



when the divide isn't just digital

How Technology-Enriched Afterschool Programs Help
Immigrant Youth Find a Voice, a Place, and a Future

by **Rebecca A. London, Manuel Pastor, Jr., and Rachel Rosner**

"Success is helping students to carry on skills... [and] feel they have a place in the community, and that it is within their power to change issues in their lives and community." —**Staff member, Bresee Foundation**

The so-called "digital divide"—unequal access to information technology—is one of many social inequalities faced by individuals who are low-income, ethnic minorities, or immigrants. Surprisingly, the digital

divide is even larger for young people than it is for adults, with African-American and Latino young people, as well as immigrants of almost any non-Asian ethnicity, having considerably less access to computers and the Internet in the home than do their white, Asian, or native counterparts (Fairlie, 2006). Because information technology (IT) is increasingly necessary to participate in critical aspects of society, such as education, the labor market, and government, limited access to IT can further disadvantage those who are already on the margin.

Fifty-four percent of immigrant youth, for example, have a computer at home, compared to 75 per-

REBECCA LONDON is director of Research at the John W. Gardner Center for Youth and Their Communities at Stanford University. Her research concentrates on disadvantaged youth and families, with an emphasis on the role of community interventions in promoting positive youth development. She also focuses on the effects of federal, state, and local policies on family and youth outcomes, including most recently an analysis of employment and health insurance volatility for working families. She is a fellow at the National Poverty Center at the University of Michigan. Her research has been funded by the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, the Spencer Foundation, the W. T. Grant Foundation, the Community Technology Foundation of California, and others.

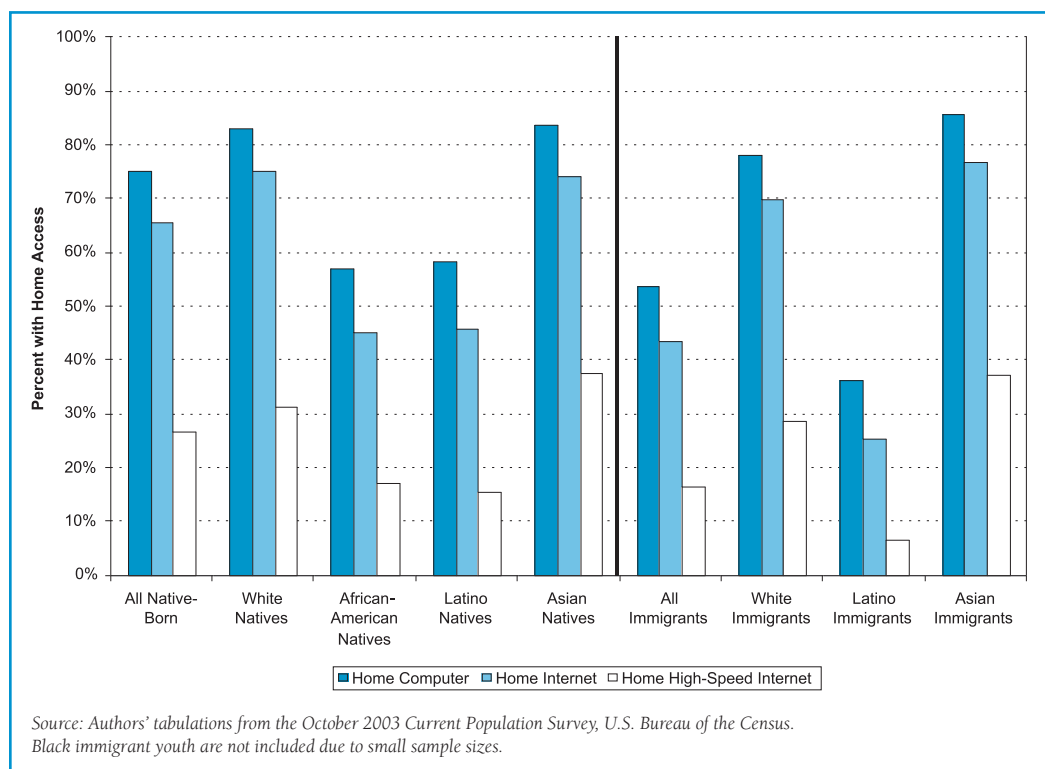
MANUEL PASTOR, JR. is a professor of Geography and American Studies and Ethnicity at the University of Southern California and founding director of the Center for Justice, Tolerance, and Community at the University of California, Santa Cruz. His research focuses on issues of environmental justice, regional inclusion, and low-income communities. He has received numerous grants and fellow-

