Culture Brokering:

A Qualitative Exploration of Orthodox Christian Iraqi Immigrant Families

BY

SANDRA VILLANUEVA
B.A., DePaul University, Chicago, 2008

THESIS

Submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Psychology
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Chicago, 2012

Chicago, Illinois

Defense Committee:
      Edison J. Trickett, Chair and Advisor
      Dina Birman
      Nadine Peacock, Community Health Sciences

This thesis is dedicated first and foremost to my family – my mother Asdeghik Sorani, my father Robert Sorani, my brother Sako Sorani, my aunts Arev Taroyan and Anahid David – and to my husband, Jesus Villanueva, without whose continuous, unending support and faith in me, this thesis would never have been accomplished.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

SUMMARY

The process of acculturation can be complex, stressful, and overwhelming for immigrant families (Rumbaut, 1994). As such, children are asked by their parents to assist with the acculturation process, often times in situations that are complicated or not age-appropriate (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). This role is often referred to as *culture broker* (e.g., Trickett, Sorani, & Birman, 2010). Culture brokering entails the participation of parents and their children; parents request the assistance, and the children, engage in various activities to provide that assistance. Extant literature on culture brokering has only studied the phenomenon from the perspective of the child, without much focus on the ways in which cultural characteristics, such as the gendered nature of family dynamics, influence the culture-brokering role, or how culture brokering shapes family dynamics, such as the issue of role reversal between the parents and their children. Therefore, the current study explored: (1) culture brokering from the perspectives of both parents and their children, (2) how culture brokering is related to family dynamics, (3) cultural influences that may shape the culture broker phenomenon, and (4) if and how culture brokering activities have changed over time. Semi-structured interviews with a sample of Orthodox Christian Iraqi immigrant parent-child dyads were conducted to provide information about culture brokering that is not presently evident in the empirical literature. The parent and child findings provide unique and often times divergent perspectives regarding the culture-brokering phenomenon. Implications and future directions for research are discussed.

I. OVERVIEW

Migration from country to country has significantly increased over the past 25 years across the world (Beckerman & Corbett, 2008). Immigrants leave their native country for a number of reasons, most often for better education and economic opportunities, sometimes to escape from religious or political persecution, sometimes because of war or natural disasters (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], 2007). During this transition, researchers assert that immigrants experience *acculturation*, the process of cultural and psychological change because of immigrants' interaction with the residents, norms, laws, and institutions of the host country (Berry, 2006; Birman & Trickett, 2001). Acculturation often consists of understanding the language, behaviors, and values of the host country, and learning how to navigate its systems and institutions, such as schools and government agencies.

The process of acculturation can be complex, stressful, and overwhelming for immigrant families (Rumbaut, 1994). As such, children are asked by their immigrant parents to assist them with the acculturation process, often in situations that are complicated or not age-appropriate (e.g., McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Tse, 1995a; Tse 1995b; Valenzuela, 1999). During the acculturation process, parents may acquire some English skills and learn to navigate the systems of the host country, but they might still rely on others, including their children, to assist them in order to assure their understanding of something (Valdes, 2003). Researchers also argue that children learn the language, behaviors, and norms of the host country more quickly than do adults -- skills that are recognized by parents, who in turn, call on their children to assist them (Gardner, 1989; Jones & Trickett, 2005; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

The role in which children of immigrant parents serve to assist in the acculturation process is often referred to as *language broker* (e.g., Buriel, Perez, DeMent, Chavez, & Moran, 1998; Morales & Hanson, 2005; Tse, 1995; Weisskirch & Alva-Alatorre, 2002), or *culture broker* (e.g., Jones & Trickett, 2005; Trickett & Jones, 2007; Trickett, Sorani, & Birman, 2010). For the purposes of this paper, the term culture brokering was used because the activities in which children engage to assist their parents encompasses not only the translation or interpretation between the native language into English, but also the explanation and understanding for the cultural norms of the host country provided by the children for which the parents may not be familiar.

The purpose of the present study was to investigate: (1) culture brokering from the perspectives of both parents and their children, (2) how culture brokering is related to family dynamics, (3) cultural influences that may shape the culture broker phenomenon, and (4) if and how culture-brokering activities have changed over time. The rationale for selecting these topics as important additions to the culture brokering literature is provided. The paper is organized as follows: first is a review of extant literature that provides a detailed rationale for the present study, followed by a description of the methods, results, and implications for future research on the culture broker role.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Culture Brokering – Definition and Descriptive Information

In the acculturation literature from the United States, the terms *language brokering* or *culture brokering* are often used to describe one of the ways in which their children assist immigrants in their acculturation process. Language brokering refers to the linguistic translation and interpretation activities in which children and adolescents engage to assist their parents

(McQuillan & Tse, 1995). Culture brokering, on the other hand, refers not only to the linguistic translation and interpretation activities, but also encompasses how children help their parents learn to navigate the systems and institutions of the host country; this may be different for different contexts (DeMent & Buriel, 1999; Trickett, et al., 2010), and may involve the process of how to navigate various systems of the host country, such as schools, government, medical, and financial institutions (Orellana, Dorner, & Pulido, 2003).

Culture brokering varies widely in terms of activity content, where it occurs, and to what extent children assist their parents, ranging from showing them how to do something, or how to read a document, to the children actually doing these activities for their parents. According to the empirical literature, children and adolescent culture brokers report that their family members ask for help with reading and translating documents, filling out forms/applications, and answering phone calls or doors (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). Children also report accompanying their parents to social services in order to interpret or translate for them what teachers, doctors, government officials, store clerks, and others communicate (McQuillan & Tse, 1995). At times, children culture brokers may even help their parents figure out how to accomplish certain tasks; examples are figuring out where to go to fill out a job application, what information is needed to pay a bill or schedule a doctor's appointment, or what steps are necessary to request a parent-teacher conference (Trickett et al., 2010).

Culture Brokering from the Perspective of Parents and their Children

Surprisingly, the literature on culture brokering has almost exclusively been from the perspective of the child or adolescent. The lack of a parental perspective in the culture brokering literature presents an incomplete and potentially misleading understanding of the phenomenon, particularly because parents are the primary recipients of culture broker activities. Orellana and

colleagues (2003) stress the importance of "listening to children *and* their families, and situating our analyses within an understanding of local power relations, so we can better understand and appreciate the children's contributions to households – without exaggerating their power…" (p. 522). The parent and child perspectives in this study provided insight into the perspectives that are shared and the perspectives that are divergent regarding the culture broker role, family dynamics, including what the parent-child relationship looks like, and what cultural factors shape the decisions made about the culture broker role. In sum, it is important to include the perspectives of both the parents and their children because it may increase our knowledge of the culture-brokering phenomenon and provide a more complete picture than would studying either parents or children alone.

While we have no data from a parental perspective on culture brokering, there are several reasons why parents may have different views than their children with respect to culture brokering. For instance, parents may view the culture broker role as a reaffirmation of their parental authority because they are telling their children what to do, and their children, in turn, are doing what they are told (Valdes, 2003). Parents may also feel a sense of pride because their children are able to effectively communicate and relay information that may be developmentally advanced for their age (Orellana et al., 2003). Furthermore, parents may not realize that culture brokering could lead to children feeling frustrated, angry, burdened or embarrassed by their role (DeMent, Buriel, & Villanueva, 2005). In contrast, some parents may feel they are burdening their children and may express frustration and disappointment by having to ask their children to assist them with everyday tasks that they should be able to do as adults (Weinstein-Shr, 1994). Therefore, the first contribution of this study is to assess culture brokering from the perspective of parents.

Culture Brokering and Family Dynamics

While culture brokering may be beneficial for the immigrant family's acculturation to the host country, there are implications for the ways in which culture brokering shapes family dynamics, including the relationship between the parent and child and the potential for role reversals. Specifically, in this study, two central issues with respect to family dynamics, involve the gender of the culture broker and the concept of role reversal. According to Trickett and colleagues (2010), there are two divergent conceptual views on the culture broker role as it relates to family dynamics. One research perspective views the culture broker role as a form of *adultification* (Puig, 2002), or *role reversal* (Martinez, McClure, & Eddy, 2009), in which the child, by taking on this role, and the parents, by increasing dependence on their children, change the traditional power dynamics between parents and children (e.g., Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Puig, 2002; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Umaña-Taylor, 2003). For example, children are asked to do things that parents are otherwise responsible for doing, making decisions on behalf of the family, as well as having control over what they share with or withhold from their parents (e.g., Buriel et al., 1998; Kaur & Mills, 1993; Martinez et al., 2009; Tse, 1995; Weisskirch, 2007).

The other research perspective views the culture broker role as a normative part of immigrant family life and one of many ways in which immigrant youth contribute to their families (e.g., Lopez, 2001; Orellana, 2001; Orellana et al., 2003). According to proponents of this perspective, culture brokering is not a role reversal, where parents give up their authority to their children (Dorner, Orellana & Jimenez, 2008), but rather an activity that children and adolescents fulfill to help their families, much like daily chores of taking out the trash (Valdes, 2003). Orellana and colleagues (2003) further argue that culture brokers make decisions on

behalf of the family, with their parents, not independent of their input. Studies have also shown that culture brokering allows for the development of a stronger bond between parents and their children.

Proponents of this latter perspective further argue that conclusions drawn by researchers, are misconstrued interpretations because the children themselves do not report role reversal and often state that their brokering activities are just things they do to help the family (Dorner et al., 2008). Although there are certain contexts in which the child culture broker may have more power than his/her parents, the overall parent-child relationship is unchanged (Trickett & Jones, 2007). In other words, culture brokering may not negatively alter the family dynamics, such as the parent-child relationship, or power differential between parents and their children, such as role reversals, but just be a normative part of family life (Trickett et al., 2010). How parents view this issue is unknown. Therefore, the second contribution of this study is to obtain the perspectives of both parents and children to increase our understanding of the controversies regarding family dynamics and the mixed results about the role reversal and adultification constructs.

Putting the Culture in Culture Brokering

As suggested in the term, culture brokering is influenced by and revolves around culture: the culture of the country of origin and the culture of those from the host country. Yet, the extant literature has often failed to incorporate the "culture" of immigrant groups when studying the culture broker phenomenon. Cultural values of immigrants also play an important role in the decisions made about who is selected to broker and whether this selection depends on the kinds of activities involved. First, the decision about who is selected to serve as the culture broker; that is, the older or younger child, the son or daughter, and which child (if there are multiple children

in a family), may be influenced by cultural values. Beliefs about traditional gender roles may lead mothers to treat the culture brokers differently than fathers or female culture brokers may be treated differently than male culture brokers by both parents. For example, Chao (2002) as well as Love, Villanueva, and Buriel (2005) found that Mexican American parents are more likely to choose their daughters to serve as the culture broker, a decision that may be influenced by cultural beliefs about traditional gender roles. However, literature on this issue is very limited in terms of scope and cultural groups involved.

Second, cultural considerations may influence whether or how some domains are more appropriate than other domains for children to culture broker. According to the literature, the culture broker phenomenon is rooted in gender socialization practices of some cultures (e.g., Latinos) (Buriel et al., 1998; Love & Buriel, 2007; Love, et al, 2005). For example, a parent-teacher conference or a mechanic shop may be an appropriate context for a male culture broker, but the doctor's office, especially for the mother, may be a more appropriate context for a female culture broker.

The decisions made by families regarding the culture broker role may also be influenced by cultural beliefs such as collectivism, patriarchy, or traditional gender roles, but these distinct cultural influences are often not reflected in research questions, measures, or in the interpretation of research findings. For example, an explanation that may be appropriate for why girls are chosen to be culture brokers instead of boys for Mexican immigrants may not be applicable to Soviet Jewish immigrants who do not place an emphasis on traditional gender roles like Mexican immigrants (Jones & Trickett, 2005; Trickett & Jones, 2007). Trickett and colleagues (2010) further assert that researchers have not actually tested the aforementioned assumption, but have merely used it as a post hoc explanation for when gender differences were found in culture

7

broker roles. Understanding how culture influences the gender of who culture brokers and where they broker is thus a third contribution of the study.

Christian Iraqi Immigrants – A Culturally Distinct Sample

Because culture plays an important role in dictating human behavior and all cultures are distinct in their own ways (Lonner, 1996), it is arguably advisable for research studies to limit their samples to individuals from one or two cultural groups. According to Lonner (1996), there are four possible levels to strategize sample selection: 1) which cultures or societies should be selected and why? 2) Which communities or groups within each culture should be selected and why? 3) Which individuals within the groups should be selected and why? And 4) which behaviors of the individuals should be sampled and why?

Furthermore, Watts (1994) argues for the use of population-specific psychologies (PSPs), a way in which researchers should base their studies. According to Watts (1994), PSPs emphasize cultural contexts for *distinctive* and *culturally distinctive* populations. Distinctive populations "share a unique pattern of historical experience, physical attributes, beliefs or practices. Members identify to varying degrees with others in the population" (p. 51-52). Culturally distinctive populations "have worldviews based on ethnicity or nationality; transmission of worldview is familial, vertical (from the old to the young through social roles) and generational, as well as horizontal (that is, between peers)" (p. 52). The current study employed a population specific psychologies approach, particularly with respect to sample selection. Based on the aforementioned definitions, Orthodox Christian Iraqi immigrants consisting of individuals from Armenian and Assyrian ethnic backgrounds are a culturally distinctive population and were therefore interviewed regarding their opinions about culture brokering.

Orthodox Christian Iraqi Immigrants

The majority of Middle Eastern immigrants are Christians; though traditions and values often thought of as Muslim (including family cohesion and loyalty), are often upheld by Muslim and Christian Iraqis alike (Nassar-McMillan & Hakim-Larson, 2003). However, there is variability among immigrants from the Middle East, especially in the extent to which they support familism, patriarchy, and traditional gender roles (Cainkar, 1994; Haddad & Lummis, 1987). This variability is particularly evident between Muslim Middle Eastern immigrants and their Christian Middle Eastern counterparts (Read, 2003). Furthermore, research has shown that despite these similarities in cultural values, Muslim immigrants from the Middle East have had a more difficult time acculturating to the United States than their Christian counterparts (Jackson & Nassar-McMillan, 2005).

For Middle Eastern immigrants, cultural influences such as religious involvement have also been related to their acculturation to the host country (Nassar-McMillan & Hakim-Larson, 2003), which may differentially shape the culture-brokering phenomenon for Christian and Muslim Iraqis. Muslim Iraqis adhere closely to their religious doctrines, which emphasize a patriarchal family structure and traditional gender roles of the wives and daughters being subservient and respectful to their husbands and male relatives. Orthodox Christian Iraqis, on the other hand, are more progressive and do not place a strong emphasis on such values.

Orthodox Christian Iraqi immigrants are a persecuted ethnic and religious minority and one of the most recent groups to resettle in the United States. However, little is known about their acculturation process generally, and more specifically what culture brokering looks like for these families. Armenians and Assyrians are distinct ethnic groups who speak different languages, but because they have comparable cultural values about traditional gender roles, (e.g.,

who is chosen to be the broker) and about family dynamics (e.g., role reversal) families identifying with both of these groups were included in the present study. Chaldeans, or Catholic Assyrian Iraqis, were not included in this study because they are distinct in terms of language, religion, and cultural beliefs from Orthodox Christian Iraqis.

