related samples used. The chapter will conclude with a section related to the issue of researcher's positionality.

4.2. Research with minors: ethical considerations

Seeking to examine child language brokers' attitudes, self-perceptions, and contributions, this research project collected children and adolescents' voices and studied their interactional behaviour while brokering. The assumption underlying this objective is that minors, and migrant children and adolescents in this type of case, are fully-fledged social actors who are competent participants in research activities.

This approach takes a stand against the once predominant perspective according to which "researching children's experiences is grounded in 'research on' rather than 'research with' or 'research for' children" (Darbyshire et al. 2005: 419). This dominant perspective prevailed until the 1990s and was based on two main assumptions: children were vulnerable and incompetent, and childhood was a period of powerlessness during which children's voices are rarely heard. Adults were considered mature and competent, while children are invisible and "less than fully human, unfinished or incomplete" (Jenks 1996: 10).

A profound change in the perception of children and childhood took place during the last decades of the twentieth century and a major turning point was marked by the publication of Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC 1989 online[18]), which stipulated that "States parties assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child".

The decades following the implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child witnessed the development of a new sociology of childhood, which was characterised by an increasing awareness of the need to acknowledge children's rights to express their own opinion, and of children as competent social

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[18] http://wwwohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/crc.pdf

actors. This was an advocate for acknowledging children's agency and for children to be perceived as active participants and holders of rights (Qvortrup 1994; Mayall 2002).

Given this new perspective aimed at giving children their voice, new considerable challenges arise and are still present in methodological and ethical issues about how to conduct research with or on children. Some researchers argue that different or specific methods are not needed because children are able to participate in almost all data collection methods applied with adult informants (Christen and James 2000), whereas other researchers adopt new methods tailored to the child's age and skills, that should be more familiar to them. Innovative and adapted techniques were thus developed, such as the use of pictures and diaries (Nesbitt 2000), sentence completion and writing (Morrow 1999), and drawings and narratives (Cline et al. 2011; Antonini 2017).

Additionally, scrupulous attention should be paid to the ways of collecting, analysing and interpreting data, and to protect the respondents from any uncomfortable situation (Morrow and Richards 1996). When conducting studies with minors, enough time for the completion of the research should also be planned, since the development of a relationship of trust and familiarity between the researcher and the researched is often a prerequisite for obtaining a child's consent to take part in the research activities. Establishing a strong connection with child participants is also essential for a thorough exploration of their inner thoughts.

In relation to the ethical issues about researching with or on minors, "the application of a system of moral principles to prevent harming or wronging others, to promote the good, to be respectful, and to be fair" (Sieber 1993: 14) needs to be guaranteed and safeguarded. Specifically, when research is carried out with children, two major elements should be ensured: informed consent and data protection. The informed consent, which is given by anyone who "voluntarily agrees to participate in a research project, based on a full disclosure of pertinent information" (Tymchuk 1992: 128), is usually obtained from adult gatekeepers, who could also potentially limit the researcher's access to the children. Parental consent is a key requisite in ethical research and it should be obtained even though child respondents are entitled to refuse to participate in the study by giving their informed dissent. Besides obtaining both parent and child consent, data protection must also be guaranteed and information about how the data is processed must be provided to the informants.

For the purposes of this research, both the respondent's and their parental consent were required before conducting the survey, the interviews and the recording of child language brokered interactions. A rapport of trust and confidence was also built between myself, the researcher, and some of the children being studied, through the close collaboration we established during my time as a volunteer at the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì, a youth centre attended by most of the respondents that were interviewed or audio-recorded while brokering (as explained in detail in the following sections and chapters).

By giving voice to child language brokers, this research project adopted the perspective of children as active social agents, and it relied on the definition provided by James and Prout (1990: 8) according to which children are "active in the construction of their own lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live".

4.3. Difficulties in collecting data

In order to delve into child language brokers' perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours, the use of a multi-strategy research technique was planned at the outset of the research project, by virtue of the benefits of comparing and contrasting the results obtained from both quantitative and qualitative methods. However, the three sets of data collected and then triangulated, namely the questionnaire, the interview and the recording of real-life child-brokered interactions, were not established at the beginning of the research, but were chosen while the study was in progress according to the respondents' availability and preference towards the use of specific research tools. Given the complexity and situated nature of CLB, the approach adopted in this thesis was data-driven, and the methodologies applied were chosen considering the characteristics of respondents who agreed to take part in this study.

During the course of the study, the research questions also changed because of data-collection limitations. At the beginning of this project, a careful reading of the literature on child language brokering had highlighted how little attention had been paid to the perspectives of child language brokers' parents and only a few studies (Kaur and Mills 1993; Valdés 2003; Martinez et al. 2009; Corona et al. 2012) focused on parents' attitudes and reactions to CLB. This was one of the reasons why the initial aim of my PhD research was to examine the perspectives of both child language brokers and their

parents and to examine whether they converged or differed in terms of attitudes towards this practice.

Given the considerable difficulties finding and gaining access to migrant parents as they were very often reluctant to be surveyed or interviewed, it was even more difficult to investigate the point of view of parents and children belonging to the same family. Despite many attempts to reach them through cultural, religious and charity associations, migrant families were always wary at being involved in a research study conducted by an outsider. I did not belong to any of their minority communities and I did not speak their native languages, so it was difficult for us to communicate and for me to gain their trust. Given such obstacles, the sample of data collected was very limited to be considered as appropriate to investigate parents' perspectives and was thus insufficient data to be included in the research questions of this thesis.

Considering the complex data collection issues I was facing, different alternatives were selected. I tried to contact high schools as a vehicle to administer self-reported questionnaires related to child language brokering activities, by following the examples of a number of previous studies that used schools as the access point to collect information about CLB (Cline et al. 2010, Cirillo 2017). This methodology had also been used for my master's degree thesis and it had proved to be valid and reliable. The target schools that I decided to reach for this thesis were vocational high schools attended by students from 14 to 18 years of age. These schools were chosen given the high number of foreign students enrolled. Six of the vocational institutes out of the ten that were approached agreed to participate in the research activities.

Additionally, I contacted the Welcome Youth Centre, a non-profit association that organizes after-school activities for migrant children between 6 and 14 years of age in Forlì, Italy. During the first meeting with the head organizer, I described the topic of my research project and I presented some of the activities I intended to do with the migrant students attending this centre. The head organizer was very interested in child language brokering activities and deemed it beneficial for the migrant children frequenting the centre to take part into my research activities. For this reason, I also suggested that I could volunteer at the youth centre in exchange for their help and support.

During the first months of our collaboration, I went to the centre twice a week to help the migrant students do their homework and to get to know them. When a good relationship of trust and friendship had been established, I proposed that those who had

experiences as language brokers keep a diary to write a one page entry each time they were asked to act as language brokers.

They first welcomed this project with enthusiasm, but except for the first diary entry that we did all together during one of the after-school laboratories, none of them continued keeping the diary, despite my encouragement every two or three weeks to record their CLB experiences. Other researchers who used this method rewarded their participants with gifts or vouchers. The lack of a reward and the young age of the participants were, likely, some of the reasons this research technique was unsuccessful.

After this failed attempt, I asked the migrant students attending the centre whether they wanted to talk about their experiences as language brokers during a video-recorded interview and most of them were enthusiastic about the proposal. After receiving their parents' consents, we settled on a time and place for the interviews.

The Welcome Youth Centre was also the venue where I had the opportunity to collect real-life data by recording child brokered interactions during the meetings arranged between child language brokers' parents and the Italian educators who enrolled the children in the after-school laboratories.

In spite of the difficulties related to finding study participants and to collecting data, a mixed methodology was managed to be implemented allowing for both qualitative and quantitative data and leading to a deeper analysis of the phenomenon of child language brokering.

4.4.Mixed Methodology

In order to fulfil the ambitious objective of examining how the practice of child language brokering is perceived, recalled and performed by child language brokers, by examining both their attitudes and behaviours, the mixed methods approach seemed to be the most appropriate methodology to implement. Johnson et al. (2007) provided a clear definition of this research method by arguing that:

> mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration (Johnson et al. 2007: 123).

The use of this methodology combining both qualitative and quantitative data analysis has recently gained prominence in the field of social sciences, but it has also been the subject of intense debate. Indeed, until quite recently, qualitative research was not considered completely reliable since it was believed to tend towards:

> an anecdotal approach […] in relation to conclusions or explanations […]. Brief conversations, snippets from unstructured interviews […] are used to provide evidence of a particular contention. There are grounds for disquiet in that the representativeness of generality of these fragments is rarely addressed (Bryman 1988: 77).

In particular, three main positions were identified on the use of a mixed method approach (Greene et al. 1989): the purists, the situationalists, and the pragmatists. The purists considered qualitative and quantitative methods as divergent paradigms that could not be mixed (Guba 1985, Smith and Heshusius 1986); the situationalists acknowledged the difference of these two approaches but recognized the contribution of adopting different perspectives (Filstead 1979; Oakley 1981); whereas the pragmatists argued in favour of a more pluralistic approach (Walker 1985; Miles and Huberman 1994).

Despite the presence of these different stances, the use of mixed methods has recently increased thanks to its ability to converge the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative data analysis and to provide enriched and overarching research results. An increasing number of researchers recognize that:

> data collection and analysis can be done in both modes, and in various combinations, during all phases of the research project. Just as important is that there can be back-and-forth interplay between combinations of both types of procedures, with qualitative data affecting quantitative analyses and vice versa (Strauss and Corbin 1998: 31).

Therefore, the choice of a mixed methodology in this thesis was based on the belief that combining the use of indirect sources (quantitative and qualitative data) with direct sources (qualitative data) could contribute to a comprehensive framework of CLB as a multifaceted and socially situated practice. Specifically, indirect sources were represented by the use of self-reported questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, while direct sources were represented by the real-life child language brokered interactions that were recorded, transcribed and examined using conversation analysis conventions and methods. This integration of qualitative and quantitative data and of

direct and indirect sources allowed for a thorough analysis and understanding of this practice.

In particular, both data collection and analysis were integrated and triangulated. As Richards et al. (2011) explained, triangulation:

> brings qualitative and quantitative methods to bear on a research problem in a single phase in order to better understand it. Typically, the researcher collects the data separately but at the same time, then brings them to bear on the problem, giving each element equal weight (Richards et al. 2011: 308).

For the purpose of this thesis, triangulation involved the use of (a) self-administered questionnaires, (b) semi-structured interviews, and (c) naturally occurring data, respectively analysed by means of inferential statistics, thematic analysis and conversation analysis.

The different phases regarding the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data were carried out following the convergent parallel design (Creswell and Plano Cark 2011): data were collected and analysed independently, but at the same time, and the results were integrated and mixed during their overall interpretation and discussion.

The use of this multi-strategy method allowed for an in-depth investigation of child language brokers' attitudes and self-perceptions about this practice and a thorough observation of their contributions while brokering. By integrating both qualitative and quantitative data, alignments and convergences among the results obtained were highlighted and a deeper interpretation was provided.

4.5. The research instruments

The three research instruments used for the scope of this research were a self-reported questionnaire, a semi-structured interview protocol, and the recordings of real-life interactions brokered by migrant children. These three research instruments were used with three different samples of participants.

4.5.1. Quantitative data: The questionnaire

The self-perception and attitudes of migrant adolescents about child language brokering were examined through the data collected by means of a self-reported questionnaire. The purpose of this research tool was threefold: it aimed at examining the (1) affective, (2) behavioural, and (3) cognitive attitudinal components about CLB, with a focus on

the migrant adolescents' perceived feelings about and perceived benefits of this activity. A fourth implicit intent related to the administration of this questionnaire was to raise and increase child language brokers' awareness of the role they perform.

The data collected were analysed to determine the extent to which child language brokering is practiced among the adolescents surveyed, and to identify the main characteristics and outcomes of this practice. All data collected represent the respondents' self-reported view on the items included in the questionnaire.

During the administration of this self-reported questionnaire, myself, the researcher, was present to explain the purpose of the inquiry to all the participants. The questionnaire used was a monolingual Italian version (Appendix 1) and the confidentiality of information and participants' anonymity were guaranteed and respected, as explained in the consent form signed by all the respondents and by one of their respective parents (Appendix 4).

4.5.2. Advantages and disadvantages of the use of questionnaires

The use of self-reported questionnaires has been the focus of intense discussions in the field of social sciences (Cook and Campbell 1979; Dodorico Mc-Donald 2008) and has both advantages and disadvantages. When considering the strengths of this research tool, multiple advantages can be taken into consideration.

First of all, questionnaires represent an easy and quick way to collect data from greater number of people than is possible by interviewing respondents. Secondly, the data obtained can be interpreted and analysed efficiently and rigorously through statistical methods. Thirdly, they provide a detailed account of the respondents' opinions, attitudes and beliefs; and finally, well-designed attitudinal constructs included in questionnaires are less influenced by the respondents' desire to provide answers that put them in a favourable position in the eyes of the researcher (Dodorico Mc-Donald 2008; Chan 2009). Questionnaires can also be considered cost-effective and versatile measuring tools thanks to their ability to reach a variety of people, in multiple situations, by covering numerous topics.

This method of inquiry may also bring some disadvantages. First of all, questionnaires could be unsuitable for delving deeply into specific issues because the questions need to be simple, understood by all the respondents and answered in a rather short time, thus producing rather superficial data compared with other research methods (Moser and Kalton 1971). Secondly, the respondents may be prone to leaving out

certain questions, either because they misread or misinterpret them or because they do not want to answer them (Low 1999). Thirdly, questionnaires require the respondents to be able to read and write quite well, and this may represent a challenging task for those respondents with literacy problems or limited proficiency in the language of the questionnaire when they are still learning it, as often happens in applied linguistic research (Dörnyei 2010: 10 - 11). A fourth considerable issue with questionnaires is that participants, especially when they are unsure about their answers, may tend to agree with all the sentences, above all with attitudinal statements, regardless of their content. This behaviour is defined as *acquiescence bias* (Soto et al. 2008; Rammstedt et al. 2010) and it is adopted by all those respondents who choose to answer anything that sounds good (Robinson et al. 1991). In addition to the tendency to agree with all the statements, another major drawback of the questionnaires is related to the possibility that respondents may answer in the way that they think will please the researcher, giving rise to the social desirability bias (Cook and Campbell 1979). The social desirability bias arises when transparent questions lead to desirable or expected answers that are easy to predict by the respondents, who often opt for these responses regardless of their actual feelings or beliefs.

As Pole and Lampard argued:

> the interpersonal nature of the respondent-interviewer encounter may push respondents into answering questions in a "socially desirable" fashion, i.e. one which they expect to make the interviewer think well of them (2002: 105).

Another factor that may weaken the validity of the questionnaire is related to the measurement of attitudes and to the way the respondents answer the Likert scales. They may provide biased results by choosing responses towards either the end or the middle of the scale, especially when they are undecided (Cronbach 1990; Black 1999). The respondents may also be tempted to provide similar answers to all the items included in the same scale-question.

In order to limit these negative aspects, the use of a less direct approach, such as, for example, the use of a battery of attitudinal statements instead of single attitudinal items, may represent one possible solution (Fowler 1995). When a straightforward approach is applied, the respondents are more likely to choose the more culturally acceptable answer, whereas a less direct approach may help the researcher obtain answers which "get a little nearer to what the respondents might have said in their

ordinary lives, as opposed to the very artificial context of the survey interview or questionnaire" (Sapsford 1999: 106). Additionally, when these batteries of items are adopted, "no individual item carries an excessive load, and an inconsistent response to one item would cause limited damage" (Skehan 1989: 11). The use of multi-item scales can thus reduce the disadvantages related to the use of attitudinal scales and limit the negative influence of problems related to the wording of items (DeVellis 2003), which can undermine the validity of the survey.

For this reason, the wording of questions needs to be carefully devised in any questionnaire, since it "is key to its validity as a measuring instrument, and can contribute significantly to its reliability or lack thereof" (Black 1999: 226). In order to avoid the most common problems related to the wording of questions, "first of all, focus and contents must be right; second, the wording must be suitable; and third, the context, sequence and response categories (if any) must help the respondent without unintentionally biasing the answers" (Oppenheim 1999: 121). It is thus important for the researcher to motivate the respondents without affecting their attitudes and responses.

Having considered both the advantages and disadvantages of surveys, the rationale behind the choice of a questionnaire to explore child language brokers' self-perceptions and attitudes was twofold. First of all, it represented a feasible strategy to propose to high-school head masters in order to encourage them to agree to participate in this research. When research is carried out in schools, the use of self-administered questionnaires, especially with closed questions, is highly recommended. Questionnaires can satisfy the need to have a survey tool that is easy and quick to both administer and fill in. It does not require the students to miss too much class time, and it is easier for the students to fill in a questionnaire given their tendency to read faster than they write. Secondly, questionnaires can provide accurate sampling and a minimum bias from the researcher.

In view of this, and considering the respondents' age ranging from 12 to 18, the administration of a questionnaire was deemed to be an appropriate research tool to collect a quite extensive set of data.

4.5.3. Target population

The questionnaire was designed for migrant adolescents from 12 to 18 years of age. As mentioned in the previous section, in order to obtain the largest amount of data, these respondents were contacted through the schools that they attended.

The schools selected belong to the association named ENGIM (Ente Nazionale Giuseppini del Murialdo), a non-profit body devoted to develop adolescents and young adults' professionalism and to enhance their social promotion (ENGIM online). In Italy, the ENGIM institutes are located in the following regions: Piedmont, Veneto, Lombardy, Emilia Romagna, Lazio, and Sicily, and they all provide free vocational trainings.

The rationale behind the choice of these institutes lies in the high percentage of migrant students who are encouraged to attend these training institutes thanks to their vocational programmes and to the absence of tuition fees. Specifically, seven ENGIM institutes located in the centre and northern regions of Italy (Lazio, Emilia-Romagna, Lombardy and Piedmont) took part in this research.

The ENGIM institute located in the Lazio region was based in Rome and the students who took part in the research were attending courses aiming to train bakers, pastry chefs, waiters, electronics consultants, aestheticians and hairstylists (ENGIM Rome online). The two ENGIM institutes located in the Emilia-Romagna region were based in Cesena and Ravenna, and the students who took part in the research were attending courses aiming to train refrigeration experts (ENGIM Cesena online), and aestheticians and hairstylists (ENGIM Ravenna online). The two ENGIM institutes located in the Lombardy region were based in the province of Bergamo and the students who took part in the research were attending courses aiming to train electricians, plumbers, aeromechanical experts, and chefs (ENGIM Lombardy online). The three ENGIM institutes located in the Piedmont region were based in the province of Turin and the students who took part in the research were attending courses aiming to train mechanics, electricians, and chefs (ENGIM Piedmont online).

The sampling technique selected and applied can be defined as purposive cluster sampling, which is a modified sampling method that "takes advantage of the fact that most populations are structured in some way, or could be divided in sub-sections according to certain characteristics" (Oppenheim 1992: 40). I first selected the respondents (migrant adolescents from 12 to 18), and I then identified the schools (the vocational ENGIM institutes in Italy) where I could easily find these respondents.

Cluster sampling was thus considered as the most adequate tool to guarantee the representativeness of the sample, despite the downsides it may have, which include the risk of a higher sampling error and of greater anomalies in terms of distribution and homogeneity of attitudes and behaviours.

4.5.4. Initial considerations

The process carried out to contact the ENGIM institutes and to obtain their support in this study was challenging and slow.

I first contacted the schools by phone and presented the research project either to their headmasters or to the secretaries. I then sent an e-mail to the school address with a presentation letter outlining the aim, design and method of the research and a copy of the questionnaire. Six out of the ten schools that were contacted agreed to participate.

The schools' administrative offices contributed to the selection of the respondents by identifying those students with foreign origins or who were not born in Italy.

After this selection, a consent form aiming to obtain the respondents' parental permission was delivered to all the identified respondents (Appendix 4), and only those students whose parents signed the consent forms were included in the research.

Two main issues negatively affected the number of respondents available to participate in the survey. Several students forgot to bring their parents' consent forms back with their parents' signature or lost them, and other students were not present when the survey was administered because they were carrying out their compulsory apprenticeship.

I, the researcher, was always present when the respondents completed the questionnaires, and this allowed me to explain more clearly some questions if the respondents found them difficult to understand or to decode, or to clarify any aspect that may have not been clear to them. The choice to be present during the administration of the survey was deliberate and it was driven by the awareness that the respondents were adolescents and it could be their first time filling in a questionnaire. Additionally, since the respondents had mixed migrant backgrounds, their linguistic skills could be diverse, due to limited literacy, which meant they might need help in completing the survey (even though this was not the case for the respondents of this study).

However, the researcher's presence during the administration of the survey could exacerbate some disadvantages linked to the use of questionnaires. The replies, for example, could be biased by his/her presence since the respondents may feel tempted to please or impress the investigator by providing answers that were different to the opinions they really hold. Being aware of this risk, I tried to answer the respondents' doubts by providing explanations in the most objective and unbiased way possible.

4.5.5. Questionnaire design: Initial structure

The building structure of the questionnaire I intended to administer to high-school students drew on the questionnaire that I used for my master's thesis, which had been designed to investigate child language brokering experiences among students aged between 11 and 13 years of age.

The questionnaire that I used for my master's thesis was first created by the In MediO PUERI research group (Cirillo 2017) and was partially based on the Language Brokering Scale developed by Tse (1995). It was divided into three sections dealing with: (1) child language brokers' personal information, (2) child language brokers' and their family members' linguistic skills, and (3) child language brokering activities, with a focus on the settings, documents, and people involved in this practice.

I used this questionnaire as a point of reference and I kept its structure divided into three sections (personal information, linguistic skills, and CLB activities). However, given the older age of the respondents of this research study, I deemed it appropriate to add attitudinal scales in the third section to investigate CLB more thoroughly.

In particular, the questions concerning the settings where the respondents brokered, the documents they translated and the people they helped in communicating were turned into ordinal scale questions in which the respondents were asked to rate the frequency of brokering related to each possible given statement (PEOPLE, SETTING, and DOCUMENT scales). A Likert-scale battery comprising 20 items related to the affective and cognitive attitudes about CLB was also added (ATTITUDE scale), together with an ordinal scale of 6 items exploring the respondents' feelings when brokering in different settings (COMFORT scale).

After applying these changes to the questionnaire that I had used for my master's thesis, the new questionnaire comprised three sections: the first aimed at assessing child language brokers' and their family members' personal information, the second containing questions on child language brokers' and their parents' linguistic skills, and the third exploring the respondents' affective, behavioural and cognitive attitudes about CLB, by means of three ordinal scales (PEOPLE, SETTING, DOCUMENT scales), one Likert scale (ATTITUDE scale) and a final ordinal scale (COMFORT scale).

4.5.6. Pilot study and further changes

This version of the questionnaire was piloted among forty students attending the ENGIM institute located in the city of Ravenna. The respondents of the pilot testing were selected to have the same characteristics as the target population chosen for the final survey.

The goal was to ascertain the validity and reliability of the questionnaire, to determine the appropriateness of this research tool, and to reduce its non-response rates.

4.5.6.1. Reliability and validity

It is crucial to measure both the validity and reliability of the survey by conducting its item analysis. As Oppenheim argued:

> reliability refers to the purity and consistency of a measure, to repeatability, to the probability of obtaining the same results again if the measure were to be duplicated. Validity, on the other hand, tells us whether the question, item or score measures what it is supposed to measure (1992: 144 – 145).

If the reliability and validity of factual questions are easier to check, respectively through internal checks (e.g. factual consistency among the answers, introduction of phony items) and external checks, the reliability and validity of attitudinal questions are more difficult to assess. As reported by Oppenheim (1992: 174), attitudes refer to a "state of readiness, a tendency to respond in a certain manner when confronted with certain stimuli". When attitudes are measured, it is important to have sets of questions or attitude scales which are more reliable than single questions, since they:

> "give more consistent results, mainly because vagaries of question wording will probably apply only to particular items, and thus any bias may cancel out, whereas the underlying attitude will be common to all the items in a set or scale" (Oppenheim 1992: 147).

4.5.6.2. Reliability analysis: item discrimination and inter-item consistency

The reliability of a scale is a precondition to its validity. This can be assessed through item discrimination, which measures how well a single item correlates with the whole battery of items, and inter-item consistency, which assesses whether the items of a scale correlate highly with each other (Dörnyei 2010).

More specifically, item discrimination assesses the correlation between an item with the remainder of the items in aggregate and it is measured by the corrected item

total correlation. The ideal value for this statistic would be a positive value (Angelelli 2004: 61). Item discrimination statistics for the 20-item Likert scale battery ranged from .251 to .618, which indicated a good common item directionality.

The internal item consistency measures the homogeneity of the items included in a multi-item scale and verifies if they measure the same target area (Dörnyei 2010). It was analysed using the Cronbach Alpha coefficient, which generally ranges between 0 and 1 and the closer it is to 1, the greater the internal consistency of the items in the scale. Moreover, the greater the number of items in the scale, the higher the value α will be. While there is no general agreement with regard to the cut-off value for Cronbach's alpha, the tendency is to place it at greater than 0.70. However, as Dörnyei (2010: 94) maintained, short scales of three or four items should reach at least a reliability coefficient of 0.60.

The Cronbach's α for the Likert scale group of items was 0.746, and thus considered reliable. However, notwithstanding that the 20-item Likert scale turned out to be reliable, professor Angelelli, who supervised my research study for the three months I spent at Heriot-Watt University for my compulsory research period abroad, suggested that the battery of 20 items comprising this one single Likert scale could actually be subdivided into shorter batteries of items targeted to measure more specific dimensions of CLB.

For this reason, in order to obtain better structured and more consistent sub-batteries of items and to select the best and more adequate statements for each sub-battery, a data-driven approach was implemented using item analysis.

After examining the items and studying how they could group together, I first tried to identify the sub-components making up this initial group of twenty attitudinal statements classifying them into four categories ("perceived feelings", "perceived benefits", "CLB and bilingualism and biculturalism" and "CLB and future implications").

During this process, each item was correlated with the total item pool in which it was included. By deleting five items that did not fit in any of these four sub-groups, the total inter-item consistency of the fifteen remaining items raised to 0.797. Nevertheless, the internal item consistency of each of these four categories was too low to be considered acceptable.

I therefore reduced the four categories to two ("perceived feelings" and "perceived benefits") and this choice proved to be more adequate and reliable. However,

some items resulted as belonging to both categories and this is the reason why I tested the Cronbach Alpha coefficient to decide in which category they performed better.

As a result of this test, I also deleted one item from the initial pool of twenty because it did not perform efficiently, thus improving the total inter-item consistency of the nineteen remaining items to 0.789. These nineteen remaining items were classified into the two categories "perceived feelings" and "perceived benefits", which respectively reported an inter-item consistency of 0.717 and 0.782. Table 4.1 illustrates the items belonging to the two categories. It is important to note that the items reported in this thesis were translated into English by the researcher myself. The original Italian version can be seen in Appendix 1.

Table 4.1.   Likert-scale item analysis

Perceived feelings	Perceived benefits
a. I am proud to be a language broker	a. Acting as language broker has improved my character and personality
b. I am embarrassed to be a language broker	b. Acting as language broker helped me improve my Italian
c. Acting as language broker is stressful	c. Language brokering made my parents more dependent on me
d. I enjoy acting as language broker	d. Language brokering helped me to become more mature and independent
e. Acting as language broker implies too much responsibility	e. Language brokering helped my parents become more independent
f. I like acting as language broker because I'm given responsibility	f. Acting as language broker helped me improve my parents' language
	g. Language brokering allowed me to gain knowledge on Italy and Italian culture
	h. Language brokering encouraged me to be more familiar with my parents' country and to visit it
	i. Language brokering has influenced the choice of my studies
	j. Speaking foreign languages and acting as language broker are useful for the job I will do in the future
	k. Language brokering encouraged me to go on studying foreign languages
	l. Language brokering has helped my academic performance
	m. Language brokering made me think about becoming a professional mediator/translator

Following this inter-item consistency analysis that helped to scale the attitude statements, the initial battery of twenty items was subdivided into two batteries of six and thirteen items respectively that targeted two specific dimensions: the respondents' perceived feelings about CLB (FEEL scale) and the perceived benefits that this activity could have for them (BENEFIT scale).

The reliability analysis (item discrimination and inter-item consistency analyses) improved the instrument reliability and gave a more meaningful content and a better structure to the survey.

4.5.6.1. Validity

As Oppenheim (1992: 160) argued, "validity indicates the degree to which an instrument measures what it is supposed or intended to measure". Each measuring instrument may have more than one validity and there are also different types of validity (content validity, concurrent validity, predictive validity, and construct validity).

When measuring behaviours or attitudes, it is more difficult to ascertain the validity of the survey, that is whether the instrument measures what it is supposed to measure.

However, I performed a check on the content validity of the questionnaire by carefully examining the contents of all the attitudinal items.

4.5.6.2. Further considerations after the pilot study

Besides checking the validity and reliability of this instrument, the pilot test was also helpful to determine the appropriateness of this research tool, and to reduce its non-response rates.

On the basis of the analysis of the responses to the pilot questionnaire, certain items were rephrased and made clearer, and other questions in the demographic section were eliminated because they turned out to measure information that was not relevant for the purpose of this study.

The pilot study also confirmed that the questionnaire was the adequate tool for the respondents of this study, as previous researchers (e.g. Tse 1995; Weisskirch 2007; Cirillo 2017) had already suggested by implementing it as a main research instrument.

4.5.7. Pre-test

A small pre-test of this new version of the questionnaire obtained after the pilot study was conducted among 15 immigrant adolescents attending the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì where I was volunteering by helping them do their homework.

This pre-test aimed at identifying and eliminating any remaining problems related to the completion of the instrument. To this end, a few questions concerning biographical data and linguistic skills were either deleted as considered repetitive or reformulated. The final version of the questionnaire was thus ready to be administered.

4.5.8. Final design of the questionnaire

The final design of the questionnaire, after the revision process, was designed to contain mostly closed questions with pre-coded answers, multi-item scales, and only a few open-ended questions, organised in well-structured sections that made its completion easy and straightforward for the respondents.

The questionnaire contained 42 questions including a total number of 123 variables. It comprised factual, behavioural and attitudinal questions and was divided into three sections (see Table 4.2).

The first section included fourteen questions aiming to elicit socio-demographic information and to assess independent variables, such as, among others, respondents' age, gender, place of birth, number of years living in Italy, order of birth, their parents' places of birth and jobs. They included both pre-coded and open-ended answers.

The second section consisted of eight questions and explored the respondents' and their family members' linguistic skills. The questions contained in this section intended to assess independent variables, such as, for example, migrants' competence in the language(s) they speak besides Italian, and their parents' and their own frequency of use of both Italian and other language(s).

The third and last section contained twenty questions related to the activity of language brokering. These twenty questions can be subdivided into four sub-groups to better outline the construction of this section.

The first sub-group of questions contained ten questions aimed to obtain preliminary information about the respondents' experiences as language brokers, in order to assess, among others, whether they had ever brokered, if they were still brokering and how often they performed this activity at the time of the data collection.

The second sub-group of questions contained three ordinal scales designed to measure the respondents' behavioural attitudes towards CLB, namely:

- the people for whom the respondents broker and how often they broker for them (PEOPLE scale, eleven items);

- the settings in which the respondents broker and how often they broker there (SETTING scale, eleven items);

- the documents that the respondents sight-translate and how often they broker them (DOCUMENT scale, eight items).

The third sub-group of questions included two Likert scales and one ordinal scale designed to measure the respondents' affective and cognitive attitudes towards CLB. More specifically,

- the first Likert scale included six items aimed to explore the affective attitudes that respondents have by examining their feelings towards CLB (FEEL scale);

- the second Likert scale included thirteen items aimed to examine the cognitive attitudes that respondents have by examining their perceived benefits about CLB (BENEFIT scale);

- the last ordinal scale included six items aimed to study the affective attitudes by examining the respondents' perceived feelings about CLB when it occurs in different settings (COMFORT scale).

The last sub-group contained four open-ended questions asking the reasons why the respondents felt comfortable or uncomfortable when brokering in certain situations and inquiring about the perceived advantages and disadvantages related to this practice.

Table 4.2.   Sections of the questionnaire

Section 1	Demographic data (fourteen questions)
Section 2	Linguistic data (eight questions)
Section 3	Child language brokering activities (twenty questions) including six ordinal scales related to the following dimensions : 1. people for whom child language brokers broker (eleven items) 2. places where they broker (eleven items); 3. documents brokered (eight items); 4. perceived feelings about language brokering (six items); 5. perceived benefits related to language brokering (thirteen items); 6. perceived feelings in different settings (six items).

The division into sections was adopted in order to keep all the items belonging to the same dimension grouped together, in order to maintain a logical sequence and succession of topics, and to identify and assess the respondents' attitudes towards the different specific issues presented in the questionnaire.

4.5.9. Typology of questions

As previously mentioned, the questionnaire was divided into three sections.

The first part of the questionnaire was aimed at eliciting classification data, such as demographic information. Even though some authors (Oppenheim 1992; Black 1999) suggest that these questions should be placed at the end of the questionnaire since they could be perceived as off-putting, in this case they were listed at the beginning of the survey. This choice was made in consideration of the target respondents, namely adolescents between 12 and 18 years of age, who were likely to be unfamiliar with filling in questionnaires. In order to make them more comfortable, the presence of generic questions related to their personal information at the beginning of the questionnaire was deemed to be more appropriate for this survey. This same motivation was also the reason for which the "funnel" approach was adopted, according to which the survey should start with a very broad statement, followed by more specific items that narrow down the scope of the questions (Oppenheim 1992: 110).

The fourteen questions contained in this first section aimed at assessing independent variables, including age, gender, place of birth, number of years living in Italy, parents' places of birth and jobs. Some of these questions were closed, while others were left open, such as those concerning the respondents' age, their parents' places of birth and jobs. The open-ended questions were subsequently classified and codified during the analysis.

The second section of the questionnaire included eight questions aimed at obtaining information related to migrant adolescents' and their parents' linguistic skills. These questions were aimed to assess independent variables, such as for the respondents' competence in the language they speak besides Italian and their parents' and their own frequency of use of both Italian and the other language they speak. The typology of questions used was either closed or scale questions.

More specifically, as for the scale questions, the respondents were asked to rate their frequency of use of each language spoken, and their parents' frequency of use of

each language spoken, by choosing one item among a five-point ordinal scale composed of the following frequencies: "always", "often", "sometimes", "rarely", "never". Each scale point was later coded using a number ranging from 1 for "never" to 5 for "always" (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3.   Scale used to measure the respondents' and their parents' frequency of use of each language spoken

Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never

The third section of the questionnaire was devised with the aim of delving into child language brokering activities. It contained twenty questions subdivided into four groups.

The first sub-group of questions contained ten questions aimed to obtain preliminary information about the respondents' experiences as language brokers. They were all closed questions except for the last question, which was open-ended.

The second sub-group of questions contained three ordinal scales designed to measure the respondents' behavioural attitudes towards CLB, namely the people for whom the respondents broker and how often they broker for them (PEOPLE scale, eleven items); the settings in which the respondents broker and how often they broker there (SETTING scale, eleven items); the documents that the respondents broker and how often they broker them (DOCUMENT scale, eight items). Similarly to Table 4.3, for each item included in these three scales, the respondents could rate their frequency of brokering by choosing among: "always" (later associated to a score of 5), "often" (scored 4), "sometimes" (scored 4), "rarely" (scored 2), and "never" (scored 1) (Table 4.4).

The PEOPLE, SETTING, and DOCUMENT scales were formulated for the purpose of the present study by adapting items from the Language Brokering Scale developed by Tse (1995), and revised by the In MediO PUER(I) researchers. The statements to be assessed in all these three groups mentioned the people, the settings and the documents that resulted to be the most involved in child language brokering activities by previous research (Weisskirch 2007; Cirillo 2017).

Table 4.4.   Scale used to measure the respondents' frequency of brokering

Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never

The third sub-group of questions included two Likert scales and one ordinal scale designed to measure the respondents' affective and cognitive attitudes towards CLB.

The Likert-scale questions dealt with the perceived feelings and perceived benefits about CLB and they consisted respectively of six and thirteen items (FEEL and BENEFIT scales). Child language brokers were asked to assess their perceived feelings about language brokering activities and the perceived benefits that this practice may offer them. They were asked to rate their degree of agreement or disagreement with the attitudinal statements mentioned by choosing one item among a five-point Likert scale, including: "strongly agree", "agree", "neither agree nor disagree", "disagree", "strongly disagree" (Table 4.5). The most favourable attitude towards positive feelings and benefits was given the highest score of five, while the most negative attitude was given the lowest score of one.

The items contained in the scale about the respondents perceived feelings (FEEL scale) were formulated for the purpose of the present study by adapting some of the items from the Perceptions of Language Brokering Experiences used by Wu and Kim (2009), and Weisskirch (2013). The items were both positively and negatively phrased in order to minimize any response bias. The negatively phrased items were subsequently reverse scored because of their wording.

The items contained in the scale about the perceived benefits produced by CLB (BENEFIT scale) were formulated for the purpose of the present study by adapting some of the items from the Language Brokering Scale developed by Tse (1995), and based on the benefits reported by previous research (Halgunseth 2003; Morales et al. 2012).

Table 4.5.   Likert scale used to measure the FEEL and BENEFIT scales

Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree

The choice to use a five-point Likert scale to assess the level of agreement or disagreement with the attitudinal statements of the FEEL and BENEFIT scales was driven by the intention to include the category "neither agree nor disagree" among the options that the respondents could choose.

Even though the category "neither agree nor disagree" can be considered as an opportunity given to the respondents not to think about the questions and not to commit

themselves to the survey, it was deemed important to include it in order to give the respondents the possibility to be unsure about their perceived attitudes instead of forcing them to provide meaningless answers. The possibility that some respondents could not have an opinion about an attitude, especially among children and adolescents, should be taken into consideration, even though people are often reluctant to admit their lack of knowledge (Oppenheim 1992: 139).

The last ordinal scale in the third sub-section of this part of the questionnaire included six items aimed to study the affective attitudes by examining the respondents' perceived feelings about CLB when it occurs in different settings (COMFORT scale).

The six settings listed in this scale-question were taken from the SETTING scale used in this questionnaire, and the respondents could evaluate their perceived feelings in each setting by choosing from one of the five points including the following items: "very comfortable", "comfortable", "uncertain", "uncomfortable", "very uncomfortable", or the item "I have never translated in this setting".

Table 4.6.   Ordinal scale used to measure the COMFORT scales

Very comfortable	Comfortable	Uncertain	Uncomfortable	Very uncomfortable

The choice to create and include this scale was driven by the importance of context when dealing with CLB. The context and the settings where CLB is performed can highly influence the feelings and outcomes related to this activity (Weisskirch 2017).

The last sub-group of questions of the third section contained four open-ended questions asking the reasons why the respondents felt comfortable or uncomfortable when brokering in certain situations and inquiring about the perceived advantages and disadvantages related to this practice. The answers provided in these open-ended questions were coded into main categories after applying thematic analysis in order to identify the key topics.

4.5.10.   The wording of questions

The wording of questions and statements is a key element for the design of a questionnaire and for its validity. As Oppenheim (1992: 121) argued, when dealing with the wording of questions "first of all, focus and contents must be right; second, the wording must be suitable; and third, the context, sequence and response categories (if

any) must help the respondent without unintentionally biasing the answers". Black (1999) also added other sources of misunderstanding of questions, such as the use of ambiguous terms, of inappropriate vocabulary, of emotive words, and of cliché and colloquialisms.

For the construction of this questionnaire, great attention was given to both Oppenheim's and Black's recommendations and the questions were worded carefully to avoid any ambiguity and inappropriateness.

In addition, the focus of attention was on the young age of the target respondents, which led to the use of straightforward vocabulary, without the use of technicalities. The Italian term "mediatore linguistico" (linguistic mediator) was thus preferred to the term "broker linguistico" (language broker), since it was deemed more easily comprehensible for the participants. For this same reason, a short explanation of the meaning of the expression "mediatore linguistico" (linguistic mediator) was provided at the beginning of the section dealing with child language brokering, and it was also explained orally before the administration of the questionnaire in order to avoid any misunderstanding concerning the key term of the survey.

The questionnaire was also devised in order to maintain the respondents' attention. For this reason, five Smiley Faces accompany the five points of the Likert scale ("strongly agree", "agree", "neither agree nor disagree", "disagree", "strongly disagree").

The rationale for adding the Smiley Face scale to the Likert scale was to give the respondents a child-friendly method that conveys interactive attitudinal indicators, and to make them feel at ease while answering the scale questions (Preece et al. 2007). The Smiley Face scale that was used in this study (Table 4.7) was adapted from the Five Degrees of Happiness scale used by Hall et al. (2016).

Table 4.7.   Smiley Face Likert scale

Strongly agree	**Agree**	**Neither agree nor disagree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**

The accurate wording of the questions and the use of the Smiley Face Likert scale contributed to achieving a high rate of responses by supporting children's judgments and beliefs.

4.5.11. Questionnaire data analysis

The questionnaire data were processed and analysed by using SPSS 20, a powerful software package that provides basic and advanced data analysis capabilities.

All the answers provided by the respondents were scored and turned into numbers. Each variable was assigned a value determined in advance. In the case of missing data, a missing data code (a blank space) was assigned to the relevant variable. All the numerical data were then manually input into the matrix data of the software SPSS 20, in which each respondent corresponded to a row of cells and each variable corresponded to a row of cells.

Questionnaires were not considered valid when less than half of the whole questionnaire had been completed.

The demographic and linguistic data were analysed by means of a descriptive analysis (percentages, mean, and standard deviation), while the attitudinal scales were analysed by means of both descriptive and inferential analysis.

4.5.12. Qualitative data: the interviews and real-life child language-brokered interactions

The set of quantitative data gathered by means of the self-reported questionnaire was integrated with qualitative data collected through face-to-face interviews and real-life interactions.

This choice was driven by the need to identify how migrant children and adolescents recall their experiences as language brokers and how they behave and interact while brokering, focussing on CLB as an interactive and socially situated practice.

4.5.13. The Welcome Youth Centre

The qualitative data collected and analysed in the present thesis were gathered through the collaboration of the Welcome Youth Centre located in Forlì, Italy. This youth centre was established in 2010 as a meeting place providing educational and recreational services, mainly for migrant families.

On average, about eighty children, ranging from primary school to middle school students, attend the centre each year and are enrolled in the activities and laboratories that are regularly organised. All these students are supported by the help of about thirty

volunteers who help them do their homework, and who organize the after-school laboratories and the recreational activities.

The strong interest of the head organisers of the Welcome Youth Centre for my research topic, together with the high number of migrant students enrolled in its activities, were the two main assets for this centre to be the most suitable venue to collect qualitative data by means of semi-structured interviews and recordings of naturally-occurring interactions brokered by children.

4.5.14. The interviews

Interviews have recently become one of the most common research tools given the opportunity they provide to probe and explore specific issues in detail. Pole and Lampard (2002) define an interview as "a verbal exchange of information between two or more people for the principal purpose of one gathering information from the other(s)" (Pole and Lampard 2002: 126). The interviews can have different forms and styles that are determined by their purposes (Gillham 2000) and they are often conducted in order to "obtain information and understanding of issues relevant to the general aims and specific questions of a research project (Gillham 2000: 2).

The perspective embraced in this research is that of considering interviews as situated and interactive actions (Cicourel 1964; Holstein and Gubrium 1995). Drawing on this concept, interviews are considered as events in which a rapport is generated between the researcher and the researched and in which the interviewer is seen as an active participant (Edley and Litosseliti 2010: 165). Although some researchers strongly believe that neutrality should be guaranteed when interviewing in order not to influence the respondents' answers and they consider the questions asked as simple and neutral invitations to speak, it is also important to highlight the interviewer's key role in encouraging productive talks and in acting as active listener.

4.5.15.   Advantages and disadvantages of interviews

As with the use of questionnaires for data collection purposes, the use of interviews equally entails both advantages and disadvantages.

With regard to the advantages, the strengths of this research tool are related to its great flexibility and to the opportunity it gives to the interviewers to ask open-ended questions, thus obtaining deeper information on participants' views, attitudes, and perceptions. In so doing, it is possible to explore new insights, to consolidate old

knowledge, and to achieve increasingly nuanced levels of understanding. Interviews also allow the researcher to obtain higher response rates and to play a key role in "enhancing respondent participation, guiding the questioning, answering the respondent's questions, and clarifying the meaning of responses" (Frey and Mertens Oishi 1995: 3).

As for the limitations of this research tool, they include the risk of bias and manipulation due to the presence of the interviewer, who may, unconsciously, influence the informants' answers. This is especially true when interviewing young children, who may try to report what adults would like them to say. Moreover, when dealing with child respondents, there is the risk of obtaining very short and monosyllabic answers (Tizard and Hughes 1984). In order to reduce this risk, the choice of open-ended questions is highly recommended, in order to give them the opportunity to expand on their ideas and to freely narrate their anecdotes (Garbarino and Stott 1989). Interviews also tend to be expensive and time consuming since the data-processing stage takes much longer because of the transcription and coding operations (Litoselliti 2010: 172).

Despite all these shortcomings, a careful planning could help to reduce such adverse effects (Graue and Walsh 1998). This could include interviewing children in a familiar environment with people who are familiar to them, monitoring the child informant's feelings and comfort during the course of the whole interview, and providing explanations when they are necessary.

It is, however, true that the appropriateness of the use of interviews must be carefully assessed, because, as Oppenheim (1992: 81) argues, "one cannot say that interviews are always good or always bad, but rather that interviews are preferable for some problems, or under some conditions, and not others". Therefore, the choice to use interviews should be made considering the nature of the data and the constraints of the research context.

For the purposes of this thesis, the use of semi-structured interviews, namely interviews combining pre-established sets of questions with the flexibility to explore new ideas brought up during the interview itself, was preferred given the young respondents' age (between 11 and 16 years). Considering such a young age, they could have less-developed literacy skills than the respondents who took part in the survey, and they might find it easier to talk about their experiences as language brokers instead of filling in a written and self-completed questionnaire.

4.5.16. Semi-structured interviews: target population, design and typology of questions

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight migrant children (four males and four females) aged between 11 and 16 years. The sample of the respondents to be interviewed was selected from the children who attended the after-school laboratories organised by the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì.

During the second year of my PhD research, I volunteered at this youth centre and I helped the students complete their homework. In so doing, we got to know each other and a relationship of trust was established, which, probably, helped them be more comfortable in being interviewed. After a few months of volunteering, I described my research topic to the students attending the youth centre and I asked them if they were interested in being interviewed about their language brokering experiences.

Among those who accepted, some of them were selected after being identified as possible child language brokers by the Italian educators working at the centre, and some of them self-selected to describe and share their experiences as child language brokers. Those children who had experiences as language brokers and who agreed to take part in this project were then asked to give their parents a cover letter presenting the research and a consent form to be signed in order to give their approval (Appendix 5).

The questions asked during the interviews were structured along the lines of the three sections presented in the questionnaire and dealing with demographic data, linguistic data and child language brokering activities.

