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**Erasmus
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**EXPLORING THE COPING MEASURES OF YOUTH LANGUAGE BROKERS:
THE CASE OF DESCENDANTS OF GHANAIAN IMMIGRANTS IN PORTUGAL**

GLADYS LOIS APPIAH

**ERASMUS MUNDUS MASTERS IN SOCIAL WORK WITH FAMILIES AND
CHILDREN**

SUPERVISORS:

**PROF. ANA RAQUEL MATIAS (ASSISTANT PROFESSOR, ISCTE-UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTE OF LISBON)**

**PROF. VASCO MIGUEL DOS SANTOS RAMOS (RESEARCHER, INSTITUTE OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF LISBON)**

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my ever supportive and amazing family. Specifically, my beloved husband (Mr. Sefa-Ofosu), my sweet and great cheerleader grandmother (Tess), my loving daddy (Mr. Addy), my amazing mother (Sweet Berks), my understanding and loving mother in-love (Ene Maggious), sweet sister in-love (Sis. Ama), my grandpa (Grandpa Laud), my brilliant and amazing boys (Henry and Nhyira), and of course my super supportive friends: Mualen, Lisa, Aisha, Berky, Justie, Alice, Asare (Ph.D), Theona, Eunice, Priscy, Akosua, and Sesi. To my supportive course mates who made MFAMILY worthy, this is also for you: Sonya, Freija, Ashley, Daniella, Yosan, Ayshan, Perfect, Shahriar, Kazi, Manal, etc.

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And finally, to all children language brokers out there, this is for you to know that you are not alone.

I love you all.

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O come, let us sing unto the LORD: let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation. Let us come before His presence with thanksgiving and make a joyful noise unto Him with psalms. For the LORD is a great God, and a great King above all gods. Psalm 95:1-3

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Yesu nhyira yen nyinaa...Amen!

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ABSTRACT

Across the globe, young people assume roles in their homes for various reasons. An example of such roles is child language brokering, which is the situation where children take up language translation and interpretation duties to help address linguistic challenges. Existing literature has presented a diverse perspective on children's feelings and impact on their wellbeing. While this is so, cultural understanding of childhood played a significant role in conceptualizing these feelings. Informed by the critical ecological systems theory, the study sought to explore how one's *Person* and social environment can be beneficial in mitigating the impact of the role. Becker's care continuum was also used in conceptualizing the services offered by these children. Employing a qualitative study approach, semi-structured in-depth interviews were used for all eight participants and role playing (drawing) as a complementary tool for the youth. Using four Ghanaian family cases, comprising a parent and a child each, the coping measures of Ghanaian child language brokers in Lisbon, Portugal, were categorized into positives and negatives. The positives included construction of positive identities, engaging in drawings, and sporting activities and sharing of grief with others while the negative coping measures were withdrawal and isolation, wrong interpretation, and pretense. With an overall framing of the role in the context of family care practices, all participants expressed some sort of positive perception about the role. With children continually playing roles, there is a need for the needed support to be extended to them to promote their wellbeing.

Keywords: Coping Measures; Descendants of Ghanaians Immigrants; Impact of Family Care Practices; Language Brokering; Portuguese as Host Language; Portugal

RESUMO

Em todo o mundo, os/as filhos/as assumem papéis nas famílias, sendo um deles o de mediador/a linguístico/a. Essa situação ocorre quando os/as filhos/as desempenham tarefas de tradução e interpretação que ajudam familiares a enfrentar desafios linguísticos. Existem diferentes perspetivas acerca do modo como este papel é encarado por filhos/as e dos impactos que o mesmo produz no seu bem-estar. Os estudos sobre os impactos da mediação linguística são, geralmente, informados por entendimentos culturalmente situados da infância. A partir da Teoria Crítica dos Sistemas Ecológicos, este estudo explora como o indivíduo e o seu ambiente social influenciam os impactos do papel de mediador linguístico. Recorrendo à abordagem do Continuum de Cuidados de Becker, pretendeu-se conceptualizar os serviços prestados por estas crianças/jovens. O estudo recorreu a uma abordagem qualitativa. Estudaram-se quatro famílias ganesas residentes em Lisboa, tendo sido realizadas oito entrevistas semi-estruturadas (um adulto e um/a jovem por caso). A interpretação de papéis foi complementada por desenhos realizados pelos jovens. As estratégias de coping foram categorizadas como positivas e negativas. Os aspetos positivos incluíam a construção de identidades positivas, o investimento no desporto ou desenho e a partilha de dificuldades com outros, enquanto as estratégias negativas se observaram pelo afastamento, isolamento, interpretações erradas e dissimulação. No contexto das práticas de cuidado familiar, todos os participantes tenderam a expressar perceções positivas sobre a mediação linguística. Face à necessidade dos/as filhos/as continuarem a desempenhar estes papéis, é necessário adequar o apoio às famílias e às crianças de forma a promover o seu bem estar.

Palavras chave: Estratégias de coping; Descendentes de Imigrantes Ganeses; Impacto das Práticas de Cuidados Familiares; Língua de Acolhimento; Portugal

Biography of Author

Gladys Lois Appiah is a researcher with interest in working and researching on migration and integration, marginalized populations, children and families, community development, social policy, and International Social Work. She completed her bachelor's degree in social work with distinction from the prestigious University of Ghana, Legon. As an Erasmus Mundus scholar, she had a master's education across three different European universities: University Institute of Lisbon (Portugal), University of Stavanger (Norway), and the University of Gothenburg (Sweden). She is currently preparing to start her PhD in Social Work education in the United States of America.

FORWARD

Positionality Statement

I am a Ghanaian immigrant resident in Lisbon, Portugal. Growing up in Ghana in an extended family setting, I was assigned various roles and tasks by my parents, grandparents as well as other relatives who also played diverse roles all geared towards the survival of the family. One of my roles was the interpretation of the Ga and English languages to my Akan relatives who had no proficiency in any of the listed languages. Also, during my stay in Norway as an Erasmus Mundus student, I engaged Ghanaian children in the interpretation of Norwegian. This interpretation did not only enlighten their Ghanaian family and I about the media report on current happenings. Specifically, the implementation of new immigration laws but also afforded the children an opportunity to provide support to the family. During one of such interpretations, one of the children asked a passionate question, “why do you keep using me as an interpreter?” In response, the mother said, “you are not used as an interpreter, you are only helping the family understand what is being reported”. The different perspectives by which the parent and child considered this task became obvious. These experiences triggered my interest in researching about the concept of language brokering among Ghanaian immigrants as part of my Master’s program in Social Work in Europe. With me been stationed at the University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE) for my fourth mobility, and the limited literature existing on the coping measures of African child language brokers in Portugal, I decided to explore this empirical field. The significance of these experiences to the research is that it makes me either an insider or outsider which may influence my data collection and analysis. As an effort in mitigating any biases and producing objective findings, I approached the field with an open mind.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Migration¹ has always been associated with humans despite the difference in reasons (de Haas, 2021; Hofmann et al., 2020). Ranging from intra-country to across countries, individuals have always embarked on migration-related activities. These activities have led to the categorization of countries into host countries, transit countries, and sending countries (Hofmann et al., 2020). However, most countries, such as Portugal, are simultaneously senders, transit, and host countries of migrants. Factors ranging from war, conflict and insecurity have been known to be significant in driving individuals and families to new societies and countries (Hofmann et al., 2020). Likewise, economic factors have also been known as push factors of migration (House of European History, 2023). Away from these, education, tourism, family migration, amongst others are also factors influencing migration (OECD, 2022). Attractive educational offers², flexible immigration policies, accessible health services, welfare systems, availability of jobs, wide social networks, amongst others, are pull factors that influence migration. Out of the above, family migration and studying are leading factors for migration of Ghanaians to OECD countries (OECD, 2022). Family migration, as defined by Kofman, Buhr, & Fonseca (2022), is the mobility of people due to new or established family ties.

After individuals and families migrate to host countries, the issue of integration arises. Across countries, education, employment, health, housing, political participation, amongst others have been used as integration measures for immigrants. Also, the consciousness of difference in culture and its impact on individuals and groups are sometimes considered during the development of integration policies (Hofmann et al., 2020). Education, as a dimension for integration analysis, does not only cover the acquisition of knowledge on a particular field but can be considered as life learning training (Antonini, 2016).

Expatriating on the relevance of language skills, Antonini (2016) stressed on how linguistic and communication challenges between the immigrant family and the society may arise without knowledge of the language of the host society. This situation is usually associated with families from sending countries which speak different languages as compared to the host country. As a measure in addressing this, linguistic and cultural policies implemented by the host country becomes essential. But what happens when families are unable to utilize the professional

¹ Migration is the movement of individuals or groups either within a country or across societies or countries (International Organization for Migrations, 2015 as cited by House of European History, 2023).

² Attractive education offers such as Erasmus Mundus scholarships which the student is a recipient.

services of interpretation and have no/little knowledge of the language of the host country? How do they get to engage in the negotiation with the public in communication? Bearing in mind that learning a new language can be difficult and even for those on the learning journey, the need for the services of a mediator may arise. Who plays this role of a mediator during this period?

Consequently, the use of non-professional linguistic mediators may become the “norm” despite the opposition of professional interpreters and other relevant stakeholders (Antonini, 2016). With children’s ability to learn a new language faster as compared to adults, (Ghasemi & Hashemi, 2011) they may be used as resources to address this linguistic challenge. Simply put, children of immigrants (with knowledge of the language of the new society) may become the available option for overcoming language barriers in the host country of immigrant families, especially when there are no other resources available (Crafter & Iqbal, 2021; Bauer, 2016), hence the concept of child language brokering. But what is child language brokering? As defined by Antonini (2015: 48), child language brokering is the “interpreting and translation activities carried out by bilingual children who mediate linguistically and culturally in formal and informal contexts and domains for their family, friends as well as members of the linguistic community to which they belong”.

1.2 Problem Statement

Recently, there has been an increasing interest in the consideration of narratives of children language brokers in child protection centered research (Bauer, 2016). As argued by Lansdown (2004), engaging children in research concerning them offers first-hand information which provides a better understanding of their world. Though engagement of children in research is gaining some grounds, their voices are still represented by third parties (Keller and Kärtner, 2013). This practice undeniably challenges the value of children’s narratives (Tamis-LeMonda et al. 2008; Harwood et al. 1997) as language brokers for their families, schools, or other institutions. This may be a likely reason for the limited literature on Ghanaian children’s perceptions on family care activities.

Existing literature on the impact of children as language brokering on the children involved present diverse perspectives (Crafter & Iqbal, 2021). In advancing the positives of children language brokering, Weisskirch (2007) argues that child language brokers cognitive and sociolinguistic skills develop faster as compared with non-language brokers. Bauer (2016) also asserts that the role provides an opportunity for young people to contribute to their families.

Conversely, other studies have established that child language brokering can negatively affect the educational and psychological development of children involved (Antonini, 2016). While Titzmann (2012) takes it a step further and report how child language brokers destabilize family systems and creates a 'role reversal' in its hierarchy, Weisskirch (2017) argues that migration presents new challenges which may call for new family role distribution discrediting its supposed impact on family system. While these studies have made strong arguments, they do not present accounts from current child language brokers and their parents perspectives on how they feel or are impacted by their roles.

While the role may be exciting for many children, research has shown that there are some cases where children have reported of negative impacts. For such children, there may be the need to adopt coping measures (Joseph et al, 2020; Mausbach et al, 2013). The issue of the exact measures they adopt is quite tricky because of its ability to affect other aspects of their lives. With child language brokering being a global phenomenon (Joseph et al, 2020), there has been a paradigm shift from focusing on how the role impacts children to how they can be assisted to manage such impacts (Joseph et al, 2020). More so, acknowledging the possibility of child language brokers adopting negative coping measures, there is a need for researchers to focus on exploring this field, especially from the youth and their parents' perspectives. Specifically, the exploration of accounts of Ghanaian youth in Portugal on how they feel about their role and cope with its impact has mainly been without any scientific research. It can be said that research on coping measures of Ghanaian child language brokers in the context of Portugal is limited in scope.

1.3 Research Objectives

The main objective of the study was to characterize the coping measures adopted by the youth to manage the impact of their role as language brokers. In achieving this objective, the following specific objectives were pursued:

1.3.1 Specific objectives

- To explore the feelings of youth and their parents about the role of language brokering for their Ghanaian immigrant families in Lisbon, Portugal.
- To assess the impacts that youth experience in language brokering for their Ghanaian immigrant families in Lisbon, Portugal.

- To examine how the youth manage the impact of their role of language brokering for their Ghanaian immigrant families in Lisbon, Portugal.

1.4 Research Questions

In addressing the objectives, the study sought answers to the following research questions:

- How do youth and their parents feel about contributing to the family through language brokering for their Ghanaian immigrant families in Lisbon, Portugal?
- In playing the role of a language broker for their Ghanaian immigrant families, how can the youth get impacted?
- How do the youth playing the role of language broker manage the impact of their roles?
- How can the youth playing the role of language broker for their Ghanaian immigrant families be assisted in playing their roles?

1.5 Significance of Study

The study findings are expected to be significant in relation to practice, policy, and research.

In terms of research, the findings will contribute to the growing literature on immigrant families and young carers in Portugal. Specifically, the findings present the accounts of feelings of youth and their parents regarding family contribution, the impact of the role on the youth, and the coping measures adopted by these youth while language brokering for their immigrant families. Also, the findings may provide future ideas to researchers while also serving as a source of information.

Policy-wise, the findings will provide information on how responsive the integration strategies in Portugal are to the needs of immigrant families. It is worth noting the subtle ways in which inadequate language proficiency of migrants negatively impact their welfare. With accounts from migrant parents and young carers, the findings present the reality of how effective these policies are in response to linguistic challenges and promotion of welfare of immigrant families.

With regards to social work practice, the findings will raise awareness among practitioners about the needs and experiences of child language brokers and their families in Portugal. The findings will further present evidence of the outcomes of caring for immigrant families when

they have limited social support to address their challenges. Subsequently, social work professionals may be informed on the form of support to offer child language brokers and their families. The findings will further assess how practice with immigrant children is being carried out in Portugal demonstrating the gaps or strengths of the practice of the profession.

1.6 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is organized in six chapters. It begins with chapter one which introduces the study with a background to the study followed by a statement of research problem. The research aim and objectives are further described. Following this, the research questions are introduced. The chapter ends with the significance of the study. Specifically, the significance of the study is situated in the context of the academia, policy, and practice.

For chapter two, it broadly presents information on the context of Ghana and Portugal in relation to family and language policies and child language brokering. Drawing information from academic literature, State and organizational reports, legal provisions, as well as digital resources, this chapter presents the study with a contextual background. Regarding the specific context, the chapter describes migration of Ghanaian to Portugal, sociolinguistic context of Portugal and Ghana, and family structures and policies in Ghana and Portugal as well as the organization of Ghanaians in Portugal. Also, it presents information on the broad concept of child language brokering. Narrowing it down, information is presented on the feelings of youth regarding their role of language brokering and impact of the role. Concluding, existing literature on the coping measures adopted by child language brokers are also included.

The theoretical perspectives and analytical frameworks underpinning the study have been addressed in chapter three. Employing the notion of Becker's caregiving continuum, the study generally situated the role of child language brokering into a context of care while part of the study situated into the context of parentification. The other theory used is the Critical Ecological Systems theory which admonishes the consideration of unceasing interactions individuals have with their social and physical environments.

The fourth chapter presents information on the methodology of the study. The chapter further presents broad information on the study population, research approach, and data collection methods. In addition, it presents information on the sampling techniques employed, data analysis and ethical considerations.

Chapter five further discusses the findings of the study. The findings were categorized into six main themes. These discussions were also done vis a vis the theories and existing literature.

The study concludes with chapter six (6) which summarizes the main findings and presents implications and recommendations for practice, policy, and research. This summary was done alongside the objectives of the study to assess if the objectives were achieved. It also presents information on conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

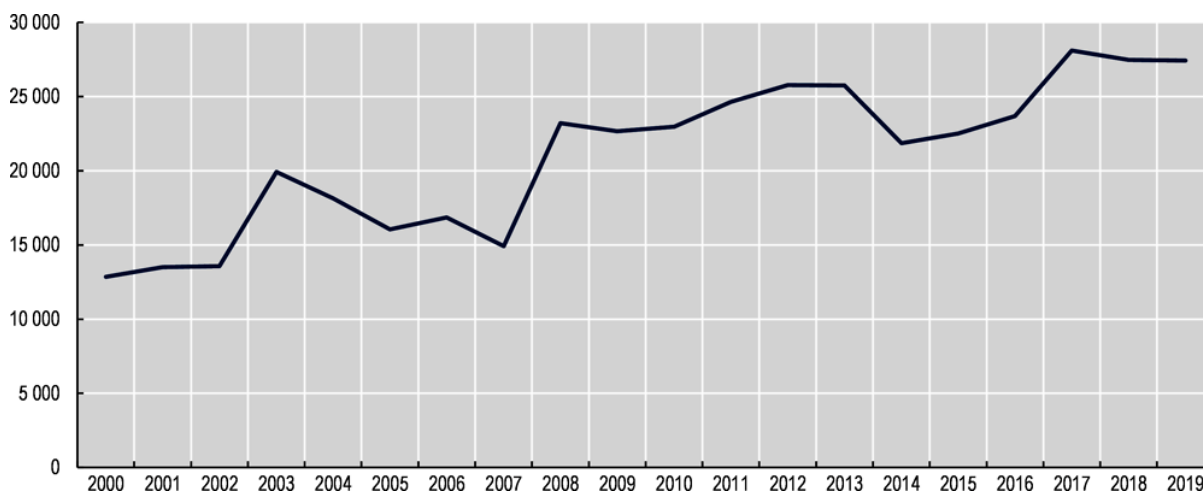
2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of existing literature with the main purpose of conceptualizing the study within the framework of integration of immigrants and young carers in Portugal while also showing how the study contributes to the empirical field. A narrative literature review was adopted for this chapter to synthesize the existing literature of the topics of interest. Search engines used include, academic search complete (EBSCO), sociology collection, scopus, and google scholar. The keywords used were migration of Ghanaians, Ghanaians and traveling; family structures in Ghana; family policies in Portugal; ethnic associations of Ghanaians, languages in Ghana, ethnic groups in Ghana; child language brokering, child language translators, child language interpreters; coping measures, coping strategies; young carers, children as social actors; feelings of children about translation; feelings of youth about translation; impact of child language translation, impact of child language interpretation; Ghanaians in Europe, Ghanaians in Portugal.

2.2 Migration of Ghanaians to Europe and Portugal

Ghana reportedly had about 970,000 of its citizens embarking on international emigration (see figure 1) in 2019 (Migrants & Refugees, 2022; IOM, 2019). This number, which indicates about a 6.6% increase as compared to 2015 with its counts totalling about 905,000, signifies an increase rate of emigration in Ghana (Migrants & Refugees, 2022). Similarly, the Organization of Economic Communities and Development (OECD, 2022) reports that Ghana is second to Nigeria in terms of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) countries with the highest emigration rates to OECD countries. With a relatively high unemployment rate of 3.9% as at 2021 (ILO, 2023) and a high human capital, skilled professionals contribute a significant percentage of the reported number of emigrants (OECD, 2022). Similarly, Ghana is the second West African country that produces the highest rate of highly skilled workers (Migrants & Refugees, 2022; OECD, 2022; Thomas, 2016). More so, OECD (2022) states that while half of resident permits issued to Ghanaians in European countries are for family reasons, one third shows issuance for humanitarian reasons. Consistent with the OECD report, IOM (2019) reports that Germany, the United States, Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom received about 85% of emigrating Ghanaians to OECD countries between the period of 2000 and 2019.

Figure 1: Migration flows from Ghana to OECD countries, 2000-2019



Source: OECD International Migration Database (2021)

Acknowledging how substantial the country's emigration population involves a high youthful population (56%) coupled with an increasing unemployment rate (3.9%), the primary driver of emigration has been argued to be unemployment of the youth (OECD, 2022). Other reasons associated with emigration from Ghana has been linked to educational purposes, poverty, and family reunification (OECD, 2022; Awumbila et al, 2008).

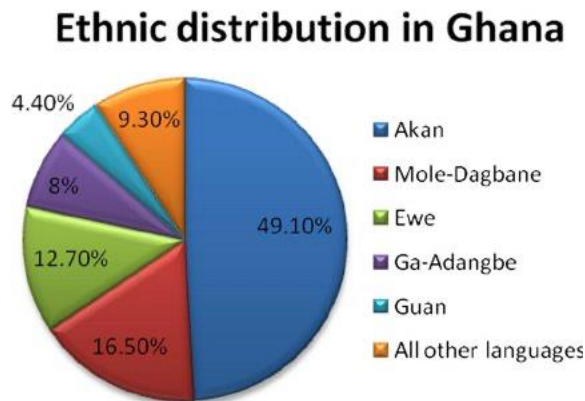
Ghanaians, unlike other West Africans such as Bissau-Guineans, rarely choose Portugal as their travel destination. As reported by RIFA (2019), migration of Ghanaians to Portugal is relatively a recent trend, mostly occurring in the last two decades. Although Ghanaian migrants in Portugal are essentially labour migrants, the value attached to living with family has resulted in an increasing trend of family migration which is consistent with the report on categorization of permit granted to the Ghanaians in Europe per the report of OECD (2021). In terms of numbers, the reports shows that family permits accounted for more than 50% of permits issued to Ghanaians. More so, Portugal's Foreigners and Border Service (SEF) reported that the highest number of Ghanaian immigrants received in Portugal was in 2008 with 213 persons out of which 153 were men and 60 were women (RIFA, 2018). Between the period of 2009 and 2015, SEF data shows a decrease in inflows of Ghanaians. However, there has been continuous increase from 2015 till present. Taking it further, RIFA (2021) reported that there were 185 registered Ghanaians in Portugal as at 2021 out of which 27.6% represented women and 72.4% represented men. While this is the reported statistics on Ghanaians in Portugal, there

is a possibility of underestimation due to large numbers of irregular migrants in OECD countries (OECD, 2022), with Portugal inclusive.

2.3 Social Linguistic Context in Ghana

Ghana, a former British colony (MacBeath, 2010), is officially an anglophone country with over fifty (50) indigenous languages (Dakubu, 2000; Obeng, 1997). The diverse ethnic composition and languages in Ghana confirm the multilingual nature of the country (Obeng, 1997). Out of the many ethnic groups, five main ones stand out and they are Akan, Mole-Dagbane, Ga-Adangbe, Guan, and Ewe (Sadat and Kuwornu, 2017). See the figure below:

Figure 2: Ethnic distribution in Ghana



Source: Ansah, 2014

English language is very significant in the ecology of Ghana's sociolinguist landscape because of its status as the only official language of the country. It is also regarded as the national language to a certain extent (Sadat and Kuwornu, 2017) while existing along the numerous indigenous languages (Obeng, 1997). The attention associated with this language contributes to its wide range of application in both internal and international communication. Specifically, it is used in the space of the media, business, educational settings, governance, as well as other social institutions thereby making it a prestigious language (Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah, 2019) in the country of about 32.8 million people (World Bank Data, 2023).

Despite this prestige, there has been contradicting arguments on continually adopting the English language as a national language (Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah, 2019; Sadat and Kuwornu, 2017; Adika, 2012). Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah (2019) point the inability of any of the indigenous Ghanaian languages to be identified as a national language due to their less usage in formal interactions and institutions as compared to the English language. Consistent

with this, some scholars such as Sadat and Kuwornu (2017) and Obeng (1997), have argued for the need to develop indigenous languages to prevent their extinction in the coming years. While Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah (2019) support this relevant call, they raise concerns about how according to the national language status to just one indigenous language may cause division, especially when none of the tribes represents half or more of the country's population. He further raises issues with the possibility of undermining other indigenous languages when one is chosen. Due to these opposing scholarly views, the English language is still enjoying its prestigious status with a further endorsement in the educational sector as it is used as the main medium of instruction (Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah, 2019).

Among the indigenous languages, the Akan language is considered the lingua franca of the country and employed in a variety of domains such as religious, political, media, educational activities (Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah, 2019; Adika 2012). This, coupled with its native speakers comprising about 49.1% of Ghana's population (Ansah, 2014), offers the language a considerable prestige over the other indigenous languages such as Ga, Ewe, and others (Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah, 2019; Guerini, 2008). Perhaps, this prestige explains why Akan is "preferred" by many schools, and even taught in non-Akan native regions, such as the Greater Accra region (Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah, 2019). This does not dispute the fact that the other indigenous languages are taught in some selected regions. Regarding the media, Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah (2019) noted that indigenous languages have in recent times dominated the media space since the last two decades resulting in a decline in the use of English in this space. While acknowledging the efforts of the National Commission's Guidelines for Local Language Broadcasting (2009), National Media Policy (2000), the Broadcasting Standards (2001) and the Broadcasting Act (2014) in achieving this milestone, Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah (2019) stressed on how the cooperative public compliance has also contributed to this.