With regard to cultural values, Orthodox Christian Armenian and Assyrian Iraqis both place an emphasis on collectivism, familism, and patriarchy, and retention of culture and language (Collie, Kindon, Liu, & Podsiadlowski, 2009; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). These cultural beliefs are also evident in many other immigrant groups, including other Iraqi cultural groups as well as many Latino and Asian ethnic groups who also emphasize collectivism, familism, and patriarchy. However, with respect to culture brokering, these values may be expressed differently for different cultural groups. For example, Vietnamese immigrants may prefer to seek the assistance of agencies and formal organizations instead of asking their children for help (Trickett & Jones, 2007), whereas Mexican immigrants may expect their children to help them as an obligation and contribution to the family (Dorner et al., 2008).

Furthermore, a characteristic of Armenians is that culture is "a traditional family structure that includes clear parental authority, strong family ties among extended family members, and a sense of obligation to the family" (Phinney et al., 2000, p. 529). Moreover, the concept of familism is particularly salient for Armenian immigrant families, "as they tend to maintain close contact with immediate and extended family members on a regular basis, place emphasis on upholding family honor, and maintain that family is an important aspect of daily life," (Bakalian, 1993; Dagirmanjian, 1996 as cited in Phinney et al., 2000, p. 529). Assyrians also place importance on family, education, and respect for authority figures such as parents (Collie et al., 2009). For Armenians and Assyrians alike, children are expected to obey their elders and people

of authority without question, and often live at home until they are married, continuing to assist their elders even after they have moved out. It is also common for elderly parents to later move in with their children rather than live alone or in a nursing home. Furthermore, Armenians and Assyrians emphasize traditional gender roles (Esposito, 1998) and are highly patriarchal, with males having more authority than females, which is evident in the fact that fathers are expected to work and mothers are expected to stay at home with the children.

Although collectivism and familism are important aspects for both of these cultural groups, research has not considered how a collectivistic orientation may be related to the culture broker phenomenon and how these values may differentially shape the phenomenon for different cultural groups. In other words, how do values of collectivism and familism, shape Orthodox Christian Iraqi parents' perspectives about culture brokering and in turn shape the parent-child relationship? What decisions influence what the culture broker role looks like? For example, will Iraqi parents say that their children are obligated and expected to engage in culture-brokering activities given the hierarchical, authoritative relationship between parent and child, or will parents feel there is a reversal of roles, in that they lose their authority over their children by asking them to do things that are considered to be responsibilities of parents? Furthermore, will values about traditional gender roles determine whether the son or daughter is chosen to be the culture broker, or will the gender of the parent affects whether the son or daughter are asked to broker? For instance, will mothers only ask their daughters to culture broker, will there be no difference in the gender of the child, or will it depend on the nature and context of the activity?

Culture Brokering Changes Over Time

This fourth question about whether or not and how culture brokering changes over time, has received barely any attention in the culture brokering literature. However, there is literature

11

to suggest that the longer that parents have lived in a country, the more acculturated they will be, and in turn, will not need their children to culture broker for them. On the other hand, other research has shown that length of time lived in a country is not a sufficient indicator for how acculturated one is to the host country, particularly if immigrants are living in ethnic enclaves, or accustomed to the culture-brokering help they receive from their children. Furthermore, cultural norms about family commitment and obligations may contribute to the ongoing culture broker role for Iraqi immigrant families. For example, Dorner and colleagues (2008) asked such questions of their Mexican-American adolescent participants to understand if and how the culture-brokering phenomenon changed over time. Likewise, the current study also asked parents and children questions to gauge these changes, if any, in culture brokering activities as the parents became more acculturated and as their children grew older.

In sum, the present study is important and needed for several reasons. First, the extant literature is skewed because perspectives of parents and culture brokers have not been studied to identify similarities and/or discrepancies in views about the culture-brokering phenomenon. Second, the ways in which culture brokering may influence family dynamics and family relationships has not been explicitly studied, but merely presented in discussion sections as an afterthought or post hoc explanation. Third, cultural influences that may shape the culture broker phenomenon have been limited in scope and cultural groups. Lastly, the ways in which culture brokering may change over time have also not been explored in the extant literature.

III. METHODS

Participant Recruitment and Sampling

The purpose of the current study was to gain multiple perspectives about the culture-brokering phenomenon. Therefore, a convenience sample of 20 participants, consisting of 10

parents and 10 children identified by the families as the culture broker, were recruited from two churches in Illinois, where many Armenian and Assyrian Iraqi immigrants congregate for religious and social purposes. I attended church mass, social gatherings after mass, and other church events to inform parents and children about the study and to request their participation. This sample size was appropriate for semi-structured interviews in order to reach saturation, or when no new information is obtained from the participants' responses (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

In addition to the sample consisting of Iraqi immigrants, the participants identified as Orthodox Christian Iraqis of either Armenian or Assyrian ethnic backgrounds. Because this study was trying to understand culture brokering from the perspectives of parents and their children, the adult participants had to have at least one child who was old enough to read, write, and convey information to his/her parents, between the ages of 9 and 29 at the time of the interviews. As such, the parents can have lived in this country for 29 years or longer if they arrived to the United States before their children were born. According to the literature (Birman & Trickett, 2001; Celano & Tyler, 1991), the number of years that one has lived in a country does not necessarily determine one's level of acculturation, especially because the current sample resides in an ethnic enclave where the need to learn English and norms of the U.S. are not imperative. Thus, their children are more likely to engage in culture-brokering activities at the time of the interview.

The children could have been born in the United States, or born in Iraq and then immigrated to the United States when they were young, as long as they were able to read, write, and convey information in English, which are all required to some extent, for culture-brokering activities. There was no gender exclusion of participants; both male and female children were

interviewed, providing insight into how gender influenced the culture-brokering role. Of the 10 children and 10 parents interviewed, there were 5 family units (a parent and child from the same family); 5 independent children; and 5 independent parents who were interviewed. Even though there were independent members of a family interviewed, questions about family dynamics were still asked. Specifically, the final sample consisted of 3 Armenian parents and 7 Assyrian parents, 3 Armenian children and 7 Assyrian children.

Data Collection

I conducted each of the interviews in the language(s) comfortable to the participants (e.g., Armenian, Assyrian, or English), using semi-structured and open-ended interviewing techniques. Conducting the interviews in the language(s) the participants preferred, ensured a sense of comfort and allowed for the development of trust between the interviewer and the participant. For the purpose of this study, all interviews were conducted at a time and location that both my participants and I were comfortable with and appropriate for maintaining the privacy and confidentiality of the participants, such as the participants' homes.

Interviews

For this study, I developed two separate interview guides, one for parents and one for children, based on pilot interviews with Iraqi immigrant parents and children. The individuals who participated in the pilot interviews were not included in the study. The parents and child culture brokers were interviewed separately and each participant was given a participant ID number and a family ID number, if they belonged to a parent-child dyad, which allowed me to identify participants from the same family. The interviews with the children lasted between 30 minutes to an hour and the interviews with the parents lasted between 45 minutes to an hour, on some occasions going over an hour and fifteen minutes.

The interviews for both parents and children were audio-recorded using a digital voice recorder and for each interview, I also took hand-written notes. Prior to each interview, I introduced myself, discussed the purpose of the study, provided the participant with informed consent and/or assent, informed participants that they may take breaks and stop/withdraw from the interview at any time, described the interview format, and asked if the participants had any questions or concerns. At the end of each interview, I thanked the participants for their time and provided them with $10 cash as compensation. Although the interview guide followed a semi-structured interview format and consisted of pre-determined questions, additional open-ended questions were asked of the participants that allowed for further elaboration or clarification of a given topic. In general, the participants were also in control of the flow and nature of the interview. That is, some questions were asked out of the order in which they were originally placed, some questions were not asked, and some additional questions that were not in the original interview guide were asked and used in subsequent interviews. To ensure that participants' stories were complete and thorough, I probed the participants to elaborate on their answers to some questions, to provide more detail or further clarification on their responses. To ensure that I accounted for a complete picture of the culture-brokering phenomenon, at the end of each interview, participants were also asked if they would like to ask me any questions or if they would like to contribute additional information that I might not have asked about in the original interview guide.

Interview Guides

Child Interview Guide. For the child interview, there were twenty one questions focusing on five general topic areas including: 1) general overview questions, 2) culture brokering descriptive information 3) questions regarding family dynamics, 4) questions regarding feelings

about brokering, and 5) questions about cultural influences on brokering. Appendix A.1 outlines the child interview guide questions. All of the participants were first provided with a brief description of culture brokering activities. The first section in the interview guide asked children to tell me where they were born and how old they were at the time of the interview as well as to indicate whether they were Armenian or Assyrian. The second section asked children to describe a time when they had to help their parents do something, who their parents asked for help, with what things, when parents asked them for help, in what contexts, who asked for help the most (mom or dad or no difference), and if there were differences in what the mother asked the child to do versus what the father asked. The third section asked the children how often they help their parents, and to describe an experience when they had difficulty brokering. The fourth section asked children to describe how they felt about brokering (to share both a positive and negative feeling), how they thought their parents felt about asking them for help, and why they thought their parents felt that way. The fourth section also asked children to talk about experiences they had of helping their parents with something even when the parents did not directly ask, and what the children's reasons were for helping. The fifth section sought to determine if there were gender differences in terms of culture brokering activities, as well as to understand family dynamics by asking what the relationship was like with the parents, if the relationship had changed, if their relationship was different than the one their parents had with their sibling(s) who did not culture broker, and what reasons they gave for why their parents chose them to be the culture brokers for the family.

    Parent Interview Guide. For the parent interview, there were sixteen questions focusing on four general topic areas including: 1) immigration experience, 2) culture brokering descriptive information, 3) cultural influences on brokering, and 4) culture brokering and family dynamics.

Appendix A.2 outlines the parent interview guide questions. All of the participants were first provided with a brief description of culture brokering activities.

The first section in the interview guide asked parents to describe their immigration experience, including the year that they moved to the United States, who they came with, and descriptive information about their children such as number of children, their age and their gender. The second section asked parents specifically about the contexts in which culture brokering occurred, what kinds of things parents needed help with, who they asked to help them (if it was someone other than their children), what they did when their child could not help, the reasons they had for selecting the broker, and how culture brokering for their family changed over time. The third section asked parents about how cultural influences shaped the culture brokering phenomenon for their family, including questions about traditional gender roles, what domains were more appropriate for brokering than others, and how these influences might have changed over time, particularly because of acculturation. The last section was aimed at how culture brokering was related to family dynamics with questions asking about the parent-child relationship, parents' feelings about asking their children for help, parents' perspectives on how they thought their child/children feel about brokering, and how these dynamics and feelings may have changed over time.

Data Management

Prior to analyzing the data, I transcribed all interviews (parent and child), incorporating relevant observational information that might have impacted the participants' responses (e.g., body language, facial expressions, and elements of the environment such as distractions) into a Microsoft Word document. By personally transcribing all of the data, I became more intimately knowledgeable of the participants' responses and therefore better able to analyze the data. Each

of the interview transcriptions were protected by de-identifying and saving the documents as password protected files on a laptop computer that was password protected as well and only accessible to me. The interview recordings were stored in a locked cabinet for which I only had the keys. After transcribing the interviews, I then imported the transcriptions from Microsoft Word into Atlas T.I., a software program that allows for management and analysis of qualitative data.

Preliminary Data Analysis

I first performed multiple readings of the interview transcriptions. In general, the first reading was a literal one, in order for me to gauge the content and structure of the participants' responses. The second reading was interpretive, which allowed me to infer what the participants meant by their responses. The third reading was reflexive, allowing me to reflect on her role and biases during the interview process and how these might have influenced the participants' responses. After each transcription reading, I annotated the data, making note of potentially important information provided by the participants.

After reading the transcriptions, I went through each interview again and identified codes (words or phrases) for relevant ideas informed by the literature review or emergent ideas from the data, chunked by participants' thoughts. The identification of these codes then facilitated the development of a code directory, a list of all the identified codes, operational definitions as to what each code referred, inclusion and exclusion criteria for when codes should be used, and examples of what a code would look like within the interview transcriptions. This process was repeated twice – once for all of the parent interviews and once for all of the child interviews, thereby resulting in two separate code directories.

Ensuring Reliability in Data Analysis

To ensure reliability in data analysis, I worked with a fellow graduate student and performed reliability checks to ensure that the codes were representative of the data and used in the same way by both coders. The graduate student and I coded two interviews in total, one randomly selected from the parent interviews and one randomly selected from the child interviews, using the code directory initially developed by me. The graduate student was also asked to reflect on the code directory and provide comments and suggestions for any codes that were missing but needed to be included in the code directory, any redundant codes, and for any codes that were confusing or ambiguous. This feedback was then incorporated into revised versions of the code directories. The coding team then met at local coffee shops to review the coded interviews and to compare their responses. To quantify their level of agreement, a Kappa statistic was calculated and Kappa of .80 was reached after the initial round of coding, which suggested that reliability was deemed high enough to proceed with the final analysis. I alone then coded all of the transcriptions for both the parent and child interviews.

I then used this version of the code directory to identify similar ideas across participants' responses and to develop a conceptual model of the culture-brokering phenomenon for the current sample. Because very little is known about the culture brokering phenomenon from the perspectives of Orthodox Christian Iraqi immigrant families, I also used a grounded theory coding approach for identifying emergent themes in the participants' responses.

Grounded Theory Coding Approach

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory is a methodological approach that allows for the data itself to provide possible explanation for or understanding of a phenomenon rather than using a predetermined theory. Furthermore, Creswell, Hanson, Clark

and Morales (2007) define the grounded theory approach as "a qualitative research design in which the inquirer generates a general explanation of a process, action, or interaction shaped by the views of a large number of participants," (p. 249).

As such, interview responses were analyzed qualitatively using *a priori* codes emergent from the extant literature and research questions as well as a grounded theory approach outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1998) to identify emergent and important themes across interviews. Patton (2002) outlines the procedures for using the grounded theory approach, in which he posits that data collection and data analysis should occur simultaneously. Therefore, the data analysis for the study began after the first interview was completed and the themes and patterns that emerged from the initial interview guided the questions asked in the subsequent interview to address topics, about which questions were not previously asked. In other words, the questions asked in the first interview were often slightly different from the questions asked in the last interview, yet the major focus of the interviews remained the same.

The more systematic approach to grounded theory (Creswell et al., 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Patton, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) has specific steps for researchers to follow when analyzing the data. According to Patton (2002), data analysis for grounded theory consists of three phases, the first of which is *microanalysis*: the process of developing preliminary "codes" (words or phrases that capture the meaning of a small unit of text) that are evident in the interview responses thought by thought (Patton, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A coding team of two researchers, the primary investigator and a graduate student, developed these preliminary codes, informed by the extant literature, and based on the frequency and content of the words or phrases that are present in the interview responses.