More specifically, the interview protocol contained questions with probes in the following seven domains (Appendix 2):

(1) sociodemographic information and linguistic background;

(2) language brokering experiences (in which settings, what documents and for which people children recalled having brokered) and anecdotes of their experience as brokers;

(3) children's perceived feelings about brokering;

(4) children's perceived benefits about brokering;

(5) children's perceived agency exercised when brokering;

(6) brokering strategies adopted by children;

(7) the relational impact of child language brokering.

The same questions were asked in the same order to all the participants. Any interesting topic that spontaneously arose during the conversation and was deemed relevant for the

purposes of the study was investigated further, by adding a section of prompting and probing questions.

The interviews were conducted in Italian, they were face-to-face and video-recorded and they lasted approximately twenty minutes each. The semi-structured template of questions is presented in Appendix 2. All the interviews ended with my thanks to the interviewees for taking part in the study and a final question asking them if they had anything further to add to what said in the course of the interview.

As for their analysis, thematic analysis was applied by building on the theoretical definition provided by Braun and Clark (2006: 79), who interpreted it as a method used for "identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within the data". By implementing this method, the seven main themes above described were identified and analysed in the interview data collected.

4.5.17. Naturally-occurring data: child language-brokered interactions

Documenting naturally-occurring language brokering communications was quite challenging since CLB is very often a daily and unplanned family experience. However, this was possible thanks to the enormous help provided by the "Welcome Youth Centre" in Forlì.

The recordings were made in October 2016 and they correspond to the meetings organised by the educators of the Welcome Youth Centre and the families of the children who wanted to be enrolled in the after-school laboratories organized by this centre.

I chose to collect naturally occurring data because actual brokered events can shed light on a comprehensive understanding of child language brokers' role and responsibility into the interaction.

These elements were examined through the lenses of Conversation Analysis (CA), a theoretical framework that provides the appropriate tools to highlight the ways in which participants co-construct their understanding by means of a coordinated system of turn-taking (Heritage 2009), and contributes to outlining child language brokers' role performance and impact on the interaction.

This choice was driven by the main assumption informing conversation analysis, which is that ordinary talk is highly organized and ordered. As Ten Have reports, "conversation analysis studies the order/organization/orderliness of social action, particularly those social actions that are located in everyday interaction, in discursive

practices in the sayings/tellings/doings of members of society" (Ten Have 2007:41). More specifically, the social actions and discursive practices that were the focus of the analysis of these interactions were the use of repetitions, anticipations, expansions, repairs and disalignments (as explained in Chapter 3 and discussed in Chapter 7).

The Conversation analysis approach was therefore applied in order to highlight the interactive and participative structures of child language brokered events, focussing on how child language brokers actively participate in the co-construction of communicative events.

4.5.17.1. Description of the corpus of recorded authentic data

The corpus of real-life data includes four child language brokered interactions, which took place at the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì where I volunteered during the second year of my PhD research project.

These interactions were recorded in October, 2016, during the meetings organised by the educators of the Welcome Youth Centre and the families of the children applying for the after-school laboratories organized by this centre. In order to register their children, migrant parents had to fix an appointment with the head responsible of the centre and complete the registration procedure.

Each of these interactions thus involved the presence of three or four participants: an institutional representative, the Italian educator, and two laypeople, the migrant parent, who was always the mother, and her child. In all four interactions, the educator was an Italian monolingual, the mothers were native speakers of either Chinese or Urdu with different levels of proficiency in Italian, whereas the children were the interlocutors who had good competence in both Italian and their parents' native languages.

The four meetings can be comparable not only in terms of number of participants but also of their structure, since the procedure of enrolment was fixed and pre organized.

Specifically, these meetings could be subdivided into four phases corresponding to the four sections of the registration form that the Italian educator had to fill in order to enrol the children in the activities organised by the centre. The first and second sections of the application form aimed to gather both the children's and their families' personal data, the third section included questions regarding the child's health conditions (allergies and/or diseases) and inquired whether the migrant family was

assisted by social services, and in the last section the parents were asked to give their authorisation to allow the photos of their children to be published online.

All four interactions were audio-recorded and transcribed according to conversation analysis conventions. The turns uttered in Chinese and Urdu were transcribed and then translated by professional translators into Italian, and then back-translated into English by myself, as were the turns spoken in Italian.

Regarding the approach to the back-translation, an effort was made to convey the register and style of the source, and to reflect discursive aspects such as hesitations, false starts and other types of hedging. The back-translation is presented in italics under the source utterance. A consent form was signed by both migrant parents and their children to be audio-recorded (Appendix 6).

4.5.17.2. Transcription

The transcription of data is a core procedure for a systematic and detailed analysis. Transcripts are considered as a representation of recorded data, but they only represent a selective rendering of the recordings, thus being incomplete compared with the real-life interactions.

For this reason, an accurate and meaningful transcription should imply the selections of the elements that are deemed important to be transcribed according to the aims of the research. As Ochs pointed out, one should avoid:

> a transcript that is too detailed is difficult to follow and assess. A more useful transcript is a more selective one. Selectivity, then, is to be encouraged. But selectivity should not be random and implicit. Rather, the transcriber should be conscious of the filtering process (1979: 44).

The transcription mode applied to examine the child-language-brokered interaction was adapted in order to identify and analyse the conversation and interactional patterns that could highlight child language brokers' agency and participation, such as, for example, the turn-taking system and the location of interactional actions.

In particular, an orthographic transcription method was chosen, which entailed the verbatim record of what the speakers said without including any detail about the pronunciation of their speech, and the main conventions of transcription adopted were based on the model developed by Gail Jefferson (1974) (Appendix 3). This model was designed in order to examine the sequential organization of talks and to represent as

many interactional details as possible, such as overlaps, pauses, vocalizations, and laughter. The information available in the transcript files provided in this thesis include the following elements:

- Time, date, and place of the original recording;
- Participants' identification;
- Incomprehensible sounds or words;
- Silences and pauses;
- Overlapped speech and sounds;
- Stresses and volume.

The transcriptions were typed by myself, without the support of any annotation software, and the sensitive data was anonymised or altered in order to protect the informants' privacy, as agreed in the consent form that all the participants signed before the beginning of the recordings (Appendix 6).

4.5.18. Researcher's positionality

When conducting qualitative research in the social sciences, the researcher's positionality is a key issue for discussions about the methods and techniques to implement.

In particular, within the vast literature on the ethics and dynamics of the relationship between the researcher and the participants, a key focus is on the membership role of researchers, that is their insider versus outsider status vis-à-vis the study participants. In this regard, Adler and Adler (1987) defined three categories of researcher memberships: (a) peripheral member researchers, who do not intervene in the main activities carried out by the researched group; (b) active member researchers, who participate in the research activities, but do not commit themselves to the members' values and goals; (c) complete member researchers, who are already members of the researched group. Each status, both the insider and outsider positions, brings advantages and disadvantages.

The insider role should enable the researcher to be more rapidly accepted by participants and to explore their experiences more thoroughly. However, such a position may undermine the researcher subjectivity when collecting and analysing data (Asselin 2003).

The outsider position may represent the appropriate distance in order for the researcher to take a wider, objective and unbiased perspective and to better conceptualize the practice examined (Fay 1996). The difficulty in gaining access to the researched community is the major drawback of this position.

In this research, I positioned myself as an outsider of the child language brokers' community who sought information and knowledge from its members. This approach allowed the respondents to assume the role and status of experts and to provide a critical insight into the specific issues that were the topic of this research (Schuman 1986).

However, as is often the case in qualitative research, my position as an outsider was not as unequivocal as I myself had perceived it to be, especially at the beginning of the interviewing stage of the study. As Dwyer and Buckle (2009) suggested, during their field work and analysis of data, researchers tend to shift along an insider-outsider continuum:

> As qualitative researchers we are not separate from the study, with limited contact with our participants. Instead, we are firmly in all aspects of the research process and essential to it. The stories of participants are immediate and real to us; individual voices are not lost in a pool of numbers. We carry these individuals with us as we work with the transcripts. The words, representing experiences, are clear and lasting. We cannot retreat to a distant "researcher" role. Just as our personhood affects the analysis, so, too, the analysis affects our personhood. Within this circle of impact is the space between. The intimacy of qualitative research no longer allows us to remain true outsiders to the experience under study and, because of our role as researchers, it does not qualify us as complete insiders. We now occupy the space between, with the costs and benefits this status affords (2009: 61).

While clearly being an outsider in terms of my membership status in relation to the informants, by volunteering at the Welcome Youth Centre attended by most of the respondents of this research, I became a person who could understand the respondents' social and personal issues related to the topics that were the object of this study.

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a detailed presentation of the methodology applied to examine how child language brokering activities are perceived, experienced and performed. The use of a multi-strategy research was deemed the most adequate tool to explore in detail the self-perceptions and attitudes of child language brokers, and to

explore and examine their interactional contributions while brokering. Additionally, the implementation of three different methods was considered the most appropriate solution to deal with the ethical and methodological issues related to doing research with minor respondents.

This chapter has reviewed the construction and design of each methodology tool, their advantages and disadvantages, and the reasons why they were adopted. The next chapter will describe and analyse in detail the data collected by means of the self-reported questionnaires.

Chapter 5: Attitudes towards Child Language Brokering

5.1. Introduction

This chapter sets out to explore child language brokers' attitudes towards the practice of language brokering, by focussing on the three attitudinal components of affect, behaviour and cognition. The analysis of attitudes that child language brokers have towards CLB can produce insight into child language brokers' perception of this activity and may help to explore their opinions and beliefs more deeply.

To this end, this chapter presents and analyses the data acquired from the administration of an attitudinal questionnaire to 155 students attending the six ENGIM institutes that agreed to take part in this research project. The questionnaire was designed with the purpose of exploring the respondents' affective, behavioural and cognitive attitudes about CLB and of studying the presence of any relationship among these three components in order to deeply understand child language brokers' self-perception of this activity.

The analysis of the data was carried out taking into consideration all the respondents as belonging to one single group, thus without making any distinction among the six vocational ENGIM institutes.

The total number of questionnaires analysed was 150 out of 155 collected. Five questionnaires were deemed to be invalid due to the high number of questions left blank or due to the presence of contradictory answers.

However, despite the presence of five questionnaires that were not taken into consideration for the analysis, this low number of invalid data sets (five questionnaires out of 155) reveals that the survey was well designed and properly understood by 98% of the respondents, thus confirming its readability and clarity. The data analysed below refers to the 150 questionnaires considered to be valid.

The questionnaire is composed of three sections related respectively to (i) demographic, (ii) linguistic and (iii) language brokering data. The description and analysis of the first section related to the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants is provided first, followed by the section presenting the respondents' and their family members' linguistic skills data and finally by the section related to language brokering activities.

The first two sections examine demographic and linguistic information in terms of descriptive data. Frequency distribution, mean, standard deviation, and graphics are the tools used to analyse each variable included in these first two parts.

The third section explores child language brokering activities in terms of univariate analysis as well as of multivariate analysis carried out with the statistical package SPSS 20. Inferential analysis is used to examine the underlying attitudes and patterns resulting from the six ordinal scales included in this section and aimed at assessing the affective, behaviour and cognitive attitudes about CLB.

More specifically, the behavioural attitudes are explored through three scales inquiring about:

- the people for whom the respondents broker and how often the respondents broker for them (eleven items, PEOPLE scale);
- the settings where the respondents broker and how often the respondents broker there (eleven item, SETTING scale);
- the documents that the respondents broker and how often the respondents broker them (eight items, DOCUMENT scale);

The affective attitudes are explored through two scales inquiring about:

- the respondents' perceived feelings about language brokering (six items, FEEL scale);
- the respondents' perceived feelings related to the different settings in which they broker (six items, COMFORT scale).

The cognitive attitudes are explored through one scale inquiring about:

- the respondents' perceived benefits related to language brokering (thirteen items, BENEFIT scale).

The multidimensionality of these six ordinal scales was measured by performing inferential analysis.

The Kruskal-Wallis H test was conducted to determine any statistically significant difference between the independent variables (selected from the first and second sections of the questionnaire respectively on the demographic and linguistic data) on the ordinal dependent variables included in the scales presented in the last section on child language brokering activities. This rank-based nonparametric test is considered the nonparametric alternative to the one-way ANOVA and together with the Dunn post-hoc test with Bonferroni correction, it helps to indicate significant differences when

examining two or more groups belonging to independent variables and the specific attitudes expressed in the selected ordinal items. Additionally, the Spearman's rank-order correlation was carried out to measure the strength and direction of correlation between the ordinal items belonging to the six ordinal scales and representing the three attitudinal components of affect, behaviour and cognition.

After providing a description of the socio-demographic and linguistic characteristics of child language brokers and of their family members, this chapter will focus on each ordinal scale and will discuss the frequencies and percentages related to each individual item as well as the results of multivariate analysis.

It is important to note that the items and scales reported in this Chapter and in the thesis were translated into English by the researcher myself. The original Italian version can be seen in Appendix 1.

5.2. Socio-demographic data analysis

The first section of the questionnaire contained fourteen questions aiming to elicit socio-demographic information and to assess independent variables, such as, among others, age, gender, place of birth, number of years living in Italy, order of birth, parents' places of birth and jobs. They included both pre-coded and open-ended answers that contributed to providing the following information.

Out of 150 participants, 77% (N: 116) were male and 23% (N: 34) were female. This higher percentage of male respondents could be related to the nature of the vocational training of the courses provided by the ENGIM institutes that took part in this research. These courses were mainly attended by male students willing to become, among others, electricians, mechanics, or carpenters, that are typically perceived as gendered professions (i.e. "for males"). Only a few courses were equally attended by both male and female students, such as, for instance, those related to the HORECA sector.

Table 5.1.   Respondents' gender
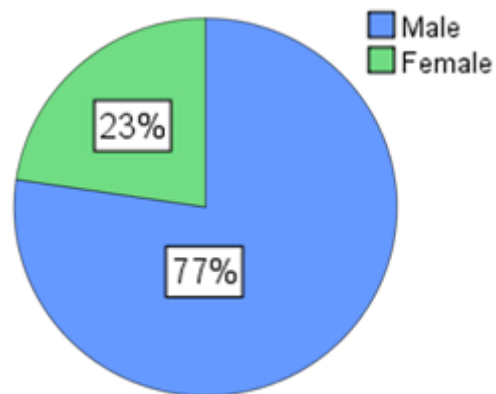
The mean age of the respondents was 16.27 years (*SD* = 1.73) and they were born between 1998 and 2004. More specifically, the sample had 6 (4%) twelve-year-olds, 7 (5%) thirteen-year-olds, 11 (7%) fourteen-year-olds, 20 (13%) fifteen-year-olds, 33 (22%) sixteen-year-olds, 19 (13%) seventeen-year-olds, and 54 (36%) eighteen-year-olds.

Table 5.2.   Respondents' age
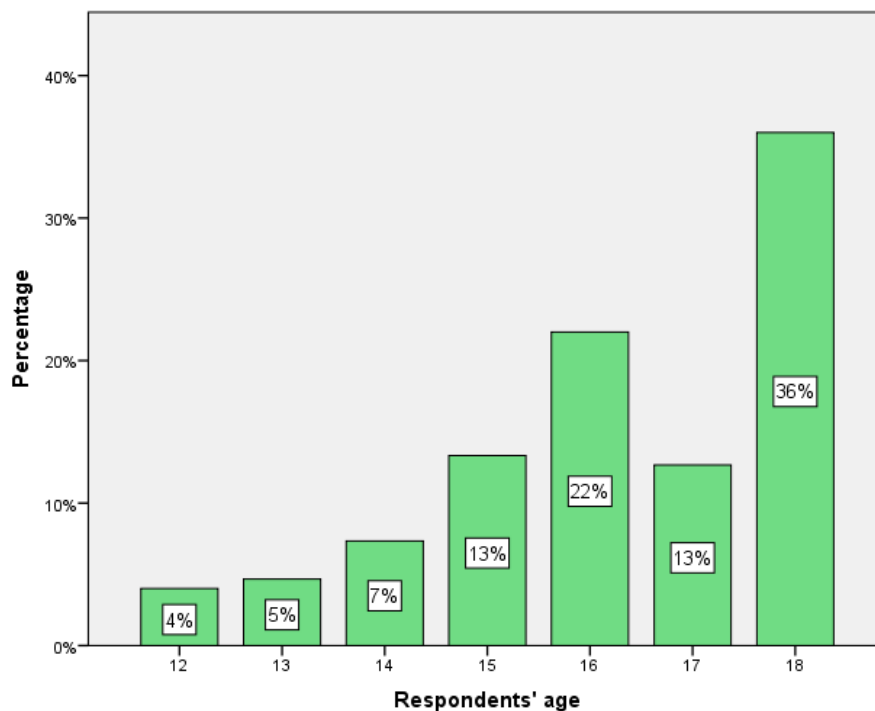
89% (N: 134) of the respondents had siblings while 11% (N: 16) were only children. Among those who had siblings, 36% (N: 53) were first-borns, 31% (N: 46) were middle

children, and 22% (N: 33) were last-borns. 87% of the respondents also had other relatives living in Italy, while 13% did not have any other relatives in this country.

The countries of origin mentioned by the respondents were grouped according to their geographic position: European countries were divided into Northern, Central and Eastern Europe. The other countries were grouped according to the continents where they belonged: Africa, South America, Central America, and Asia. The only country that was not included in these groupings was Italy. This choice was driven by the intent to better detect the number of second-generation students born in Italy.

The processing of the data revealed that out of the 150 migrant students comprising the sample, 37% were born in Italy and 63% were born in another country. This latter group includes 29% of respondents from Eastern Europe (namely Romania, Moldavia, Macedonia, Ukraine, Croatia, Poland, and Bulgaria), 24% from Africa, (namely Morocco, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Tunisia, Ghana, Ivory Coast), 4% from South America, (namely Brazil and Ecuador), 2% from Central America (namely Santo Domingo, Cuba, San Salvador), 2% from Asia (Philippines), 1% from Northern Europe (Ireland), and 1% from Central Europe (France).

The data related to the respondents' places of birth are consistent with the statistics provided on the origin of immigrants landed in Italy as of 1 January 2018. According to the Italy's national statistics institute (Istat), the main countries of origin were Romania (23.1%), Albania (8.6%) and Morocco (8.1%). Likewise, most of first-generation immigrant respondents came from Eastern Europe, and specifically from Romania (25%) and from Africa (of whom 13% from Morocco).

Table 5.3   Respondents' place of birth
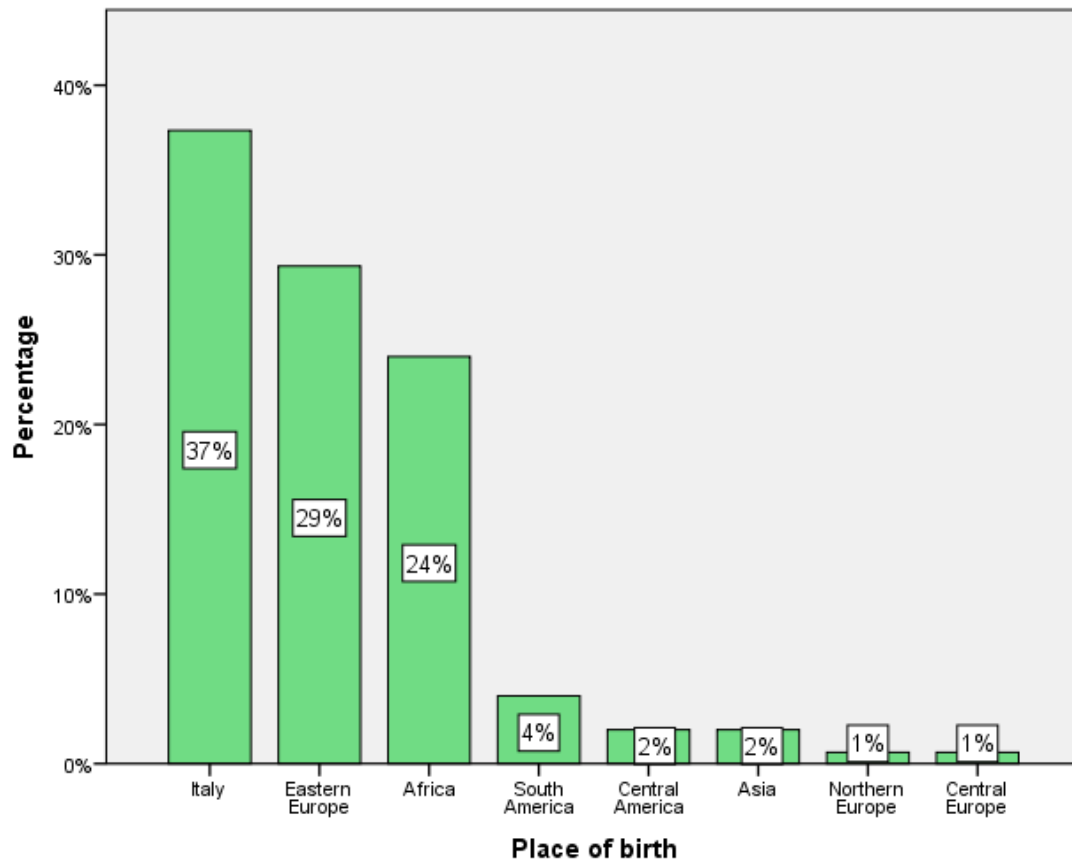
Among foreign-born participants, the statistics highlight that the number of years spent in Italy ranged from 1 year to 16 years with an average of 8.1 years. More specifically, 29% (44) of the respondents had been living in Italy from 6 to 10 years, 17% (N: 26) from 1 to 5 years, and 16% (N: 24) from 11 to 16 years. Among the students who migrated to Italy more recently (1 to 5 years ago), 4% had been living in Italy for one year, 3% for two years, 4% for three years, 3% for four years, and 4% for five years.

The number of years living in Italy, together with their age at the time of the survey, may allow these respondents to be considered as belonging to the "1.5 generation", which refers to individuals who migrated to the host country during their early teens.

Table 5.4   Number of years living in Italy
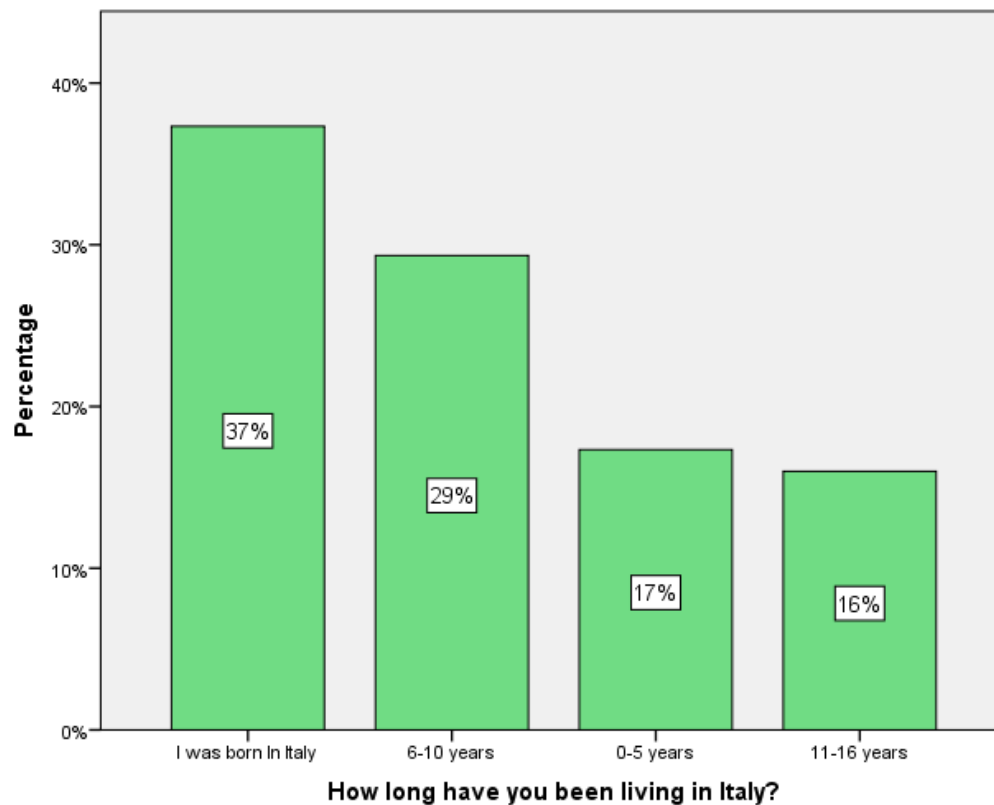
These findings may prove consistent with the data provided by the question asking which school levels they attended in Italy.

The majority of the respondents (53%, N: 80) attended school in Italy from preschool, 26% (N: 39) of them attended school in Italy from primary school, 13% (N: 19) attended school in Italy from middle school and 8% (N: 12) from high school (as illustrated in Table 5.5).

These results mirror the statistics provided by the Italian Ministry for Education, University and Research (MIUR statistics online) showing that most migrant students attending schools in Italy are in pre-schools or primary schools.

Table 5.5.   School level attended in Italy
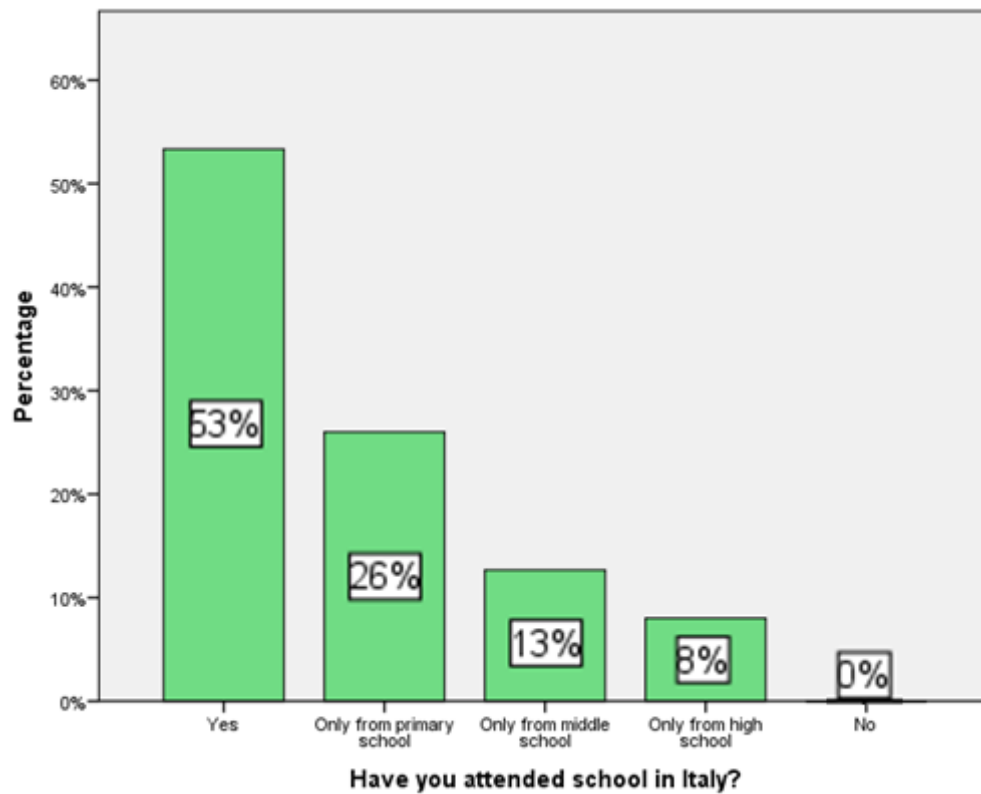
The respondents' parents were mainly born abroad, with only 3% of mothers and 7% of fathers who were born in Italy.

The two main areas of origin were the same of the respondents, that is Eastern Europe (43%, N: 64, for mothers and 39%, N: 58, for fathers) and Africa (40%, N: 59, for mothers and 42%, N: 62, for fathers), followed by Asia (6%, N: 9, both for mothers and fathers), South America (5%, N: 8, for mothers and 4%, N: 6, for fathers), Central America (2% N: 3 for both parents) and Central Europe (1% N: 2, only mothers). More precisely, the two main countries of origin for both fathers and mothers were Romania (27%, N: 41, for mothers, and 26%, N: 39, for fathers) and Morocco (23%, N: 34, for mothers and 24%, N: 36, for fathers).

These results coincide with the respondents' places of birth (see Tables 5.6 and 5.7).

Table 5.6.   Mothers' places of birth
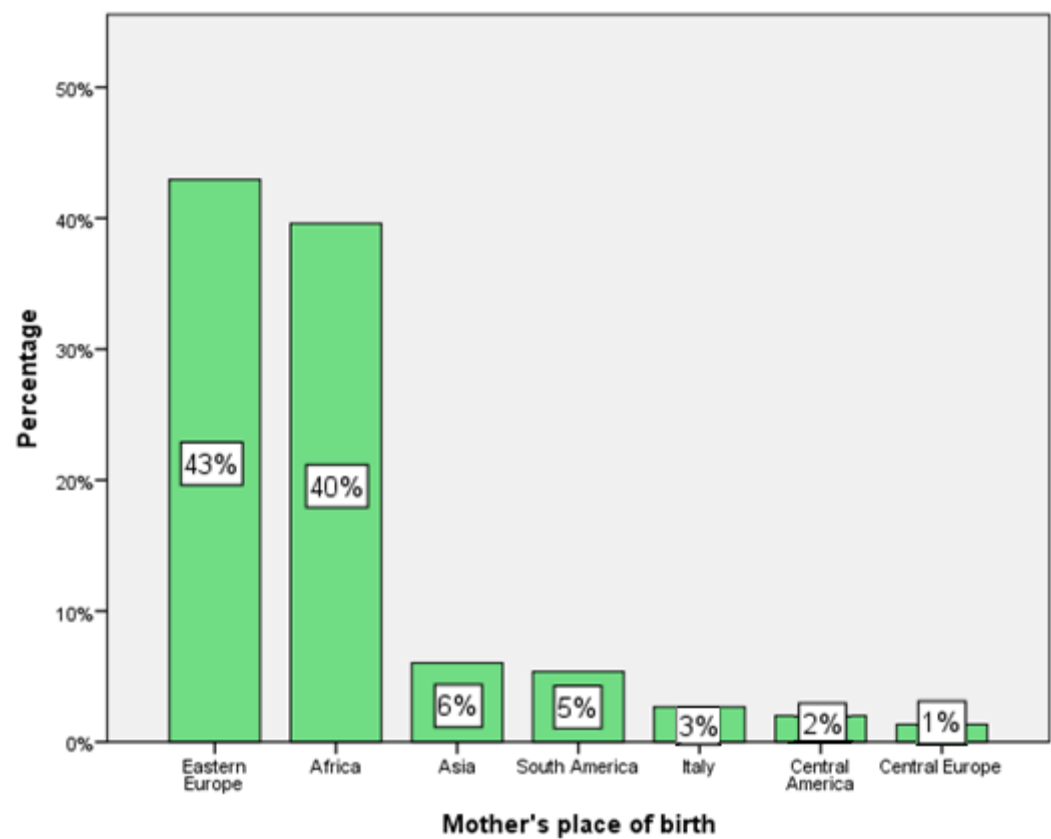
Table 5.7 Fathers' places of birth
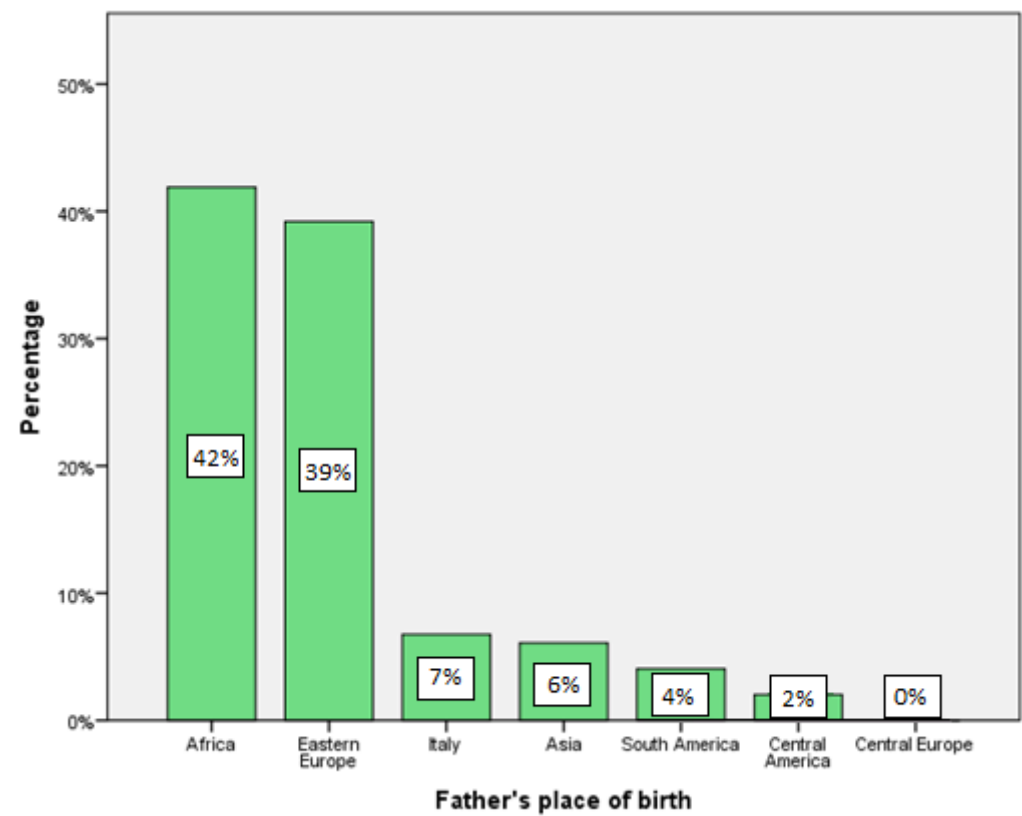
84% (N: 126) of the respondents reported that both their parents were currently living in Italy, 2% (N: 3) were in Italy without their parents, 13% (N: 19) were living in Italy only with their mothers and 1% (N: 2) were in Italy with only their fathers.

Table 5.8.   Do your parents live in Italy?
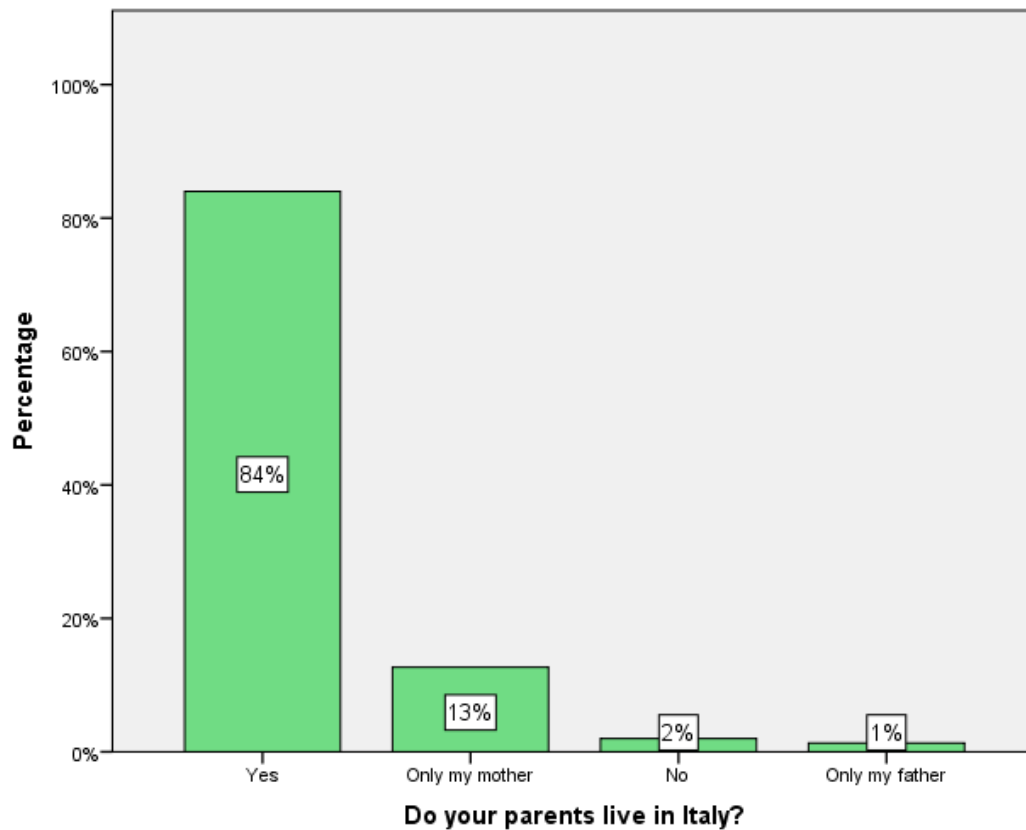
As for the number of years during which the respondents' parents had been living in Italy, the average of residence was 15.35 years (SD 6.4) for mothers and 16.60 years (SD 5.93) for fathers.

The highest percentage of mothers (27%, N: 37) had been living in Italy from 11 to 15 years, 25% of them (N: 35) from 16 to 20 years, 19% (N: 26) from 6 to 10 years, 7% (N: 10) for more than 20 years, 5% (N: 7) from 2 to 5 years, 4% (N: 6) were born in Italy, 4% (N: 5) were not living in Italy at the time of the survey, and 8% (N: 11) did not remember how long their mothers had been living in Italy (Table 5.9). It can be noted that only a minority of mothers (5%, N: 7) had been living in Italy for less than 5 years, and among those 7 mothers who had been living in Italy for this shorter time, just 1 mother had moved to Italy 2 years before the survey, and 6 mothers had been living in Italy for 5 years. 79% of mothers had been living in Italy for more than 5 years.

Table 5.9.   How long has your mother been living in Italy?
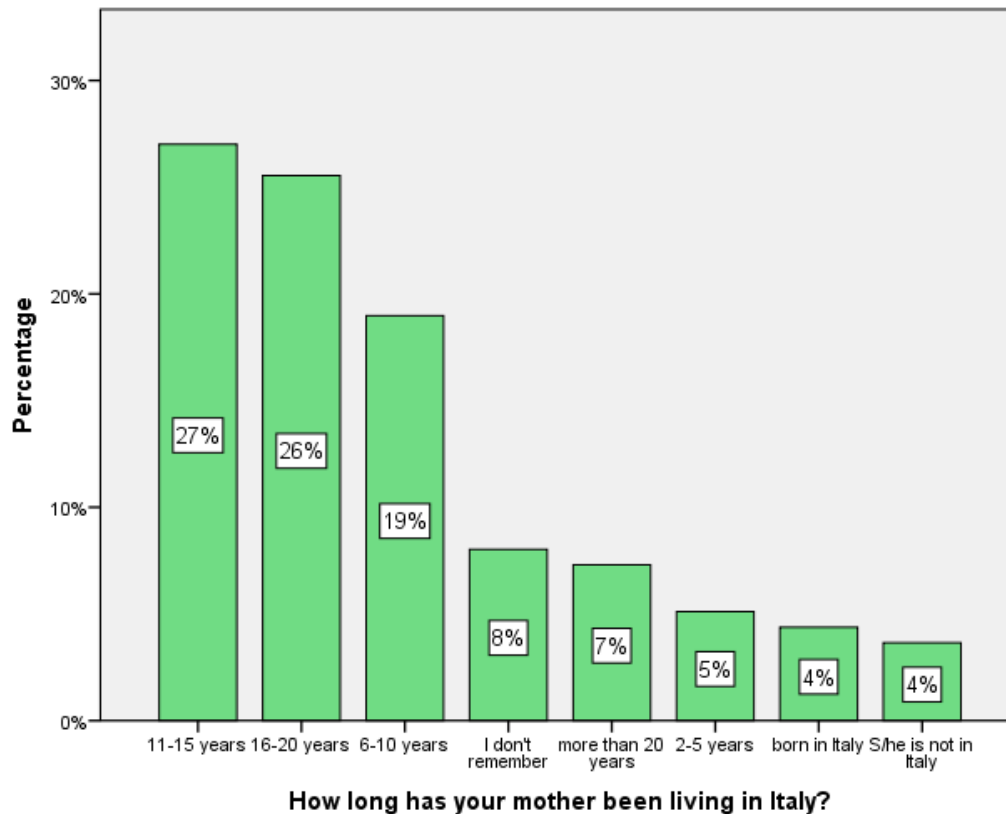
As for fathers, the majority of them (31%, N: 42) had been living in Italy from 16 to 20 years, 18% (N: 24) from 11 to 15 years, 11% (N: 15) from 6 to 10 years, 6% (N: 8) for more than 20 years, 3% (N: 4) from 2 to 5 years. 7% (N: 10) were born in Italy, 16% (N: 22) were not in Italy at the time of the survey, and 7% (N: 9) of the respondents did not remember how long their fathers had been living in Italy (Table 5.10). In this case as well, only four fathers had been living in Italy for less than 5 years (1 father for 2 years, and 3 fathers for 5 years).

The statistics related to the time of residence in Italy show that both the respondents' mothers and fathers were long-term migrants who migrated to Italy on average 15 years before the time of the survey.

Table 5.10.   How long has your father been living in Italy?

How long has your father been living in Italy?
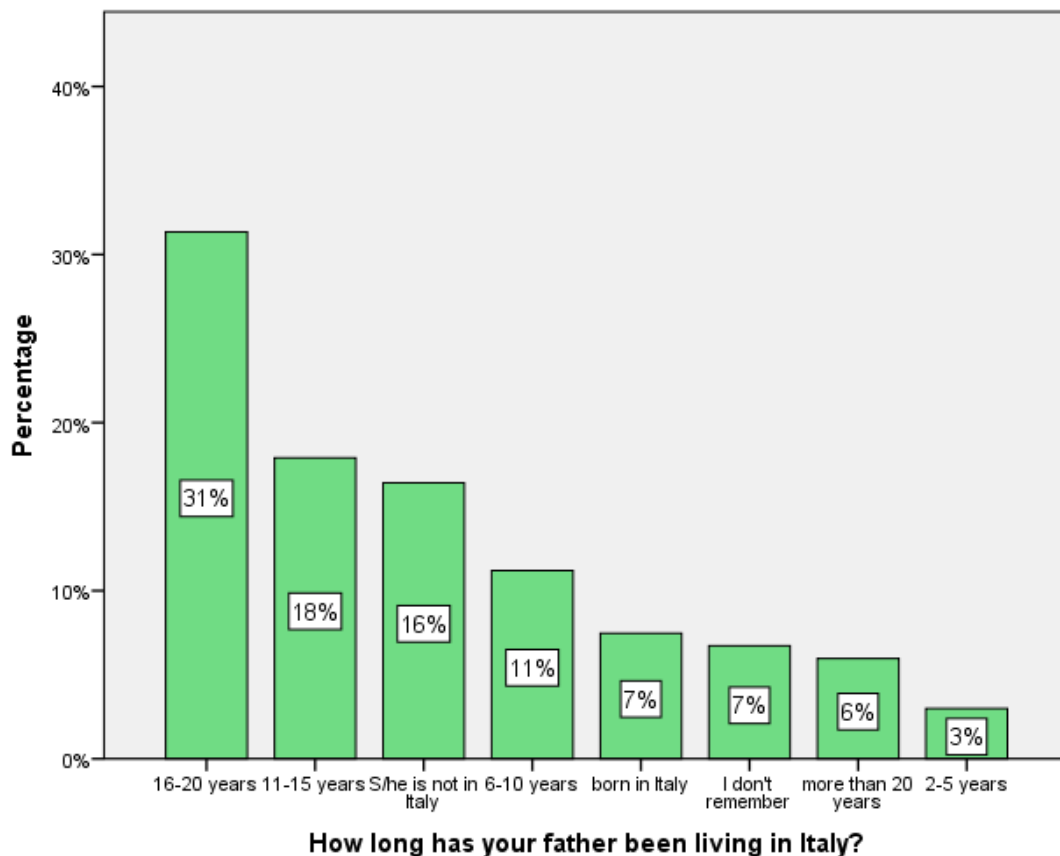
As shown in Tables 5.11 and 5.12, the majority of mothers and fathers were employed in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations that did not require any particular qualifications or degrees.

Specifically, 38% of mothers were housewives, 15% were caregivers, 9% unemployed, 8% blue collar workers, 8% cleaning ladies, 5% cooks, 2% bartenders, 1% farmers, 1% shop assistants, 1% tailors, 1% aestheticians, 1% dancers, and 1% butchers. The jobs requiring a particular degree or certification were nurses (2%), white collars (1%), and cultural mediators (1%).

As for fathers, 59% of them were blue collars, 5% truck drivers, 4% mechanics, 4% cooks, 3% unemployed, 2% white collar workers, 2% caregivers, 2% shop assistants, 2% peddlers, 2% farmers, 1% gardeners, 1% nurse, 1% cultural mediators, 1% tailors, 1% musicians, 1% butchers, 1% woodworkers, 1% pizza chefs, 1% bartenders.

Parents' jobs were subdivided into three broad categories including respectively unskilled, semi-skilled, and skilled occupations. The data reveal that the majority of mothers (46%) was employed in unskilled jobs, whether the majority of fathers (85%) was employed in semi-skilled jobs.

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The data related to parents' jobs show that the majority of them did not require any particular qualification and they generally belonged to the lowest paid jobs. This situation confirms Jones' assumptions (2008) according to which unemployed or low-skilled migrant parents have less social capital and fewer economic resources and thus have to rely more on child language brokering.