ships. His most recent book, co-authored with Chris Benner and Laura Leete, is *Staircases or Treadmills: Labor Market Intermediaries and Economic Opportunity in a Changing Economy* (Russell Sage, 2007). He is co-author, with Angela Glover Blackwell and Stewart Kwoh, of *Searching for the Uncommon Common Ground: New Dimensions on Race in America* (Norton, 2002).

RACHEL ROSNER is a research associate at the Center for Justice, Tolerance, and Community at the University of California, Santa Cruz. She is also an associate with Matrix Consulting, a technical assistance group that works with diverse community-based organizations in areas including facilitation, cultural competency, organizational development, and assessment. She served as the associate director for the Center's Social Change Across Borders, an institute that brought together Latino and Latin American community leaders for collaboration and training around issues of transnational organizing. She has a background in community and regional development with a master's in Public Policy and Administration from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

cent of native youth (Figure 1). Similar disparities exist for home Internet access generally and for high-speed access specifically. Latino immigrants are especially disadvantaged relative to other immigrant and native groups, with just 36 percent having a computer at home. Even these statistics do not tell the whole story, as they mask important disparities within ethnic groups. For instance, Mexicans have even less access at home than do Latinos as a whole. Similarly, Cambodian and Laotian immigrants have lower home access rates than do other Asian groups. Though such disparities may be partly due to differences in education and income levels, research has found that digital inequality among immigrants persists even after controlling for income and education (Fairlie, London, Rosner, & Pastor, 2006).

Figure 1: Access to Information Technology Among Youth (Ages 5–25)



Because of these disparities, public places such as schools, libraries, and community centers have become important links to the cyberworld for disadvantaged young people. This public access—which many young people reported in our interviews that they needed and wanted—provides organizations that serve young people with an opportunity not only to address the digital divide, but also to embed a youth development focus in an IT framework. Our research indicates that pairing youth development activities with information technology can be

tremendously effective in providing disadvantaged young people with skills that are valuable both in the labor market and in their overall development.

Community technology centers (CTCs) and other community centers not only offer computer and Internet access but also can provide a supportive environment in which young people can learn about different kinds of technology. CTCs also tend to place fewer restrictions on access than do school and library computer labs, which often place time limits on usage, require users to be enrolled in specific courses, restrict use to particular hardware and software configurations, or have limited hours of operation (London, Pastor, Servon, Rosner, & Wallace, 2006). Equally important, community centers play a vital role in helping youth during the afterschool hours, a

period researchers have found to be critical to the development of youth (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; McLaughlin, 2000). Because afterschool programs address the social, emotional, creative, and cognitive needs of youth, they are uniquely positioned to promote not only the acquisition of IT skills, but also other important proficiencies, including civic engagement and leadership (Goodman, 2003). Indeed, a recent synthesis by the Mott Foundation stated this goal for afterschool programs: “improved literacy and communication for all participants, including English language learners, in: reading, writing, speaking, listening, technology, foreign language” (C. S. Mott Foundation, 2005, p. 10). Creating opportunities

for positive youth development through the lens of IT is a vital way to help youth, particularly immigrant youth, develop and express their voices.

For this article, we studied how six CTCs that work predominantly with immigrant populations serve immigrant youth in California. We focused on immigrant youth because they are increasing in number in California as well as throughout the entire U.S., because they are among the most disadvantaged youth in terms of financial resources and parents' levels of formal education, and because they

have the lowest levels of access to IT in the home and, therefore, the longest journey toward digital inclusion. We also focused on immigrant youth because the successful incorporation of such youth is one of the major challenges American institutions face in coming years. Therefore, institutions such as CTCs, which can provide support and mentoring in a holistic youth development framework, may be critical to our nation's future.