Following microanalysis, phase two consisted of *open coding* (Patton, 2002; Strauss & Corbin 1998). Open coding began by collapsing many of the similar preliminary codes into single, more general codes, and categorized them thematically. Open coding resulted in the development of a code directory that identifies common themes, patterns or categories that were analyzed. In vivo codes (Patton, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) are indigenous concepts that are directly taken from the participants' responses and used to create category names, which were used in the development of a code directory. The third and final phase of analysis is *axial coding* (Patton, 2002; Strauss & Corbin, 1998), or the development of larger, more general categories from themes identified during open coding, used for theory development. However, because the current study does not call for the development of a theory, the axial coding process was not included.

Role x Time x Construct Ordered Matrix

After the preliminary analyses, I used a role x time x construct ordered matrix to organize the codes developed during the grounded theory coding process (Miles & Huberman, 1994). A role x time x construct ordered matrix is a combination of a role ordered matrix, a time ordered matrix, and a construct ordered matrix. The role ordered matrix "sorts data in its rows and columns that have been gathered from or about a certain set of role occupants – data reflecting their views," (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 123) and takes into consideration the participant's role, which is "a complex set of expectations and behaviors that make up what you do, and should do, as a certain type of actor in a setting – a family, a classroom, a committee, a hospital, a police department, or a multinational corporation," (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 122). As it turned out, parents had divergent perspectives from the children regarding the culture-brokering phenomenon, thus leading to discrepancies in what the role may actually look like according to

both sides. By including the role column in the matrix, I was able to "display data systematically to permit comparisons across roles on issues of interest to a study, or to test whether people in the same role do, in fact, see life in a similar way," (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 123).

The role x time ordered matrix adds the component of "when something was done by or to people in a certain role." For example, in the interview guides, parents and children were asked about culture brokering when parents first moved to the United States and what brokering looks like more recently. When parents have recently arrived, they might need more assistance or assistance regarding different things than after they have lived in the country for a few years. By adding the time component to the matrix, I was able to compare how the culture brokering activities changed across constructs (e.g., family dynamics and cultural influences) for different roles (i.e., parents versus children).

The constructs that are relevant for the study were also included in the matrix. A conceptually clustered matrix "has its rows and columns arranged to bring together items that 'belong together.' This outcome can happen in two ways: conceptual – the analyst may have some *a priori* ideas about items that derive from the same theory or relate to the same overarching theme; or empirical – during early analysis you may find that informants answering different questions are tying them together or are giving similar responses. The basic principle, however, is conceptual coherence," (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 127). Because there are two primary constructs of interest pertaining to the culture-brokering role: 1) the influence of culture brokering on family dynamics, such as role reversal, parent-child interaction, and feelings about brokering and 2) how cultural values, specifically about traditional gender roles, determine who is asked to broker and by which parent, as well as how the gender of the culture broker may lead to different reactions about brokering, I created two separate matrices. The first matrix was: role

22

x time x family dynamics ordered and the second matrix was: role x time x cultural influences ordered. To enter the data into a role x time x construct ordered matrix, using Microsoft Excel, "the researcher searches through coded write-ups for relevant data…The data entered in each cell are a brief summary of what the analyst found for each respondent in the coded field notes," (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 123). These matrices also allowed me to understand the culture-brokering phenomenon across time and to identify topic areas in which parents and children converged or diverged in their perspectives.

IV. RESULTS

Organization of Findings

The findings in this thesis are presented in the following order to help orient the reader to the across time dimension of the culture brokering phenomenon. First, findings from both the parent and child interviews regarding culture-brokering topic areas that parents needed help with are presented. Next, findings from both the parent and child interviews regarding how the culture broker phenomenon shaped family dynamics, as well as feelings about brokering, are discussed. Then, results about how cultural values influenced who was chosen to culture broker and how views about traditional gender roles had an impact on how children and parents reacted are presented. Finally, how culture-brokering activities may have changed over time, including whether culture-brokering activities ever stop, are discussed.

Immigration History

Of the 10 parents who were interviewed, 5 were mothers and 5 were fathers. Half of the parents arrived to the United States during the 1970s – between 1973 and 1975; three of the parents arrived to the U.S. during the 1980s – between 1982 and 1989; and two of the parents arrived to the U.S. during the 1990s – between 1992 and 1995. Most parents were in their mid to

late twenties when they arrived to the U.S. Only 2 parents – both mothers – arrived when they were 7 and 13 years old. Nonetheless, both mothers indicated that they needed their children to culture broker for them, despite having already lived in the U.S. for at least 15 years. Table 1 provides details about the parents' immigration history, including with whom they came, their marital status, and whether they had children prior to their arrival to the United States.

Acculturation Help – Early Years in the United States

Areas in Which Help was Needed. When parents were asked about their immigration and acculturation experiences, particularly the kinds of things they needed help with in their transition to a new country, all of the parents – mothers and fathers – indicated that they needed to learn the language. According to one mother who immigrated in 1995, "the language, know language, and it was difficult to come to any country when you don't know the language, how is the country run, different than the Middle East and Europe…when you come to a new country, the first thing is important is language. We spoke Assyrian and Arabic, but these languages were not spoken here and we did not know English," (ParticipantID:013). A few other mothers and fathers also stressed the difficulty of having to learn a new language. Thus, learning the English language was one of the most important things many parents needed help with when they first arrived to the U.S.

Two parents also mentioned the differences in culture between the United States and Iraq. For one father:

> "…It's very different, American life and Iraqi life…like you can do a lotta things back home, you can help people, over here everyone is busy and always working, and you can only worry about yourself, your family…like back home we care about the neighborhood, the community, over here I don't even know who my neighbors [are]…I just know they are Mexican, but I don't even know their names. Like back home, like when you go to my neighborhood, I know everybody, about 250 people, I know them all. It's very hard here, but we have to just deal with it," (ParticipantID:007).

When asked what he did to adjust to the United States he said, "Well no one taught me, but I needed to teach myself because I want to stay here, so I have to teach myself. I don't want to be exactly like them, but I was to be about 50%, I don't want to be like back home brain, old school brain, I don't want to be old fashioned and new country, adjust like 50-50" (ParticipantID:007).

Another important area that the parents needed help with was finding a job. For example, one father said that he turned to several different friends and family members for help with finding a job and that "…lotta friends, lotta cousins, they helped me…find job…looking for job…this is a man thing…they come with me, they fill application for me, yeah, and they helped a lot…" because "…they read, they write, they speak [English]…" (ParticipantID:004). For one of the mothers, learning the English language and keeping her job went hand in hand to the point that when, "…first I start, I couldn't tell my boss that I finished my job, I was mute, you know, but little by little, I learned [English] and taught myself," (ParticipantID:005). Often times finding a job was needed for financial stability, a means to provide for the family, and an opportunity to participate in an activity in which other Americans also engaged.

Who Helped? In terms of who actually helped the parents when they first arrived to the United States, the overwhelming response was that friends of the same ethnicity and nationality who had lived in the United States before the parents arrived helped them find jobs, an apartment, and read documents, and fill out paperwork. For example, one newly arrived mother said, "we have a friend/neighbor in back country, they live here [United States]…we call them and they already found an apartment and cooked for us already a meal…we came here, and right away we went to our apartment," (ParticipantID:005). This particular family friend helped the mother and her family to make preparations for them to come even before they arrived. One father also said that he had to, "learn how to pay bills, fill out forms, immigration papers for my

family..." and that "friends who lived here 10 years before me…" (ParticipantID:010) would help him with these various tasks.

Age when Child Began Culture Brokering

Parents' Perspectives. With respect to when children were first asked to culture broker, half of the parents indicated that they asked their children to culture broker for the first time when they were first approximately eight to ten years old. For example, one mother said:

> "Yeah, they were second grade, because in first grade, I still was able to help them, because in my country, I had learned a little bit of English, like ABCs, and we didn't come here like dummies so I knew a little bit, but then in second grade, they started helping and teaching me…I remember they would give me spelling quizzes and that I didn't spell the words right and they said, 'mom not like this, but like this, this is how you spell it'…" (ParticipantID:013).

The other half said that they first started asking their children to broker when they were between ten and fifteen years old. For example, one father said that "…my daughter was 15 I think…before when we needed help we go to social club, when we have something important we asked those educated friends…they help us and after that my kids grow up and my kids do everything…" (ParticipantID:004). When this father was asked why he waited until his daughter was a teenager before she culture brokered, he said, "…well, because they were little and probably wouldn't understand a lot of things…it's not like I could take them to the company and ask them to fill out an application," (ParticipantID:004). Overall, parents sought the assistance of their children when they were cognitively and developmentally able to read documents, understand complex information, and able to explain to their parents what was meant by that information.

Children's Perspectives. Interestingly enough, the children typically reported brokering for their parents when they were much younger, about six or seven years old, when they were first able to read and to write. One first-born son said, "…it could go back to when I was in

kindergarten…[or] as early as second grade, when I had to call the card companies and canceling [my father's] cards when his wallet was lost at the airport when he was in Boston…I remember doing that vividly…" (ParticipantID:012). Another son indicated that, "…at the age of 9 I started reading letters for [my mom], because obviously at the age of 4 I can't read, and then I worked my way up to like writing letters or filling out documents," (ParticipantID:002). Another son, who is the youngest of his siblings, said that his oldest brother started culture brokering because:

> "…Even though he was only 6 or 7 years old when he moved here, he knew enough English to help them get by with certain things like what this means and what that means, even though he was a younger kid…but as like you know, we all got older, and my second brother was born, and I was born, and their English was okay to understand what was going on, but when bills came or they needed to file marriage papers or citizenship papers, they would ask me or my brothers…" (ParticipantID:003).

In sum, children believed their parents were not so much concerned with how cognitively mature they were, as long as they were able to read and write, which is why they indicated culture brokering at much younger ages compared to what the parents said.

Culture Broker Profile – Education Level vs. Birth Order

Parents' Perspectives. All of the parents said they usually identified their oldest child as the culture broker (if they had more than one child) because he/she had more education and therefore more experience and understanding to help the parents. For example, a father who had only one son was asked the hypothetical question of who he would ask to be the culture broker if he had two children. He said, "…well depends, see whoever has most education first, and then I'd ask that child…but, usually go with who is older, like someone who is one day older than you, is more like he is one year older than you, in maturity," (ParticipantID:007). Education level and the type of skills also determined who would be the culture broker in the family. For example, one father indicated that with his oldest son, "he's good to fill the papers, my papers,

27

take care of the papers, these kinds of stuff" because "[he] is more educated…he graduated from college and he's good in all these kinds of stuffs," (ParticipantID:001). Whereas, "the other one [younger son] take me shopping and anywhere I wanna go, he take me…like doctor…talk to doctor, they take me doctor and sometimes when I don't know something they teach me, they show me in life like this you know…" (ParticipantID:001).

Parents also thought that being educated in a particular area was also important, even if it was not an academic topic. For example, one father said that he would:

> "See whoever is most educated first, and then I'd ask that child...sometimes, kids are smart in school and sometimes they are good with their hands, like mechanic smart, if he is smart in school then ask him for reading or writing papers, but if he is mechanic smart, then ask him for help fixing things around the house," (ParticipantID:007).

Thus, for parents, it was a combination of age and relevant skills and education that were determining factors for who would be the family culture broker.

Children's Perspectives. Consistent with the parents' perspectives, the majority of the children focused on birth order, age, and education level as the determining factor for who would be designated as the family culture broker. For example, one daughter's parents, "never really used to ask me before, because I was little, they knew I wouldn't really understand but now that I'm older and I've been through elementary school and high school they ask me more…" (ParticipantID:015). One son also explicitly highlighted the reason why he was chosen as the culture broker instead of his brother: "I think it's because I'm older and I have a better education, like two years is a big difference in school…" (ParticipantID:014), implying that two years of education made a drastic difference in terms of how much help he could provide to his parents. Another daughter also blended age and education level as reasons for who was asked to be the culture broker, saying, "well it used to be my older sister, but you know probably since I finished

high school they started asking me so I'm usually the one they go to now," (ParticipantID:020). Although she was not the oldest child, by the time she graduated from high school, she was educated and mature enough to understand complex topic areas and therefore able to culture broker for her parents. In sum, both the parents and the children shared very similar views that a combination of age, education level, and skills are important when identifying the culture broker in the family.

Culture Brokering & Cultural Influences – Sons vs. Daughters

The following findings address the research question about cultural influences on brokering, and here, two primary findings involved values about traditional gender roles and the importance of keeping culture brokering requests in the family.

Parents' Perspectives. One of the apparent differences between female and male culture brokers was the parents felt that their daughters did or would always help them whenever asked and would drop whatever they were doing to help; however, their sons were more likely to refuse to help the parent, to help on their terms, or whenever they had time or felt like it. However, several of the parents contradicted themselves when asked if the gender of the child mattered with respect to who would be the culture broker. For instance, most of the parents said they would ask their daughter for more help than they would ask their son (even in hypothetical situations for parents who had only boys and no girls). The reasoning was that girls were "more empathetic," "more close to their families," and therefore "more understanding for why the parents needed help." According to many of the parents, daughters have this "inherent" personality trait that makes them a better candidate for being the culture broker.

Overall, daughters are more likely to comply with their parents' requests to culture broker. For example one father said, "with my daughter, whatever I ask her, she has to do

it…[but] with my son, only about 60% he'll do it, whatever I say…" (ParticipantID:004). When this father was asked how his daughter reacted when she was asked to culture broker, he said, "like a daughter to a father…she never refused…never said 'no'…anything I asked her, she said 'okay' and agreed to help me…" (ParticipantID:004). Sons, on the other hand, are more likely to say 'no' to their parents when asked to culture broker. Furthermore, it was not until his daughter was married and had children of her own that this father finally started to ask his son to culture broker for him instead. This suggests that despite the age of the culture broker, daughters more so than sons, continue to help their parents, possibly until they have their own spouse and children, because the value that family comes first is important for this group of Orthodox Christian Iraqi immigrants.

One father also expressed the cultural values about gender he was raised with in Iraq in that:

"Back home it's different, when you are man you take your boy with you anywhere outside…like over there you depend on your boy…you don't tell your boy clean dishes or clean the floor…over here, you can tell your boy clean the floor or wash my car…if you are boy, over there, you depend on the boy…if you are girl, you depend on the girl to do whatever inside the house…yeah no, like back home, when the father tell something like 'do this', if he is doing something, he gonna stop what he is doing, he have to…I'm not saying they don't have respect, they have respect and they [are] scare[d] from the dad…here they answer the dad back…over there, one time I was 20 years old, my dad hit me in front of my friends because he thought I raised my voice at him…" (ParticipantID:007).