Table 5.11   Mothers' jobs in Italy
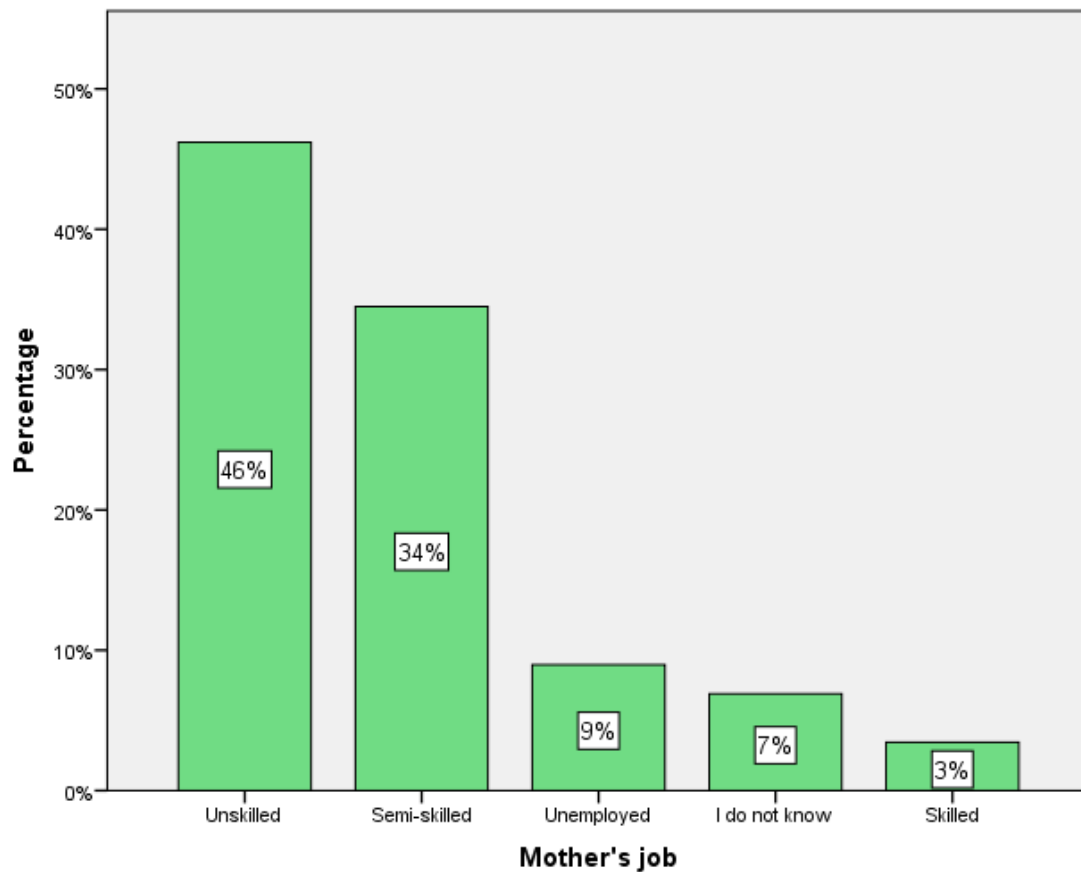
Table 5.12.   Fathers' jobs in Italy
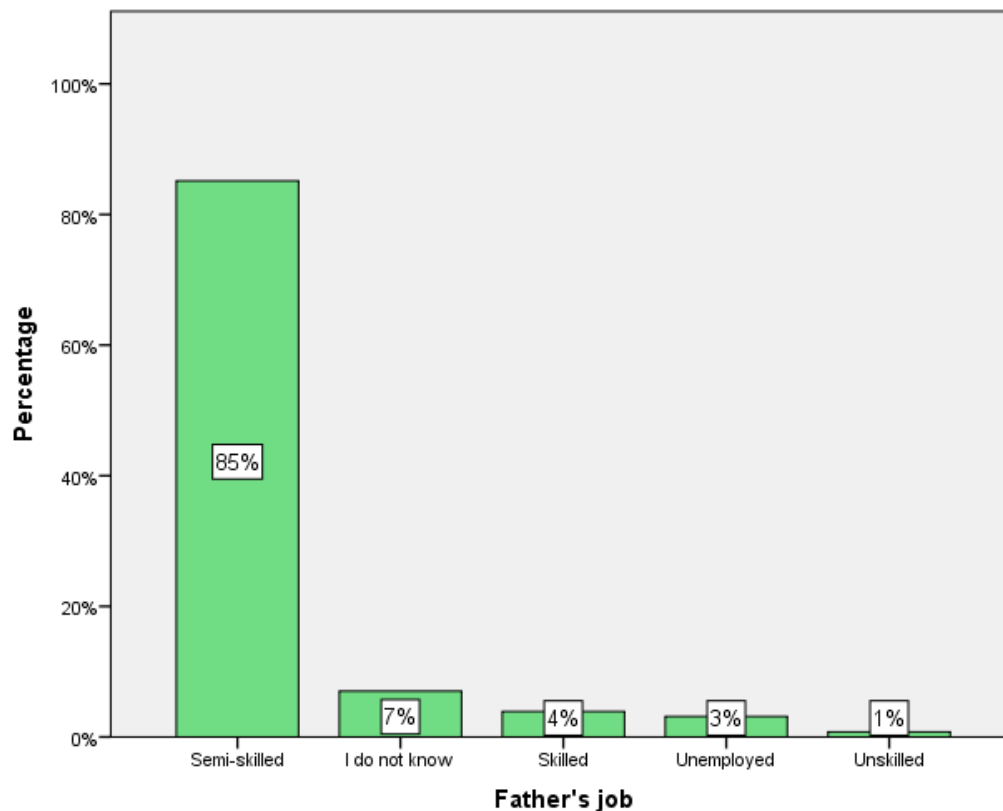
To recapitulate, the demographic section of the questionnaire revealed that 77% of the respondents were male and 23% were female, with an average age of 16.27 years. 37% of them were born in Italy, thus belonging to the second generation of migrants, whereas 63% of them were born abroad, and migrated to Italy on average 8.1 years before the survey. They were adolescents or teenagers when they experienced migration and they thus belong to the 1.5 generation of migrants. The two main areas of origin were Eastern Europe and Africa.

84% of the respondents reported that both their parents were currently living in Italy, 2% were in Italy without their parents, 13% were living in Italy only with their mothers and 1% were in Italy with only their fathers.

The respondents' parents were mainly born abroad, with only 3% of mothers and 7% of fathers who were born in Italy and they were long-term migrants who migrated to Italy on average 15 years before the time of the survey. Most of the mothers and fathers were employed in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations that did not require any particular qualifications or degrees.

5.3. Linguistic data analysis

The second section of the questionnaire consisted of eight questions aimed at eliciting information on migrant adolescents' and their parents' linguistic skills.

The questions contained in this section intended to assess independent variables, such as, for example, migrants' competence in the language(s) they speak besides Italian and their parents' and their own frequency of use of both Italian and other language(s). The aim of this section was to obtain a general framework of the respondents' linguistic skills without exploring their levels of bilingualism in detail, since this was not of interest for this study.

The first question of this section inquired about the languages spoken besides Italian when at home. 4% (N: 6) of the respondents reported speaking only Italian, 1% (N: 1) reported speaking only another language (Romanian), while 96% of them declared to speak both Italian and another language (the other languages spoken are listed in Table 5.13 below), thus showing their bilingualism.

Table 5.13.   Language spoken at home besides Italian
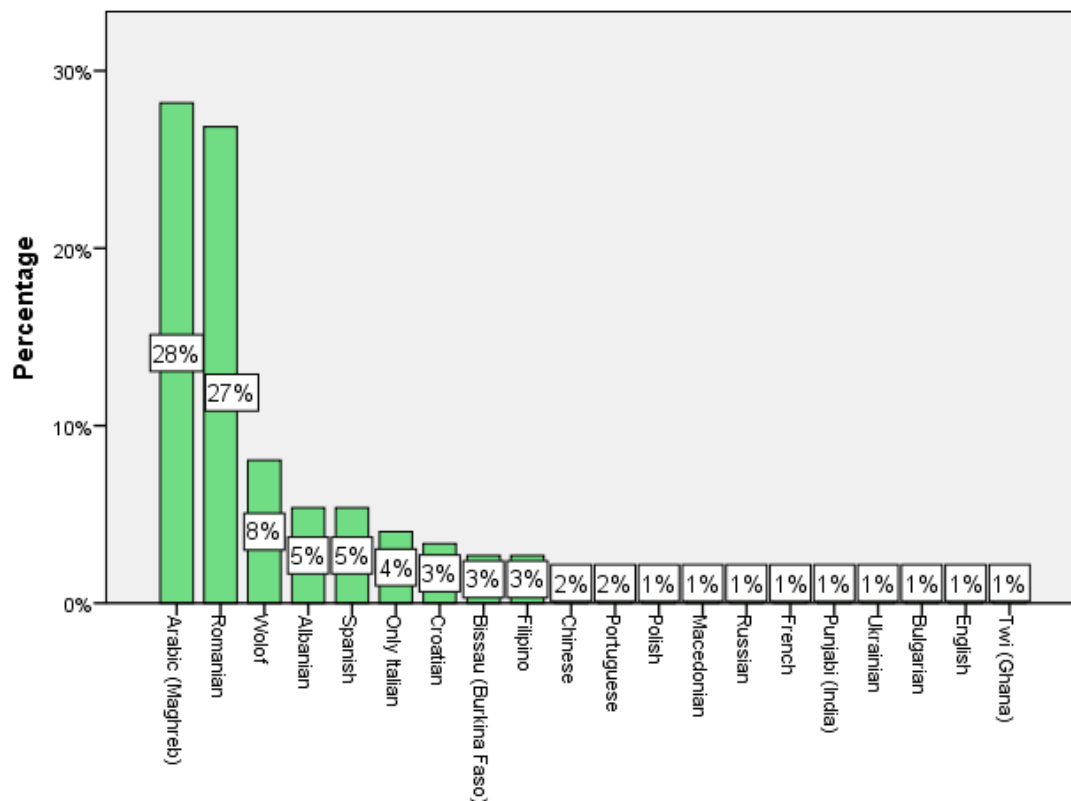
The second question of this section delved into their foreign language competence. Since this questionnaire did not aim to examine the respondents' bilingual skills or proficiency, this question was formulated in order to gain a general overview of their command of the language that they speak other than Italian. The focus was on their oral competence given that the relevant literature suggested that child language brokers mainly broker orally rather than written documents (Tse 1995; Weisskirch and Alva 2002; Dorner et al. 2007).

The responses provided to this question show that 87% (N: 123) of the respondents declared that they both understood and spoke the other language, 11% (N: 16) understood it but did not speak it fluently, and 2% (N: 3) understood it but did not speak it at all.

Table 5.14.   Command of the language spoken besides Italian
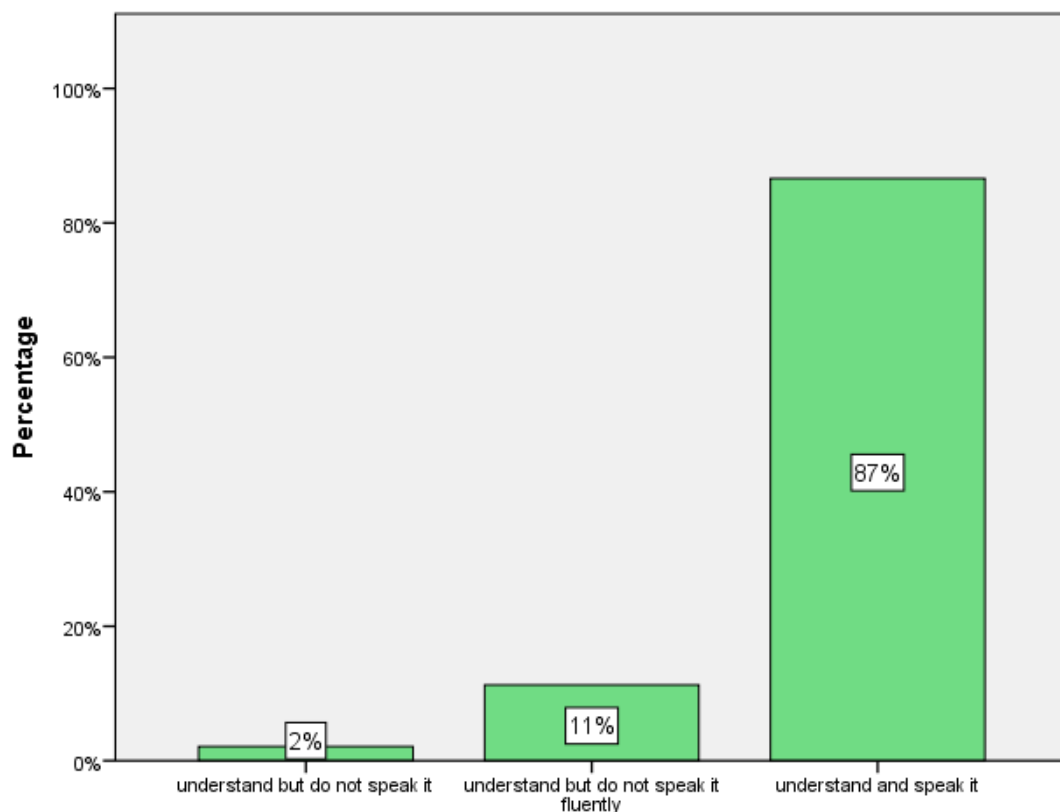
By means of two cross tabulations showing the frequency distribution of the variables, the variable related to the respondents' command of their other language was crossed with two other variables: the variable related to the number of years they had been living in Italy, and to the variable that will be illustrated in the third section of the

questionnaire and that is related to their brokering experiences ("Have you ever acted as language broker?").

As for the relation between the respondents' command of the other language and the number of years they had been living in Italy, the respondents who mastered less the other language were either born in Italy or had been living in Italy for at least 6 years, thus suggesting that their lower proficiency in their parents' language could be related to a lower degree of exposition to such a language.

Table 5.15. Cross-tabulation: Command of the other language besides Italian * How long have you been living in Italy?

		How long have you been living in Italy?				Total
		I was born in Italy	0-5 years	6-10 years	11-16 years	
If you speak another language besides Italian, you:	understand and speak it	43	24	36	20	123
	understand but do not speak it fluently	8	0	6	2	16
	understand but do not speak it	2	0	0	1	3
Total		53	24	42	23	142

As for the relation between the respondents' command of the other language and their experiences as language brokers, those who mastered less the other language reported fewer frequencies of language brokering. Specifically, out of the 3 respondents who reported understanding the other language, but who do not speak it, only 1 reported having brokering experiences and out of the 16 respondents who reported understanding the other language but who did not speak it fluently, 6 had never acted as language brokers.

Therefore, the majority of those respondents who acted as language brokers could both understand and speak the other language fluently.

Table 5.16. Cross tabulation: Command of the other language besides Italian * Have you ever acted as language broker?

		Have you ever acted as language broker?		Total
		Yes	No	
If you speak another language besides Italian, you:	understand and speak it	101	22	123
	understand but do not speak it fluently	10	6	16
	understand but do not speak it	1	2	3
Total		112	30	142

The respondents were then asked to rate their frequency of use of Italian and of the other language when they speak with the eight categories of people mentioned in the question. They could choose one item among a five-point scale ranging from always to never and referring to the different degrees of frequency (Table 5.17).

The descriptive analysis of the data regarding the self-reported use of Italian (see Table 5.17) shows that the respondents "always" speak Italian mostly with their friends (72%) and other people (89%), followed by older and younger siblings (49% and 43% respectively). They speak Italian with their parents less frequently, since only 25% (N: 37) reported speaking "always" Italian with their mothers, and 19% of them reported speaking "always" Italian with their fathers. They almost never speak Italian with their grandparents (76% "never").

Each scale point was coded using a number ranging from 1 for "never" to 5 for "always", and the median of the frequency of the self-reported use of Italian confirmed that the people with whom the respondents speak Italian less frequently are their grandparents (*Me* = 1.00), while the people with whom they speak Italian more frequently belong to the categories "others" (e.g. teachers and schoolmates) (*Me* = 5.00), and "friends" (*Me* = 5.00).

Table 5.17.   Who do you speak Italian with and how often?

People/ Frequency	Always (%/N)	Often (%/N)	Sometimes (%/N)	Rarely (%/N)	Never (%/N)	Median
Grandparents	12% (17)	4% (6)	2% (3)	5% (7)	76% (105)	1.00
Father	19% (27)	25% (37)	23% (34)	15% (22)	17% (25)	3.00
Mother	25% (37)	24% (36)	21% (31)	12% (18)	16% (24)	4.00
Older siblings	49% (37)	29% (22)	5% (4)	4% (3)	12% (9)	4.00
Younger siblings	43% (40)	34% (31)	11% (10)	2% (2)	10% (9)	4.00
Other relatives	23% (32)	24% (33)	20% (28)	9% (13)	23% (32)	3.00
Friends	72% (107)	17% (25)	7% (10)	4% (6)	1% (1)	5.00
Others	89% (111)	6% (7)	2% (3)	0%	3% (4)	5.00

The descriptive analysis about the self-reported use of the other language spoken besides Italian accordingly reveals that the respondents speak it "always" mainly with their grandparents, mothers, fathers and other relatives. They speak it less frequently with both their older and younger siblings, whereas most of the respondents never speak it with the categories "other people" (60% "never") and "friends" (30% "never").

As shown in Table 5.18, the median of the frequency of the self-reported use of the other language was calculated and confirmed this description. The people with whom respondents speak the other language more frequently are their grandparents (*Me* = 5.00), whereas the people with whom they speak the other language less frequently are "others" (e.g. teachers and schoolmates) with a median of frequency of 1.00.

Table 5.18.   Who do you speak the other language with and how often?

People/ Frequency	Always (%/N)	Often (%/N)	Sometimes (%/N)	Rarely (%/N)	Never (%/N)	Median
Grand-parents	74% (101)	10% (13)	1% (2)	3% (4)	12% (16)	5.00
Father	39% (54)	34% (48)	11% (16)	3% (4)	13% (18)	4.00
Mother	45% (63)	28% (40)	17% (24)	6% (8)	4% (6)	4.00
Older siblings	22% (16)	13% (20)	22% (16)	18% (13)	12% (9)	3.00
Younger siblings	26% (23)	30% (27)	16% (14)	16% (14)	12% (11)	4.00
Other relatives	36% (49)	33% (44)	15% (20)	7% (9)	10% (13)	4.00
Friends	14% (19)	17% (24)	21% (29)	18% (25)	30% (42)	3.00
Others	10% (12)	7% (8)	7% (8)	16% (18)	60% (69)	1.00

This descriptive data reveal that the respondents speak Italian in interactions where family members are not involved ("other people (e.g. teachers, schoolmates)" or "friends" received the highest percentages), whereas they use the other language with their family members, especially their grandparents, mothers and fathers. Younger and older siblings are the two categories that reported a more balanced frequency of use for both Italian and the other language.

The respondents were then asked about their parents' linguistic skills, in particular which languages their parents speak besides Italian and the frequency with which they speak both Italian and the other language mentioned. 3% (N: 5) of mothers and 5% (N: 7) of fathers only speak Italian, while 97% of mothers and 95% of fathers also speak other languages that are listed in Tables 5.19 and 5.20.

Table 5.19. Which language does your mother speak besides Italian?
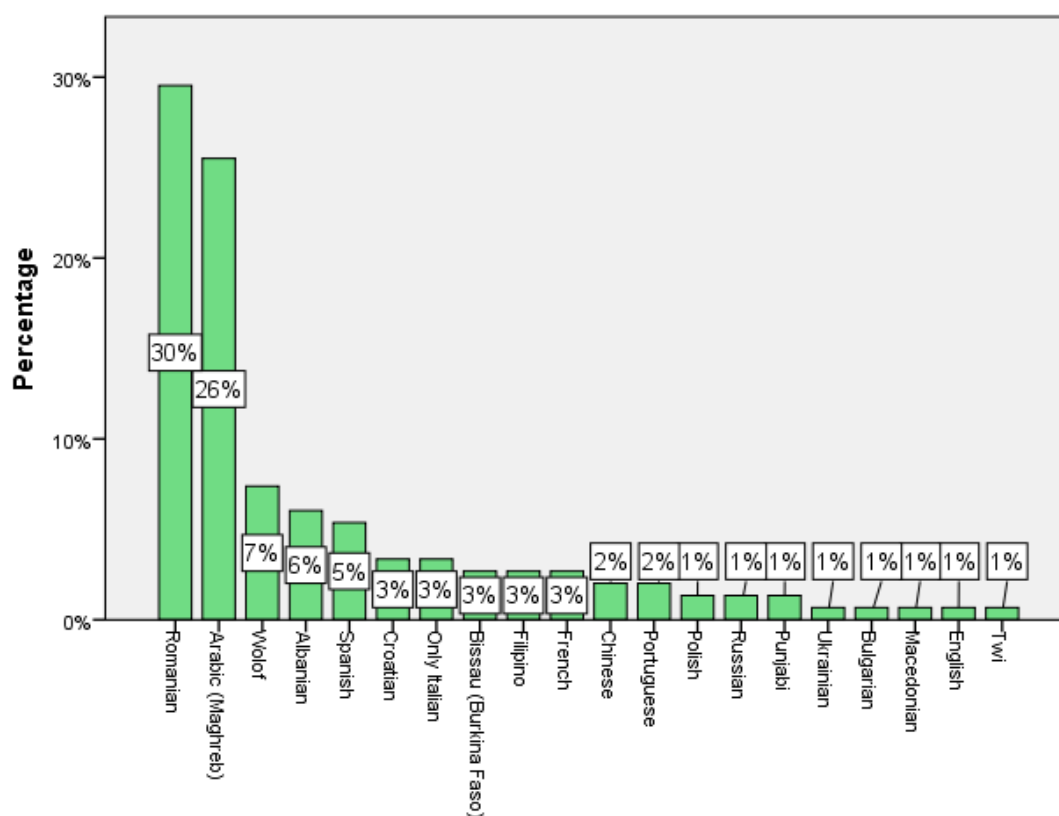
Table 5.20.   Which language does your father speak besides Italian?
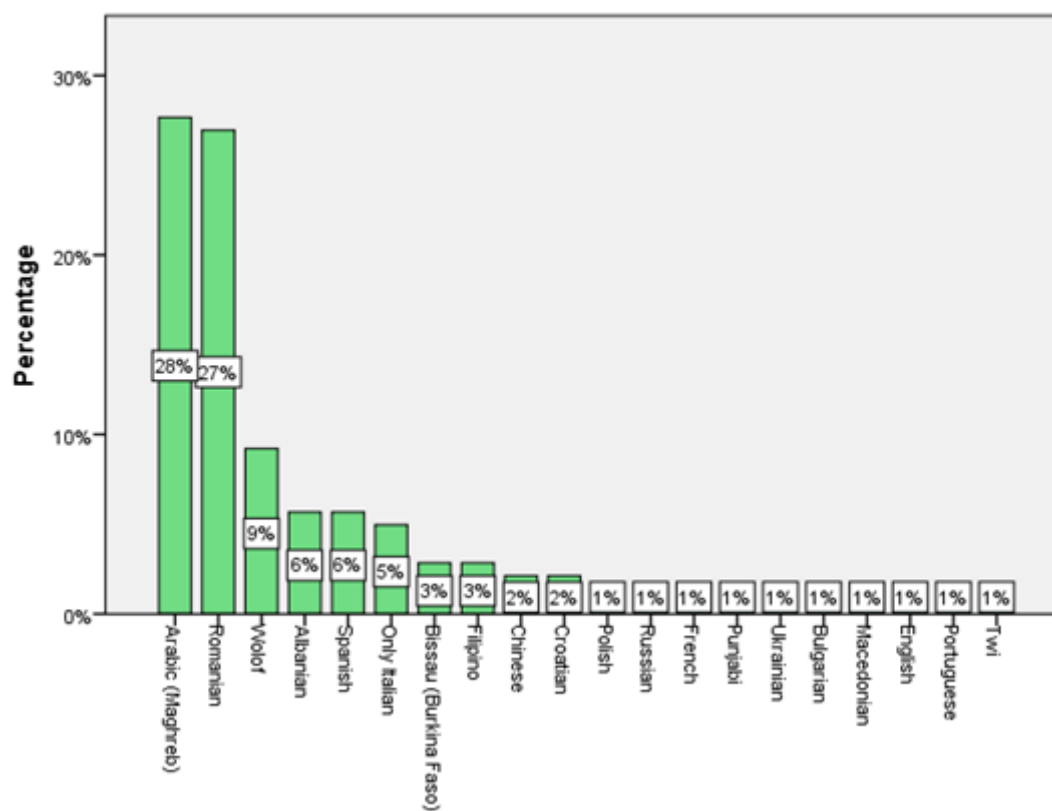
As for the frequency with which parents speak Italian and the other language, both fathers and mothers speak more frequently the other language than Italian.

More specifically, mothers speak Italian with the following frequency: 17% (N: 25) "always", 43% (N: 64) "often", 25% (N: 37) "sometimes", 7% (N: 10) "rarely", and 8% (N: 12) "never" (Table 5.15 below). Fathers speak Italian with the following frequency: 25% (N: 35) "always", 43% (N: 60) "often", 16% (N: 23) "sometimes", 8% (N: 11) "rarely", 9% (N: 12) "never" (Table 5.14 below).

As the Tables 5.21 and 5.22 clearly show, the highest frequency with which both parents speak Italian is "often", and this is also confirmed by the frequency median: mothers and fathers speak Italian with a frequency median of 4.00, which corresponds to the value "often".

The frequencies of use of the other language spoken besides Italian are much higher. 60% (N: 86) of mothers speak the other language "always", 29% (N: 42) "often", 7% (N: 10) "sometimes", and 3% (N: 5) "rarely". As for fathers, 61% (N: 81) of them speak it "always", 24% (N: 32) "often", 8% (N: 11) "sometimes", 3% (N: 4) "rarely" and 3% (N: 4) "never".

As Tables 5.21 and 5.22 illustrate, the highest percentages related to the frequency of use of the other language is "always" both for mothers and fathers. The frequency medians confirmed that both parents speak the other language more frequently than they do with Italian (median for mothers and for fathers: 5.00).

Even though the frequencies related to the use of the other language spoken besides Italian are much higher, both parents speak Italian with a frequency median corresponding to the value of "often", thus implying that they have a minimum proficiency of this language and basic communication skills to interact with local people and representatives of public institutions.

Table 5.21.   How often does your mother speak Italian and the other language?

Language/ Frequency	Always (%/N)	Often (%/N)	Sometimes (%/N)	Rarely (%/N)	Never (%/N)	Median
Italian	17% (25)	43% (64)	25% (37)	7% (10)	8% (12)	4.00
Other language	60% (86)	29% (42)	7% (10)	3% (5)	0%	5.00

Table 5.22.   How often does your father speak Italian and the other language?

Language/ Frequency	Always (%/N)	Often (%/N)	Sometimes (%/N)	Rarely (%/N)	Never (%/N)	Median
Italian	25% (35)	43% (60)	16% (23)	8% (11)	9% (12)	4.00
Other language	61% (81)	24% (32)	8% (11)	3% (4)	3% (4)	5.00

To summarise, the linguistic section of the questionnaire revealed that 4% of the respondents reported speaking only Italian, 1% reported speaking only another language, while 96% of them reported speaking both Italian and another language, thus suggesting being bilingual. More precisely, 87% of them declared that they both understood and spoke the other language, 11% understood it but did not speak it fluently, and 2% understood it but did not speak it.

The people with whom the respondents speak Italian more frequently belong to the "others" (e.g. teachers and schoolmates) and "friends" categories, whereas the people with whom they speak the other language more frequently are their grandparents. The respondents speak Italian in interactions where family members are not involved and they use the other language with their family members, especially their grandparents, mothers and fathers.

As for the frequency with which parents speak Italian and the other language, both fathers and mothers speak more frequently the other language than Italian. However, both parents speak Italian with a frequency median corresponding to the value of "often", thus suggesting at least a basic proficiency of this language.

5.4. Language brokering data: structure of the section

The third and last section of the questionnaire contained twenty questions related to the activity of language brokering. These twenty questions can be subdivided into four sub-groups to better outline the construction of this section.

The first sub-group of questions contained ten questions aimed to obtain preliminary information about the respondents' experiences as language brokers, in order to assess, among others, whether they had ever brokered, if they were still brokering and how often they performed this activity at the time of the data collection.

The description of these data and their analysis are presented in section 5.5 (Language brokering: background information).

The second sub-group of questions contained three ordinal scales designed to measure the respondents' behavioural attitudes towards CLB, namely:

- the people for whom the respondents broker and how often they broker for them (PEOPLE scale, eleven items);
- the settings in which the respondents broker and how often they broker there (SETTING scale, eleven items);
- the documents that the respondents broker and how often they broker them (DOCUMENT scale, eight items).

For each item included in these three scales, the respondents could rate their frequency of brokering by choosing among: "always" (scored 5), "often" (scored 4), "sometimes" (scored 4), "rarely" (scored 2), and "never" (scored 1). The data related to these three sets of questions and their analysis are presented in section 5.6 (The "who", "where", and "what" of child language brokering").

The third sub-group of questions included two Likert scales and one ordinal scale designed to measure the respondents' affective and cognitive attitudes towards CLB. More specifically,

-the first Likert scale included six items aimed to explore the affective attitudes that respondents have by examining their feelings towards CLB (FEEL scale);

-the second Likert scale included thirteen items aimed to examine the cognitive attitudes that respondents have by examining their perceived benefits about CLB (BENEFIT scale), and

-the last ordinal scale included six items aimed to study the affective attitudes by examining the respondents' perceived feelings about CLB when it occurs in different settings (COMFORT scale).

In the two Likert scales, the respondents were asked to rate their degree of agreement or disagreement by choosing among: "strongly agree" (scored 5), "agree" (scored 4), "neither agree nor disagree" (scored 3), "disagree" (scored 2), and "strongly disagree" (scored 1).

In the ordinal scale, they had to evaluate their perceived feelings in each setting by choosing from one of the five points including the following items: "very

comfortable", "comfortable", "uncertain", "uncomfortable", "very uncomfortable", or the item "I have never translated in this setting". The analysis of the two Likert scales and the analysis of the ordinal scale exploring the perceived feelings in different settings are presented in section 5.7 (Perceived feelings and perceived benefits about language brokering). Section 5.8 investigates the presence of any association and relationship among the variables of these different scales.

The last sub-group contained four open-ended questions asking the reasons why the respondents felt comfortable or uncomfortable when brokering in certain situations and inquiring about the perceived advantages and disadvantages related to this practice. The answers provided in these open-ended questions were coded into main categories after applying thematic analysis in order to identify the key topics. They are analysed in section 5.9.

5.5. Language brokering: background information

As already mentioned above, the first sub-group of questions in the section related to child language brokering activities aimed to elicit preliminary information related to the respondents' experiences as child language brokers.

75% (N: 113) of the respondents declared that they had acted as language brokers, while 25% (N: 37) of them had never brokered. The questionnaire ended here for those who never experienced language brokering activities, and the following data refer to the 75% of responders who did experience it.

85% (N: 92) of these were still acting as language brokers at the time of the survey, while 16% (N: 17) were not. Of these 17 students who were no longer language brokers, 6 of them also mentioned why they stopped brokering by answering the open-ended question about the reasons for stopping, whereas the other 11 left this question blank. Data frequencies indicated that out of these 6 respondents, 3 brokers had stopped brokering because they were not asked to broker anymore, 2 of them had stopped brokering because their parents had learnt Italian and they did not need their help anymore, 1 of them had stopped brokering because s/he did not like brokering. This very small sample of data reveals that 5 respondents out of 6 had stopped brokering because their parents did not need their assistance anymore, whereas only 1 of them decided autonomously to stop brokering because s/he did not like it.

This shows that CLB is often a temporary strategy that children need to implement to favour the integration of the whole family while waiting for the family members they usually help to be completely independent in the new country.

When asked to report on how often they language brokered, as illustrated in Table 5.23, 32% (N: 35) of the respondents reported that they brokered a few times a week, 31% (N: 34) a few times a month, 25% (N: 27) about every six months, 10% (N: 11) every day, and 2% (N: 2) about every two/three months. The median of the frequency was calculated after scoring the values and allocating 1 to the value "about every six months", 2 to the value "about every two/three months", 3 to the value "a few times a month", 4 to the value "a few times a week" and 5 to the value "everyday". The resulting median of 3.00 confirmed that the average frequency is "a few times a month".

This result mirrors the findings of previous studies suggesting that, although common, CLB might be a quite infrequently occurring practice (Chao 2006; Hua and Costigan 2012). As Dorner et al. (2008) highlighted, the reported perception of CLB as an occasional practice could also be related to the fact that CLB is so intertwined with child language brokers' daily life activities, that they do not really recognize how often they perform this practice.

The average frequency of CLB of "a few times a month" is also consistent with the frequency of use of Italian of the respondents' parents, who, on average, "often" speak Italian, thus suggesting that they are able to communicate in Italian and might resort to CLB only when they really need their children's help.

The relationship between the frequency of CLB and child language brokers' parents' language skills in Italian was also highlighted by Bucaria and Rossato (2010: 248), who reported that "parents with weaker competence in Italian required the most assistance from their children in a wider range of every-day situations."

Table 5.23.   How often do you broker?
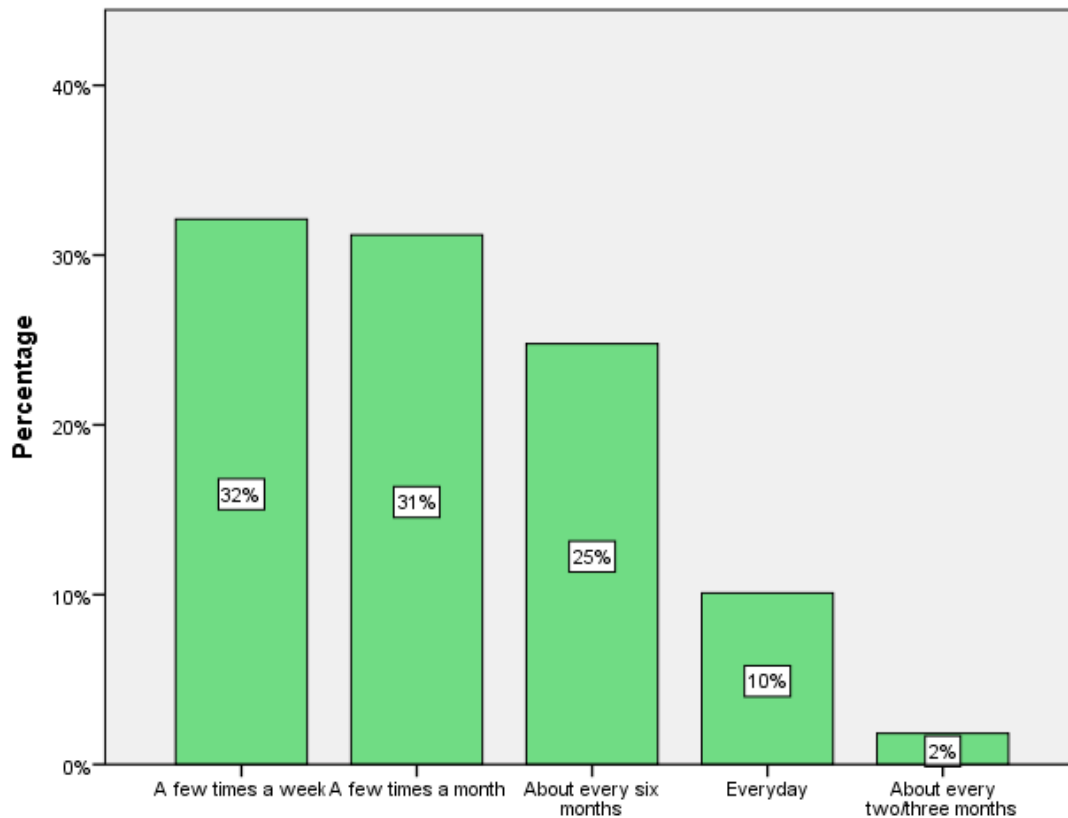
Another aspect that was the object of enquiry was the age of the respondents when they started brokering. The mean of the age at which they started brokering is of 11.2 years of age (SD= 2.9). The majority of the respondents (64%) started brokering when they were between 8 and 14 years of age, more precisely: 17% at 14 years old, 15% at 10 years old, 10% at 11 years old, 9% at 8 years old, 5% at 12 years old, 4% at 9 years old, 4% at 13 years old. 36% of the respondents started brokering when they were older than 14 years old or younger than 8 years old, namely: 5% at 16 years old, 4% at 15 years old, 3% at 6 years old, 2% at 7 and 5 years old, and 1% at 4 years old.

These findings confirm the results reported by both qualitative and quantitative studies indicating that on average children begin to language broker between 8 and 12 years old (McQuillan and Tse 1995; Chao 2001). Given that the mean age of the respondents of this study was 16.27 years and on average they spent 8.1 years in Italy, we can presume that they arrived in Italy when they were on average 8 years old. Since they reported starting to broker when they were between 8 and 12 years old, this result could confirm that child language brokers usually begin to broker soon after they move to the host country (McQuillan and Tse 1995; Morales and Hanson 2005).

Table 5.24.   How old were you when you first brokered?
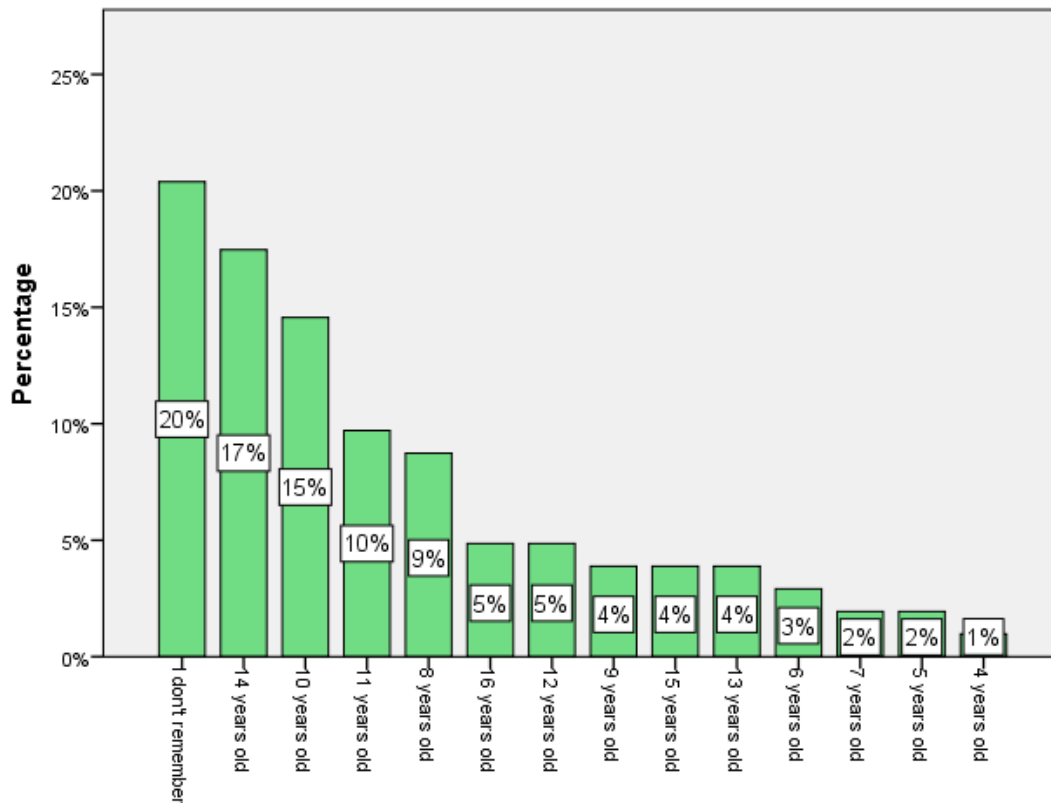
The questionnaire also sought to enquire whether the respondents' siblings were language brokers. 55% (N: 59) of the respondents affirmed that their siblings were asked to broker too. This 55% of respondents was also asked to report the order of birth of their siblings who were brokers: 61% (N: 36) of them specified that their older siblings were asked to broker, 32% (N: 19) stated that their younger siblings were asked to broker, and 7% (N: 4) reported that both their younger and older siblings were requested to broker. Furthermore, 77% (N: 44) of siblings were still brokering at the time of the survey while 23% (N: 13) were not.

These data support the results obtained by other seminal research that found that older children and first-born children broker more often for their family members (Valdés et al. 2003; Chao 2006).

The last question of this first sub-group aiming to collect background information on language brokering activities was an open-ended question inquiring the reasons why the respondents' parents ask them to broker instead of relying on somebody else's help. The answers collected were codified and classified into broader categories by applying thematic analysis.

As described in Table 5.25, 39% (N: 29) of the respondents reported family-related reasons by suggesting that they asked them to broker because they were their children, 21% (N: 16) reported that they were asked to broker because they spoke Italian very well thanks to schooling, 13% (N: 10) stated that their parents relied on their help because they trusted them and it was less embarrassing for them to ask for their help, 12% (N: 9) stated that it was more practical for their parents to ask them to broker than asking anybody else, 5% (N: 4) stated that the reason why they brokered was due to the fact that they were the only members of the family able to perfectly understand and speak both languages, 4% (N: 3) thought that it was their duty to help their family members by brokering, 3% (2) did not know, 1% (1) believed that they asked for their help because they dealt with private issues, and 1% (1) because there were no professional mediators speaking their language available.

These answers reveal how the activity of child language brokering is considered as an intra-familial process. Parents asked their children to broker because they trusted them more than others, especially when dealing with private issues, and it was more practical for them to rely on their children's assistance since they were easily available. Likewise, children felt it was their duty to help their family members, thus contributing to the family functioning in the host country.

These data are consistent with the results of previous studies (e. g. Bucaria and Rossato 2010; Angelelli 2016), that mentioned trust, support, availability and family responsibility as the main reasons for CLB. The informants' answers are also in line with the studies carried out by Valdés et al. (2003), according to which CLB is a family strategy involving all the members who work together as a performance team in order to foster their integration into the host country.

Table 5.25.   Why do your parents ask you to broker?
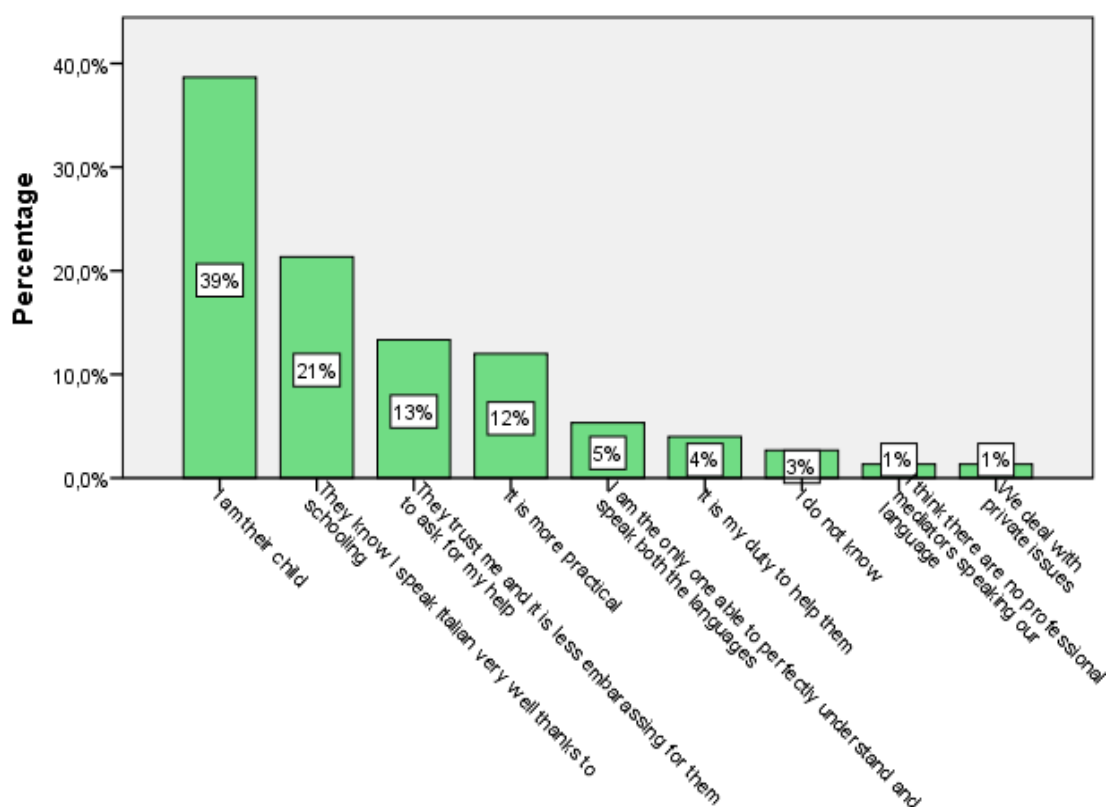
In summary, the section related to the background information on child language brokering revealed that 75% of the respondents had acted as language brokers, thus confirming Strait's (2010) overview reporting that that 57% to 100% of migrant bilingual children surveyed in international literature admitted having been involved in CLB.

85% of them were still acting as language brokers at the time of the survey, while 16% were not. They started brokering when they were on average 11 years old, in line with prior work suggesting that the average age at which children begin to broker is usually between 8 and 12 years old (Tse 1995; 1996; Morales and Hanson 2005; Straits 2010), and they usually brokered "a few times a month".

As for the reasons why they were asked to broker, the respondents felt it was their way of fulfilling family obligations and that their parents trusted them more than others. These answers reflect the representation of CLB as a family-related activity, which was also highlighted by prior work (e.g. Valdés et al. 2003; Orellana 2009).

5.6. The "who", "where" and "what" of child language brokering

The second sub-group of questions of the section of the questionnaire examining child language brokering activities focussed on the behavioural components of attitudes towards CLB, with a view to understanding three main dimensions: the "who", "where" and "what" of CLB and the frequency of this practice related to the people, settings and documents brokered.

For each dimension, three scales were presented and the respondents could report how frequently they brokered for the categories expressed in each item of these scales by choosing one option among the five-point scales ranging from "always" (scored 5) to "never" (scored 1).

5.6.1. The "who" of child language brokering

The first scale (labelled "PEOPLE") consisted of eleven items, which identified eleven people for whom it was likely that respondents had brokered. These eleven categories of people were selected by adopting as a model of reference the Language Brokering Scale identified by Tse (1995) and revised by the In MediO PUER(I) research group. Respondents were asked to indicate how often they translated for the eleven categories of people.

The descriptive analysis of the data shows that the people for whom respondents reported brokering more frequently are their mothers (*Me* = 3.00), their fathers (*Me* = 3.00), and their friends (*Me* = 3.00). The median highlights that the frequency of brokering for these people is "sometimes".

In relation to the other categories of people, "other relatives", "younger siblings", "schoolmates", "teachers", and "doctors" have a median of frequency of 2.00, indicating that, on average, they "rarely" benefit from language brokering activities. The remaining categories ("older siblings", "grandparents", and "employees in public offices") registered a median of frequency of 1.00 (as displayed in Table 5.26), thus suggesting that most child language brokers never broker for them.

These results are compliant with previous studies that revealed that the category for which children broker the most are their parents (Tse 1996a; Cirillo 2017; Ceccoli 2018), thus suggesting that CLB is mainly a family practice performed to foster the integration process of the whole migrant family, and in particular of migrant mothers.

Table 5.26.   Who have you acted as language broker for and how often?

Frequency/ People	Always (%/N)	Often (%/N)	Sometimes (%/N)	Rarely (%/N)	Never (%/N)	Median
Grandparents	10% (11)	8% (9)	12% (13)	17% (19)	52% (57)	1.00
Father	6% (7)	16% (18)	31% (35)	25% (28)	22% (25)	3.00
Mother	9% (10)	29% (32)	29% (32)	20% (23)	13% (15)	3.00
Older siblings	0%	7% (4)	12% (7)	12% (7)	69% (41)	1.00
Younger siblings	3% (2)	9% (6)	17% (12)	22% (15)	49% (34)	2.00
Other relatives	6% (6)	15% (16)	25% (27)	22% (24)	32% (34)	2.00
Friends	7% (8)	15% (17)	35% (39)	19% (22)	24% (27)	3.00
Schoolmates	3% (3)	13% (15)	27% (30)	27% (30)	30% (34)	2.00
Teachers	2% (2)	7% (8)	11% (13)	21% (24)	58% (66)	2.00
Doctors	1% (1)	4% (4)	9% (10)	16% (18)	70% (79)	2.00
Employees in public offices	0%	6% (7)	8% (9)	8% (9)	78% (87)	1.00

5.6.1.1. Impact of the independent variables on PEOPLE scale

The relations between all the independent variables (including the demographic and linguistic variables and the variable related to the frequency of child language brokering) and the dependent variables of the PEOPLE scale were analysed in order to ascertain whether the socio-demographic and linguistic variables had an impact on the PEOPLE scale.