Data and Methods

We conducted case studies of six CTCs from fall 2004 to winter 2006. For each case study, a team of two or more researchers spent one to two days visiting the center. During the visits, we interviewed CTC staff and instructors, youth participants, and community partners. We observed CTC activities, reviewed key program documents, and surveyed the projects created by the participants using the technology they learned at the CTC. We conducted in-person interviews, individually or in groups of two or three, with youth participants, specifically seeking out those involved in technology-driven projects.

Though we know that understanding immigrant youth requires an examination of the entire family, for brevity's sake we focus in this article specifically on youth-centered programming and outcomes. For information regarding parental involvement, youth recruitment and retention, and statistics on immigrant youth and the digital divide, see *Crossing the Divide: Immigrant Youth and Digital Disparity in California* (Fairlie et al., 2006).

Selection Criteria

We used five main criteria to select the CTCs we studied:

- All of the CTCs had established youth programs or served youth in a meaningful way.
- All served a predominantly immigrant population, either first or second generation. Although not necessarily by design, all of the CTCs we visited were located in disadvantaged neighborhoods.
- The sites represented different immigrant groups, including Korean, Latino (primarily Mexican, but also South American), and Southeast Asian (primarily Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian). Some CTCs served mainly one of these groups and others served a mix.
- The sites were located in various regions of California: two in San Francisco, two in Los Angeles, one in the Central Valley, and one on the Mexican border.

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- The programs were recommended to us as being unique or outstanding in some way. We looked for exemplary programs in order to best identify how CTCs can improve the lives of immigrant youth.

Because the CTCs were selected in this fashion, results from this study cannot necessarily be used to form conclusions about CTCs generally or even about all CTCs serving immigrant communities. However, in this article we draw out consistent messages indicated by our analysis that can be relevant for other youth-serving CTCs or community centers.

Context: The CTC Sites

The six CTCs we visited had much in common, but each also offered a unique set of supports for the immigrant community it served.

The Bresee Foundation, located in Los Angeles, was a faith-based community center that offered a variety of technology, educational, health, and other supportive services. The center's main target group was young people, particularly during the afterschool hours when Bresee offered homework assistance and tutoring. The center had a computer lab designated specifically for youth, where young people took classes or learned by experimenting on their own, with assistance as necessary. Bresee also offered an Arts and Multimedia Production program, where high school students learned filmmaking and editing skills by creating their own social documentaries.

Casa Familiar, a non-profit community-based organization, was located in San Ysidro, just across the U.S.-Mexico border from Tijuana. Casa Familiar offered more than 50 programs in the areas of human services, community development, recreation, technology, arts and culture, and education. Options for youth included the C3 Café computer lab, where students received homework help or explored computer technology, and the Young Leaders Program, which taught leadership skills and the value of community involvement to youth ages 12–21. Casa Familiar also offered a fitness center, game room, and youth basketball league.

Firebaugh Computer Learning Center (FCLC) was located in California's Central Valley about 40 miles north of Fresno, in a housing project where many Mexican families lived who were employed in the area's agricultural industry. FCLC offered computer access and basic skills courses for adults and youth, as well as

opportunities to become involved in community activities and advocacy efforts. It did not operate a separate youth program, though many young people used the computers for schoolwork.

The Koreatown Youth and Community Center (KYCC) was a non-profit community-based organization in Los Angeles. KYCC provided programs and services to improve academic performance and increase community engagement among youth in Koreatown and surrounding communities. Its SEEK-LA Drop-In Center provided after-school tutoring, college preparation, computer access, and employment training for students. KYCC also provided opportunities for youth leadership development and community service through programs such as the Korean Coalition of Students in California, Youth Employment Service, and Youth Drug Abuse Prevention. The center integrated technology by offering computer access and training. KYCC served students from diverse ethnic backgrounds, not only Korean students.