Another mother, who had two sons, expressed the sentiment that there is an inherent quality that daughters possess which makes them the better candidate for culture broker. Thus if she had a daughter, there might be a difference in the kinds of things she would ask her about and the type of relationship she would have with her such that:

"I would teach her not to make a mistake when dating a boy, not to make a mistake and be pregnant, but it's not the same fear for a son…boys are more free than girls…so if I had a daughter, that's the only difference, other than that, I don't think there would be a difference in who I ask for help…girls are closer to

the father and mother, and there is something about a girl, she is more empathetic and understanding and will help her family more because she feels bad, but a son, a boy, won't really care too much…" (ParticipantID:013).

In summary, nearly all of the parents highlighted traditional gender roles with respect to culture brokering. Mothers felt most comfortable asking their daughters for more domestic or feminine areas such as going to the gynecologist. Fathers also believed that culture brokering was the daughter's role and duty to help the family and asked them to broker most of the time. If parents had both sons and daughters, the sons were usually asked to help with physical labor or areas such as home improvement and automotive and the mothers felt more comfortable asking their daughters to go with them to places such as the doctor's office.

However, the parents also expressed divergent perspectives with respect to the gender of the culture broker. Sometimes, the parents expressed the importance of gender in deciding who would be the family culture broker, indicating that the daughter would be better qualified for the role. Other times, the parents said that the gender of the child did not matter, and that either the son or daughter was equally capable of serving as the culture broker and that this emphasis on gender differences was more applicable in Iraq than in the United States. Most of the parents also implied that they got along better with their daughters and placed more trust in them when it came to private family affairs such as money.

Children's Perspectives. Children also recognized that the daughter was more likely than the son to be chosen as the designated culture broker of the family. For example, one daughter said, "Hmm…I guess it is gender, [my brother] is not so charismatic and doesn't have the same type of personality that I do, and I think it's because I'm a girl and he's a boy and he doesn't have those same personality traits," (ParticipantID:019). Another daughter said:

"Parents just view their daughters of being…being capable of doing more, like cleaning and helping around the house and reading and helping them with those

kinds of things…I think it's just as a daughter they view us as like more, it's not responsible, I don't know especially, as a mom they would feel more comfortable talking to us like 'oh you know you're my daughter, help me with this', but with a son, they'd ask them for more physical stuff to help, like 'carry this' or 'take me here, take me there'…I don't know, I think they view daughters as more helpful around the house…" (ParticipantID:020).

One son suggested, "like if my parents had daughters, I mean then it would be just a division of the sexes right there…everything with the dad, boys go…everything with the mom, girls go…and that's usually how it is, it's just like assumed…but I can't say for sure…but it's assumed from what I've seen…" (ParticipantID:003).

However, because the daughter is the designated culture broker for her family, the mother seems to have greater expectations for her. For example, the one time when a daughter was unable to help, her mother told her father:

"'My daughter didn't take me to the store yesterday', you know, that's horrible, and she'll make me feel like I'm the bad child, so I don't like that at all, because she doesn't see what I do for her and that's frustrating…that's why I get mad, it's like why can't you see all that I've done for you, and take that into consideration, consider my lifestyle…so sometimes it's like iffy…" (ParticipantID:018).

These quotes are not only telling of the way that the different children are treated based on the culture brokering role and their gender, but they also shed light on how the family treats one another and how the culture broker feels toward her parents and her non-culture brokering brother.

Keeping Culture Brokering Help within the Family

Some parents highlighted the importance of asking their children as culture brokers instead of relying on other family members and friends. As one father put it: "…because he is my son, I don't want to go outside and ask someone else, I want to keep it in the family…why would I bother others when he is at home with me? And I don't have to drive to my cousin's house to get help if my son can help me…" (ParticipantId:006). Another father echoed this

sentiment by saying, "also, I don't want others to know my business, I don't want my business for everyone to know, so it's better if I just ask my son because he is family," (ParticipantID:007). For example this father said:

> "…One time I went to this guy in the immigration office so he could fill out a form for my sister to get a green card…we spent like $200-$300 and gave it to him…but the government said that my sister could not come to this country with just a green card…so it's was our fault for not knowing who to go to for help or how to do something in this country...same thing, if I ask my son to read a letter for me, or to do something and he does it wrong, it's not like I'm going to hate him or hit him, it's not anything we can do about it…" (ParticipantID:007).

Even if his son may not do the task accurately he would still prefer to ask his son instead of an 'outside' person.

Family Dynamics and Culture Brokering

The following findings address the research question about how cultural brokering influences family dynamics between parents and their children, such as role reversal and *adultification*, feelings about culture brokering, respect for parents, and sibling dynamics.

Role Reversal & Adultification

Parents' Perspectives. Contrary to the extant literature, none of the parents indicated a role reversal between the parents and their children culture brokers. However, several of the parents, particularly the fathers, brought up the notion of respect as the reason for why their children culture brokered without questioning their parents' requests. For example, one father said, "well, kids and parents…kids they need to help [their parents]…we need them, and they need us too…of course it's about respect…you respect me and I respect you because I take care of you…" (ParticipantID:006). Likewise, another father also viewed the relationship between himself and his children culture brokers as that of respect. He did not see his role as the father as having control over his children, but rather, "…it's not control…it's respect between me and

them…they are free and everybody got his own life but the important thing is respect…I been good father for them and they respect me for that…now they are paying back for me…oh yeah…oh yeah…it's respect always…" (ParticipantID:001). Another father also highlighted the importance of respect and culture brokering, "…of course, of course, of course it's respect…if they don't respect you, they don't help you. I put them through good school; I spent lotta money on my kids..." (ParticipantID:004).

This father also mentioned that "I am always in the head, whatever I said, they have to do it…" (ParticipantID:004), suggesting the father felt in control and held power in the household. This father treated culture brokering as any other household chore, like washing dishes, and if he asked his children to throw out the trash, or translate a document, there would be no difference. Several parents also said the relationship with their children was one of mutual respect – parents showed their children respect by providing for them and children in turn showed their parents respect by obliging their parents and engaging in culture brokering activities.

Children's Perspectives. This theme of respect, however, was not evident from the children's perspective. Specifically, only one son mentioned the idea of respect when talking about his feelings and his role as a culture broker. He said:

> "It's mixed feelings; it depends, say I'm already annoyed about something, my anger and annoyance would be reflected when I had to help them with something even simple, but in general I felt good helping them out; it's a sign of respect to help them out, but you know there's always the time when you're younger, they're always asking you for help, and you just get annoyed by it because there's something you want to go do instead…but, in general, I felt proud helping my parents out when they needed it," (ParticipantID:003).

None of the other children mentioned the notion of respect. However, although they did not verbally indicate that culture brokering is about respect, several children did state that they rarely, if ever, refused to help their parents with culture brokering.

In terms of role reversal and adultification, although all of the culture brokers were asked if they felt there was a reversal in parent-child roles, only one daughter explicitly indicated feeling that there was. This daughter said of her parents:

> "They're like my kids…they're kind of hopeless…not hopeless, but needy, like I don't know…they need a lot of help, but I feel like umm…it's just like I'm more educated than them so I have to sort of do it, like I have to teach them to get the hang of it, but the communication is not always there, so they can do it next to me, like they still ask me where they have to sign something, it's like come on, how many times do I have to show you?" (ParticipantID:020).

This daughter felt like the parent, and in turn, felt like her parents acted like her children because by brokering for them she was helping them do things they could not, much like a parent helps a child with their homework. However, she qualified this by saying, "they need you and they become needy…it's sort of different now…I used to go up to them and say 'what is this?', 'can you help me?', but now it's like 'can *you help me'*? It's probably more annoying because it happens so often, especially with my mom's stuff…" (ParticipantID:020). However, frustration is evident because she has to continuously show her parents how to do things that she has already helped them do in the past.

Feelings about and Reactions to Culture Brokering

Parents' Perspectives. Overall, most parents reported that they felt comfortable when asking their children to culture broker. However, some of the parents indicated that they had feelings of remorse and guilt for having to ask their children to act as a culture broker:

> "Sometimes I feel sorry for him because I take away his time from him and also I feel sorry for myself because I can't do it by myself and I try to do something by myself but I have no choice but to ask for help with my kids…" With respect to his sons, "sometimes they ask me, they tell me, 'we don't have the time' and they get mad because I bother them…but I tell them I came here when I was older and I couldn't choose both school and work and it's hard you know so they need to understand that I need their help sometimes…" (ParticipantID:006).

For the most part, parents did not really express any feelings about asking their children to culture broker for them because it was the "natural" cultural thing to do by asking their children for help.

With respect to how parents thought their children felt when they had to culture broker, one mother said, "well, I don't think my kids have ever gotten mad at me…but once in a while if they are in a rush and are about to go out with their friends, my kids will tell me, 'I am about to leave right now, but when I get back home, I will help you out'…so, what choice do I have but to wait until they get home to help me?" (ParticipantID:011).

Mothers, it seemed, were more aware of the circumstances of their children's lives and therefore more considerate when asking them to broker. However, this was not the case for the fathers. None of the fathers mentioned that they would have to wait for their children to broker for them or that their children expressed some negative emotions when asked to broker. This finding is indicative of how patriarchal values shape what parents think about culture brokering, with fathers viewing culture brokering as being an activity that their children are expected to do, and children reacting to their requests for culture brokering by rarely if ever refusing to help their fathers, but feeling more comfortable saying 'no' to their mothers.

Children's Perspectives. On the other hand, when the culture brokers were asked about how they felt when helping their parents with brokering activities, the majority of participants said they felt annoyed because they were being bothered. The typical causes for this annoyance were being interrupted from their daily lives, having other siblings who were capable of brokering but were rarely, if ever, asked, and having to repeatedly assist their parents with the same kinds of things. For example, one son said that he has rarely had a positive experience

when culture brokering for his parents, except "…when I don't have to be redundant and go over it and repeat myself…" (ParticipantID:012).

However, some of the children also reported that they felt good about being asked to culture broker for their parents and even understanding about why their parents would need the help in the first place. For example, the same son mentioned above said:

> "…But in all seriousness, as you get older, you're going to realize that things are complicated for them, and as you get older you have a little more sympathy for them and accept the fact that this is it, this is their lifestyle and you're always going to be their right hand person, but I think when you're younger, it's an annoyance, you don't want to do it, you don't want to be involved in it…" (ParticipantID:012).

So despite being annoyed, the children understood the importance of helping their parents with these culture brokering activities.

With respect to how children thought their parents felt about asking them to culture broker, the majority thought that their parents felt like they were bothering their children. Some indicated that their parents might feel ashamed or embarrassed about asking their children to broker for them. For example, one son said:

> "Well, you know, from what I assumed…I assumed they might have felt a little shame, just because…because for me…I feel a little ashamed having to ask for help, it feels like you are lowering yourself just to listen to what someone else had to say, but I think they, at the same time, they felt proud that their own flesh and blood helped them out, they're using the knowledge that they passed down to the their kids to help their parents out," (ParticipantID:003).

Another son mentioned the differences in feelings that his mom and dad experienced when they ask him to culture broker:

> "…my dad doesn't hesitate to ask questions…it's just his character…. he's just inquisitive about everything, and that goes to show how far he's gotten in life being that way, but with my mom, I think she is more hesitant and she doesn't like to burden anyone with the questions, but I mean she also understands that she has to [ask for help]…but no she is definitely hesitant, she doesn't come on direct and forward like my dad…with my dad, like I said, he doesn't hesitate, whether you're at work or out late at night, he'll call and ask you…with my mom, she's

more respectable, she'll wait until you're home so she can have you all to herself," (ParticipantID:012).

When asked what her parents probably felt about asking her to culture broker, one daughter said that she thought her parents feel, "frustrated because they don't wanna…they know they're bothering us…but it's like they don't know so they have to ask us, it's sort of like my dad always says, 'if I knew how to use the computer I wouldn't need you'…it's like if I knew English, if I was born here, and we knew what the hell this crap meant, we wouldn't need you?" (ParticipantID:020).

Bonding Between Parents and Culture Brokers

Parents' Perspectives. Several parents described increased bonding between parents and children as a result of culture brokering activities. For example, one father said that he challenges his son to do more difficult tasks, as he gets older:

> "To see how smart he is and if he has learned new things…so, I tell my son to read more papers or write more for me, or to do things around the house, like electronic things, and he does it…and he gets happy because he was able to do it and I feel closer to him, especially because he doesn't live with me…yeah more connected to him, more close…" (ParticipantID:007).

In essence, this father used culture brokering both as a way to maintain family ties and the family authority structure. One mother also made reference to the different type of relationship she has with her daughter who is the designated culture broker and her son who is not. When asked if she ever asks her son for help, she paused and said:

> "No…no…not at all…I never ask him…we are very secretive with him…my daughter and I…when it comes to me…because he likes to spend a lot of money…he's shy and quiet and wouldn't be good at helping me do the bills or translating for me…[but my daughter] like yesterday she wrote nine checks for me and organized my bills…" (ParticipantID:005).

This quote illustrates the type of relationship that a parent has with the culture-brokering child; namely, that over time, the parent trusts the culture broker with pertinent information that is not necessarily shared with the other children in the family.

Another interesting depiction of the parent-culture broker relationship was described by one mother who said that when it came to report card pick up at school,

> "My younger son would go with me, and one of my sons would even change the story that his teacher would tell him to tell me so he wouldn't get in trouble, but my oldest son [the designated culture broker] would tell me the truth so then I would end up punishing my son for lying to me and for doing bad in school…" (ParticipantID:011).

Like the previous parent, this mother also trusts the designated culture broker more than her other child because she asked for his opinion and to verify claims made by her younger, non-culture broker son. This differential treatment of the non culture-brokering child may lead to a strained relationship with the parent and possible tension and arguments between the siblings. The non-culture broker may feel out of place with the family and in turn feel that he cannot confide in his brother because he may view his older brother as an authoritative figure like a parent or because his older brother would not lie for him and take a united stance against their mother.

Children's Perspectives. The relationship between the parents and the culture broker was not mentioned as much by the children. However, when asked how she thought the relationship that she had with her mother was different than the relationship her mother had with her other siblings, one daughter said, "she appreciates me more…because she's always like 'you take care of me and how I could do any of these things without you'… (ParticipantID:019) and when asked if her mother said the same about her siblings this daughter said, "yeah, she never says that, she just calls them selfish…" (ParticipantID:019). Earlier in the interview, this participant

said that her siblings never help her mother and that, "when my mom asks my sister she will nag her for days, but she never helps my mom out, so then I feel bad and I end up helping her…my brother and sister never help her with anything…" (ParticipantID:019). In general, the culture brokers seem to value the relationship that they have with their parents and the perks that come along with being the designated culture broker in the family, including being trusted and given responsibilities that make them feel like a valued and contributing member of the family.

Sibling Dynamics

When family dynamics have been explored in the culture brokering literature, they involve dynamics between the culture broker and the parents. However, in their interviews, some of the children also expressed their feelings about the relationship with their siblings, particularly with respect to the culture broker role. For instance, one female culture broker said that although:

> "I like [culture brokering] because it makes me feel good about myself and I help my parents…I've gotten frustrated a little bit when my mom and dad ask me to do stuff, and it's like I have a younger brother and sister who are a little older now, it's like as them…I will do it, but you have two other children who can help out also, and so that's kind of frustrating because they depend on me, cause I'm the oldest, the role model and stuff, and it gets me frustrated…" (ParticipantID:015).