The non-parametric Kruskal Wallis H test was run in order to identify any statistically significant differences among the different groups of the independent categorical variables on the dependent ordinal items. Here below only the statistically significant findings will be presented.

The first statistically significant difference was revealed between the independent variable related to the number of years living in Italy and the ordinal variable related to CLB for younger siblings.

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed that the number of years living in Italy had a significant effect on brokering for younger siblings, $\chi2$ (3) = 8.959, p < .030. A post-hoc test using Dunn's test with Bonferroni correction confirmed this statistically significant difference between the group "I was born in Italy" and the group "I have been living in Italy from 0 to 5 years", p = .010. The respondents who had been living in Italy for less than 5 years reported brokering more frequently for their younger siblings than the respondents who were born in Italy.

These data reflect the findings of other studies indicating that older siblings usually broker more often, especially within the first three years of arrival in the host country (Tse 1995, 1996b), and their help is often addressed to their younger siblings (Valdés et al. 2003).

The second statistically significant difference was detected between the independent variable concerning the frequency of language brokering and the ordinal variable related to CLB for mothers.

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed that the frequency of child language brokering had a significant effect on brokering for mothers, $\chi2$ (4) = 15.034, p < .005. A post-hoc test using Dunn's test with Bonferroni correction confirmed this statistically significant difference between the group "every six months" and the group "a few times a week", p = .009. The respondents who reported brokering "a few times a week" broker more frequently for their mothers than the respondents who reported brokering "every six months".

This result may confirm that the mothers represent the category of people for whom children broker the most, especially when CLB is a frequent activity within the family.

5.6.2. The "where" of child language brokering

The second scale consisted of eleven items that identified eleven settings where the respondents might have brokered ("SETTING" scale). These eleven settings were selected by adopting as a model of reference the Language Brokering Scale identified by Tse (1995) and revised by the In MediO PUER(I) research group.

The first group of three items was related to familiar settings, the second group of two items was related to the school setting and the last group of six items was related to formal institutional settings.

The descriptive analysis of the data suggests that the settings where the respondents broker on a more frequent basis are "at home" (*Me* = 3.00), and "at school for teachers or schoolmates" (*Me* = 3.00). The respondents reported that they language broker less frequently in more formal settings (as shown in Table 5.27), such as "the courthouse", "the bank", "the post office", "the police station", "the municipality's offices", "doctor's practices or hospitals" and "teacher-parent meetings".

Table 5.27   **In which situation and how often have you acted as linguistic mediator?**

Settings/ Frequency	Always (%/N)	Often (%/N)	Sometimes (%/N)	Rarely (%/N)	Never (%/N)	Median
At home	6% (7)	13% (15)	37% (42)	27% (31)	16% (18)	3.00
On the phone	5% (6)	16% (18)	27% (31)	19% (22)	32% (36)	2.00
In shops/ supermarkets	4% (5)	14% (16)	24% (27)	40% (45)	18% (20)	2.00
At school for teachers or schoolmates	6% (7)	10% (11)	34% (39)	31% (35)	19% (21)	3.00
At school during teacher-parent meeting	6% (7)	10% (11)	14% (16)	28% (32)	42% (47)	2.00
At the post office	3% (3)	9% (10)	9% (10)	19% (21)	61% (69)	1.00
At the bank	3% (4)	6% (7)	8% (9)	17% (19)	65% (74)	1.00
At the municipality's offices	3% (4)	6% (7)	11% (13)	25% (28)	54% (61)	1.00
At the police station	4% (5)	3% (4)	19% (21)	17% (19)	57% (64)	1.00
At doctor's practices or at hospitals	4% (5)	8% (9)	18% (20)	22% (25)	48% (54)	2.00
At the courthouse	2% (2)	3% (3)	3% (3)	8% (9)	85% (96)	1.00

This descriptive analysis reports that the family setting is the domain where respondents broker more frequently together with the school setting. These data are consistent with prior research highlighting that CLB tends to occur most often at home (Orellana 2009; Angelelli 2016; Cirillo 2017; Napier 2017), thus supporting the perception of this

practice as an intra-family activity, and at school, thus offering evidence of the pivotal role that school staff has in recognizing the value of this activity (Cline et al. 2014).

5.6.2.1. Impact of the independent variables on SETTING

The relations between all the independent variables (including the demographic and linguistic variables and the variable related to the frequency of child language brokering) and the dependent variables of the SETTING scale were analysed. The aim was to assess whether the independent variables might have any impact on child language brokering practices in different settings. The non-parametric Kruskal Wallis H test was run in order to ascertain whether there were any statistically significant differences among the different groups of the independent categorical variables on the dependent ordinal items. Only the statistically significant findings will be presented.

The first statistically significant difference was identified between the independent variable related to the frequency of CLB and the ordinal variables related to CLB on the phone and at the bank.

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed that the frequency of language brokering had a significant effect on brokering on the phone, $\chi2$ (4) = 17.265, p = .002, and on brokering at the bank, $\chi2$ (4) = 11.820, p = .019. A post-hoc test using Dunn's test with Bonferroni correction confirmed these statistically significant differences between the group "about every six months" and the group "everyday" for brokering on the phone, p = .003; and between the group "about every six months" and the group "a few times a week" for brokering at the bank, p= .046. The respondents who usually broker more frequently, either daily or a few times a week, also broker more frequently on the phone and at the bank.

The "phone" setting was also among the categories where the respondents reported brokering quite frequently, whereas the "bank" setting was among the settings where they reported brokering less frequently. The Kruskal-Wallis test helped to identify that the respondents who did broker at the bank more frequently (17%) belong either to the group of children brokering a few times a week (32%) or to the group brokering daily (11%). This result suggests that the "bank" is a setting where brokering is mainly needed when the parents struggle more to communicate in Italian and thus they need their children's help on average more frequently.

The second statistically significant difference was detected between the independent variable concerning the place of birth and the ordinal variables related to CLB at the municipality office, at the police station, and at the doctor's office.

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed that the place of birth had a significant effect on brokering at the municipality office, χ^2 (6) = 18.015, p = .006, on brokering at the police station, χ^2 (6) = 17.550, p = .007, and at the doctor's office χ^2 (6) = 22.390, p = .001. Three post-hoc tests using Dunn's test with Bonferroni correction confirmed these statistically significant differences between the group "Eastern Europe" and the group "Africa" for brokering at the municipality office, p= .008; at the police station, p= .007; and at the doctor's office, p= .009. In all three cases, the respondents who were born in Africa broker more frequently in the three settings above mentioned than their peers who were born in Eastern Europe.

The third statistically significant difference was identified between the independent variable concerning the number of years living in Italy and the ordinal variables related to CLB at home and at school.

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed that the number of years living in Italy had a significant effect on brokering at home, χ^2 (3) = 9.829, p = .020, and on brokering at school, χ^2 (3) = 9.889, p = .020. The post-hoc tests using Dunn's test with Bonferroni correction confirmed these statistically significant differences between the group living in Italy for "11 to 16 years" and the group living in Italy for "0 to 5 years" for brokering at home, p= .012; and the groups living in Italy for "6 to 10 years" and "0 to 5 years" for brokering at school. In both cases, those respondents who had been living in Italy for less than five years broker more frequently at home and at school compared with the other groups living in Italy for a longer period.

These findings may confirm the higher frequency of CLB during the first years after the arrival in the host country, especially in the settings reporting higher CLB activities, such as at home and at school (Tse 1995, 1996b).

5.6.3 The "what" of child language brokering

The third scale consisted of eight items that identified eight categories of documents that the respondents might have brokered ("DOCUMENT" scale). These eight documents were selected by adopting as a model of reference the Language Brokering Scale identified by Tse (1995) and revised by the In MediO PUER(I) research group.

The respondents were asked to report how often they translated the documents mentioned by rating their frequency of brokering on a 5-point ordinal scale ranging from "never" (scored 1) to "always" (scored 5). The first item was related to school documents, the following four items were related to formal documents and the last three items were related to informal documents.

The descriptive analysis of the data reveals that the categories of documents mentioned are not translated on a frequent basis with an average frequency ranging from never to rarely. As displayed in Table 5.28, the documents translated a bit more frequently than the others are "Teachers' notes and communications" (*Me* = 2.00), "Shop signs and publicity boards" (*Me* = 2.00), "Prescriptions and medicine leaflets" (*Me* = 2.00), and "Labels of product" (*Me* = 2.00). The four documents translated with a lower average of frequency are "Police station documents" (*Me* = 1.50*),* "Bank documents" (*Me* = 1.00), "Documents related to parents' jobs" (*Me* = 1.00), and "Newspaper articles and/or books" (*Me* = 1.00).

These results suggest that CLB is mainly performed orally without involving the translation of written documents. However, when the respondents broker documents, the text types translated the most are medical, school and family related documents, thus confirming the influence of the healthcare and school settings (Cohen et al. 1999; Cline et al. 2014), which usually rank immediately after the family context in multiple studies on CLB (Cirillo 2017; Napier 2017).

Table 5.28 **Which documents have you translated either orally or in writing and how often?**

Documents/ Frequency	Always (%/N)	Often (%/N)	Sometimes (%/N)	Rarely (%/N)	Never (%/N)	Median
Teachers' notes/ communications	6% (7)	19% (21)	17% (19)	26% (29)	33% (37)	2.00
Prescriptions and medicine leaflets	5% (6)	12% (14)	17% (19)	16% (18)	50% (56)	2.00
Bank documents	3% (4)	10% (11)	13% (15)	17% (19)	57% (64)	1.00
Police documents	3% (3)	11% (12)	16% (18)	20% (22)	50% (56)	1.50
Documents related to parents' jobs	4% (5)	9% (10)	12% (14)	23% (26)	51% (58)	1.00
Labels of product	6% (7)	10% (11)	16% (18)	20% (23)	48% (54)	2.00
Shop signs and publicity boards	4% (5)	11% (13)	15% (17)	28% (32)	41% (46)	2.00
Newspaper articles/ books	4% (5)	5% (6)	18% (29)	20% (23)	52% (59)	1.00

5.6.3.1 Impact of the independent variables on DOCUMENT

In this sub-section I will present the analysis of the relations between all the independent variables (including the demographic and linguistic variables and the variable related to the frequency of child language brokering) and the dependent variables of the DOCUMENT scale. The aim was to assess whether the independent variables might have any impact on child language brokering practices for different documents. The non-parametric Kruskal Wallis H test was run in order to ascertain whether there were any statistically significant differences among the different groups of the independent categorical variables on the dependent ordinal items.

Only two statistically significant differences were identified. The first significant result was obtained by testing the independent variable related to the place of birth and

the ordinal variable related to brokering police documents, whereas the second significant difference was identified between the independent variable related to the order of birth and the dependent variable related to brokering notes for teachers and communications from schools.

The Kruskal-Wallis test showed that the place of birth had a significant effect on brokering police documents, $\chi2$ (6) = 23.296, p = .001. A post-hoc test using Dunn's test with Bonferroni correction confirmed this statistically significant difference between the group "Italy" and the group "Africa", p = .033. The respondents born in Italy and belonging to the second generation of migrants broker less frequently police documents than the respondents born in Africa and belonging to the 1.5 generation of migrants. This result may confirm that language brokering is more frequent during the first period of immigration when children are also asked to broker specific and difficult documents, such as police documents, compared with the children who were born in Italy and whose parents migrated longer before, thus needing less language brokering activities by their children.

The second significant effect was produced by the independent variable "order of birth" on the dependent variable "notes for teachers", $\chi2$ (3) = 9.086, p = .028.

The respondents who were only children brokered less frequently the notes from teachers than their peers who were last-born, p= .016. This result may imply that school documents may be often brokered by the respondents for their siblings. This finding also confirms that not only the eldest children, but also the younger children, may take up the role of brokers, as pointed out by Orellana (2003: 52). This could happen, for example, when younger siblings develop better linguistic skills faster than their older siblings. Additionally, this result could also imply that only-child respondents may be more independent and could decide not to broker all the school communications to their parents.

The subgroup of questions related to the "who", "where", and "what" of child language brokering revealed that the people for whom respondents reported brokering more frequently were their mothers, their fathers, and their friends with a brokering frequency of "sometimes". "Mothers" was also the category for whom they brokered the most in those cases when CLB was a more frequent activity within the family. The settings where the respondents brokered on a more frequent basis were "at home", and "at school for teachers or schoolmates", and in both contexts the respondents who had been living in Italy for less than five years brokered more frequently compared with

their peers who had been living in Italy for a longer period. The respondents did not report brokering written documents very frequently, thus suggesting that CLB was mainly performed in oral interactions.

The analysis of the documents, settings and people of CLB also confirmed that CLB is more frequent during the first years after the arrival in the host country, especially in the settings and for the people reporting higher CLB activities, such as at home and at school, and for their mothers. These findings highlight that CLB is an adaptive acculturative measure that migrant families implement as soon as they move to a new country. They also confirm that migrant mothers are the family members who need more linguistic assistance and that CLB is a family-related process.

5.7. Perceived feelings and perceived benefits about language brokering

The third sub-group of questions in the section related to child language brokering activities included two Likert scales and one ordinal scale aimed at analysing the respondents' affective and cognitive attitudes towards language brokering. The specific dimensions measured in this section concerned child language brokers' perceived feelings (six items), the perceived benefits derived from CLB (thirteen items), and the perceived feelings related to brokering in different settings (seven items).

The choice of these dimensions was related to the importance of analysing not only the behavioural attitudes but also the affective and cognitive attitudes about CLB in order to draw a comprehensive framework of how child language brokers perceive this practice and to examine whether these perceptions are consistent with their behaviours while brokering.

5.7.1. Perceived feelings

The first Likert scale contained six attitudinal items related to the affective component and aimed to explore the feelings perceived when brokering (FEEL scale).

These six items were selected by adopting as a model of reference the Language Brokering Scale identified by Tse (1995), revised by Buriel et al. (1998) and Weisskirch and Alva (2002). The internal reliability of this scale was confirmed by the Cronbach's Alpha value of .717, as already discussed in Chapter 4. The items mentioned expressed both positive and negative feelings about language brokering in order to minimise any response bias and to better test the validity of the scale. Because of their wording, the

negatively phrased items were subsequently reverse scored during the analysis so that high values indicate the same type of answer on every item.

In particular, the dimensions presented in these items aimed to examine child language brokers' attitudes towards the following perceptions: pride, embarrassment, stress, joy, and responsibility. These feelings were selected because they represented the most widely held perceptions reported by child language brokers in previous studies (Tse 1995; Orellana et al. 2003; Bucaria and Rossato 2010).

The respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement or disagreement with each item by choosing one option from a five-point Likert scale that ranged from "strongly disagree" (scored 1) to "strongly agree" (scored 5).

The descriptive analysis of the data collected is presented in Table 5.29 below, which illustrates the reported attitudes held in relation to both positive and negative statements on the perceived feelings about language brokering.

Table 5.29   Affective components of attitudes towards CLB

Level of agreement/ Feelings	SA (%/N)	A (%/N)	NO (%/N)	D (%/N)	SD (%/N)	Median
FEEL1 I am proud to be a linguistic mediator	23% (26)	47% (53)	28% (32)	0%	2% (2)	4.00
FEEL2 I am embarrassed to be a linguistic mediator	3% (3)	8% (9)	26% (39)	28% (32)	34% (39)	4.00
FEEL3 Acting as linguistic mediator is stressful	4% (5)	15% (17)	30% (34)	22% (25)	28% (32)	4.00
FEEL4 I enjoy acting as linguistic mediator	16% (18)	45% (51)	28% (32)	9% (10)	2% (2)	4.00
FEEL5 Acting as linguistic mediator implies too much responsibility	11% (12)	28% (32)	32% (36)	19% (22)	10% (11)	3.00
FEEL6 I like acting as linguistic mediator because I'm given responsibility	15% (17)	40% (45)	36% (41)	6% (7)	3% (3)	4.00

As the percentages and median rates show, the three items on positive perceived feelings (FEEL1, FEEL4, FEEL6) obtained higher levels of agreement than disagreement. Specifically, the items "I am proud to be a language broker", and "I enjoy acting as language broker" received respectively 70% and 61% of agreement. The item "I like acting as language broker because I'm given responsibility" (FEEL6) also received higher agreement (55%) than disagreement (9%) but with a higher percentage of respondents who took a neutral stance (36% of "neither agree nor disagree"). Most of the respondents also reported not to be embarrassed (62%) or stressed (50%) by acting as language brokers. The only item registering a slight difference in attitudes is FEEL5, which did not obtain as much support. Since this item was negatively phrased and thus reverse-scored, it is possible to state that 39% of respondents did agree with the idea that language brokering implies too much responsibility, 32% neither agreed nor disagreed and 29% reported that language brokering does not imply too much responsibility.

The majority of the respondents therefore reported positive affective attitudes towards the feeling of pride, joy and responsibility, and fewer of them considered child language brokering as embarrassing or stressful. These results are line with the studies carried out by Weisskirch (2007) who found that, despite evoking both positive and negative feelings, most of his respondents perceived positive feelings more strongly than negative feelings. The sense of pride as one of the main emotions evoked when describing CLB activities was also mentioned by the respondents interviewed by Bucaria and Rossato (2010) and Angelelli (2016).

The items related to the feeling of responsibility (FEEL 5 and FEEL6) reported higher neutral attitudes, coupled with 55% of respondents who liked language brokering because they are given responsibility and 39% who supported the idea that language brokering implies too much responsibility for them. Mixed perceptions about the sense of responsibility when brokering were also provided by the informants of previous studies. Angelelli (2016), for example, suggested that brokering was seen as a burden and a heavy responsibility, especially in the healthcare sector; whereas Cline et al. (2017) described the presence of appreciation towards the extra responsibility related to CLB in the sample interviewed.

Given the mixed attitudes reported by these items, they will be analysed in detail by means of multivariate analysis to try to identify any underlying relationships with

other variables and to better understand whether the sense of responsibility is positively perceived or not.

5.7.1.1. The influence of the independent variables on FEEL

By means of a Kruskal-Wallis test, the effects of all the independent variables (including the demographic and linguistic variables and the variable related to the frequency of child language brokering) on the dependent variables of the FEEL scale were assessed.

The aim was to determine whether the independent variables might have any impact on child language brokers' feelings about this practice. The non-parametric Kruskal Wallis H test was run in order to ascertain whether there were any statistically significant differences among the different groups of the independent categorical variables on the dependent ordinal items. Here below only the statistically significant findings will be presented.

The only statistically significant difference was identified between the ordinal variable stating that language brokering is stressful, and the school levels attended by the respondents in Italy.

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed that the school levels attended in Italy had a significant effect on feeling stressed when brokering, $\chi2$ (3) = 8.068, p = .045. A post-hoc test using Dunn's test with Bonferroni correction confirmed this statistically significant difference between the group attending schools in Italy "from high school" and the group attending schools in Italy "from primary school" for feeling stressed when brokering, p = .037.

The respondents who attended Italian schools only from high school feel more stressed than the respondents who attended Italian schools from primary school. As the cross tabulation in Table 5.30 shows, the respondents who attended schools only from high schools migrated to Italy more recently and had been living in Italy not more than for 5 years at the time of the survey. Given the shorter period of time spent in Italy, they may feel more stressed than the other respondents because they have developed less proficiency in speaking Italian and because CLB may be a new practice for them related to their more recent migration experience. These findings could help understand that the stressors related to CLB are perceived more strongly by those child language brokers who have migrated more recently to Italy and who could have developed a limited vocabulary in the host language, thus struggling more with language brokering activities.

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Table 5.30 Cross-tabulation: Have you attended school in Italy? * How long have you been living in Italy?

		How long have you been living in Italy?				Total
		I was born in Italy	0-5 years	6-10 years	11-16 years	
Have you attended school in Italy?	Yes	56	3	5	16	80
	Only from primary school	0	4	27	8	39
	Only from junior high school	0	7	12	0	19
	Only from high school	0	12	0	0	12
Total		56	26	44	24	150

5.7.2. Perceived benefits

The items included in this Likert-scale question intended to assess the perceived benefits related to child language brokering (BENEFIT scale). This scale contained thirteen statements focussing on four main dimensions:

-benefits of CLB in terms of child language brokers' character (two items: BENEF1, 4);

-benefits of CLB in terms of child language brokers' academic-related issues (three items: BENEF 9, 11, 12);

-benefits of CLB in terms of child language brokers' bilingualism and biculturalism (four items: BENEF2, 6, 7, 8);

-benefits of CLB in terms of the relationship between child language brokers and their parents (two items: 3, 5);

-benefits of CLB in terms of child language brokers' future-related decisions (two items: BENEF10, 13).

These items were selected by adopting as a model of reference the Language Brokering Scale identified by Tse (1995), revised by Buriel et al. (1998) and Weisskirch and Alva (2002). The reliability of the BENEFIT scale was confirmed by the Cronbach's Alpha value of .782.

Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with each item presented. They could choose one of the five options offered by the Likert scale used for this section ranging from "strongly disagree" (scored 1) to "strongly agree" (scored 5).

As the percentages and medians reported in Table 5.31 show, the degrees of agreement and disagreement with regard to these thirteen statements are evenly distributed between the two values "agree" (scored 4) and "neither agree nor disagree" (scored 3).

Table 5.31.   Perceived benefits about child language brokering

Level of agreement/ Benefits	SA (%/N)	A (%/N)	NO (%/N)	D (%/N)	SD (%/N)	*Me*
BENEF1 Acting as language broker has improved my character and personality	9% (10)	32% (36)	42% (48)	12% (14)	4% (5)	3.00
BENEF2 Acting as language broker helped me improve my Italian	17% (19)	33% (38)	33% (38)	9% (10)	7% (8)	4.00
BENEF3 Language brokering made my parents more dependent on me	6% (7)	29% (33)	42% (47)	13% (15)	10% (11)	3.00
BENEF4 Language brokering helped me become more mature and independent	8% (9)	36% (41)	42% (47)	11% (12)	3% (4)	3.00
BENEF5 Language brokering helped my parents become more independent	3% (3)	32% (36)	41% (46)	19% (21)	6% (7)	3.00
BENEF6 Acting as language broker helped me improve my parents' language	9% (10)	51% (58)	22% (25)	14% (16)	3% (4)	4.00
BENEF7 Language brokering helped me to gain knowledge on Italy and the Italian culture	11% (12)	45% (51)	28% (32)	13% (15)	3% (3)	4.00
BENEF8 Language brokering helped me to be more familiar with my parents' country and to visit it	19% (21)	35% (40)	30% (34)	12% (14)	3% (4)	4.00
BENEF9 Language brokering has influenced the choice of my studies	2% (2)	21% (24)	32% (36)	30% (34)	15% (17)	3.00
BENEF10 Acting as language broker is useful for my future job	20% (23)	40% (45)	30% (34)	4% (5)	5% (6)	4.00
BENEF11 Language brokering encouraged me to go on studying foreign languages	10% (11)	27% (31)	36% (41)	20% (23)	6% (7)	3.00

Level of agreement/ Benefits	SA (%/N)	A (%/N)	NO (%/N)	D (%/N)	SD (%/N)	*Me*
BENEF12 Language brokering has improved my academic performance	5% (6)	34% (39)	42% (48)	13% (15)	4% (5)	3.00
BENEF13 Language brokering made me think about becoming a professional mediator	8% (9)	24% (27)	43% (49)	13% (15)	11% (13)	3.00

The percentages and median rates in Table 5.31 demonstrate that the stronger endorsement was given to the items in favour of positive impacts on child language brokers' bilingualism and biculturalism (BENEF2, 6, 7, 8) and to the item related to the impact of CLB on their future jobs (BENEF10).

A similar high level of endorsement, coupled with a higher level of uncertainty, characterizes the responses to the items BENEF4 ("Language brokering helped me to become more mature and independent") and BENEF11 ("Language brokering encouraged me to go on studying foreign languages").

Self-reported opinions tended to be centred on middle values in relation to the items BENEF1, 3, 5, 12, 13, thus indicating a neutral stance in relation to the dimensions expressed in these items. Item BENEF1 concerned benefits regarding child language brokers' character, items BENEF3 and 5 dealt with the relationship between child language brokers and their parents, item BENEF12 was related to better academic results thanks to language brokering and item BENEF13 concerned the possibility of becoming professional mediators because of language brokering.

The only item that registered a higher level of disagreement was BENEF9 related to the influence of language brokering on the choice of their future studies. 45% of respondents did not endorse this statement, compared with 23% who agreed with the statement and 32% who were uncertain.

Overall, the respondents either agree with the benefits of CLB or reported neutral attitudes. It is worth underscoring the high percentage of neutral stances, which may imply the presence of weak attitudes that are not fully developed and cognitively accessible for the respondents. This could be due to the fact that for most of the respondents it was the first time they were asked about their CLB experiences and they might have never thought about the specific benefits of this practice, since they perform it as a routine family activity.

Besides the presence of high neutral stances, the respondents recognized, in any case, the presence of positive benefits, particularly in relation to their bilingualism, biculturalism, academic performance and personal character. The positive impact of CLB on child language brokers' character confirmed the results obtained by Tse (1995a), whereas the greater relationship between CLB and child language brokers' biculturalism and academic results was also found by multiple previous studies, such as Halgunseth (2003), Bucaria and Rossato (2010), Angelelli (2016).

5.7.2.1. The influence of the socio independent variables on BENEFIT

By means of a Kruskal-Wallis test, the effects of all the independent variables (including the demographic and linguistic variables and the variable related to the frequency of child language brokering) on the dependent variables of the BENEFIT scale were assessed. The aim was to determine whether the independent variables might have any impact on child language brokers' attitudes about the benefits of CLB. The non-parametric Kruskal Wallis H test was run in order to ascertain whether there were any statistically significant differences among the different groups of the independent categorical variables on the dependent ordinal items. Here below only the statistically significant findings will be presented.

Two independent variables appeared to have a significant effect on the dependent variables related to the number of years spent in Italy and to the school levels attended in Italy.

A Kruskal-Wallis test showed that the number of years spent in Italy had a significant effect on the following attitudes: "Acting as language broker helped me improve my Italian", χ^2 (3) = 9.404, p = .024; "Language brokering helped me gain knowledge on Italy and the Italian culture", χ^2 (3) = 9.526, p = .023; "Language brokering has influenced the choice of my studies, χ^2 (3) = 10.913, p = .012; and "Language brokering has improved my academic performance", χ^2 (3) = 16.294, p = .001. The respondents who had lived in Italy for less than 5 years reported stronger attitudes towards the benefits mentioned in the above items than the respondents born in Italy.

A similar situation was identified when considering the independent variable related to the school levels attended in Italy. The respondents who attended schools in Italy only from high school perceived stronger positive attitude in favour of the item "Language brokering has influenced the choice of my studies", χ^2 (3) = 16.962, p

= .002; and of the item "Language brokering has improved my academic performance", $\chi2$ (3) = 13.041, p = .006, than those who received all their schooling in Italy.

These findings suggest that the Kruskal Wallis test was useful to explore child language brokers' attitudes more deeply and to delve into the neutral stances expressed by child language brokers in order to find any interesting relationship between the different variables. In particular, the Kruskal Wallis test has revealed that the respondents who had migrated more recently, and who had thus been living in Italy for less than 5 years or who started their attendance of Italian schools only from higher secondary school (i.e. the school level attended by the respondents at the time of the survey), reported stronger positive attitudes towards the benefits of CLB. In particular, they perceived CLB to have a greater influence on the improvement of their academic results, on the choice of their future studies, on the improvement of their skills in Italian and on their knowledge on Italian culture. Their recent experience with CLB may affect their perceptions more strongly compared with their peers who had been practicing CLB for a longer time and who might consider it as a common activity whose benefits they are less aware of.

5.7.3. Perceived feelings related to different settings

The third Likert-scale included six attitudinal items related to the feelings perceived in certain settings (COMFORT scale). The aim of this scale was to determine how the respondents felt about brokering in different settings in order to identify which contexts where perceived as "normal" and which did not (Orellana 2003: 23).

The items presented in this scale were selected by adopting as a model of reference the Language Brokering Scale identified by Tse (1995), revised by Buriel et al. (1998) and Weisskirch and Alva (2002).

Respondents had to evaluate their perceived feelings in each mentioned setting by choosing among a five-point scale including the following values: "very comfortable" (scored 5), "comfortable" (scored 4), "uncertain" (scored 3), "uncomfortable" (scored 2), "very uncomfortable" (scored 1). They could also opt for the answer "never translated there" in the event that they had never brokered in the abovementioned settings. This ordinal scale ranking comfort was adopted since it was deemed the most appropriate for the purposes of this question. The settings presented referred to well-known contexts ("At home", "In shops/supermarkets"), to school-related situations ("At school with teachers" and "During parents-teachers meetings"), and to institutional environments

("At doctors' practices/hospitals", "In the courthouse"). The scale reliability was confirmed by a Cronbach's Alpha value of .782.

The descriptive analysis of the data collected is presented in Table 5.32 below that illustrates the reported feelings held in relation to brokering in different settings.

Table 5.32.   **How do you feel when you broker in the following situations?**

Level of comfort/ settings	VU (%/N)	U (%/N)	NO (%/N)	C (%/N)	VC (%/N)	Never translated there (%/N)
At home	7% (8)	1% (1)	32% (36)	35% (40)	13% (15)	11% (13)
In shops/ supermarkets	3% (3)	16% (18)	30% (34)	28% (32)	7% (8)	16% (18)
At school with teachers	5% (6)	16% (18)	19% (22)	33% (37)	10% (11)	17% (19)
During parents-teachers meetings	5% (6)	17% (19)	25% (28)	20% (23)	5% (6)	27% (31)
In public offices	6% (7)	15% (17)	24% (27)	18% (20)	7% (8)	30% (34)
At doctors' offices/ hospitals	4% (5)	17% (19)	18% (20)	15% (17)	8% (9)	38% (43)
In the courthouse	3% (4)	3% (3)	8% (9)	3% (4)	2% (2)	80% (91)

The percentages presented in Table 5.32 allow us to gain insight regarding the respondents' attitudes towards their perceived feelings when brokering in certain settings.

The sample expressed more positive feelings when language brokering takes place in familiar and well-known settings. The first two items, "at home" and "in shops/supermarkets", together with the third item "at school with teachers", registered higher percentages for positive feelings than neutral or uncomfortable perceptions.

In those settings with which respondents are less familiar or where they could meet representatives of public institutions, such as "During parents-teachers meetings",

"In administrative offices (post offices, banks)" and "At doctors' offices/hospitals", students were almost equally divided in their level of comfortable, uncertain, uncomfortable values. The courthouse setting is the context where language brokers brokered less frequently, thus the values related to how they feel in this setting are much lower and equally distributed among the three values.

The data obtained by this scale help to determine that CLB is perceived more positively when it is considered as a family strategy performed in well-known settings (Orellana 2003; Bucaria and Rossato 2010). However, even in institutional contexts, the respondents did not report strong negative attitudes towards CLB, but they registered more neutral stances. This neutral perception may be the result of the fact that they feel it is their duty to help their family, and they perceive CLB as "just normal" (Orellana 2003), and that they may not be aware of possible benefits related to this activity.

The presence of positive feelings when brokering occurs in well-known settings, such as at home or at school, also provides good arguments to support the opinions expressed by the respondents interviewed by Crafter et al. (2017: 238), according to which "the context provided by a school can minimize the disadvantages of clb and maximize its advantages".

5.8. Spearman correlation: are there any associations among the behavioural, affective and cognitive attitudes?

The hypothesis regarding any association between the behavioural attitudes and the affective/cognitive attitudes was tested by calculating the Spearman correlation coefficient for all the items belonging to the three behavioural scales (PEOPLE, SETTING, DOCUMENT scales) and all the items belonging to the affective and cognitive scales (FEEL and BENEFIT scales). This test was chosen because it measures the strength and direction of association between ordinal variables. The highest significant correlations will be reported in the tables here below.

The two highest significant correlations that were identified by associating the PEOPLE scale with the FEEL and BENEFIT scales were between the items "other relatives" and "I am proud to be a language broker"; and between the items "schoolmates" and "I enjoy acting as language broker". Both couples of items were positively correlated (see Table 5.33 below), thus implying that the respondents

reported higher agreement with the feeling of pride when they brokered for their relatives and they enjoyed more brokering when they did it for their schoolmates.

Table 5.33 **Correlation between PEOPLE scale and FEEL/BENEFIT scales**

PEOPLE scale	FEEL/BENEFIT scale	Spearman correlation (r)	Statistical significance (p)
Other relatives	I am proud to be a language broker	0.306	0.001
Schoolmates	I enjoy acting as language broker	0.407	0.000

When examining the correlations between the SETTING scale and the FEEL/BENEFIT scales, the three significant highest correlations that were identified were between the items: (i) "on the phone" and "I enjoy acting as language broker"; (ii) "on the phone" and "I like acting as language broker because I am given responsibility"; and (iii) "at the police station" and "language brokering make me think about becoming a professional mediator" (see Table 5.34). All the items were positively correlated. The respondents enjoyed more brokering and liked it more because they were given responsibility when they brokered on the phone, and the respondents who brokered at the police station reported higher agreement with the item "language brokering make me think about becoming a professional mediator".

Table 5.34. **Correlation between SETTING scale and FEEL/BENEFIT scales**

SETTING scale	FEEL/BENEFIT scale	Spearman correlation (r)	Statistical significance (p)
On the phone	I enjoy acting as language broker	0.306	0.001
On the phone	I like acting as language broker because I am given responsibility	0.321	0.000
At the police station	Language brokering make me think about becoming a professional mediator	0.358	0.001

As for the correlation between the DOCUMENT scale and the FEEL/BENEFIT scales, brokering "prescriptions and medicine leaflets" and "labels of product" was positively related to the attitude about "language brokering made my parents more dependent on me" (Table 5.35). Since the correlation was positive, the respondents who brokered prescriptions, medicine leaflets and labels of products more frequently thought that CLB made their parents more dependent on them.

Table 5.35.   Correlation between DOCUMENT scale and FEEL/BENEFIT scales

DOCUMENT scale	FEEL/BENEFIT scale	Spearman correlation (*r*)	Statistical significance (*p*)
Prescriptions/medicine leaflets	Language brokering made my parents more dependent on me	0.323	0.000
Labels of product	Language brokering made my parents more dependent on me	0.303	0.001

The last correlation tested was between the items of the FEEL scale and the items of the BENEFIT scale and among the items of the FEEL and BENEFIT scales themselves.

The Spearman correlation was statistically and positively significant between the following items (Tables 5.36, 5.37, 5.38):

Table 5.36 Correlation between FEEL scale and BENEFIT scales

FEEL scale	BENEFIT scale	Spearman correlation (*r*)	Statistical significance (*p*)
I am proud to be a language broker	Language brokering encouraged me be more familiar with my parents' country and to visit it	0.337	0.000
I like acting as language broker because I am given responsibility	Acting as language broker has improved my character and personality	0.396	0.000
I like acting as language broker because I am given responsibility	Language brokering helped me become more mature and independent	0.440	0.000
I like acting as language broker because I am given responsibility	Language brokering made me think about becoming a professional mediator	0.402	0.000

Table 5.37   Correlation among the items of the FEEL scale

FEEL scale	FEEL scale	Spearman correlation (*r*)	Statistical significance (*p*)
I enjoy acting as language broker	I like acting as language broker because I am given responsibility	0.416	0.000

Table 5.38   Correlation among the items of the BENEFIT scale

BENEFIT scale	BENEFIT scale	Spearman correlation (*r*)	Statistical significance (*p*)
Acting as language broker has improved my character and personality	Acting as language broker helped me improve my Italian	0.429	0.000
Acting as language broker has improved my character and personality	Language brokering helped me become more mature and independent	0.480	0.000
Acting as language broker has improved my character and personality	Language brokering has improved my academic performance	0.337	0.000
Acting as language broker has improved my character and personality	Language brokering made me think about becoming a professional mediator	0.402	0.000

The correlation between the FEEL scale and the BENEFIT scale revealed that the respondents who agreed more with the feeling of pride related to CLB, also agreed more that CLB had a positive impact on their desire to get familiar with their parents' country of origin and to visit it. Hence, a positive perception of CLB had positive effects on the desire of child language brokers to improve their biculturalism.

The respondents who agreed more with the feeling of liking CLB because they were given responsibility, also agreed more on the benefits of this practice on their character and personality, on their being more mature and independent, and on the possibility of becoming professional mediators. The feeling of responsibility was positively perceived and had beneficial effects on the perceived benefits of this practice, especially related to the character of child language brokers and to the possibility of becoming professional mediators.

The correlation between the two items of the FEEL scale suggested that those who agreed more with the feeling of liking CLB because they were given responsibility, also agreed more with the feeling of enjoying acting as language brokers, thus confirming a positive perception of the responsibility given by CLB.

The correlations between the items of the BENEFIT scale revealed that the respondents who agreed more with the positive impact of CLB on their character and personality also agreed more with the positive effects of CLB on their improvement of

the Italian language, on their being more mature and independent, on their better academic performance, and on the possibility of becoming professional mediators. These results suggest a positive correlation among the beneficial consequences of CLB, thus showing how a good perception of this practice may result in positive outcomes for child language brokers, who report better academic results and who are more willing to become professional mediators.

To sum up, the section regarding the perceived feelings and benefits related to CLB highlighted mainly positive perceived feelings, especially of pride and joy. Additionally, it revealed positive perceptions when CLB takes place in familiar and well-known settings, and it suggested positive perceived benefits, mainly in terms of child language brokers' bilingualism and biculturalism and regarding the impact of CLB on their future jobs.

The positive feelings were also coupled with the feeling of stress experienced by the respondents who had migrated to Italy more recently and had experienced CLB for a shorter time, thus still lacking the necessary strategies to perform it more comfortably.

Overall, the respondents who perceived stronger positive feelings about CLB, also reported stronger attitudes towards the benefits of this practice. In particular, the feeling related to a positive perception of CLB because it gives responsibility was correlated with stronger attitudes in favour of positive effects of CLB, thus implying a positive perception of the sense of responsibility, that did not appear to be associated with burden or negative emotions.

Additionally, the benefits of CLB were perceived more directly by the respondents who had been living in Italy for less than 5 years, or who attended schools in Italy only from high school, and had therefore experienced migration more recently. For them, CLB could be a new and challenging practice that they considered less "normal" than their peers who had been practicing it for a longer time, and for this reason the children who arrived in Italy more recently could perceive its benefits more clearly.

5.9. A qualitative insight into child language brokers' self-reported perceptions

The last four questions of the questionnaire were open-ended. The first two questions aimed at delving into the reasons why respondents may feel comfortable or uncomfortable when brokering in certain settings, while the last two questions intended to explore the perceived advantages and disadvantages of this practice. In order to better

code the answers obtained, they were grouped together according to their meanings and they were assigned a category. Despite the difficulties in summarising open-ended questions, they were included at the end of the questionnaire since they provide useful insights that are not biased by any pre-coded answer presented to the respondent.

5.9.1. Reasons for feeling comfortable or uncomfortable

The first open-ended question asked participants why they feel comfortable in certain situations when they broker. 97% of respondents answered this question and their opinions are presented in the categories listed in Table 5.39.

Table 5.39 Why do you feel comfortable when brokering?

Category	Percentage/Number of respondents
I like to help people	27%, N: 21
I got used to brokering, it's a normal activity we all do	15%, N: 12
I translate for my family members	10%, N: 8
I am sure of what I am brokering	9%, N: 7
I do not feel ashamed when I have to broker	5%, N: 4
I feel comfortable when other people are not watching me	5%, N: 4
It shows that I am responsible and I can show off my skills	9%, N: 7
It is my duty to help my parents	5%, N: 4
I know the people and the setting for whom and in which I broker	8%, N: 6

The answers provided reveal that the respondents associated language brokering to comfortable feelings when they considered this practice as a normal family dynamics that they performed to help people who need their assistance.

They considered this practice as a normal activity they did for their family members and some respondents argued that it was their "duty" and "responsibility" towards their parents to assist them by brokering. They also felt comfortable when they were familiar with the people and the setting in which they brokered and when they knew the words or the concepts they had to broker, without fearing making mistakes.

The second open-ended question inquired about the reasons why child language brokers felt uncomfortable in certain situations and was answered by 96% of the

179

participants. The self-reported perceptions provided by respondents are detailed in Table 5.40 below.

Table 5.40   Why do you feel uncomfortable when brokering?

Category	Percentage/Number of respondents
I felt ashamed because I was the centre of the attention	37%, N: 25
I never feel uncomfortable	26%, N: 17
I have not translated in that setting yet or I do not know the people I broker for	14%, N: 9
I fear making mistakes and being judged	14%, N: 10
I do not want to translate	4%, N: 3
When I have to report negative information	3%, N: 2

Numerous concepts expressed in the answers presented in Table 5.39 may prove consistent with the answers provided to the previous question. The respondents felt uncomfortable when they felt ashamed and the centre of the attention, when they did not perfectly understand what they had to broker or when they were unfamiliar with the setting and people they had to broker for. They also feared being judged by others and they were not comfortable when they had to convey negative information.

Overall the respondents felt comfortable when they perceived CLB as a normal activity they performed for their family members in settings with which they were familiar. Conversely, they felt uncomfortable when they feared making mistakes, when they had to broker for people they did not know or in new settings, and when they felt being the centre of the attention.

These perceptions mirror the emotions described by the respondents interviewed by Orellana (2003: 62-63), who considered CLB "just normal" and felt "good" to broker, except for when they were with "strangers and authority figures outside the home". Moreover, similarly to this study, frustration and anxiety were reported by Bucaria and Rossato (2010) and Angelelli (2016), when their respondents did not know specific terms or when technical issues were discussed. Weisskirch and Alva (2002)

also stressed the presence of negative experiences resulting from brokering in high-stake contexts in which mistranslation could lead to anxiety.

5.9.2. Advantages and disadvantages of child language brokering

The last two questions aimed at exploring the perceived advantages and disadvantages related to language brokering.

99% of the respondents answered the question inquiring about the perceived advantages gained by CLB. As Table 5.41 illustrates, the respondents considered child language brokering as an opportunity to help and meet new people, to speak and improve their languages and to become familiar with the Italian administrative system. They also considered CLB as a practice that makes them feel special and appreciated and that improves their relationships with their parents. Additionally, they mentioned the feeling of having more responsibilities as an advantage of CLB, thus supporting the previous findings of this study that connected the sense of responsibility to positive perceptions.

These results also confirm the findings of previous studies (Valdés et al. 2003) suggesting that the beneficial outcomes related to CLB are strictly connected to the positive appreciation of this activity by the members who benefit from it, including both family members and third parties.

Table 5.41   What are the advantages of child language brokering?

Category	Percentage/Number of respondents
You can help people	37%, N: 25
You speak more languages and improve them	31%, N: 21
You can learn new things	15%, N: 10
My relationship with my parents has improved	4%, N: 3
You feel special and appreciated	3%, N: 2
I get to know how public offices and Italian administration work	1%, N: 1
You have more responsibility	1%, N: 1
You have new friends	1%, N: 1

As for the disadvantages related to child language brokering, Table 5.42 shows that most of the respondents (58%) reported not experiencing any disadvantage in relation to CLB. Among the 39% of the participants who suffered from disadvantages, 17% of them mentioned the stress and discomfort they feel when they do not understand what people are saying, 11% indicated the fear of being reprimanded or judged, and 11% stated that the downside consists of being obliged to broker instead of spending time in doing what they would prefer to do. 2% of them also mentioned "mixing the two languages" as a disadvantage related to CLB.

The disadvantages mentioned above help to produce deeper insight into the negative feelings perceived by child language brokers. They feel stressed and anxious when they are not sure about the terminology to use (Bucaria and Rossato 2010; Angelelli 2016) and they are also annoyed when they are interrupted from the activities they were carrying out. This last element reflects the same downside mentioned by Orellana (2003: 13), who highlighted that: "Children did feel annoyed when a request to translate interrupted an activity they were engaged in or when they had to break their own concentration to explain what was happening to others, such as while watching a movie".

Table 5.42   Which are the disadvantages of child language brokering?

Category	Percentage/Number of respondents
There are no disadvantages	58%, N: 31
I feel stressed out when I don't understand what people are saying	17%, N: 9
I fear being judged and reprimanded	11%, N: 6
I cannot do what I want to do because I have to go with parents and broker for them	11%, N: 6
Mixing the two languages	2%, N: 1

5.10. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an in-depth analysis of child language brokers' affective, behavioural, and cognitive attitudes.

The descriptive analysis of the data has shown that language brokering is an activity practiced by most of the respondents on average a few times a month.

The behavioural attitudes of child language brokers have revealed that the people for whom they broker the most are their family members, especially their mothers, the settings where they broker more often are their home, the school and the hospital, whereas they broker less frequently written documents.

The affective attitudes towards CLB have revealed that the respondents mainly perceive positive feelings about this practice, especially when it is considered as a normal activity they perform to help their family members. These good emotions notwithstanding, they also perceive negative feelings, especially when they are asked to broker in situations or with people that are unfamiliar to them or when they struggled with the appropriate terminology.

The multivariate analysis conducted by means of the Kruskal-Wallis H test and of the Spearman's rank-order correlation suggested that the respondents who had been brokering for a shorter period at the time of the survey also showed stronger attitudes towards this practice than the respondents who had been performing it for a longer time. It also helped to confirm that positive feelings are often associated with greater attitudes towards the perceived benefits of CLB and that the respondents of this study had positive feelings towards the sense of responsibility that was given to them by CLB.

The following chapter will integrate the quantitative data provided by the questionnaires with the qualitative data provided by semi-structured interviews. The analysis of some excerpts from the interviews conducted with child language brokers attending the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì will produce further evidence on the benefits of implementing a mixed methodology.

Chapter 6. Reconstructing the experiences of child language brokers: analysis of interview data

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses data from semi-structured interviews carried out in November 2016 at the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì. The main aim of these interviews was to collect information concerning child language brokering activities as recalled and perceived by children. All the interviews were recorded, videotaped and subsequently transcribed.

The first section of this chapter will illustrate the interview protocol, the second section will provide a description of the informants who were interviewed, and the subsequent sections will focus on the main topics discussed during the interviews, specifically children's perceived feelings, their perceived benefits, and their perceived agency, with a selection of excerpts that will help present the informants' opinions on the issues at stake.

6.2. Interview protocol

The data were elicited by means of a semi-structured template of questions (see Appendix 2 for the interview protocol), which allowed for flexibility in the order of questions according to each respondent's interests and attitudes.

