ENGAGING THE COMMUNITY CULTURAL WEALTH OF LATINO IMMIGRANT
FAMILIES IN A COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAM

By

Elizabeth Gil

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ABSTRACT

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The purpose of this qualitative case study utilizing ethnographic methods was to understand how family members' participation in Digital Home, a community-based technology program in an urban mid-sized Midwestern city, built on and fostered Latino immigrant families' community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) in order to increase their abilities to navigate their children's schooling experiences. Two major questions guide this study: 1) How do family members involved in this community-based program perceive family involvement in their children's education and how do they believe schools define parental involvement? 2) How does participating in this community-based program affect immigrant Latino families' various forms of capital? In order to answer these questions, I conducted semi-structured interviews with six adult program participants, five children, and seven program volunteers, including the program's founder and coordinator. I also engaged in participant observation and analyzed various public and program documents. Study findings show that the program "methodology" built on and leveraged the cultural characteristics of Latino families and familial, linguistic, and navigational capital supported and extended families' educational and personal aspirations. Activating community cultural wealth, the relationships and knowledge fostered within the program supported families' resistant capital, evidenced by parents' abilities to advocate for their children within their schools. The program's approaches can serve as a model for educational leaders to enact culturally responsive leadership and family engagement practices. While the empowerment

experienced by Digital Home families did not appear to spread widely within districts' schools, the program did expand the way parents could participate in their children's schooling.

This dissertation is dedicated to the families from Community School 211 and from Mosaic Preparatory Academy, with whom I had the opportunity to work and who inspired me, to the TECH en la Casa families and volunteers, and to my own immigrant family.

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thanks for making learning fun so long ago! Thank you also to my in-laws Myriam and Tom and to my extended family. ¡Los quiero mucho!

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

While in the U.S. parental involvement is widely accepted as an important aspect of successful education, conceptions of parental involvement differ depending on people's background experiences and culture (Pérez Carreón, Drake, & Calabrese Barton, 2005). With dominant views of parental involvement promoting middle-class white norms, parental involvement of low-income and racial and ethnic minority groups is sometimes less encouraged (De Carvalho, 2014; Gold, et al., 2002; Orr & Rogers, 2010) than that of parents who align with those views. U.S. K-12 public schools serve over 12 million Latino children, almost a quarter of the entire elementary and secondary public school population (Hernandez, Murakami, Cerna, Medina, & Martinez, 2013). In order to provide effective education to the children they serve, schools in the United States must consider how best to respond to students' and families' needs, including developing meaningful connections with students' families, who have a direct impact on their children's learning.

Community-based organizations (CBOs) have been central to understanding their constituents and identifying collective approaches that best engage and empower families, including Latino immigrants in low-income neighborhoods. By recognizing the needs as well as the community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) their members possess, community-based organizations have worked with traditionally marginalized families to address racial, linguistic, and cultural power differentials that result in the voices of urban-based minority groups being less valued than those of culturally dominant groups in schools (Orr & Rogers, 2010). Digital Home, a community-based technology skills program working with Latino immigrant families, has helped to support participants' existing strengths and to facilitate the development of various capitals, including navigational and resistant capital (Yosso, 2005), so that parents may better

engage with their children's schools. This study provides an in-depth examination of the approaches utilized in this community-based setting that fostered families' different forms of capital, leading to an expansion of how they could participate in their children's schooling. In highlighting how parents viewed children's education holistically, and not only academically, this study offers a basis for educational leaders to tap into families' community cultural wealth in order to better serve the students and families in their schools by enacting culturally responsive leadership and family engagement practices.

Statement of the Problem

Research has shown that families of Latino children tend to have positive views of education and hold aspirations for their children's educational future. In a survey of 1,054 Latino parents interviewed in three cities with high Latino populations, 96% of respondents indicated that they expected their children to go to college (Fann, Jarsky McClafferty, & McDonough, 2009). A survey of a nationally representative sample of over 3,000 adult Latinos found that 95% of Latino parents felt it was "very important" to them that their children attend college (Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation, 2004). These data indicate that Latino parents have positive views about their children attaining a higher education. Despite this, in 2011, only 13% of Hispanics aged 25-29 attained a bachelor's degree or higher (United States Department of Education, 2012).

Latinos continue to have the highest high school dropout rates of any ethnic or racial group in the U.S. (Fry, 2014), with various factors over time influencing this result (Rumberger, 2011). A Pew Hispanic Center Survey of 2,012 randomly selected, nationally representative Latino individuals delved into major reasons Hispanics do not fare as well as other students in schools. Over 40% of adult and youth (aged 16-25) respondents indicated that, "too many

teachers don't know how to work with Hispanic students" (Lopez, 2009) and close to 50% of respondents indicated that their level of English language skills was a reason they did not continue their education (Lopez, 2009).