One son also expressed how he felt toward his role as the culture broker and how it came out as frustration toward his brother, "maybe like a few times, when they'd call on me, and I'd scream, 'Go call my brother to help you, I'm busy or I don't want to help you right now…'" (ParticipantID:014). Another daughter also echoed this sentiment, that having to be the only culture broker is "…kind of annoying sometimes, and I can't help but be like, you have this other son, you this person who can help you, it's like why is all this responsibility put on me, you know?" (ParticipantID:018).

Culture Brokering Changes over Time

The following section addresses the final research question of how culture brokering changes over time, and whether culture-brokering activities stopped after the children reached a certain age. Culture brokering did not stop after adolescence, however, as parents and children both indicated that culture brokering was still needed, as the children grew older. Some tasks are the same ones they needed help with when they first immigrated to the United States and some are different and more complex. Newer activities include explaining government documents, taxes, and legal papers. However, parents overwhelmingly said they still needed their children to read documents of more difficult and complex content, fill out forms, and translate or interpret for them.

In addition, parents sometimes became selective over time about when and where to ask their children to broker. For example, one of the mothers initially indicated that she did not need her children to translate information for her, and when asked "you never needed a translator or interpreter," she said, "no…No…No…but one time I had to have an operation and both of my children came with me and stayed with me and answered the doctor's questions and told me what the doctors were saying and what the procedure would be like…those kinds of things that I don't understand about medical, they helped me to understand," (ParticipantID:005).

While the scope and topic areas that the parents needed help with may have changed over time, the children continue to culture broker well into their 20s. For instance, one father said that "of course, when you first come you have to learn everything about this country, how you go to work and come from work, what you eat, what you buy, where are the stores, the banks, this and that, you have to learn all one by one…over the years they become more easy…"

(ParticipantID:004), however, "until now I ask for help…anytime if I receive mail, like a letter, my reading and writing very bad, and my daughter help me, or my son…" (ParticipantID:004).

One daughter also echoed this sentiment that she would continue to help her parents even into adulthood, "I'm pretty sure that at the age of 30, I'll still do the same thing, which I'll definitely do, I'm not an Americanized child at all, I would never leave my parents…if they need me, I'll be there for them," (ParticipantID:018). Other children culture brokers also indicated that they still continued to help their parents out. A 27 year old son said, "I'd say myself, for the most part" when asked who the designated culture broker was for his family, even though only recently his younger "sister is transitioning to that [culture broker] role," (ParticipantID:012).

Another son also shed light on the fact that culture brokering does not end when the child turns 18; his brothers were older than him and his oldest brother had been brokering for 33 years. Only recently, as a 19 year old, did he transition into the culture broker role because his father still needed his help (ParticipantID:003). More specifically:

> "Back when my mom, dad, and my oldest brother first moved to Chicago, they usually asked for help from my brother, even though he was only 6 or 7 years old when he moved here, he knew enough English to help them get by with certain things like what this means and that means, even though he was a younger kid…but as like you know we all got older and my second brother was born and I was born, their English was okay enough to understand what was going on, but when bills came or they needed to file marriage papers or citizenship papers, they would ask me or my brothers what does this mean and to help them fill it out just to make their lives simple," (ParticipantID:003).

Another daughter who was 23 years old at the time of the interview, indicated that her mother still needs her assistance and that, "it used to be my older sister [who was the culture broker]…but you know probably since I finished high school they started asking me so I'm usually the one they go to now…" (ParticipantID:020). Likewise, another daughter who was 24 years old indicated that she still helps her mother with culture brokering activities on a regular

basis, despite the fact that she has lived in the United States for about 30 years. Furthermore, the kinds of things that she used to help her mom with when she was 8 years old, are "about the same…she has learned a few more words in English, but not enough to the point where she can help herself a little more…she also started to ask me for help with more complex things as I got older like tax document and medical documents and questions…" (ParticipantID:019). Thus, culture brokering, while most often thought of in terms of childhood and adolescence, is a recurring activity into adulthood for these families.

V. DISCUSSION

Review of Research Questions

The purpose of the present study was to: (1) investigate culture brokering from the perspectives of parents and children, (2) explore how cultural influences may shape the culture brokering phenomenon, (3) explore how culture brokering shapes family dynamics, and (4) investigate if and how culture brokering activities change over time for Orthodox Christian Iraqi immigrant families. Findings from this study increase our understanding of the culture broker role in several ways. With respect to the comparison of parent and children accounts of culture brokering, parents and children differed in their perspectives on a few key areas including role reversal and reactions to culture brokering. Specifically, parents believed that role reversal did not occur, that instead it was respect the children showed for their parents by engaging in culture brokering activities, whereas some children believed that role reversal did occur. These findings shed light on the importance obtaining both sides of a story in order to better understand a phenomenon. However, these divergent perspectives would not have been apparent because the previous literature had only explored the notion of role reversal from the perspective of the culture brokers and not the parents' perspectives as well.

The participants in this study also shed light on how the cultural values of Orthodox Christian Iraqi immigrants played a role in who was chosen to be the culture broker, and how traditional gender roles about men and women informed the ways in which children responded to their parents' requests for help. Specifically, children, in general, were less likely to refuse to help their father, but sons, in particular, were more likely to refuse or delay helping their mother. Furthermore, parents also differed in their feelings about asking their children to culture broker; mothers being more understanding and empathetic to their children's schedules, and fathers seemingly ambivalent about their children's feelings and assuming they did not mind culture brokering. Both parents and children highlighted the value of traditional gender roles in that the daughter was identified as the child who was most often the designated culture broker in the family. These findings extend previous literature in the following ways: they highlight the importance of obtaining multiple perspectives and how these perspectives vary as a function of role (i.e., parent versus child) and as a function of gender (i.e., mother versus father or son versus daughter). Because previous research has not included the parent perspective, these differences and more importantly, substantive additions to the culture broker phenomenon, have not surfaced in prior research.

With respect to family dynamics, the findings from this study extend the previous literature by providing new insight into the relationship between siblings – the culture broker and the non-culture broker – such that there are tensions between siblings, because the culture broker usually has more privileges than the non-culture broker. In the current literature, only the relationship between the culture broker and the parents has been explored or discussed. However, according to the participants in this study, it is evident that culture brokering also has an effect on the family as a system. As such, it is important to further explore these other family

dynamics and how they may shape culture brokering and the family ecology for Iraqi immigrant families.

Lastly, this study contributed to the extant literature by shedding light on the evolving nature of the culture brokering phenomenon; that culture-brokering activities may differ when the parent has first immigrated to the United States and the children are young, compared to the culture-brokering activities when parents have lived in the country much longer and the children are old enough and capable of understanding more complex language and situations. In addition to changing over time, findings also suggest that there is no clear ending to the culture broker role for the children of immigrants; rather, it is a lifelong activity. This has not been previously explored possibly because the participants have either only been children or adults who are asked to reflect retrospectively about the culture brokering they did as children and adolescents or because researchers who, have been primarily interested in outcomes such as depression, low self-esteem, poor academic performance, would not consider these same outcomes to be as problematic for adult culture brokers. It is also important to include adult culture brokers as participants because there are inevitable differences and complexities in family dynamics as well. For instance, an adult culture broker may be more likely to question or challenge their parents' requests than a child; likewise, a parent might treat their adult children with more credibility and equality because they are adults, than they would with their younger children.

Comparison of Findings from Current Study to Extant Literature

Several findings from the present study also corroborate existing findings with other cultural groups. Consistent with the extant literature, this study identified the topic areas that most parents needed culture brokering such as with learning the English language, translating and interpreting in schools, stores, and the doctors' offices, are consistent (McQuillan & Tse,

1995; Trickett et al., 2010). Also consistent with the literature, the children in this study expressed both positive feelings (e.g., Weisskirch, 2005) such as pride in helping their families, and negative feelings (e.g., Jones & Trickett, 2005; Kaur & Mills, 1993; Puig, 2002) such as being annoyed, burdened, or worried that they would provide incorrect information. Thus, the responses of the children in this study supported the findings of multiple studies, indicating that there is no one overarching reaction to brokering by children; sometimes children feel positively about their role, other times children feel negatively about their role, and there are others still who, at different times, feel both positive and negative emotions about their culture brokering role. While the previous literature has explored both positive and negative emotions and experiences associated with culture brokering, many studies have pathologized the culture brokering phenomenon by emphasizing negative outcomes such as depression, low-self-esteem, poor academic performance, as well as contentious interactions between parents and children. This is particularly interesting to note because the majority of research on culture brokering has not been from the field of psychology, but rather sociology and education. Thus, it is unfair to portray culture brokering as this pathologizing phenomenon, given that some families painted a more complex picture, including some positive reactions, some negative reactions, or some mixed reactions all at the same time. For example, some participants who felt frustrated by their parents' repetitive requests yet at the same time acknowledging that they would without question continue to help their parents culture broker. As such, the multiple and complex conditions under which these different reactions occur are a ripe area for research on the brokering role.

The finding that Christian Orthodox Iraqi parents adhere to the same traditional gender roles found in other cultures also extends the extant literature. For example, as in the present study, Mexican American immigrant parents were more likely to choose their daughter as the

designated culture broker (Chao, 2002). However, the current study deepens this finding by explicitly asking both parents and their children not only who is designated as the culture broker, but the reasons for that decision, and if these reasons reflect cultural values. Again, the current study went deeper by asking the parents and children *why* sons may be asked to engage in culture brokering activities in one context and daughters in a different context. Here we found how selective and thoughtful the parents were because of the several factors they considered when deciding which of their children they would ask to culture broker. For example, in addition to gender-specific activities, such as the son going with the father to negotiate at the car dealer and the daughter accompanying the mother to the gynecologist, which is also evident in the current literature (Buriel et al., 1998; Love & Buriel, 2007; Love, Villanueva & Buriel, 2005), parents also considered the education level of their children, the nature of the help that was needed, and the kind of relationship the parent had with their son or daughter.

With respect to role reversal, the findings from this study provided support for a more subtle idea about power between the parents and the children (looked like) with respect to culture brokering. More specifically, the findings from most of the children suggest that adultification or reversal of roles did occur, however, not in the same way that prior research has suggested. Children in this study indicated that they felt like their parents were more like their own children because they took on responsibilities for them much in the same way that a parent would care for the needs of their children. However, there was no indication of children using their role as a culture broker to manipulate their parents into getting away with doing things they were not allowed to do. Furthermore, the parents provided a more nuanced depiction of power dynamics with their children and when probed deeper to understand the dynamics from both parents and children, the findings indicated that mothers more often than fathers felt bad about asking their

children to broker, and that the children knew their parents felt bad, but that engaging in culture brokering activities was about showing respect, not role reversal per se. In essence, the findings from this study provide support for both schools of thought: that the ways in which culture brokering is related to power dynamics is not context free, but that in certain contexts, under certain circumstances, and depending on who is asked, culture brokering may lead to role reversal (e.g., Martinez, McClure & Eddy, 2009) or, conversely, may be a normative part of family functioning thereby maintaining the parent-child roles (e.g., Orellana et al., 2003). What role reversal really means for this cultural group needs to be further explored because parents might be more concerned with not being able to do something to help their family survive, and are therefore not focused on if their reliance on their children would create a shift in power dynamics between them. Furthermore, the children may in turn understand their parents' stress and at times be more concerned with helping out in any way that they can instead of whether culture brokering leads to a role reversal. Therefore, a future research question involves under what conditions these two outcomes occur. These findings suggest that the answer to these questions also depends on who is being asked, under what circumstances, and how one defines role reversal.

The cultural value that Orthodox Christian Iraqi immigrant parents turn to their children for culture brokering assistance, rather than other individuals outside of the family, because they do not want their personal and family matters exposed is another contribution to the current literature. There is no literature from other cultural groups about whether or not they also share this value about keeping culture brokering help in the family versus asking other individuals including cultural organizations and agencies for help. Furthermore, these cultural distinctions influence decisions about what culture brokering looks like for families, including who is privy

to personal information about the family. These cultural distinctions may in turn shape family dynamics because parents may rely heavily on their children if they do not want to seek help from other non-family members. Likewise, the children may have a greater appreciation for and understanding of what their parents have to deal with in terms of acculturation, thereby strengthening the bond between family members. Conversely, this reliance on the children might lead children to resent their parents and parents to feel guilty or embarrassed.

The complexity of possibly family dynamics therefore lends support for the potential of an ecological framework (Trickett, Kelly & Vincent, 1985) which encourages researchers to not only the ways in which different cultural groups may have different views about culture brokering with respect to who can and should be asked to serve in this role (i.e., family members versus non family members), but also how these cultural values may influence family dynamics.

Reflections of the Researcher

According to Bronfenbrenner (1977) and Trickett, Kelly, and Vincent (1985), when conducting ecological research, there often is reciprocity between the researcher and participants; that is, both parties influence each other. This may have been especially true because I had a similar cultural background and role as my participants. According to Maydell (2010), when a researcher belongs to the same cultural group as the participants, he/she may be considered an insider and "an insider perspective has an auto-ethnographic position by default," (p. 3). The manner in which each party is influenced may depend in large part to the extent to which the researcher is considered a cultural insider or outsider (Birman, 2004, *unpublished manuscript;* Colic-Peisker, 2004). While taking on the "insider" role may be viewed as less rigorous and more subjective by some researchers, Greenfield (2000) eloquently argues that when an

individual is conducting research with his/her own cultural group, it is not possible to completely

separate oneself from the participants, such that:

> When one studies behaviour in one's own culture (as most psychologists do), one has *de facto* an insider's cultural perspective…With reference to his or her own group, the insider understands the meanings and motives behind in-group behaviours, (Greenfield, 2000, p. 233).

However, Greenfield (2000) also recognizes that a cultural outsider might also have an

advantage in obtaining information that may otherwise be overlooked by an insider, and

therefore suggests that a "culturally marginal person," may be the best compromise because they

have experiences in both the insider and outsider role. As such, it should have been of no

surprise to me when conducting the interviews, that I would not only have varied responses, but

also variations in the quality of responses because of my shared cultural background. There are

thus, several possible explanations for the variety in quality of responses I received from my

participants. For example, because I share a cultural background with my participants, I was

perhaps granted access to information that others who are of different ethnic backgrounds might

not have been afforded. Furthermore, the quality of responses that I received, particularly from

the parents, depended on the language in which I spoke to them. In her own reflections about

doing auto-ethnographic research, Maydell (2010) highlights the importance of speaking the

native language of her participants because it helped her gain entry as an insider and may have

given a more "authentic voice" to her participants than a non-native speaker (Colic-Peisker,

2004; Maydell, 2010). For example, when I spoke to my participants in either Armenian or

Assyrian, the participants were more open in their responses; they would elaborate and tell me

stories that were rich in detail, often without me having to ask them the question or probing them

for more information. On the other hand, despite my shared cultural and linguistic background, I

am also a researcher and a non family member, and the participants may have withheld pertinent

details from me about the culture brokering phenomenon, particularly with respect to specific experiences and family interactions that they would not have wanted 'outsiders' to know. This possible withholding of information was perhaps most evident when the participants chose to speak English, and I noticed that the atmosphere was more formal, the participants were short in their responses, or they needed to be probed more often for further elaboration – in essence, these interviews were more structured.