Presently, the language policy of Ghana encourages the use of English as an official medium of instruction from primary school whereas an indigenous language is used as the medium of instruction for preschool, kindergarten, and lower primary (Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah, 2019; Guerini, 2008). While this is so, the English language is valued over the local language with those pursuing the study of the language(s) or teaching the local languages being looked down upon by their counterparts who pursue studies or teach in English (Guerini, 2008). In substantiating this claim, Aboagye and Adade-Yeboah (2019) noted how a Member of

Parliament (of the 7th Republic of Ghana) was subjected to ridicule by her colleagues and the public due to her inability to eloquently express herself in English. This confirms the prestige the English language enjoys over the indigenous languages, and which may account for more people investing efforts to become proficient in it at the expense of the various indigenous languages. It is interesting to note that despite this prestige, there was low competence of the English language in the last few decades (Obeng, 1997). This situation is nonetheless constantly changing as observed by Marfo (2015) where the scholar opined that about 51% of Ghanaian adults can read and write the language. Acknowledging that English is spoken in Portugal, comparatively Portuguese is a preferred language. Given the sociolinguistic background of Ghana and to a large extent its citizens, Ghanaian immigrants in Portugal may face a linguistic challenge in communicating with the public. Who helps address the linguistic need of these immigrants in Portugal?

2.4 Description of Family Structures in Ghana

Like other African countries, the family structure in Ghana is characterized by the extended family system (Afrifa, 2018 and Caarls et al., 2013) where child upbringing is considered a communal affair as reported by Hosny et al. (2020), whose study aimed at exploring Ghanaian transnational families. In the works of Nukunya (1992), the scholar reported that this structure comes with reciprocal responsibilities assigned to all family members including children which was also confirmed by Caarls et al (2013). Additionally, there is a social acceptance of polygamous marriage as it complies with customary practice even though it has no legal backing (Caarls et al, 2013). It is worth noting that this kind of marriage is usually associated with the rural area inhabitants and those with low educational skills (Caarls et al, 2013).

Despite the changes in demography such as migration, many Ghanaian youth are continually raised to have a sense of belonging to their families and communities (Nukunya, 1992). For instance, Caarls et al (2013) noted how Ghanaian children in Netherlands continually keep their ties with their extended families and reaffirm their place in their lives. This training can be linked to the consideration of parenthood as a chance to instil values that are highly prized in Ghana, such as responsibility, reciprocity, sense of obligation, among others, into young people (Hosny et al, 2020: Dzrmedo et al, 2018; Kwarteng, 2012). This may also explain why children are allowed to play certain roles in Ghanaian homes such as caregivers. Dzrmedo et al (2018) takes it further by pointing out the strong influence Ghanaian families have over their members, including young ones, which increases the possibility of members abiding by its

rules. In a clearer way, Hosny et al (2020) noted that young people who fail to honour their obligations may be regarded as social misfit and/or punished or fear being punished.

Moving from family influence, another interesting aspect of the family structures in Ghana is its inheritance systems. The system of inheritance practiced in Ghana are patrilineal or matrilineal, depending on one's ethnic group. For Akans, the matrilineal system of inheritance and lineage is upheld while the other main ethnic groups (Ga-Adangbe, Ewe, Guan, and Mole-Dagbane) trace their lineage to the patrilineal side (Caarls et al, 2013). It is worth noting that the type of lineage practiced influences the type of relationship between family members, gender responsibilities, as well as inheritance (Caarls et al, 2013; Dzramedo et al, 2018). Specifically, families practicing the matrilineal system have the nephew, through a man's sister directly benefiting from the man's inheritance at the expense of the man's own children (Caarls et al, 2013). For instance, if a man dies, his nieces and nephews (sisters' children) get to inherit his properties at the detriment of the deceased own children. More so, females in such families are treated "specially" which may explain why their children are made to inherit the properties of the men in the family. As observed by Caarls et al (2013), women in such families are accepted back into their families after divorce while still having access to their children and properties.

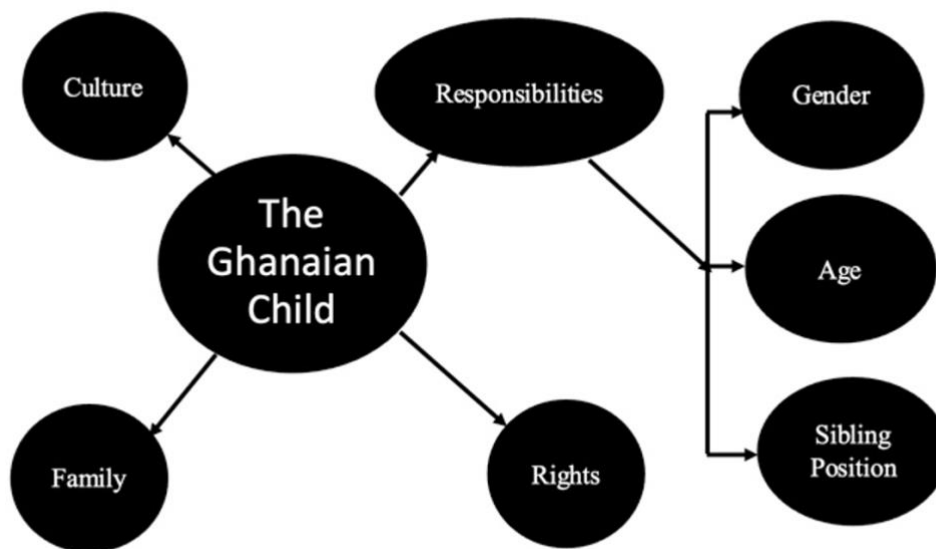
On the other hand, men practicing the patrilineal system will have their biological children inheriting their properties upon their demise unlike the matrilineal system. With respect to marriage and custody, Takyi and Gyimah (2007) reports that women who decide to divorce their husbands may not only lose access to their children but may also be requested to return the bride price³ paid during their marriage. More so, the lineage system practiced has implications on responsibilities assigned within the family (Caarls et al, 2013; Takyi & Gyimah, 2007). For instance, while females in the former system may be given less house chores, those in the latter may be assigned more responsibilities.

In establishing the position of the child / youth in the Ghanaian society (see figure 3), Kwarteng (2012) opined that it is usually found within the contours of the family. Basing the reason on the assertion that children may be immature and incomplete, the scholar argued that this may

³ Bride price is the payment (either in cash and/or kind) given to the bride-to-be's family to signify a formalization of the marriage. It also serves as a token of appreciation to the bride-to-be's family for raising a responsible and marriage worthy woman (Bawa, 2015)

be a contributing factor as to why some adults decide to act on behalf of children in their families. In subsequent arguments, the scholar emphasized how socialization also makes children obey and submit to the authority of adults thereby making them less powerful in terms of agency and visibility. Seeking to find data on children’s submission to authority, Kwarteng (2012) observed that this authority is sometimes fractured creating space for negotiations between the youth and the adult. The fracturing of this authority is mostly influenced by power relations. In contrasting arguments, Punch (2007) argued that the desire to maintain family cohesion makes young people comply with decisions made by adults.

Figure 3: The Position of the Ghanaian Child / Youth



Source: Student’s personal sketch

Now focusing attention to responsibilities of young people, Punch (2001) asserted that value is placed on the tasks performed by children and youth in their families. In contrast to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) which has no provision on duties and responsibilities of children, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC)⁴ upholds the relevance of children’s duties towards their families and societies (Kwarteng, 2012). Explicitly, Article 31 of the ACRWC states that:

⁴ ACRWC was adopted in July 1990 and become effective from 1999. With an aim in address cultural values and experiences impacting African children, the charter sets out the rights and position of children in African societies (UNICEF, 2019).

Every child shall have responsibilities towards his family and society, the State and other legally recognized communities, and the international community. The child, subject to his age and ability, and such limitations as may be contained in the present Charter, shall have the duty to work for the cohesion of the family, to respect his parents, superiors, and elders at all times and to assist them in case of need.

Moving from the legal provision of the ACRWC, Hollos (2002) as cited by Kwarteng (2012) asserted that the roles played by each member of a family is essential for the survival of that family. It is also worth noting that these responsibilities are assigned based on age, number of births, position in childbirth order, and gender (see figure 3). As noted by Hosny et al (2020), this assignment of roles is to instil a sense of responsibility and reciprocity in the child (Afrifa, 2018) and prepare them for the future (Coe, 2012). Regarding age, Caarls et al (2013) report that older siblings may be assigned supervisory and minor to major tasks in the home while younger siblings may be assigned minor tasks. For instance, an elderly child may be tasked with bathing and accompanying younger siblings to and from school while the young ones may be tasked with cleaning in the home. In the works of Hosny et al (2020), they emphasized how sibling position can influence family dynamics, specifically the assigning of roles. Similarly, Dzrmedo et al (2018) posited that the availability of other siblings may reduce the volume of tasks assigned to children and other family members. Thus, if a youth happens to be the only child of the family, he or she stands to be assigned many tasks including adult roles. Likewise, gender role is very crucial in the development processes of families and the society (Wadei, Adjei & Forkuor, 2019). Simply put, gender role informs the expectation of individuals, children inclusive (Hussain et al, 2015). Citing examples, Kwarteng (2012) observed how washing and cooking were usually reserved for girls while boys made the purchases of charcoal for the cooking in some Ghanaian homes. While this is so, he emphasized how these roles may be restructured in the situation where either one gender was not present or available.

In summary, it can be said that socialization is very paramount in maintaining the family structure in Ghanaian homes. Its implication on assigning of responsibilities and expectations from young people in a family cannot be underestimated. In the assigning of responsibilities, gender, age, and sibling position significantly influence the dynamics of families in Ghana. Despite migration, Ghanaian families in Europe have been reported to maintain these family structures, given its significance. While adjustments may be made to suit the new society,

young people are regardless assigned roles in the family (Caarls et al, 2013), such as language brokering, to aid the family survival. The significance of presenting the context of family structures in Ghana and the changes adopted by Ghanaian migrants in Europe provided a better understanding of the interpretation of the findings that was obtained at the end of this study.

2.5 Organization of Ghanaians in Portugal

As asserted by Hosny et al (2020), many Ghanaians in general are mainly trained with a sense of obligation and reciprocity (also see Nukunya, 1992). With such training, children grow valuing the essence of responsibilities towards their communities and families. This collectivist approach not only helps to provide the needed assistance to those in need but also serves as a source of social support. With the challenges of migration and integration into a new country, there is a possibility of isolation among immigrants. The formulation of ethnic associations, which was defined by Owusu (2000) as a voluntary organization established by members of an ethnic group, fulfils diverse needs ranging from political, social, cultural, and economic needs. Specifically, these associations help promote solidarity among Ghanaians in a particular host country which serves as a form of social support. Like Ghanaians in other host countries, ethnic associations are also established by Ghanaians in Portugal. With voluntary contribution from members, the welfare needs such as health, education, employment, child upbringing, among others, are subsidized if not catered for totally (Data from fieldwork, February 2023). Operating on a principle of reciprocity and responsibility, members are obliged to assist other members during their time of adversity or need (Data from fieldwork, February 2023). This Association has been in existence for the past five years and organize national Ghanaian events as well as other events to provide a bit of “Ghanaian life” in Portugal to Ghanaians in the country. With a total number of about 75, it mainly operates in Lisbon.

Another association of Ghanaians in Portugal is the Church of Pentecost⁵. Presently, the church has branches in 151 nations with its headquarters located in Ghana (Church of Pentecost Headquarters, 2023). With a total global membership of about 3.5 million, the Church in Ghana constitutes about 85% of this number (The Church of Pentecost Headquarters, 2023). This great number of Ghanaian membership and its headquarters location often makes people regard it as

⁵ Out of the 32.4 million Ghanaians (as at 2021), about 71% identify as Christians, 18% are Muslims, 5% belong to indigenous religions while the other 6% belong to other religions or has no religion. (U.S Department of State, 2022)

a Ghanaian church. In Portugal, the church, established in 2013 and relaunched in 2021 has two branches located in Lisbon and Porto with a total membership of about 75 members, with Ghanaians making up about 70.6% of the number. The other 29% makes up for the members from India, Pakistan, and Guinea Bissau. (Data from fieldwork, February 2023).

With the establishment of a welfare fund, the needs of members, ranging from health, education, financial, etc. are met. This provides a source of hope during times of need. Also, there is an open accessibility where members can make their needs known to the leadership by confiding in the leader or any of the officers (Data from fieldwork, February 2023). The older adults in the church also offer advice and immaterial support to the youth to help them navigate life as in immigrant in Portugal. In addition, contributions are sometimes solicited from members to provide the needs. It is worth noting that the identity of the needy members is usually protected as their details are not given during the soliciting. Like other students and young Ghanaians, the student has been a direct beneficiary of this organization. With some members being higher in the education ladder, they provide vital guidance to students to ensure their success (Data from fieldwork, February 2023). While this group may provide support to the adults in time of adversity, it was interesting to know how resourceful they can be to the needs of Ghanaian youth. The inclusion of this context is therefore to provide the study with ideas of a form of social supports which can be harnessed by Ghanaian child language brokers in managing the impact of their roles.

2.6 Family Policies in Portugal

The Constitution of Portugal, like other OECD countries, urges for equal rights in the formulation of families (Thevenon, 2011). In addition, it grants equal rights in the care of children of such families. In terms of care, the State of Portugal puts minors under the age of 18 years under the care of their parents or legal guardians. In the best way possible, the State tries to protect the best interest of the children (Thevenon, 2011).

Appreciating the essence of family wellbeing, the State has introduced family policies to promote support to families, immigrant families inclusive. Matias and Almeida (2021) report that the new focus of these policies is not only to offer support to poor families but also strengthening them alongside Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to serve as front-line actors for family members in need. Quite interesting, as of 2018, no single ministry was assigned responsibility for family policies in Portugal (Matias & Almeida, 2021). However,

the National Institute of Social Affairs manage issues regarding family support initiatives. That notwithstanding, Matias and Almeida (2021), emphasized how influential Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are in leading the charge for the implementation of family policies. Two of such NGOs worth mentioning are the Child Support Institute (Instituto de Apoio à Criança) and National Confederation of Private Institutions of Social Solidarity (Confederação Nacional das IPSS).

Since 2000, the government of Portugal has launched family policies such as National System for Early Childhood Intervention, Social Emergency Program, Program Apoio à Parentalidade Positiva (ADELIA), cash support, amongst others (Matias and Almeida, 2021; Walls, 2016). While there are several forms of cash benefits provided different members of the family under different situations (Wall, 2016), ADELIA focuses on parenting skills (Matias and Almeida, 2021). Example of cash benefits include the family allowance, prenatal family allowance, scholarships, amongst others. Wall (2016), noting the main lines of changes of cash benefit since 2010, identified increased selectivity with focus on support for families with low income. The other line of change is cutbacks in the amount of benefit offered.

While all these policies may relate to immigrant families, this dissertation focuses on ADELIA since it is directly in sync with the study. ADELIA, according to Matias and Almeida (2021), focuses on ensuring positive parenting amongst all families in Portugal. Though it is not implemented across the country, family involvement is promoted in regions of its development. To facilitate its effectiveness, Matias and Almeida (2021) observed a regular planned assessment of its deliverables which is conducted by academic researchers. This demonstrates the willingness to substantiate the implementation of these policies with scientific knowledge. One of the challenges to these policies have been their vulnerability to political decisions (Matias and Almeida 2021; Wall, 2016).

2.7 Sociolinguistic Landscape and Integration Policies in Portugal

The linguistic needs of immigrant families may differ based on cultural difference as well as the similarity or difference in the language of the host country and that of the sending country (Beacco, 2008). Thus, a Ghanaian and Angolan immigrant in Portugal may have different challenges with the speaking and understanding of Portuguese. As per paragraph 3 of Article 11 of Portugal's constitution, its official language is Portuguese. Though this is so, the country

acknowledges Mirandese, a language of the north of the Iberian Peninsula, as a national language (the European Federation of National Institutions of Language, EFNIL, 2018).

There are about 260 million individuals all over the world who are nationals from countries where Portuguese is the official language making it the fourth probably most spoken global language (EFNIL, 2018). While this is so, there may be a significant number of these nationals who may not speak Portuguese at all. EFNIL (2018) further notes that the media uses Portuguese as its language for information dissemination and simultaneously promotes its usage. Taking it further, Law no. 47/2014, of 28 July, stipulates that all commercial information should be done using Portuguese (EFNIL, 2018). These instances reiterate the importance of Portuguese proficiency of residents of Portugal. Knowledge about the language is therefore instrumental not only in the integration of immigrants in Portugal as a transit or host country but also facilitates the attainment of a long-term resident permit (HCM, 2023),

In addressing the linguistic challenges immigrants may face, the High Commission for Migrants (ACM) have implemented language learning strategies through the Language Service which include the Portuguese Host Language courses and the Telephone Translation Services (TTS). The former, previously known as the Portuguese for All (PTT), is aimed at addressing the language learning challenges of non-mother tongue Portuguese speaking immigrants (HCM, 2023a). With the course certifying A1+A2 and B1+B2 for elementary and independent users under three main self-assessment grids⁶, its promotion is done by three main state units⁷. Though the elementary users have a maximum duration of 150 hours for route A (A1+A2), the actual duration for each course is dependent of the educational organization offering the course (HCM, 2023a). Likewise, route B (independent users) also have a maximum duration of 150 hours with each course duration depending on the number of hours taught within a week (HCM, 2023a). The registration of the courses⁸ requires a proof of legal status. The fate of irregular migrant(s) willing to access this vital service remains in limbo because per the requirements,

⁶ Self-assessment grids: understanding, speaking, and writing. (CEFR, nd)

- a. Understanding: listening (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2) and reading ((A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2)
- b. Speaking: spoken interaction (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2) and spoken production (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2)
- c. Writing: writing (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, and C2)

More information can be obtained here: <https://europa.eu/europass/en/common-european-framework-reference-language-skills>

⁷ State units: public schools under the authority of the Directorate-General of Schools, management centres network of the Employment and Vocational Training Institute and the Qualifica Centres Network

⁸ More information about the language course requirement can be found on this website:

<https://www.acm.gov.pt/-/como-posso-frequentar-um-curso-de-lingua-portuguesa-para-estrangeiros->

they may not be covered. In the absence of all the three required documents⁹ to affirm their regular status in Portugal, it might be difficult to access these language training courses. Once an immigrant is not able to gain the language proficiency of the host society, they may experience challenges in accessing the labour market or mediating services with the public. This may inform on how one's regular residence status in a host country may influence their integration process. Another interesting observation is the heterogeneity of the classes (in terms of literacy skills), which may make the service ineffective (Matias, Oliveira and Ortiz, 2016).

The Telephone Translation Services (TTS), created by the ACM, is geared towards helping immigrants overcome language barriers in Portugal through instant or booked telephone translation (HCM, 2023b). With a database of about 107 interpreters who speak one or two languages in addition to Portuguese, telephone conferences are set between the migrant, the interpreter, and the manager of the institution of concern to the migrant (HCM, 2023b). It is also worth noting that there are about 69 languages available in the TTS. With no requirement, migrants can call the Migrant Support Line and make a request to access the TTS. After transfer of the call to the TTS operator, the personal detail of the caller is asked. The desired date and time are also requested in case the translation cannot be done immediately. In the event of immediate service, the migrant, client, and interpreter start a conference call to address the language needs (HCM, 2023b). While this may be providing some sort of comfort for some immigrants, its impact to addressing linguistic challenges of non-Portuguese speaking immigrants may be limited. Also, outside the working hours of the TTS, non-Portuguese speaking immigrants needing linguistics services may be faced with challenges.

Departing from the language services, the National Immigrant Support Centre (CNAI) also provides services that aid the integration of immigrants into the Portuguese society. Established in 2004 and operating under the jurisdiction of the High Commission for Migration (ACM), CNAI serves as a one-stop shop for immigrants to access support services in relation to legal issues, immigration, culture, amongst others. Specifically, information on social affairs and inclusion strategies for immigrants in addition to legal support services are offered to assist in the integration of immigrants in Portugal. The operation of a one-stop model not only allows

⁹ Three required documents: Proof of granting or renewal of resident permit, proof of application for international or temporal protection and proof of social security number.

for acquisition of personalized service but also access to service from individuals with proximity to their cultural and linguistic background.

An exploration of the integration policies and these units may provide an understanding of the macro and meso levels of support available to immigrant populations in Lisbon, and as such, the student found it right to provide such contextual information.

2.8 Concept of Child Language Brokering

For many years, young people have been made to take up certain roles in their families. While acknowledging that the type of role differs across families and cultures (Bauer, 2016; Becker 2007), there is a need to establish that this is a global phenomenon (Joseph et al, 2020). It is also worth noting that young people as carers is socially constructed and marked against the expectations of children in the said society. One of the roles of young carers is child language brokering which is defined as the interpretation and translation of a new language by children for their families due to linguistic challenges (Bauer, 2016). In the works of Joseph et al. (2020), they established that language brokering is structural which is due to the existence of multilingual societies. With young people being a part of this process, which is wide and counts with many other language brokers, coupled with their ability to quickly learn a new language they may be used as “resources” by their families to address this linguistic challenge thereby becoming child language brokers (Kam and Lazarevic, 2014; Sabatier & Berry, 2008).

This role, Weisskirch and Alva (2002) noted, includes the translation of day-to-day transactions, legal or medical documents, or other complex information.

While acknowledging how this role is performed within and for the family, Weisskirch and Alva (2002) observed that relatives outside the homes of these families and neighbours also engage children to undertake language translation for them. In relation to specific areas of translation, Weisskirch and Alva (2002) identified certain situations where child language brokering usually takes place. From financial information to job applications, to issues that have to do with medical visits, immigration, utility bills, amongst others. One of the debatable issues is the exposure to age-appropriate information. While Weisskirch and Alva (2002) argued that children may be exposed to sensitive information that may be too much for them to handle, Bauer (2016) opined that this information can be censored to become age-appropriate for the children involved. In further arguments, Bauer (2016) noted that through this role, children help their immigrants’ families survive and as such can rarely be considered

vulnerable in this situation. In discrediting the vulnerability argument, the scholar opined that children use this role to “negotiate within and between their families and the public, and these negotiations are variously shaped by power relations” (idem: 33). This power, which Hall (2004) argued can be exerted by the child language broker, fits into the new perspective of child development. Thus, children can use their position as language brokers to also participate in their families and influence decisions which reaffirms their position as social actors. From this perspective, the scholar argued that children are not solely vulnerable by playing the role of language brokering.

Tse (1995) as cited by Weisskirch and Alva (2002) argued that not only do child language brokers translate or help their families meet their linguistic concerns, but they also have a certain influence over the information. This influence, they argued, may subsequently affect the decision of the adults they translate for, while also heightening the responsibilities of children.

For scholars on the other side such as Weisskirch and Alva (2002), they argue that the role can be uncomfortable for children due to the level of cognitive and communication skills it requires. McQuillan & Tse (1995) also stressed on how children taking up this role may be caught between two cultures which may make them confused about their identity. Taking it further, they identified the difficult situations under which children may be made to interpret which can cause feelings of embarrassment.

2.9 Feelings of Youth about Language Brokering Role

Though significant reasons have been presented in relation to why young people may be used as language brokers, literature proves that studies concerning their feelings towards the role remains limited (Joseph et al, 2020; Bauer, 2016). In exploring how these youth feel about their role as language brokers, Weisskirch and Alva (2002) noted that consideration is given to the closeness of relationships (Cline et al., 2010) between the young person and the adult(s) involved. On one hand, if the young person has a good relationship with a particular relative, he or she may feel comfortable interpreting for such person. On the other hand, when the relationship between a young person and adult is tense, the young person may have negative feelings towards the interpretation. Interestingly, the findings of their studies proved that youth may have a negative feeling about the roles they play and as such consider it disadvantageous. Similarly, young people have been reported to recall feelings of embarrassment at different

times while language brokering, using adjectives such as ‘intimidating’, ‘stressful’, ‘daunting’, ‘difficult’, to expressed how they feel about their role of language brokering.

For scholars with a positive perspective about this role, arguments have been advanced in the context of care (Bauer, 2016; Rogers and Weller, 2013). For instance, Bauer (2016) and Becker (2007) argued that youth have a positive feeling about their role, associating the use of the role to advance protection of the dignity of one’s family. Also, Cline et al. (2010) posited that the inability of migrant parents to speak the language of the host society may make their children feel embarrassed and as such, may play the role of a language broker to save their parents from such embarrassment. While some youth acknowledged that their role may be viewed as “uncommon” or “unusual” by others, they themselves perceived it as a part of their everyday life. Similarly, while negative feelings of language brokering may cause problems or negatively affect the young person, positive feelings associated with language brokering may promote wellbeing. Citing an example, Bauer (2016) identified a positive relationship between self-esteem and young people feeling proud of their roles.

Contrarily, Weisskirch (2007) reported how some child language brokers perform this role as their obligation and not willingly. Other participants of the scholar’s study also mentioned their dislike for the role because of the profound impact it can have on them. Consistent with this, Weisskirch (2007) reported that some child language brokers associated feeling embarrassed and nervous by their role to problematic family relations (Kam and Lazarevic, 2014). In confirmation, another scholarly work reported that negative feelings towards language brokering can be influenced by significant level of family conflict (Kam and Lazarevic, 2014; Lazarevic, 2012). This negative feeling, as noted by Lazarevic (2012) can affect the mental health of the youth involved.

In identifying the gap in literature about feelings of youth towards the role of language brokering, the study found that existing literature has primarily focused on retrospective accounts of language brokers and from Western contexts (Cline et al., 2010; Weisskirch, 2007; Bauer, 2016). The conduct of this study therefore presented perspectives from current child language brokers from a sub-Saharan context. Concluding how relevant the exploration of feelings of child language brokers is in Portugal, the findings of this dissertation fills the gap in knowledge.