Latino students' educational success depends on a variety of institutional factors (Conchas, 2001), including teachers' and other school officials' expectations and deficit thinking about students' capabilities (Cooper, Denner, & Lopez, 1999; Ramirez, 2003; Valencia, 2002), and the school cultures of the educational institutions Latinos attend. Culturally, classroom and school structures and behaviors reflect mainstream U.S. expectations (Hill, 2009), which do not necessarily reflect those of Latino students and their families. For example, competitive approaches implemented in some classrooms are in opposition to "communal and interdependent characteristics of Latino cultures" (Conchas, 2001). Similarly, traditional approaches stress notions of individual student success (De Carvalho, 2014; Hill & Torres, 2010) rather than the success of collective groups and may, therefore, not align with the values promoted in Latino families (Conchas, 2001).

Likewise, traditional concepts of parental involvement emphasize parents being in service to the school's efforts to educate the child and center parental involvement on academic issues (Epstein, Coates, Salinas, Sanders, & Simon, 1997; Reynolds, Mavrogenes, Hagemann, & Bezruczko, 1993; Zarate, 2007). Schools also tend to look toward formal activities and vehicles of involvement, such as parent organizations, rather than parent contributions to school success via informal actions (López, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001). In contrast to traditional notions of parental involvement, Latino parents may emphasize life participation more often than academic aspects of involvement and may not identify formal school-based parent organizations (Zarate, 2007) as their channel for involvement.

It should be understood that *educación* itself has a broader meaning than the term "education" does in English, so Latino families' ideas of education may differ from what the school calls "education." *Educación* refers not only to academic education but also to the life education of children, including learning how to behave or act with others (Valdés, 1996). To be *mal educado* ("badly educated") does not refer to attending a bad school or not having good educational opportunities, but means that someone is rude or impolite or does not have good conduct with others. The *consejos*, cultural lessons (Huber, 2009) that parents engage in through informal conversations with their children, are meant to play a role in their development as moral people (Valdés, 1996), foster aspirations (Huber, 2009), and promote academic success (Hill & Torres, 2010; Valencia, 2002). So, while Latino parents may engage in academically-oriented, school-centered activities emphasized by schools, they perceive their children's development as whole people as central to being *educado* (educated) and view their involvement in their children's education accordingly.

Traditional notions of parental involvement, however, would tend to overlook the actions taken by families outside of the expected school space, resulting in a disconnection between home and school. Furthermore, schools may assume that parents are already familiar with U.S. parental role expectations or school traditions (Hill & Torres, 2010; Ramirez, 2003) and, therefore, interpret parents not being visible at the school as not caring about their children's education (De Gaetano, 2007). Immigrant parents are often excluded from discussions about their children's schooling because they do not realize that parents viewed as "active" have greater voice within the school. Language proficiency of immigrant parents can also serve to be a barrier to engaging with their children's schools (Ramirez, 2003; Turney & Kao, 2009; Vasquez, 2004.)

Scholars have critiqued traditional notions of parental involvement for reproducing inequity (De Carvalho, 2014; Khalifa, 2010; Vasquez, 2004) through undervaluing the cultural characteristics of traditionally marginalized students (Khalifa, 2010; López, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001) and by not acknowledging existing power differentials (Auerbach, 2007; Ordoñez-Jasis, & Jasis, 2004). Therefore, schools that adhere to traditional interpretations of cultural capital fail to "capitalize on the culture, knowledge, and language of…families" (Villenas & Deyhle, 1999, p. 441).

Just as students and their families may be marginalized within their school settings, research has also shown ways in which schools have engaged traditionally marginalized communities by connecting with people in the communities where their schools are located (e.g., Irizarry & Raible, 2011; Jones & Fuller, 2003; Khalifa, 2012; López, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990) and promoting positive relationships with the students, families, and communities they serve. It is essential that schools pay attention to the needs and cultural characteristics of their students and families and learn from them in order to engage them and to educate students effectively. In some cases, community-based programs have been sites where parents meet outside of school initially, leading to greater parental involvement and increased inclusion as well as increased academic achievement for students (e.g., Ordoñez-Jasis & Jasis, 2004). Community-based organizations that work with Latino families may be positioned to serve as resources from which schools can learn how best to respond to the needs, and leverage the cultures, of the growing numbers of Latino children in U.S. schools in order to incorporate these responses institutionally. In order to understand the successful practices of community-based organizations, we must first understand what structures and interactions exist within groups that make CBOs effective at fostering involvement.

Purpose of the Study

Latino families tend to view education in a positive light and conceptualize it in a holistic manner, which encompasses formal and informal learning, but schools lean toward a narrower concept of education centered on academics. This difference in views may lead schools to place blame on families and view them through a deficit lens in order to explain why Latino students have less academic success and lower academic attainment. However, school success is tied to institutional factors that affect students' and families' experiences with the institutions attended. When schools overlook families' cultures and how these play a role in student learning and parental involvement, educators are not able to serve families effectively. This study investigates how a community space centers, rather than neglects, the cultural characteristics of Latino immigrant families and other community members, integrating existing knowledge and perspectives held by participants, along with new knowledge that aids their ability to navigate institutions.