What I did not notice at first, but realized in hindsight, was the symbolic significance of being offered tea in the homes of participants, which may have been an attempt by the participants to offer me further entry as an insider, because simply speaking the same language is not enough to be granted insider access, "The insider status…has to be granted by the community," (Colic-Peisker, 2004, p. 86; Maydell, 2010). Drinking tea seemed to be an indication of my acceptance by the participants, and as such, influenced their openness during the interview. For example, I noticed that at the homes of some of my participants, particularly those of the parents, when the participants spoke to me in either Armenian or Assyrian, I would be offered tea at times, and at other times, when the interview was conducted in English, I was given nothing at all to eat or drink. Sometimes, I would be offered tea right away, along with Middle Eastern pastries, and sometimes these offerings would be made at different points during the interview. When parents made such a gesture, I believe I was considered a cultural insider (Birman, 2004, *unpublished manuscript*; Colic-Peisker, 2004; Maydell, 2010).

Specifically, mothers who I interviewed were the ones who directly asked me if I wanted tea, and for the fathers who I interviewed, often times their wife or other female relative living in the house, would offer me the tea. Even for interviews that I did with the children, the mother would often ask me if I wanted tea. Because I share the same ethnic background as my

participants, I was aware of the cultural norms and importance of being offered tea in the Iraqi culture – that of acceptance, hospitality, and to make me feel comfortable in a stranger's home (Colic-Peisker, 2004; Maydell, 2010). I also knew that if offered tea, it would be impolite to refuse and would essentially be an offense to the host who had gone through the trouble of brewing the tea and preparing the pastries in anticipation of my visit.

Although I am not a family member,, the fact that I am a female and a culture broker, again straddling the insider-outsider role (Birman, 2004, *unpublished manuscript*; Colic-Peisker, 2004; Maydell, 2010), might have also shaped the responses that I received from the parents, who, in their eyes, could have seen their own daughters in me, and for this reason, and not because I am not a family member, may have sheltered some of their true feelings about culture brokering during the interview. In contrast, as a female and a culture broker, I may have had an added advantage with my female culture broker participants who were very open and forthcoming with me during the interview and with whom I was able to share my own experiences as a culture broker, which has been conceptualized as "insider's ethnography" because my "autobiographical voice…[was]…inevitably mixed with their voices," (Colic-Peisker, 2004, p. 91; Maydell, 2010).

Implications for Future Research

The research questions that the current study explored have provided several interesting contributions to add to the current literature and the implications of these findings are many. In terms of methodological considerations, future research should consider the gender of the interviewer in relation to the gender of the participants. It seems that the gender of the interviewer may influence the quality of responses that the participants provide, with the parents who might apply their cultural beliefs about traditional gender roles to the interviewer, and with

the children, who may relate better to a researcher who is of the same gender as the culture broker role is influenced, in large part, by the gender of the child.

In addition to the gender of the researcher and of the participants influencing the findings, the age, cultural background, and the role of both parties needs to be considered with respect to the interview process and the quality of responses from the participants (Colic-Peisker, 2004; Maydell, 2010). For example, when perceived as a cultural insider (Birman, 2004, *unpublished manuscript*; Colic-Peisker, 2004; Maydell, 2010) by the parents, I received more candid and rich responses than when parents perceived me as a cultural outsider (Birman, 2004, *unpublished manuscript*; Colic-Peisker, 2004; Maydell, 2010) and solely as a researcher instead of as someone who shared their cultural values, language, and certain experiences. Furthermore, when I shared some of my own experiences as a culture broker, particularly with the children, instead of being more removed and providing generic culture broker experiences, the culture brokers responded more freely to my questions because they felt they could better relate to me as someone who had a similar role and experiences (Colic-Peisker, 2004; Maydell, 2010), whereas the parents might have filtered their responses if they viewed me as one of their own culture brokering children. Nonetheless, this issue of the reciprocal influence of researcher and participant had not been explored in previous literature. However, future research could explore the participant-researcher reciprocity by exploring how the gender of the researcher affects the participants' responses through a qualitative study with parents and children.

Substantively, the findings also suggest that future research should consider the family as a microsystem rather than focusing on individual family members only to assess the multiple ramifications of brokering for the family as a system. Cultural values about patriarchy and traditional gender roles have implications for which child will be designated as the family culture

broker. Also, the reaction of the child when asked to culture broker varies as a function of the gender of the child and the gender of the parent requesting the culture brokering help. The gender of the parent, and possibly how attuned they are to the feelings of their child also has implications for how the culture broker interacts with his or her parents and with other members of the family such as siblings who are not culture brokers. Not only is the previous literature culture-free because it does not consider the cultural values, language, and norms of the participants, but the previous literature is also context-free because it does not include multiple members of the family, and/or treats family members as distinct individuals instead of as part of a family unit. "From an ecological perspective, the nature, meaning, and effects of culture brokering are less contingent on the specific brokering acts themselves than on how they augment, disrupt, or otherwise affect the totality of child and family life," (Trickett et al., 2010, p. 91). Therefore, future studies should include family units, which consist of daughters and sons, as well as mothers and fathers, particularly to get at the notion of role reversal and how parents and children feel about the culture broker role, as well as how these views may affect the parent-child relationship, which may present different responses depending on the gender and roles of the parents and children.

Previous studies have also implied that culture brokering is a school-aged phenomenon because their samples have only consisted of youth and adolescents and have hypothesized a negative relationship between brokering and outcomes such as depression, self-esteem, and academic performance, which may not be considered outcomes that are as problematic for adult culture brokers. However, the present study found that culture brokering never really stops, despite the age of the culture broker, where the culture broker lives, if they have a family of their own, and/or how many years the parents have lived in the United States. The continued juggling

of brokering for their parents and trying to lead their own individual lives as adults, led to feelings of frustration and possible added stress, particularly if these adult children were in school, worked full time jobs, or had families of their own, all of which may be outcomes to explore for adult culture brokers. Thus, to explore how continuing to serve in the culture broker role once the children become adults, future studies should include, as their participants, adult children who still engage in culture-brokering activities. Adult children culture brokers may provide insight into how the culture-brokering phenomenon changes over time, and how continuing to serve in the culture broker role may affect the adult child's additional obligations, including possibly having a family, living on their own, going to college, or working a full time job.

VI. LIMITATIONS

Although this study contributed to the extant literature and was unique in that culture-brokering perspectives were obtained from Iraqi Orthodox Christian parents *and* children, using qualitative methods, there were several limitations to the study design that could be improved upon in future studies. For example, there were several questions about culture brokering that were not asked but may have contributed to a more complete understanding of the phenomenon. Questions about whether the child culture brokers felt as if they were the only people who engaged in such activities and did not know of other peers who were also culture brokers could have provided further insight into how the children felt about brokering for their parents. If children felt they were socially isolated, particularly among their friends, who engaged in culture brokering activities, this would have implications for family dynamics. The children might be resentful toward their parents and not want to culture broker, or may have more frequent

arguments with their parents. Thus, more research on family and peer ecology within which brokering occurs would add to our understanding of its ramifications.

More probing about the lives and experiences of the parents when they first immigrated to the United States could have also painted a more complete picture of what the parents already knew when first immigrating to the country and therefore what they needed help with in terms of culture brokering. For example, asking about their education level and whether they had studied English formally in Iraq would help to explain the extent to which they needed help with learning the language, needing translators, and even finding a job. Furthermore, not all parents were asked whom they turned to for culture brokering help when their child or children could not broker for them, as this would provide insight into how important it was to keep culture brokering in the family. If parents stress the importance of keeping culture brokering in the family, but their children are not available to broker for them, then do the parents get the help they need from someone outside of the family or go without getting any help? In addition, not all of the children were asked about whom they culture brokered for aside from their parents. Some of the children reported that they brokered for aunts, uncles, and grandparents, in addition to brokering for their parents. These additional experiences also may have shaped their culture brokering experiences and perspectives, but has only briefly been explored in the literature (Trickett et al., 2010; Tse, 1996). The ecological framework can be further applied by exploring contexts other than the home, such as school and neighborhood factors, that may shape culture brokering (Trickett et al., 2010). For example, questions about the culture brokers' interactions with peers at school, both culture brokers like themselves, and non-culture brokers, may provide insight into peer dynamics with respect to culture brokering. Questions about where the participants resided, namely if their neighborhoods would be considered ethnic enclaves, could

provide insight into the extent to which culture brokering was needed for these participants. If, for example, the parents lived in an ethnic enclave where the use of English was not needed, then culture brokering activities might be limited or they might be more prominent and viewed as the everyday norm by parents and children. Lastly, the fact that there was only one researcher, a female and culture broker, who conducted all of the interviews, could limit the findings obtained from male culture brokers, fathers, or the parents in general. All of these questions and methodological choices have implications for findings obtained about family dynamics and the way that parents and children feel about culture brokering. Therefore, these limitations could be addressed in subsequent studies conducted on culture brokering from the perspectives of parents and their children.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the current study contributed to the literature by providing a more comprehensive and ecologically grounded understanding of the culture-brokering phenomenon. Interviews with both parents and children shed light on the areas in which parents and children had a shared perspective and areas in which they diverged, particularly about the concepts of role reversal and adultification. The findings from this study also identified the importance of children showing respect to their parents, keeping culture brokering help within the family, how culture brokering affects the dynamics between siblings, and the fact that culture brokering persists even after the children become adults.

CITED LITERATURE

Beckerman, N. L., & Corbett, L. (2008). Immigration and families: Treating acculturative stress from a systemic framework. *Family Therapy, 35*(2), 63-81.

Berry, J. W. (2006). Acculturation: A conceptual overview. In M. Bornstein & L. Cote (Eds.), *Acculturation and parent-child relationships: Measurement and development* (pp. 13–30). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Birman, D. (2004, unpublished manuscript). Research with diverse populations: Reflections of a cultural "insider". University of Illinois at Chicago.

Birman, D., & Trickett, E. J. (2001). Transitions in first-generation immigrants: Acculturation of Soviet Jewish refugee adolescents and parents. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32,* 456-477.

Buriel, R., Love, J. A., & DeMent, T. L. (2006). The relationship of language brokering to depression and parent–child bonding among Latino adolescents. In M. B. Bornstein & L. R. Cote (Eds.), *Acculturation and parent–child relationships: Measurement and development* (pp. 249-270). New York: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Buriel, R., Perez, W., DeMent, T. L., Chavez, D. V., & Moran, V. R. (1998). The relationship of language brokering to academic performance, biculturalism, and self-efficacy among Latino adolescents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 20*(3), 283-297.

Cainkar, L. (1994). Palestinian women in American society. The interaction of social class, culture, and politics. In E. McCams (Ed.), The development of Arab-American identity (pp. 85-105). Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Chao, R. K. (2002, April). The role of children's linguistic brokering among immigrant Chinese and Mexican families. In *Families of color: Developmental issues in contemporary sociohistorical contexts.* Symposium conducted at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Minneapolis, MN.

Colic-Peisker, V. (2004). Doing ethnography in "one's own ethnic community": The experience of an awkward insider. In L. Hume & J. Mulcock (Eds.), *Anthropologists in the field: Cases in participant observation* (pp. 82-94). New York: Columbia University Press.

Collie, P., Kindon, S., Liu, J., & Podsiadlowski, A. (2009). Mindful identity negotiations: The acculturation of young Assyrian women in New Zealand. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*.

Creswell, J. W., Hanson, W. E., Plano Clark, V. L., & Morales, A. (2007). Qualitative research designs: Selection and implementation. *The Counseling Psychologist, 35*(2), 236-264.

DeMent, T. L., & Buriel, R. (1999, August). *Children as cultural brokers: Recollections of college students*. Paper presented at the SPSSI Conference on Immigrants and Immigration, Toronto, Canada.

DeMent, T. L., Buriel, R., & Villanueva, C. (2005). Children as language brokers: A narrative of the recollections of college students. In R. Hoosain & F. Salili (Eds.), *Language in multicultural education* (pp. 255-272). Greenwich, CT: Information Age.

Dorner, L. M., Orellana, M. F., & Jimenez, R. (2008). It's one of those things that you do to help the family: Language brokering and the development of immigrant adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 23*(5), 515-543.

Esposito, J. L. (1998). Women in Islam and Muslim societies. In Y. Y. Haddad & J. L. Esposito (Eds.), *Introduction to Islam, Gender, and Social Change*, (pp. ix-xxviii). New York: Oxford University Press.

Gardner, H. (1989). *To open minds*. New York: Basic Books.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. (1967). *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. Hawthorne, NY: Sociology Press.

Greenfield, P. M. (2000). Three approaches to the psychology of culture: Where do they come from? Where can they go? *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 3*(3), 223-240.

Haddad, Y. Y., & Lumis, A. T. (1987). *Islamic values in the United States: A comparative study*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jackson, M. L., & Nassar-McMillan, S. C. (2006). Counseling Arab Americans. In C. C. Lee (Ed.), *Multicultural issues in counseling: New approaches to diversity* (3rd ed.) (pp. 235-247). Alexandria, VA: American Counseling Association.

Jones, C. J., & Trickett, E. J. (2005). Immigrant adolescents behaving as culture brokers: A study of families from the former Soviet Union. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 145*(4), 405-427.

Kaur, S., & Mills, R. (1993). Children as interpreters. In E. Mills and J. Mills (Eds.) *Bilingualism in the Primary School: A Handbook for Teacher* (pp. 113–25). London: Routledge.

Lonner, W. (1996). Culture and human diversity. In E. J. Trickett, R. Watts, R., & D. Birman (Eds.) (1994). *Human diversity: Perspectives on people in context* (pp. 230-243). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Lopez, G. R. (2001). The value of hard work: Lessons on parent involvement from an immigrant household. *Harvard Educational Review,* 71(3)*, 416–437.

Love, J. A., & Buriel, R. (2007). Language brokering, autonomy, parent-child bonding, biculturalism, and depression: A study of Mexican American adolescents from immigrant families. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences 29*(4), 472-491.

Love, J. A., Villanueva, C., & Buriel, R. (2005, April). *Developmental trends of language brokering.* Poster session presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Atlanta, GA.

Martinez, C. R., McClure, H. H., & Eddy, J. M. (2009). Language brokering contexts and behavioral and emotional adjustment among Latino parents and adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence, 29*(1), 71-98.

Maydell, E. (2010). Methodological and analytical dilemmas in autoethnographic research. *Journal of Research Practice, 6*(1), Article M5. Retrieved [March 8, 2012], from http://jrp.icaap.org/index.php/jrp/article/view/223/190

McQuillan, J., & Tse, L. (1995). Child language brokering in linguistic minority communities: Effect of cultural interaction, cognition, and literacy. *Language and Education, 9*, 195-215.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis, 2nd edition.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Morales, A., & Hanson, W. E. (2005). Language brokering: An integrative review of the literature. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 27*(4), 471-503.