The protocol contained questions with probes in the following seven domains: (1) sociodemographic information and linguistic background; (2) language brokering experiences (in which settings, what documents and for which people children recalled having brokered) and anecdotes of their experiences as brokers; (3) children's perceived feelings about brokering, (4) children's perceived benefits about brokering, (5) children's perceived agency exercised when brokering; (6) children's brokering strategies; and (7) the relational impact of child language brokering.

6.3. The informants: demographics

Although great effort was invested in trying to interview some of the students who responded to the questionnaires, this was not possible mainly because of time constraints imposed by the schools that took part in the research. The informants were thus selected among the children who attended the after-school laboratories organised

by the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì, and who agreed to take part in this research study.

Once describing the research project to the students attending the Centre, some informants were selected as potential child language brokers by the Italian educators. Others self-selected to describe and share their experiences as child language brokers.

The respondents did not provide extensive answers and even though they were often probed with further questions to obtain more accurate details, they rarely expanded more on their responses.

As discussed in the methodology chapter, research on and with children raises challenging issues, especially related to the choice of the most adequate research tools. Given the age of the informants (who were older than 11 years of age), the subject of the interview, and considering that some of them self-selected to be video-interviewed, the use of the interviews as research tool was deemed appropriate for the selected informants.

The presence of short answers was thus probably due to the informants' shyness to be video-interviewed for the first time and/or to the hypothesis that it was the first time they were asked about their experiences as child language brokers, the reason why their opinions may not be quickly cognitively accessible to them.

The sample was composed of eight children, four males and four females, who were all junior high school students aged between 11 and 16 years. The informants' personal information, such as their family names, was not altered, as agreed with the respondents. As for their country of origin, three of the eight interviewees were born in Italy, two in Burkina Faso, one in Bangladesh and two in Morocco. Among the respondents who were not born in Italy, at the time of the interview, four of them had been living in Italy for eight years, and one of them for five years. All participants had at least one sibling, and, more specifically, four of them were first-born, three were last-born and one was middle-born. They could all speak Italian quite fluently and they reported that their dominant language was their parents' native language.

All the informants stated that they speak their parents' native languages when they are at home or when they speak with their parents, while they use Italian when they are outside their home or when they speak with their siblings (table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Demographics

Name	Gender	Age	Country of birth	Country of parents' birth	Years in Italy	Siblings/Order of birth	Languages spoken
Anjie	Male	11	Italy	China	Born in Italy	2 siblings, first-born	Italian, Chinese, English
Ainatou	Female	11	Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso	8 years	3 siblings, last-born	Italian, Bissa, French
Elena	Female	12	Italy	China	Born in Italy	1 sibling, first-born	Italian, Chinese, English German
Zakietou	Female	11	Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso	5 years	2 siblings, first-born	Burkina Faso's dialect, Italian, English
Tanzila	Female	11	Bangladesh	Bangladesh	8 years	1 sibling, last-born	Bengali, Indian, Italian, English
Haojie	Male	11	Italy	China	Born in Italy	2 siblings, middle-born	Italian, Chinese, English, French
Azzedine	Male	12	Morocco	Morocco	8 years	2 siblings, last-born	Arabic, Italian
Youssef	Male	16	Morocco	Morocco	8 years	2 siblings, first-born	Arabic, Italian

6.4. Language brokering experiences

All eight interviewees confirmed having language brokered and they were thus prompted to recall the settings where they had brokered, the people for whom they had brokered, the documents they had been asked to translate and the frequency of their brokering activities (Table 6.2).

However, despite having explained to the respondents what language brokering implies and despite a first round of questions relating to their personal detail aimed at making them feel at ease with the Interviewer, while being video-recorded, they did not answer extensively the questions regarding the who, where and what of language brokering. Possible factors that may have influenced this attitude could have been both the respondents' shyness, and the fact that it was the first time they were asked to talk about their experiences as language brokers.

The eight respondents reported brokering in various contexts, namely at home, in schools, at hospitals and doctor's offices, at supermarkets, in shops, at post offices, on the street, at sport clubs, at the train station and at the airport.

All of them mentioned their mothers as the people for whom they broker the most. Fathers, grandparents, relatives, schoolmates, and friends were indicated as beneficiaries of CLB only by some of the interviewees. None of the informants mentioned teachers or doctors (except for one respondent who mentioned the doctor) as the people for whom they broker, even though they reported having brokered at schools or in hospitals and at doctor's offices.

A possible reason for which they only indicated their family members as the people for whom they brokered may be due to the perception of CLB as an intra-familial process. Hence, the respondents only mentioned their relatives or friends because they were the people in need for their linguistic assistance to reach social, educational, or institutional goals. They might have not referred to any other beneficiaries of CLB (e.g. doctors or teachers) because they did not belong to their families and they were speakers of the dominant language and thus not in need for their help.

In terms of documents brokered, in the sample analysed, brokering is self-perceived more as an oral activity than as a practice consisting of sight-translating documents. Three out of the eight respondents did not refer to any document brokered, while five interviewees mentioned brokering school documents, bills, and mail.

Five respondents also provided information related to the frequency of their brokering activities. They reported brokering either a few times a month (three respondents) or a few times a week (two respondents).

All the information related to the "who", "where", and "what" of brokering and the frequency of this activity reflect both the quantitative findings of the survey and the results obtained by previous studies highlighting that mothers are the people for whom children broker more often, especially orally, and at home or in family-related contexts (Orellana 2003; Cirillo 2017; Hua and Costigan 2017).

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Table 6.2: The "who", "where" and "what" of language brokering and the frequency

Name	Frequency of brokering	Settings of brokering	People brokered for	Documents brokered
Anjie	A few times a month	Post office, home, supermarket, school	Mother, father, grandparents, schoolmates	Bills, school documents
Ainatou	/	Doctors' office, supermarket	Mother, doctor	School documents, mail
Elena	A few times a month	Home, hospital, school	Mother, schoolmate	School documents
Zakietou	A few times a week	Train station	Mother, father, parents' friends	/
Tanzila	A few times a week	Home, shops, street, hospital	Mother, father, friend	/
Haojie	A few times a month	School, doctors' office	Mother, father, relatives	/
Azzedine	/	Home, sport club	Mother, father	Bills, documents
Youssef	/	Airport, school, home	Mother, parents' friends, relatives	Documents, mail, bills

After answering questions related to the where, what and who of their brokering activities, the informants were invited to share detailed episodes in which they had served as language brokers. The anecdotes described by the interviewees helped produce insight into the complexities of child language brokering as a multifaceted activity.

While reporting their experiences with CLB, most of the respondents mentioned and recalled child language brokered events that had occurred in the school setting.

Anjie, for example, an eleven year-old boy born in Italy from Chinese parents, reported helping his newly-arrived Chinese schoolmate, who was not able to read or understand Italian well.

Excerpt 6.1

Anjie: […] alcune volte non sa neanche leggere molto bene, quindi lo aiuto e dopo quando non capisce niente lo aiuto a tradurlo.

Anjie: […] sometimes he can't even read very well, so I help him and when he can't understand anything at all I help him translate it.

Two further episodes of child language brokering at school were described by Haojie, an eleven year-old boy born in Italy from Chinese parents (both described in Excerpt 6.2).

In the first event he recalled, he was asked by his sister's teacher to phone his mother and tell her that his sister had had a small accident at school. His sister did not remember their mother's mobile phone number, so Haojie was called to give her mother's number to his sister's teacher. He also spoke directly to his mother and told her what had happened to his sister.

The second experience described by Haojie was related to a situation in which he was asked to serve as language broker between the headmaster of his school and the Chinese family of a Chinese schoolmate of his who did not speak Italian.

Excerpt 6.2

Haojie: Sì qualche volta mia sorellina quando si fa male. Una volta sono sceso dalla classe sono andato a chiamare mia mamma perché non sapeva il numero e gli ho raccontato tutto e un'altra volta uno studente che è sempre cinese e la sua famiglia non parla molto bene l'italiano quindi mi hanno chiamato per andare nell'ufficio del preside e poi gli ho tradotto.

Haojie: Yes sometimes my little sister when she gets hurt. Once I left my classroom, I went to call my mother because (my sister) didn't know her phone number and I told her everything and another time a Chinese student and his family, who didn't speak Italian well, so I was called and asked to go to the headmaster's office and there I translated.

A similar experience at school was recalled by Elena, a twelve year-old girl born in Italy from Chinese parents, who, as described by Haojie, was asked by her teacher to go and broker for people who did not belong to her family but who were Chinese and could not speak Italian:

Excerpt 6.3

Elena: In quinta elementare mi hanno chiamata e mi hanno portata per tradurre una mamma che non sapeva cosa doveva fare e non capiva.

Elena: When I was in fifth grade I was called and taken to a room to translate for a mother who didn't know what she had to do and who didn't understand.

Additionally, Elena also recalled a situation in which she helped a Chinese friend of hers do her homework. Unlike Anjie, she helped her friend at home and not at school:

Excerpt 6.4

Elena: Alla prima media ho tradotto gli esercizi del compito a una mia amica sempre cinese, a casa sua però.

Elena: When I was in sixth grade I translated the exercises of our homework to a friend of mine, who was Chinese like me, but at her place.

These excerpts suggest the wide array of situations in which children might be requested to broker in the school setting.

They can self-select to broker for their newly-arrived schoolmates because they want to help them, both at school and at home doing their homework, or they can be asked to broker by their teachers or head masters. In these circumstances, they may broker for their family members, such as, for example, between their mothers and their siblings' teachers, or for people who do not belong to their families, for instance between their teachers or headmasters and other newly-arrived Chinese families that the child language brokers do not know.

Besides school, the post-office was another setting were the informants reported brokering.

Anjie, for example, recalled an episode in which he went to the post office with his mother and brokered the amount of the bill they had to pay (Excerpt 6.5):

Excerpt 6.5

Anjie: Mi hanno chiesto di andare dove si pagano le bollette e ho preso il biglietto e ho aspettato e dopo sono andato li e dopo mia mamma ha detto quanto costa e dopo l'ho tradotto e dopo abbiamo pagato e dopo siamo tornati a casa.

Anjie: They asked me to go where you pay the bills, I took the ticket, and I waited, and then I went there and then my mum asked me how much it was, I translated the price, and then we paid and then we went back home.

Azzedine, a twelve year-old Moroccan boy, also mentioned brokering the bills, but at home and not at the post-office. Specifically, he remembered his mother asking him to read the bill aloud when she received it by mail:

Excerpt 6.6

Azzedine: Sì sì è quando è venuta la bolletta e quindi mia mamma mi ha detto di leggerla e io l'ho letta.

Azzedine: Yes yes when we received the bill and so my mother told me to read it, and I read it.

The situation was slightly different for Youssef, a sixteen year-old Moroccan boy. He admitted that his father was the person who dealt with the bills, while he was in charge of brokering and filling in his siblings' school documents:

Excerpt 6.7

Youssef: Le bollette diciamo che le bollette se ne occupa mio padre mentre non so magari degli avvisi della scuola di mia sorella, di mio fratello, quelle cose li le traduco io le compilo io poi le faccio firmare a mia mamma.

Youssef: The bills, my dad takes care of the bills, while maybe as for my sister's and brother's school documents, I translate them, I fill them in and then I make my mum sign them.

The abovementioned examples are instances of child language brokering activities that may result in what has been defined as role-reversal or parentification (Puig 2002, Trickett and Jones 2007). Children may find themselves replacing their parents' role by performing parental activities or exercising parental interactional power.

When at the post office, for example, child language brokers are the family members who interact with the public employees and who work in order to reach their family's communicative goal. Likewise, when they are at home, they might fill in documents that are usually completed by adults.

Despite this temporary position of control that children adopt over the interaction when they broker, their parents usually preserve their parental role by supervising what their children do and by closing the interaction. This is shown, for example, by Anjie's mother, who is the person who gives the money to pay the bill, and by Azzedine's mother, who is the person who has the power to sign the school documents and who reveals a complete trust in her son's brokering skills, since she signs without being sure about the accuracy of his translation. In so doing, the two mothers confirm having the final say over the communicative event and they keep their parental role.

A final anecdote was recalled by Haojie (Excerpt 6.8) who reported a CLB experience at the doctor's office. His mother asked him to go with her at the doctor's since his sister was not available. He recalled that his mother made great efforts to speak Italian but when she really struggled to speak, she asked for his help:

Excerpt 6.8

Haojie: Mia mamma non si sentiva, non si sentiva bene quindi è dovuta andare da medico e dato che mia sorella aveva da fare mi ha chiamato […] ma quando proprio non riesce chiede a me.

Haojie: My mum did not feel, did not feel well, so she had to go to the doctor's and since my sister was busy, she called me […] when she has great difficulties (in speaking Italian), she asks me (to help her).

This habit of having the eldest in charge of CLB has also been reported by Orellana (2003). The informants interviewed by Orellana noted that their older siblings were usually asked to broker, but when they were not available, the younger siblings would take their place, as happened to Haojie. Moreover, the family members who took part in Orellana's research often worked together and supported each other in brokering tasks. Similarly, Haojie's mother struggled to communicate in Italian and she resorted to her child's help only when the task was beyond her capabilities.

These excerpts contribute to providing further insight into the "who", "where" and "what" of brokering and of the different tasks that language brokers are asked to perform. They also help us understand the complexities and the outcomes of CLB. For

instance, they reveal that the people for whom children broker could be either their family members or friends, as they reported when asked for whom they broker more often, but also people that child language brokers did not know and who belonged to their same linguistic community (specifically the Chinese community in the extracts reported).

It is interesting to observe that when the respondents were asked to delve more into their CLB experiences by describing some detailed examples, none of them reported any anecdote of CLB at home, even though they all mentioned brokering in this setting. This behaviour may confirm that CLB is such a spontaneous action within the family, that the child language brokers may not be aware of the fact that they are performing it, especially when at home, or they may not consider it as an extraordinary event worth describing.

These excerpts also shed light on the tasks carried out by child language brokers, which include helping friends do their homework, brokering for their newly arrived schoolmates, or helping teachers or headmasters communicate with people belonging to their same linguistic communities, going to the post office or to the doctor's with their parents and help them communicate, sight-translating bills, and filling in documents.

This wide array of activities entails the performance of specific tasks that may place the child language brokers in a temporary position of control over the communicative events. At the same time, however, their parents preserve their parental authority and try to cooperate in order to reduce any possible burden carried out by their children while brokering.

6.6. Self-perceived feelings about language brokering

After having provided a detailed account of some episodes of child language brokering, the participants were invited to express their perceived feelings about these experiences.

The analysis of the interviews revealed that the informant reported mixed feelings with positive perceptions often associated with a sense of annoyance or anxiety.

Youssef and Ainatou, an eleven year-old girl from Burkina Faso, were the two only respondents who expressed positive feelings towards their CLB experience. Ainatou reported being always happy when she was asked to broker and she added that it is good to help people, whereas Youssef related that brokering is not a problem for him and he is happy to do it.

Excerpt 6.9

Ainatou: Sono felice e sono felice perché aiutare le persone che hanno bisogno è bello.

Ainatou: I'm happy and I'm happy because it's good to help people who need support.

Excerpt 6.10

Youssef: No cioè mi fa piacere non mi crea problemi insomma.

Youssef: I'm happy, it doesn't bother me.

Mixed feelings were reported by Azzedine (Excerpt 6.11), Haojie (Excerpt 6.12) and Tanzila (Excerpt 6.13), an eleven year-old girl from Bangladesh. They were all happy to broker but they also added that they felt annoyed when they were interrupted and asked to broker for their parents while being involved in other activities.

Excerpt 6.11

Azzedine: Alcune volte voglio uscire però mia mamma mi obbliga a stare dentro a tradurre mi scoccia.

Azzedine: Sometimes I want to go out but my mother forces me to stay at home to broker, it bothers me.

Excerpt 6.12

Haojie: A volte un po' meno […] quando sto con i miei amici a giocare o a far qualcosa che mi piace.

Haojie: Sometimes (I like brokering) a little bit less […] when I'm playing with my friends or when I'm doing something I like.

Excerpt 6.13

Tanzila: Bene cioè mi sento a mio agio […] sì quando guardo la tv e mia mamma mi dice "cosa vuol dire questo?".

Tanzila: I feel good, I feel comfortable [...] yes when I'm watching TV and my mum asks me "what does this mean?".

Haojie and Zakietou, an eleven year-old girl from Burkina Faso, also mentioned other reasons as the causes of their mixed feelings. Zakietou admitted that she liked brokering

when she knew the words, whereas she was annoyed when she did not know how to report the information she was given.

Excerpt 6.14

Zakietou: Dipende cioè se so una cosa non mi scoccia però se non la so sì un po'.

Zakietou: It depends, if I know what to say, it doesn't bother me, but if I don't know, it bothers me a little bit.

Haojie expressed a sense of anxiety when he was at the doctor's and he did not know how to translate certain words:

Excerpt 6.15

Haojie: Un po' agitato perché qualche volta non mi vengono le parole.

Haojie: A little bit anxious because sometimes I don't remember the words.

Anjie and Elena were the only two respondents who mentioned negative feelings about brokering.

Anjie affirmed that he felt uncomfortable when he brokered, even though at home he felt a little bit less uncomfortable compared to when he had to broker at the hospital:

Excerpt 6.16

Anjie: Un po' a disagio […] No a casa faccio meno disagio.

Anjie: A little bit uncomfortable [...] No, I feel less uncomfortable at home.

Elena reported being annoyed when her parents interrupted her while she was either drawing, reading, doing her homework or using her mobile phone (Excerpt 6.17):

Excerpt 6.17

Elena: Mi scoccia, perché ho tante attività da fare, cioè disegnare, fare compiti, leggere, guardare il cellulare e basta, poi mi interrompono sempre e quindi mi scoccia.

Elena: It bothers me, because I have a lot of activities to do, such as drawing, doing my homework, reading and checking my mobile phone, that's it, then they are always interrupting me, and so it bothers me.

She also shared negative feelings about when she was asked to broker between her teacher and a Chinese mother she did not know. She did not like it because she did not know the people she was brokering for and the Chinese mother spoke a Chinese dialect that she could not understand very well:

Excerpt 6.18

Elena: In quinta elementare mi hanno chiamata e mi hanno portata per tradurre una mamma che non sapeva cosa doveva fare e non capiva. […] non mi è piaciuto tanto perché non la conoscevo […] e parlava un po' strano cinese.

Elena: When I was in fifth grade I was called and taken to a room to translate for a mother who didn't know what she had to do and who didn't understand […] I didn't like it too much because I didn't know her […] and she spoke a strange Chinese.

These examples show that two respondents reported only positive feelings, two of them expressed only negative feelings, while four of them experienced mixed feelings, with positive perceptions combined with a sense of anxiety or annoyance.

The main reason for which child language brokers reported feeling annoyed was related to those situations in which they were asked to broker while they were doing more interesting activities; whereas the main reason for which they felt anxious was linked to those occurrences in which they did not know or could not remember some words or they did not know the people for whom they were brokering.

These findings match the results obtained by numerous studies on CLB, confirming that this practice can both produce positive and negative feelings, especially depending on key contextual factors.

CLB may occur in a variety of settings, both private and public, with specific characteristics that could affect child language brokers' emotional experiences.

Additionally, as De Abreu and O'Dell (2017: 193) pointed out, the "the nature of the encounters (i.e. complexity or routine), and the roles and identities of the people involved" may play a key role in how this activity is perceived.

Child language brokering may be considered as a natural and commonplace activity evoking positive feelings (Orellana 2003, Dorner et al. 2008), but also a source of annoyance and anxiety, when, for example, child language brokers could not find the right words while translating, they were brokering for strangers or authority figures outside the home, or they were disrupted to the activities they were carrying out (Orellana 2003: 62-63).

This analysis shows that CLB is an emotional complex activity in which both positive and negative feelings can co-exist (Hua and Costigan 2017), especially in relation to "cultural contexts", "community contexts", according to the "nature of the task" (Weisskirch 2017: 295) and to the communicative contexts and goals.

6.6. Self-perceived outcomes of language brokering

The respondents were also probed with questions about the perceived advantages and disadvantages related to language brokering activities. The answers provided by most interviewees recognized the positive effects of this practice mostly on their language acquisition:

Excerpt 6.19

Anjie: Sì, a capire un po' più l'italiano.

Anjie: Yes, it helped me to understand Italian better.

Excerpt 6.20

Ainatou: Sono felice e sono felice perché aiutare le persone che hanno bisogno è bello e ti fanno imparare parole nuove anche se non le conosci.

Ainatou: I'm happy and I'm happy because it's good to help people who need support and I can learn new words that I didn't know.

Excerpt 6.21

Zakietou: Mi ha aiutato a migliorare il linguaggio e altre cose.

Zakietou: It helped me improve my language skills and other things.

Excerpt 6.22

Elena: Imparare delle parole che non conosci.

Elena: Learning words that you didn't know.

Besides learning new words and improving Italian, Youssef brought to the fore another benefit deriving from language brokering, namely a better relationship with his mother who, thanks to brokering, trusted him more.

Excerpt 6.23

Youssef: Traducendo tua mamma si lascia andare è molto oggettiva la cosa si lascia andare si fida di più magari dopo un po' di tempo che traduci hanno più fiducia poi magari non so anche parole che non riesci a spiegargli che piano piano comunque ti vengono in mente diciamo che è positivo.

Youssef: Translating for my mum helped her to let herself go, it's very objective, she lets herself go, she trusts you more because they trust you more after you've been translating for them for a while, and you are also able to explain new words that you didn't know before, so I'd say it's a positive thing.

Haojie and Azzedine also raised the issue of better marks at school. Azzedine, in particular, explained this answer by recalling a situation in which he could not remember a word during a test at school, but he knew he wrote this word on his notebook after brokering, and so he asked his teacher whether he could check his notebook:

Excerpt 6.24

Haojie: Facendo la traduzione il mio italiano è migliorato […] voti più belli.

Haojie: Translating helped me improve my Italian […] better scores.

Excerpt 6.25

Azzedine: Su una verifica dove c'era quest parola che non sapevo però io ho chiesto alla prof se potevo andare a vedere sul quaderno dove l'avevo scritto e mi ha detto di sì.

Azzedine: During a test there was a word that I did not know but I asked my teacher if I could check it on the notebook where I had written it down and she said yes.

The informants did not overtly mention any disadvantage related to language brokering, except for Youssef who pointed out that the only minor downside was related to those situations in which he could not go out with his friends because his mother needed his help to communicate:

Excerpt 6.26

Youssef: Ogni tanto sì, vuoi uscire a fare un giro però c'è mia mamma che deve andare a fare qualcosa quindi diciamo che ogni tanto giusto quello è il lato negativo.

Youssef: Yes sometimes yes, such as when I want to go out but my mum needs to do something, that's the downside I think.

Despite not openly reporting any disadvantage when asked the question "Do you think there are some disadvantages related to language brokering?", the drawback mentioned by Youssef was also cited by the other informants when they answered the questions related to their perceived feelings. They highlighted that they feel annoyed by language brokering when they are doing other activities or when they would like to do other activities but they cannot because they need to provide linguistic assistance to their parents.

The questions related to the perceived advantages of CLB revealed that almost all participants identified positive impacts on their language acquisition, on their better relationship with their mothers and on their better academic results.

Similar results were obtained by Dorner et al. (2007) who revealed that CLB was related to higher standardized reading scores; by Chao (2006), who suggested that CLB was associated with stronger parent-child relationships; and by Valenzuela (1999) and Orellana et al. (2003), who highlighted the direct correlation between child language brokering and academic achievement.

With regards to the disadvantages of CLB, the respondents did not openly mentioned them when answering this question, but they reported them when describing their perceived feelings. One reason that may explain this behaviour may be related to the sense of loyalty that the informants have towards their family members, which prevents them from relating any possible disadvantage of this practice performed to support the functioning and integration process of their families in the host country. Other reasons can be linked to the respondents' limited language proficiency or to the fact that it was the first time they were asked about the disadvantages of this practice, and they had never thought about them before, since CLB for them is a natural and spontaneous activity.

6.7. Self-perceived agency exercised when brokering

In addition to their self-reported feelings and to the benefits they perceived about language brokering, the informants were asked to express their opinions on (i) the reasons why their parents resort to their help and on (ii) their decision to either broker all the information received or to filter the information to be reported to their parents, as illustrated below:

➢   (i) Why do your relatives ask you to translate?

➢   (ii) Have you ever decided not to translate some information?

The answers provided to these two questions helped to produce evidence of the respondents' awareness about their role as child language brokers and of the agency they exercise while brokering.

With regard to the first question, the participants were not able to provide any detailed or precise responses. The rationale behind this reaction may be twofold: they either had never thought about the reasons why their parents would ask them to broker, or they may take this practice for granted, since it is a practice that is an integral part of their life and childhood.

Haojie, for example, did not provide a straight answer but he reported what usually happens in his family when his parents need linguistic assistance. They usually ask for his sister's help, and when she is not available they rely on Haojie's help, and when neither Haojie nor his sister are free, they resort to the youngest child's assistance:

Excerpt 6.27

Haojie: Chiedono a lei ma quando lei non ha tempo chiamano me […]
e quando noi non possiamo, chiedono alla piccola.

Haojie: *They ask her to translate but when she can't, they call me […]*
and when we can't, they ask our little sister.

Anjie and Azzedine emphasised their parents' linguistic difficulties as the main reasons why they rely on their help as brokers. Anjie explained that his parents cannot speak Italian very well:

Excerpt 6.28

Anjie: Perché non sanno molto parlare.

Anjie: Because they cannot speak very well.

Azzedine admitted that he is the only person in his family who is able to read written documents, since his father has no reading competence of Italian:

Excerpt 6.29

Azzedine: Sì, perché sono l'unico che sa leggere nei testi scritti perché mio babbo sa solo parlare e basta.

Azzedine: Yes because I'm the only one who is able to read written
texts because my dad can only speak and that's it.

These few examples reveal that child language brokers are aware of their parents' difficulties in speaking and/or understanding Italian and they realise they are more competent than them in reading or speaking this language. Given their better linguistic proficiency, they may find it normal that their parents rely on their help to communicate.

As for the second question concerning whether they filter the information they broker, opinions were, again, mixed.

Elena maintained that she reports all the information to her mother, who has the right to be informed about everything, Haojie admitted not translating swearwords, whereas Youssef recalled teacher-parent meetings in which he did not faithfully report all the information and evaluation on his school performance produced by his teachers

to his mother. He also pointed out that he usually filters information and conveys only those concepts he deems important for his mother to be informed about.

Excerpt 6.30

Haojie: Le parolacce.

Haojie: Swear words.

Excerpt 6.31

Elena: No, le do e basta perché deve sapere.

Elena: No, I tell her everything because she has to know.

Excerpt 6.32

Youssef: Alle udienze perché veniva lei con me e cercavo un po' di spostare cioè di non dirle proprio tutto quello che mi dicevano i prof per alleviare un po' la cosa e magari certe cose gliele dicevo in un modo diverso o non glielo dicevo, però ci sono delle cose che è indifferente per lei saperle e magari non gliele dico quando sono inutili mentre le cose più importanti di solito glielo dico.

Youssef: At the teacher-parent meetings because she was with me so I tried not to tell her all the things my teachers were telling me just to alleviate the bad things a little bit and I reported certain things in a different way or I did not report them to her, but there are some things that it is not important for her to know and so when the information is useless, I don't tell it, while the most important things, I usually tell them (to my mum).

These examples reveal that the respondents decide autonomously the information that is appropriate to provide to their family members, by opting for different choices, that may range from reporting all the message to censoring part of it.

In particular, Haojie and Youssef adopted two strategies that were also identified by Bauer (2017) as two possible modes by which child language brokers exercise their agency: manipulating the information they broker and/or censoring it.

Youssef, for example, admitted editing the information related to his academic performance during the teacher-parent conference, and the same behaviour was reported by Maria, a former language broker of Greek origins interviewed by Bauer (2017: 366), who confessed changing her grades when they were unsatisfactory.

Haojie opted for censoring some information by deciding to leave out swear words. Two possible reasons for this choice could be either related to politeness norms and to the fear of being reprimanded because he was saying swear words (even though he was simply brokering them), or the feeling that swearwords were just irrelevant to the meaning of the message.

Irrespective of their choices to broker everything or to filter information, there are good arguments to assume that child language brokers' evaluations showcase their power in the interaction and the agency they exercise when brokering. This active role emerges not only from their voices when they answered the abovementioned questions, but also when they recalled other experiences.

Anjie, for instance, revealed his self-perceived agency when he was describing the situation in which he went to the post office and brokered for his mother:

Excerpt 6.33

Anjie: Mi hanno chiesto di andare dove si pagano le bollette e ho preso il biglietto e ho aspettato e dopo sono andato li e dopo mia mamma ha detto quanto costa e dopo l'ho tradotto e dopo abbiamo pagato e dopo siamo tornati a casa.

Anjie: They asked me to go where you pay the bills, I took the ticket, and I waited, and then I went there and then my mum asked me how much it was, I translated the price, and then we paid and then we went back home.

In this description, Anjie switches from the use of the first singular person adopted to relate that he took the ticket and he waited for his turn at the post office to the use of the first plural person adopted to report that he and his mother paid the bill and went back home. The change in the subject occurs after his mother asked him which was the amount of the bill to pay and he translated said amount to his mother.

This conversational feature may reveal that the child perceives himself as the main agent of the whole event until the moment in which he includes his mother in the interaction by answering her question and by brokering the amount they have to pay for their bill. From that moment onwards, he uses "we" as the subject of the following verbs, implying that both he and his mother accomplished the subsequent actions.

He also expressed his power in the interaction when the interviewer asked him whether it was his schoolmate who asked him to broker or whether it was Anjie himself

who decided to broker for his school friend. Anjie answered by saying that it was him to decide to broker for his school friend:

Excerpt 6.34

Anjie: Decido io, perché alcune volte non sa neanche leggere molto bene, quindi lo aiuto e dopo quando non capisce niente lo aiuto a tradurlo.

Anjie: I decide, because sometimes he can't even read very well, so I help him and when he can't understand anything at all I help translate it for him.

The experiences recalled by Anjie are consistent with the stories reported by the child language brokers observed by Orellana (2003: 110). These children manifested "keen social skills" towards those people who might benefit from their help as brokers, and they started brokering even when their help was not explicitly requested. Such a behaviour may represent what Del Torto (2008) defined as non-triggered interpretation, that is when children broker even though the "interpretation is neither directly requested nor triggered by apparent turn-sequence problems".

All the examples reported in this section clearly unveil child language brokers' power in the interaction. These children hold a position of responsibility and power when they can decide whether to filter the information they broker or not and when they choose that such filtering is necessary. When they make these decisions, they detain the interactional power over their parents and, through the choices they adopt, they can completely or partially exclude the party for whom they broker from the conversation. The voices of the interviewees indirectly and unconsciously speak to child language brokers' empowerment and agency during the interactions in which they take part as brokers.

6.8. Brokering strategies adopted by child language brokers

A further topic that was discussed during the interviews aimed to explore the brokering strategies implemented by the respondents, mainly when they face difficulties with the meaning of specific words or with their translation.

When dealing with unfamiliar words or when they did not understand a concept, the interviewees reported adopting various brokering strategies, ranging from consulting

the dictionary, asking for explanations to paraphrasing or googling the corresponding word.

Excerpt 6.35

Anjie: Consulto il dizionario [….] I documenti della scuola vado a casa, lo dico com'è, faccio un riassunto.

Anjie: I consult the dictionary […]as for school documents I go home and I report what they say, I summarize them.

Excerpt 6.36

Ainatou: Non lo so chiedo sempre cosa vuol dire certe parole.

Ainatou: I don't know, I always ask the meaning of certain words.

Excerpt 6.37

Haojie: Chiedo al medico cosa significa o a casa guardo sul dizionario

Haojie: Either I ask the doctor the meaning of the word or I look for the word in the dictionary when I'm at home.

Excerpt 6.38

Azzedine: La vado a cercare su Google.

Azzedine: I google it.

Excerpt 6.39

Youssef: Beh certe volte sì cercavo di spiegarlo in delle maniere vaghe insomma non specificando quella parola che magari non mi veniva in mente.

Youssef: Yes, sometimes it happened. I tried to explain the word vaguely, without specifying the word that didn't come to mind.

Excerpt 6.40

Elena: Sì mi sono bloccata ma però loro poi la spiegano e piano piano comprendevo e la spiegavo ai miei genitori.

Elena: Yes, I got stuck but then they explained the word and I could slowly understand and explain it to my parents.

The informants suggested that they adopted different strategies when they struggled to broker. The lack of vocabulary or the difficulty in understanding could lead child language brokers to summarise the content or to go around it, as reported by Anjie and Youssef.

This solution was adopted also by Bauer's respondents (2017: 365), who recalled summarising the message or "giving the gist of it", without repeating the content words for words, especially when they experienced difficulties in understanding.

This technique can also be part of the concept of "para-phrasing" developed by Orellana (2003) and Orellana et al. (2003).

Similar examples were also provided by the informants surveyed by Bucaria and Rossato (2010) and Cirillo (2017), who, besides mentioning the strategy of simplifying and summarising the message, also added the strategy of asking for clarification, as reported by Ainatou and Haojie.

By providing all these answers, child language brokers showed both their metalinguistic awareness and their metalinguistic skills. They are aware of the strategies they implement when brokering and they are able to react when they face linguistic problems. Moreover, they do not simply repeat word-for-word sentences, but they are able to synthetize, ask for clarification or reformulate the message they receive.

6.9. Relational impact of language brokering on family relationships

The interview finally aimed to explore any relational impact of language brokering on family relationships. When asked whether the relationship with their parents had changed because of their involvement as language brokers, the participants reported that their relationship with their parents either was unchanged or had improved because of language brokering:

Excerpt 6.41

Anjie: No, è sempre lo stesso.

Anjie: No, it's always the same.

Excerpt 6.42

Tanzila: L'ha migliorato.

Tanzila: It improved it.

Excerpt 6.43

Haojie: Il rapporto coi genitori migliorato.

Haojie: The relationship with my parents has improved.

Excerpt 6.44

Azzedine: Non ha cambiato niente.

Azzedine: It didn't change anything.

Excerpt 6.45

Youssef: Diciamo di sì che comunque alla fine non so magari traducendo tua mamma si lascia andare è molto oggettiva la cosa si lascia andare si fida di più magari dopo un po' di tempo che traduci hanno più fiducia.

Youssef: I would say so because I think that translating for my mum helped her to let herself go, it's very objective, she lets herself go, she trusts you more because they trust you more after you've been translating for them for a while.

Excerpt 6.46

Elena: Rafforzato, perché poi le spiego e lei capisce.

Elena: It has strengthened it, because I explain to her and she understands.

Even though almost all the informants did not speak extensively about the impact of language brokering on their family relations, it emerged that none of them reported adverse consequences of this practice on their relationship with their parents. Two of them did not notice any change in their family relationships, while four of them acknowledged the positive relational impact of language brokering, which improved and strengthened the connection with their parents.

A closer relationship between parents and child language brokers was similarly highlighted by McQuillan and Tse (1995), Straits (2010), and Angelelli (2016), who also underscored the presence of stronger bonds of trust, as Youssef reported in this study.

Additionally, previous studies (Buriel et al. 2006; Love and Buriel 2007) suggested that CLB was emotionally related to family dynamics and when positive feelings prevailed about this activity, the relationships between parents and children

also improved. The informants of this study confirm these findings by showing both positive emotions when describing CLB activities and better family relations.

6.10. Conclusion

This chapter has provided a qualitative analysis of the transcripts of the interviews carried out with migrant students attending the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì who confirmed having experienced the role of language brokers.

While confirming and supporting the results obtained from the questionnaires related to the perceived feelings and benefits of language brokering, the interviewees also produced new valuable insight on their perceptions about this practice, such as, for example, by describing anecdotes related to their brokering experiences, by describing the strategies implemented when brokering, and by reflecting on the relational impact of this activity.

Overall, the respondents reported mixed feelings about this practice, with positive perceptions coupled with a sense of annoyance or anxiety. They reported being happy to broker and to help people, but they did not appreciate being disrupted from other activities or feeling stressed mainly because of language deficiency.

They also identified the presence of better parent-child relationships, they highlighted the positive outcomes of CLB on their academic results and linguistics skills, and they revealed their metalinguistic awareness and their personal agentic power through the brokering strategies they implemented.

The content of the interviews and the answers provided by the participants also confirmed the advantage of integrating a quantitative methodological approach with qualitative data.

The following chapter will provide a description of the analysis of extracts of child language brokered interactions recorded at the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì. This analysis will shed further light on the benefits of implementing a mixed methodology and will confirm the self-reported perceptions of child language brokers by focussing on their interactional and conversation moves when they are in action.

Chapter 7. Child language brokers in action: Analysis of real-life data

7.1. Introduction

Following the analysis of child language brokers' attitudes and self-perceptions about their experience as language brokers through the use of questionnaires and interviews (in Chapters 5 and 6), this chapter sets out to explore how they perform this activity.

In order to observe child language brokers' contributions, four real-life interactions brokered by children were audio-recorded and transcribed.

Naturally occurring data is extremely useful in terms of gaining a comprehensive understanding of migrant children's roles as language and culture brokers, as well as of their responsibility and empowerment within the interaction, and it makes it possible to investigate whether their self-reported perceptions and attitudes are consistent with how they perform this practice.

However, it is very difficult to obtain real-life data and only few researchers have succeeded in recording live interactions with child language brokers (see for instance Orellana 2009; García- Sánchez 2010; Pugliese 2017).

As described in Chapter 3, child language brokers' contributions are examined by drawing on Conversation Analysis (CA), a theoretical framework that provides the appropriate tools to highlight the ways in which participants co-construct their understanding by means of a coordinated system of turn taking. It also contributes to outlining child language brokers' role performance and impact on the interaction.

This chapter will offer a description of the contributions provided by child language brokers and of their status of participation at a turn-by-turn level, both when they broker and when they perform other interactional practices.

The purpose of using CA as qualitative approach is to observe and analyse child language brokers' participation and agency through the analysis of their brokered renditions, as well as gaining insight into their conversational and interactional practices.

The first section of this chapter presents a description of the participation framework (Goffman 1981) and of the structural organisation of the interactions recorded as well as a description of the participants. The second section explores child language brokered sequences by analysing how and by whom children participation as language brokers is initiated and selected. The third section focusses on child language brokers' renditions. It examines, in particular, the use of reduced and expanded

renditions as interactional strategies that children adopt in order to achieve their communicative goals. The last section presents the interactional and discursive practices (i.e. child language brokers' "non-renditions" in Wadensjö's terms) that help better understand child language brokers' agency and responsibility within the interactions in which they mediate. It also sheds light on the other interlocutors' reactions to the assistance provided by child language brokers.

The findings of each section provide a useful framework of child language brokering as a social activity promoting participation, mutual understanding, and child empowerment.

7.2. Setting the scene: the participation framework

This study is based on the analysis of a corpus of four child language brokered interactions that were audio recorded at the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì, in October 2016. The recordings were made during the meetings organised by the educators of the Welcome Youth Centre and the families of the children who wanted to be enrolled in the after-school workshops organized by this centre.

Each interaction involves the presence of three participants: an Italian educator, a parent, and a child. In all four interactions, the parent is the mother and the child is the daughter. Both the mothers and their daughters belong to linguistic minority communities and have migrant backgrounds.

Three of these families are Chinese-speaking families and one is an Urdu-speaking family.

In all four interactions, the educator is an Italian monolingual speaker, the mothers are native speakers of either Chinese or Urdu and they show different levels of proficiency in Italian, and the children are the interlocutors who have good competence in both Italian and their parents' native languages. Each interaction is referred to as a Meeting and participants are identified as E or E2 (Italian educators), M (mother), and C (child).

In Meeting 1, the Italian educator is a woman and she meets a Chinese mother and her daughter. The aim of this meeting is to enrol both the daughter and her brother in the after school laboratories. The mother speaks basic Italian and she relies on her daughter's help to communicate with the Italian educator throughout the whole meeting. The daughter is 8 years old and she was born in Italy as her older brother and sister, who are respectively 11 and 14 years old, and who are not present at the meeting. The

children are thus second-generation migrants and, since they were born in Italy, they are likely to have attended school in this country. The child who is present at the meeting and who assists her mother is the last-born.

This Meeting lasts 23'52'' and the turns are allocated as follows:

- Italian educator: 206 turns;

- Chinese mother: 154 turns;

- Child: 133 turns.

The Italian educator produces the highest number of turns, followed by the Chinese mother and then by the child. However, it is worth noting that the number of turns produced by the child and the mother are almost equal.

In Meeting 2, the Italian educator is a woman and she meets a Chinese mother and her daughter. The aim of this meeting is to enrol both the daughter and her brother in the after-school laboratories. The mother speaks very little Italian and she relies on her daughter's help to communicate with the Italian educator throughout the whole meeting. The daughter is 12 years old and she was born in Italy as her younger brother, who is 9, and who is not present at the meeting. Both children are thus second-generation migrants. The child who helps the mother communicate at the meeting is the first-born.

This Meeting lasts 15'91'' and the turns are allocated as follows:

- Italian educator: 102 turns;

- Chinese mother: 54 turns;

- Child: 78 turns.

As in Meeting 1, the Italian educator produces the highest number of turns, but, in this case, she is followed first by the child (78 turns) and then by the Chinese mother (54 turns).

In Meeting 3, there is one Italian educator, who is a woman and who meets a Chinese mother and her daughter. The aim of this meeting is to enrol the daughter's brother in the after school laboratories. The mother speaks very little Italian and relies on her daughter's help to communicate with the Italian educator throughout the whole meeting. The daughter is 11 years old and was born in Italy as her younger brother who is 6, and who is not present at the meeting. Both children are thus second-generation migrants. The child who helps the mother communicate at the meeting is the first-born and helps her mother even though she is not involved in the meeting first-hand (they need to enrol her brother).

This Meeting lasts 21'10'' and the turns are allocated as follows:

- Italian educator: 95 turns;

- Chinese mother: 57 turns;

- Child: 64 turns.

As in Meetings 1 and 2, the Italian educator produces the highest number of turns, and, in this Meeting, she is followed first by the child (64 turns) and then by the Chinese mother (57 turns).

In Meeting 4, there are two Italian educators, both women, who meet a Pakistani mother and her daughter. The aim of this meeting is to enrol both the daughter and her brother in the after-school laboratories. The mother speaks Italian at a sufficient level and she relies on her daughter's help to communicate only when she has difficulty in expressing herself. The daughter is 12 years old and she was born in Pakistan as was her younger brother who is 10, and who is not present at the meeting. The child who helps the mother communicate at the meeting is the first-born.

This Meeting lasts 29'27'' and the turns are allocated as follows:

- Italian educator 1: 306 turns;

- Italian educator 2: 74 turns;

- Pakistani mother: 300 turns;

- Child: 96 turns.

In this Meeting, Italian educator 1 and the mother produce a similar number of turns and they take the floor more frequently than the child and Italian educator 2. The mother and the daughter already know the Italian educators, and this is an important element for this conversation, since the mother, differently from what happens in the other Meetings, dominates the interaction together with one of the Italian educators.

In this corpus of four Meetings, the high number of turns produced by the children in each interaction compared to the other participants is a first indication of their full and active participation into the conversation. Particularly, in Meetings 2 and 3, the mothers show only marginal engagement and this is confirmed by the lower number of turns they produce compared with the other two participants.

7.2.1 Meetings: structure and language

Each Meeting can be subdivided into four phases corresponding to the four sections of the registration form that the educator has to fill in order to enrol the children in the activities organised by the centre.

The first section of the application form deals with the child personal information; the second section is related to family members' personal details (name, age and profession of parents and/or of other relatives); the third section includes questions regarding allergies and diseases that may affect the child and it inquiries about whether the family is assisted and helped by any social services; whereas in the last section the parents are asked to give their authorisation to allow the publication of photos of their children.

The first two sections are characterised by a more colloquial and informal language than the last two parts, which require a more specific and technical terminology.

The type of communication of the four Meetings can be considered as a particular kind of institutional talk (Heritage 2005), which is usually characterized by two parties: the representative of the public institution, who is the Italian educator in this specific case, and the layperson, who is represented by the migrant mothers together with their children.

Despite the institutional and goal-oriented nature of these Meetings, they can be defined as semi-formal since they combine institutional talk with ordinary conversation.

As the analysis will show, during the four Meetings, monolingual sequences in Italian alternate with monolingual sequences in Chinese or Urdu and bilingual sequences in Chinese or Urdu and Italian.

Monolingual sequences in Italian prevail over the monolingual sequences in the families' native languages. These latter sequences involve children and their mothers and are used to clarify the meanings and functions of Italian contributions and to secure mutual understanding between the members of the migrant family.

Bilingual sequences involve child language brokered sequences that are performed only when one of the three participants deem them to be necessary. Child language brokered renditions do not follow each turn accomplished by adult participants but they are produced during specific situations based on the perceived communicative needs emerging from the interaction. Additionally, they are bidirectional: child language

brokers may broker from Italian into their parents' native language or the other way around.

This shifting between monolingual and child language brokered sequences was observed as a typical characteristic of ad-hoc interpreting by Müller (1989) and Meyer (2012), who argued that direct and mediated passages can be found within the same interaction since the language barrier is not completely impermeable for migrant families.

In all four transcriptions, the participants' personal details were altered to protect their anonymity and an indicative translation into English is provided in italics below each turn.

7.3. Children's role performances as language brokers and active agents

In all four Meetings, children's participatory statuses and roles vary along the construction of talk, since the presence of child-language-brokered sequences is intermittent and alternates with monolingual direct sequences.

By assessing the interactional needs of each conversational turn, children are able to fulfil their role performance as both language brokers and active social agents.

As to their role performance as language brokers, the initiation of child-language-brokered sequences and child language brokers' renditions will be analysed; as to their role performance as active social agents, their non-renditions will be considered as strategies they adopt to exercise their interactional power (Wadensjö 1998; Gavioli 2012; Baraldi 2016).

Participants' reactions to the presence and help of child language brokers will also be observed.

7.4. Children's role performance as language brokers

The children's role performance as language brokers will be examined by focussing on the initiation of child language brokered sequences, and on the use of reduced, expanded, and collaboratively built renditions.

As the next sections will show, child language brokered sequences can be selected either by the adult participants or by the child herself through self-selection. In particular, the analysis of self-selection is of great significance to highlight children's interactional competence in obtaining conversational turns and in assessing the need for their assistance.

Once they have taken the turn, children in their capacity as brokers can produce different types of renditions (Wadensjö 1998). The analysis will delve into the presence of expanded, reduced and collaboratively-built renditions since they clearly represent meaningful examples of children's interactional agency. By selecting the information to broker or by adding significance to the gist, child language brokers fully express their power over the conversation (Baraldi 2016).

For the purposes of this thesis, the analysis does not provide any data on the use of close renditions and does not aim to express any considerations about the quality of brokering.