The Richmond Village Beacon Center (RVBC), one of eight Beacon centers in the San Francisco Bay area, was the only Beacon located in a high school. RVBC provided a safe, accessible, and supportive youth and community center in the Richmond District, a culturally and socio-economically diverse community. Youth services included afterschool tutoring, homework help, performing arts, multimedia arts and technology (animation, digital photography, video-making, website design), cartooning, 'zine-making, cooking, recreation, martial arts, and leadership programming. Staff members supported collaboration among agencies, schools, and other neighborhood organizations. Most of the students were of Asian background; however, the center also served a significant number of Latino and African-American youth.

The Vietnamese Youth Development Center (VYDC) was a non-profit agency in San Francisco's Tenderloin District. VYDC provided neighborhood youth—mainly Southeast Asian young people ages 10–21—with urgently needed support and

practical assistance as they adjusted to their new lives in the U.S. VYDC offered a variety of programming, including delinquency prevention, academic support, substance abuse counseling, computer technology, and digital arts and media. VYDC also offered an arts and technology program, in which students worked collaboratively with center staff to create project-based films. A goal of VYDC was to bring neighborhood youth together in the spirit of personal responsibility and commitment to the community.

Each site offered an array of experiences for youth, as shown in Figure 2. Providing access to computers and the Internet was a critical aspect of programming for Bresee, Casa Familiar, FCLC, and RVBC; however, all of the centers had open-access computer labs that participating youth were allowed to use. Each site also offered a variety of other services and programs geared toward youth with various needs.

CTC Benefits to Immigrant Youth

“It is the people that drive the technology.” —Executive Director, Firebaugh Computer Learning Center

While the immigrant-based CTCs we visited offered a variety of programs for youth, technology was often the “hook”

Figure 2 (part 1): Characteristics of Case Study CTCs

GOALS	Bresee Foundation	Casa Familiar	Firebaugh Computer Learning Center	Richmond District Beacon	Koreatown Youth and Community Center	Vietnamese Youth Development Center
	Los Angeles	San Ysidro	Central Valley	San Francisco	Los Angeles	San Francisco
	Provided access to technological resources often out of reach to low-income community members, taught marketable skills, and enhanced job placement opportunities.	Holistic approach focused on unique challenges faced by border communities. Included a range of services for immigrant youth, including technology, human services, leadership, recreation, education, and arts.	Provided social, economic, and educational advancement opportunities through technology training and programs.	Provided a safe, fun, and supportive environment for youth to explore and reach their full potential in a school-based setting. Focused on self-determination, cultural and economic diversity, and community building.	Provided immigrant youth and families with tools and skills that lead to academic success; developed youth leaders by building character and encouraging community engagement.	Supported immigrant youth as they adjusted to American life; encouraged and empowered youth to participate actively in the development of their community.

	Bresee Foundation	Casa Familiar	Firebaugh Computer Learning Center	Richmond District Beacon	Koreatown Youth and Community Center	Vietnamese Youth Development Center
	Los Angeles	San Ysidro	Central Valley	San Francisco	Los Angeles	San Francisco
Open computer access for youth	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Open computer access for adults	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Multimedia program	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes
Homework help	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Basic computer skills classes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	No
Technical skills classes	Yes	No	No	No	No	No
Internships/employment	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Leadership program	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
College prep	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Adult mentors	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Figure 2 (part 2): Characteristics of Case Study CTCs

that brought the young people into the centers. As one participant reported, “The schools have slow computers.... [Here] I practice and play with the computer.” However, the main goal of many of the programs was not to teach technology but to promote leadership and civic engagement and to provide youth with the skills needed to survive their challenging circumstances. Indeed, as fascinated as the young people were by technology, they frequently said it was the staff, who they often saw as mentors and friends, who kept them coming back. As one young person stated, “The kind of people here...you can talk to them.” Another put it more strongly: “If these organizations weren’t here, we’d be lost.” CTC staff members echoed this priority, with one executive director stating, “When you work with these youth, you have to prove to them that you care for real.” In short, helping youth to view and experience their communities through a digital framework facilitated discussions and an understanding of the many issues immigrant youth face in their everyday lives, such as racism, stress, peer pressure, and school demands. Four broad themes regarding the benefits of CTC participation for immigrant youth surfaced from our research:

- Using technology as a means for self-expression
- Creating a safe, supportive, and culturally comfortable environment

and media programs. Immigrant youth face many pressures, especially balancing parental and peer expectations. By providing young people with an environment that offers tools and supports to express themselves, CTCs are meeting a real and important need.