2.10 Impact of Language Brokering on Youth Involved

Despite the relevance of language brokering to the integration and survival of immigrant families, scholars such as Kam and Lazarevic (2014) note that it also has harmful effects for the youth involved (Bauer, 2016; Cline et al., 2010). Taking it further, they argued that these mixed ideologies (positive versus negative impact) have resulted in two dominant perspectives. The first perspective views the role as “normal” and as a way of young people contributing to the wellbeing of their families (Bauer, 2016; Katz, 2014; Orellana et al, 2003). In advancing this argument, proponents of this perspective have emphasized how the role develops the cognitive, intellectual, and communication skills of child language brokers which are essential for their development (Bauer, 2016; Kam and Lazarevic, 2014). Correspondingly, the ability of young people to effectively translate and interpret for their migrant families thereby signifying their contribution to the family’s settlement in the host society confers a form of pride in them. This can be associated with their ability, through the brokering process, to lower the frustration of the family associated with settling in the host country (Bauer, 2016). This form of care, as argued by Bauer (2016), is a way young people give voices and support to their parents and subsequently help in getting settled in the new society.

The other perspective theorizes the role as stressful and create parentification of children which can be problematic (Mercado, 2003; Weisskirch and Alva, 2002). More so, these arguments have been advanced by emphasizing how child language brokers may undermine their innocence and freedom from anxiety as they get access to sensitive information concerning their parents during the process. This activity may also disrupt the “normal” family relationships (Cline et al., 2010) and create role reversal which may further destabilize the already challenged migrant family (Cline et al., 2010; Weisskirch and Alva, 2002; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001). Emotional distress, depressive symptoms, acculturation of stress, among others, are some negative impacts that child language brokers may face. The view of young people about this role also informs their perceived implications (Kam and Lazarevic, 2013; Dorner, Orellana, & Jimenez, 2008). For instance, if they consider it to have positive implications such as strengthening the parent-child relationship, they may embrace it. The role further wields power to the child (Hall, 2004; Orellana et al., 2003) which may make them interpret only portions of a message or information they deem worthy.

Drawing on Becker’s caregiving continuum, Bauer (2016) explained how child language brokering is a form of informal care provided in families. The studies of Kam and Lazarevic

(2014) and Bauer (2016) engaged adults who were previously child language brokers. While their accounts are important, it cannot be said for a fact that the dynamics of child language brokering over the years has not changed. This demonstrates the gap in literature of this field and the need to conduct this study. This study which engaged Ghanaian child language brokers and their parents is therefore essential to bridge this research gap and present findings from participants from a West African context.

2.11 Coping Measures of Child Language Brokers

In the wake of outcomes of child language brokering situations, coping measures may be adopted to manage such impacts. In the case of young carers¹⁰ (under different circumstances), literature have proven the adoption of diverse measures (Joseph et al, 2020; Ungar, 2012; Skovdal et al, 2009). In adopting these measures, young people have been reported to explore their social environments and social positions. Along that line of thought, Qvortrup (1994) stressed on the position of young people as social actors which Skovdal et al (2009) noted highlights their skills in constructing positive identities during adversities. Narrowing this down to a sub-Saharan African context, literature has shown how some African youth encounter and endure adverse life situations during their caring roles (Skovdal et al, 2009; Robson et al, 2006; Bauman et al., 2006). From the learning of new skills to the strengthening of relationships, young people manage the impact associated with their roles (Skovdal et al, 2009). Re-echoing the arguments of Panter-Brick (2002), Skovdal et al (2009) argued that young carers coping strategies depend on their agency, interaction with their social environment as well as the availability of protective elements.

In the findings of Skovdal et al. (2009) study, they observed that the extended family, through the provision of care, money, and food, provided social support to the young carers. This support, they reported assisted young carers to continue in the performance of their roles. More so, they mentioned the possibility of young carers negotiating support from their communities and friends. From seeking advice from resourceful community members, to spending time in communal activities, the community served as a coping measure to some young carers (Hawken, Turner-Cobb, & Barnett, 2018; Beck, 2007).

With regards to friends, they noted how the young carers regular conversations and sharing of each other's pain assured them that they are not alone in such struggle (Hawken, Turner-Cobb,

¹⁰ Young carer is defined as any individual below the age of 18 providing care Becker et al (2000).

& Barnett, 2018). For instance, a child taking care of an ill parent may share his ordeal with another child who works to take care of the family. Though their caring roles are played under different circumstance, they get an understanding that children need to support their families. This form of social and emotional support among peers helps them manage the impact their caring roles and helps them to continue playing them. This community solidarity subsequently shapes the thoughts of the young people and instil a sense of responsibility in them towards others (Skovdal et al, 2009).

Another form of measure employed by young carers is the construction of positive identities. (Joseph et al., 2020; Bauer, 2016; Skovdal et al., 2009). Considering the definition of a good child as one who helps in the home, young carers reported in the works of Skovdal et al. (2009) reported that they regularly valued this positive recognition and continually played their role to keep this cherished status. In their words, this positive recognition inspired them to continue with their care provision. In cases where the parent is in an unproductive state, young carers reported engaging in productive works to gain income to support the family. From selling animals and land, to growing crops and charcoal burning, competence and resilience is demonstrated. This observation further proves their decision-making skills and sense of responsibility.

Away from the positive coping measures, Mausbach et al (2013) as well as Pakenham and Bursnall (2006) identified negative coping measures of young carers. Citing examples such as self-blame and avoidance of the role performance, they stressed how these negative measures resulted in poor psychosocial outcomes.

In another line of thinking, Joseph et al (2020) argued for a paradigm shift from focus on individuals to public policy. For them, the concept of young carers is culturally and structurally created problems and as such requires more than individual capabilities to address. Thus, the efforts of children or their guardians may not be substantial in minimizing the tendency of using children as carers. Another interesting argument made by them is the use of multi-agency approach which is reflected in interdisciplinary research such as psychology, public policy, social work, education, sociology, and others. With each discipline bringing its own perspective, the significance of this will be positioned within the larger field. Similarly, the findings of Kaiser and Schulze (2014, 2015) demonstrate the relevance of inter-agency approach in addressing issues associated with young carers.

With children playing diverse roles as young carers, there is a need for a shift in research focus from ideas of childhood as a period of innocence to focusing on how they can be assisted and supported in carrying out their roles (Joseph et al, 2020; Hawken, Turner-Cobb, & Barnett, 2018). Identifying ways of helping young people to manage the negative impacts of their roles is not only relevant for the youth but also for the family and society. It is in this regard that the coping measures of young people playing roles in their families, specifically language brokering, need to be explored. While Skovdal et al., (2009) study is about coping measures adopted by young carers in a Sub-Saharan context, the conditions for caregiving differ from this study. With a study of adolescents who care for their ageing and ill parents, the authors explored how such youth cope with the demands of their role. Considering the limited literature existing on how immigrant youth in Portugal manage the impact of their roles, the conduct of this study contributes to fill that knowledge gap. In addition, it may draw attention of social work professionals and researchers to negative coping measures adopted by young carers, specifically child language brokers.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents two main theoretical perspectives and analytical frameworks that were used to validate the findings. Apprised by Becker's care continuum, the framework theorizes the study in a context of informal family care giving practice. Basing the offer of support provided in families on love, responsibility and reciprocity, the proponent of this theory argues against the parentification of care provided by young people as part of their daily routine. The critical ecological systems theory draws upon the social support (resources) in one's physical and social environment that can be used as targets of change in addressing social problems affecting individuals and their families. Broadly, these theories associate the research objectives and questions to the findings and inform the analysis of the study.

3.2 Becker's Care Continuum

The study of Birditt et al (2008), that aimed to explore parent-child relationship in the United States, argue that the relationship between parents and children is dynamic. While parents provide the needs of their children during their early stages of life, they may not do same during the adolescent and adult age stages of their children. Rather, the children may be tasked with certain responsibilities towards their parents. Similarly, the works of Bauer (2016) which sought to frame child language brokering as a family care practice, confirms this assertion. This trajectory is what Birditt et al (2008) considered moving from a dependent relationship to a more mutually supportive relationship. Based on this premise, young people may be considered active social actors who can make constructive inputs in the daily lives of their families. The findings of Joseph et al. (2020) which presented challenges facing young carers, is consistent with the arguments of Birditt et al. (2008). In addition, the study of Becker et al (1998) which explored the relationship between children and their families in the UK, opined that children across the globe are involved in many forms of caregiving in their families. While this form of care may make the children more attached to their parents, Kam and Lazarevic (2014) noted that these children may also be subjected to developmental challenges.

In defining who a young carer¹¹ is, Becker (2007) argued that consideration should be given to children who provide care in their families for various reasons including unavailability of

¹¹ Young carer may be considered an individual below the age of 18 years who intends to or offers a form of care and assistance to another family member (Becker, 2007)

formal care arrangements, love, amongst others. Taking it further, he argued that such (young carers) definition distinguishes between young people who take responsibility for ‘substantive’ care in their families and young people who take on care activities as part of their usual daily activities. With the assertion that young people who take up substantive roles may be negatively affected by their role, Becker (2007) argues that those who play the role as part of their routine will have no unduly negative outcomes from the performance of their roles. Thus, “caregiving can be viewed along a continuum” where young people may initially be involved in caregiving as part of their routine lives to providing substantial form of care (Becker, 2007:26). Youth helping clean homes and sweeping can be examples of *caring about* role. As uncertainties arise in the family, and such youth increase their time and level of care to provide the needed services; their position gradually challenges to *caring for*. This perspective as argued by Bauer (2016) will cause researchers and professionals to move from focusing on vulnerability of these youth to focusing on their diverse experiences and impact across families and cultures. Such focus will inform about young people in *caring about* positions and those in *caring for* positions.

The concept of caregiving continuum which Becker described as ranging from “caring about the person to caring for the person” covers the normal activities performed by young people such as performance of domestic duties. *Caring for, on the other hand,* may entail increasing level of care to offer specialized and more demanding tasks. With the location of all young people caregiving along this continuum, Becker (2007) argued that the position of young people who *care for* will be shifted to the end of the continuum.

Addressing this head on, Joseph et al (2020) opined that *caring for* roles may be associated with a much demanding responsibility and commitment that may have negative impact on the young people involved. Conclusively, it can be established that young people all over the world are involved in a form of family care which can be moved from *caring about* to *caring for* positions based on the type and extent of care, time invested in the caregiving, as well as the impact of the care on the young people involved.

In application to the study, it may be established that youth, through the role of language brokering, may take up translation tasks as part of their routine daily lives. Other youths, as the

theory asserts, may also take up substantive forms of translation that may result in negative impacts on their wellbeing. In establishing the reasons why youths may take up the role of language brokering, the theory shows that informal caregiving can be given either free of charge based on love, obligation, or reciprocity (Bauer, 2016). For reciprocity, young people may offer care in return for a favour or service rendered by their parents or siblings. Also, the love and relationship youth have for their families may make them offer certain services of care for them. The definition of a ‘substantial’ form of caregiving, which Becker asserted, may affect the young people involved, may be associated with youth who offer a lot and intensive form of translation to their parents. For those who play the role as part of their daily routine, they may be involved in occasional family domestic chores. Perhaps, those who offer this ‘substantial’ care in the form of *caring for* their families may frame their role in the context of parentification or role reversal.

Relating this to child language brokering role, youth who offer substantial form of translation may be at the end of the continuum which is *caring for* position. For child language brokers who offer minimal form of Portuguese translation, they may be in the position of *caring about*. Also, the theory provided an understanding of how young people and their parents conceptualize the role of language brokering in their families. Becker’s theory of Care Continuum therefore provided a framework to explore whether the role of child language brokers play is *caring about* or *caring for* and provide an understanding of why those in the latter position may have negative outcomes. More so, it informed on how love, responsibility and reciprocity influence the offering of care and support in families and when such care moves along the continuum of *caring about* to *caring for*.

In addition, the conceptualization of family and its structures and how they influence the offering of language brokering services by young people has been better appreciated given the framework of this theory. This assertion is confirmed by Laird’s (2005) who reported that the social organization of Ghanaian may influence their conceptualization of family and the roles they play. Thus, young people socialized in a value system that upholds obligation and responsibility towards parents and families may have a different perception about their role despite the negative impact it may have on them. Similarly, Hosny et al (2020), who focused on the exploration of daily and family experiences of children in Ghana, shares in the perception of Laird. Simply put, children offering the same amount of translation may conceptualize it differently based on their socialization. For instance, on one hand, child A may

view his role as a language broker as a family care activity because he or she may have been trained to appreciate family responsibility. Child B, on the other hand, may consider such role as parentification because of his understanding of childhood as a period of freedom and not role taking. Thus, what may be considered as “routine roles” may differ from children from context to context. This, as reported by scholars such as Hosny et al. (2020), Laird (2005) and Becker (2007) is due to the influence of one’s social organization.

Despite the ability of this theory to provide a framework for child language brokering to be understood in a family care practice context of the frame of parentification, it fails to define what ‘substantial’ caregiving entails. Another critic of this theory is its arguments against the framing of children’s roles as parentification (Bauer, 2016). Thus, the theory fails to consider that though children’s role in the family can be viewed along a caregiving continuum, the *caring for* roles may be subjective to define based on the context, which has been discussed in the next section.

3.3 Theory of Critical Ecological Systems

The reliance on both inner and outer resources to address the needs of individuals and their families begun in the 1949 when Swithun Bowers (a Social Worker in the USA) emphasised the importance of considering both resources when working with clients. The scholar elaborated on how individual’s needs may require a particular resource as a target of change. Specifically, he noted instances which may require individual strengths to address a clients’ need and other instances where community resources may be explored in finding interventions to help a client. The ecological systems theory also emerged to substantiate the individuality and worth of social environments in developing interventions for individuals and their families. It is also worth noting that the systemic approach to understanding families was proposed by Social Work scholars such as Wood and Geismar (1989) whose study aimed to explore the systemic nature of families and its impact on social work practice. While eco-system theory has been associated with Psychologists such as Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Kurt Lewin (1935, 1951) as pioneers, whose studies explored the interaction between individuals and their environments, social work practice has incorporated these theoretical foundations prior to the work of these scholars (Rothery, 2007, 2005; Hern, 1958). The difference has however been the framing of individuals entrenchment in their respective social and physical environments. This shows individuals dependence on resources in these environments which aids our survival.

Thus, the unceasing relationship between individuals and their environment and how that significantly influences the wellbeing of such individuals.

Despite the ability of this theory to complement conventional viewpoints about the ecological nature of problems, there has been concerns about its abstractness. Social work scholars such as Wakefield (1996), whose study aimed at exploring the relevance of eco-systems perspective in social work practice, have questioned the theory's possibility of operationalization due to the practicality of the social work profession. The broadness of this theory has also been an issue of concern. Acknowledging that it provides a wider understanding of issues affecting individuals, it fails to provide a limit to how broad it can be explored. Another essential critic about this theory is its encouragement of adaptation of one's physical and social environment. Once individuals consistently rely on their environments, they may unconsciously or consciously accommodate oppressive situations emanating from these environments. This draws attention to the oppression and social injustices embedded in our environment which should be a great concern to the social work profession. Against this premise, Rothery (2007) argued for an incorporation of social justice into the eco-system perspective, which he termed as the Critical Ecological Systems theory. This comprehensive theory, according to him, draws on one's persona and social support concepts and acknowledges the oppressive elements in one's social context.

Drawing on two schools of thought: general systems and ecological theories, the theory stresses how interacting factors in an individual's life can both be a cause of their problem and targets of change for their intervention. While the systems theory emphasizes the interconnectedness of individuals in their social units, the ecological theory appreciates the interaction between one's environment and the person. Another interesting element here is how well individuals adapt to the systems in which they are a part of and how such adaptations cause problems or relief to the individuals.

Below are central themes of the systems and ecological theory which inform the Critical Ecological Systems theory:

Concepts from the Systems Theory

- Reciprocal relationship exists among members of a system.
- Social issues affecting individuals are due to the complex interactions between them and their systems.

- Systemic units predict behaviours of its members.
- What affects one member of the system may subsequently affect other members.

Concepts from the Ecological Theory

Acknowledging the complexity of this theory, and comparing that to the lives of individuals, Rothery (2007) outlined the comprehensive view of individuals in a complex environment in the practice of social work.

3.3.1 The Person

In understanding the social problems affecting individuals, Rothery (2007) advocated for an appreciation of the individual in a particular time and place. Outlining five main sub-concepts under this concept, he noted: needs, biology, creativity and choice, beliefs and strengths and competences. Figure 4 shows a pictorial view about aspects of *the Person* which relates to the study. For this study, four of such concepts are discussed below:

Needs: Rothery associated this with what may make the lives of individuals less gratifying if not met. In helping individuals to live a quality life, what they may want are considered and if not, the proposed intervention may not make any difference in the life of that individual. An understanding of these needs is therefore essential to know the kind of help to be provided for individuals.

Creativity and Choice: acknowledging that one's environment can influence the quality of life, he also placed emphasis on individual's power to shape their environments. Thus, individuals do not only become what their environment demands but also changes their environment through their creativity. For choice, Rothery argued that they cover capacities that influence the decisions of individuals and influence their worldview.

Beliefs: For every individual, there is a way they interpret what happens around them and how that influences their feelings about their happenings. In the arguments of Rothery, he mentioned different types of beliefs which are sustaining beliefs, constraining beliefs, values, spirituality, and hope. While sustaining beliefs determine the ability of a professional to help a client, hope as defined by Rothery and Enns (2001), is the belief that something productive can be gained from a challenging time or situation. Constraining beliefs is how people consider those around them and the relationship they have with them (Rothery, 2007). For values, they inform how

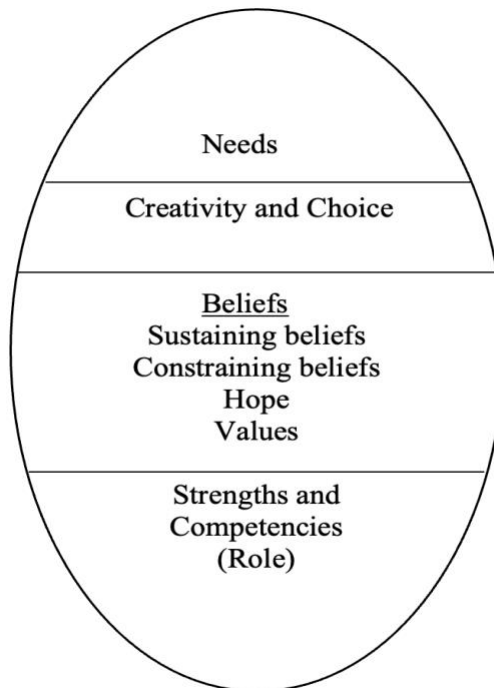
individuals are and their response to circumstances. In all of these, there is an underpinning of norm (political), culture and religion.

Strengths and Competences: with an acknowledgment of everyone's skillset and competences, the theory urges professionals to consider it when working with individuals and their families. While strengths are inward and natural, competence may be driven by one's role and may include human resource. Rephrasing Rothery, this recognition of strengths and competence may identify the good in the individual, make them optimistic of success and subsequently contribute to the intervention process. Consideration of the roles occupied by the individual can aid in identifying these strengths and competences.

Roles, as defined by Rothery (2007), is the social space(s) occupied by individuals which comes with its expectations and responsibilities. For instance, being a child is a social space which may come with rights and responsibilities. These roles, as Rothery noted, can contribute significantly to one's social problem and as such should be considered. For instance, an immigrant child facing racism in school can be related to his ethnicity. The child's space as an ethnic minority can therefore be a contributing factor to the problem and may inform on the appropriate intervention. Therefore, a holistic understanding of the roles occupied by individuals and an exploration of their beliefs and competences will be very useful in the intervention that can be developed for such people.

The figure below presents a visual of aspects of *The Person*

Figure 4: The Person



Source: Rothery (2007)

Also, environment also termed as the ecological niche by Rothery, has different aspects that influences individuals' ability to cope in a challenging situation. This is discussed in the next section. As noted by Rothery (2007), the environment can be grouped into two: micro, meso, and macro.

3.3.2 The Immediate Environment: Micro and Meso levels

Rothery (2007) argued that one's environment can not only provide resources to address challenges but can also contribute to the challenges. Stretching on the ecological nicheness of the social and physical spaces individuals occupy, Rothery (2007) reported that individuals are assigned and, in some cases, also create spaces for themselves. In all of these, focus should be placed on how such spaces allow the individual to "fit" into their environments (see figure 5). He identified two aspects that are essential in understanding this "fit": demands and resources.

For the demands (for instance, a child refusing to attend school), he defined as the situations that require response (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984 as cited by Rothery, 2007). In adapting to these demands, he emphasized how trivial or challenging it can be. While individual's ability to respond positively to these demands may aid their growth, inability to do so may create

unpleasurable impacts. Using the example above, a child refusing to attend school may be due to certain factors such as bullying. Failure to identify this factor while encouraging the child to attend school may result in the bullying affecting the wellbeing of the child. Time is another essential consideration in adapting to demands. While acknowledging that not all demands that affect people are in the present, it is relevant to point out that future expectations may influence how people feel about such demands.

The other aspect of this niche is resources. In coping with one's demands, Rothery (2007) notes that both individual competences and resources in one's environment play key roles. Consistent with the arguments of Cameron and Rothery (1985), the scholar categorized these resources into four.

The first is *emotional support*. This is what Rothery (2007) defined as the relationships individuals have with others which affords them the opportunity to share their feelings about their demands. With an expectation of emphatic responses, individuals may be confident of the other person's understanding of their situation which assures them of safety. The second resource is *information support*, which are sources of knowledge that may bring vital help in dealing with one's demands. For instance, parents having knowledge about Portuguese courses may be helpful in curtailing child language brokering in Lisbon. *Instrumental support*, otherwise known as concrete support, can be derived from the use of available services. For instance, the use of professional service for a bullied child in school which forms part of meso level form of support. The last form of resource is the *affiliational support* which affirms one's relationship with a unit and can subsequently provide recognition to such individuals. Again, this form of support falls within the meso level of support that can be explored to meet demands of individuals. Understanding how you are valued in a social unit may provide a sense of importance. Again, using the example above, if the bullied child feels his school is failing him as a student by not offering the needed support, he may not have a sense of belonging to the school and may demand a change of school.

Having presented the various resources and the demands of individuals, the next paragraph describes how there can be a balance between these two to have the goodness of "fit" discussed by Rothery (2007). The need for a balance is highly essential in situations where mobilization of resources is needed to meet one's demands. The ability of this balance to be achieved however mainly depends on the weight of the demand and the available resources (see figure 5). Thus, if the demands can be managed and the resources to do such are available, then it is

highly possible for such balance to be achieved. However, the agency individuals engage in to define strategies that influence what demands to be prioritized cannot be overlooked. Also, *the Person* that covers individual's creative choices, strengths, and competencies may also influence the achievement of this balance. Conversely, if the resources are inadequate, the demands may not be addressed.

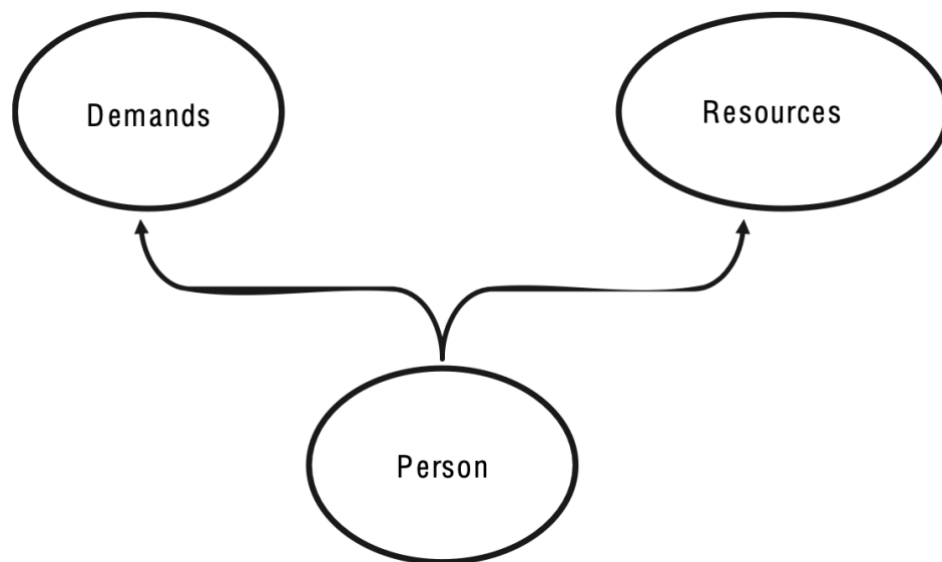


Figure 5: Goodness of Fit (Source: Rothery, 2007)

3.3.3 Environment: Macro level

In determining the quality of lives of individuals, relevance is given to their demands and resources at their disposal. An understanding of the context of the individual as well as the structural resources available informed on coping measures that may be adapted by the individual in question. Culture, a vital resource in influencing how people interpret their lives and how they may (even) request or access resources, was highlighted in this theory. Another interesting aspect of culture is how it predicts how one should interact with his or her environment and that influences how one's demand can be met or not. The way age and gender are structured in society also have cultural and social implications on the social spaces people occupy. For instance, a Ghanaian girl child who happens to be the first child of her parents may be assigned many roles as compared to a Ghanaian boy child who is the last born. This affirms the notion that contextual variables are essential in finding a balance between individual's demands and resources. The structural services or resources available to the individuals are also useful in finding a balance of the demands people may have. For instance, the language policies which inform which language service may be available may help immigrant adults to

gain their host language proficiency which may help in their integration. Likewise, unavailability or ineffectiveness of such services may create inconvenience for immigrant populations who may find “alternatives” such as their children.