7.4.1 Selecting children in their role as language brokers as the next speaker: self-selection

The first step to examine children's role performance as language brokers consists in exploring the moves adopted by participants to initiate child language brokered sequences. All the participants in the interaction may initiate these sequences. They can be solicited by the Italian educator, by the migrant parent, by the migrant parent together with the child language broker, or by the child herself.

Since each participant's contribution to the ongoing interaction is strictly intertwined with the contributions of the other participants, language brokered sequences can be considered as the result of a joined performance (Valdés et al. 2003).

The different possibilities available to select language brokers as the next speakers seem to depend not only on the adequacy of their parents' linguistic skills to interact in Italian, but they are also negotiated by the three participants who both jointly and individually assess the need for brokering. This is also the main reason why child language brokered renditions do not always follow the turns produced by the other interlocutors, but they are produced when either the child language brokers themselves or the other participants perceive the need for communicative assistance (Müller 1989).

In this corpus of four Meetings, self-selection (Sacks et al. 1974) is a strategy adopted by all four language brokers, who engage in brokering on their own initiative.

Children switch from being interlocutors to being language brokers by taking the turn to provide renditions of previous participants' utterances. In so doing, they take up the responsibility for initiating triadic bilingual sequences and help their mothers gain full understanding of the meaning of the talk.

A telling example of this practice is provided by Extract 1 from Meeting 1.

```
Extract 1, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

207    E      °fratello:° ok (.) allora (.) lavoro (.) il babbo
              lavora?
              °brother:° ok (.) then (.) job (.) does your dad
              work?
208    M      sì
              yes
209    C      sì
              yes
210    E      cosa fa?
              what does he do?
211    C      他 做 什 么 的?
              che lavoro fa?
              what is his job?
```

In this extract, the educator asks questions related to the job of the child's father.

First of all, the educator asks whether the father has a job (line 207), the mother takes the next turn to answer affirmatively and her daughter takes the following turn to repeat her mother's answer (line 209).

Then, the educator asks about the child's father occupation (line 210). On this occasion, the daughter takes the turn before her mother to broker the question in Chinese without being invited to do so by anyone.

A possible interpretation of the reason why the child deems it necessary to broker the educator's question is that the educator uses an informal expression to ask for her father's job ("What does he do?", line 210). In the rendition made by the child, the question is formulated more explicitly by pronouncing the word "job" ("what is his job?"). It is thus possible that the child tries to anticipate her mother's doubts about the correct contextual meaning of that question, which could have also been interpreted differently (such as, for example, as "what is your father doing right now?").

A second example of a self-initiated brokered sequence can be found in Extract 2 from Meeting 2.

In this Meeting, the number of turns taken on by the child is higher than her mother's turns (78 and 58 respectively). This reveals that the young girl fully participates in the conversation, and her active contribution is also suggested by the turns preceding this Extract, in which the girl directly answered the educator's questions in Italian without consulting her mother (line 225).

In this sequence, however, the child feels the need to broker the educator's question to her mother before providing an answer. The question under investigation enquires about whether the child's brother can go to the Welcome Youth Centre by

himself. The child may opt for brokering this question because she considers its content as a matter of parental authority, to which she cannot provide an answer by herself. This may be the reason why she takes the initiative to broker the educator's question in Chinese to her mother, allowing her mother to exercise her parental decision-making power.

```
Extract 2, E: educator; C: child

224    E    le firme AH EH piero può venire da solo?
            the signatures AH EH can angelo come by himself?
225    C    他自己过来啊？(1,00)
            does he go by himself?
```

Another example of self-selection can be observed in Extract 3 from Meeting 3.

In this passage, the Italian educator asks for the parents' phone numbers and this is the first information the Chinese young girl is not able to provide by herself. In the preceding turns, as happened in Extract 2 from Meeting 2, the child language broker answered all the educator's questions without consulting her mother, but, at this point, she feels obliged to take the turn not to answer directly the question but to broker it into Chinese (line 16).

In this Extract, brokering is not performed to include the parent into the interaction, as happens in the previous examples. In this instance, brokering is the only strategy the child can pursue to satisfy the educator's request since she does not have enough information to answer the question by herself.

```
Extract 3, E: educator; C: child

15    E    a forlì (2,0) ((scrive)) mi serve il cellulare della
           mamma e del babbo (.) se a volte abbiamo(.) delle
           comunicazioni
           in forlì (2.0) ((writing)) I need your mum's and
           dad's mobile phone(.)if sometimes we have(.)some
           communications
16    C    你们的电话号码
           your mobile phone's number
```

The last example of self-selection performed to initiate a language brokered sequence is illustrated in Extract 4 from Meeting 4.

In this instance, the child takes on the turn to broker into Urdu the educator's question because of a dispreferred answer given by the mother to the same question (line 272). The child realises that her mother is having difficulties either in

understanding Italian or in providing an answer in Italian. She thus assumes the responsibility to help her by taking the control of this sequence and brokering the question in Urdu (line 273).

```
Extract 4, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

271   E      allora adesso eh: la mamma quanti anni ha?
             then now eh: how old is your mother?
272   M      è questo è
             is this is
273   C      آؤ؟ دے سال کتنے ماما
             mamma quanti anni hai?
             mum how old are you?
```

The four extracts described above have provided examples of child language brokers' self-selections.

Different contextual conditions appear to trigger the brokers' self-selection moves, including the following: i) anticipation of possible parents' misunderstanding (Extract 1); ii) the necessity to respect the parent's authority when decision-making processes are involved (Extract 2); iii) the lack of information from the child who has taken on the role of main interlocutor during the preceding turns (Extract 3); iv) and the presence of dispreferred answer given by the mother (Extract 4).

In all these circumstances, children feel the need to take on the turn to broker the educators' utterances to their mothers. They undertake the initiative of brokering in a circumstance in which they are not being allocated the floor by any other participant. In two instances (Extract 1 and Extract 4), self-selection may reflect their desire to help their family members gain full access to the conversation. In Extracts 2 and 3, contrariwise, child language brokers resort to language brokering because they do not have enough authority or power to provide the content of the answers needed.

Child language brokers' self-selection corresponds to what Del Torto (2010: 160) identified as "non-triggered interpretations", i.e. sequences in which family members broker without receiving any request to do so by other participants or without facing any irregularities in the construction of the talk. According to the author, non-triggered interpretations suggest child language brokers' skill to anticipate not only linguistic barriers but also socio-cultural difficulties, thus suggesting that "linguistic and cultural brokering go hand in hand" (2010: 161).

Similarly, in these examples, child language brokers self-select to broker not only when they perceive the presence of possible linguistic barriers, but also when they

do not have enough epistemic knowledge (Heritage 1997) or authority to provide the information needed. These examples also suggest that child language brokers use self-selection to broker in order to prevent their mothers' face from being threatened by her own dispreferred answers. As Orellana highlighted, they seek to convey a better image of their parents, and they "successfully deployed their skills to secure information, goods, and services for their families, as well as to make things happen in the social world" (2009:77).

Irrespective of the reasons why child language brokers adopt this strategy, self-selection reveals the children's active involvement in the interaction, it displays the typical behaviour of a powerful participant, and it indicates that brokering may also be a voluntary choice.

7.4.2. Selecting children in their role as language brokers as the next speaker: other-selection

Self-selection is a common strategy implemented to initiate child-language-brokered sequences. However, other-initiated brokered sequences are produced as well. Both the educator and the mother initiate these sequences by allocating the turn to the child in order for her to broker the previous utterance(s).

The first example is provided by Extract 5 from Meeting 3, in which the language brokered sequence is initiated by the Italian educator. In line 36, the Italian educator is asking some questions related to the food habits and allergies of the child's brother. The Chinese child answers the questions by herself without consulting her mother (line 37). However, the educator must deem these questions very important, and for this reason, she invites the child to broker the questions to her mother (line 38). The child has taken on the parental role by answering the questions by herself without including her mother into the construction of the talk (line 37). Nonetheless, because they are dealing with health conditions, the educator deems it essential to empower the mother by giving her back the control of the interaction and by making sure that she is informed about the question asked. This may be the reason why the Italian educator encourages the child to report what she has just said to the Chinese mother (line 38).

```
Extract 5, E: educator; C: child

36    E      no (2,0) ehm: noi qui ehm: (.) lo sai che facciamo
             anche la merenda(.) eh diciamo può mangiare tutto? È
             allergica  a  qualcosa  (.)  marco?  mangia  tutto  di
             solito?
             no (2,0) ehm: we here ehm: (.) you know we also have
             a snack break(.) eh can he eat everything?
             is(.)marco allergic to something? does he usually
             eat everything?
37    C      sì
             yes
38    E      tutto eh? (.) magari chiedi dì alla mamma che ti sto
             chiedendo questa cosa (.) diglielo adesso che ti ho
             chiesto
             everything eh? (.) maybe ask tell your mum what I am
             asking you (.) tell her now what I've asked
39    C      °她说(:)要给他吃点什么东西(.)还是什么都吃的？°
             °she says that(:)what do you give him to eat(.)or
             does he eat everything?°
```

Another example of other-initiated brokered sequence is provided by Extract 6 from Meeting 4.

The Italian educator is asking the Pakistani mother to sign a written authorisation to let her children go back home by themselves. The Pakistani mother reacts to the educator's request first by using the backchannel "mmm" (line 427) and then by answering "understood" (line 430) to indicate that she is understanding the meaning of the educator's utterance. However, afterwards, she addresses her daughter and asks her what the Italian educator is actually saying (line 431), showing that she did not fully understand what the educator was telling her.

On this occasion, it is thus the Pakistani mother who initiates the child-language-brokered sequence (line 431).

```
Extract 6, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

426   E      ok? oppure un'autorizzazione scritta e firmata da un
             genitore perché se no noi non possiamo mandarli via
             da soli
             ok? or a written authorisation signed by a parent
             because otherwise we can't let them go by themselves
427   M      mmm
             mmm
428          (.)
429   E      capito?
             understood?
430   M      capito
             understood
431   M      کے پی آکھدی اے ؟
             what is she saying?
432   C      آؤ پی آندی اے: کدُئ تساں ڈاکٹر کول پہلے نکلنا ہووے یا
             ڈاکٹر کول جلڑاں ہووے فرُ تساں ......ماں آوے تے تاں چھوڑساں.....
```

220

<div dir="rtl">مـاں آوے یـا فـرُ تسـاں دے ڈیـڈ نے لکھیـابـووے تے فرمـا بـویـا بـووے</div>

*she is saying that if you need to go out earlier to
go to the doctor either the mum or the dad go to the
centre, write and sign down*

Extract 7 from Meetings 3 provides an example in which the child-language-brokered sequence is selected by both the educator and the mother quite simultaneously.

The educator is explaining to the family when the after-school laboratory will begin. Within the same turn, the Italian educator encourages twice the daughter to report to her mother what she is saying (line 146). Once the Italian educator has finished her turn, the Chinese mother immediately takes the next turn to ask her daughter what the educator has just said (line 147).

In this example, both adult participants allocate the turn to the child to initiate a brokered sequence.

```
Extract 7, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

146   E    AH! in questo momento non è qui eh arriva dopo (.)
           cia:o! ehm::m allora (.) inizia (.) il: (.) dopo
           scuo:la (.) te lo scrivo qui (.) dunque (.) lunedì
           (.) martedì (.)mercoledì mercoledì (.) il (.) dodici
           (.) dieci (.) duemila (.) e sedici ecco lo dici alla
           mamma (.) il doposcuola inizia (.)mercoledì(.)dodici
           ottobre (.) glielo dici (.) eh? allora (.) [il
           dodici(.) ottobre (.) [[duemila (.) e sedici
           (.)ventinove(.) zero nove (.)]
           AH! she's not here right now eh she's coming later
           (.) by:e! ehm::m so (.) the youth centre (.) starts
           (.) I'll write it here (.) so (.) monday (.) tuesday
           (.) wednesday wednesday (.)the (.) twelveth (.)
           october (.) two thousand (.)and sixteen here it is
           can you tell it to your mum (.) that the youth
           centre starts (.) on wednesday (.) the twelveth of
           october (.)can you tell her (.) eh? so (.) [the
           twelveth (.)of october(.) two thousand (.)and
           sixteen (.) twenty nine (.) zero nine(.)]
147   M    [什么啊？]
           what?
148   C    就是写作业(.)10 月 12 号(.)星期三
           Jiu shi xie zuo ye (.) 10 yue 12 hao(.) xing qi san
           to do my homework(.) on 12 october (.) wednesday
```

These Extracts describe some examples of other-initiated brokered sequences. The educator, the mother, or both of them, can decide to give the floor to the child in order for her to broker the previous utterance(s).

The educator initiates these sequences when she is dealing with sensitive topics, such as the presence of any food allergies (Extract 5). In these circumstances, she does not trust the answers provided by the child, who is expected to occupy a less knowledgeable position compared to her mother. For this reason, she tries to give the voice back to the mother, who is supposed to be a more knowledgeable participant (Heritage 2012).

The mother resorts to her daughter's help when she realises that she does not understand what the Italian educator is saying (Extract 6). Both these circumstances can also coincide, as shown in Extract 7.

The examples related to both self-selection and other-initiated selection show how child language brokering is negotiated by all the participants who, either individually or jointly, assess the need for the children's assistance.

7.4.3. Child language brokers' contributions: brokered renditions

Following the analysis related to the initiation of child language brokered sequences, this section discusses child language brokers' contributions by analysing both discursive and conversational features. To this end, the taxonomy of renditions developed by Wadensjö (1998), and presented in Chapter 3, will be taken as a point of reference.

Renditions correspond to the versions of original utterances translated in the target language. They can be fully consistent with the source message (close renditions), but they may also include changes, additions or omissions.

This analysis will focus on child language brokers reduced renditions (which reduce other participants' utterances) and expanded renditions (which expand other participants' utterances). These two categories of renditions belong to what Heritage (1985) defined "formulations" that modify previous utterances by "making something explicit that was previously implicit, making inferences about its presuppositions or implications" (Heritage 1985: 104). Together with these categories, collaboratively-built renditions will also be discussed.

The analysis of these renditions was chosen since they help highlight the visibility of children's agency in the ways in which they modify the gist of the utterance, either by simplifying it or by adding further information.

7.4.3.1. Formulations: reduced and expanded renditions

Formulations are modified renditions that can summarise or develop the gist of a previous utterance or can adapt the content of the talk according to the context and the recipients of that message (Baraldi and Gavioli 2016).

The analysis of formulations produced by child language brokers may help gain insight into their contributions to the interaction and may highlight the responsibility they take on in managing the construction and the flow of the talk.

Two types of formulations, namely reduced and expanded renditions, will be analysed.

7.4.3.1.1. Reduced renditions

Reduced renditions are defined by Wadensjö as renditions that include "less explicitly expressed information than the preceding 'original utterance'" (1998: 107). Reduced renditions usually report the gist of the preceding sequence and they are thus the result of a selection of information made by child language brokers.

In Extracts 8 and 9 from Meetings 1 and 3, two examples of reduced renditions are observed.

In Extract 8 the Italian educator is presenting the timetable of the laboratory activities. Besides providing the activities' beginning and ending time, she specifies that it is important for the children not to go to the centre too long before the beginning of the activities since the educators may not be there, it could be cold outside, and the children may not be supervised. She ends her turn with the prolonged filler "eh::" (line 296) as if waiting for an acknowledgment token by the mother or maybe also by the child. Since the mother does not take the turn, the child intervenes and takes the floor to summarise the educator's utterance to her mother in Chinese (line 297). However, as line 297 displays, the child only renders the gist of the message by telling her mother that the timetable reported on the registration form corresponds to the beginning and end of their activities at the centre, omitting all the information related to the recommendation about arriving and leaving on time.

Extract 8, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

296 E   e:: (.) il centro apre alle tre (.) alle quindici(.)
          e chiude alle sei (.) nel nel pre (.) cioè prima
          delle tre (.) non c'è nessuno qui (.) quindi no- non
          state a venire perché non c'è nessuno (.) e (.) se
          poi succede qualcosa perché magari è freddo::
          insomma(.)eh dal- dalle tre eh (.) iniziamo
          prima(.) eh: non non venite non fateli venire perché
          non c'è nessuno(.) e alle sei però finiamo (.)
          quindi alle sei chiudiamo (.) e andiamo via (.) gli
          operatori(.)e quindi andranno via anche loro ok? (.)
          eh::
          *and:: (.) the centre opens at three (.) at three
          p.m.(.) and it closes at six (.) before three (.)
          nobody is here (.)therefore don't come because
          nobody is here (.) and (.) if something happens
          because it may be cold:: (.) eh from three eh (.) we
          begin earlier(.) eh: don't let them come here
          earlier because nobody is here (.) and at six we
          finish (.) so at six we close(.) and go away (.) the
          educators(.)and so they go away as well ok? (.) eh::*

297 C   (xxxx)这是时间(.)时间::
          (xxxx)this is the timetable(.) the timetable ::

298 M   ho capito ho capito ah ah!
          I understood I understood ah ah!

299 E   hai capito?
          did you understand?

300 M   哦(.)哦(.)
          ah(.) ah (.)

301 C   她说在哪个学校
          she is referring to school

302 M   ho capito ho capito!
          I understood I understood!

303 E   ok (.) se non capisci qualcosa dimmelo che:
          *ok (.) if you don't understand something let me know
          that:*

304 M   sì capito! ih ih!
          yes understood! ih ih!

[…]

306 A   io ti posso ri- provare a spiegare (1,0) e:: NON È
          (.)permesso non è possibile fare uscite prima delle
          sei
          *I can re-try to explain (1.0) and:: IT IS NOT(.)
          permitted it is not possible to go out before six*

307 C   mmm sì
          mmm yes

308 A   se per caso (.) dovete anda- lei deve andare dal
          dottore (.)dovete andare via: voi eh(.) bisogna che
          mi scrivete
          *if by any chance (.) you have to- you have to go to
          the doctor(.) you have to go away: you eh (.) you
          have to write to me*

309 C   °mmm°
          °mmm°

310 A   sul diario
          in the agenda

311 C   °mmm°
          °mmm°

```
312   A     oppure chiamate (.) e mi dite guarda (.) mio figlio
            (.) o mia figlia (.) devono uscire prima
            otherwise you call (.) and tell me look (.) my son
            (.) or my daughter (.) have to go out first
313   C     °mmm°
            °mmm°
314   A     ok?
            ok?
315   C     sì sì sì
            yes yes yes
316   A     quindi bisogna che avvisiate (.)
            so you have to inform us (.)
317   C     °mmm°
            °mmm°
```

One explanation for this choice could be that either she (the child language broker) never arrives at the centre before the beginning of the activities or that she considers herself as the intended addressee of this information and she thinks it is not important for her mother to be informed about it. Irrespective of the reason why she makes this choice, she only reports on the gist of the information that she deems essential for her mother to know, by censoring part of the information that the Italian educator has tried to convey.

It is also interesting to notice that the mother immediately answers her daughter's turn by saying in Italian that she has understood (line 298) and she repeats it in line 302 and 304 when the educator invites the mother to tell her if she does not understand something.

By repeating "I have understood" several times, the mother tries to show that she understands the content of the interaction and she tries to preserve her role as active participant who is able to take part into the interaction without needing the assistance of her child, who has self-selected to broker. From that moment onwards, since her ability to understand Italian has been threatened, the mother always replies with acknowledgment tokens, such as "mm", to each utterance produced by the Italian educator to show her understanding (lines 307, 309, 311, 313, 317).

Extract 9 from Meeting 3 provides another example of reduced renditions.

Extract 9, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

149   E   duemila e sedici (.) allora (.) qui abbiamo scritto
che (.)ehm:: (.) lei iscrive: ehm: (.) iscrive: (.)
eh:: yu zhang (.)al doposcuola (.) che inizia (.) il
dodici ottobre (.) ok? Va bene? e la mamma deve
firmare (.) poi un'altra cosa che devi mmh chiedere
alla mamma è: con chi ehm (.) allora (.) mmh (.)
adesso tu dovresti tradurre quello che io dico alla
mamma allora (.) la quota d'iscrizione è (.)dieci
(.)euro (.) al mese (.) glielo dici? glielo puoi
dire?
two thousand and sixteen (.) so (.) here we've
written that(.) ehm:: (.) she enrols: ehm: (.)
enrols: (.) eh:: yu zhang(.) in the youth centre (.)
which starts (.) the twelveth october (.) ok? is it
ok? And your mum has to sign (.) then another thing
you have to mmh ask your mum is: who ehm (.) so
(.) mmh (.) now you should translate what I'm saying
to your mum so(.) the registration fee is(.) ten (.)
euros (.) each month (.) can you tell her? can you
please tell her?

150   C   一个月 10 块钱
ten euros per month

151   E   dieci euro al mese (.) il mese di ottobre (.)
siccome inizia a metà (.) è cinque euro (.)il mese
di ottobre(.) glielo vuoi dire?
ten euros a month (.) the month of october (.)
because it starts in the middle of the month(.)is
five euros (.) the month of october (.) can you tell
her?

152   C   她说(.)十月份是一半才开始(.)所以是 5 块钱(1.00) 她说因为十月
开已经是一了(.) 所以是 5 块钱
she says that (.)october started in the middle (.)so
it is five euros (1.00) she says that since october
started from the middle (.) so we pay five euros

153   M   在后面 10 块?
and then ten euros?

154   E   allora ottobre cinque euro per (.) il doposcuola ok?
novembre dieci euro (.)dicembre (.) cinque euro (.)
perché (.) e: ci sono le vacanze (.) di natale (.)
ok? va bene? quindi (.) eh: la mamma può pagare (.)
oggi (.) ma può pagare entro ottobre(.) il mese di
ottobre (.)glielo puoi dire?
so october five euros for (.) the after school
activities ok? november ten euros (.) december (.)
five euros (.) because (.)e: it's christmas (.)
holiday (.) ok? is it ok? so (.) eh: your mum can
pay(.) today (.) but she can pay by the end of
october (.) the month of october (.) can you tell
her?

155   C   11 月的时候 10 块 (.) 然后 12 月的时候是 5 块(.)因为是那个
(1,00)
诞节的假
ten euros for november(.)and then december five
euros(.)because it's (.) christmas holidays

156   M   那就是(.)三个月(.)10(.)11(.)12(.) 三个月一共 20 块钱
so(.)three months (.) october (.) november (.)
december (.) three months twenty euros in total

157   E   [un mese (.)un mese solo (.) anche cinque euro solo]

```
                         [one month (.) only one month (.) also only five
                         euros]
    158   C              可以现在给(.)也可以到的时候再给(.)
                         you can pay now (.) or you can pay later
    159   M              那先付给她呗(.) 20 块
                         in this case we pay earlier(.)twenty euros
    160   E              cosa ha detto la mamma?
                         what did your mum say?
    161   C              ha detto pagare adesso
                         she said we pay now
```

In this Extract, the educator is informing the Chinese family about the fees they have to pay for the laboratory activities.

Either at the end or in the middle of each turn, the Italian educator invites the child to report what she has just said in Italian to her mother in Chinese (lines 149, 151, 154). In so doing, the Italian educator shows that she believes it is important for the mother to fully understand and be involved in this sequence related to the fees to pay. In line 163, the Italian educator also uses the verb "translate" for the first time ("you should translate what I am saying to your mother").

After a first turn in which the Italian educator invites the child to broker her message to her mother (line 149), in line 150 the young Chinese girl takes the turn to broker in Chinese the educator's utterance. However, she only renders the last information provided by the educator and omits the previous part where the educator has summarised what they have just done, that is registering the child, and reported the activities' starting date.

The child omits the whole preceding stretch talk and only brokers the information related to the amount of the monthly fee they have to pay. In line 151, the educator keeps on explaining how much they have to pay for the month of October and she asks again the young girl to report that information to her mother. In line 152 the young Chinese child correctly repeats the information concerning the payment for the month of October by producing a close rendition. Her mother shows to have understood her daughter's rendition by taking the following turn to expand on the payment and by adding that in November they will have to pay 10 euros again (line 153).

In the following turn, the Italian educator repeats the information she has just provided, adds the amount of the fee related to the month of December, and mentions the deadline of the payment, which can be made that same day or by the end of that month.

The child, in line 155, brokers the educator's utterance but only repeats the amount of the fees for the month of December omitting the information related to the deadline of the payment. The mother takes the following turn (line 156) to recapitulate the total amount they have to pay.

However, since the young girl has not brokered anything back to the educator in Italian, the educator cannot understand what the two Chinese participants are saying in Chinese. She thus overlaps with the mother's answer to tell the child in Italian that they can start by paying just one month. In so doing, the Italian educator must suppose that they may be arguing because of money issues. The real reason why the Italian educator is not receiving any answer is that the child language broker did not broker to her mother the question related to the deadline of payment.

The educator keeps on repeating that they can only pay just one month (line 157), until the child realises that she did not broker all the information of the previous utterance. She repairs such omission by brokering the missing information to her mother in line 158. This repair allows the mother to provide an answer that is then brokered back into Italian to the educator (line 161), and the sequence can end successfully.

These two examples have shown that child language brokers produce reduced renditions when the previous utterance is quite long and contains more than one piece of information. In these cases, since they may not be used to retain long turns, they might tend to broker only some information, which may be the information they think is more important or the information they remember. In the first example the reduced rendition does not affect the flow of the interaction, while in the second example, it blocks the flow of the talk, which can be resumed only when the child language broker also brokers the information she has first omitted.

7.4.3.1.2. Expanded renditions

Expanded renditions are defined by Wadensjö as renditions which include "more explicitly expressed information than the preceding 'original utterance'" (Wadensjö 1998: 107). They may be used to add explanations or clarifications to the original utterance.

The following two examples are taken from Meeting 1 and they show the use of expanded renditions both when rendering the educator's question to the mother and when rendering the mother's answer to the educator.

In Extract 10 the Italian educator is asking whether the children can go to the centre by themselves (line 360).

```
Extract 10, E: educator; C: child

360    E      mm (.) i tuoi figli possono venire al centro da
              soli?
              (.) qui?
              mm (.) can your children come to the centre by
              themselves? (.)here?
361    C      我 们 可 以 自 己 走 吗 ？可 以 自 己 走 还 是 你 们 送
              我 ？
              can we go by ourselves? Can we go by ourselves or do
              I go with you?
362    E      possono venire il pomeriggio qui da soli o li
              accompagnate voi?
              can they come here in the afternoon by themselves or
              do they come with you?
```

In line 361 the child takes the turn to broker the educator's question. In her rendition she adds an alternative suggestion "or you take me here?". She may opt for this choice because she knows that her mother does not let them go anywhere by themselves, but she takes her children where they need to go or asks other people to take them there.

This assumption is confirmed by Extract 10 which shows what happens a few turns after that and from which it is possible to realize that the child will go to the centre either accompanied by her mother or by other people.

In this example, the child provides two expanded renditions.

The first one is displayed in line 301 where she renders the educator's question to her mother by adding the clarification: "if you can't". With this addition, the child may want to respect her mother's status as the person who mainly takes care of her children and avoid any possible threats to this role.

The second expanded rendition is provided in line 387, where the child renders her mother's answer to the Italian educator by adding an explanation to the answer given by her mother. It seems that the child feels the need to explain to the educator why her mother cannot always go and pick them up from the centre.

In order to protect the reputation of her mother as a good mother, the child language broker specifies that sometimes her mother has to work, she cannot go to the centre and therefore other people may go and pick them up (line 387).

```
Extract 11, E: educator; C: child; M: mother
384   E     viene solo la mamma o puoi anche andare via anche
            con qualcun altro?
            can you go back home only with your mum or can you
            go home with someone else too?
385   C     我 可 以 跟 别 人 一 起 出 来 吗 ？ 如 果 你 不 在 (.)
            can I go back home with someone else? if you can't
386   M     可以的
            that's fine
387   C     eh: si può (.) solo delle volte che (.) la mia mamma
            ha: del lavoro da fare a casa (.) e quindi (.) esco
            con qualcun altro
            eh: I can (.) only sometimes that (.) my mum has: to
            do some work at home(.)and then (.) I go away with
            someone else
388   E     con qualcun altro
            with someone else
389   C     sì
            Yes
```

These examples of expanded renditions show that the child language brokers may deem it necessary to add some information either to make the content clearer or to defend her mother's role as a caring parent. Both cases show how child language brokers can edit the information not only by omitting part of the content when they are dealing with linguistic barriers or when they lack specific knowledge (Bauer 2017), but also by expanding the content with the aim to promote their parents' understanding and to preserve their parental status.

Additionally, these Extracts display the personal initiatives taken on by child language brokers in order to favour the flow of interaction. Expanded renditions represent the agency, responsibility and power assumed by child language brokers. They not only try to make the content available and clear into the target language but they also try to preserve the parental status of their mothers.

7.4.4. Child language brokers' contributions: collaboratively-built renditions

Building on Wadensjö taxonomy, the category of "collaboratively-built renditions" was formulated to analyse some specific renditions observed in this dataset. When migrant mothers have sufficient knowledge of Italian to understand the educator and to reply to her questions, they rely on their children's help only when they are not able to fully convey the meaning of what they want to say. However, since they can speak and understand Italian, in these circumstances, they also help their children formulate both their brokered renditions and their own utterances, by keeping control over their children's sequences.

On these occasions, children and mothers collaborate together to construct sequences and to convey the meaning to the educator, by performing what Valdés et al. (2003) identified as a performance team.

Extract 12 from Meeting 4 shows an example of collaboratively-built renditions. The Italian educator is explaining to the two Pakistani interlocutors that mobile phone use is not allowed during the after-school laboratory. This topic reminds the mother of when she wanted to call the centre but no one answered her phone call.

```
Extract 12, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

438   E     non è permesso l'utilizzo del cellulare
            the use of mobile phones is forbidden
439   M     no cellulare
            no mobile phone
440   E     cellulare non ce l'hanno?
            do they have a mobile phone?
441   M     no no
            no no
442   E     no (.) se c'è bisogno usiamo il telefono del centro
            no (.)if we need it, we use the phone of the centre
443   M     sì sì
            yes yes
444   E     gli operatori prendono contatto con la scuola (.)
            per (.) definire gli obbiettivi didattici dell'anno
            (.) ok?
            the educators get in contact with the school (.) to
            (.) establigh the learning goals of the year (.) ok?
445   M     eh aspetta (.) io: eh: problema: luca: oggi no
            scuola: eh ehm: tutti problemi (.) io: telefonato:
            adela no telefonato:
            eh wait (.) I: eh: problem: luca: today no
            school: eh ehm: all problems (.) I: called adela no
            phoned:
446   M     آکھ مـامـا کتنی واری فـون کیتـا اِنُ تسی نـیں چانـدیـں فـر
            آؤ کھـنـدی اِنُ نـومـیـروُ جوستو نـیـں اِنُ تسـاں کول مـیری مـامـا
            tell her that your mum called many times but they
            did not answer
447   C     mia mamma ha telefonato qui in centro e:: voi=
            my mum phoned here the centre and:: you=
448   M     =a ufficio=
            =the office=
449   C     =non c'era nessuno=
            =no one was there=
450   M     =no
            =no
451   C     non le avete
            you don't
452   I     dove qui?
            where here?
453   C     [sì]
            [yes]
454   M     [sì]
            [yes]
455   I     ah quando?
```

```
                    ah when?
456   E   no non ha chiamato il numero giusto perché io non ho
          nessuna chiamata al cellulare
          no she didn't call the right number because I don't
          have any call on my mobile phone
457       (.)
          (.)
458   M   NO [[NO!
          NO [[NO!
459   C   [[io numero giusto eh آؤ پی کہندی اے کہُ نومیروُ جوستو
          نینُ تساں کیتا
          [[ I the right number eh she is saying you didn't
          call the right number
460   M   internet telefonato internet (.) a ufficio
          internet called internet (.) the office
461       (1,0)
462   I   il numero che forse è su internet che ha trovato
          the number that maybe she found on the internet
463   M   sì sì
          yes yes
464   E   ah no no adesso io do un numero alla mamma che deve
          chiamare quello li (.) ok?
          ah no no now I give your mum a number and she has to
          call that number (.) ok?
465   C   ok
          ok
466   M   کے پی آکھدی اے؟
          what is she saying?
467   C   آؤ کہندی اے کہُ بنڑ میں ماما کیں نمبر دے ساں
          she is saying that now she gives the right number to
          the mum
468   M   ah va bene
          ah that's fine
469   E   ah
          ah
```

In line 445 the Pakistani mother tries to inform the educator that she has called the centre because she has had a problem with her son. However, her Italian is not good enough to convey the meaning of the concept she wants to express. For this reason, she decides to code-switch and she conveys the content of the message in Urdu to her daughter asking her to broker it into Italian (line 446).

The daughter takes the next turn to broker her mother's utterance, but she cannot report all the information because her mother interrupts her rendition and latches on what her daughter is saying either to better specify what her daughter is saying (the daughter says "here" and the mother specifies "the office" in line 448) or to stress the same concept (line 450).

A whole collaboratively-built sequence emerges from this passage where the child language broker and her mother alternate their turns contributing to the rendition of the message.

Extract 13 from Meeting 1 shows another example in which the child acts as a language broker without rendering the whole utterance into the target language, but collaborating with her mother to convey the message the mother wants to express.

In this example, the educator is asking whether the child's brother, who is going to be registered at the centre, suffers from any allergies. The mother takes the next turn to answer yes (line 478), but she is not able to say pollen in Italian. She then resorts to code switching to ask her daughter how to say pollen in Italian (line 479). The child does not know how to translate the word pollen into Italian, but she promptly starts explaining in Italian to the educator the consequences of the allergy ("his eyes hurt") and in which period her brother suffers from it ("in spring") (line 481). These few key words are sufficient for the Italian educator to understand that the brother is allergic to pollen. Thanks to the help of her daughter who collaborates with her mother the message is conveyed.

```
Extract 13, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

477   E     no? (.) allergie?
            no? (.) any allergies?
478   M     sì eh:: ha l'allergia: ehm::
            yes eh:: he is allergic: ehm::
479   M     °花粉怎么说啊(.)花粉啊°
            °how do you say pollen (.) pollen°
480   M     eh::
            eh::
481   C     ha mal di occhi (.) che:: in primavera cade
            his eyes hurt (.) that:: during the spring he falls
482   E     ok (.) al polline?
            ok (.) to the pollen?
483   M     SÌ SÌ [sì]
            YES YES [yes]
484   C           [sì]
                  [yes]
485   M     al polline ih ih
            to the pollen ih ih
486   E     anch'io
            me too
```

Extract 14 provides a last example from Meeting 2 in which the mother and the daughter work together to provide a correct answer to the educator's question.

```
Extract 14, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

183   E     scusami (.) nato a forlì?
            sorry (.) born in forlì?
184   C     sì sì sì
            yes yes yes
185   E     quando?
            when?
```

233

```
186   M      eh:: (.) due:mila: e sette
             eh:: (.)two: thousand: and seven
187          (1,00)
188   C      他说日
             she means the day
189   M      ven- ven-
             fri- fri-
190          (2,0)
191   E      duemila e sette
             two thousand and seven
192   M      [ven]
             [twen]
193   C      [vent]icinque novembre
             [twen]ty five november
194   E      venticinque novembre
             twenty five november
```

In this extract, the educator asks for the date of birth of the child's brother and the child and the mother use five turns (from line 189 to line 193) where they both intervene to provide pieces of information to produce a full answer to this question, which is eventually answered.

Collaboratively-built renditions is the term adopted to refer to a sequence of turns where the mother and the child work together in order to provide an answer to the educator's question. This collaboration may be prompted by the mothers through code-switching or by the children themselves who understand their parents' need for assistance. The renditions produced by child language brokers do not correspond to a faithful rendition of their parent's message in the target language, but to a contribution that children produce in their role as *principals* (Goffman 1981). The mothers rely on their children's help by asking them to provide meaningful content and not simply by mediating their message.

Collaboratively-built renditions confirm Orellana's (2009: 55) assumption that "children do not perform "solo" as translators" and that all the family members work together to successfully reach their communicative aims. Child language brokering can thus be considered as a shared family activity.

7.5. Children's role performance as active agents

After having explored child language brokers' renditions in the target language, this section sets out to highlight the conversational features applied by children when they take part in the interaction in their role performance as active agents.

The discourse features that will be analysed in this section can be related to what Wadensjö (1998) defined "non-renditions", i.e. the renditions produced by the

interpreter who takes the initiative and produce an utterance which is not the translation of someone else's utterance.

These non-renditions highlight the potential interactional power that children have also when they do not render other parties' turns into the target language, but still act as language brokers.

These examples help us understand that children feel entitled to accomplish such conversational actions because of the power that brokering confers to them in the interaction. More specifically, the following sections provide evidence and support for the children's active role, by focussing on the following instances: i) when they open side sequences to add insert expansions and negotiate meaning; ii) when they use repetitions and anticipations to show their proactive participation; iii) when they repair elements; and iv) when they disalign from the role they are expected to perform.

7.5.1. Insert expansion: dyadic talk securing understanding

A first feature identified in the four Meetings is the use of insert expansions. As described in Chapter 4, sequences in talk-in-interaction may be constituted by a single adjacency pair (such as question-answer), which can be expanded before the first-pair part (pre-expansion), after the first-pair part (insert expansion), or after the second-pair part (post-expansion) (Schegloff 2007). This section will focus on insert expansions, i.e. expansions between the first part and the projected second pair part (also defined by Wadensjö (1998) as "multi-part renditions").

In child language brokered interactions insert expansions are used to open side sequences that are usually monolingual, in which child language brokers and their mothers collaborate and negotiate their meanings. Monolingual talk in the language of the migrant family is thus used to secure mutual understanding.

The two examples below are taken respectively from Meeting 1 and 2 and show the use of monolingual dyadic talk in insert expansions produced by child language brokers to negotiate the content to be conveyed to the Italian educator.

In Extract 15, from Meeting 1, the educator is asking the Chinese mother whether her children can go to the centre by themselves. The child takes the next turn to broker the question (line 361).

```
Extract 15, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

360    E      mm (.) i tuoi figli possono venire al centro da
               soli? (.)qui?
               mm (.) can your children go to the centre by
               themselves?(.) here?
361    C      我 们 可 以 自 己 走 吗 ？ 可 以 自 己 走 还 是 你 们 送
               我 ？
               can we go by ourselves? Can we go by ourselves or do
               you go      with us there?
362    E      possono venire il pomeriggio qui da soli o li
               accompagnate voi?
               can they come here in the afternoon by themselves or
               do you bring them here?
363    M      妈 妈 送 (.)妈 妈 接 送
               your mum takes you there(.) your mum takes you there
               and takes you back home
364    C      就是你接送啊 ？
               do you go there with me?
365    M      嗯
               yes
366    C      eh:: viene a prendere la mamma
               eh:: my mum comes to pick up
```

However, when her mother answers in Chinese (line 363), providing an answer to the educator's question, the Chinese girl does not immediately render her mother's answer into Italian, but starts an insert expansion (lines 364 and 365) where she repeats in Chinese her mother's answer (line 364) as if seeking further confirmation from her mother before reporting the information to the educator.

A similar example can be found in Extract 16 from Meeting 2. The Italian educator is asking whether the child's little brother can go to the centre by himself. In line 225 the child language broker produces a close rendition of the educator's utterance in Chinese for her mother. Her mother answers in line 226 with another question in Chinese. She asks her daughter whether the daughter herself can take her brother to the centre, by opening a side sequence through an insert-expansion.

```
Extract 16, E: educator; C: child; M: mother

224    E      le firme AH EH simone può venire da solo?
               the signatures AH EH can simone come by himself?
225    C      他自己过来啊
               does he come by himself?
               (1,00)
226    M      你带他过来?
               do you go with him?
227    E      o lo accompagni te?
               or do you go with him?
228    C      嗯(::)我也要写作业的(::)
               en(::)I should also do my homework
```

229	M	你来这里写嘛
		you come here to write
230	C	不可以的
		it's not good
231	M	不可以的？那(.)我送他过来(.)接你过来好了
		isn't it good? so(.)I go with him(.)that's ok
232	C	反正我作业不写了
		otherwise I can't do my homework
233	E	lo accompagni tu? ok (.) quindi può uscire dal centro >oppure con le seguenti persone< (2,0) ok (.) solo con mamma (.) ok?
		do you go with him? ok (.) so he can leave the centre >orwith the following people< (2,0) ok (.) only with the mother (.)ok?

In this extract from line 226 to line 232, except for a turn produced by the Italian educator (line 227), the two Chinese interlocutors start a dyadic sequence in Chinese used to negotiate the answer they need to provide. The child does not want to take her brother to the centre because she has to do her homework and she thinks that she would waste her time taking her brother there. The mother tries to persuade her daughter (line 229), who does not change her mind.

These extracts represent meaningful examples of how insert expansions construct monolingual dyads that are instrumental to prepare subsequent renditions (Baraldi 2012), clarify meanings, and secure mutual understanding (Tebble 2012).

When starting monolingual dyads, the child becomes the *author* (Goffman 1981) of the content, and, as argued by Baraldi and Gavioli (2010:148), she favours the creation of narrative mediation (Winslade 2006). Narrative mediation produces an alternative narrative to the existing one and gives the parties the opportunity to introduce their own stories in order to express their worries or clarify their doubts. Similarly, during these insert expansions, the Chinese mothers and their daughters engage in parallel narratives during which they deal with their own private family issues.

By developing insert expansions, the child language brokers also display their full agency in the coordination of turns at talk (Wadensjö 1998). They deem it necessary to add turns to clarify private issues before answering the educator's questions and give the educators back the turn. The use of insert expansions thus allows for spaces where reciprocal understanding can be accomplished and promotes child language brokers' interactional agency.

7.5.2. Repetition and anticipation

Repetitions and anticipations are discourse actions that characterise the Meetings analysed in this study. Repeating or anticipating other interlocutors' utterances show both the desire to keep control of the interaction and the active engagement in it.

In the example that follows, Extract 17 from Meeting 1, the child language broker uses the strategy of repetition to confirm the validity of her mother's responses.

In this Extract the educator is asking the name of the street where the Chinese family lives. The child takes the turn after the educator's question (line 26) to answer it, even though she only produces a filler ("eh"), and her mother latches on this filler to start giving the address to the educator. The child, however, takes back the following turn to repeat her mother's answer and to complete the address (line 28). In line 31, the child again repeats her mother's answer. In line 33, it is the mother who terminates the sequence related to the address with a final "yes".

However, during the following minute (line 38) used by the educator to write this information down, the child checks what the educator is writing and corrects her when she realises that the name of the street is not written correctly (line 40).

```
Extract 17, E: educator, C: child, M: mother

25    E     ok (.) dove abitate?
            ok (.) where do you live?
26    C     eh:=
            eh:=
27    M     =marina
            =marina
28    C     via marina mezza
            marina mezza street
            (2,0)
29    E     ma:rina ((scrivendo))
            ma:rina ((writing))
            (1,0)
30    M     me[[zza
            me[[zza
31    C      [[mezza
             [[mezza
32    E     °me:zza:° (.) così?
            °me:zza:° (.) like this?
33    M     sì
            yes
34          (1,0)
35    C     oh
            oh
36    M     venti- ventidue
            twenty- twenty-two
37    E     ventidue: (.) forlì?
            twenty-two: (.) forlì?
```

```
38    M    sì
           yes
           (1,0) ((scrivendo))
           ((writing))
39    E    forlì
           forlì
40    C    MEZZA
           MEZZA
41    E    mezza scusami
           mezza sorry
42    M    eh eh
           eh eh
```

In this example, the child carefully monitors the construction of talk and repeats her mother's answers in order to confirm their validity and to keep her role as an active participant. Even though the mother apparently closes this sequence (line 38), the child continues to supervise the Italian educator and corrects her in line 40. In so doing, she demonstrates her proactive role and confirms her power within the interaction.

Another discursive action that shows child language brokers' active participation and monitoring of the interaction is the presence of anticipations. Child language brokers anticipate the educators' questions, thus displaying full understanding of the course of action, as well as specific procedural knowledge. Extract 18 from Meeting 1 is a clear example of anticipation.

The Italian educator has just asked the age of the Chinese father and in lines 226 and 227 both the Chinese mother and daughter repeat the father's age.

Before the Italian educator takes the next turn, the young girl also asks her mother her age in Chinese. She thus predicts the question that will follow by asking it in Chinese to her mother even before the educator asks her in Italian (line 228). She does the same with her sister's age anticipating the request of this information as well (line 234).

```
Extract 18, E: educator, C: child, M: mother

226   C    eh [qualantuno]
           eh [forty-one]
227   M       [qualantuno]
              [forty-one]
228   C    你呢(.)妈妈?
           and you(.)and you mum?
229   M    t:tlentasette
           thirthy-seven
230   E    tu trentasette?
           you thirty-seven?
231   M    sì
           yes
```

```
232           (.)
233  E    sei giovane!
          you're young!
234  C    姐 姐 呢 ？
          and my sister?
235  E    la tua sorella (.) angela?
          your sister (.) angela?
236  C    eh [quattoldici]
          eh [fourteen]
237  M       [quattordici]
             [fourteen]
```

Both the use of repetition and anticipation show that child language brokers are fully aware of the unfolding of the conversation and play an active role by monitoring other participants' utterances and actions.

Additionally, the use of repetition contributes to building up rapport between the parties by showing their active listenership (Tannen 2007), and by bringing about cohesive ties (Angermeyer 2003). The use of anticipation indicates that child language brokers are able to predict the end of a turn constructional unit and to use the transition relevance place to take the floor (Sacks et al. 1974), thus suggesting their active interactional participation.

These two discursive moves also suggest that child language brokers are familiar with formal situations where personal family information is requested by representatives of public authorities. This could also be interpreted as a sign that they have already brokered in similar circumstances in the past.

7.5.3. Code-switching used to initiate repair

Another recurring pattern identified in the interactions is the use of code switching to initiate other-repair. Child language brokers initiate or perform repair to solve their mother-initiated repairable items.

Extract 19 from Meeting 1 shows an example of this practice. The Italian educator has just asked where the child's brother was born. The mother answers in Forlì and the child self-selects and takes the next turn to repair her mother's mistake (lines 439 and 440). The young girl first says "no" (line 439), then switches to Chinese to reiterate that her brother was not born in Forlì but in Bologna. Her mother confirms Bologna at the following turn (line 441).

```
Extract 19, E: educator, C: child, M: mother

437    E      dove? (.) a forlì?
              where? (.) in forlì?
438    M      a forlì
              in forlì
439    C      no!
              no!
440    C      没有！我们在 [bologna!]
              no! we live in [bologna!]
441    M                      [bologna]
                              [bologna]
442    E      bologna
              bologna
```

A similar circumstance occurs in Meeting 2, Extract 20. In this case, the Italian educator has asked the date of birth of the child's brother. The mother takes the turn to answer, but first she hesitates and then she tells the year of birth (line 186). The child language broker uses the pause (line 187) to take the floor and explain in Chinese that the educator wants to know the birth date. In so doing, the child initiates repair, which is then completed by the mother who tries to give the correct answer by starting to utter the day in which the child's little brother was born (lines 189 and 192). However, the repair is fully completed only when the child tells the full date in line 193.

```
Extract 20, E: educator, C: child, M: mother

183    E      scusami (.) nato a forlì?
              sorry (.) born in forlì?
184    C      sì sì sì
              yes yes yes
185    E      quando?
              when?
186    M      eh:: (.) due:mila: e sette
              eh:: (.)two: thousand: and seven
187           (1.00)
188    C      他说日
              she means the day
189    M      ven- ven-
              fri- fri-
190           (2.0)
191    E      duemila e sette
              two thousand and seven
192    M      [ven]
              [twen]
193    C      [vent]icinque novembre
              [twen]ty five november
194    E      venticinque novembre
              twenty five november
```

These examples are useful to show the use of both repair and code switching by child language brokers.