Nassar-McMillan, S. C., & Hakim-Larson, J. (2003). Counseling considerations among Arab Americans. *Journal of Counseling and Development, 81*, 150-159.

Orellana, M. F. (2001). The work kids do: Mexican and Central American immigrant children's contributions to households and schools in California. *Harvard Educational Review, 71,* 366–389.

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

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods, 3rd edition.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Phinney, J. S., Ong, A., & Madden, T. (2000). Cultural values and intergenerational value discrepancies in immigrant and non-immigrant families. *Child Development, 71*(2), 528-539.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Puig, M. E. (2002). The adultification of refugee children: Implications for cross-cultural social work practice. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment, 5,* 85-95.

Read, J. G. (2003). The sources of gender role attitudes among Christian and Muslim Arab-American women. *Sociology of Religion*, *64*(2), 207-222.

Rumbaut, R. G. (1994). The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. *International Migration Review, 28*, 748-795.

Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory, 2nd edition*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (2001). *Children of immigrants*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Trickett, E. J., & Jones, C. J. (2007). Adolescent culture brokering and family functioning: A study of families from Vietnam. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 13*(2), 143-150.

Trickett, E. J., Sorani, S., & Birman, D. (2010). Towards an ecology of the culture broker role: Past work and future directions, *Mediazioni*.

Tse, L. (1995a). Language brokering among Latino adolescents: Prevalence, attitudes, and school performance. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 17*(2), 180-193.

Tse, L. (1995b). When students translate for parents: Effects of language brokering. *CABE Newsletter, 17*, 16-17.

Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2003). Language brokering as a stressor for immigrant children and their families. In M. Coleman & L. Ganong (Eds.), *Points and Counterpoints Controversial Relationship and Family Issues in the 21st Century An Anthology* (pp. 157-159). Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury Publishing Company.

United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees. (2007). UNHCR's eligibility guidelines for assessing the international protection needs of Iraqi asylum-seekers. 1-208.

Valdes, G. (2003) Expanding Definitions of Giftedness: The Case of Young Interpreters from Immigrant Communities. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Valdes, G., Chavez, C., & Angelelli, C. (2003). A performance team: Young interpreters and their parents. In G. Valdes (Ed.). *Expanding Definitions of Giftedness: The Case of Young Interpreters from Immigrant Countries* (pp. 63-97). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Valenzuela, A. (1999). Gender roles and settlement activities among children and their immigrant families. *American Behavioral Scientist, 42*, 720-742.

Watts, R. (1994). Paradigms in diversity. In E. J. Trickett, R. Watts, R., & D. Birman (Eds.) (1994). *Human diversity: Perspectives on people in context* (pp. 49-80). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.

Weinstein-Shr, G. (1994). Literacy and second-language learners: A family agenda. In D. Spencer (Ed.) *Adult Biliteracy in the United States* (pp. 11-22). McHenry, IL: Centre for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems.

Weisskirch, R. S. (2005). The relationship of language brokering to ethnic identity for Latino adolescents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 27*, 286-299.

Weisskirch, R. S. (2007). Feelings about language brokering and family relations among Mexican American early adolescents. *The Journal of Early Adolescence, 27*(4), 545-561.

Weisskirch, R. S., & Alva-Alatorre, S. (2002). Language brokering and the acculturation of Latino children. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 24*(3), 369-378.

Table I. Immigration Experience of Parents.

	Mothers	Fathers
Marital Status		
Married	1	1
Unmarried	4	4
Children	0	1
Yes	0	1
No	5	4
With Whom Immigrated		
Alone	0	3
Parents and/or Siblings	3	2
Spouse and/or Children	1	1

Appendix A.1 – Child Interview Guide

Hello, (*Participant's Name*). Thank you so much for agreeing to meet with me and be interviewed today. As you know, I am interested in a concept that is often called culture brokering by researchers. Culture brokering refers to when children are asked to help their parents or other family members read and translate documents, fill out forms or applications, answer phone calls or doors, go with their parents to places to interpret or translate for them, know what information parents need so they can pay a bill, schedule a doctor's appointment, or what parents need to do to request a parent-teacher conference at school. This is a very typical activity, and many, if not all, immigrant families need their children to culture broker for them at some point in time.

This interview will take about 60 minutes. Your participation is voluntary, and we can take a break or stop completely at any time. Additionally, I would like to audio record this interview to make sure I capture all of our conversation; is that okay with you (*If necessary: the recordings will be kept in password-protected computer files that only the researcher can access*)? Do you have any questions before we start? (*Pause for participant's response*). Great! Let's begin…

Child Interview Guide

Opening Questions
First, I would like to start off by asking you some basic questions about yourself.

1a. Where were you born?

_____

_____

1b. *[If not born in the United States]:* **What year did you move to the U.S.?**

_____

_____

Culture Broker Descriptive Questions
Okay, now I am going to ask you some questions about culture broker, as I mentioned to you earlier. When people first move to a new country, they may not know a lot of things about that place such as the language, the neighborhoods, where to go to find information. Therefore, they may ask family members, friends, strangers and/or their children for help in identifying some of these things or places.

2a. Who do your parents usually ask for help with reading, writing, translating, interpreting, or learning how to do something like fill out an application?
　　　Probe: If the parents ask other people for help, ask the participant to provide specifics, such as other siblings, other family members, friends, strangers from the same cultural group, or other strangers.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2b. What kinds of things do your parents usually need help with?

Probe: Provide examples such as learning how to apply for government assistance, where to find an apartment, how to get a job.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2b.1 Are these examples different from how you first started helping your parents?

Probe: Ask participants what changed and what caused the change, if there was any, in what parents initially asked their children for help with more recent instances of asking their children for help. For example, was it the parents own confidence in reading, writing, speaking in English or navigating the American systems (e.g., schools, hospitals, banks, etc.) influenced the kinds of things their children do today from what they asked their children to do in the beginning?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Now, I'm going to ask you questions about when your parents ask you for help.

2c. When do your parents usually ask you for help?
> *Probe: For example, do they ask for help in advance or spontaneously, in the spur of the moment?*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2d. Can you tell me about a time when your mom and/or dad asked you for help?
> *Probe: Provide participant with examples such as learning how to apply for government assistance, where to find an apartment, how to get a job.*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2e. Where/in what places do your parents usually ask you for help?
　　Probe: Provide examples such as the bank, doctor's office, school, or at home.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2e.1 How are these places different than when your parents first asked you to do things?
　　*Probe: Ask participants what they think contributed to these changes. Did the parents'
　　comfort level change? Or, after a while did the parents not need help with immigration
　　because all of their documents had been finalized?*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2f. Who usually asks you for help the most? Your mom? Your dad? Both parents? Why do you think _____ (parent that asks for help the most) asks you for help so much?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2g. How often does your mom and/or dad ask you for help?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2h. How are the things your mom asks for help with different from the things your dad asks you for help with?
   Probe: Provide examples such as doctor's office versus mechanic shop.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3a. Can you tell me about an experience when you had a difficult time helping your parents?

    Probe: Ask participant what made the task difficult for him/her?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

You're doing great. Okay, now I'm going to ask you some more questions about the feelings that come up when you help your parents.

Feelings about Culture Brokering

4a. How do you feel when you have to help your parents? Have these feelings changed over time?

    Probe: Can you tell me of a time you had a positive feeling? Can you tell me of a time you had a negative feeling?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4b. How do you think your parents feel when they ask you for help? How do you think these feelings have changed over time?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4c. Why do you think your parents feel that way?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Indirect Culture Brokering Questions
Now I will ask you questions about helping your parents when they don't ask you for help.

5a. Can you tell me about a time when you helped your parents do something like filling out a form or scheduling an appointment, even though they did not directly ask you for help?

_____

_____

_____

_____

5b. Why did you decide to help your parents even if they didn't ask for any help?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Culture Brokering Family Dynamics Questions
Thank you so much; you are doing great. I just have a few more questions that ask about what your relationship is like with your parents, especially since they started asking you for help.

6a. What is your relationship like with your parents when you help them or do things for them, such as translating a document or filling out an application?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If participant has siblings…

6b. How is your relationship with your parents different from the relationship your parents have with your sibling(s)?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6c. What are some reasons why you think your parents choose you to help them, instead of your sibling(s) or other family members or friends?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Closing Remarks

Thank you again for taking the time to participate in this interview. Is there anything that you would like to add to what you have already said?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Is there anything that you think is important for me to know about your experiences of your parents asking you for help that I did not ask you about?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Would it be okay for me to contact you again if I need more information or details regarding your experiences with your parents asking you for help?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix A.2 – Parent Interview Guide

Hello, (*Participant's Name*). Thank you so much for agreeing to meet with me and be interviewed today. As you know, I am interested in what is often called culture brokering. Culture brokering refers to when immigrant parents ask their children to help parents or other family members read and translate documents, fill out forms or applications, answer phone calls or doors, go with their parents to places such as school, the doctor's office or the store to interpret or translate for them, know what information parents need so they can pay a bill, schedule a doctor's appointment, or what parents need to do to request a parent-teacher conference at school. This is a very typical activity, many, if not all, immigrant families ask their children to culture broker for them at some point in time.

This interview will take about an hour and a half. Your participation is voluntary, and we can take a break or stop completely at any time. Additionally, I would like to audio record this interview to make sure I capture all of our conversation; is that okay with you (*If necessary: the recordings will be kept in password-protected computer files that only the researcher can access*)? Do you have any questions before we start? (*Pause for participant's response*). Great! Let's begin…

Date _____ **Participant ID** _____ **Family ID** _____

<div align="center">

Parent Interview Guide

</div>

Immigration Descriptive Questions
First, I would like to start off by asking you about experiences you had when you first immigrated to the United States.

1a. What year did you move to the United States?

_____

_____

_____

1b. Did you come to the United States by yourself? If not, who came with you?
  Probe: Ask participant whom they arrived with (e.g., husband, relatives, children)

_____

_____

_____

_____

1c. How many children do you have?
  Probe: If more than one child, ask participant how many sons and daughters he/she has.

_____

_____

_____

_____

1d. Starting with your oldest, can you tell me each child's gender & year he/she was born?
  Probe: If not, ask participant in what year(s) the child(ren) was/were born.

_____

_____

_____

Culture Broker Descriptive Questions
When people first move to a new country, they may not know a lot of things about that place such as the language, the neighborhoods, where to go to find information. I also know that when my family first moved to the U.S., they needed help with getting adjusted to the new country.

2a. Can you talk about the kinds of things you had to learn to do when you first arrived to the U.S.? What are some specific memories that you can describe when you needed help with something after you first arrived to the U.S.?
> *Probe: Provide participant with examples such as learning how to apply for government assistance, where to find an apartment, how to get a job.*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2b. Who did you typically ask to help you do these things? Was there a specific person or place you went to for help? Did you ask family members, friends or strangers to help you with these things?
> *Probe: Ask participants if one person assisted them with all of their different needs or if they asked different people to assist them with different things.*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If participant indicates that child/children assist him or her, ask the following 2 questions:

2c. How does your _____ (*name of child***) help you?**

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2d. Are there times when your child cannot help you? If yes, what do you do when _____ (*name of child***) cannot help you?**
   Probe: As participants to provide me with examples of such situations.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(If they haven't already started talking about their kids) Now I am going to ask you some more specific questions about how your children may have helped you in the past.

3a. There must have been lots of things that you thought about when you decided to ask your children for help. Could you share some of the reasons why you picked your child(ren) to help you do things?

Probe: Ask the participant about how they thought about involving their kids and what kinds of things they thought about when they decided to ask their kids for help. For example, did the age of their children matter? Did the children's gender matter?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3b. I remember that my mom would ask me to help her out with a lot of different things and the types of things she asked me to help with changed as I got older. Could you describe in more detail an experience you had when you asked your child(ren) for help?

Probe: Provide participant with situations such as asking for help with employment, housing, school-related topics, paying bills, finances, immigration, answering the telephone or the door, translating or interpreting, scheduling appointments, going to appointments, filling out applications, or other forms/documents, explaining how schools work, explaining how to deal with immigration agencies, etc.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

3c. Are these examples different from how your child(ren) helped you when you first arrived to the U.S.?

        Probe: Ask participants what changed and what caused the change, if there was any, in what parents initially asked their children for help with more recent instances of asking their children for help. For example, was it the parents own confidence in reading, writing, speaking in English or navigating the American systems (e.g., schools, hospitals, banks, etc.) influenced the kinds of things they asked their children to do today from what they asked their children to do in the beginning?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Culture Brokering Gender Role Questions
For participants with more than one child or participants who have both sons and daughters

4a. When my mom asked my brother and I to help her out with different things, she would ask me for help with things that she would never ask my brother. Could you share what kinds of things you think about today when deciding which child you ask to do something for you? For example, would you ask your daughter to do different things than you would ask your son to do? Are there places or things that would be more appropriate for your daughter to help you with instead of your son or vice versa?

        Probe: Provide participants with examples such as the doctor's office or mechanic shop.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4b. Can you tell me how the decisions you made about who you asked for help have changed over time from when you first decided which child you asked to help you with certain things and why?

> *Probe: Ask participants what changed and what caused the change in deciding which child was asked to do what. Ask participants if gender differences were only important when they had both sons and daughters, or if gender did not matter when they only had one child, or if gender does not matter at all when it comes to culture brokering.*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

*** Culture Brokering Family Dynamics Questions***

Thank you so much; you are doing great. I just have a few more questions, and these questions will be about what your relationship is like with your children, especially since when you ask them for help.

5a. How would you describe your relationship with the child(ren) who you ask to help you do things?

> *Probe: Ask participant to discuss if he/she thinks that there is a shift in power or in roles. Does the parent think that they have more or less control over their child(ren) or vice versa. Do the parents think that by asking their child(ren) to help them, they are giving authority over to their children?*

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5b. Thinking back to the past again, how did you feel when you first asked your child(ren) to help you?

Probe: Ask participants if they felt comfortable or uncomfortable asking their children to do things for them. Did they feel like they were burdening their children? Did they feel frustrated? Did they feel like they lost authority over their children and that the roles had shifted?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5c. How do you feel today when you ask your children to help or do things for you? Have these feelings changed over the years?

Probe: Ask participants about control or authority over their children. Ask participants to describe their ideas and expectations of their children and if this is reflective of their cultural values and beliefs such as collectivism and familism.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

5d. How did your child(ren) react when you first asked them to do things for you? How do you think they feel when you ask them to do things for you now? Has the reaction(s) changed?