The figure below shows a pictorial definition of a person in an environment situation

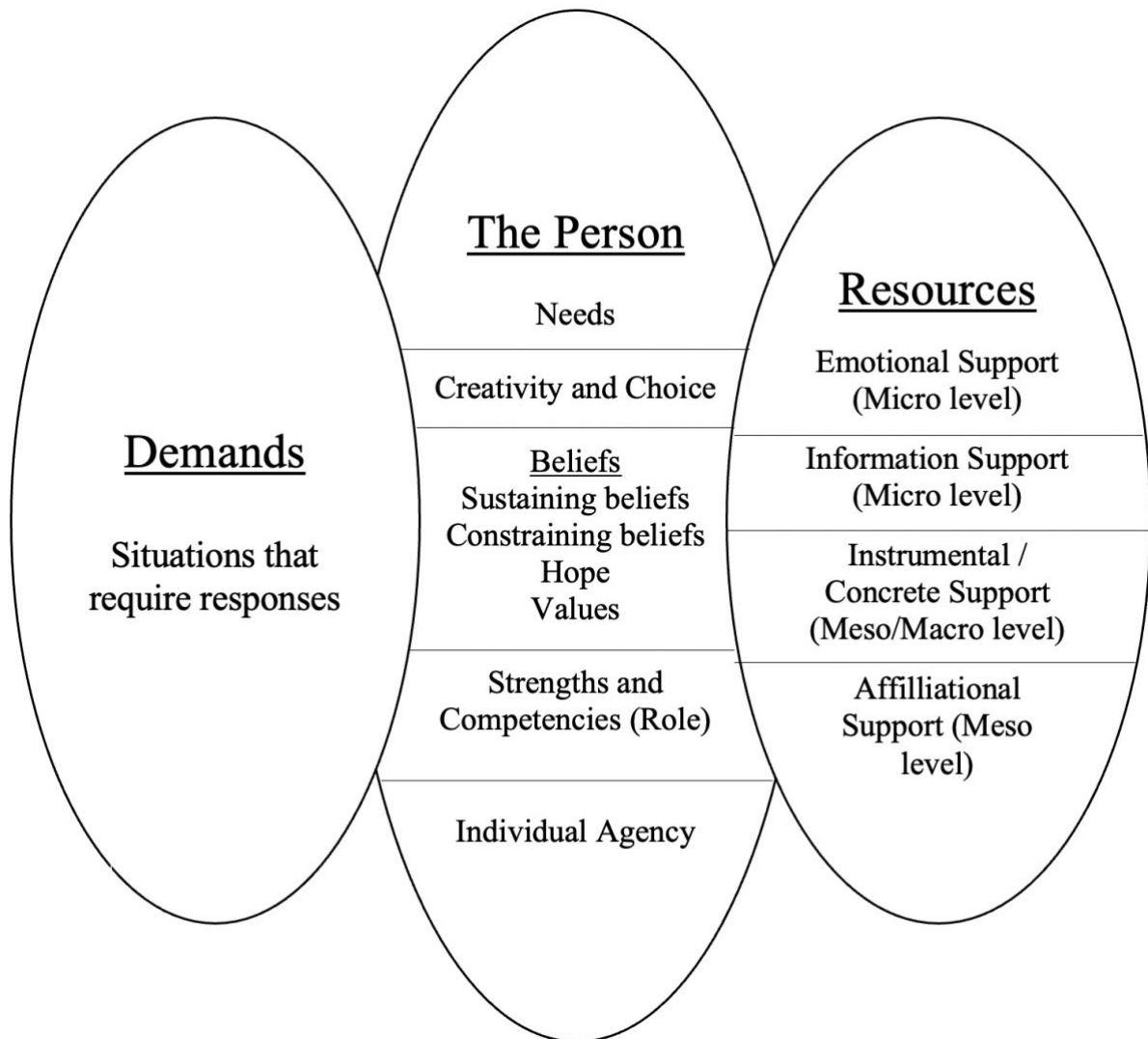


Figure 6: Person in Environment. (Source: Rothery, 2007)

3.4 Analytical Framework

Using an ecomap to describe the complex relationship child language brokers may have with their social environments, enough information was included to stress on the contextual links to problems as well as opportunities. Using Becker's theory vis a vis the Critical Ecological Systems theory, the study employed dimensions of analysis.

Figure 5- Critical Ecological Systems Theory Application to the Situation of Child Language Brokers

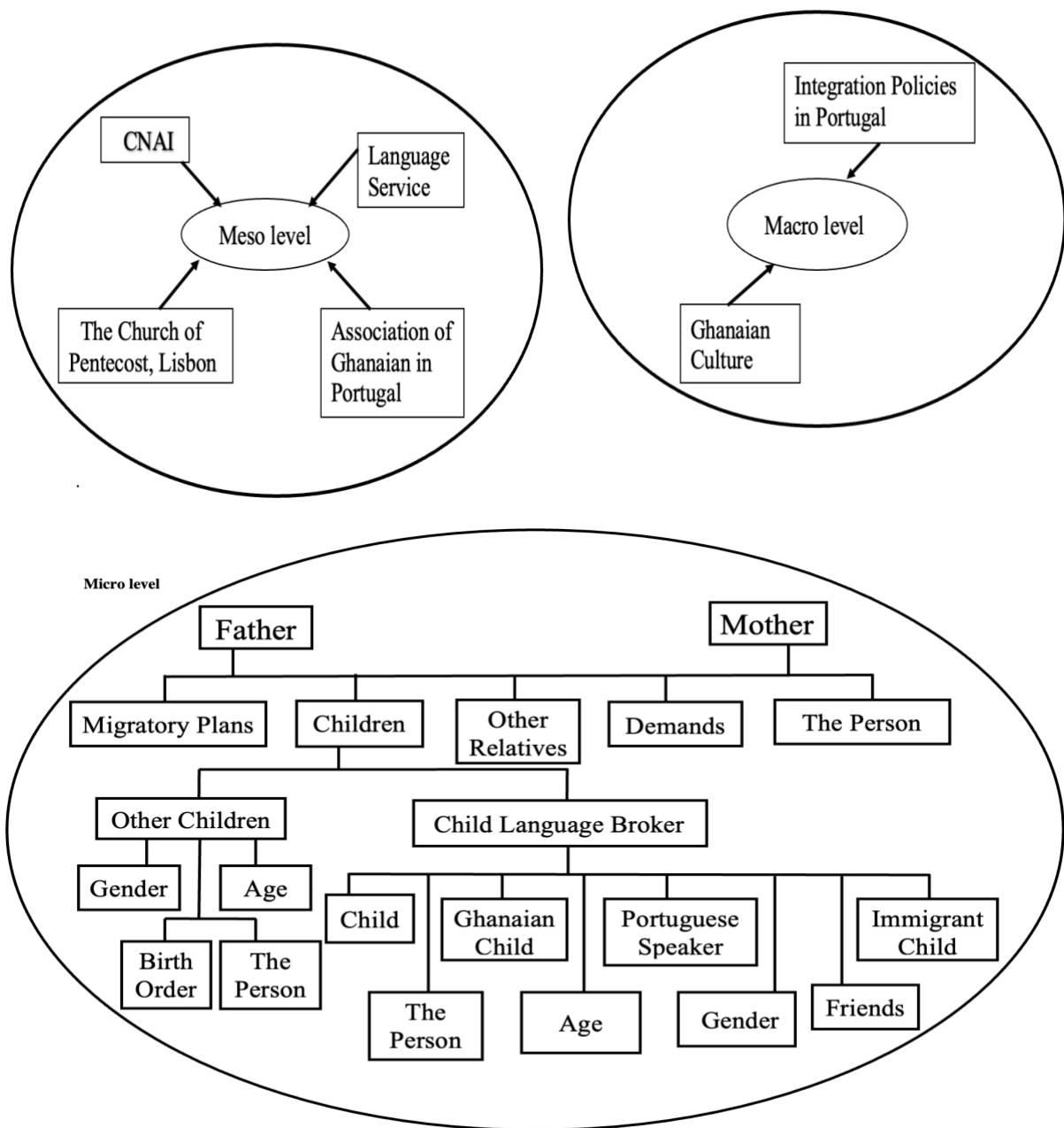


Figure 7: Ecomap of a Child Language Broker (Source: Student Sketch)

Against the illustration above, the study now discusses how these dimensions influence the concept of child language brokering.

3.4.1 Cultural Understanding of Childhood

To begin with, culture as defined by Sturges (2005) consists of the feelings, thoughts, and behaviour associated with a group of people based on the construction, interpretations and sharing of their values and beliefs. From this definition, we can infer that there may be certain values or behaviours peculiar to a social group based on their historical and / or contemporaneous socio-economic, cultural, and political context. For instance, it is expected for a girl from the Akan tribe to take less roles as compared to the boy child. Overall, young people in Ghanaian homes are assigned roles with the notion of training them to become responsible in the future for the benefit of their families and communities (Hosny et al., 2020). This may, perhaps, explain why parent immigrants may assign certain roles to their children in the host society. While this is so, migration has brought about changes in family arrangement which may result in a difference in the assigning of roles in Ghanaian families abroad.

Regarding birth order, the first person usually considered when assigning a role is the eldest child. In situations where the eldest child is not available or does not have the competence required for such roles, the next child is then considered. This pattern is adhered unto an available and competent child among all the children is identified for the role. For children who have no siblings, they may be made to play roles for both boys and girls irrespective of their gender. The cultural understanding here is that the eldest child should have more tasks and should be the first to be considered for tasks in their families before any other child (Kwarteng, 2012). This demonstrates how culture influences the assigning of roles based on birth order. Reiterating earlier points, gender and age may also have social and cultural implications on roles.

It is worth establishing that how a youth interprets his or her life, thus his or her beliefs, will greatly influence their perception about roles they occupy. This is consistent with the argument of the *Person* aspect of the critical ecological systems theory. Likewise, parents understanding of behaviours or expectations influences their conception of roles. For instance, if parents frame their children's role in the context of family practice, they may constantly assign roles to their children. It is also important to note that the various beliefs of an individual (The Person) and how they are interpreted can be influenced by culture. Likewise, the willingness of individuals to offer supports can be said to have cultural underpinnings. For instance, in a context where

collectivism is cherished, individuals may willingly offer support for each other like the case of Ghanaians in Portugal. The relationship one has with his or her relatives, friends as well as ethnic associations or religious groups may inform the expectation and behaviour of such individuals. For instance, a Ghanaian immigrant in Lisbon may consider the Association of Ghanaians in Portugal as source of emotional or informational support because of how they may perceive the collectivist nature of Ghanaians.

While acknowledging the importance of one's strength and competencies, agency, and beliefs in addressing demands facing them, the interaction that individual has with his or her social environment (resources) and the goodness of fit can also be explored in the intervention process. Also, culture in so many ways predict the "good" behaviour expected from individuals from distinct groups. As culture varies from one individual to the other, its interpretation may also vary. The interpretation provided of cultural beliefs and values are therefore key in expectant behaviours of individuals and their families.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the study and sample population, research approach, methodology adopted, and how the data collected was analysed and which cases was used in the analysis. With regards to data collection methods, the study employed virtual semi-structured in-depth interviews and role playing (drawing). Considering the vulnerability of the study population, thus the youth, the study considered respective ethical principles. The chapter concludes with a description of potential issues of dilemma as well as limitations of the study and how they were addressed.

4.2 Study Approach and Design

To attribute meaning to the study from the perspective of youth and their parents, the study adopted a qualitative approach (Bryman, 2016). Another reason that influenced the selection of this study approach is the ability of qualitative research methods to provide detailed information (Bryman, 2016; Flyvbjerg, 2006) on youth's feeling about their role, its impact and how such impact can be managed. Considering the limited time for conducting the study (4 months) and the number of participants available, an in-depth account of the phenomena could best be achieved with a qualitative study. As noted by Bryman (2016), qualitative approach helps to explore social phenomena, such as language brokering, through the perspective of the people being studied. The research design used was exploratory to enable the assessing of coping measures of Ghanaian child language brokers in Portugal. With this been a novelty field for the study population in Lisbon, Portugal, it is essential for their reality to be studied in-depth hence the choice of the research design.

4.3 Study Population and Sample Population

The study population is Ghanaian immigrant families in Lisbon, Portugal who have children who play the role of language brokering. For the sample population, a total of eight participants comprising four (4) youth playing the role of language brokers for their families and four (4) parents of these youth. In selecting this sample population, consideration was given to families who are Christians and with Akan descent. Though the student hoped to include people with diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds, the limited number of Ghanaian families with children in Lisbon, and those willing to participate in the study resulted in the selection of participants with only Akan and Christian background. Considering the objectives, the student

formulated questions that was desirable to participants to gain detailed account to achieve the objectives. The primary participants of the study were the youth. The perception of parents were included to explore the different and similar perceptions they may have with their children and how that influences the adoption of coping measures.

In selecting the youth, the following selection criteria were:

- Child of a Ghanaian immigrant parent currently living in Lisbon
- Youth born in Portugal or been a resident in Portugal for at least two years
- Youth who plays the role of a language broker for the family
- Youth aged between 13 and 16 years
- Youth currently enrolled in a Portuguese school in Lisbon
- Youth who is proficient in Portuguese and English (for communication with student during interview)

For the parents, the following selection criteria were:

- Ghanaian parent with minimal time of at least two years residence in Lisbon
- Ghanaian parent currently residing in Lisbon
- Ghanaian parent of a child language broker
- Ghanaian parent who engages the child in language brokering over two years

Acknowledging how the inclusion of a participant can influence the quality of data as well as its analysis, the study considered how relevant the sample population is in achieving the study objectives. For the youth, their inclusion provided the study with first-hand information of their everyday reality and their expected interventions that they believed may be effective in addressing their challenges in language brokering for the family. The inclusion of the parents was to explore their knowledge about the phenomenon, its impact on their children and how such impact can be mitigated. Parents perception about access to integration services, such as language services, was also needed to understand the structural causes of child language brokering. Thus, the inclusion of parents in the study was necessary because of their involvement in assigning the role of language brokering to their children.

4.4 Sampling Strategies

In selecting participants from the study population, purposive sampling was used. Purposive sampling involves the selection of sampling units with the characteristic of interest to the researcher in a study (Bryman, 2016; Guarte, 2006). This choice was influenced by the

opportunity to reach participants with specific characteristics (Bryman, 2016) such as Ghanaian immigrants' families, involvements in child language brokering, residence in Portugal, youth's attendance of a Portuguese school in Lisbon, engagement in language brokering for a minimal year of two years, amongst others. During the explorative fieldwork, the student engaged some members of the Association of Ghanaians in Portugal and the Church of Pentecost, Lisbon. After outlining the criteria for inclusion, participants were selected based on the criteria for the study. At the end of the activity, two families consented to engaging in the study. In accessing the other two families, snowball sampling technique was used. Due to the limited number of Ghanaian immigrant families with children in Lisbon, the student engaged a total of four (4) family cases comprising four (4) youth and four (4) parents consenting to the study.

It is worth noting that the limited time and number of Ghanaians immigrant families currently residing in Lisbon, Portugal, inhibits the opportunity to include extra families.

4.5 Data Collection Methods

In answering the research questions, data was primarily collected from participants through semi-structured in-depth interviews and role playing. For the interview, different interview guides were designed for parents and youth participants. The drawing was used exclusively with the youth with focus on what their role means to do. The interview guides for both parents and youth were formulated with the research questions in mind. For parents, its content covered questions relating to migratory course, labour market and educational trajectory, family responsibilities, perception about language brokering and its impact as well as how their children manage such impacts. For the youth, information was first collected about family information and sociolinguistic context followed by family responsibilities. The interview guide ended with questions about management of the impact of their role. Prior to asking questions about language brokering, a drawing activity was conducted to have an insight about their reality. As a complementary method, the drawings were used with the youth to have a spontaneous perception of their situation. Another reason that influenced the use of this method is its ethical soundness with young people and effectiveness in producing expressive and nuanced emotions (Literat, 2013). While indepth interviews afforded the opportunity to ask open-ended questions and use follow up questions to clarify any concern or ambiguity (Hammersley et al, 2007), role playing provided spontaneous and deep insights (Bryman, 2016) into the concept of child language brokering. Both the use of indepth interviews and drawing further helped to obtain detailed information (Bryman, 2016; Literat, 2013) about how youth

feel about their language brokering roles, its impact, and the strategies they adopt to manage such impacts.

Based on the explorative fieldwork and the initial meeting with the participants, all the participants understand and speak English and as such that was the language used during the data collection process. Nonetheless, participants were informed of the flexibility and opportunity to express themselves in for any of the Ghanaian local language(s) which is understood by both the participant and the student. Though this was so, all participants preferred English throughout the data collection process. An interview guide was used during the conduct of the indepth interviews with the child language brokers as well as their parents. The utilization of this interview guide provided a basis to compare the data from the different participants.

4.6 Data Analysis

After the fieldwork, all data collected were coded and transcribed. As argued by Bryman (2016), creation of themes gives a theoretical understanding of data which provides a basis for the findings to be added to knowledge base of the social phenomena. This relevance was the motivation for the creation of themes and an adoption of a thematic analysis approach that easily identified and reported patterns (Bryman, 2016). Thus, responses were compared using detailed codes and commonalities (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In finding these commonalities, NVivo software was used. The flexibility of using thematic analysis is a merit that influenced its choice. Despite the advantages of this type of analysis, it may have led to the missing of nuanced data such as contextual factors unique to one family. (Kiger & Varpio, 2020; Braun & Clarke, 2006).

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Engaging young people in research involves several ethical issues because of their vulnerability which is due to their legal incompetence in providing consent. Likewise, the vulnerability of immigrant populations requires ethical consideration when conducting research involving them. This vulnerability can be associated with the ethnicity and race of immigrant parents and their legal status in the host society. With this knowledge, the student considered the following ethical principles to ensure the best interest of the young people and their parents were protected.

4.7.1 Informed Consent /Assent

Regarding informed consent, the sample population was briefed on the purpose of the study, details of the student and any other relevant information concerning the study. As Hammersley et al (2007) opined, this ethical principle helps the sample population to decide whether they want to be a part of a study or not and as such very crucial. This was done before the beginning of the study. The student also informed participants about their ability to withdraw their consent or assent before, during, or after the data collection. Against this premise, all parent participants were asked to give a written consent by appending their signature to a consent form provided by the student. Considering the ages of the youth involved, assent was sort from their parents in addition to theirs. As scholars such as Bryman (2016) and Hammersley et al (2007) noted, this ethical principle helps informs potential participants about the research process and nature as well as its possible implications for them (Pittaway et al., 2010). Consent was further sought for the use of audio recorder, pictures of their drawing and note taking to be used as data collection tools. While the audio helped the student to confirm the written fieldnotes, the pictures presented pictorial evidence of the social reality of child language brokers and its impact on them. The student emphasizes that only collection tools approved by the participants were used in the data collection process. In protecting the identity of participants, all identifying information were removed from the dissertation. Also, recorded audios, pictures, and written notes have all been password saved.

4.7.2 Benefits

Another ethical principle which was considered during the study was benefit to the study population. During the study, parents were informed about the activities and location of CNAI and Language Services which can be vital in their integration in Lisbon. This may help parents register and learn Portuguese and reduce the possibility of using their children for language brokering. After the completion of the study, a discussion was held with the youth and their parents to discuss the findings. For the youth, this may serve as an empowerment by conscientizing them about possible coping measures they can adopt in managing the impact of their roles. For parents, it may present information about feelings of their children about their role as well as the impact on their wellbeing. These potential benefits were all mentioned and discussed with the participants. Overall, the parents appreciated the need to engage their children in conversations about their wellbeing.

4.7.3 Confidentiality and Anonymity

Potential participants were further assured of utmost confidentiality and anonymity. In protecting the identity and privacy of all participants, information that may identify them were deleted and pseudonyms were used (Bryman, 2016; Hammersley et al., 2007). The interviews were first conducted with the parents before the youth so none of the data shared by the youth were shared with the parents. While the researcher will try her possible best to ensure utmost confidentiality, participants were informed of circumstances where confidentiality can be broken (Bryman, 2016) such as evidence of child abuse or neglect. Storing of interview tapes, and transcripts are all password protected to maximize confidentiality.

4.8 Challenges of the Study

4.8.1 Invasion of Privacy

One of the challenges encountered during the data collection was the invading of privacy by parents during the interview with the youth which would have affected the quality of data the youth gave. In addressing this, the student sought consent from the parents to provide privacy during the data collection which they later did. For Ama, Afia, and Kweku, their parents allowed them to be alone with the student throughout the data collection period. For Kwadwo, his father unintentionally interrupted the meeting and provided the needed privacy afterwards.

4.8.2 Limited Time

The other challenge was the limited time available for data collection, analysis and write up. This challenge may have limited the scope of the research and the quality of data collected. In mitigating this challenge, the student worked effectively within the short period to collect detailed data and worked effectively to analyse them.

4.8.3 Limited Study Population

The student also acknowledges that the time (February to June) available for the conduct of the entire study was limited. This resulted in the inclusion of fewer family cases and limited the study population. Also, the availability of Ghanaian immigrant families in Lisbon limited her scope. However, the student worked with the available family cases and was able to gain more detailed data to provide the study with reliability and validity.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the analysed data obtained through interviews and field notes collected from eight participants. Five main themes and eleven sub-themes were generated under these main themes.

5.2 Socio-demographics and family information

This section provides background information regarding the youth and their families, such as number of members in the family, educational and employment trajectory, youth's birth position, age, and gender, parents migratory trajectory, family arrangements in relation to responsibilities, parents, and youth's sociolinguistic background and their proficiency in Portuguese language. A total of eight (8) participant made of a youth and a parent each from 4 families were recruited as participants. With the youth ages ranging from 14 to 15 years, no information regarding the ages of the parents was received because they opted not to provide such information. In terms of gender of the parents, the study engaged one female and three males while there were two females and two males for the youth participants' gender.

In terms of educational and employment experiences, all the parents have a minimum of a master's degree and currently engaged in an economic activity in Lisbon, except for one parent who is currently pursuing her Ph.D. studies in one of the universities in Lisbon. Regarding family migratory trajectory, three parents reported having transited through different European and North America countries prior to their current settlement in Portugal. Also, they reported future migration plans. Providing motivations for such travels, they noted their reasons were related to work and educational purposes. However, not all the youth had prior international experience prior to their relocation to Portugal. Two of them had joined their parents in their previous travel experiences while two had no prior international migratory experience before moving to Portugal. Regarding assigning of role, no family reported the assigning of roles based on gender. In all cases, competence and availability was considered.

The findings revealed that differences existed in the time used for the translation, translating situations and volume of translations done. Each of the parents had more than one child with the first born playing the role of a child language broker in only one family case. For two of the families, the second born were engaged as the language brokers because the first borns are currently residing in Ghana. In the final family case, even though the first born is living with

the family, it is the second born who is engaged as a child language broker due to language proficiency. Based on the data obtained, the first born was previously in Ghana and later moved to join the family in Portugal and as such not very fluent in Portuguese as compared to the second born. This was the reason provided for such arrangement of child language brokering in this family.

The table below presents the main socio-demographic and family information of the four families.

Table 5:1 Parents' Socio-demographic and Sociolinguistics, and Family Information

Name of Parent	Sex	Educational Level	Sociolinguistic Context	Migratory Trajectory	Labour market trajectory
Kwabena	Male	PhD	Portuguese English Twi Ga	Portugal (5 years)	Lecturer (Ghana)
Kwame	Male	MSc	English Twi	Norway (1 year) Sweden (2 years) Portugal (3 years)	Warehouse Supervisor (Norway) Logistics Supervisor (Sweden) Telecommunications (Portugal)
Kofi	Male	MSc	Portuguese English Twi	Germany France Russia Portugal (3 years)	Project Manager (Portugal)
Abena	Female	PhD	Portuguese English Twi	Unites States of America United Kingdom Portugal (4 years)	Lecturer (Ghana)

Table 5:2 Youth's Sociodemographic Information and Sibling Information

Name of Youth	Age	Gender	Birth Order	Portuguese Proficiency	Sibling Information	Sociolinguistic Context
Ama	15	Female	2 nd of 3 children	Fluent	One brother and one sister (all born in Ghana. First child is currently in Ghana while all other children are in Portugal)	Portuguese English Twi Ga
Afia	14	Female	2 nd of 4 children	Fluent	One sister and two brothers (sister and one brother were born in Ghana while last brother was born in Sweden. All children are currently in Portugal)	Portuguese English Twi Ewe
Kwadwo	15	Male	3 rd of 3 children	Fluent	One brother and one sister (all children were born in Ghana. Brother is currently in the United Kingdom while sister is in Ghana)	Portuguese English Twi
Kweku	14	Male	1 st of 3 children	Fluent	One brother and one sister (sister was born and lives in Ghana while brother was born and lives in Portugal).	Portuguese English Twi

5.2.1 Families General Description

Family of Ama and Kwabena

Ama is the daughter of Kwabena and Awura who reside in Lisbon with her other two siblings. The eldest child of the family, a boy aged 17 years, is currently in Ghana residing with a member of the extended family. Ama, being the second born, is aged 15 years and her other sisters are aged 11 and 8 years respectively and were all born in Ghana. Together with her sisters, she is currently schooling in a public school in Lisbon and in year 9. She assists her parents in household duties as well as other tasks. Being the eldest child in Lisbon and being fluent in Portuguese, she currently serves as the language broker for her family. She shares her negative feelings about the role of language brokering due to the extent and impact it has on her and subsequently expresses her desire to stop playing the role.