In the two extracts, each time the children plan to initiate repair, they resort to code switching, thus confirming Anderson's (2012) analysis according to which code-switching is functional to achieving the institutional aims of the encounter. The child language brokers switch to their mothers' native languages to make sure that the information provided to the Italian educator is correct and that the aim of that specific part of the interaction is successfully achieved.

Additionally, as in Anderson's study, the use of code-switching is unflagged (Poplack and Sankoff 1988: 1176), that is none of the participants comments on it or notes it.

Once they have switched to their mothers' languages, the children feel entitled to initiate repairs. This initiative suggests their interactional agency and the sense of responsibility that encourages them to repair their mothers' utterances. In so doing, they aim to report the correct information and they show they can monitor the construction of the talk.

Child language brokers' repair can be seen as indicative of their power within the interaction and of the responsibilities they have towards both their parents and the Italian educators. The use of this conversational move can thus be interpreted as an example of the parentification process (Weisskirch 2007; Peris et al. 2008) that may result from CLB, and as a sign of children's empowerment within the interaction.

7.5.4. Disalignment: refusal to broker

Child language brokers' interactional empowerment is also displayed on those occasions where they disalign from other participants' requests and do not immediately mediate despite the invitation to do so by their interlocutors. Extract 21 from Meeting 2 provides an insightful example.

The educator has just asked the child whether she attended the Chinese course at the Welcome Youth Centre the year before (line 240). The child answers by saying "no" (line 241) and the educator asks the child again whether they have ever met before (line 242). In line 243, the mother takes the turn to ask her daughter what the educator is saying (line 243) but the daughter does not answer her mother immediately and goes on talking in Italian with the educator (244). The mother does not give up and asks again in

Chinese what they have just said (line 247) and her daughter finally translates the educator's question to her mother (248).

```
Extract 21, E: educator, C: child, M: mother

240   A     è  lo  stesso  (1,0)  per  il  progetto  (19,0)  giulia
            l'anno scorso però venivi a fare il corso di cinese
            vero? (1,00)no?
            it's the same (1.0) for the project (19.0) but
            giulia last year you came here to take the chinese
            classes, din't you? (1.00) didn't you?
241   B     mmm no
            mmm no
242   A     non ti ho mai visto?
            haven't we ever met?
243   C     什么？
            what?
244   B     no
            no
245   A     il pomeriggio? no?
            in the afternoon? no?
246   B     no
            no
247   C     什么？
            what?
248   B     就是上一年我没有过来学中文的哦？
            she is asking whether last year I came to study
            chinese, no?
249   C     没有
            no
```

In this example, the child disaligns from the expected behaviour of answering her mother's question immediately. By declining her mother's invitation to tell her what the educator is saying, the child excludes the mother from the interaction and disobeys a parental request.

A similar circumstance can be studied in Extract 22, from Meeting 3. The Italian educator is asking the place and date of birth of the child's little brother. In this example, it is the Italian educator who invites the child to report her question to her mother (line 5), since the child has been answering all the educator's questions in Italian without consulting her mother.

However, even after the educator's invitation to broker the question, the child repeats the answer in Italian without rendering the question in Chinese to her mother as the educator has asked (line 6).

243

```
Extract 22, E: educator, C: child, M: mother

3      A      luca (.) è nato (.) quando? dove? dove è nato luca
              luca (.)when(.) was he born? where? where
              was luca born?
4      B      bolonia
              bologna
5      A      a bologna (5,0) ((scrive)) quando? ti ricordi?
              chiedi alla mamma quando è nato se non ti ricordi
              proprio bene in bologna (5.0) ((writing)) when? do
              you remember? ask your mum when he was born if you
              can't remember really well
6      B      il ventiquattro di agosto (.) duemila e dieci
              the twentyfour of october (.) two thousand and ten
7      A      il ventiquattro (5,00) ((scrive)) eh: abitate (.) in
              quale via?
              the twentyfour (5,00) ((writing)) eh: you live (.)
              in which street?
8      B      giorgio pisano
              giorgio pisano
```

Children's disalignment produced by refusing to mediate is a conversational move that confirms the power that children have in the interaction. When children refuse to broker, a divergence from children's expected role (as brokers), and their actual role performance (as animators, who do not broker) arises. In so doing, child language brokers' role distance (Goffman 1961) can be observed and, as previous studies have shown (Danby and Baker 1998; Hutchby 2007), children refuse to display compliance with adults' requests and limit the control that adults try to exercise on them (Baraldi 2014). By resisting adults' actions children show that their active participation is neither controlled by adults nor established by social or institutional constraints.

Additionally, this conversational move suggests that child language brokers feel empowered to decide whether to include their mothers into the conversation or not. When they exclude their mothers from the interaction, they perform what Martinez et al. (2009) and Umaña-Taylor (2003) defined role reversal. They take on the parental role by giving the information that is usually expected from their parents and by making independent interactional decisions.

7.6. Participants' reactions to children's empowered role

The previous sections have highlighted the different discursive and conversational moves that children carry on during the interactions both when mediating and when performing other interactional actions.

All the moves adopted by the children can be considered to be examples of the power they exercise in the interaction and evidence of their active participation. This section aims to examine both children's reactions to such an empowered position and other participants' reactions to children's agency and assistance in the communication.

Extract 23 from Meeting 1 includes an example in which the child's reaction can be read as a positive attitude towards her active role in the interaction. In this extract, the Italian educator has just asked for the parents' phone numbers. The mother starts reporting her phone number (from line 67 to line 77) and despite a little misunderstanding (lines 67 and 68), she reports it correctly. The child, however, self-selects and takes the turn in line 78 to invite her mother to let her tell the phone number. The mother ignores her child's suggestion and keeps on telling her own phone number (lines 79 to 82). When the educator asks if she has written the number correctly (line 83), it is the child who answers "yes" (line 84), as if stressing the importance of her validation.

By asking for her mother's permission to give her phone number, the child tries not to be excluded from the interaction and to preserve her active role.

The same attitude is shown when the child closes the sequence by confirming to the educator that she correctly wrote her mother's number. This can be read as a strategy adopted by the child to show that she is participating in the interaction even though she has not taken any turns to interact.

```
Extract 23, E: educator, C: child, M: mother

65    E     cellulare? (.) della mamma
            mobile phone? (.) mother's mobile phone
66    M     sì (1,0) tle (.) venti- eh ven- eh venti (.) quattlo
            (.)quattlo otto
             yes (1.0) three (.) twenty - eh- twen - eh twenty
            (.)four(.) four eight
67    E     quatt- un altro quattro?
            fou- another four?
68    M     no no no
            no no no
69    E     quattro ott-
            four eigh-
70    M     [otto]
            [eight]
71    E     [otto]
            [eight]
72    M     eh:: (.) uno
            eh:: (.) one
73    E     uno
            One
```

245

```
74    M    nove
           nine
75    E    otto
           eight
76    M    sette
           seven
77    E    sette
           seven
78    C    要不还是我来说?
           or you can let me say it
79    M    due tle
           two three
80    E    sette [nove]
           seven [nine]
81    M          [nove] [tle]
                 [nine] [three]
82    E                 [tre]
                        [three]
83    E    fatto giusto?
           is it right?
84    C    sì
           yes
```

The child's reaction to a possible threat to her participation status suggests her positive attitude towards the active role she is performing throughout the whole meeting.

A similar situation is observed in Extract 24, from Meeting 1, where the child self-selects to tell her mother that she is going to write the piece of information that the educator needs (line 492). The child volunteers to write the information on the registration form, even though the information requested is her mother's name.

In so doing, she shows her desire to help and to participate actively in the Meeting. By making this suggestion the child also reverses a traditional situation in which parents are the family members who write the information required by the representatives of public authorities.

```
Extract 24, E: educator, C: child, M: mother
491   E    allora qui mi fai (.) questo qui lo compilo io (.)
           ok (.) allora qui sempre il tuo nome
           then here you write (.) this one I can fill it (.)
           ok (.) then here always your name
492   C    我来写吧(.)
           I'll write it(.)
493   E    tuo di mamma
           yours as mother
```

A further example of children's positive reactions and attitudes towards their active role in the interaction is provided by Extract 25 from Meeting 2. In this Extract, it is possible to observe the child's pride in being able to provide a full and faster answer to the

Italian educator's question, by anticipating her mother's response. The Italian educator has just asked for the date of birth of the child's brother. The child and her mother collaborate to provide the correct answer. However, the child manages to report the day and month of her brother's birth faster than her mother (line 194). The ability to answer faster than her mother is a reason for personal satisfaction (line 195).

```
Extract 25, E: educator, C: child, M: mother
191    E      duemila e sette
              two thousand and seven
192    M      [ven]
              [twen]
193    C      [vent]icinque novembre
              [twen]ty five november
194    E      venticinque novembre
              twenty five november
195    C      看(.)我比你还知道
              look(.) I know it better than you
```

These three examples have shown children's positive attitudes towards their active engagement in the conversation. These proactive reactions can be interpreted as their desire to preserve their full participation in the construction of the talk.

These positive feelings towards the responsibility they assume during the interaction and their desire to help may also be stimulated by the educators' positive reactions to the children's assistance in the conversation.

As Extract 26 from Meeting 4 and Extract 27 from Meeting 1 show, the educators react positively to the children's help and are surprised by their competence. In both examples, the educators react by congratulating the child on her ability to report the information provided (line 78 Extract 26, and line 191 Extract 27).

```
Extract 26 E: educator, C: child, M: mother; D: educator
65    E      abbiamo bisogno del numero di telefono del papà e
             della [mamma]
             we need your the phone number of your dad and of you
             [mum]
66    M      [sì sì]
             [yes yes]
67    M      papà
             dad
68    C      tre due sette
             three two seven
69    E      questo chi è?
             whose is it?
70    C      il babbo
             dad's
```

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```
71   E   ok
         ok
72   D   allora tre due [sette]
         then three two [seven]
73   E                  [sette]
                        [seven]
74   C   uno otto (.) tre otto (.) cinque cinque sei (.) e di
         mamma tre sette(.) tre otto otto (.) sei tre uno (.)
         cinque cinque
         one eight (.) three eight (.) five five six (.) and
         my mum's three seven (.) three eight eight (.) six
         three one (.)five five
75   E   ok
         ok
76       (1,0)
77   D   come sei brava a sapere tutti questi numeri a
         memoria!
         you're so good at knowing all these numbers by
         heart!
78   E   bravissima!
         very good!

Extract 27 E: educator, C: child, M: mother

188  E   sei bravissima a scrivere
         you are very good at writing
189  M   °哥 哥 °
         °brother°
190      (4,0) ((B scrive))
         (4.0) ((B writes))
191  E   che brava!
         you are so good!
```

Extract 28 from Meeting 4 provides another example of a positive reaction from the Italian educator who appreciates the assistance received by the child and thanks her for her translation (line 781).

```
Extract 28 E: educator, C: child, M: mother

777  E   oggi abbiamo molte firme ahaha (.) queste sono tutte
         le vostre tessere non perdetele va là! (4,0) che
         sono importanti tutte
         today there are a lot of signatures (.) these are
         all your cards, don't lose them! (4.0) that are all
         important
778      (4,0)
779  A   anche qui
         here as well
780  M   grazie (.) molto grazie
         thank you (.) thank you very much
781  A   grazie a voi (.) malyka grazie della traduzione(1,0)
         sei stata molto gentile
         thank you (.)malyka thank you for your translation
         1.0) you were very nice
```

If the Italian educators are positively impressed by the children's engagement in the Meetings, parents react to their children's active role by showing differing attitudes. They are proud of their children, but they do not want to see their parental authority diminished. They try to show their understanding and involvement even when they do not take the floor to speak directly with the Italian educator. When their children mediate for them or when their children act as principals by answering Italian educators' questions without consulting them, the mothers adopt various strategies in order to preserve their parental roles and to avoid their *face* from being threatened by their children's powerful role in the interaction.

The following extracts provide representative examples of these reactions. In Extract 29, from Meeting 1, the educator asks for the mother's phone number. The mother takes the turn to answer the educator's request and give the educator her phone number. Despite some minor errors (lines 67 and 68), the mother manages to give her phone number by pronouncing one figure at a time, and the number is then repeated by the educator who wants to check whether she has written it correctly.

The child does not intervene for thirteen turns. However, she suddenly takes the turn by self-selecting to ask her mother in Chinese whether she wants her to tell her phone number (line 78). The mother ignores her daughter's proposal and goes on telling the remaining figures of her phone number to the educator.

```
Extract 29 E: educator, C: child, M: mother

65    E    cellulare? (.) della mamma
           mobile phone? (.) mother's mobile phone
66    M    sì (1,0) tle (.) venti- eh ven- eh venti (.) quattlo
           (.)quattlo otto
            yes (1.0) three (.) twenty – eh- twen – eh twenty
           (.)four (.) four eight
67    E    quatt- un altro quattro?
           fou- another four?
68    M    no no no
           no no no
69    E    quattro ott-
           four eigh-
70    M    [otto]
           [eight]
71    E    [otto]
           [eight]
72    M    eh:: (.) uno
           eh:: (.) one
73    E    uno
           one
74    M    otto
           eight
```

```
75    E    sette
           seven
76    M    sei
           six
77    E    sette
           seven
78    C    要不还是我来说?
           or you can let me say it
79    M    nove tle
           nine three
80    E    sette [nove]
           seven [nine]
81    M            [nove] [tle]
                   [nine] [three]
82    E                    [tre]
                           [three]
```

This example illustrates how the child's desire to take part in the conversation threatens her mother's *face* as a parent. The mother tries to preserve her parental role and does not cede her turn easily to her daughter. She does not answer her daughter's suggestion and continues relaying her phone number to the Italian educator, thus demonstrating that she does not want to renounce her role even though her competence in Italian is not very good.

Extract 30 from Meeting 2 provides another example that displays the mother's reaction to her daughter's active role in the conversation.

In this extract, the educator has just asked the father's job and the mother has taken the turn in Chinese to give the permission to her daughter to report her father's job to the educator (line 92). The daughter tries to explain her father's job by stating where he works, and the educator shows that she has understood the occupation of the child's father by saying it correctly in Italian (lines 93 and 94).

After the educator's turn, the Chinese mother takes the next relevant turn to repeat and confirm her husband's job by saying it in Italian as well. She then immediately switches to Chinese to tell her daughter that she must inform the educator that she is a housekeeper. The mother pronounces the word housekeeper in Italian, in order for the educator to understand, even though the question about her job has not been asked yet.

Before complying with her mother's request, in line 97, the daughter explains to her mother in Chinese the meaning of the Italian word *casalinga* (housekeeper) and through her mother's answer (line 87) it is possible to understand why the daughter felt the need to explain the meaning of this word. The Chinese mother runs a shop, but she does not want the Italian educator to know it. Since the whole conversation is managed

by her daughter, she intervenes into the interaction when it becomes necessary to state the parents' occupations, saying the word "casalinga" (housekeeper) in Italian. The mother anticipates the question related to her job, and she warns her daughter in Chinese to say that her mother is a housekeeper without mentioning that she owns a shop.

```
Extract 30 E: educator, C: child, M: mother

91    E    uh::: che errore! (2,00) allora papà cosa fa? che
           lavoro fa? (.)lavora?
           uh::: what a mistake! (2.00) so what does your
           dad do? what's his job? (.) does he work?
92    M    嗯(.)你跟他说
           yes (.) tell her
93    C    eh::: (.) fabbrica di carta
           eh::: (.) paper factory
94    E    operaio
           workman
95    M    opelaio sì 你说妈妈没有工作好了(.) casalinga
           workman yes tell her your mum doesn't work (.)
           housewife
96    E    casalinga
           housewife
97    C    casalinga 是去带孩子
           housewife means looking after children
98    M    是(.)就是带孩子 (.)我不是带你们两个吗？不要说开店
           yes (.) it means looking after children (.) don't I
           look after you two? don't say that I own a shop
99    B    ahahah
           ahahah
```

Even though the whole interaction is mainly managed by her daughter, it is possible to presume that the mother is able to understand and follow the conversation since she never asks for explications and she intervenes when she deems it necessary.

The last example is provided by Extract 31 from Meeting 1, which shows the mother's reaction to her child's request for clarification.

In this Extract, the educator is telling the Chinese family that they have to pay the fees to the secretary or to Adele (one of the Italian educators). The mother uses a minimal response ("mmm", line 292) to confirm her understanding and to allow the conversation to continue.

In line 293, however, the child asks for clarification, and, as soon as the educator ends her turn to answer the child's doubt, the mother takes back the turn to confirm that she has understood ("yes yes yes", line 295) and to close the sequence. She wants to

show the educator that, unlike her child, she has correctly understood what the educator said.