At the centers we visited, a primary way in which youth used technology to express themselves was through digital stories. Digital storytelling, like traditional narrative, links the author to others in his or her cultural context. Yet digital storytelling differs from written narrative in that it is visual (Davis, 2005); its similarity to television and movies and its connection with computers can make it appealing to youth. Digital storytelling has only recently become available to young people—especially low-income young people—as a way to tell their own stories in their own voices. This novelty is part of the attraction: Digital storytelling is not the medium their parents used, and the portrayal of themselves is not what they have seen in traditional media. As a fresh and contemporary way to tell their stories, digital storytelling was immensely appealing to the youth we interviewed.

Three of the six CTCs we visited had explicit arts and media programs that trained young people to use filmmaking equipment and software to create their own films and documentaries. Youth came to these programs for a

- Providing support and mentoring for learning and academic achievement
- Offering leadership training and opportunities for civic engagement

Using Technology as a Means for Self-Expression

“[The goal is to] get people to tell stories, teach them how to tell a story, and help them tell their own stories from their own neighborhoods.”—*Staff member, Casa Familiar*

The opportunity to express their identity was another reason the young people commonly reported that they continued to attend most of the centers. Youth are drawn to the instant and ongoing communication information technology offers; many are also enticed by arts

variety of reasons, but mostly for the opportunity to learn something “cool” that they would not have been able to access. However, the process of creating films became an excellent and entertaining tool for probing and expressing cultural diversity. The goals of these programs were to encourage creative expression and critical thinking, build self-esteem and skills, and encourage career exploration. Many of the participating youth said they were interested in pursuing careers in technology-related fields.

More than exposing participants to high-tech equipment and cutting-edge software, the multimedia programming was about self-expression. As one CTC staff member stated, “The hard part is the storytelling, not necessarily the technology.” Youth who participated in multimedia programs brought their heritage to their projects. In Bresee’s Arts and Media Program (AMP), young people, with assistance from adult staff members, learned to make social documentaries that reflected their own views and experiences. Youth had complete creative control and used their films to portray images of themselves and their communities that they felt were more representative than what is often shown in the media. One youth participant created a documentary about free speech; another documented his journey to his home country to deliver shoes to poor children there. A former AMP student stated, “Bresee has given me a way to show my story to other people, give them knowledge of a different way of thinking, viewing the world, viewing indigenous people.”

At the Richmond Village Beacon Center, youth engaged in community filmmaking, working together on projects that they designed. Students began by writing their own short film scripts. As a group, they decided how to integrate their work and then collectively produced a film. One video, “Life as We Know It,” touched on issues of racism and peer pressure: In their own voices, the students shared with the audience their role models, the importance of relationships, and their likes and dislikes.

At the Vietnamese Youth Development Center (VYDC), participants worked in small groups with award-winning filmmakers to create films and documentaries. At the time of our visit, students were making a documentary on a Cambodian rapper from Long Beach. VYDC students committed to working on the project for a specified period of time; staff expectations of this commitment were high. In the summer, youth worked together to produce shorter films on topics they selected.

Through these individual and shared processes, youth at the CTCs we visited not only explored their own iden-

ties but also learned about and related to the experiences of others, who may have been different in terms of ethnicity, gender, or socioeconomic class. The whole experience built a sense of team, a sense of identity, and a sense of responsibility.

Staff members spoke specifically of the historical inequality, prejudice, and discrimination that their students faced, issues that were very much present in the content and themes of the multimedia projects. One CTC arts and media staff member reported that historical inequalities can lead to a lack of self-esteem, and that a “lack of confidence leads to hopelessness... We try to make them feel empowered.” While the youth themselves did not articulate this issue, staff perceptions were that many immigrants come to this country feeling like disadvantaged minorities. According to Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995), many immigrants were more advantaged or more connected to the mainstream in their countries of origin. The change in status brought about by their immi-

gration affected their identity and their views of the world. One program director emphasized that, given some of the negative depictions of immigrant youth in the media, providing young people with the opportunity for self-expression is

especially important. He believed that the only way for these young people to be represented truthfully is for them to document their lives themselves. A staff member at another CTC reported, “Success is helping students to...feel they have a place in the community, and that it is within their power to change issues in their lives and community.” When youth, especially those straddling multiple cultures, become more confident about their identity, they can express themselves more freely.