Like the wife of Kwabena, he attained his master's education in a statistics related course in Ghana. He also has a bachelor's degree in a similar discipline. Currently, Kwabena is a 2022 PhD graduate in a statistics related course from Universidade NOVA de Lisboa. The family of 5 (without the eldest son) moved to Lisbon from Ghana in 2018 for his PhD studies. Apart

from the relocation from Ghana to Portugal, the family reports of no other migratory trajectory. In terms of Portuguese language proficiency, Kwabena enrolled in a language course class but dropped out due to the conflicting time with work and his wife also shares similar experience. This, he reported has led to a basic knowledge of the language despite the number of years spent in Portugal. For Ama, she learnt and polished her Portuguese proficiency mainly in school and considers herself as fluent. She has played the role of a language broker for the past 4 to 5 years. For other languages, both parents and children are proficient in English, Twi, and Ga.

As an indigenous Akan (Twi) family, Kwabena and his wife speaks the Twi language with their children at home. English is also used to polish the children's proficiency. Acknowledging a possibility of a relocation in the future, Kwabena values proficiency in English will be beneficial to the children.

Regarding family responsibilities, all members of the family are assigned roles based on competence and availability. While birth order influenced the assigning of role, gender had a minimal impact. While the parents provide shelter, feeding and other basic needs for their children, the children take up domestic roles. Kwabena reports that the motivation for assigning roles to the children is to train them to become responsible citizens. Ama shares a similar perception about children taking up roles in the family. Kwabena reports of his intention to learn Portuguese soon. For labor market experiences, Kwabena previously worked in the teaching field in Ghana as well as his wife. He is currently working with a telecommunications firm in Lisbon while exploring other job opportunities. He reports of losing a post-doctoral position due to his language proficiency. In exploring the social support of Ama, she noted relying on her cousins in Ghana. For her, she has never shared any experience with her teacher because she feels shy to. Inquiring about Kwabena's knowledge about the possibility of the role negatively impacting his daughter, he shares limited knowledge.

Family of Afia and Kwame

Afia, the second daughter of Kwame and his wife, is the language broker of the family. She is currently in year 9 and enrolled in a school in Lisbon and expresses how the school helped her learn Portuguese which has made her fluent. Afia passionately shares her love for her role as a language broker and desire to continue playing it. Her eldest sister, Esi who moved to Portugal just some few months past, has limited knowledge in the language and hence unable to

translate. She is very close to Esi and shares some of her concerns and grief with her. In terms of her sociolinguistic background, Afia and her family speak and understand Twi and English. Also, Afia has a basic knowledge in Ewe which she learnt from friends of her parents in Sweden. Esi is reportedly 16 years while Afia is 14 years. The other two siblings, brothers, are aged 9 and 4 years. All children were birth in Ghana. No information was received about the class of Afia and her siblings.

Kwame, the father of Afia, resides in Lisbon with the wife and four children. The family relocated from Sweden to Portugal in 2020 and hopes to live in Portugal for at least the next five years. During the family's time in Sweden, Kwame worked with a logistics firm in a supervisory role. Prior to moving to Sweden, he lived in Norway for a year where he worked in a similar field like that of Sweden. In Norway, Kwame reports of living alone for a year with the family residing in Ghana. His reason for relocation to Sweden was for job-seeking opportunities. The wife and children joined him in Sweden in 2018 until their relocation to Portugal. He notes the reason for his relocation to be related to the attainment of permanent residency in a European country even though he plans on finally relocating to an English-speaking country. In Portugal, he works in a telecommunications firm. Despite his three years in Lisbon, he reports his basic knowledge in Portuguese due to his limited information about the language registration and centres.

Regarding education, Ama, Esi, and the third born are all enrolled in a public school in Lisbon. The last born is currently enrolled in a kindergarten, also in Lisbon. During their time in Ghana, the first three children attended the same school in Accra. For the last born, he started his schooling in Sweden. For Kwame, he completed both his masters and bachelor's education in Ghana in an accounting and finance related disciplines. His wife also has a bachelor's degree in Social Work from Ghana. All members of the family can speak Twi and English. Apart from Afia, no other family member is proficient in Portuguese.

In terms of responsibilities, all children are assigned roles based on age. Due to the boys being younger, gender does not mainly influence this assigning of roles. Both Kwame and his wife has no knowledge of Portuguese. For Esi, her proficiency is low. The third born, however, can speak and understand Portuguese. Afia has been the family language broker for the past three years. Kwame shares his intention to learn the language in the future. In exploring the social support of Afia, she mentioned how beneficial her teacher, other relatives and her sister have

been in managing the impact of her role. Kwame shares that he has not considered the possibility of the role impacting his daughter which may have influenced his decision to continually use her for such purpose.

Family of Kwadwo and Kofi

Kofi is an Africa Manager of an American logistics firm in Lisbon. He holds a master's qualification from universities in Russia and Germany. He also lived in France prior to his relocation to Portugal. No information was received about the length of stay in these countries and the respective labour market experiences there. Currently, he lives with his son, who is his third born. His wife and other two children are currently in Ghana. His first born, however, is presently in the United Kingdom for studies. Neither Kwadwo nor his father provided information about the ages and educational experiences of other members of the family. He notes of his tight work schedules which has affected his ability to learn the Portuguese language. Another reason for his inability to successfully learn the language is the use of only English at his workplace. This, he shares, provides no motivation for learning the language. In addition, he reports the availability of his son to provide language brokering services.

Kwadwo, a current year 9 student and a 15-year boy, shares his negative feeling about the role and the desire to stop it. With a perception of his teachers doing little to address racism in school, he notes of no trust in them. Kwadwo shares that he electronically communicates frequently with his mother and other siblings outside Portugal, and he considers them as his social support. He has been translating for his father for the past two years. Though sometimes exciting, he shares the role can sometimes be overwhelming. He notes his desire to continue playing the role in the absence of an alternative but will appreciate if his father also learns the language.

In terms of responsibilities, Kofi shares that due to Kwadwo being the only child living with him, there are no gendered roles. Kwadwo affirms this information. Regarding sociolinguistic context, both Kwadwo and his father are proficient in English and Twi. Kwadwo was born in Ghana, joined his father in Lisbon in 2020 and has been a language broker for about three years. It is Kwadwo's desire to have all the family live together in one home. Kofi reported his limited knowledge about the impact of the role and any coping measures his daughter may have adopted.

Family of Kweku and Abena

Abena, the only female parent among the adult participants, is a current PhD student in a university in Lisbon. She lives with her husband and her son, aged fourteen (14) years. The first daughter of their marriage, aged 8 years and born in Ghana, is currently in Ghana with her extended family with plans to join the family in Portugal upon her graduation. The last born of the family, a boy, was born in Portugal in 2020. Her husband, also a PhD student, will soon be graduating. Both husband and wife use English as the medium of instruction for their studies. No information was received about the scientific field of Abena's doctoral studies, her husband, or her daughter. However, Abena shared she had a background in child protection.

Kweku, the first son of the family, plays the role of a language broker of the family. He admits his closeness to his father as compared to his mother. As a ninth grader in Lisbon, he learnt the Portuguese in school. Kweku was born in the United States during her mother's master education days. During his birth in 2009, his father was also in the United Kingdom studying for his master's education. In 2011, Abena joined her husband in the United Kingdom where they resided until 2014 when they moved back to Ghana. In Ghana, both Abena and her husband took teaching jobs in private universities. In 2019, both Abena and her husband gained doctoral admissions to the Catholic University and Universidade NOVA de Lisboa respectively. They moved to Lisbon without Kweku, who later joined in 2020. Kweku, barely a year after enrolling in a school in Lisbon improved upon his Portuguese proficiency. He shares he has been a language broker for the past three years and expresses his love for his role as a language broker and willingness to translate documents he has not even been tasked to. To With his cultural understanding of childhood and responsibility, he upholds the role and wishes that it continues because it has assured him of his place in the family.

Like Kwadwo's experience, Kweku shares his perception about how his teachers encourage racism in his class by not rebuking his mates engaged in such acts. This, he shares, makes him have less trust in his teachers to even consider sharing his fears or concerns with. He mostly considers his parents, other relatives, and some members of his church as his social support. His mother, Abena, confirming the importance of language brokering, stressed that it can be overwhelming depending on the content. With her knowledge on the concept of translation, she shared the need to consider the layer of translation when engaging children in such activities. For her family, her son only translates non-sensitive contents as an effort to ensure

his wellbeing. Stressing on the possibility to relocate from Portugal after studies, she expressed her low motivation to learn the language. She recalled is the same situation for her husband.

5.3 Discussion of findings

In this section, the main findings which have been categorized into themes and subthemes have been discussed using the Becker's care continuum and critical ecological systems theories. In addition, literature has been used in the discussion.

5.3.1 Youth's Feelings About the Role

This section covers three subthemes relating to how youth feel about their roles as language brokers in relating to family contribution. It presents information on situations or circumstances under which youth translate and what goes into such translations.

5.3.1.1 Crucial Role

All participants of the study shared their knowledge about the role of child language brokering and how relevant it is in relation to family contribution and wellbeing. Specifically, parents reiterated how the role helped in their access to essential services such as medical and insurance services as well as interpretation of documents received from these essential services. Similarly, scholars such as Bauer (2006) and Orellana et al. (2003) argued that child language brokering aids the survival of immigrant families in the host society. In other words, decisions taken by such families are sometimes related to the understanding gained from the translation process. As such, the significance of the role in promoting the wellbeing of the family members cannot be underestimated.

It is worth mentioning that young people's understanding of their culture in terms of duty and childhood greatly influenced their perception about their role. Nearly all the youth and parents' participants, mentioned the cultural obligation of young people towards their families and how the role was an opportunity to offer such service. With expressions such as 'help' and 'responsibility', the youth participants expressed how they felt about their role in terms of family contribution. The participants (youth) further expressed how the role affirmed their importance in their families. To these youth, the role provides an opportunity to feel cherished in the family and fosters a better parent-child relationship. In the works of Weisskirch and Alva (2002), they reported how the role promotes good parent-child relationship. Through the provision of translation services that aids the survival of their families, the youth involved feels recognized. The study findings are therefore a confirmation of the findings of Weisskirch and Alva (2002).

Overall, participants normalized the role in the context of caring for the family which is directly related to the arguments of the theory of Becker's Care Continuum which reiterates that a sense of obligation and responsibility influences the offering of support given by these youth to their families (Bauer, 2016). Quoting one of the youth participants,

I see it that when children, when children translate, it means that we are capable of also helping our parents. It's not just them helping us, but we can do something too. And we can like, you know, help the family survive here in Lisbon. It is very important.

(Afia, Youth, Female, 14)

For me, I think it is very important that I can help my family to be okay in Lisbon and everywhere. When I explain the Portuguese to them, they are able to make the right decisions. So, I think what I do is very important and so I do it always.

(Kweku, Youth, Male, 14)

The parents reiterated that the family's survival during their arrival and even continuous stay has been directly influenced by the role the youth play. This is what was shared by Kwame (Afia's father) and Abena (Kweku's father):

It aids the family. The children know this, and we also know. How would I understand what is said during news on the TV? What if there is an emergency and the government is informing us, how will my family know if not for my daughter? So, it is a very important, important role and I am glad she understands that it is important.

(Kwame, Parent, Male)

Staying in a country without knowing the language is difficult. Imagine we are walking around or staying in our apartment and people will be talking negatively about us. We will not know if none of us speak the language. So what Kweku does is very important to us. We get to know what is going in around us and what we should also do.

(Abena, Parent, Female)

The findings demonstrate that parents and youth have similar perception about the role of language brokering and its relevance to the family. With an emphasis on this relevance, the value and social position of these youth are reaffirmed in their families. Thus, these findings support the assertion of young people as social actors and their ability to contribute significantly to their families. When youth and parents alike, consider this role as important to the survival of their families, there may be a possibility of youth continually playing such roles when parents are yet to gain their proficiency in the language. Also, the findings prove that the role helps young people to gain the recognition they desire in their families. This is consistent with Bauer (2016) arguments that the roles in families are interdependent and can benefit all those involved when played effectively.

5.3.1.2 Detrimental Role

While all youth participants shared somewhat positive feelings about their role as language brokers, two of them (Ama and Kwadwo) also expressed negative feelings about it due to the harm it has caused them. They expressed their negative feelings of frustration and intimidation and how they found the role distraction to their family relationships which was also observed by the studies of Weisskirch (2007) and Weisskirch and Alva (2002). Specifically, the youth reported how their inability to get an interpretation right makes their parents feel disappointed which may affect their relationship. While expressing how disappointed they are at the outcome of a role that is supposed to help their family, they stressed how such disappointments has negatively influenced the wellbeing of their families. These findings of negative feelings were previously observed by Lazarevic (2012). Ama, one of the child language brokers, shares:

If I am not able to explain the letter or news well, my mother sometimes gets bored with me and that makes me sad. I get sad, and she also gets bored with me. So how is this helping the family? It is rather making the family not talk to each other. I do not think it is a good thing. Maybe there are other things I can do, and maybe do it well that will help the family and make her happy. But not this one. No.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

Ama's father, Kwabena, acknowledges how a wrong translation can lead to making wrong decisions which can affect the family. However, he values learning by practice and as such when young people continually translate for their families, they may improve their proficiency and reduce the possibility of a wrong translation. He shares:

We all learn by practicing. If you get something wrong, you have to keep doing it so you become better at it. So if Ama makes a mistake in the translation, she will learn from it and do better the next time. I don't think she should stop because she made a mistake. How will she get better at it then?

(Kwabena, Parent, Male)

It is evident parents and youth may have opposing views about wrong translation. While the youth may consider that as enough reason to quit playing such a role, the parent may see it as an opportunity for the youth to learn the language. In such instances, if the youth is genuinely providing wrong answers as a coping measure to stop translating, then it may prove ineffective.

Also, two youth participants (Ama and Kwadwo) expressed how they felt about the role generally. While acknowledging the relevance of the role to the family, they noted that the person responsible for such role should be an adult figure. Abena, the mother of Kweku, also reiterated this argument and noted that the mental capacity needed for translation is higher than what children have and as such consider it (when done to a higher extent) draining. To her, this can affect the young person and subsequently the family which may lead to blame game on who caused it. She encouraged the use of adults for such role (depending on the extent of translation). Kwadwo, the son of Kofi, based his account on how sensitive the translation can be and how a wrong translation can affect family decisions. He explained:

My greatest fear has been making a mistake while explaining Portuguese to my father. The boy in my house made a mistake when explaining a letter to his parents and they were angry. His parents were really angry. If an adult explains, he won't make a mistake and even if he makes a mistake, he knows what to do. So I think an adult should do it.

(Kwadwo, Youth, Male, 14)

Moving away from the perception of wrong translation, Kwadwo acknowledges that the role has made him fearful of the future in terms of making a mistake. For a youth who has witnessed how angry other parents were due to a mistake in translating, he fears for his fate. Based on such experiences, he considers the role as detrimental which has the potential of ruining family relations. For him, roles should strengthen family relations and not vice versa. The findings show that fallout from providing a wrong translation may influence young people's feelings about the role in terms of family contribution. Also, the diverse perception of youth and parents

about the role influences their feelings about the role of language brokering. Overall, these youth used words such as ‘difficult’, ‘too much’ to express how they feel about the roles of language brokering for their families.

5.3.1.3 Translating Situations

In the context of families, there are situations where child language brokering takes place. Though there may be differences in the type of situations child language brokering occur, there are also common ones which most child language brokers offer their services (Bauer, 2016). All youth cited contexts where they have been engaged in language brokering duties by non-family members. Example of such are schools and churches. This confirms that child language brokering also takes place outside the homes:

...because even in our classroom, I do it. Let's say I come from Ghana and we receive a new student also from Ghana or Africa too and the teacher knows I'm from Ghana and I know how to speak Portuguese. And the new student doesn't know how to speak Portuguese, my teacher will tell me to translate what I heard during class to the person.

(Kwadwo, Youth, Male, 15)

Some participants noted translating official documents and news at home. While talking about these situations, they incorporated how some situations required urgent and timely translation from the child language broker. From the listening and watching of news (especially breaking news), to reading letters from the youth’s school, participants also mentioned translation of utility bills and medically related documents. In the case of listening and reading news, participants talked about youth listening and/or watching attentively to understand what was shown on the television and translating them for their parents. The youth participants recalled how sometimes the news can be frightening and troubling but in that same moment, needed to explain to their parents and others. This is how two of the youth participants shared:

Everyone will be looking at you. They can only see the pictures and videos showing on the television but do not understand. So they will be asking, asking you to explain fast. Sometimes, I feel worried about what they are saying on the television but I have to explain to them, to my parents so they understand what is going on.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

Yeah, sometimes there will be a breaking news and they happen to sit in a sitting room to watch but don't understand. Since they want to know what is going on, they will call me to come, you know. So, I have to tell them what the news is about, about this and this and this and that. Even though we are foreigners here, but anything concerning the country concerns my family. So they want to know.

(Kweku, Youth, Male, 14)

Confirming what Ama said, his father also shared a similar situation,

Sometimes, there will be breaking news about something that has happened. From the pictures and tone, you can tell that it is a serious issue. So we usually call her to explain to us so we know what is going on.

(Kwabena, Parent, Male)

While admitting how sensitive the information on the television can be, parents still engage their children to translate. It could be said that they are usually carried away by the news and not the wellbeing of the youth in such instances. Perhaps, it could also be trusting their children to be able to handle such issues and that may influence their decision to engage their translating services in such situations.

For issues relating to school reports and letters from school, the youth participants recalled reading the documents silently to themselves and reading it out loud in English or Twi to their parents' understanding. In such situations, they mentioned how they exerted their power as language brokers (Hall, 2004). Specifically, they recalled how they represented their academic reports and behavioural reports in a more favourable light than what was in the reports. In their defence, their parents may be offended if they get to know about the accurate information in the document. Kwadwo puts it this way,

I have changed the meaning of my reports from school twice. When I was reading it to him (father), I told him it means I did well even though I didn't. But he didn't know. So I am using what I have to give what I want.

(Kwadwo, Youth, Female, 15)

This situation demonstrates how quickly a young person can use their position of power as language brokers (Bauer, 2016) to change the meaning of documents. If parents do not get access to accurate information, there is a possibility of them making ineffective decisions to

address the situation at hand. For instance, in the case of Kwadwo, if his parents get to know he has an academic concern at school, they may try to help. But with what Kwadwo told his parents, there is a possibility of them assuming he is doing well. If such behaviours mentioned in the school report are not addressed, they may end up affecting Kwadwo in the long run. In the works of Hall (2004) and Orellana et al. (2003), their findings reported how child language brokers exert power and the likelihood of them interpreting document(s) in their favor which is consistent with this finding.

Another translating situation that was mentioned by all youth and parent participants was making purchases at supermarkets or other stores. For this, the youth spoke about two strategies they usually employ. For the first strategy, they list the needed items at home and write its Portuguese meaning alongside. This strategy was usually used when youth participants do not accompany their parents to the grocery stores, shop, or markets. For the other strategy, the youth accompany their parents and pick and translate the names of the items when asked by their parents. One of the youth explained:

When we go to for groceries, I walk with my mum and explain what she wants to buy to her. When the cashier asks us a question, I explain to my mum and she gives me the reply and I tell the cashier. Sometimes I want my mother to speak herself but she can't.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

While the first strategy may be convenient for the youth, the second may require a lot of time from them. It can also lead to instances of embarrassment when they must translate openly among others as observed by Weisskirch and Alva (2002) and Dorner, Orellana, & Jimenez (2008). For instance, a youth visits the grocery store with the parent and explains to the cashier what the mother wants to say. There is a possibility of the youth feeling embarrassed before the cashier or others because of his or her parent's inability to speak the language. Another embarrassing situation explained by the youth is when they meet their school mates with their parents speaking Portuguese.

In summary, youth, playing the role of language brokering, translate during the broadcasting of news in the homes, utility bills, making purchase at grocery stores, for other immigrants at school, and school reports, which is consistently with previous studies (Bauer, 2016, Cline et al., 2010, Kam and Lazarevic, 2014, Katz, 2014) Orellana et al, 2003).

5.3.2 Impact of Child Language Brokering

The broad range of interactions that take place in translation situations result in a mix of positive and negative impacts on the youth involved as well as their families. These impacts as observed by Kam and Lazarevic (2014) and Katz (2014) can be negative. In addition, scholars such as Bauer (2016) and Orellana et al (2003) noted that there are also positive impacts associated with this role.

5.3.2.1 Positive impact on youth

Overall, participants (parents and youth) contextualized the positive impact of the role around communication, language proficiency, academic performance, confidence, and family contribution. Research about impact of language brokering has generally cited improvement in communication as an impact on the youth who play it (Bauer, 2016; Kam and Lazarevic, 2014; Katz, 2014). On this, youth participants shared experiences of how they learnt how to interact effectively with others through their role. From the regular explanation of Portuguese to others in another language, youth participants noted that their knowledge on how to convey messages in an appropriate way significantly improved. This “better way” of communicating assisted them in their interactions with friends and other people. One of the parents puts it this way:

I have observed that she speaks better now. Even during translation, she has improved upon how she provides the meaning. You know, even when she is with friends, I observe great improvement. The translation is what is helping her. I think it is a good and has brought some benefit not only to the family but also the child. This is good.

(Kwame, Parent, Male)

Kweku also shared how he is proud of the way he communicates now. Having played the role of child language brokering for over three years, he noted that he has gradually improved upon how he conveys message to other people. He shares:

I talk very well now. I can express myself to my friends well because I have learnt how to do it. When I am explaining the Portuguese, I have to do it well so I learnt how to talk well so my parents understand what I say when explaining Portuguese.

(Kweku, Youth, Male, 14)

Improvement in Portuguese proficiency was another positive impact reported by participants. Acknowledging that translating situations may require sufficient knowledge in Portuguese to

produce accurate meaning of documents or sentences, both parents and youth participants reported having learnt a word or more during their translations. In instances where they did not understand a word or sentence, the youth noted they searched for the meaning using google translator. When the translation from the internet proved not meaningful, youth reported usually noting such words or sentences down and asking their teachers for better explanation. This, they explained, helped them improve upon their Portuguese diction. Similarly, Kam and Lazarevic (2014) and Buriel et al. (1998) reported improvement in linguistic and cognitive skills of child language brokers.

Overall, the findings showed that language brokering contributes to develop Portuguese proficiency. Two of the participants, youth, and parent, explained:

Even though I knew the language, I did not know everything. I have been using google translator and asking my teachers about the words and that has helped me. Now, I can say that I know more about the language.

(Kweku, Youth, Male, 14)

I am actually proud of how well my child understands the language now. Previously, when I ask him to translate something for me, he is mostly not able to do it very well. But now, he is a champion and even asks me if I need his service to translate a bill when I have not asked him. It is helping and I am glad.

(Abena, Parent, Female)

The improvement in Portuguese proficiency is likely due to the learning of new words or concepts in the translation process. As shown by the account above, youth search for meanings of words and documents they have no idea of and in the process improve upon their vocabulary in the language. While this provides youth the opportunity to improve upon their Portuguese proficiency, it is interesting to also view it from other angles. This role grants youth the opportunity to also demonstrate to their parents their Portuguese language proficiency. A recognition of this feat tends to encourage the youth to even learn the language and improve upon their proficiency. While child language brokers can improve upon their Portuguese proficiency, they can simultaneously learn the other language (English or Twi) they use in the translation. This is quite interesting as the youth can learn both languages better thereby widening their sociolinguistic experience. It is quite interesting that the youth can use this

opportunity to teach the parent some basic words or concepts in Portuguese. This is what Afia shares:

Sometimes, when I give my father the explanation, I mention the word many times and he repeat after me. Later, I ask him again and he sometimes say it and sometimes don't remember. So, I tell him to say it over again so he learns it. You see that next time, he is able to know the meaning.

(Afia, Youth, Female, 14)

In addition, youth reported an increase in their confidence level as they accurately translate the language for their families. Likewise, parents noted how they observed the pride their children exhibited for accurately translating letters, sentences, and/or words for the families over time. In the works of Weisskirch and Alva (2002), they argued that the psychological impact of language brokering is associated with the youth's feeling about the role. In the findings of this study, it was observed that youth who feel good about their role reported of cases of increased self-esteem, pride, and confidence. Interestingly, all youth in this study (both those who feel good and bad about the role) reported a form of positive psychological impact. This was contrary to the findings of Weisskirch and Alva (2002), which reported that how youth feel about their role influences how they are impacted by it. Ama, who stated her strong dislike for the role, shared how the role has improved her confidence:

I do not like doing this at all because of how it frustrates me sometimes. But it has made me confident too. I feel I am doing something great for the family so it gives me happiness. When I explained the news on the television to my father about a violence case, my father was so happy I told him. He said he goes to that place regularly so now he will stop going there. I saved my daddy from going to a dangerous place. He bought me a gift and told me how proud he was of me. I loved it. I loved that my family was so proud of me. This made me know I am important to the family and gave me happiness.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

On the same issue accounted by Ama, her father (Kwabena) also shared:

My daughter made me so proud. I have this place I have been going to and even planned on going there on a particular day. While preparing to leave, there was news about violence in this same place. My daughter translated the news for

me, and I quickly decided not to go. We were so proud of her. I saw that she was also proud of herself. She became confident about what she did.