      Probe: Ask participants to think about a specific memory when they asked their children to do something for them and children reacted in a positive way; in a negative way. Also, ask parents if they felt that their children took advantage of the opportunity to broker for them by manipulating the situation or by trying to have more autonomy and freedom. Or, do the parents think that their children treat culture-brokering activities as "business as usual" things they have to do for the family?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Closing Remarks

Thank you again for taking the time to participate in this interview. Is there anything that you would like to add to what you have already said?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Is there anything that you think is important for me to know about your experiences of your parents asking you for help that I did not ask you about?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Would it be okay for me to contact you again if I need more information or details regarding your experiences with your parents asking you for help?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix B. IRB Approval

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT CHICAGO

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS)
Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research (MC 672)
203 Administrative Office Building
1737 West Polk Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612-7227

Approval Notice
Initial Review (Response To Modifications)

January 21, 2011; *Revised 01/24/2011*

Sandra Villanueva, BA
Psychology
1007 W Harrison St- BSB 1009, M/C 285
Chicago, IL 60612
Phone: (312) 316-9578 / Fax: (312) 413-4122

RE: Guide # 2010-0770
"Perspectives on Culture Brokering: A Qualitative Exploration of Orthodox Christian Iraqi Immigrant Families"

Dear Ms. Villanueva:

Revision: Includes this text box, which was originally inadvertently omitted but required by the IRB.

> *As previously stated:* **Please submit translations of all study Recruitment and Consent documents via an Amendment after initial approval of this study. Kindly submit the documents accompanied by an Amendment form and include a statement verifying the translator's credentials and the accuracy of the translations.**

Your Initial Review (Response To Modifications) was reviewed and approved by Members of IRB #2 by the Expedited review process on January 6, 2011. You may now begin your research

Please note the following information about your approved research guide:

Guide Approval Period: January 6, 2011 - January 5, 2012
Approved Subject Enrollment #:   20
Additional Determinations for Research Involving Minors: The Board determined that this research satisfies 45CFR46.404, research not involving greater than minimal risk. Therefore, in accordance with 45CFR46.408, the IRB determined that only one parent's/legal guardian's permission/signature is needed. Wards of the State may not be enrolled unless the IRB grants specific approval and assures inclusion of additional protections in the research required under 45CFR46.409. If you wish to enroll Wards of the State contact OPRS and refer to the tip sheet.
Performance Sites: UIC
Sponsor: Department of Psychology Research Funding Award
Research Guide(s):
    a)   Guide; dated September 8, 2010
Recruitment Material(s):
    a)   Adult and Child Recruitment Script, Version 3.0, December 20, 2010
Assent(s):
    a)   Child Assent Form, Version 3.0, December 20, 2010

Parental Permission/Informed Consent (s):
a)   Parental Permission and Consent Form, Version 3.0, December 20, 2010

Your research meets the criteria for expedited review as defined in 45 CFR 46.110(b)(1) under the following specific   categories:

(6) Collection of data from voice, video, digital, or image recordings made for research purposes.,
(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including but not limited to research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Please note the Review History of this submission:

Receipt Date	Submission Type	Review Process	Review Date	Review Action
09/13/2010	Initial Review	Expedited	09/24/2010	Modifications Required
11/22/2010	Response To Modifications	Expedited	11/28/2010	Modifications Required
01/04/2011	Response To Modifications	Expedited	01/06/2011	Approved

Please remember to:
→ Use your **research guide number** (2010-0770) on any documents or correspondence with the IRB concerning your research guide.

→ Review and comply with all requirements on the enclosure,
 "**UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects**"

Please note that the UIC IRB has the prerogative and authority to ask further questions, seek additional information, require further modifications, or monitor the conduct of your research and the consent process.

Please be aware that if the scope of work in the grant/project changes, the guide must be amended and approved by the UIC IRB before the initiation of the change.

We wish you the best as you conduct your research. If you have any questions or need further help, please contact OPRS at (312) 996-1711 or me at (312) 355-2939. Please send any correspondence about this guide to OPRS at 203 AOB, M/C 672.

Sincerely,

Jewell Hamilton, MSW
IRB Coordinator, IRB # 2
Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

Enclosure(s):
1. **UIC Investigator Responsibilities, Protection of Human Research Subjects**
2.   **Assent Document(s):**
   a)   Child Assent Form, Version 3.0, December 20, 2010
3.   **Parental Permission/Informed Consent(s):**
   a)   Parental Permission and Consent Form, Version 3.0, December 20, 2010
4.   **Recruiting Material(s):**
   a)   Adult and Child Recruitment Script, Version 3.0, December 20, 2010

cc: Gary E. Raney, Psychology, M/C 285
        Edison J. Trickett, Faculty Sponsor, Psychology, M/C 285

Appendix C. Adult and Child Recruitment Script

Hello. My name is Sandra Sorani, and I am interested in a concept that is often called culture brokering by researchers. Culture brokering refers to when children are asked to help their parents or other family members read and translate documents, fill out forms or applications, answer phone calls or doors, go with their parents to places to interpret or translate for them, know what information parents need so they can pay a bill, schedule a doctor's appointment, or what parents need to do to request a parent-teacher conference at school. This is a very typical activity, and many, if not all, immigrant families need their children to culture broker for them at some point in time.

I would like to conduct interviews with parents and their children to understand what they think about culture brokering. Interviews with children will take about 60 minutes and interviews with parents will take about 90 minutes. Your participation is voluntary, and we can take a break or stop completely at any time. Would you be interested in participating in this study? *(If yes, provide participant with informed consent form)*. Will you allow your child to participate in this study? *(If yes, provide participant with consent form. If child is present, ask child directly if they would be interested in participating in the study and give the assent form to child. If child is not present, give assent form to parent and ask the parent to have the child sign the form and the primary investigator will obtain the assent form prior to the interview).*

SANDRA SORANI-VILLANUEVA

8255 Skokie Boulevard Unit 502 | Skokie, IL 60077
Phone: 312-882-2610 | E-mail: svilla26@uic.edu

EDUCATION

University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, Illinois
      Doctoral Student in Psychology
      Program: Community & Prevention Research

DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois
      Magna cum Laude
      Bachelor of Arts in Psychology
      Field of Concentration: Community Psychology
      Degree Conferred: June 2008

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant, National Police Research Platform [May 2011 – December 2011]
      University of Illinois at Chicago
      Department of Criminology, Law & Justice

For an Institute of Justice funded grant, headed by Dr. Dennis Rosenbaum, I performed data entry, management and analysis tasks using SPSS syntax commands for several datasets including various time periods, and participants. I also created PowerPoint presentations reporting various data statistics. I helped to draft reports for the project to be submitted to the Institute of Justice. I also helped to write and edit a book chapter about the National Police Research Platform Project.

Research Assistant, Center for Capacity Building on Minorities with Disabilities Research (CCBMDR) – Spinal Cord Injury Peer Mentoring Program [August 2009 – January 2010]
      University of Illinois at Chicago
      Department of Disabilities and Human Development

For an ARRA-funded evaluation, headed by Dr. Fabricio Balcazar, I performed data entry, management, and analysis tasks. I assisted in the development of measures and questionnaires to use for the peer- mentoring program. I co-facilitated trainings for potential peer mentors for the three partnership sites. I conducted literature searches and co-wrote the IRB application for the evaluation of the peer mentoring program

Research Assistant, Schools and Families Educating Children [May 2009 – August 2009]
        University of Illinois at Chicago
        Psychiatry Department – Institute for Juvenile Research

Performed data management tasks for the SAFE Children study, a longitudinal, between-subjects intervention, aimed at identifying antisocial behavior, substance abuse, and poor school performance among inner-city children from the perspective of their parents, teachers, and the children themselves, headed by Dr. David Henry and Dr. Michael Schoeny. I navigated multiple databases simultaneously to create, manage, and troubleshoot datasets, using Microsoft Excel, Microsoft Access, SPSS, Ci3 Sawtooth, under the supervision of Dr. Michael Schoeny and Dr. David Henry. I accumulated participant surveys into compatible data using Ci3 Sawtooth software, created syntax documents to import/export, run measures, and "clean" datasets in SPSS and created spreadsheets, queries, and tables in Microsoft Excel and Access to manage all participant information.

Research Assistant, School Transition Evaluation Project [June 2007 – August 2008]
        DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois
        Honors in Psychology Thesis

Conducted graduate level research under the guidance and support of Dr. Susan McMahon and Ronald Crouch on the teachers' perceptions of the problems that students with disabilities experienced in a transition from a school that primarily served students with disabilities to integrated schools and how these problems were resolved. I performed qualitative data analyses using Kappa checking statistical tools. I transcribed open-ended and semi-structured interviews into word processing documents. Analyzed open-ended responses from a questionnaire administered to teachers using NVivo, a qualitative statistical software program. I attended weekly individual meetings with mentors and weekly project meetings. Produced a final research paper and submitted for course credit and for publication.

Research Assistant, Youth Tobacco Access Project [September 2005 – June 2007]
        DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois

Assisted on an NCI-funded research team focused on youth tobacco use headed by Dr. Leonard Jason and Monica Adams. Conducted literature searches on youth tobacco policy. Processed surveys and assisted in data management. Reviewed and edited manuscripts. Analyzed student data utilizing statistical software, SPSS. Conducted an independent research investigation on the influence of parents on their children's intentions to quit smoking. Presented project findings at the Midwestern Psychological Association Conference (May 2007).

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Summer Research Opportunities Program (SROP) Research Team Leader [May 2010 – Present] University of Illinois at Chicago

Mentor ten to twelve undergraduate students, across multiple social science disciplines, in their summer research experience working with a faculty advisor. Lead weekly three-hour long seminars covering multiple topics about the research process including identifying a research question, conducting a literature search and review, methodology, ethics, writing, and conference presentations. Facilitate workshops for applying to graduate school, creating a curriculum vita, and developing a personal statement.

Teaching Assistant [August 2008 – Present] University of Illinois at Chicago
  Introduction to Psychology (PSCH 100)
  Research Methods in Psychology (PSCH 242)
  Introduction to Community Psychology (PSCH 231)
  Writing in Psychology (PSCH 303)

Guest Lecturer [August 2011] University of Illinois at Chicago
  Writing in Psychology (PSCH 303) – Victoria Harmon, Ph.D.
    "Tips on Reading Research Articles and Writing Research Papers"

Guest Lecturer [July 2009 and June 2011] University of Illinois at Chicago
  Introduction to Community Psychology (PSCH 231) - Edison J. Trickett, Ph.D.
    "Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods in Community Psychology"

Guest Lecturer [October 2007] DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois
  Community Psychology (PSY 354) - Susan D. McMahon, Ph.D.
    "Qualitative Research Methods" and "Getting Into Graduate School"

SCHOLARLY PUBLICATIONS

Sorani, S., McMahon, S. D., Crouch, R., & Keys, C. B. (*under review*). School problems and resolutions for students with disabilities: A qualitative examination. *Journal of Prevention and Intervention in the Community*.

Trickett, E. J., **Sorani, S.**, & Birman, D. (2010). Towards an ecology of the culture broker role: Past work and future directions. *MediAzioni,* 10. Retrieved from
http://www.mediazioni.sitlec.unibo.it.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Sorani-Villanueva, S. (2011). Culture Brokering Perspectives of Orthodox Christian Iraqi Immigrant Families: Preliminary Findings. 13th Biennial Conference of the Society for Community Research and Action, Chicago, Illinois.

Ponce-Rodas, M., **Sorani-Villanueva, S.,** Jeong, A., & Trickett, E. J. (2011). Symposium: Navigating the Insider-Outsider Continuum in Community Psychology Research. 13th Biennial Conference of the Society for Community Research and Action, Chicago, Illinois.

Sorani-Villanueva, S., (2010). Culture Brokering: A Qualitative Proposal for Exploring the Perspectives of Orthodox Christian Iraqi Immigrant Families. Midwest Ecological Community Psychology Conference, Champaign-Urbana, Illinois.

Belyaev-Glantsman, O., **Sorani, S.,** & Jason, L. (2009). Roundtable: What to do with an undergraduate concentration in community psychology? Midwest Psychological Association Conference, Chicago, Illinois.

Belyaev-Glantsman, O., **Sorani, S.,** Flynn, A., Horin, E., & Braciszewski, J. (2008). Community psychology values: Beyond the textbook. Roundtable Discussion. Midwest Ecological Community Psychology Conference, Battle Creek, Michigan.

Sorani, S., Crouch, R., McMahon, S. D., Berardi, L., Keys, C. B. (2008). Symposium: Educational inclusion of students with disabilities: Resolving the issues. Midwestern Psychological Association Conference, Battle Creek, Michigan.

Crouch, R., **Sorani, S.,** McMahon, S. D. (2007). Qualitative Methods used for the Evaluation of Students with Disabilities Transition into New Schools: School Transition Evaluation Project: Multiple Perspectives on Practice. Midwest Ecological Community Psychology Conference, Chicago, Illinois.

Sorani, S., Crouch, R., & McMahon, S. D. (2007). Educational inclusion of students with disabilities: A review of the literature. McNair Scholars Program Summer Research Conference.

Sorani, S., Adams, M. L., Hunt, Y., Jason, L. A., Gadiraju, P. (2007). Parental influences on their children's intentions to quit smoking. Midwestern Psychological Association Conference.

Gadiraju, P., Adams, M., Hunt, Y., Jason, L. A., **Sorani, S.** (2007). Roundtable discussion: Developing comprehensive approaches for health and wellness among high-risk adolescents. Midwestern Psychological Association Conference.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

International Association for Cross-Cultural Psychology (Member)   2009 -
American Psychological Association (Graduate Student Member)   2005 -
Society for Community Research and Action (Graduate Student Member)   2005 -

ACADEMIC HONORS & AWARDS

Vincentian Heritage Tour Participant, Paris, France   2007-2008
Honors Program in Psychology   2007-2008
Northern Trust Scholarship Recipient   2006-2008
Ronald E. McNair Post-baccalaureate Achievement Program   2006-2008
Psi Chi, National Honor Society in Psychology, Member & President   2005-2008
Monsignor Egan Hope Scholarship Recipient   2004-2008
DePaul University Honors Program   2004-2008
DePaul University Dean's List   2004-2008

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Division Student Representative (University of Illinois at Chicago)   2008-2011
   Serve as a liaison between graduate students and faculty members
   Provide a student voice for decisions made about the C&PR program
   Attend Community & Prevention Research Division faculty meetings

Midwestern (ECO) Conference (University of Illinois at Chicago)   2009
   Managed financial arrangements and budget responsibilities
   Planned and organized conference sessions

Midwestern (ECO) Conference (DePaul University)   2007
   Served on conference committee
   Planned and organized conference sessions
   Assisted in the development of conference program

Egan Hope Scholars Program (DePaul University)
   Participated in Uhlich Academy Holiday Event   2004-2006
   Participated in Misericordia Candy Day Fundraiser   2002-2006

Ronald E. McNair Post-Baccalaureate Scholars Program
   Participated in McNair Scholars Service Immersion Trip to L.A.   2007
   Delivered food to the elderly via St. Vincent Meals on Wheels

Psi Chi, The National Honor Society in Psychology
   Organized DePaul Community Mental Health Center Fundraiser   2007
   Organized Chicago Abused Women's Coalition Fundraiser   2006