In addition, tackling complex, multi-step projects, and staying with them from start to finish, keeps youth challenged and engaged while preparing them for the future. They learn important life skills, such as working cooperatively in groups, following through on assignments, thinking through long-term projects, and pushing themselves to reach higher expectations. CTC staff noted that these skills are vital for college-bound youth and that they cultivate the self-esteem needed to stay in school and sustain a quality education. Students at RVBC talked specifically about learning teamwork skills, with one capturing the sentiment: “We are learning teamwork, and a lot of other people don’t know how to work in teams.” Another said, “It’s not a one-man team; you need to work together.”

Youth who participated in multimedia programs brought their heritage to their projects.



Creating a Safe, Supportive, and Culturally Comfortable Environment

“[Staff] nurture you to get a dream.” —Participant, Vietnamese Youth Development Center

Adolescence is a period marked by many changes. Adapting to a new culture—a large adjustment in and of itself—can make this developmental stage even more difficult. Immigrant youth benefit from interacting with people who have been through similar experiences and are willing to share those experiences. Nurturing shared identities can create powerful bonds. The CTCs we visited had programs aimed at teaching youth about their own cultural heritage as well as exposing them to the traditions of others. Although IT was often the reason youth came to the centers we visited, they reported that they also benefited from the cultural activities. The CTCs focused on this aspect of youth development in order to help immigrant youth acculturate to the U.S. while retaining the importance of their own heritage.

Because traditions from their home countries are generally not included in American classrooms, immigrant youth can feel alienated and outside of the mainstream. One way CTCs can address this sense of alienation is to celebrate important cultural events, such as Chinese New Year or the Mexican *Día de los Muertos*. These celebrations not only bridge generation gaps by helping youth relate to the cultural values of their parents, but also encourage parents to participate in center activities. CTC staff members play the role of cultural brokers between students from different backgrounds, and, in some cases, between students and schools and even between students and their families.

Exploring shared cultural identities was a key reason youth said they attended the centers we visited. An inclusive environment, where students feel they belong, is important for immigrant youth, who may feel marginalized due to their immigrant or socioeconomic status. The youth we interviewed reported that the friends with whom they wanted to spend time were at the center. Such connections may be the CTCs' strongest retention strategy. One youth reported, “I come here to stay out of trouble...[and] to meet new people.” When parents are relatively unavailable because they are working two jobs or otherwise dealing with economic stresses, a space where immigrant youth can find social support from adults and peers is particularly important. A Spanish-speaking parent

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with two children attending the Firebaugh Computer Learning Center said that the center “involves children in the community and helps them to gain social skills as well as learning to approach and complete projects.”

All of the centers we visited helped connect students to their cultural heritage through a variety of activities. The Vietnamese Youth Development Center had an explicit mission of helping young people adapt to U.S. culture by linking them with youth of the same ethnicity who had already acclimated. Weekly activities such as native dancing and karaoke kept youth connected to the cultures of their home countries and engaged with one another. The Koreatown Youth and Community Center worked with both immigrant and native youth of the same ethnic background, which helped immigrant youth adapt to American culture and exposed native youth to the

cultural values and heritages of their parents. At Casa Familiar, because of its proximity to the Mexican border, the young people were interested in both U.S. and Mexican cultures. The community was dominated by traditional Mexican values and culture, but U.S. issues had also taken root. At the time of our visit, center youth were involved in promoting an event to bring Latinos together to oppose the war in Iraq.