(Kwabena, Parent, Male)

The report of positive psychological impact by both youth who love the role and those who do not, could perhaps substantiate the argument of some scholars (Bauer, 2016; Orellana et al, 2003) who assert that child language brokering offers a form of positive impact to the youth involved, such as self-esteem. It is also quite interesting to note that parents are conscious of how this role boosts the confidence of their children. Probably, this could be a reason Ghanaian parents continuously use their children for the role of language brokering in Lisbon.

As translators and interpreters of Portuguese, the youth participants also get to aid their parents and siblings. As they interpret medical reports, utility bills, school reports, and accompany parents to grocery stores, they mediate family issues and help the family access essential services needed for their survival. Despite the challenges faced in the process, youth participants shared how they experienced the feeling of goodness and fulfilment in helping the family. This is what Ama had to say:

... my father always talks about how my explanation that day saved him. If he had gotten hurt, my mother would have been sad and my siblings too. Maybe, we would have spent money to take care of him and how will we get the money if he is not working? Because he is the one who brings more money to the house. So you see, the explanation has made me help the family a lot.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

For Kweku, his role as a language broker has helped him bring the family together. Using a drawing, he emphasised how he feels good to make the family functional in Lisbon. His report of improved self-esteem further reaffirms his place as a contributing member of his family. The drawing below demonstrates his idea about his role.

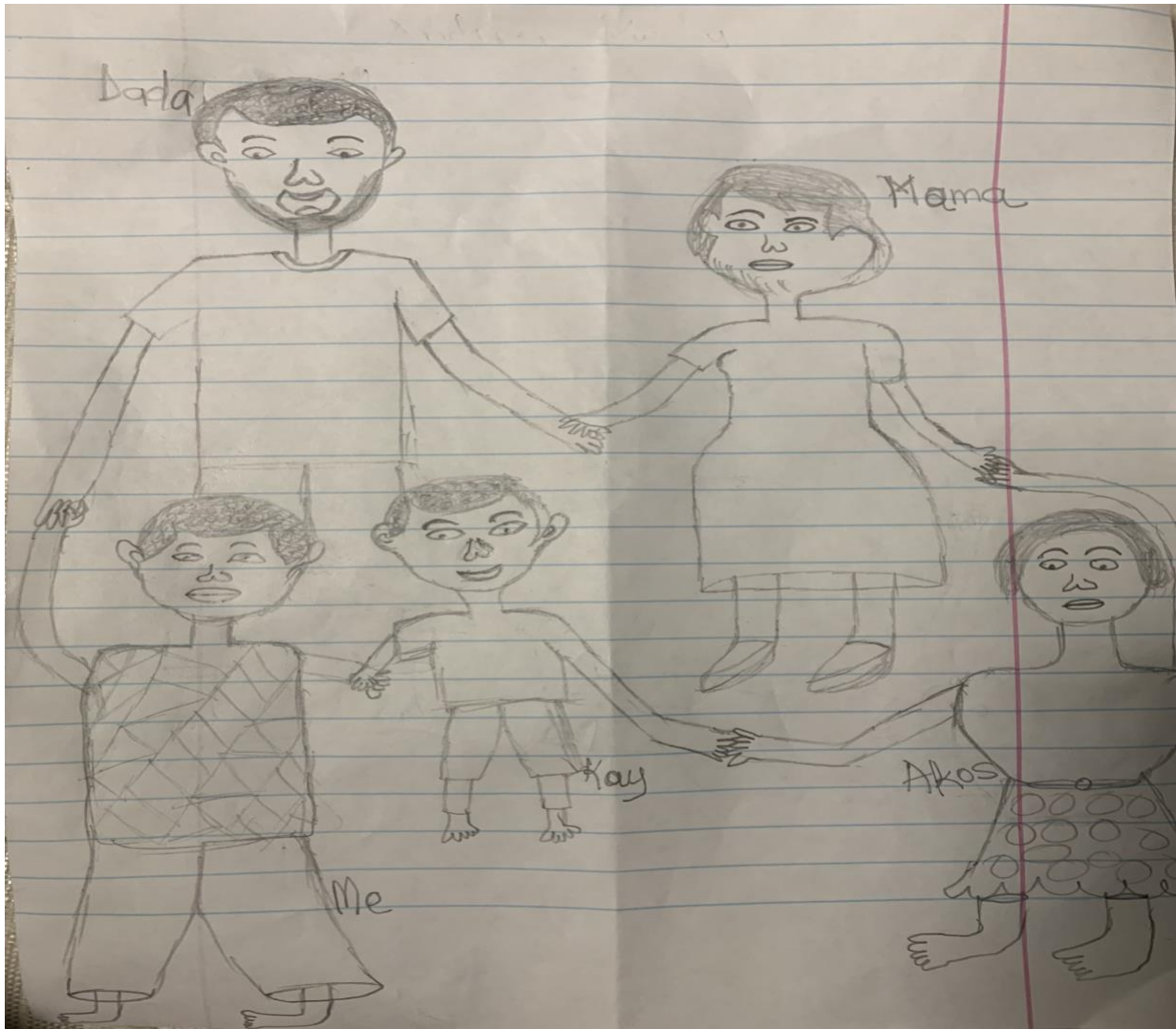


Figure 8: Image from Kweku (A youth participant), 2023

From the drawing, he explains that he is efficiently playing his role as a language broker. With Kweku considering himself as the second man of his family, he stressed on the need to help the family. Therefore, his ability to contribute to the family through this significant role reassures him of his place as the second ‘man’ of the family, which subsequently builds his self-esteem.

It is evident that child language brokers, through their interpretation of a foreign language have been involved in many translation activities that resulted in good outcomes on them (Bauer, 2016). Per the findings such impacts include better communication, improved Portuguese proficiency, increased confidence, and self-esteem.

5.3.2.2 Negative impact on youth

For two of the child language brokers (Ama and Kwadwo), their role has been associated with minor to adverse consequences that subsequently affect their wellbeing. As posited by Becker's Care Continuum theory, the lesser the time and effort used in offering support for the family, the lesser the negative impact on the child caregiver. Likewise, when a young caregiver, in this case a child language broker, invests a lot of time and efforts in translating, there is a possibility of higher adverse impact on the said youth (Weisskirch, 2005, Tse, 1995). Per the findings, all youth participants mentioned some sort of negative impact though variation existed in the form of impact. Notable among the negative impacts shared are stress, frustration, loneliness, role reversal, and loss of time with friends.

Ama and Kwadwo further shared how the role stresses and frustrates them. These experiences were mainly associated with youth who did the translation on a regular basis. Ama, one of the participants who mentioned how frustrating the role was for her, shared how sometimes her plans are interrupted to translate for the family. She mentioned changing of schedules relating to visiting friends and time out to staying at home to translate news for the family. To her, this has on many occasions made her feel lonely by keeping her from her peers and other non-family activities. For Ama, though some of such moments have provided significant help to the family, she has also experienced negative fallouts by playing her role as a language broker:

So I made a plan to visit my friends that weekend. I even told my father about it and he agreed. On the day of visitation, he asked me to wait for some time so I translate the news for him. The news was longer than I thought. So I couldn't go. I ended up in the house. I couldn't be with my friend. That was bad.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

Kwadwo also recalled a stressful situation which got him stressed:

After school, I got home so tired. I just wanted to bath and sleep. I met my father in the living room and he asked me change (remove his uniform and wear another dress) and come back. I did not even bath. He asked me to go with him to the hospital to help explain things to the doctor. I didn't know what was wrong with him. I was so angry. I was like why won't this man learn the language and leave me alone. I just wanted to rest you know.

(Kwadwo, Youth, Male, 15)

Using drawing, Kwadwo sketched how the role negatively affects him,

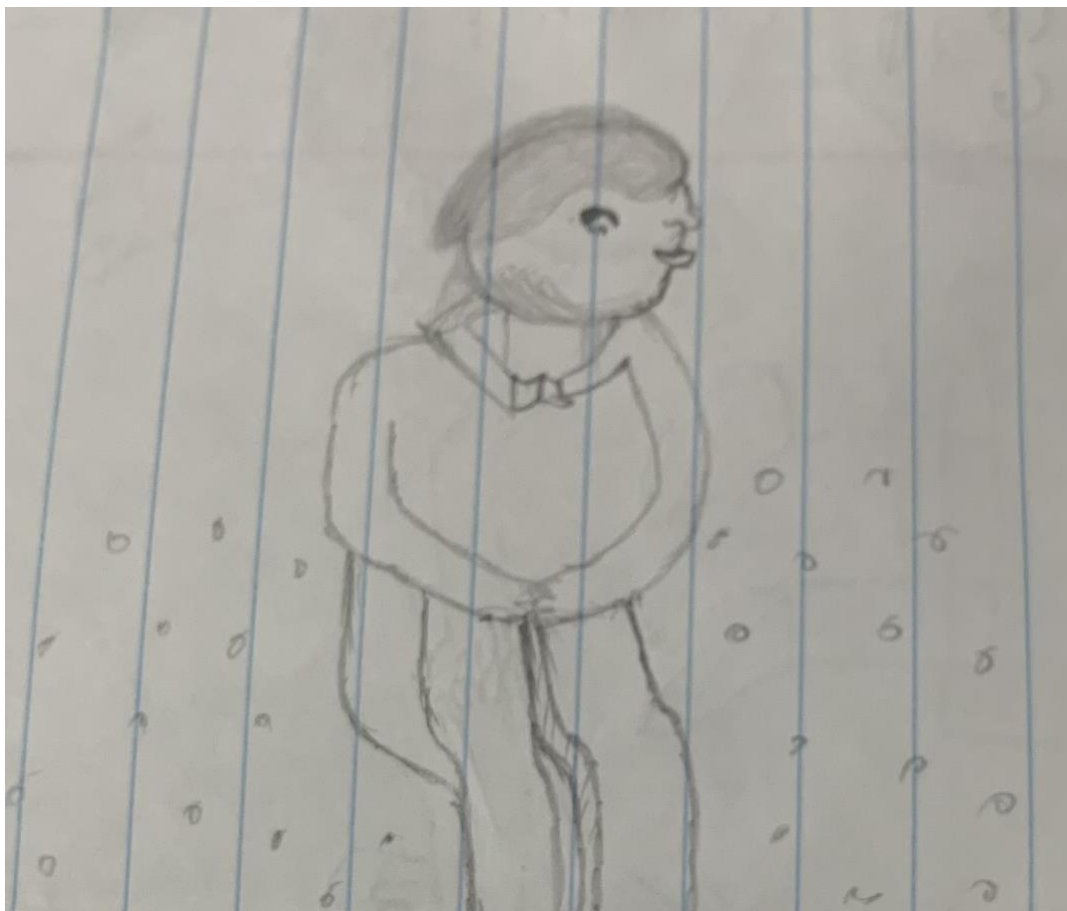


Figure 9: Kwadwo's perception about impact of child language brokering on youth

In explaining the drawing, Kwadwo stressed on how he feels lonely at home. Associating this to his other siblings and mother being outside Portugal, he believes the role has worsened the situation. While acknowledging that his father does not force him to play the role, he noted the recognition and status that accompanies responsibilities in his home. Banging his hopes on a change of situation should his father learn the language; he also hoped his mother and others joining may turn his situation into a better one.

Putting her emotions into drawing, Ama shared how her role as a language broker for her family has impacted her. The picture below is a summary of how she considers the role has negatively impacted her,



Figure 10: Ama's perception about impact of child language brokering role on youth

Explaining what the image means to her, she gave two situations. In one case, Ama explains that the role has pushed her away from her friends and have taken away most of her play time. This has resulted in her spending less time with them and at most times feeling lonely. In another situation, she explained that the role has made her stressed while among her parents and siblings without them discovering what is wrong with her. Alone with her thoughts, she finds a quiet place and cries out. From her account, the role has not only led to a negative psychological impact (stress) but also affected her relationship with her friends. Acknowledging how peers' relationships are to teenagers, this may affect Ama's adversely.

The feeling of frustration may experience when one is unable to get things according to plan. In the case of Kwadwo, he wanted to rest but was made to accompany the father to help translate the interaction. He expressed how that deprived him of his rest. Thus, in the absence of the need for translation, he may have gotten his rest hence his frustration. For Ama, the need for translation took her play time as well as time out. Youth participants appreciate been with friends and playing together so seizing such a cherished moment may have many implications on the youth. With findings providing information consistent with what Weisskirch (2007) findings, it can be said that this is the reality of child language brokers.

Another negative impact reported by most youth was embarrassment. Youth reported feeling of embarrassment when asked to translate in public places. They mentioned that put them in a situation of pressure. For them, the instance pressure and presence of others made them a bit intimidated and feared the risk of a wrong translation. Even though the parent or the other person may not know of the mistake, they felt embarrassed when they realized they had made a mistake. They also showed concern about the public knowing about their parents' limited knowledge in Portuguese. Like other youth, they expressed their wish of seeing their parents communicate easily with other persons without any difficulty. This made them shy of identifying with their parents in such situations. In three family cases (Ama, Kwadwo and Afia), this sense of embarrassment is what causes a mistake in the translation as explained by Ama:

When we go out to the hospital, I will be speaking to the nurse and explain it to my mother. You will see people looking at you and I think they are like, so this woman can't speak this language and this small child is explaining for her. It makes me feel someway (embarrassed). I want my mother to be able to speak herself, it will make me proud but she can't and I have to do it inform of all these people. It is someway for me.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

Kwabena, Ama's father, in contrast to how his daughter feels about public translation, reported a positive feeling. To him, it is satisfying to observe your child prove his or her worth in public. While acknowledging the possibility of others wondering why an adult is allowing a child to translate, he considered such as an opportunity for the child to exhibit what she has learnt in school:

If she does not speak the language or help me translate, how will I know she is taking her lessons serious? It is an opportunity for me to show to the public that I have such a brilliant child as a daughter. I am sure she is also proud of doing it in public.

(Kwabena, Parent, Male)

Again, the issue of different perception of the role between parents and the youth is demonstrated here. What is more interesting is one party expecting the other to know of their feelings.

For Kwadwo, child language brokering has caused role reversal in their families. Kwadwo, who reported observing such in his family, said:

Sometimes, I feel I am doing what adults do. Like why should I be made to do this? Can't my father learn the language? I asked my friend if he also do this and he said no.

(Kwadwo, Youth, Male, 15)

Unlike Kwadwo, his father opines the role has having no adverse impact on children. Rather he considers it as a good role:

He is just explaining. Does that cause any problem?

(Kofi, Parent, Male)

For three parents (Kwabena, Kwame, and Kofi) they have no knowledge on how a role such as language brokering may affect a youth. They considered it in a more positive light and acknowledge they have not considered the negative aspect. For the other parent (Abena), she mentioned how the role can significantly affect her child. Associating this to their knowledge about what translation entails, they noted that it is an adult role and should only involve young people when the document or content of translation are not overwhelming. The issue of reconciling what young people feel and what parents feel is made bear here. Importantly, the role serves a form of support to the family but parents' knowledge about possible impact may inform the extent of translation expected from their children. In the works of Tse (1995), he notes that this role reversal as noted by Kwadwo can disrupt the family structure and have long term impact on the youth involved. A parent's understanding about translation may influence the extent of translation they involve their children in. Likewise, a parent's ignorance about translating knowledge may make them trivialize its impact and engage their children in extensive forms of this activity.

5.3.3 Impact on family

Child language brokering is mainly carried out by young people to assist in the survival of the immigrant family in the host society (Tse, 1995). Views about the impact of the role on the family presents a diverse perspective. Some studies have shown that this role has significant impact on the wellbeing of the family (Antonini, 2016; Bauer, 2016), while others argue that can negatively affect the family (Titzmann, 2012; Mercado, 2003).

This section will therefore present findings on how youth and their parents' views concerning the positive impacts and negative impacts of the role on their families. It will first present information on the positive impact followed by the negative impact on the family.

5.3.3.1 Positive impact on family unit

Participants of the study shared their views about how the role of language brokering helps the family. From mediating in issues with third parties on behalf of the family to saving the family from shame in public, the study participants reiterated the essence of the role in relation to the family. In addition, parent participants reported how the role saves the family money and time. The cohesion of the family was also strengthened through this, as reported by both youth and parents.

For instance, Kweku, who calls himself the second man of his family (after his father), believes he needs to be an active contributor to the family. For him, the role of language brokering affords him the opportunity to occupy that position. He explained that it exciting to represent his family in public. From engaging health personnel to ensuring his family receives the right health care to negotiating with sellers during purchases, Kweku can bring a sort of relief to his family. His ability to also provide almost accurate translation promotes the family's access to the right information or need. For Kweku, this brings joy:

Like when we go to the supermarket at (name of a neighbourhood in Lisbon), sometimes we don't find what we want so I ask the man there and explain what we want to him. Then he helps us. You will see that my mother is happy that I do something for her.

(Kweku, Youth, Male, 14)

This what Kweku's mother had to say concerning how her son's role in helping the family,

For us, I will say it helps us get what we want especially at the various stores or organization. Because I can't speak well, he engages the third party and give me their message and also send my message to them. So, he is like the mediator between us and the person we want to speak with. You understand?

(Abena, Parent, Female)

For the family of Kwame and Afia, this is what they shared,

When we go to the hospital, I talk to the nurses. So, I tell them this is this and that. My mother will be standing by me smiling when I talk. The nurse or doctor

will know what is wrong with her and what to do for her. So, my talking with them is what helps her get the medicine.

(Afia, Youth, Female, 14)

As parent we do our best to help the family, everyone. But sometimes, we need help. Not money but like services to make our work easy. Ama helping me translate Portuguese is very important for us. How do we explain ourselves when we can't speak it? That is why I think what she does helps us. Yeah.

(Kwame, Parent, Male)

The consciousness of the youth in knowing of the importance of their role to the family is worth mentioning. Furthermore, the parents' appreciation of the role in terms of family contribution is also important for the youth in terms of recognition. Knowing that you are appreciated for something you do may even encourage you to do more of such. It will therefore not be far from right to say that the continuity of young people being used as language brokers is influenced by the recognition they gain and what that means to them.

The ability of the youth, through their role, to help the family save time and cost was also shared by participants. In registering for a language course, parents shared there is a need to make payment. But if there is an alternative person to offer such services, then there may be no need to incur such cost. Also, the engagement of a professional translator may be associated with cost which the family may not be able to afford. The child language broker then comes in handy to save the family from such cost. For Kofi, whose job does not require knowledge in Portuguese and has plans of relocating from Portugal, spending money to learn Portuguese is not cost effective. The need to access public services becomes his only challenge as a non-Portuguese speaker. Therefore, having a child who speaks and understands it is his way out:

I work with an American organization, so we only speak English. Also, like I mentioned earlier, I am making some arrangements and when its successful, I will travel to an English-speaking country. So I don't see the need to learn the language. The only thing that can worry me is when I want to get something or for the public speaking. But my son is there and he understands it so I am good. He is doing that.

(Kofi, Parent, Male)

Consistent with his father's experience, Kwadwo shares that his role helps his father greatly since he is unable to learn the language. Per Kwadwo's understanding, his father's job schedule is quite tight and does not afford him the opportunity to learn the language so he providing such service means he is helping to offer a great deal of help to assist him go about his duties. For a child to appreciate the work a parent does to keep the family functional is impressive. The findings prove that young people may in their own way offer care or support to their family to ensure they enjoy a manageable life.

Getting to an organization or setting where no one speaks a similar language can be frustrating. More frustrating is when the people are not receptive of your concerns because of your inability to speak their language. To minimize such possibilities, individuals' resort to mobile translations as reported by three youth participants (Afia, Kweku, Ama) in the study. However, such translations may not be quite effective in some situations and can make individuals frustrated and embarrassed. From wrong interpretation to taking more time and slowing the conversation, individuals may not be prepared to use this. The next possibility becomes using another individual who understands both languages to facilitate the conversation. In the absences of a professional or adult translator, parents, especially immigrant parents may use their children for this purpose. The presence or ability of one's child to therefore offer this service to the parents brings a lot of relief from the fear of embarrassment and frustration. For participants of this study, this is one of the ways the role of child language brokering helps their families. Using the Kwabena and Ama accounts:

I remember I went to XYZ organization (name withheld), and the staff could not speak English. They did not even understand it. I don't also know if they did not want to speak it. I started sweating because I needed to do something urgent there. It was uncomfortable and embarrassing. Luckily, my son was around so he spoke with them on my behalf. Imagine if he wasn't?

(Kwabena, Parent, Male)

The availability of young people when issues of linguistic challenges arise for their families has proved to be very important in lowering possible frustration (Bauer, 2016). Consistently, these findings confirm the works of scholars such as Antonini (2016) and Orellana et al (2003).

5.3.3.2 Negative impact on family

This section presents information on how youth through their role as child language brokers cause harm to their families. Two main issues regarding this were shared by the participants: role reversal and privacy.

One of the main reasons given for the use of young people for language brokering roles has been privacy. However, this issue of privacy is however a two-way affair, as reported by participants.

Abena, the mother of Kweku, shares that she fears her son may discuss her family issues with friends at school. While at home, she states she can control what her son says and not, she mentions that the possibility of knowing what he discusses with his friends and teachers in school cannot be controlled. She acknowledges that through language brokering, her son may be exposed to sensitive issues regarding the family. She showed strong concern for such situations because of how that can affect the family:

You see they're children, they play a lot and they also talk a lot to their friends. Yeah. Sometimes what they have been exposed to, they can even discuss with their friends or in the school that oh, mommy had a letter, oh, this was the content of this letter. This happened, that happened, that happened. So I think they can discuss the family secret outside. That will not be good for the family.

(Abena, Parent, Female)

Another parent, Kwabena, shared his view about this:

I have never considered the possibility of Ama sharing our information out. I mean, it is possible for her to do it but it has never crossed my mind. But even if she will, I don't think she will tell them private issues. We have taught her the importance of family secret so she knows. I don't see that as a big issue. Also, we don't really share very very deep secrets with her. She is still a child you know, but I understand she may know certain things from the letters. But it is still better than using other people for the translation.

(Kwabena, Parent, Male)

It is a fact that families enjoy a lot of benefits from using their children as language brokers. One of the reasons for this has been issues of privacy, where parents in an effort to keep family issues within the family, use family members to get meanings of situations. The finding of this study is therefore interesting as it shows that the same issue of privacy can be compromised by

using young people as language brokers. Can the caution of youth against speaking to ‘outsiders’ about issues relating to the family be used to control this possible privacy breach?

For Abena, this may be quite difficult to achieve and that is her reason for excluding sensitive information from the content of her son’s translation. Contrarily, some parents like Kwabena who have not considered this possible privacy breach may feel more at ease using their children to translate information regarding medical diagnosis or other sensitive issues. For them, the issue of privacy can be breached when ‘outside’ interpreters are used. This shows how parents trivialize this possibility and focus more on how ‘outsiders’ can send family information to the public and even state authorities.

Some participants further raised the issue of how child language brokering disrupts family structures. Two of the youth explained how the role has put them in a place of power which makes them the ‘adult’. Consistent with this finding is the argument of Titzmann (2012) which reports that child language brokering puts young people in adult situations. Weisskirch (2007) also found that child language brokering expresses the authority of parents and promotes that of children. It is worth establishing that youth who reported their dislike for the role are those who shared this perception of role reversal:

I am the child and my father is the adult. He is supposed to take care of me and when I grow, I also take care of him. But now, I have to join him to places so he is okay. Like, I am taking care of him now.

(Kwadwo, Youth, Male, 14)

When asked how different the role is from other domestic chores, one of the youth shared the role of language brokering was a bit higher than other chores:

Oh this is more than sweeping and cleaning. Like cleaning, I just do it and I know when to do it. This one, I can be called to do it at anytime and I have to think before doing it. I cannot just do it because if I make a mistake, it is not good.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

For Ama, the role of language brokering needs more than physical strength. She may understand how draining the role is and how the role puts her in a position of power. This

makes her consider it as a detrimental role on both the youth and the family. It is therefore not surprising that she expects to stop playing that role.

For the parents, child language brokering is nothing more than a role redistribution to meet the challenges of family experience in Portugal. This may perhaps inform their decision to undervalue the power the role confers to their children. In exploring if these youth and their parents share similar perception about the negative impact on the family, the father of Ama shared:

No, I do not think my child translating means she is playing an adult role. She is just explaining things to me but from another language. How does this mean she is playing an adult role? Does it mean when she sweeps, and I or her mother don't sweep, she is playing an adult role? No. So it is like that.

(Kwabena, Parent, Male)

Reflecting on this account, the family may not have experienced a breach of privacy from the youth or trust the daughter to keep the family issues secret. It could also mean the parent frames child language brokering around the concept of care as asserted in Becker's Care Continuum theory (Bauer, 2016). For scholars supporting this position, the practice resembles other forms of support young people provide in their homes as such should not be framed around the concept of role reversal (Bauer, 2016; Crafter et al., 2009; Orellana, 2009). Just like these scholars, the parents shared views against the framing of child language brokering around parentification. Also interesting was the cultural understanding of childhood and how those influences parents' decision on role assigning and expectations.

The findings have confirmed that child language brokering is not only beneficial to the families but also the youth been used for such role (Bauer, 2016; Cline et al., 2010; Orellana et al, 2003). Likewise, both the family and youth stand a chance of been negatively affected by such role (Kam and Lazarevic, 2014; Weisskirch and Alva, 2002). The possibility of positive impact is comparably greater than the negative impact per the findings.