```
Extract 31 E: educator, C: child, M: mother
291    E     non la date a me (.) come educatore ma la dovete
             portare in segreteria (.) o al massimo all'adele
             you don't give it to me (.) as an educator but you
             give it to the administrative office (.) or to adele
             at most
292    M     °mmm°
             °mmm°
293    C     cosa?
             what?
294    E     i dieci euro mensili
             ten euros per month
295    M     sì sì sì
             yes yes yes
```

The three examples discussed in this section have shown parents' reactions to their children's active role in the conversation. In the first extract, the mother ignores her child's suggestion and prevents her child from eroding on her parental role in the conversation.

In the second extract, the mother resorts to code switching to keep control over the content of the interaction. She speaks in Chinese to her daughter, telling her to report that she is a housekeeper and she repeats her own job in Italian, in order to be sure that the educator gets she is a housekeeper.

In the last example, the mother uses back-channelling tokens and she closes the sequence to prevent her *face* from being threatened by her daughter's request for clarification.

All these reactions suggest that the Italian educators are positively impressed by the children's engagement in the Meetings, whereas the parents' reactions are more hostile to such an active participation. They are proud of their children's help but at the same time they fear losing their parental power. This is the reason why they adopt the above-mentioned strategies to avoid their *face* from being threatened by their children's empowerment within the interaction.

7.7. Conclusion

After investigating child language brokers' attitudes and perceptions in the two previous chapters, the reliability of these self-reported data was supported by the analysis of authentic data that allowed child language brokers' contributions and participation to be

observed while in action. In particular, the use of the new sociology of childhood and the sociology of interaction as theoretical frameworks, coupled with the application of conversation analysis as a methodological tool, has made it visible how children contribute to the interaction and highlighted their agency by observing them in action. Conversation analysis with its focus on turn-taking has helped to suggest child language brokers' different statuses of participation and to shed light on their active participation and empowerment within the interaction.

Child language brokers have proved to be equally engaged in the process of constructing conversational meaning as the other participants, and their participation has emerged as essential in reaching mutual understanding. Children's agency and power could also be suggested by their entitlement to make important decisions and choices, despite their parents' authority. They feel empowered to take such initiatives thanks to the role that CLB gives them in the interaction in which they participate. This chapter has thus suggested the benefits of implementing CA, a still underexploited methodology within studies on CLB, to investigate the depth and breadth of this phenomenon.

The following chapter will present a summary of the major findings and will provide an exhaustive discussion of the results obtained by this study comparing them to previous research.

Chapter 8. Summary and Discussion of the findings

8.1. Introduction

This study is designed as an exploratory analysis of child language brokering, a largely unexplored mode of NPIT, by focussing on child language brokers' attitudes, self-perception and contributions. The aim is to examine how child language brokers perceive and perform this activity and to highlight their agency within the interaction brokered by them.

This chapter discusses the findings recorded by analysing the questionnaires, interviews and naturally-occurring interactions presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 with an interdisciplinary approach that draws on methodological and theoretical paradigms and tenets pertaining to social psychology, sociology of childhood, sociology of interaction, and conversation analysis.

Moreover, it summarises and discusses the main research findings regarding CLB, both perceived and achieved, taking into account the overarching aim and the research questions.

Finally, it compares the key issues raised by this research against the results of previous studies on child language brokering by suggesting the benefits of implementing an interdisciplinary method to further process this multifaceted activity.

Specifically, section 8.2 presents and evaluates the methodology used in the study, outlining its main advantages and limitations. Section 8.3 presents a description of who child language brokers are and what CLB is according to the data collected. Section 8.4 discusses the findings of the study in relation to each research question. It explores the affective, behavioural and cognitive attitudinal components and self-perception of CLB, and how these influence the way this practice is carried out. It closes by exploring the child language brokers' status of participation and contribution towards building the interaction.

8.2. Methodology
8.2.1. Study design
The data analysed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are gathered by means of questionnaires, face-to-face interviews and naturally-occurring child language brokered interactions. This mixed-method approach is adopted to explore the three main research questions of this study, which are framed by drawing on sociolinguistic theory to provide in-depth

descriptions of child language brokers' attitudes, self-perception and interactional contributions.

Specifically, the first research question seeks to investigate child language brokering as perceived by migrant bilingual children. In particular, it examines the affective, behavioural and cognitive attitudinal components and self-perception of child language brokers towards this practice. These three attitudinal components were chosen since they are the most widely investigated by previous studies (Tse 1996a; 1996b; Buriel et al. 1998; Weisskirch 2007; Kam and Lazaveric 2014; Hua and Costigan 2017), which have mainly focused on feelings about CLB (affective component), on the who, where, and what of CLB (behavioural component), and on the outcomes of this practice (cognitive component). In particular, this study sets out to investigate the child language brokers' attitudes and self-perception about these three dimensions by adopting a mixed method, which combines the use of self-reported questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The area under investigation is Italy, particularly central and northern regions, and the sample comprises children and adolescents belonging to various ethnic and linguistic minorities. The decision not to focus on one specific ethnic or linguistic group is underpinned by the super-diverse nature of immigrant communities.

The findings resulting from this first research question contribute to expand on previous studies by investigating CLB in an area that is still quite unexplored, precisely Italy, by considering an ethnically diverse sample, and by implementing a mixed method, integrating qualitative and quantitative data analysis to explore the affective, behavioural, and cognitive attitudinal components and self-perception of child language brokers.

This first research question is complemented by two other research questions that investigate CLB as achieved and performed by child language brokers. The aim is two-fold, precisely to examine how child language brokers participate in the interaction they broker, and to analyse how child language brokers contribute to constructing the meaning of the interaction they broker.

These two research questions delve into CLB within the framework of translation and interpreting studies, and expand on previous studies by providing new insights into the interactional agency of child language brokers in action.

The existing literature on CLB primarily relies on the use of self-reported data (be they qualitative or quantitative), and only to a limited extent on authentic child-language-brokered data. The analysis of these two research questions related to CLB as

achieved focuses on bridging this methodological gap by working on naturally-occurring interactions.

The findings obtained provide further insights into the child language brokers' attitudes and self-perception and they also highlight child language brokers' participation and contribution within the interaction they broker, thus producing new evidence of their interactional agency and power.

These three research questions are examined during three different stages. The first stage involves the analysis of child language brokers' affective, behavioural, and cognitive attitudes by administering a self-reported questionnaire to migrant high-school students; the second stage delves into child language brokers' self-perception about this practice by conducting in-depth interviews with migrant junior high school students; and the third and final stage records real-life data related to child-language-brokered interactions in an effort to observe and examine their interactional contributions and participation.

By applying this mixed-method approach, this study offers a comprehensive analysis of child language brokers' perceptions and recollections about this activity and of their contribution when brokering.

8.2.2. Research instruments and sample

The three research tools employed within this study are self-reported questionnaires, semi-structured face-to-face interviews, and authentic child language brokered interactions. The aim of the questionnaire is to provide quantitative data, while qualitative data is gathered by using semi-structured interviews and recording real-life data.

The questionnaire consists of 42 questions and 123 variables grouped under three main sections, including factual information (who the respondents are and what past experiences/background they have), behavioural questions (what they do or what they did in the past) and attitudinal items (what their opinions are about the attitude object) (Dörnyei 2003: 8-9). Specifically, it contains pre-coded questions, five-point attitudinal scales, and a few open-ended questions. The large number of effective questionnaires and the high rate of response obtained suggest that the questionnaire is an adequate tool to investigate attitudes towards CLB within a sample of adolescent brokers.

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In particular, the sample analysed is composed of migrant bilingual students aged between 12 and 18 years, who are attending the ENGIM institutes located in the following Italian regions: Piedmont, Veneto, Lombardy, Emilia Romagna, Lazio, and Sicily. Out of 150 participants, the majority are male, and the mean age is 16.27 years.

The rationale behind the decision to administer a questionnaire is also based on the respondents' age. According to Piaget's theory of cognitive growth (1929), between 11 and 16 years of age children belong to the stage of development labelled "Formal Thought", in which their cognitive functions and social skills are well developed, whereas from the age of 16 they are generally considered as adults since their cognitive capacities are fully developed. In light of this, the use of a questionnaire is deemed an appropriate research tool to survey the sample of respondents selected.

Additionally, the sample does not single out any specific ethnic or linguistic community, but includes all students who had a migrant background. This choice was related to the mixed migration patterns that have been recently characterising Italy and which include migration flows from various global migration corridors. Specifically, the respondents of the questionnaire sample are mainly from Eastern Europe (Romania, Moldavia, Macedonia, Ukraine, Croatia, Poland, and Bulgaria), and Africa (Morocco, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Egypt, Tunisia, Ghana, Ivory Coast). Smaller percentages also come from South America (Brazil and Ecuador), Central America (Santo Domingo, Cuba, San Salvador), Asia (the Philippines), Northern Europe (Ireland), and Central Europe (France).

The sample selected appears to be adequate for the survey, given the high rate of response. The use of the questionnaire also favours the collection of quite an extensive set of data and an accurate statistical analysis. The statistical analysis performed on the questionnaire data includes the Kruskal-Wallis H test and the Spearman's rank-order correlation, which provide a detailed breakdown of the emotional and beneficial dimensions of CLB as well as an in-depth description of the main sociodemographic variables that influence child language brokers' attitudes.

The Kruskal Wallis H test is the non-parametric alternative to the One Way ANOVA. It is a reliable statistical test used to establish whether there are statistically significant differences between two or more groups of an independent variable on an ordinal dependent variable. Given the ordinal nature of the dependent variables in the questionnaire, this test is preferred over the parametric one-way ANOVA.

Spearman's rank-order correlation measures the strength and direction of association between two ordinal variables. It is a reliable test to determine the presence of relationships among the items of the ordinal scales adopted in the questionnaire.

Both univariate and multivariate analyses are implemented by prior work, especially in the field of psychology, education, and human development (e.g. Weisskirch 2012; Jones and Trickett 2012; Lazarevic et al. 2014). Some of these studies (e.g. Acoach and Webb 2010; Guan and Shen 2014) have applied the one-way ANOVA test, which is the parametric version of the Kruskal-Wallis H test adopted by this dissertation to verify, among others, the influence of CLB on acculturation, academic performance and parental support. Other studies have tested the Spearman or Pearson correlations (e.g. Weisskirch 2013; Hooper et al. 2015; Hua and Costigan 2017; Guan 2017) and subsequently have further analysed the results provided by the correlations by implementing regression analyses. Regression analysis is used to determine, among others, the relationship between CLB and children's psychological adaptation and family obligations (Ttizmann and Michel 2017); between CLB and children's perceived parental competence and assimilation pressure (Oznobishin and Kurman 2017), or the relationship between language brokering frequency and feelings (Hua and Costigan 2017).

Given the successful implementation of these statistical tests in earlier seminal studies, the Kruskal Wallis H test and the Spearman's rank-order correlation are deemed reliable tools to delve more into the relationships between independent and dependent variables, and among the dependent variables themselves. The use of questionnaires is thus a reliable and efficient research tool to collect data about a large number of respondents (150 students in this case) and to perform a careful statistical analysis. Moreover, by providing a detailed and direct account of the respondents' opinions and attitudes, the questionnaires reveal the respondents' attitude strength about CLB. When they answer the two Likert scale questions about their perceived feelings and the benefits of CLB, their responses are mainly centred around the middle values of each scale. These neutral positions suggest the presence of weak attitudes and represent the typical answer that undecided informants usually provide (Cronbach 1990, Black 1999).

This presence of weak attitudes could be one of the limitations of conducting a survey with children. Previous literature has highlighted the methodological problems posed by surveying minors (Alwin and Krosnick 1991; Fuchs 2009), and has stressed how the difficulties that adults may experience with complex questions or with the

search for information in long-term memory may be more intense in child respondents, whose cognitive, communicative, and social skills are not fully developed yet (e.g. Krosnick and Fabrigar 1997; Borgers et al. 2000).

Additionally, children's different stages of cognitive and social development may influence their degrees of understanding and their ability to provide good quality data when answering survey questions (de Leeuw and Otter 1995). Children in their early adolescence (aged from 11 to 16 years) or in their late adolescence (from 16 years onwards), like the respondents in the sample analysed in this research, should have developed their cognitive functions and should be able to participate in surveys. However, careful attention should be paid to avoid ambiguity of question wording, to context effects and to confidentiality issues (Scott 1997; Borgers et al. 2000). In particular, the presence of siblings, parents, or schoolmates could affect the quality of the answers, as well as the risk of flippancy and boredom (Borgers et al. 2000).

The choice of the school as the venue for the administration of the questionnaire and the presence of their schoolmates could have thus been one of the reasons for the high rate of neutral answers, and could have also increased the effects of the social desirability bias. The respondents could have been reluctant to clearly express their opinions and attitudes in the presence of their schoolmates and of the researcher, in this case the author.

Another reason explaining the high rate of neutral answers provided by the sample of this research could also be related to child language brokers' limited cognitive accessibility to the specific attitudinal objects under investigation. The respondents might never have thought about their affective and cognitive attitudes regarding CLB, and thereby they might have had some difficulty providing specific responses when exposed to these attitudinal items.

A similar pattern was identified when examining the answers provided by the interview questions, which, despite elaborating more on the issues discussed in the questionnaires, did not trigger extensive answers from the respondents. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight migrant children aged between 11 and 16 years who were selected among the children who attended the after-school workshops organised by the Welcome Youth Centre in Forlì. Similarly to the sample of the questionnaire, this sample too included respondents belonging to different ethnicities and language minorities: three of the eight interviewees were born in Italy, two in Burkina Faso, one in Bangladesh and two in Morocco. The respondents who

were not born in Italy have been living there from the age of five to eight years. They all reported that their dominant language was their parents' native language (either Chinese, Bissa, Bengali, or Arabic), and they could all speak Italian quite fluently.

After considering their age range (from 11 to 16 years) and given their good proficiency in speaking Italian, the sample was considered suitable to be interviewed. However, despite describing interesting anecdotes about their experiences as language brokers, the respondents did not provide long and extensive answers even though they were often probed with additional questions aimed at obtaining more thorough information. This reaction could have been related to multiple factors.

It could be explained with the fact that it was the first time they were asked about their experiences as child language brokers and their opinions might not have been rapidly accessible to them from a cognitive standpoint, as indicated by the questionnaire data. The child language brokers could have also felt hesitant and shy to be video interviewed, as highlighted by previous studies suggesting that in early adolescence children may be shy and quiet at school, and more talkative at home (Borgers et al. 2000). Additionally, the presence of short answers could have been related to the respondents' limited proficiency in Italian. At the age of the respondents, their language and thought process should be developed in terms of their native language. They were interviewed in Italian, which the respondents did not consider their dominant language, and which they might not have fully mastered, with a subsequent lack of long and detailed answers.

Despite this limitation related to the presence of short answers, the use of semi-structured interviews provided further insight into child language brokers' experiences, giving informants the opportunity to express and discuss their self-perceptions and opinions openly and orally, thus avoiding the challenge posed by any reading and writing tasks (de Leeuw 2011).

The findings obtained from both the self-reported questionnaires and the semi-structured interviews were also integrated with the qualitative data provided by real-life child language brokered interactions. Four naturally-occurring interactions brokered by children were audio recorded and transcribed in order to examine their brokering activities and their contribution to the conversation. The child language brokers who were recorded while brokering were all female, aged from 8 to 12 years, and belonged to either Chinese or Urdu speaking families. The opportunity to collect authentic data was of paramount importance to observe and examine child language brokers'

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contributions to the construction of meaning and their role and responsibility within the interaction they broker.

The findings obtained and analysed in this thesis were thus collected by means of three different research tools (the questionnaire, the interview and real-life data), thus contributing to the implementation of a mixed-methods approach. The mixed methodology represented a successful strategy to provide rich data and to produce new insight into how child language brokers perceive this practice and how they perform it. In particular, each type of data contributed to expanding on and integrating with the other data, thus bridging any methodological gap, such as the presence of either neutral stands or short answers.

Both the questionnaire and the interview were initially deemed to be appropriate research tools for the respondents selected. However, the data analysis highlighted two main downsides: the presence of a neutral stand in the questionnaire and of short answers in the interviews. The contribution of a third research tool providing authentic data was useful to bridge the gap produced by the two previous methods and to better define the practice of CLB.

When carrying out research with children, difficulties that are usually encountered with adult respondents are amplified given the child respondents' less developed cognitive and social skills. The application of a mixed method, in particular involving three different methods, should thus be encouraged to reduce the limits of each single methodology. In particular, the use of naturally-occuring data is very helpful to examine child-related practices *in situ*. This kind of data is less biased by social desirability and provides evidence of how children accomplish their interactions as they unfold in real-time (Bateman and Church 2017). Within the field of CLB, only very few studies have relied on the triangulation of a mixed methodology (e.g. Orellana et al. 2003; Orellana 2009), and on the valuable contribution of real-life data (e.g. Del Torto 2010; García-Sánchez 2010), probably because of the challenges posed by recording such an unpredictable practice involving minor respondents.

It is, however, worthwhile developing the application of mixed methodologies to thoroughly explore CLB. By building on one another, the different methods can offer a comprehensive framework of this phenomenon and thus contribute to bridging the existing gaps. It would also be very useful to apply the different methodologies by investigating the same sample, in order to make comparisons between the data collected. In this study, despite many attempts to research the same respondents with the

questionnaire, the interview and the recording of real-life interactions, it was impossible to rely on the same sample for the three methodologies due to structural and organisational problems.

8.3. Who are the children who perform language brokering and what is CLB?

Before discussing the findings of this study associated with each research question, this section better defines CLB and provides information about who child language brokers are based on the information collected throughout this research project.

The integration with the descriptive data obtained by way of open-ended questions in the questionnaire and of interviews allowed to carry out an in-depth analysis of who child language brokers are. The analysis revealed that the child language brokers who participated in this study were either born in Italy or abroad, and that the majority of them had been living in Italy for at least eight years at the time of the study. Their parents were mainly born abroad, but living in Italy, and they had a novice level of proficiency in Italian. The majority of the mothers and fathers were employed in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations that did not require any particular qualifications or degrees, thus supporting Demetrio and Favaro's (1992) study suggesting that migrant adults' occupation does not generally require high linguistic proficiency.

The child language brokers involved in this study were all circumstantial bilinguals (Valdés and Figueora 1994), who could both understand and speak Italian and another language. Their linguistic proficiency in both their native and second languages was not assessed, since the evaluation of their linguistic competence was not the purpose of this study. However, given the importance of cognitive and linguistic development in research involving children to ascertain data reliability, and given the impact that linguistic competence can have on the outcomes of CLB, future studies could focus more on assessing child language brokers' host and heritage linguistic proficiency and its relationship with CLB.

On average, the participants in this study started brokering at the mean age of 11 years, within three years since their migration to the host country, and they usually brokered a few times a month.

These findings reflect the general profile outlined by previous studies reporting that child language brokers usually start brokering between 8 and 12 years and soon

after they settle down in the host country (McQuillan and Tse 1995; Morales and Hanson 2005; Guo 2014).

The data collected is also instrumental to define the practice of CLB more thoroughly. As Tse argued, child language brokering often involves "[interpreting] and [translating] between culturally and linguistically different people and [mediating] interactions in a variety of situations including those found at home and school" (1996a: 226). The data examined within this research confirm Tse's definition and also support Bolden's interpretation of brokering as an act of mediation:

> to broker a (potential) problem of understanding is to act as an intermediary between the other participants (i.e. between the speaker of the problematic talk and his/her addressed recipient) and to attempt to resolve the problem in a way that would expose and bridge participants' divergent linguistic and/or cultural expertise – for instance, by providing a translation or a simplified paraphrase of the problematic talk (Bolden 2012: 99).

The analysis of child language brokers' conversational and interactional contributions suggests that they exhibit the role of intermediaries between the other participants and bridge any linguistic or cultural gaps that might surface during the conversation. It also revealed that child language brokers are able to assign and create meaning, and to manage the ongoing flow of information, thus performing all the complex social processes involved in interpersonal communication (Kam et al. 2017). In light of this, their actions and participation helped to improve our understanding of CLB as a research field within the realm of translation and interpreting studies.

Additionally this study expands on previous literature by showing that CLB is not limited to linguistic and cultural mediation activities *per se* but also entails other social, interactional and family practices. These could include (i) peer teaching (Pugliese 2017), such as when child language brokers report helping their schoolmates do their homework; (ii) fulfilling their family's administrative duties, such as when they help their parents at the post office or when they read the mail aloud; (iii) supporting their family's interests, such as when they do not reveal the real job of one of their parents; (iv) working together to construct and convey the meaning of the message, such as when they either explain or paraphrase the concept that they are unable to render in the target language.

All these examples provide evidence of the multifaceted role of child language brokers, who not only act as mediators, but also as family helpers. The multidimensional nature of this practice highlights the complexity of the tasks performed by child language brokers and emphasises their interactional participation and empowerment when CLB is performed both inside and outside the family. These findings also support Orellana's (2009: 123) observation, which reveals that child language brokers "did not simply animate their parents' words […]; and they were not passive objects of adults' socialization efforts. They did not act only as conduit of information, but also as socializing agents who provided access to opportunities in their communities".

The data collected also provides insight into the reasons why CLB takes place. The respondents said that they are asked to broker primarily because they are their parents' children and it is their duty to help them by brokering, especially when dealing with private issues. Additionally, they argued that their parents trust them more than other people, such as professional mediators, and it is both more practical and less embarrassing for them to resort to their children for brokering activities.

They also mentioned linguistic reasons among the causes of CLB, such as their better linguistic proficiency in Italian and the lack of professional mediators speaking their languages, thus confirming the need for well-established community interpreting services, which could cover a wider range of linguistic combinations.

The respondents' explanations for CLB could thus be summarised with the following four key words: trust, duty, availability and linguistic proficiency. Overall, these answers reveal how the activity of child language brokering is considered a spontaneous intra-familial process performed to support the family's integration into the host country. As Weisskirch (2017: 14) suggests, their role as language brokers is incorporated into their identity, and brokering is just "part of who they are and who they will continue to become".

This analysis supports the results produced by other researchers (Valdés 2003; Bucaria and Rossato 2010; Angelelli 2016), maintaining that child language brokers experience the responsibility for providing language brokering as a normal family strategy.

By reviewing the main characteristics of child language brokers and the key elements of this practice, this section has also contributed to confirming the appropriateness of using "child language brokering" as an umbrella term to include both linguistic and cultural mediation and all its ancillary activities (e.g. helping the family, negotiating business, or peer teaching).

8.4. Discussion of the findings in relation to the aims and the research questions

8.4.1. What are the affective, behavioural, and cognitive components of child language brokers' attitudes towards CLB?

The self-reported questionnaire contains three attitudinal scales that focus on the behavioural component of attitudes related to CLB, two attitudinal scales exploring child language brokers' affective component, and one attitudinal scale examining the cognitive component of CLB.

The decision to use ordinal scales to measure child language brokers' attitudes is based on the greater reliability of this measurement, compared to other indirect measurements that are more prone to be affected by the social desirability bias. Additionally, various attitude scales were used to measure the many attitudinal components based on previous findings suggesting that the respondents usually show greater consistency of response to attitudinal scales measuring the same component (Ostrom 1969).

However, since attitudinal scales too might be affected by some structural problems, such as inappropriate wording of questions (Poulton 1989), or the use of scales that are either not reliable or valid (Stangor et al. 1991), the attitudinal components are also examined by means of open-ended questions in the questionnaire and the questions in the interviews. The open-ended technique has been implemented by previous studies (Bell et al. 1996; Esses and Maio 2002) to measure attitudes, given the opportunity it provides to answer the questions without being restrained by the dimensions described in the attitudinal statements.

Combining the data collected through the use of the attitudinal scales, the open-ended questions included in the questionnaires and the semi-structured interviews allowed to outline what child language brokers do when they broker, and their perceived feelings and beliefs about CLB.

8.4.1.1. Behavioural component of child language brokers' attitudes towards CLB

The behavioural component of child language brokers' attitudes about CLB mainly focuses on the people for whom the child language brokers broker and how often they broker for them, the settings where they broker and how often they broker there, the documents brokered and how often they are brokered.

 The descriptive analysis of the questionnaire data shows that the people for whom the child language brokers report brokering most frequently are their mothers, their fathers and their friends, with a mean frequency of "sometimes". They report brokering "rarely" for other relatives, younger siblings, schoolmates, teachers and doctors, whereas they report almost never brokering for their older siblings, grandparents, and employees in public offices.

 Similarly, the thematic analysis of the interview data suggests that child language brokers broker for their mothers, besides their fathers, grandparents, relatives, schoolmates and friends, who were mentioned by only some of the respondents. While answering the interview questions, the informants received no prompts from the researcher about the possible people for whom they could have brokered. It was thus interesting to note that none of the interviewees thought about teachers, doctors or employees in public offices as the beneficiaries of their language brokering though, as the interview progressed, they reported brokering both at school and at the hospital. The presence of similar inconsistent responses has not been reported by other studies to date, but it could confirm that CLB is mainly perceived as an intra-familial and adaptive acculturative process that children perform to support their family members or friends who still do not master the host language (Berry 2003).

 The Kruskal-Wallis test also provides detailed insights into the influence of sociodemographic factors on the people for whom the child language brokers broker. In particular, respondents who had been living in Italy for less than 5 years reported brokering more frequently for their younger siblings than the child language brokers who were born in Italy. This finding could confirm that CLB occurs more frequently during the first years of arrival in the host country, and that during the early period of integration CLB is mainly performed by the eldest children and is often addressed to help their younger siblings (Tse 1995; Valdés 2003; Oznobishin and Kurman 2017).

 Additionally, the Kruskal-Wallis test shows that respondents who reported brokering a few times a week brokered more frequently for their mothers than respondents who reported brokering every six months. This result confirms that mothers

are the main beneficiaries of CLB, especially when this is a frequent activity within the family.

Findings related to the people for whom child language brokers broker most frequently are consistent with previous studies that have examined various ethnic and linguistic communities, such as the Asian community in the US (Tse and McQuillan 1996), Mexican immigrants in Chicago (Dorner et al. 2007), and Russian immigrants in the US (Jones and Trickett 2005). All these studies suggest that the primary recipients of CLB are mothers and family members. As in Cirillo's study (2017), the sample population of this dissertation belonged to mixed ethnic and linguistic minorities and, regardless of their origins, they all mentioned mothers and relatives as the main beneficiaries of CLB.

The questionnaire data also produced evidence of the settings where the child language brokers brokered most frequently, namely at home and at school for teachers or schoolmates. They reported brokering less frequently in more formal settings, such as at the courthouse, at the bank, at the post office, at the police station, at municipal offices, at doctor's practices or hospitals, and during teacher-parent meetings.

These findings are corroborated by the responses in the interview data, which, in addition to the settings reported by the questionnaire, include sports clubs, train stations and airports as venues for child language brokering, thus confirming that this practice may occur not only in private spaces but also in a wide array of public settings.

The performance of the Kruskal-Wallis test offered in depth observations about relationships between sociodemographic factors and brokering settings. In particular, the respondents who usually broker more frequently, either daily or a few times a week, also broker more frequently on the phone and at the bank. The "phone" setting is one of the categories where the respondents report brokering quite frequently, whereas the "bank" is a setting where they report brokering less frequently. However, the respondents who broker at the bank most frequently (17%), belong either to the group of children brokering a few times a week (32%) or to the group brokering daily (11%). This data is useful not only to corroborate the results of previous research (Tse 1995; Weisskirch and Alva 2002; Dorner et al. 2008) indicating that fewer respondents reported brokering in specialised situations, such as at the doctors', but also to expand on these findings by highlighting the fact that children who broker in settings that require technical terminology (such as the bank, in this case) more frequently belong to families with a high rate of CLB. It could be interesting for future studies to further

investigate why CLB occurs more often in family settings rather than in specialised contexts.

The number of years spent in Italy also has a significant effect on brokering at home and at school. In both cases, child language brokers who have been living in Italy for less than five years broker more often at home and at school, compared to other groups that have lived in Italy for a longer period. This confirms the higher frequency of CLB during the first years after the arrival in the host country in settings where CLB is more common, such as at home and at school (Jones and Trickett 2005; Angelelli 2016).

Another aspect related to the behavioural component of attitudes about CLB is document brokering. The descriptive analysis of the questionnaire data suggests that the respondents do not broker written documents very frequently since all the categories of documents mentioned in the questionnaire are either rarely or never brokered. The same perspective was provided by the interview informants: three of them did not refer to any brokered document, while five of them mentioned brokering school documents, bills, and mail.

The inferential statistical analysis helped explore relationships between sociodemographic factors and the documents brokered. Respondents born in Italy and belonging to the second generation of migrants reveal brokering police documents less frequently than respondents born in an African country and belonging to the 1.5 generation of migrants. This could suggest that CLB is more frequent during the first period of immigration, when children are also asked to broker specific documents, such as police documents.

Moreover, the respondents who are only children report brokering notes from teachers less frequently than respondents who are last-born. This result could imply that only-child respondents might be more independent and could decide not to broker all the school communications to their parents. It could also suggest that school documents are often brokered by child language brokers for their siblings, and that not only the eldest children, but also the younger children, act as language brokers.

In terms of documents brokered, these findings suggest that CLB is mainly performed orally without frequently involving the translation of written documents, unlike the results obtained by previous studies (e.g. Orellana 2009; Straits 2010). They also produce insight into the category of documents that are sight-translated more often than others (despite a very low frequency), and which are related to the school or to the medical context.

A final aspect that explores the behavioural component of attitudes towards CLB is related to the perceived frequency of this activity. The respondents of the questionnaire report brokering on average a few times a month, whereas the informants of the interviews report brokering either a few times a month or a few times a week. A higher frequency of CLB is identified during the early years following arrival in the host country.

When examining the self-perceived frequency of CLB, as Dorner et al. (2008) observed, it is important to note that the practice is so interwoven with child language brokers' daily life activities that they do not actually realise how much brokering they perform and how often. Moreover, this practice may take place more regularly during the first years since arrival in the host country, and become occasional once the migrant families have successfully settled down. Given all these variables, further research, in particular longitudinal studies, is required to better define the frequency of this practice and its changes over the time.

The above information is instrumental to investigate the behavioural components of child language brokers' attitudes towards CLB. The next section provides a detailed description of the affective components of their attitudes towards this complex practice.

8.4.1.2. Affective component of child language brokers' attitudes towards CLB

The affective component of child language brokers' attitudes towards CLB sheds light on child language brokers' perceived feelings about this practice. This dimension was investigated by means of two attitudinal scales and one open-ended question in the questionnaire, and by using the interview data.

The majority of respondents to the questionnaire clearly reported positive affective attitudes towards feelings of pride and joy, and they generally did not consider this activity as either embarrassing or stressful.

Mixed attitudes were revealed towards the feeling of responsibility: 55% of the respondents liked brokering because they were given responsibility, but 39% also agreed that language brokering implied too much responsibility, whereas 36% of them took a neutral stance.

The respondents' perceptions about the sense of responsibility are better defined by the Spearman correlation coefficient tested on items of the affective attitudes scale. This coefficient suggests that child language brokers who agree more with a positive feeling towards CLB because they are given responsibility, also agree more with the

feeling of enjoying acting as language brokers, thus showing a positive correlation between feelings and sense of responsibility. The Spearman correlation adds further details by highlighting that the respondents report a higher degree of agreement with the feeling of pride when they broker for their relatives, and of greater enjoyment when they broker for their schoolmates.

Likewise, the Kruskal-Wallis test helps to produce deeper insight into the respondents' feelings by showing that respondents who attended Italian schools only from high school feel more stressed than respondents who attended Italian schools from primary school. This could be explained by their less proficiency in speaking Italian and because CLB is experienced as an additional effort for them, besides their recent migration experience.

Additionally, evidence into the perceived feelings about CLB was provided by the qualitative data obtained by means of two open ended questions in the questionnare and by the semi-structured interviews. These sets of data suggest the presence of mixed feelings about CLB, as reported by many other previous studies (e.g. Weisskirch 2007; Orellana 2009; Antonini et al. 2017). Child language brokers feel happy and proud to broker, especially when they do it for their relatives and schoolmates. They are also comfortable when they perceive CLB as a normal activity they perform spontaneously to help their family members and people who need their assistance, especially in familiar settings. Under these circumstances and across all the different ethnic and linguistic groups, the respondents did not report feeling either stressed or embarrassed, and they perceived CLB as their "duty" and "responsibility". They also explained that they were more at ease when they knew the words or the concepts they had to broker, without the fear of making mistakes. Conversely, they feel annoyed when they are asked to broker while they are performing other activities that they like more, and they are anxious when they have to broker in unfamiliar settings and for people they do not know. They also feel uncomfortable when they fear making mistakes and being judged, when they feel being the centre of the attention, when they do not know or remember some words, and when they have to convey negative information. All these stressors display the concerns that children may have when interacting with adults. Additionally, these negative factors are perceived more strongly by child language brokers who have migrated more recently to Italy, than their peers who have been living in Italy for a longer period. The respondents who have been living in Italy for a shorter time could have been experiencing greater literacy difficulties in the host language and could have

developed a limited vocabulary, thus struggling more when dealing with adult-like responsibilities.

Overall, CLB is associated with positive emotions when the respondents perform it to help the people they care about, such as their relatives and schoolmates, in well-known settings. Similar feelings are described by Orellana (2003), Weisskirch (2007), and Bucaria and Rossato (2010), who suggest positive feelings when CLB is perceived as a normal family activity, and by Dorner et al. (2008), who shed light on the feeling of pride that child language brokers have when they help others.

Conversely, respondents feel anxious and stressed when they do not know specific terms (Bucaria and Rossato 2010; Angelelli 2016), when they are brokering for strangers, and when the activities they were carrying out are interrupted (Orellana 2003).

Considering child language brokering as a situated social practice that does not happen in a social vacuum, the questionnaire also set out to examine child language brokers' feelings associated with the different settings where the child language brokers could have been asked to broker. This was also encouraged by the results of previous studies (Valtolina 2010) suggesting that brokering settings could predict feelings of anxiety and depression.

The respondents express feeling more comfortable when language brokering takes place in familiar and well-known settings, such as at home, in shops or at the supermarket, but also at school with teachers, whereas they feel less uncomfortable brokering in less familiar and institutional settings, such as in administrative offices, in hospitals and during parent-teacher meetings.

These attitudes are confirmed by their perceived feelings when answering the open-ended and interview questions. They reiterate feeling comfortable when they broker for people and in settings that are familiar to them, whereas they report feeling uncomfortable when they are unfamiliar with the setting and the people they have to broker for.

All the above results confirm that CLB is a social situated activity that can produce both positive and negative feelings depending on key contextual factors. The specific characteristics of the variety of settings in which CLB may occur, both private and public, can affect child language brokers' emotional experiences. Hence, researchers should always pay attention to the context in which CLB takes place when analysing this practice.

However, as the literature on the socioemotional development of language brokers has suggested, the context of brokering is not the only variable affecting child language brokers' feelings and perceptions about this practice. Personal characteristics, societal values and family relationships are among the factors that may affect the outcomes of CLB (Rainey et al. 2014; Guntzviller 2017). This is why closer examination should also be paid to other factors that might influence child language brokers' affective component of attitudes with particular focus on interactional factors, such as the role of people involved in the interaction, the topic of the conversation, and the conversation moves the child language brokers are required to perform.

8.4.1.3. Cognitive component of child language brokers' attitudes about CLB

The survey explores the cognitive component of child language brokers' attitudes about CLB by means of an attitudinal scale, thoroughly processing the issue by integrating this scale with the data provided by two open-ended questions in the questionnaire and by some questions in the interviews.

The results obtained by means of the attitudinal scale show the presence of positive perceived benefits mainly on child language brokers' bilingualism and biculturalism, and on the impact that CLB might have on the jobs they will do in the future. These perceived benefits are coupled with higher levels of uncertainty, especially related to the positive effects on child language brokers' character and personality, on their desire to go on studying foreign languages, on their relationship with their parents, on the positive impact on their academic results, and on the possibility of becoming professional mediators.

The statistical analysis carried out by means of the Kruskal-Wallis test, the Spearman correlations, and the data obtained through the open-ended questions and interviews contribute to provide deeper information, especially about the benefits that trigger more uncertainty among the respondents.

In particular, the Kruskal-Wallis test reveals that the respondents living in Italy for less than 5 years are inclined to report more favourable attitudes towards the benefits of improving Italian, of gaining knowledge about Italy and Italian culture, of improving their academic performance, and of choosing their future studies. These findings suggest that respondents who experienced their migration more recently report stronger positive attitudes towards these benefits of CLB. They find that CLB is a new and

challenging practice that they consider less normal than their peers who have been practicing it for a longer time and, hence, they perceive its benefits more strongly.

Besides the Kruskal-Wallis test, the Spearman correlation was also useful to identify deeper relationships among the variables related to the cognitive component of attitudes. In particular, it revealed that the respondents who agree more with the benefit of CLB in relation to their desire to get familiar with their parents' country of origin and to visit it, also agree more with the feeling of pride related to CLB, thus showing that a positive perception of CLB has positive effects on child language brokers' desire to improve their biculturalism. Additionally, the respondents who report enjoying CLB because they are given responsibility, also agree more on the benefits of this practice on their character and personality, on their being more mature and independent, and on the possibility of becoming professional mediators. Similarly, the respondents who agree more with the positive influence of CLB on their character and personality also agree more with the positive impact of CLB on their improvement of the Italian language, on their being more mature and independent, on their better academic performance, and on the possibility of becoming professional mediators.

The answers to the open-ended questions and to the interviews helped to confirm the positively perceived advantages of CLB on the child language brokers' language acquisition, on their improved family relationship and on their improved academic results. They also shed light on the respondents' perception of CLB as an opportunity to help and meet new people, to speak and improve their languages and to become familiar with the Italian administrative system. Child language brokers consider CLB a practice that makes them feel special and appreciated, and which improves their relationships with their parents. Additionally, they mention the feeling of having more responsibilities as an advantage of CLB, thus further underscoring the relationship between sense of responsibility and positive perceptions about CLB.

Briefly, the principal positive outcomes recognised by the child language brokers who participated in this dissertation are associated with the following main benefits. First of all, CLB is positively related to child language brokers' helpfulness and pride in enhancing their biculturalism and bilingualism. This result partially reflects the findings of previous research (Buriel et al. 1998; Weisskirch et al. 2011; Angelelli 2016), suggesting a greater interest in heritage values, culture and language among child language brokers, rather than among their non-language brokering peers. Secondly, the respondents of this study perceive CLB as an activity that improves their academic

results. Previous studies have carried out more specific and targeted tests to examine this correlation, and most of them (Acoach and Webb 2004; Dorner et al. 2007) have revealed the beneficial effect of CLB on children's academic grades. Finally, CLB has a positive impact on parent-child relationship. This study corroborates the results of previous research (Valdés et al. 2003; Dorner et al. 2008) by identifying this practice as a family activity in which all members work efficiently together. Accordingly, the respondents show a great sense of shared responsibility that is related to a feeling of pride. This finding expanded on previous research, which suggested that CLB usually confers adult-like responsibilities to minors (Guske 2006) by better defining child language brokers' positive attitudes and perceptions towards such a responsibility. They do not perceive it as a burden and it does not lead to any adverse consequences within the family, unlike what other studies have reported (e.g. Martinez et al. 2009; Roche et al. 2015).

A further element highlighted by the results of this dissertation is the positive correlation between the beneficial outcomes of CLB and appreciation for this activity. The respondents who report more favourable attitudes towards the benefits of this practice also perceive stronger positive feelings about it (Valdés et al. 2003). Kam and Lazarevic (2014) explain this relationship by drawing on the Theory of Planned Behaviour (see Chapter 3), which maintains that people are more likely to engage in a behaviour when they have favourable attitudes towards it. Similarly, when child language brokers display favourable attitudes toward this practice, they are not only more likely to perform it, but they also experience it with ease. This positive attitude reduces the influence of any possible stressor and increases the perception of positive CLB-related outcomes.

All these beneficial outcomes notwithstanding, the child language brokers who took part in this study also brought to the fore some disadvantages related to CLB. Specifically, they reported being stressed and uncomfortable when they do not understand what people are saying, when they fear being reprimanded and judged, and when they feel obliged to broker instead of spending time doing other things they prefer.

These three stressors related (i) to the lack of sufficient linguistic vocabulary or understanding, (ii) to the fear of being rebuked by adults, and (iii) to the pressure to help the family instead of doing more interesting activities were also identified by previous studies (Kam 2011; Kam et al. 2017), and produced evidence of the potentially negative outcomes of CLB.

Given that previous studies have been inconsistent in terms of CLB-related outcomes, and that this dissertation observed the same duality in terms of positive and negative effects, future research should focus more on the context and causes of the different outcomes. In particular, it would be worthwhile exploring the relationship between the different components of attitudes towards this practice, and between how the child language brokers perceive this activity and how they perform it, within the same sample. The analysis of their contributions by means of authentic data could produce valuable insight into the complex outcomes of CLB.

8.4.2. From child language brokers' self-perceptions and attitudes to their contribution within the interaction

After reviewing child language brokers' attitudes and self-perceptions, the following sections set out to examine child language brokers' contribution when they act as key players in multilingual and intercultural communicative situation.

In order to do so, authentic child language brokered encounters were recorded and examined using a conversation analytical approach. This approach shed light on how child language brokers participate in the interaction they broker, and on how they contribute to constructing the meaning of such an interaction.

8.4.3. How do child language brokers participate in the interaction they broker?

When communicating with migrants, the possible barriers resulting from speaking different languages can be more or less impenetrable depending on the migrants' proficiency in the language of the host country (Baraldi 2012).

Within this framework, the assistance provided by child language brokers can be achieved in different ways, by taking on various roles and statuses of participation. Given that migrant linguistic difficulties do not usually result in a complete lack of communication, multiple ways of interaction emerged between the main speakers, characterised by both dyads and triads.

Four different interactions are observed in the corpus of child language brokered meetings:
- direct interaction in Italian between the migrant mother and the Italian educator;
- direct interaction in Italian between the migrant child and the Italian educator;
- direct interaction in the native language of the migrant family between the mother and her child;
- child language brokered interactions.

During direct interaction with the Italian educators or during child language brokered interactions, children usually display their front stage behaviour, which is the behaviour that participants adopt when they have an audience watching them; whereas in the interaction with their mothers, they display their back stage behaviour, which is usually free of the expectations that influence and shape the front stage behaviour (Goffman 1959).

Additionally, according to the type of interaction that is achieved, child language brokers adopt different statuses of participation and change alignments, by way of footing, in relation to the other participants. By borrowing Goffman's terms (1981), the child language brokers' roles could change from animator to author and principal, whereas by following Wadensjö's (1998) reception format, they could move from reporter to responder and recapitulator. Child language brokers act as animator or author, respectively, when they report what their parents said by simply animating their utterances, and when they create the content and form of their parents' utterances by producing renditions of their speech. They take the role of principal, which is the primary interlocutor responsible for the message, when they speak directly to the Italian educators by answering their questions without consulting their mothers, when they repair their mothers' mistakes, and when they initiate turns to produce expansions and ask for clarifications. Similarly, they do not simply act as reporters or recapitulators by either reporting or recapitulating their mothers' utterances, but they also assume the role of active responders when they are the primary recipients of the Italian educators' speech.

The multiple interaction formats that emerge are continuously negotiated and assessed by each participant during the interaction, depending on the quality of the flow of talk. By considering child language brokered encounters as socially situated, all the participants can hold and exhibit different expectations of both the conversation and of each other. The participation status assumed by child language brokers is strictly interwoven with these expectations and with the contextual and conversational dynamics that emerge as the interaction unfolds.

The shift between the various production and reception formats also implies that child language brokers assume different roles within the interaction, after evaluating the flow of interaction and their alignments with the other speakers.

In particular, Goffman identifies the concepts of normative role, typical role and role performance (see Chapter 3), which could contribute to better understanding the role or roles performed by child language brokers.

The normative role is considered the role performed according to the rule of conduit and to the normative role expectations. The normative role of child language brokers' would probably be that of family helpers contributing to the interaction only upon request from the adult participants. In monolingual settings, when children take part in institutional interactions together with their parents who need to communicate with representatives of public institutions, they are usually expected to act as secondary participants and to take the floor only when their parents authorise them to do so.

Similarly, the normative role of migrant children would be that of ratified but unadressed or passive participants who can become active agent only when it is deemed necessary by the adult parties. The child language brokers who took part in this study assumed this normative role when they spoke after being given the floor by one of the adult parties and without performing any other interactional activities. However, during the child language brokered meetings that were analysed, the children did not only take on this normative role, but they also often assumed their role performance as language brokers. This position gave them the power to produce renditions for the other participants, and to take the initiative to perform other interactional actions and to act as principals.

By applying Goffman's representation of interaction as a social performance to this study, we note that child language brokers act both front stage and back stage, and that they assume different footings and roles according to the other participants, to the context, and to the flow of the talk. Hence, they are active agents within the interaction and are able to assess which behaviour and role they should perform based on contextual and conversational factors. Further studies are encouraged within the field of CLB to implement this specific type of analysis in order to allow a comparison between their data sets and the findings of this study.

Furthermore, the different statuses of participation and roles assumed by child language brokers not only display their agentic behaviour but also their full participation in the interaction. In particular, their desire to contribute to the conversation is also suggested by the high number of turns produced by child language brokers in each interaction. During two meetings, the children produced a greater quantity of turns than their mothers, whereas in the other two meetings they actively

participated in the interaction like the two adult parties, thus suggesting a proactive reaction to the role of brokers. The analysis of the moves they adopted to initiate child-language-brokered sequences also revealed another aspect of their active participation. In the corpus of four meetings, all child language brokers adopted self-selection and engaged in brokering on their own initiative. They deemed it necessary to take the floor as language brokers to facilitate the unfolding of the interaction. In so doing, they decided to take up the responsibility given by CLB intentionally, and they revealed both their interactional power and their willingness to act as child language brokers.

The next section will further explore the active contributions of child language brokers in the construction of the brokered interaction.

8.4.4. How do child language brokers contribute to constructing the meaning of the interaction they broker?

After exploring the status of participation of child language brokers, their contribution to the construction of the conversation is analysed.

A first insight into how children perform CLB and how they engage in the interactions is provided by the interview data. The informants were invited to describe the brokering strategies they usually implemented by focussing on how they reacted when they faced difficulties and on whether they brokered all the information or whether they omitted part of the message. In so doing, the respondents' metalinguistic skills were examined together with the related agency that brokering strategies conferred to child language brokers.

When discussing the brokering strategies applied when they faced difficulties with the meaning of specific words or with their translation, the respondents reported adopting different approaches. They explained that when they struggle to broker, they ask for explanations, they use either Google Translate or the dictionary, or they either paraphrase or summarise the content to be conveyed.

Similarly, when they were asked whether they filter the information they brokered, they described different *modus operandi,* ranging from reporting all the information to censoring part of it, especially when they considered its content either unimportant or detrimental. By censoring or manipulating part of the information, child language brokers reveal that they hold a position of responsibility and power, and they suggest both their metalinguistic awareness and skills.

These reported brokering strategies were also identified when examining child language brokers' behaviours in action, in particular the request for explanations, the use of paraphrase and summary, and the omissions of part of the message.

The discourse and interactional moves analysed in the authentic data confirm child language brokers' self-perceptions and shed light on the way in which child language brokers manage to co-construct the interaction. In particular, attention was paid to the analysis of child language brokers' renditions and to the other interactional moves they performed (non-renditions), which were strictly related to their role as brokers. When examining the child language brokers' renditions, the analysis focused on the use of reduced and expanded renditions to highlight the mediating strategies adopted by children.

Reduced renditions were mainly produced when the source message was long and dense with information. On such occasions, the child language brokers only brokered the content they deemed most meaningful or the information they could remember easily, thus either summarising or omitting part of the message.

Expanded renditions were primarily used to make the content either clearer to one of the other two parties or to defend the mothers' role as caring parents. Hence, this strategy was implemented by child language brokers either to favour the flow of the interaction and avoid misunderstandings, or to preserve the parental status of their mothers.

These brokered renditions were coupled with other interactional activities that the child language brokers performed as ratified interlocutors, but without playing the role of mediators and without rendering other parties' utterances. Child language brokers, for example, produced insert expansions to open monolingual side sequences aimed to secure mutual understanding. They also used repetitions and anticipations to monitor the construction of the talk, and repairs to solve their mother-initiated repairable items and to report the correct information. The use of repair further confirmed the sense of responsibility that child language brokers had in conveying the right information and in constructing a successful message. They also disaligned from other participants' requests to broker, thus excluding them from the interaction.

All these conversational moves that child language brokers performed during the four meetings suggested their active participation and their interactional power both when mediating and when performing other interactional actions. Additionally, they also highlight how child language brokers' activities correspond to the interactional role

carried out by community interpreters and how CLB is thus entitled to fall within the field of interpreting studies.

In particular, Wadensjö (1998) identified the coordinating activity of interpreters in performing interaction-orientated translations and in managing turns at talk. Regarding this latter aspect, the author maintained that the interpreters could coordinate the talk either by rendering the source message into the target language (implicit coordination), or by way of other means, such as by asking for clarifications or repetitions, or by stopping the speaker who was having the floor (explicit coordination). Implicit coordination is produced by the interpreters' renditions, whereas explicit coordination is handled by the interpreters' non-renditions, which could include clarifications, comments, or other interactional requests and actions. This approach was ground-breaking in highlighting both the crucial role of non-renditions in the construction of interpreter-mediated talk, since they were considered as functional to the interpreting activities, and to the interactional and active role of interpreters.

Similarly, the analysis of child language brokered interactions carried out by applying both CA and Wadensjö's taxonomy of renditions is of great significance in showing how child language brokers co-construct the talk by means of both renditions (reduced and expanded renditions), and non-renditions (insert-expansions, repetitions, anticipations, and repair). It also produces evidence of the proactive participation and interactional power of child language brokers, who implement the same conversational and interactional actions as community interpreters.

Within this frame of reference, there is enough evidence to emphasise the interactional responsibility given and assumed by child language brokers. Through their CLB actions, they are responsible for the achievement of communication and they strive to meet such responsibilities by using CLB to avoid misunderstandings, to save their families' "face", to speed up the conversation and to achieve its institutional objectives.

8.4.4.1. Child language brokering as child empowerment

Findings reported by this research study allow a detailed analysis of child language brokers' behaviours and degree of participation within an interaction. They are also of paramount importance to shed light on these children's agency and on their empowered status.

Questionnaire, interviews, and authentic data integrate with and build on one another to highlight the various factors involved in child language brokers' agency. The

above roles and participation statuses that children could take on as interactions unfold are one of the elements that suggest their ability to evaluate each situation and to implement different conversational strategies. The change from animators into principals and their contribution as primary speakers reveal their agentic power.

This active participation is also confirmed both when they provide renditions of the source utterances and when they produce non-renditions. By using either reduced or expanded renditions, child language brokers have the power to manipulate and filter the message, thus confirming the self-reported perceptions of the child language brokers interviewed, who report either summarising or paraprashing the content to broker, especially when the task becomes difficult.

Through non-renditions they act as fully-fledged active agents by performing interactional actions aimed to achieve a conversation. They are able to evaluate when expansions must be added to clarify the message, they realise when the communication will break down due to their mothers' mistakes and promptly react by repairing such mistakes, and they also decide to exclude one of the two participants by disaligning from their requests to broker for them. When they refuse to broker, they have the power to exlude participants from the interaction, and they always opt for this choice because they deem it the best solution to facilitate the flow of the interaction.

All these examples show the role of child language brokers as agents who are able to act, perceive, and interact according to the locally constructed dynamics of the context. They negotiate and handle challenging brokering situations, they implement specific and context-related brokering strategies, and they take what they deem to be the appropriate actions to avoid misunderstandings, to protect their mothers' position, and to achieve a successful communication. CLB is thus an effective tool that empowers children's interactional status and role.

8.5. Conclusion

This chapter provides a summary and discussion of the main findings of the current study. The data collected shows that, consistently with previous studies, CLB is primarily experienced positively when performed in familiar settings and with well-known people. Child language brokers are proud and happy to help their family members, whereas they feel more stressed and anxious when they have to interrupt other activities, when they are in unfamiliar settings, and when they struggle with obscure terminology. The data also indicates that child language brokers deem this

practice advantageous for their bilingualism and biculturalism, for their academic results, and for a better relationship with their parents.

The analysis of child language brokers' interactional contributions indicate their active role and participation within the interaction and shed light on CLB as a social activity that promotes children's interactional participation and empowerment.

The discussion of the main findings is also useful as it reveals the main advantages and drawbacks of the method used, and stresses the importance of implementing mixed methodologies, including real-life data, as suitable tools to delve into the still unexplored issues of this complex practice.

Chapter 9. Conclusions

9.1. Introduction

By combining both a qualitative and quantitative methodological approach, this study set out to provide a nuanced description of child language brokering as perceived, recalled, and performed by child language brokers.

The main focus of CLB studies has been the variety of issues related to this complex practice, focussing, in particular, on CLB patterns, feelings and outcomes. This research aimed at expanding the previous research by exploring child language brokers' reported feelings and opinions about the outcomes of this activity, in addition to producing new insights into how child language brokers perform CLB. A very interesting finding of this study which is a considerable addition to the body of existing research relates to the interactional agency and participation that child language brokers exhibit within the interaction they broker. The analysis of naturally-occurring child-language-brokered interactions has highlighted the interactional contributions performed by these children, which, apart from very few exceptions, have not been studied through authentic data. Therefore, an important objective of this study was to bridge this gap in research by investigating how they actually do achieve CLB by investigating real-life interactions.

This chapter will review the major findings reported by this study and will indicate possible orientations for future research, after first acknowledging research limitations.

9.2. Limitations of the present study

This study aimed at providing an in-depth representation of the attitudes and contributions of child language brokers towards the activity of language brokering. Several limitations exist, which, if corrected, could yield more representative data.

The first two limitations relate to the fact that a majority of the respondents who took part in the survey were male and the number of informants who agreed to be interviewed was quite small. These factors could create bias in the questionnaire and during the interviews. It would therefore be useful to repeat this study by involving a more gender-balanced survey sample and a greater number of interview informants. Additionally, both the accuracy and reliability of the survey data would have been higher if there had been possible to integrate the quantitative approach with qualitative

data by conducting follow-up interviews with the same sample of respondents. Future research could try to involve and investigate the same sample by using different but complementary methodologies.

Another area that would improve the research methods is the data elicitation method. Attitudes and self-perceptions were explored using direct methods of data elicitation (e.g. questionnaires and interviews, see Chapters 5 and 6). Given the limitations of these two tools when doing research on and with children (e.g. a high presence of neutral attitudes and very short and monosyllabic answers), for future research it would be interesting to investigate child language brokers' feelings and perceptions by adopting new methods tailored to the child's age and skills, such as the use of pictures and diaries, drawings and narratives (Cline et al. 2011; Antonini et al. 2017).

Thirdly, even though great attention was paid to the impact of the independent variables (e.g. age, number of years spent in Italy, country of birth, and birth order) on the feelings and outcomes related to CLB, it may be worth including other variables, such as linguistic competencies in Italian and in the other language that both the child language brokers and their parents speak. An in-depth analysis of linguistic skills and proficiency may produce interesting results about the child language broker's feelings and about their perceived outcome of the CLB activities. Similarly, a focus on the different neighbourhoods (e.g. monolingual or multilingual) where they live could establish more relationships between the child language brokers and their perceptions of this practice. By analysing the influence of these latter variables, it might be possible, for example, to assess the impact that language proficiency and language use have on their feelings and outcomes related to CLB.

Finally, future research could find it interesting to examine any implications of the socio-political climate it Italy on migrant children's attitudes when investigated about issues related to their migrant status.

9.3. Major findings and implications for future research

9.3.1. Attitudes and self-perceptions towards CLB

The analysis of both the questionnaire and the interview data confirmed some results published in previous research, and also added new interesting details.

The findings show that child language brokers broker more frequently for their mothers, and they also highlight how this happens especially during the first years after arrival in the host country. The settings where they broker more frequently are in homes and schools, and, unlike previous studies, child language brokers mainly reported brokering orally rather than translating written documents. It could be interesting for future studies to further investigate why CLB occurs more often in family settings rather than in specialised contexts, and whether the oral dimension of CLB is a common aspect of this practice or only a peculiarity of the respondents in this research project.

The results of this study also suggest that child language brokers generally feel happy and proud to broker, especially for their relatives and schoolmates in familiar settings. At the same time, however, they feel annoyed when the other activities they are doing are interrupted because of CLB, and they are anxious when they have to broker in unfamiliar settings and for people they do not know. They also fear making mistakes and being judged, and they do not like being the centre of attention or conveying negative information. These emotions were similarly highlighted by previous studies (Weisskirch 2007; Orellana 2009; Antonini et al. 2017). This research, besides confirming the presence of these feelings, has produced new detailed information especially about the stressors related to CLB. In particular, it has revealed that the negative factors described above are perceived more strongly by child language brokers who have more recently experienced migration, and thus who might have developed a limited vocabulary and linguistic proficiency. It would be useful to investigate more thoroughly the relationship between language competency in the native and foreign languages and the feelings about and outcomes of CLB.

This study also investigated the perceived consequences caused by CLB on child language brokers. The findings reveal the presence of both positive and negative consequences. The respondents of this study reported being stressed and uncomfortable when they did not understand what people were saying, when they feared being reprimanded and judged, and when they felt obliged to broker. On the other hand, the child language brokers mainly reported the positive impact of this practice on their bilingualism and biculturalism, on their improved academic results and on their relationship with their parents. Here again, these data expand previous studies by suggesting that the respondents who experienced their migration more recently reported stronger positive attitudes towards the benefits of CLB, especially towards their

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bilingualism and biculturalism. These results further highlight the strong relationship between CLB and language competency, which deserves deeper investigation.

Given the perceived benefits of CLB on children's bilingualism, biculturalism and academic results, another interesting and under researched issue that would certainly benefit from further study relates to the growing need for professional interpreters. It would be interesting to investigate the extent to which a specific programme aimed at developing bilingual migrant student literacy and brokering skills (following the examples of Angelelli et al. 2002; Borrero 2006; Hampshire Services online) can be useful to both the child language brokers themselves and the multicultural societies they live in especially given the need for professional interpreters specialized in minority languages.

9.3.2. Child language brokers as active social agents

Besides exploring child language broker's attitudes and perceptions about their brokering activities, this study aimed at investigating how child language brokers perform and achieve this activity. The analysis of authentic child-language-brokered interactions by means of CA and Wadensjö's taxonomy of renditions allowed a detailed investigation of child language broker turns at talk and of the sequential organization of interaction to be carried out. In so doing, it was possible to show how child language brokers co-construct and participate in the interaction.

With respect to construction of talk, they contribute by playing a key role in producing both renditions (e.g. reduced and expanded renditions) of the source message into the target language, and non-renditions (e.g. insert-expansions, repetitions, anticipations, and repair). Through this analysis, it was possible to study how child language broker's interactional actions extend beyond mere translation of the source message because they are involved in coordinating and social activities, such as peer teaching or fulfilling their family's administrative duties.

This analysis has also highlighted that child language brokers are completely ratified participants who participate fully and have active role of responsibility in achieving communication. They do their best to avoid misunderstandings, to save their families' "face", and to achieve the institutional objectives of the interaction they broker. They are able to negotiate and handle challenging brokering situations by implementing specific and context-related brokering strategies.

All these findings in this real-life study of child-language-brokered interactions highlight how CLB is an effective tool for empowering children's interactional status and role. Child language brokers can be considered fully-fledged social actors and competent participants in their family and social activities. Such an active participation may be seen as challenging the normative expectations and perspectives about childhood, and this is one of the reasons why this practice often raises controversial issues both from academia and professionals.

The present analysis of child language brokers' interactional contribution was made possible by implementing the rigorous approach provided by conversation analysis. CA provides adequate tools to stress the complexity of the tasks performed by child language brokers who are far from being passive and who contribute actively to the interaction they broker. Given that CA has been increasingly used to explore the interactions of children in recent years (Baraldi 2014; Bateman and Church 2017), and in light of the interesting results obtained from the analysis of child-language-brokered interactions in the current study, it would be inspiring for future research to utilize this conversational approach to elicit new and under-explored aspects of CLB and to focus on what child language brokers do, rather than on what they think or report doing. Additionally, by means of CA it is possible to shed light on what children know and how knowledge is negotiated by participants. Further studies should therefore apply this approach to focus on CLB as an area of competency (Weisskirch 2017) and to offer unique insight into how CLB works for migrant children, their families, the institutions and the communities in the host country.

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Appendix 1

DATI ANAGRAFICI

1. Data di nascita _____

2. Luogo di nascita_____

3. Sesso: ☐M☐ ☐F☐

4. Se non sei nato in Italia, da quanti anni vivi in Italia? _____

5. Hai frequentato le scuole in Italia? Sì ☐ No☐ Solo alcune: Materna ☐
   Elementari ☐
   Medie ☐
   Superiori ☐

6. Quanti fratelli e sorelle hai? _____

7. Quale è il tuo ordine di nascita tra i tuoi/tue fratelli/sorelle? Tu sei il/la (1°/2°/3°/…)figlio/a

8. Luogo di nascita della madre _____

9. Luogo di nascita del padre _____

10. I tuoi genitori vivono in Italia? Sì☐ No☐ Solo madre☐ Solo padre☐

11. Se sì, da quanti anni vivono in Italia? Mio padre da ___ anni Mia madre da ____anni

12. Lavoro della madre in Italia _____

13. Lavoro del padre in Italia _____

14. Hai altri parenti che vivono in Italia? Sì☐ ☐ No☐

DATI LINGUISTICI

15. Quale lingua o quali lingue parli in casa?
    Lingua 1:_____ Lingua 2:_____

16. Se usi una lingua diversa dall'italiano, questa lingua la: capisci e parli ☐
    capisci ma non parli fluentemente ☐
    capisci ma non parli ☐

17. Con chi parli in italiano e quanto spesso?

Persone	sempre	spesso	a volte	raramente	mai
nonni					
padre					
madre					
fratelli e sorelle maggiori					
fratelli e sorelle minori					
altri parenti (dire chi)………..					
amici					
altri (dire chi, es. insegnanti, compagni di scuola) …….					

18. Con chi parli l'altra lingua e quanto spesso?

Persone	sempre	spesso	a volte	raramente	mai
nonni					
padre					
madre					
fratelli e sorelle maggiori…					
fratelli e sorelle minori					
altri parenti (dire chi)……...					
amici					
Altre persone (specificare chi, es. insegnanti, compagni di scuola) …………….					

19. Quale lingua tua madre parla oltre all'italiano? _____

20. Con che frequenza tua madre parla in italiano e nella lingua indicata nella domanda?

Lingue	sempre	spesso	a volte	raramente	mai
italiano					
Lingua 1: ……					

21. Quale lingua tuo padre parla oltre all'italiano? _____

22. Con che frequenza tuo padre parla in italiano e nella lingua indicata nella domanda?

MEDIAZIONE LINGUISTICA: La Mediazione linguistica è una traduzione scritta o orale che facilita la comunicazione tra due persone che non parlano la stessa lingua.

23. Hai mai fatto da mediatore linguistico per qualcuno? Sì☐ No☐ Non ricordo ☐

24. Se sì con che frequenza?
Tutti i giorni☐ Qualche volta a settimana☐ Qualche volta al mese☐
Ogni 2/3 mesi circa☐ Ogni 6 mesi circa☐

25. A che età hai tradotto la prima volta? _____

Lingue	sempre	spesso	a volte	raramente	mai
italiano					
Lingua 1: ……					

26. Lo fai ancora?   Sì☐ (Vai alla domanda 29)☐   No☐

27. Se no, a che età hai smesso di farlo?_____

28. E perché? _____ (il questionario termina qui, grazie!)

29. Qualcuno tra i tuoi fratelli/sorelle ha fatto da mediatore linguistico? Sì☐ No☐

30. Se sì, quale?   -Fratello/sorella maggiore☐   -Fratello/sorella minore☐

31. Lo fa ancora?   Sì☐   ☐ No☐

32. **Perché i tuoi genitori chiedono a te e non a qualcun altro (ad esempio a mediatori professionisti o ad altri famigliari o amici) di tradurre per loro?**

_____

33. Per chi hai fatto da mediatore linguistico e con quale frequenza?

	sempre	spesso	a volte	raramente	mai
nonni					
padre					
madre					
fratelli e/o sorelle maggiori					
fratelli e/o sorelle minori					
altri parenti (dire quali)………..					
amici					
compagni di scuola					
insegnanti					
medici					
impiegati degli uffici pubblici					
altri (specificare chi) ……					

34. In che situazione e con quale frequenza hai fatto da mediatore linguistico?

	sempre	spesso	a volte	raramente	mai
a casa					
al telefono					
nei negozi/supermercato					
a scuola per compagni e insegnanti					
a scuola nei colloqui tra i genitori e gli insegnanti					
in posta					
in banca					
in comune					
in questura					
dal medico o in ospedale					
in tribunale					
Altro (specificare)……					

35. Quali documenti ti è capitato di dover tradurre per iscritto o oralmente e con quale frequenza ?

	sempre	Spesso	a volte	raramente	mai
avvisi e note degli insegnanti					
ricette mediche e foglietti illustrativi delle medicine					
documenti della banca					
documenti della questura					
documenti di lavoro dei genitori					
etichette di prodotti					
insegne e cartelloni pubblicitari					
articoli di giornale e/o libri					
altro (specificare)……...					

36. *Segna con una crocetta il tuo grado di accordo o disaccordo con le seguenti affermazioni:*

	perfettamente d'accordo	d' accordo	Incerto	in disaccordo	in assoluto disaccordo
a. Sono orgoglioso di essere un mediatore linguistico					
b. Mi imbarazza essere un mediatore linguistico					
c. Fare il mediatore linguistico è fonte di stress					
d. Mi diverte essere un mediatore linguistico					
e. Fare il mediatore linguistico comporta troppa responsabilità					
f. Fare il mediatore linguistico ha migliorato il mio carattere e la mia personalità					
g. Mi piace fare il mediatore linguistico perché mi viene data responsabilità					
h. Fare il mediatore linguistico mi ha aiutato a migliorare l'italiano					
i. La mediazione linguistica ha fatto sì che i miei genitori dipendessero di più da me					
j. La mediazione linguistica mi ha aiutato a diventare una persona più matura e indipendente					
k. La mediazione linguistica ha aiutato i miei genitori a diventare più indipendenti					
l. Fare il mediatore linguistico mi ha aiutato a migliorare la lingua dei miei genitori					
m. La mediazione linguistica mi ha fatto acquisire competenze sull'Italia e la cultura italiana					

	perfettamente d'accordo	d' accordo	Incerto	in disaccordo	in assoluto disaccordo
n. La mediazione linguistica mi ha fatto venire voglia di conoscere meglio il paese dei miei genitori e di visitarlo					
o. Preferirei che i miei genitori parlassero italiano senza aver bisogno del mio aiuto					
p. L'attività di mediatore ha influenzato la scelta dei miei studi					
q. La conoscenza delle lingue e l'attività di mediatore sono utili per il lavoro che farò					
r. L'attività di mediatore linguistico mi ha stimolato a continuare lo studio delle lingue					
s. L'attività di mediatore linguistico ha migliorato il mio andamento scolastico					
t. La mediazione linguistica mi ha fatto pensare di diventare un traduttore /mediatore da grande					

37. Come ti senti quando traduci nelle seguenti situazioni?

	Molto a disagio	A disagio	Incerto	A mio agio	Molto a mio agio	Non ho mai tradotto
A casa						
Nei negozi/supermercati						
A scuola con gli insegnanti						
In uffici pubblici (posta, comune, banca)						
Dal medico/In ospedale						
In tribunale						
Altro (dire dove)………						

38. Perché ti senti a tuo agio in certe situazioni?
_____
_____

39. Perché ti senti a disagio in certe situazioni?
_____
_____

40. Quali sono i vantaggi, se ci sono, nell'avere svolto attività di mediatore linguistico?
_____
_____

41. Quali sono gli svantaggi, se ci sono, nell'avere svolto attività di mediatore linguistico?
_____
_____

Grazie per la partecipazione!

Appendix 2

Domande per le interviste

1. Raccontami di te e della tua famiglia

2. Hai mai aiutato i tuoi familiari e/o altre persone traducendo per loro?

3. Ti ricordi di una situazione in cui hai tradotto per i tuoi familiari e/o altre persone?

4. Cosa fai quando non sai tradurre una o più parole?

5. Come ti senti quando aiuti qualcuno traducendo?

6. Quali sono i vantaggi e gli svantaggi nel tradurre?

7. Perché chiedono aiuto a te? Anche i tuoi fratelli e/o sorelle traducono?

8. Il rapporto coi tuoi genitori è cambiato?

9. Ti capita di decidere di non tradurre qualcosa?

10. Vuoi raccontarmi o aggiungere qualcos'altro?

Appendix 3

Convenzioni di trascrizione

Le convenzioni adottate si rifanno al sistema elaborato da Jefferson, personalmente riadattate. I simboli utilizzati corrispondono ai seguenti fenomeni del parlato:

Simbolo	Fenomeno
>testo<	Accelerato
<testo>	Rallentato
testo	Enfasi particolare
°testo°	Volume basso
TESTO	Volume alto
test-	Troncatura di un suono
'	Omissione di un suono o normale contrazione
te::sto	Prolungamento di un suono
.	Intonazione discendente, conclusiva
,	Intonazione continuativa
?	Intonazione ascendente
!	Intonazione animata
=	Turno prodotto in modo continuo (anche se, per ragioni di spazio grafico, viene rappresentato in due righe diverse) o continuità tra parole all'interno di uno stesso turno = testo: allacciato al turno precedente Testo = : allacciato al turno seguente
[testo]	Sovrapposizioni tra parlanti
[[testo	Partenze simultanee di turni di parola/ inizio di conversazione parallela
(testo)	Espressioni/trascrizione dubbie
(xxxx)	Espressioni inudibili o incomprensibili
((*testo*))	Annotazioni in corsivo sui comportamenti non verbali
$testo$	Discorso pronunciato ridendo
/	Enunciato interrotto o non concluso
(.)	Pausa lunga meno di un secondo
(1,00)	Pausa lunga 1 secondo (un numero diverso indica la lunghezza in secondi della pausavuota)
haha hehe hihi	Risate

Appendix 4

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI INTERDISCIPLINARI SU TRADUZIONE, LINGUE E CULTURE

MODULO PER IL CONSENSO INFORMATO DEI SOGGETTI COINVOLTI NELLA RICERCA

<u>TITOLO PROVVISORIO DEL PROGETTO DI RICERCA:</u> Child Language Brokering: il ruolo dei giovani mediatori in una società sempre più multiculturale

<u>DESCRIZIONE DEL PROGETTO:</u> Il progetto di tesi di dottorato condotto dalla dottoressa Ceccoli Federica mira a descrivere le attività di traduzione e mediazione interlinguistica e interculturale da parte di bambini ed adolescenti in contesti scolastici e istituzionali. Tale studio si propone di analizzare, attraverso la compilazione di un questionario anonimo ed eventuale intervista di gruppo successiva, la diffusione di questo fenomeno, le strategie traduttive utilizzate e le opinioni dei ragazzi su questa attività.

****

Il presente modulo attesta la partecipazione volontaria e gratuita al progetto di studio.
Il modulo viene compilato e firmato in duplice copia da intervistato e intervistatore. Una delle copie sarà consegnata all'intervistato e l'altra conservata presso il Dipartimento di Studi Interdisciplinari su Traduzione, Lingue e Culture (SITLeC) dell'Università di Bologna, sede di Forlì, in Corso Diaz 64 a Forlì.

<u>CONSENSO VOLONTARIO</u>

Con la presente, il/la sottoscritto/a
_____

autorizza il/la proprio/a figlio/a
_____

a compilare il questionario nell'ambito del progetto di cui sopra **ad esclusivi scopi di ricerca**.

La dottoranda Ceccoli Federica, si impegna a:

- rispettare la natura confidenziale dei dati;
- garantire l'anonimato dei partecipanti coinvolti e degli enti che questi rappresentano in tutte le trascrizioni e in qualsivoglia pubblicazione nella quale vengano presentati i risultati della ricerca;
- cancellare o rendere inintelligibili tutti i riferimenti a luoghi e persone nel caso in cui le registrazioni fossero utilizzate in convegni, seminari o altri incontri di tipo accademico;
- fornire al/alla sottoscritto/a informazioni e documentazione supplementari relative alla ricerca.

Tali misure garantiranno la riservatezza di tutti i dati personali ai sensi del D. Lgs. 196/2003 e successive modifiche.

Data _____

Firma _____   Firma del ricercatore _____

Appendix 5

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI INTERDISCIPLINARI SU TRADUZIONE, LINGUE E CULTURE

MODULO PER IL CONSENSO INFORMATO DEI SOGGETTI COINVOLTI NELLA RICERCA

<u>TITOLO PROVVISORIO DEL PROGETTO DI RICERCA:</u> Child Language Brokering: il ruolo dei giovani mediatori in una società sempre più multiculturale

<u>DESCRIZIONE DEL PROGETTO:</u> Il progetto di tesi di dottorato condotto dalla dottoressa Ceccoli Federica mira a descrivere le attività di traduzione e mediazione interlinguistica e interculturale da parte di bambini ed adolescenti in contesti scolastici e istituzionali. Tale studio si propone di analizzare, attraverso una video intervista, la diffusione di questo fenomeno, le strategie traduttive utilizzate e le opinioni dei ragazzi su questa attività.

****

Il presente modulo attesta la partecipazione volontaria e gratuita al progetto di studio.
Il modulo viene compilato e firmato in duplice copia da intervistato e intervistatore. Una delle copie sarà consegnata all'intervistato e l'altra conservata presso il Dipartimento di Studi Interdisciplinari su Traduzione, Lingue e Culture (SITLeC) dell'Università di Bologna, sede di Forlì, in Corso Diaz 64 a Forlì.

<u>CONSENSO VOLONTARIO</u>

Con la presente, il/la sottoscritto/a
_____

autorizza il/la proprio/a figlio/a
_____

ad essere video intervistato nell'ambito del progetto di cui sopra **ad esclusivi scopi di ricerca**.

.

      Data _____

      Firma _____   Firma del ricercatore _____

Appendix 6

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI INTERDISCIPLINARI SU TRADUZIONE, LINGUE E CULTURE

MODULO PER IL CONSENSO INFORMATO DEI SOGGETTI COINVOLTI NELLA RICERCA

TITOLO PROVVISORIO DEL PROGETTO DI RICERCA: Child Language Brokering: il ruolo dei giovani mediatori in una società sempre più multiculturale

DESCRIZIONE DEL PROGETTO: Il progetto di tesi di dottorato condotto dalla dottoressa Ceccoli Federica mira a descrivere le attività di traduzione e mediazione interlinguistica e interculturale da parte di bambini ed adolescenti in contesti scolastici e istituzionali. Tale studio si propone di analizzare, attraverso l'audio registrazione di interazioni mediate, la diffusione di questo fenomeno, le strategie traduttive utilizzate e le opinioni dei ragazzi su questa attività.

****

Il presente modulo attesta la partecipazione volontaria e gratuita al progetto di studio.
Il modulo viene compilato e firmato in duplice copia da intervistato e intervistatore. Una delle copie sarà consegnata all'intervistato e l'altra conservata presso il Dipartimento di Studi Interdisciplinari su Traduzione, Lingue e Culture (SITLeC) dell'Università di Bologna, sede di Forlì, in Corso Diaz 64 a Forlì.

CONSENSO VOLONTARIO

Con la presente, il/la sottoscritto/a
_____
autorizza per se stesso/a e per il/la proprio/a figlio/a
_____

ad essere audio registrato durante l'incontro per l'iscrizione al Centro Welcome, nell'ambito del progetto di cui sopra **ad esclusivi scopi di ricerca**.

La dottoranda Ceccoli Federica, si impegna a:

- rispettare la natura confidenziale dei dati;
- garantire l'anonimato dei partecipanti coinvolti e degli enti che questi rappresentano in tutte le trascrizioni e in qualsivoglia pubblicazione nella quale vengano presentati i risultati della ricerca;
- cancellare o rendere inintelligibili tutti i riferimenti a luoghi e persone nel caso in cui le registrazioni fossero utilizzate in convegni, seminari o altri incontri di tipo accademico;
- fornire al/alla sottoscritto/a informazioni e documentazione supplementari relative alla ricerca.

Tali misure garantiranno la riservatezza di tutti i dati personali ai sensi del D. Lgs. 196/2003 e successive modifiche.

Data _____

Firma _____   Firma del ricercatore _____

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