Newcomers to the U.S. have acute needs focused on language acquisition—needs that schools in the disadvantaged areas we visited were not always able to meet. A young person at VYDC told us, “The hardest part is the new language,” and said that having role models at the center was critical for language acquisition. CTC staff tried to help young people overcome feelings of isolation due to language and cultural differences. The centers encouraged communication through multimedia projects, support groups, and mentoring. Peers also played an important role, introducing one another to and participating in social networking websites, such as MySpace, that are popular among youth. Some centers we visited offered computer programs in multiple languages or with translation services.

Indeed, forging relationships with supportive adults was a key reason many youth said they continued to spend time at the centers. One former youth participant at the Richmond Village Beacon Center was frustrated that the school administration did not have a grievance system for students. An RVBC staff member helped bring together several other students to form a support group

called Revolutionary Minds, which successfully approached the administration to get its collective voice heard. At another CTC, a young person said that the staff “really do help you with your goals and future...they have the references all down pat.” In many cases, students referred to the CTC staff as “family” and the CTC space as a “second home.” The powerful relationships forged between the young people and the adult staff members were at the core of much of the CTCs’ work. According to Hirsch (2005), such relationships are essential to creating an effective afterschool program. One student encapsulated the dynamic: “The kind of people here...you can talk to them...they will listen to you.”

Supporting Learning and Academic Achievement

“Technology is the great equalizer for those who don’t have degrees.” —Executive Director, Casa Familiar

Each CTC we visited offered support for education and academic achievement. Each also provided students with homework assistance and one-on-one tutoring. At most of the centers, students had the opportunity to work with tutors who spoke their primary language. Because education is so important to immigrant families (Fulgini & Hardway, 2004), this homework assistance was critical to many of the students with whom we spoke. Staff members echoed the importance of academic assistance, with one stating, “My job is not only to help with the immediate problems they are facing, but to also...spark an interest for a lifetime of learning.” This sentiment resonated with students. One said that participating in center activities “gives you more confidence. [The staff] will push you.”

At the Vietnamese Youth Development Center, nearly every student we interviewed said that he or she first came to the center for help with homework. At SEEK LA, the Koreatown Youth and Community Center’s collaboration with L.A. High School and other partners, homework assistance and tutoring were two central features of the afterschool drop-in program. At Casa Familiar, the C3 Café was a hub for homework assistance. Richmond Village Beacon Center offered a tutoring program that provided academic support. Staff members from each of the locations mentioned using computers and the Internet in conjunction with homework support. The use of technology was seen by some as transcending language; the language

of technology is accessible to youth and can be an equalizer, creating opportunities that might not otherwise be available. Youth whose English skills are still developing can learn to use digital film or recording equipment and editing software. These skills are transferable to a host of applications, including the workplace.

Students who are new to the U. S. face a catch-up period in which they require language and academic support. Native speakers of the various languages of the centers who were also fluent in English created a welcoming environment and helped newcomers with schoolwork. Research shows that this model of learning, in which peers who have become bilingual assist newcomers, is an important way to create a non-intimidating learning environment (Bregendahl & Flora, 2005). Some center staff members visited the public schools, not only to recruit new students, but also to advocate for center students in ways that their immigrant parents were often unable to do because of language barriers, cultural differences, or work schedules. For example, at RVBC, if students came to the center during school hours, staff members would speak

with their teachers to make sure they were aware of the situation. At VYDC, case managers were linked to the school referral system and visited the schools regularly, interacting with teachers and acting as student advocates.

Encouraging students to apply to college and assisting with the application processes for

admissions, financial aid, and scholarships—processes that can be difficult and alienating even for native English speakers—was another common and integral feature of the CTCs we visited. Each CTC offered mentoring about educational opportunities, as well as financial aid workshops and college tours. CTC staff reported that although immigrant parents are highly supportive of free public education through high school, they are often less supportive about sending their children to college, in part because they want their children to stay close to home. Nearly all of the staff members we interviewed said that success for youth included higher education. The young people we interviewed also expressed a desire to go to college.