5.3.4 Managing the Impact

Globally, it has established that young people in one way or the other, play different roles (domestic chores, language brokering, etc.) in their families. While these roles may differ in terms of the expectation and effort required, it is usually geared towards a positive end.

However, there are situations where young people have suffered adverse consequences because of their role. As the child language brokers simultaneously perform their role of translating and experiencing negative impacts, there is a need for coping measures that can be helpful to them to be explored (Joseph et al., 2020). In this study, participants (youth) shared how they employed certain measures to help them manage their stress, loneliness, frustration, amongst others. For the purpose of this dissertation, coping has been defined as the way youth manage the challenges associated with their role of language brokering for the Ghanaian immigrant families.

5.3.4.1 Good Coping Skills

Young people's cultural understanding of childhood and responsibility was greatly utilized as resources in constructing positive identities for themselves. In advancing their experience, they commented that such positive identities make them unique from other young carers. For all youth participants, continually playing the role was an honour of the biblical requirements of children. In the process of gaining this positive identity, youth participants reported to receiving recognition from their parents which was an encouragement. To them, the role is an opportunity to prove to their parents that they are obedient and supportive children. Adopting such identities therefore serves as a motivation to continually play their roles as language brokers irrespective of the impact it may have on them. Drawing on their cultural and religious understanding of childhood, they shared how that influences their coping skills. Sharing her understanding of childhood and responsibility, Afia said:

I am supposed to help my family. When my family needs something and I can help, I have to. That is what I know and what the bible says. When I grow, I can help with money and other big things but for now, I have to do things to help at home. So, if mummy wants me to explain Portuguese, then I have to do it. It shows that I am a good child. So I have to do it for her. If I don't, it means I am disrespectful and I am not. So yeah.

(Afia, Youth, Female, 14)

Kweku also shares his views:

Children of God have to be respectful and honour their parents. That is what the bible says. So I am following that.

(Kweku, Youth, Male, 14)

In attaining the "good child" status by providing essential services to the family, many participants continually performed their role as child language brokers. This positive identity

status was also confirmed by the parent participants who shared that it is the expectation of ‘good’ children to help their families. Kwame, Afia’s father had this to say:

If you keep avoiding what you have to do as a child, it means you are disobedient. When I was a child in Ghana, I didn’t even wait for my parents to tell me what to do, I knew my duties and I did just that. That is what a good child does. Do you think my parents would have been proud of me if I don’t do what they want? They won’t.

(Kwame, Parent, Male)

For Kwame, a ‘good’ child is one who obeys his or her parents and for Ama to gain that status, she needs to meet her expectations of language brokering. Ama also shares a similar perception of a ‘good child’. As a language broker, she may continually offer translation services for her family to be that ‘good child’. Appreciating what this ‘status’ means to the child, he or she may not consider reporting negative feeling associated with this role to the parents. Expressing how the recognition means to children, Kweku shares:

I would not want to be a disrespectful child. I just want my father to see me as a good boy so that he will be happy about me and support me. If he sees me as a bad boy, it will not be good for me so I don’t want. I love it when he calls me ‘my boy’. You know, he only calls me that when I do something good and even tells our church members about it. He always tells them he is so proud of me. I really like that.

(Kweku, Youth, Male, 14)

Basing on the understanding of childhood as a period involving service, the construction of positive identities helped the youth participants to view their role as both an opportunity and a challenge for their personal benefit as well as the family. Perhaps, this may have influenced their decision to adopt positive identities to enable them continually playing their roles as language brokers.

All parent participants confirmed this ‘definition of childhood’ while Abena (mother of Kweku) admitted the role was a bit too demanding for young people. When asked of their knowledge about the coping skills their children may be utilizing, three parents (Kwabena, Kweku, and Kofi) reported no knowledge and undervalued the relevance of such as they did not appreciate the negative impact it may have on their children. They based their reason on

the ability of their children to easily share their concerns with them. This is what Abena and Kofi, who are parents to Kweku and Kwadwo:

Oh, Kweku doesn't do a lot of the translation. He only does the social stuff so I don't think it is too much for him. And I don't think he will hide something from his dad. You know, he talks a lot to his dad so if there is an issue he will tell him. He hasn't said anything yet. So yeah.

(Abena, Parent, Female)

My boy is quite outspoken, and I sometimes sit him down to have a chat. I do that to see if there is anything worrying him. He is fine. I haven't seen anything to show he is not fine. He would have told me too. I mean, he does other things apart from this so if there is anything with the translation, he will tell me directly.

(Kofi, Parent, Male)

For the children (youth participants) of these parents, this is what they shared:

I do not want to hurt my dad and mum. I love them and they love me too. That is why I don't tell them about it. See, if I tell them and they let me stop, who will help them? You see, so when I keep doing it they will be all happy. Everybody will be happy. So yeah.

(Kweku, Youth, Male, 14)

When I do the explanation, they all become happy because it helps them. If I tell them, it makes me nervous, they may not understand, so I don't tell them. I just keep doing it so they keep seeing me as a good child. It is okay.

(Kwadwo, Youth, Male, 15)

This brings to bear a very interesting aspect of the child-parent relationship. On one hand, the parent thinks the child will let them know their genuine feelings about a situation affecting them and the child, on the other hand, may not share his or her feelings but rather adopt coping measures. Probably, if parents engage their children in such conversations and explore their unique opinion about their roles and feelings, they may know the genuine challenges facing their children. While most youth ascribed positive meaning to their roles, others shared mixed feelings based on the extent of translation they offer. The cultural and religious understanding of childhood also influenced the coping skills adopted by child language brokers. In summary,

it is evident that culture informs parents role expectation of their children, young people's perception about responsibilities in the family, and the adoption of coping measures. Likewise, this perception influences the form of socialization parents offer to their children.

Some participants further shared they resort to physical activities such as taking short walks, playing games or any sporting activity. These activities, participants believed helped stimulate their relaxation which made them feel better after feeling nervous, stressed, or frustrated. Acknowledging that it offered a form of physical benefit, they also shared how it boosted their emotional wellbeing and helped with their stress. Recalling how she took slow short walks in her neighbourhood, Ama shared how that helped her manage her stress from being a language broker. She shares:

When I become stressed, I walk out of the house and walk around. I just walk slowly around so that I can take my mind off it. It actually helps me, it's like an exercise. I get back feeling okay. You see that the stress reduces. I mostly listen to music when walking around.

(Afia, Youth, Female, 14)

This is what Ama shared:

I really like sports. The Portuguese explanation is sometimes too much, it makes me mad especially when after explaining, they keep asking me to do more. I get so mad. It is too much. And I don't want them to see me like that so I tell them I want to get fresh air and go outside. I can use my skipping rope¹². I sometimes play the oware¹³. When I do that, I feel okay. For oware, if I win I remind myself I am a winner. For the skipping robe, it makes me refreshed. So they (parents and siblings) know I like skipping rope but they don't know I use it to feel better.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

Though the physical activity is a good measure to help the youth cope with stress, there could be other intentions behind it. This draws attention to the possibility of young people hiding their feelings about situations affecting them. While this could be about their language brokering role, it is also possible to be about other issues of concern to them.

¹² Skipping rope: a sporting activity where one continually jumps a rope while it is being swung.

¹³ Oware¹³: a game played by two or more people which is aimed at capturing seeds from the opponent.

Even though three youth participants (Ama, Afia, and Kwadwo) mentioned not been able to speak to their parents about how the role impacts them, they mentioned they could speak to other close relations. To them, such close relations may help them to manage the impacts or perhaps propose viable solutions. On another hand, it was a strategy to get the message across to their parents through a third party because of their doubt about how their parents may react if they should open up about such issues.

As the critical ecological theory asserts, one's immediate environment has an impact on his or her ability to cope with challenges (Rothery, 2007; Bronfenbrenner, 2005). Thus, working relationships between individuals and their contexts may fit them well into their families and societies which may produce the kind of support they may need for their survival. This is an example of social support at the micro level. Using the case of Ama and her family, she has a working relationship with her close relations and when she need help on managing the impact of her role, she falls on their support which proved to be essential. This is what she shares:

I sometimes talk to my cousin in Ghana. She is older so she advices me always. She understands me and don't get angry when I tell her what I do. So she is the one I talk to.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

The Critical Ecological theory recognises that individuals have capabilities and strengths which may be utilized in making choices (Rothery, 2007). Against such premise, it is not surprising that Kwadwo uses his drawing skills to manage the challenges of his role as a language broker. As a coping skill, he puts all his emotions into drawing. Focusing his drawing on his idea of what he wanted his family life to be to what the reality is, he expresses great disappointment. Though the situation has not changed, he explains that such drawing gives him some sort of relief:

I thought I will be with my mother and father and siblings, like everybody will be with me here. So, we can all live together, but no. Now, if my father goes to work, I am here alone but it is okay because I don't have to explain any Portuguese. So, when he goes to work, I draw. I draw how I feel, what I want, my fears, everything. So, I have a lot of drawings here. Even though I still explain Portuguese, the drawings have been helpful. After drawing, I feel

something. I don't know how to explain but I feel okay. Sometimes I cry when drawing but it is okay.

(Kwadwo, Youth, Male)

Acknowledging that the drawing has proven effective in making other challenges, he feels motivated and applies the same to his language brokering situation. This is consistent with the tenets of the theory which urges the exploration of individual's strengths and competences in managing their challenges (Rothery, 2007).

Admitting the study has informed him (Kwadwo's father) about how the role can affect his son, he pledged to engage his son to brainstorm on the best possible way to help the family. This was done using existing literature to present some potential coping measures adopted by child language brokers.

For Kweku, remaining calm is what helps calm his nerves. He, like other youth, reported resorting to this as a coping measure. For Kweku and Ama, remaining calm help them to relax. Their reflections then influence their decision on the next course of action. Kweku shares:

I really love explaining the language for them (parents) but sometimes it's a bit too much. When I get mad or become nervous, I move away and try to remain calm. I don't want to speak to them in a bad way because children are not supposed to that. So, I only remain calm so I feel better and go back to them. When they ask me what is wrong, I only say I am okay. I don't tell them. But I can tell them, I just don't want to. This is what I do.

(Kweku, Youth, Male,14)

For Kweku's mother, she admits the role can be overwhelming for young people and as such should be controlled. She mentioned engaging her son in translating only non-sensitive issues which may not expose Kweku to any psychological challenge or negative impact. Contrary to what Kweku shared, she mentioned her son has so far not shown any sign of negative impact from the role. Being a Ph.D. student and a background in child protection work, she shared instances where the wellbeing of a child can be harmed and does her possible best to minimize that. Again, Kweku's measure of remaining calm and not sharing what is bothering him makes the mother think her son is not having any challenge with the role:

The role can be challenging. It has to do with a lot of mental capacity and that is too much for my Kweku. I do not allow him to translate medical or immigration related issues. He only does the trivial ones like names of items and the likes. So, I don't think that has been having any effect on him. But I will try and engage him on that. We talk a lot but he is very close to his father so I can tell his father to also speak with him, so we know. Honestly, I have not thought of how that can affect him because like I said he does the trivial ones.

(Abena, Parent, Female)

Like the case of Kwadwo, many parents undermine the possibility of negative impact of the role on their children which subsequently hinders their ability to value the coping measures that can help their children.

It is quite impressive to know how young people, in their own wisdom and strengths have been able to initiate activities that can help them manage their psychological challenges because of their role. This ability to engage in intentional activities shaped by their beliefs and societal expectation could perhaps substantiate the claim that young people are social actors (Skovdal et al., 2009). As an effort of managing their wellbeing and simultaneously contributing to the family, Ghanaian child language brokers reported the reason behind the initiation of these measures. For some, the idea of not disrupting the family relations and not 'hurting' the feelings of their parents influenced their decision to develop these measures. Probably, when parents explore the intent behind their children's activities, they may be informed about how challenging their roles are and offer the help they may need to manage them.

None of the youth participants reported ever sharing their perception about the impact of their roles. While acknowledging opening up to other close relations, they mentioned opening up to their parents (those responsible for assigning the role) is not something they have done or may do on their own initiative. However, if parents should initiate such conversation, perhaps, they could know of the challenges and devise way of helping these youth.

5.3.4.2 Negative Coping Measures

In managing the frustration, loneliness, embarrassment, stress, etc. that are associated with the role of child language brokering, young people develop personal initiatives that can be beneficial in this regard. Such measures can be categorized based on its impact on the wellbeing

of the youth involved. While there are positive ways that child language brokers use in managing their role, they also reported harmful ways of managing their role. In this study, participants shared three main negative coping measures.

While some admitted to not knowing how harmful such activities can be to their wellbeing, others admitted knowing yet engaged in such activities. Two youth (Ama, Kweku and Kwadwo) reported on withdrawing and isolating from people to shed tears because of the embarrassment and/or frustration they faced while translating for their families. Two youth (Ama and Kwadwo) shared they resorted to isolation due to their inability to provide the accurate translation for their parents. They mentioned having the feeling of inadequacy or failing their parents. Associating this to their understanding of childhood, they aimed at doing their part to ensure the family was surviving while also gaining a recognition from the parents. Hence, their inability to get the accurate translation meant they may lose their recognition while also putting their family in an inconvenient situation. Ama shared this:

We went to the grocery the other time to get tomato paste. What we saw were different, different kinds so we were confused. So, daddy asked me to explain which one was right. I knew the name in Portuguese, so I took them. I think I took about five or six because we didn't want to go back to the supermarket again that week. When we got home and opened it, it was tomato sauce. It wasn't the paste. I was so embarrassed and mad. I made my father waste money. My father was like, "Ama, you made me buy the wrong one, come and see". I was sad, embarrassed, everything. I think it was expensive, so it means my father has wasted the money. Now we must go back again, to get the correct one. So I don't like making mistakes at all. When I make mistake, I just want to be alone, I just want to ask myself some questions like why did you make a mistake? I cried a lot about it. But I didn't tell my mother or father. I only told my sister. She understands me.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

In the interview with Ama's father, he mentioned noticing his child withdrawing from the family a few times. To him, his understanding was the child was engaged in a productive school related activity and as such needed space. He reported not considering the possibility of her crying or withdrawing because of the role. Stating that the study has made him conscious of such situations, he promised to pay particular attention to the activities of his children:

Ama sometimes leave us and goes to her room. Maybe she is learning or doing something about her school, that's what I usually think. I have not seen her cry or feel sad about this translation thing before. It will be quite surprising to see her do that. She knows I love her and trust her so she can tell me anything. If she is worried about something and don't tell me, I will be surprised.

(Kwame, Parent, Male)

For Ama, she knows withdrawing from the family and shedding tears may make her ill, but her goal is to get rid of the feeling of embarrassment and frustration. Her desire to contribute to the family survival makes her keep her concerns about her role to herself. She further drew on her cultural understanding of childhood to substantiate her decision. For Ama, a child is supposed to help the family. With this understanding, she tries her best to help the family always. Affirming this, she shares how her relatives back in Ghana and some members of the church define childhood and responsibility in Ghana. Considering this perception, child language brokers who get the correct translation of their tasks were by implication 'good' children.

Aunt Akua always tell me that if I was in Ghana, I will be doing a lot more for the family. She is my father's sister. She always says that I can do more than I am doing. So I am doing more to help my family.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

Kwabena, Ama's father also shared his perception about childhood and responsibilities:

Children are part of the family. They can also help. When I was a child, I did so many things to help my family. I used to fetch water from a very long distance. I learnt to be responsible. So I have to train my children to be responsible to the family. When I give them (children) roles, I am only training them. I have giving them the Ghanaian training.

(Kwabena, Parent, Male)

The influence of cultural understanding of childhood and responsibility is evident in how some Ghanaian families assign roles and expectation from their children. The findings also demonstrate that these Ghanaian families try to raise and train their children the "Ghanaian way".

Pretending not to understand the content of a given document is another measure youth participants report they employ in avoiding translating for their parents. While this measure worked successfully for some of the participants, some youth reported they were “caught” for pretending which later resulted in other issues between themselves and their parents. One of such youth was Kwadwo:

Sometimes, I just pretend I don't know what is in the letter. I know but I tell him I don't. One day, I think he looked at my face and realized I was lying so he told me I am lying. He got angry.

(Kwadwo, Youth, Male, 54)

His father, Kofi, also reported that he observed change of behaviour in his son concerning the translation. He, however, did not associate that to the extent of translation and its possible impact on the youth, rather, he reported peer pressure may have been an influence in his son's behaviour:

Off late, when you ask him to explain the language, he frowns and shows some behaviour. I have asked him a number of times why he does that, but he says nothing. I think he is learning from his friends.

(Kofi, Parent, Male)

Ama, like others reported the provision of wrong answer as an effort of avoiding the translation. This particular action can lead to the family making costly mistakes. In exploring the parents' knowledge about possibility of their children providing wrong answers, Kwabena (Ama's father) noted he would not want to provide any information. He shares,

If he keeps asking me to explain and I am tired, I just give him the wrong answer. I know it is not good but I am tired.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

I will not want to talk about that. It has some confidential issues that I cannot share if that is okay with you.

(Kwabena, Parent, Male)

Though both parent and youth provided no detailed information regarding the result of her act, her body language suggests it might have resulted in critical consequences. The process of

child language brokering can be productive for the family, but also can be detrimental as argued by scholars such as Kim et al. (2017) and Jurkovic (2014).

In summary, young people initiate and adopt various measures in trying to manage the impact of the roles as language brokers. While some of these may be productive, others can also be destructive to the wellbeing of the youth. While it is so, the negative measures are mostly associated with children who offer an extensive form of translation. The ability of young people to produce their own culture during adversities may demonstrate that they are capable of influencing decisions in their lives

5.3.5 Expectations of support

I want my father to learn Portuguese. When he learns, I don't have to explain to him then I can have my play and visit times. If he learns, I won't have to cry. I will be happy. I will be proud of him. I won't be shy or embarrassed at the supermarket.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

Acknowledging young people as social actors and their ability to determine what form of support they desire can help in the successful implementation of their roles. The quote above categorically states the form of support a child language broker (Ama) expect her family to help her situation. Besides the parents, there are other sources of social support that can be beneficial to the immigrant youth and their families in Lisbon. By identifying the possible supports systems for the youth and their families, the critical ecological systems theory was explored, thus, the social context within which the impact of child language brokering occurs. Therefore, identifying these social supports may be relevant to minimize the impact of language brokering on the youth. Under this theme, three sub-themes emerged: the immigrant family, Ghanaian Church/Association of Ghanaians, and Social Services.

5.3.5.1 The immigrant family

The findings of the study showed that young people take up language brokering roles in their families due to their parents' low proficiency in the Portuguese language. This indicates that the higher the level of parents' Portuguese proficiency, the low the demand for the translation services in immigrant families and subsequently the lesser the impact of the role on the youth.

Throughout the study, youth participants emphasized their desire for their parents to learn the language. This is how Ama and Kwadwo put it:

I want my father to learn it. It is sometimes too much for me. If he learns and begins to speak, I will then stop so that I can be free. I want him to learn it.

(Ama, Youth, Female, 15)

You see, it is because my father doesn't speak the Portuguese well and he can't read too that is why I explain to him. I even asked my friend in school if he knows where an elderly person can learn the language. So that I tell him and he goes there. I am thinking he will go when I find it.

(Kwadwo, Youth, Male, 14)

For these youth, the ability of their parents to learn the language may produce positive results that may potentially end their translation role. The report of effort made by young people in the study also confirms their need for support from their immigrant parents. Likewise, parents expressed the desire to learn the language as a form of support for their children. This family resource, per the finding, may provide instrumental support to these child language brokers. Kwabena and Kofi, fathers of Ama and Kwadwo respectively, had this to say:

Ama is doing so well with the translation. She has been really helpful but I also want to learn myself.

(Kwabena, Parent, Male)

I have made efforts in learning the language. But you know, we came here to work so it is difficult for me. The timetable of the center I started my classes is not flexible, so I have not been going. But I will look for other ones and go.

(Kofi, Parent, Male)

The willingness of the immigrant family to help their young ones in their role shows the productive interaction they have with them. Acknowledging his limited knowledge about the Language Service, they noted their sole reliance on other organizations, recommended by a fellow Ghanaian which provided strict schedule language classes.

One challenge contributing to the continuity of language brokering is the parent's inability to learn the language. With the findings proving that parents acknowledge the need for them to

learn the language and making efforts towards it, having sufficient knowledge about where to access such services may be instrumental. In helping child language brokers minimize the stress, embarrassment, frustration, tiredness, etc. that accompanies their role, their parents can learn the Portuguese language and translate their documents personally. Also, the immigrant family may reduce the volume and content of translations young people are tasked with. Inferring from the findings, this may reduce the possibility of youth been exposed to sensitive issues as well as the psychological impacts it is associated with.

5.3.5.2 Social services

Like other host countries, Portugal offers integration services for the betterment of its immigrant populations. Ranging from language learning services to cultural differences management, this strategy aims to provide smooth integration process for incoming immigrants. However, this aim has not been effectively achieved due to various challenges. The target group, immigrant population specifically Ghanaian adults, reports that their lack of knowledge about these services provided through CNAI and Language Services influences their underutilization. This is what Kwame had to say:

I don't know of any government institution that offers the language. But I know NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) and even some churches organize the language lessons.

(Kwame, Parent, Male)

Abena also shares a similar opinion:

CNAI? I don't know about them. Nobody has also told me about it. I know about the Cidade Lisbon Project, the one my church members shared with me.

(Abena, Parent, Female)

The accounts from the participants inform about their limited knowledge about the services designed to help their integration. If the supposed beneficiaries are not knowledgeable about services that can aid their integration, how then can such groups be assisted? This, to some extent, shows the gap between the supposed beneficiaries and the proposed services for integration.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The chapter summarizes the key findings of the study, its relations to the study objectives, and concluding remarks. Also, it presents recommendations for Social Work practice (MFAMILY), policy and practice, and future research.

6.2 Summary of Findings

With an interest in contributing to the body of knowledge on child language brokering and young people's wellbeing in Portugal, the study explored how child language brokers manage the impact of their roles. Further, the findings presented information on the children of Ghanaian immigrants in Portugal, where there are very few studies of Ghanaians in Portugal. Specifically, it studied how youth feel about their role and how it impacts them. In addition, it explored coping measures of child language brokers. Inferring from their cultural understanding of childhood and responsibilities, almost all participants framed the role in the context of family care practice and few conceptualized it as parentification. Generally, young people also made effective use of their capabilities and social environment in managing the impact of their role, such as sharing of concerns with relatives and drawing. Overall, the youth considered their role as language brokers in somewhat positive way. In addressing the student's dilemma, the student analyzed the data from the perspective of an outsider to avoid any biasness or subjective direction of the study.

At the end of the study, five main key findings relevant to the main objective of the study were drawn. However, there is caution against the generalization of these findings because variation may arise in different contexts.

To begin with, the findings revealed that the feelings child language brokers have towards their role is significantly influenced by their cultural understanding of childhood and responsibilities. With an appreciation of childhood as a period of taking up roles in the family to promote wellbeing, young people may consider such tasks as an opportunity to honor this obligation. It is also worth noting that this definition of childhood is aimed at equipping these minors to become responsible and have a sense of obligation towards their families and communities in the future. Therefore, such trainings are essential in nurturing the youth into the desired societal adults. Thus, in the absence of such training, the youth may not develop such sense of commitment towards their families and parents. Care is another asset which the

parents aim at teaching their children through this role. Through the role of language brokering, young people offer a demonstration of their affection towards their family by mediating services essential for their wellbeing and saving them from embarrassment. This show of care, which fosters good parent-child relationship, may equip the youth on how to also train their future offspring.

For the parents of child language brokers, a child is supposed to help the family when necessary and that is what has influenced their continuous use of their children for such role. With a consideration of the child as an active member of the social unit (the family), parents infer to their culture in assigning roles to them. Acknowledging that migration has altered the family care arrangement in terms of gender and birth order, role reversal is another implication on family structures that was noted from the findings of the study. It is worth mentioning that the legal definition of childhood by the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) reflects how Ghanaian youth and their parents also conceptualize it.

Overall, it is evident that families conceptualize young people's role, especially child language brokering into family care practice as argued by Becker's Care Continuum theory. While this is so for contexts that encourage the assigning of roles to young people, this may differ from contexts that consider childhood as a period of freedom and innocence. It is also worth noting that overall, all youth presented their role in somewhat positive way. However, those who offer substantive form of translations reported an additional negative feeling towards it. Thus, while culture influences young people's feelings towards their language brokering role, the extent of translation offered may also play a part. This finding answers the first research question that is directly related to the first specific objective of the study that sought to explore youth's feelings towards their role in relation to family contribution. In summary, it can be concluded that youth's feelings towards their role as language brokers can be categorized into crucial and detrimental roles based on cultural understanding of childhood and responsibilities and the extent of translation offered.

With an aim of gaining answers to the second research question, this study findings presented a diverse perspective of both positive and negative impact on the youth and their families. While both parents and youth may be conscious of the positive impacts on the youth involved, the negative impact may broadly be known by only the youth. Perhaps, this influences parent's continuous use of young people as language brokers. On the positive side, the study findings

showed how the communications skills and language proficiency of the youth significantly improved because of their role as language brokers. With the use of online translation and assistance from teachers to learn new words, both parents and youth reported improvement in their Portuguese proficiency. Youth further learnt how to convey messages to other people. In addition, the role of child language brokering has implications on the family by strengthening family relations and the wellbeing of the family. Another positive implication was the feeling of empowerment which motivated young people to continue playing their role as language brokers.

Per the study findings, the negative impacts, such as feelings of over-burdened, were basically associated with young people who take up substantive forms of translation. Another negative impact reported was associated with the observance of other parents hurt when their children failed their translation. Again, this directly confirms the assertion of Becker's care continuum theory which notes that substantive roles may have negative implications on youth. Thus, this demonstrates the applicability of what she termed as *caring for* roles which is located at the end of the continuum. It was further revealed that parents assume the feelings and reasons behind activities of their children and fail to engage them in conscious conversations concerning their actual feelings. With an assumption that "I know my child well" or "my child will open up to me during challenges", parents may not do enough in seeking their children's opinion about their feelings and impact from the roles they occupy. This draws attention to the possibility of young people facing challenges without their parents' knowledge.

Furthermore, the study revealed that young people adopt coping measures to manage the impact of their roles. These measures can either be negative or positive and can subsequently result in further negative impact on the wellbeing of the youth involved. The positive measures can be categorized into construction of positive impacts, sporting activities, artistic activities, and sharing of grief with others. The participants of this study also inferred to cultural expectation in adopting this coping measure. As posited by the critical ecological systems theory, individuals may utilize their capabilities and resources at their disposal to cope with their challenging situations. Young people, through this study, reported the use of skills and social support to cope with the impact of their role which confirms this theoretical perspective. Through these measures, it was revealed that child language brokers can minimize the impact of their role and continually play their roles in their families.

In addition, the study identified negative coping measures adopted by these youth. These negative measures can also be categorized into withdrawal and isolation, wrong interpretation, and pretense. While wrong interpretation of Portuguese may have dire impact on the decisions on the family, child language brokers continually do this without the knowledge of their parents. Pretense, another negative coping measure, was known to help child language brokers gain some time off their translation duties and simultaneously deprived the family of the needed information to make informed decisions. Also, isolating and withdrawing from others as adopted by these young language brokers may result in poor psychological outcomes of the youth. This categorization of coping measures presented by this finding is a response to the third research question and subsequently the third objective which sort to explore how Ghanaian youth manage the impact of their roles as language brokers.

The fourth summary that can be made from these findings relates to how Ghanaian families' daily lives in Portugal do not demand or provide them the opportunity to learn Portuguese. Specifically, parents whose job do not require proficiency of Portuguese may not enroll in language courses. For others, the demand of their job makes it difficult to make time for language lessons. Also, migratory plans influence immigrants' efforts to learn the language of their host countries. This highlights how the intention to reside in Portugal or a longer period motivates immigrant adults to enroll and learn the Portuguese language. For immigrant families with immediate relocation plans to countries who use different languages than the official language of their current host country, they may be reluctant to learn the language. This is because, the use of the language after their relocation may be irrelevant. Ghanaian parents report the use of their children as language brokers as a temporal measure to be able to mediate essential services in their current host countries. Hence, families with immediate relocation plans may continually engage in child language brokering. Per the finding, this contributes to the continuity of the social phenomenon.

Another interesting finding of the study was the trend of racism in the public schools in Lisbon. This was specifically related to teacher-pupil interaction where young people reported of less attention from their teachers concerning how their fellow students play the racism card. With a passionate account of their awful experiences, immigrants' youth emphasized the lackadaisical attitude portrayed by their teachers and head of school in addressing reported racist acts from their peers. This, they reported, leads to their isolation in school. Though this was not explicitly related to the objectives of the study, it is worth noting as its impact on the

wellbeing of these youth, as well as their roles as language brokers can be adverse. That notwithstanding, this case of racism discourages the youth from reporting issues associated with their role as language brokers to their teachers. Thus, youth categorically exclude their teacher from their social support which is an issue of great concern. Surprisingly, these youth reported not sharing this experience of racism with their families.

The final highlight of this study finding is the limited access to essential social services. As asserted by the Critical Ecological Systems Theory, the interaction with one's social environment is key in promoting the wellbeing of such individual. Also, this interaction helps individuals and families to cope with challenges they may face. The findings of this study demonstrated the limited knowledge Ghanaian immigrants have about CNAI and the Language Services, all under the jurisdiction of the High Commission of Migration. While these units work effectively to ensure the smooth integration of immigrants, minimal impact may be achieved if the target population are uninformed about such strategies. With such limited knowledge, the utilization of such services may be inherently limited. For learning the language, Ghanaian immigrant parents solely rely on their networks to gain informational support on available language services across Lisbon. The findings present young people's expectation of their parents learning the Portuguese language, which is a form of instrumental support that can minimize the rate of translation young people offer for their families. This finding demonstrates the applicability of the theory in Social Work and further provides an answer to the fourth research question which sort to explore how youth can be assisted in managing their roles.

In summary, it can be established that child language brokering can be framed in the context of family care practice given the cultural understanding of childhood. This conceptualization further influences child language brokers feelings towards their role and motivate their parents to continually use them for such purpose. This finding does not only demonstrate the application of Becker's care continuum theory in the research and practice and of Social Work but also confirms its assertion. As this role can have either positive and/or negative impact on both youth and families, young people may adopt either positive or negative coping measures to help them manage such impacts. While the positive impacts may be productive in producing desired results, the negative coping measures may result in further adverse impact on the wellbeing of the youth. Hence, these young people need to be assisted in managing such roles. Such assistance may not only empower the youth to play their role as language brokers but

may minimize the impacts associated with it. This form of support can be from the immigrant families, friends, schools, Language Service, CNAI, Association of Ghanaians in Portugal, Church of Pentecost, Lisbon, amongst others. This further draw attention to the relevance of one's social context in coping with challenging situation(s) as asserted by critical ecological systems theory. The findings also prove the relevance and applicability of the theory in the practice of Social Work.

6.3 Implications and Recommendations

Given the findings of this study which has categorized the coping measures of child language brokers, the following implications and recommendations are made for consideration for social work education (MFAMILY academic program), practice and policy, and future research.

6.3.1 Implications for Social Work Practice (MFAMILY)

Situating the study in the thematic area of Social Work due to the implications of child language brokering on the wellbeing of youth and their families, there is a need to present the findings implication for the profession's practice and policy. Acknowledging that this study also fits into the thematic area of Sociology, Sociolinguistics, Migration, Communication, Education, and Health, the findings contribute to these disciplines body of knowledge on family structures of Ghanaian families, language proficiency and its application in families, challenges of migrant families and integration, the process of translating languages, and informal learning of daily translation experiences of immigrant families. For discipline of Health, the findings present information on the implications of the role of child language brokering on the overall health of the youth. For Social Work discipline, the study adds to the body of knowledge that explores how young people act as active social actors in managing the impacts of their roles and promoting their wellbeing. The study therefore demonstrates the reality of interdisciplinary.

At the micro level, social workers are encouraged to consider the perspectives of young people when designing interventions for immigrant families. This may present the situation of young people's daily reality and subsequently develop interventions that can address such challenges. At the macro level, the findings may urge social workers to engage in advocacy activities aimed at promoting the wellbeing of immigrant families, especially youth. Children may become victims of ineffective integration policies and as such, these advocacies may ensure their protection.

Findings of this study has shown that the social work profession utilizes the critical ecological systems theory in its practice and intervention development when working with individuals and families. With emphasis on one's *person* and *social environments*, the theory demonstrates how complex social problems such as child language brokering can be. It further confirms the needs for consideration of one's social environment when exploring causes of problems as well as targets of change. Also, the conceptualization of the role in the frame of family care practice demonstrates how relevant Becker's theory is in the practice of Social Work.

In summary, the study proves its relevance in how MFAMILY as an academic program contributes to the body of knowledge on Ghanaian immigrant families in Europe, especially Portugal. Specifically, the family structures and its alteration during migration, wellbeing of immigrant youth and integration strategies in host countries. How young people use their capabilities and strengths to also promote their position as active social agents is also demonstrated in this study.

6.3.2 Implications for Policy and Practice

Acknowledging the limited knowledge of language services and other integration services among Ghanaian immigrant populations in Lisbon, there is a need for policy makers to consider implementation and sensitization strategies that can help reach the target population with such relevant information. This may inform immigrant populations to enroll unto the available language courses and mediate services between themselves and the public without including their children, especially in sensitive matters. Also, policy makers can consider the use of language and cultural mediators in sensitizing ethnic minorities in Portugal about integration services. Perhaps, it may reduce the rate of child language brokering and its associated impacts, and subsequently the adoption of negative coping measures.

There should also be a promotion of social support in honing the strengths of young people as it can place them in a better position in case of adversities. For instance, families can provide words of recognition or affirmation for their children's strengths, families watching out for negative behavior of their young ones and assisting them, teachers providing a conducive environment for youth at school, among others.

Additionally, policy makers should consider services that can help immigrant youth during challenging moments in their families. Per the findings, immigrant youth are unaware of

available social services they can utilize when their wellbeing is threatened in their families. Acknowledging that wellbeing issues of young people sometimes originates from families, schools, etc. there is a need to have a place of “relief” in such times. Having no knowledge about such units in Lisbon therefore puts these youth in a difficult or more so an adapting situation in an oppressive environment which may result in dire consequences on the wellbeing of the youth involved. Social workers should also promote the sensitization of youth, especially immigrant youth, about the available sources of support in Lisbon, Portugal.

6.3.3 Implications for Future Research

This study has undoubtedly contributed to the body of knowledge of immigrant families and wellbeing of youth and their families. However, there is more to be explored. Future studies should consider exploring the effectiveness of these coping measures as well as the impact of these measures on the wellbeing of the youth involved. Acknowledging the negative coping measures, it may be interesting to investigate their implications on the youth. For instance, the studying of child language brokers for a longer period, interdisciplinary approach of the study as well as the inclusion of professionals including those in other fields such as psychology.

Also, studies exploring racism emerging from student-teacher interaction should be considered. With study participants considering this phenomenon as a recent trend, it deserves further analysis for the sake of the wellbeing of these immigrant youth. More so, literature on child language brokering does not mainly refer to these issues but may have implication for the youth who play such role. The social work profession advocates for the respect of dignity of all individuals irrespective of their cultural, social, or economic background. As such, studies like this may open future research ideas for its scholars.

Considering the limited time available for the study, it could not include young people from other ethnic groups in Ghana and even young people from other sub-Saharan Africa countries. Perhaps, non-Akan youth may have different family structures which may inform role assigning and subsequently coping measures to manage such roles. Future research on child language brokering (with youth from a sub-Saharan Africa context) may therefore include youth from diverse ethnic groups to assess if their unique family structures inform the coping measures.

The inclusion of role playing, especially drawing as a data collection, presented spontaneous reality of child language brokers, and opened discussions on the phenomenon. Future research involving young people's perspectives should also advance this as a data collection tool. Also, other role-playing activities such as use of artifacts, amongst others should be included in research with young people.

The findings of the study presented diverse views from youth and their parents concerning the impact of the role of language brokering. This demonstrates that parents may or may not have limited knowledge about the reality of their children. Hence, it is recommended for future researchers to develop and continue the inclusion of young people's voices in issues regarding them to obtain first-hand information. Inclusion of young people in research also affirms their position as social actors as asserted by scholars such as Joseph et al, 2020, Aquilino, 2006, Skovdal et al., 2009 and Prout and James, 1997. With the best interest and wellbeing of children being a core mandate of the social work profession, such studies may inform practice decisions.

Finally, it is recommended for future researchers to consider the exploration and effectiveness of services offered by CNAI and Language Services to immigrant populations. Per the finding of this study, immigrants have limited knowledge about such services. It is therefore essential to establish if this cuts across other immigrant populations for the right strategies to be implemented. Due to time factor, the study could not include accounts from these units as desired. Future researchers should therefore explore perception of these units alongside the immigrant population to have a holistic view about their reality in accessing integration services. Such study may also provide an assessment of the services carried out by professionals of the social work profession in Lisbon.

6.4 Conclusion

All over the globe, young people assume roles in their homes for various reasons. Example of such role is the child language brokering which is associated with immigrant families. While some young people appreciate the essence of this role, other young people have an opposing view considering the extent of translation they offer. This volume of translation influences how the youth involved may be impacted. The cultural interpretation of the role of child language brokering in the family is also worth noting as it shapes the perception of all involved in this process. It further highlights the position of young people as active and not passive social

agents in their families. Interestingly, the role has positive and negative impacts on both youth and family. As the impact becomes overwhelming, young people may adopt coping measures which can be either productive or adverse. There is therefore the need for social workers, policymakers as well as researchers to attentively consider this field to ensure the wellbeing of these young people, that of their families and the smooth integration of immigrants in host societies.

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APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR YOUTH

Research Topic: Exploration of Coping Measures of Youth Language Brokers: The Case of Descendants of Ghanaian Immigrants in Lisbon, Portugal

Student's Name: Gladys Lois Appiah

Student's University: University Institute of Lisbon

Date of Interview:

Mode of Interview:

Duration of Interview:

Time of Interview:

ROLE PLAYING ACTIVITY

- a. Youth were asked to put in drawing what the role of language brokering means to them or how they feel about it.

A. FAMILY INFORMATION

- a. How old are you?
- b. Where do you live?
- c. Who do you live with?
- d. Do you have a brother and/or sister?
- e. Where were you born?
- f. If not Portugal, do you know when you moved to here?

B. PORTUGUESE PROFICIENCY

- a. So, tell me, do you speak Portuguese?
- b. When did you learn it?
- c. How did you learn it?
- d. Where did you learn it?
- e. Does your brother or sister speak and understand Portuguese?
- f. If yes, do they explain sentences or words in Portuguese for your parents?
- g. If yes, in which language?
- h. If no, why?

C. OTHER LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY

- a. Do you speak or understand any other language?
- b. If yes, what languages?
- c. When did you learn this language?
- d. How did you learn it?
- e. Where did you learn it?
- f. What language(s) do you use at school?
- g. What language do you use in communicating with your friends at school?
- h. What language do you use in communicating with your friends at home and elsewhere?

D. EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

- a. Do you attend school?
- b. If yes, where?
- c. What class/level are you?
- d. Do you have friends in school?
- e. If yes, who are they?
- f. Can you tell them something about yourself?

E. RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE FAMILY

- a. Do you do some activities to help at home?
- b. What are some of them?
- c. Do you do them for others or yourself?
- d. Do you do it by yourself or you are forced to do it?
- e. Do you think such things are good for you?
- f. Do you think such activities are good for the family?
- g. Would you want to keep doing such things?
- h. If yes, why?
- i. If no, why?
- j. Does other family member also play any tasks at home?
- k. What exactly do they do?

F. KNOWLEDGE OF CHILD LANGUAGE BROKERING

- a. Do you explain letters or other sentences in Portuguese for your parents?

- b. When do you do that?
- c. How do you do that?
- d. What language do you use for the explanation?
- e. Do you have any difficulty when doing that?
- f. Does your brother or sister also do that?

G. SITUATIONS FOR LANGUAGE BROKERING

- a. When do you explain Portuguese for the family?
- b. At home, what do you do?
- c. Apart from home, where else do you do that?
- d. What about the grocery stores?
- e. What exactly do you translate?
- f. How do you do this?
- g. Do you translate words?
- h. How do you do it?
- i. Do you translate documents or letters?
- j. How do you do it?

H. FEELING ABOUT CHILD LANGUAGE BROKERING

- a. Do you like explaining sentence(s) in Portuguese for your parent in English?
- b. If yes, why?
- c. If no, why?
- d. Can you tell your parent about how you feel?
- e. If yes, why?
- f. If no, why?
- g. Would you want to continue explaining in English for them?
- h. If yes, why?
- i. If no, why?

I. IMPACT OF LANGUAGE BROKERING

- a. Do you think the explanation you do has helped you in anyway?
- b. If yes, how?
- c. If no, why?
- d. Do you think the explanation has affected you in anyway?

- e. If yes, can you tell me about it?
- f. What benefit have you received the translation?
- g. Has the translation taught you any good thing?
- h. If yes, can you please tell me about it?
- i. Has the translation taken anything from you?
- j. If yes, can you please explain?
- k. What good thing has the translation taught you?
- l. What does your parents think about this language explanation?
- m. How does the documents you explain make you feel?
- n. What is it usually about?
- o. If good, why?
- p. If bad, why?
- q. Have you explained any document which made you happy?
- r. If yes, can you explain?
- s. Does the explanation keep you away from your friends?
- t. Would you like to continue explaining sentences or words in Portuguese for your parents?
- u. If yes, why?
- v. If no, why?

J. MANAGING THE IMPACT

- j. Can you share how you feel about the translation to anyone?
- k. Can you tell me who?
- l. Do you have any friend or someone you talk to regularly?
- m. Can you speak to them about the explanation you do for the family?
- n. Do you have a counsellor in school?
- o. Have you spoken to her / him before?
- p. Can you tell me about it?
- q. Can you talk to her when you think the explanation for the family is affecting you in any way?
- r. Who do you speak with when you are sad about the language explanation?
- s. Do you know of any organization that helps children in Lisbon?
- t. If yes, what are their names?
- u. If yes, have you visited them before?

- v. What do you think they can do to help you?
- w. Would you consider going to them if you are sad or stressed about the explanation you do for your family?
- x. Would you want to stop the translation?
- y. Do you think your parents can help you to
- z. Can you tell your parents about it?
- aa. Who else can you talk to about it?
- bb. What do you do when you do not want to do the explanation?
- cc. Can you talk to your parents when the explanation affects you in any way?
- dd. How would your parents feel about that?
- ee. What do you think can be done to help you for your explanation role?
- ff. Do you think your parents can help you to stop the translation if you want to?
- gg. Who else can help you?
- hh. If the explanation has affected you in any way, how can you be helped?
- ii. Can that negative effect be changed?
- jj. Do you think you can be helped in any way?
- kk. If yes, what should be done for you?
- ll. Who should do it?

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR PARENTS

Research Topic: Exploration of Coping Measures of Youth Language Brokers: The Case of Descendants of Ghanaian Immigrants in Lisbon, Portugal

Student's Name:Gladys Lois Appiah.....

Student's University:University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE).....

Date of Interview:

Mode of Interview:

Duration of Interview:

Time of Interview:

A. FAMILY INFORMATION

1. Who do you live with in Lisbon?
2. How many children are in the family?
3. Are other family members of your family?
4. Were you raised in Ghana before migrating to Portugal?
5. If yes, when did you migrate to Portugal?

B. PORTUGUESE PROFICIENCY

1. Can you speak Portuguese?
2. If yes, how did you learn the language?
3. If no, do you have intentions of learning?
4. Do other members of your family speak and understand Portuguese?
5. If yes, which members?
6. How did such members learn the language?

C. MIGRATION TRAJECTORY

1. Apart from Portugal, have you traveled or lived in other countries?
2. If yes, what countries?
3. Why did you travel to those countries?
4. How long did you live in those countries?
5. When did you migrate to Portugal?
6. What are some of the reasons why you migrated?
7. How was your experience when you arrived in Portugal?

8. How was the experience of settling in Portugal?

D. EDUCATIONAL TRAJECTORY AND LABOUR MARKET EXPERIENCES

1. What is your level of education?
2. Did you complete your education in Ghana, Portugal, or elsewhere?
3. What was your job or profession back in Ghana?
4. Are you currently working or employed?
5. What is your current job?
6. Have you had job changes?
7. If yes, why?

E. RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FAMILY MEMBERS

1. What do you think about assigning roles to members in the family?
2. Do you play any roles in the family?
3. If yes, why?
4. If yes, what roles do you play?
5. If no, why?
6. Do other members also play any roles?
7. If yes, why?
8. If yes, what task(s) do they play?
9. If no, why?
10. How does the various roles performed help the family?
11. What task(s) do you expect your children to play?
12. If members do not perform roles, what will happen to the family?

F. KNOWLEDGE OF CHILD LANGUAGE BROKERING

1. Do any member help translate Portuguese for you or other members of the family?
2. If yes, which members?
3. How long has this translation been happening in the family?
4. Under what situations do you usually need someone to translate for you?
5. Which family member do you usually call upon during such situations?
6. Would you consider asking your child to translate for you?
7. If yes, why?
8. What is your view about children translating in the family?

G. FEELING ABOUT CHILD LANGUAGE BROKERING

1. What is your opinion on how children consider or feel about translating?
2. How do you feel about children translating for you or other members?
3. What is your view about what this translation does for the family?
4. Would you consider asking your child(ren) how they feel about this role?
5. Would you want your child(ren) to continue translating for you and other family members?
6. If yes, why?
7. If no, why?
8. Overall, would you consider children translating in the family as a good or bad role?
9. Please, justify.

H. IMPACT OF LANGUAGE BROKERING

1. Do you think the roles your children play affects them in any way?
2. If yes, what are some of the effects?
3. What benefit does family gain from the translation?
4. If the child does not translate for the family, will that affect the family in any way?
5. If yes, how?
6. Does the child translating for the family have any positive effect on him or her?
7. Is there anything the child learns from the translation?
8. Do you think there is any negative effect on the child because of the translation?
9. Do you think children should continue translating for their families?

I. MANAGING THE IMPACT

1. Do you know about social services that help immigrant families in Lisbon?
2. Do you know about the services of CNAI?
3. Have you used their services before?
4. Do you know about Language Services?
5. If yes, have you used their services before?
6. Have you considered the using their services|?
7. Do you think your child can talk to you about their stress or anything that affects them?

8. Has your child spoken to you about any challenges they face while translating for you and other members?
9. How would you react if you child told you the translating affects them negatively?
10. Have you been able to help your child manage a challenging situation such as stress?
11. Apart from you and the family, who else do you think your child can share his or her challenges with?
12. What other support can help you and the child?

APPENDIX III: CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Exploration of Coping Measures of Child Language Brokers: Ghanaian Children in Lisbon

Student's Name:Gladys Lois Appiah.....

Student's University:University Institute of Lisbon.....

This study is part of a research project taking place at **Iscte – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa**. The study aims to know how Ghanaian children cope with the role of translating for their families.

The study is supervised by Prof. Ana Raquel Matias (Raquel_Matias@iscte-iul.pt) and Prof. Vasco Ramos (vasco.ramos@ics.ulisboa.pt) and conducted by Gladys Lois Appiah (gloisappiah@gmail.com) and who you may contact to clear up any doubts or share comments.

Your participation in the study, which is highly valued as it will contribute to the advancement of knowledge in this field of science, consists of interviews which will take approximately 45 minutes. There are no expected significant risks associated with participation in the study.

Participation in the study is strictly **voluntary**: you may choose freely whether to participate or not to participate. If you have decided to participate, you may stop your participation at any time, without having to provide any justification. In addition to being voluntary, your participation is also **anonymous** and **confidential**. The obtained data are merely intended for statistical processing and none of the answers will be analysed or reported individually. At no point of the study will you be asked to identify yourself.

I declare that I have understood the aims of what was proposed to me, as explained by the investigator, that I was given the opportunity to ask any questions about this study and received a clarifying reply to all such questions, and **accept** participating in the study.

_____ (place), ____/____/____ (date)

Name: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX 1V: MATRIX ANALYSIS CODE

Name	Description	Files	References
Family Information		8	73
Childbirth Order and Role Taking	How birth position influences the assigning of role	8	6
Educational background	Higher education background of parent participants	8	2
Family Responsibilities	Roles assigned to family members and how it is done	8	48
Important	Perception about family responsibilities	8	5
Not important	Perception about family responsibilities	8	0
Migration Trajectory	Family's history of cross-border journey over a period	8	15
Portuguese Proficiency	Ability to speak, understand and write Portuguese	8	33
Sociolinguistic background of the children	Multi-language proficiency	8	8
Feelings of Children about role	Children and parents' perception about role	8	108
Bad role	Children and parents' perception about role	8	19
Challenges in translating	Obstacles that may hinder the translation process	8	7
Children wanting parents to do their own translation	Perception of children about parents mediating with the public	8	12
Desire for children to continue translating	Children and parents perception about continuing translation	8	6
Good role	Children and parents perception about what role is	8	28
Indifferent	Children and parents perception about what role is	8	1
Knowledge about role	What children and parents know about role	8	23

Reasons for use of children	Why use children for translating	8	9
Translating Situations	When and where translation takes place	8	47
What role means to you	Children and parents' perception about what role is	8	6
Impact of Role on Children and Family	How role affects children	8	78
Negative Impact on Child	How role affects children negatively	8	27
Negative impact on family	How role affects family negatively	8	7
Positive impact on child	How role affects children positively	8	44
Positive Impact on family	How role affects family positively	8	26
Power dynamics	Who has authority	8	3
Managing the impact	Managing the negative effect of the role of child language brokering	8	81
Children opening up	Willingness of children to share concerns about role	8	3
Children strategies	Children initiatives in managing role	8	11
Church	The Church of Pentecost	8	3
CNAI	State unit for helping immigrants	8	20
Family	Nuclear and extended family of child language broker	8	35
Friends	Friends of the children and parents	8	5
Good coping measures	Productive ways of managing role	8	3
Knowledge about child protection services	Children and parents' knowledge about child protection services in Lisbon	8	4
Language Service	State unit for Portuguese language service	8	12
Negative Coping Measures	Harmful ways of managing impact of role of language brokering	8	14

Other social services	Other organizations that offer language services	8	5
Parents learning the language	Parents effort in learning Portuguese	8	3
School	The educational units of the children	8	8
Security service	Police Service in Lisbon	2	2