Unfortunately, the odds were often stacked against them. One counselor—who grew up in the CTC’s neighborhood, went to Harvard, and then returned to work in the community—pointed out, “They always knew about college and that they have to do well to get into college, but they don’t do well.” Part of the problem was that the

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high schools in these disadvantaged communities did not always provide adequate college counseling, especially for the immigrant and low-income students who attended the CTCs we visited. One high school student said, “[Counselors] don’t care about us; [they] only care about top straight-A students.” CTC staff members at all sites tried to make up for the lack of attention through various activities, including steering students to take the classes needed for college, helping young people fill out financial aid forms, providing information about field trips to colleges outside the immediate community, and connecting youth to adults in institutions of higher education who could help with the admissions process. These activities are not about digital technology, but they are about the futures of young people—and CTC programming sometimes played a critical role in the trajectory toward college and the transition to college life.

Offering Leadership Training and Opportunities for Civic Engagement

“We are a place that supports education, workforce development, and community empowerment through proactive leadership training for youth and adults.”
—Executive Director, Firebaugh Computer Learning Center

CTC staff members saw young people as potential leaders of their communities whose talents could be harnessed by involving them in the programs. By conducting leadership training sessions and helping youth to understand the importance of community building, the programs deepened youth engagement while building practical skills. CTC staff also realized the importance of linking these youth development goals to information technology. For instance, a Bresee staff member reported, “[We] use video as a tool to change lives... digital media as a tool of community action.”

The Richmond Village Beacon Center, the Vietnamese Youth Development Center, and Casa Familiar all had separate leadership programs that gathered young people with the explicit goal of creating homegrown leaders. The RVBC committees and advisory boards encouraged taking responsibility and created opportunities to develop leadership roles by, for example, participating in the Beacon Teen Advisory Board, which provided leadership and direction for campus-wide events and for the

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Beacon. The Vietnamese Youth Development Center organized an effort to get neighborhood corner stores to take down liquor and cigarette signs and replace them with healthier advertisements. At Casa Familiar, the youth leaders group canvassed the neighborhood to organize for their events. Youth also formed committees for community-based activities; for instance, one committee helped plan a cultural center that was under development in the neighborhood. Information technology supported this type of work when another committee used the center’s computers to design a new logo for the group.

Firebaugh Computer Learning Center sponsored *Grupo Unido en Acción*, which offered immigrant leadership training for Spanish-speaking residents. The group facilitated a community forum that was attended by 200 residents, including the mayor. While this group was focused on adults, at the time of our visit FCLC was also leading an internship program where young people went door-to-door surveying residents about computer access in the housing projects. The interns organized their findings into presentations, which allowed them to practice their public speaking skills. This kind of community mobilization encourages youth to find their voice and fosters their capacity to be leaders.

CTCs and Immigrant Youth Development

The six CTCs we visited created spaces for immigrant youth to connect with one another and with supportive adult mentors, to express themselves freely, and to be comfortable in compatible cultural settings. These characteristics are consistent with those that research has identified as promoting positive youth development and providing meaningful out-of-school-time experiences (Eccles & Gootman, 2002; McLaughlin, 2000). Beyond this, our case studies shed light on the diverse needs of immigrant groups, even within ethnicities, and the necessity to address a wide variety of challenges faced by these groups. On the surface, it may seem that these centers are primarily about bridging the digital divide—a topic that is important in its own right. However, the CTCs also provided excellent examples of ways to incorporate immigrant youth in their broader communities by providing leadership education and other means of empowerment.

Having CTC staff act as cultural, educational, and generational brokers is an important support for immi-

grant youth, who are especially at risk of disenfranchisement. According to Harris (2004), afterschool programs for immigrant youth must account for the specific cultural needs of the community and address the task of weaving young peoples' existing ethnic identities with their new American identities. By employing staff who understand youth in the context of their families and heritage and by offering programs based on an awareness of and respect for the cultures of immigrant families, the CTCs we studied incorporated some of the best practices among non-school settings. Furthermore, by integrating technology into their services and programming, the centers not only advanced the computer skills of young people, but also connected their families to valuable information and opportunities. To be prepared for the future, immigrant youth require academic and English language skills—but they also need the confidence and self-awareness to believe they can make it in this country. For immigrant youth who are being pulled between worlds, CTCs are places to sort it out among friends.

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