This study begins with the premise that immigrant families have much to offer their children in terms of education, engaging in life lessons gained through experience as well as handed down across generations, in addition to academics. However, without incorporating an awareness of *educación*, beyond the academic aspect of education, schools will continue to miss a crucial piece needed to engage effectively with Latino immigrant families. As encompassed within aspirational capital, families instill in their children the belief that education is an important aspect of being able to succeed in life. While families can provide various forms of capital toward success, they also need support to be able to navigate their children's schooling experiences. This navigational support need not be limited to the home and school; in fact, navigational support currently does not occur primarily within the school setting. This study also

assumes that school leaders would welcome an increased understanding of the experiences of Latino immigrant families because they want to engage meaningfully with them to improve educational experiences for their children.

The purpose of this qualitative case study utilizing ethnographic methods was to understand how family members' participation in Digital Home (pseudonym), a community-based technology program, built on and fostered Latino immigrant families' community cultural wealth in order to increase their abilities to engage within the community and to navigate their children's schooling experiences in the U.S. By conducting a qualitative case study examining the context of this community-based site, I gained an understanding of how the program has served as a springboard for members' engagement beyond the technology classroom, including how parents engage with their children's schooling. This deep understanding of the program can then be used to identify strategies and structures that could be used productively in schools to support members of Latino immigrant communities.

Research Questions

The following questions guide this study:

- How do family members involved in this community-based program perceive family involvement in their children's education and how do they believe schools define parental involvement?

- How does participating in this community-based program affect immigrant Latino families' various forms of capital?

  - How does the development of these forms of capital impact school-family relations?
  - How does the development of these forms of capital impact students' success?

Significance

Because parental involvement is often taken for granted as a vehicle for achievement and attainment in the U.S. (Reynolds, Mavrogenes, Hagemann, & Bezruczko, 1993), we must consider what is meant by "parental involvement," where involvement takes place, and how different types of involvement are valued. While school representatives tend to regard the school as the expected hub of parental involvement and center parental involvement within the school, not all parents may view schools as welcoming places. Studies have suggested that a welcoming environment is key for immigrant families (Dyrness, 2007; Fann, Jarsky McClafferty, & McDonough, 2009), yet foreign-born Latino parents in a study conducted by Turney and Kao (2009) were two-and-a half times more likely than U.S.-born white parents to name feeling unwelcome in their children's schools as a barrier to involvement. As studies have shown, schools currently are not serving their Latino students and families as effectively as they can. If schools are not the centers of welcome desired by families, it is important to understand, then, the spaces in which they do get involved and how those spaces provide support for immigrant families. Community-based organizations have been shown to be spaces of personal development and empowerment for those involved (Maton & Salem, 1995).

By engaging with those in the community-based space for a prolonged amount of time and speaking with participants involved in a Latino-serving community-based program, this qualitative case study utilizing ethnographic methods provides a better understanding of how a community-based program working with the Latino immigrant families in an urban mid-sized Midwestern city, a context not studied extensively in the extant literature, builds on these families' community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). The study examines how the support of families' different forms of capital expands the parents' ability to engage in their children's

schooling experiences. The findings from this study can inform educational leaders regarding incorporating effective outreach toward Latino families as part of a systematic and sustained commitment through the district's parental involvement initiatives and other institutional structures.

Furthermore, this study contributes to the literature in several ways. It builds upon the framework of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005), various forms of capital possessed by communities of color that are often not recognized within schools. Several studies have applied this framework to discuss trajectories toward college, or current college students; another challenges perceptions of students considering dropping out of school or having dropped out. Other research has examined parental involvement in the area of literacy. While other studies have focused on students or parents, this study is situated in the multi-generational context of a community-based program in a Latino community and how the program helps to draw out various forms of capital that program participants possess. Furthermore, because smaller organizations that function mainly with volunteers have been known to be often wary of researchers who want to study them (Speer & Perkins, 2002), this study can provide valuable insights that are not often documented by researchers. This study also informs readers about the experiences of Latino immigrants in an urban mid-sized Midwestern city with a Latino population of about 13%, whereas previous studies have focused on cities with large Latino immigrant populations. This population figure is comparable to that of cities not traditionally known as immigrant gateways, but that now have growing Latino immigrant populations whose school systems have more recently had to consider how to serve this new population of students and families.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are used and defined as follows in this study.

Community-based Organization – A community-based organization is an entity that is representative of a community (Murphy, 2014), or a significant segment of a community, and is engaged in addressing multiple issues, including meeting human, educational, environmental, or public safety community needs (Warren & Mapp, 2011). Because they address multiple issues (Murphy, 2014), community-based organizations can provide a comprehensive view to educational concerns, which are connected to broad issues of immigration, health, and housing (Hong, 2011). This study also uses the terms "community-based program" and "community-based initiative" to describe entities that encompass the above characteristics, but that are not formal organizations.

Immigrant Latino Family – In this study, "immigrant Latino family" includes first and second generation immigrant families (Portes, & Rumbaut, 2005; Suro & Passel, 2003). First generation immigrants are those who are foreign-born and now live in the United States, while second-generation refers to those born in the United States of at least one foreign-born parent (Suro & Passel, 2003). In this study, families in which at least one family participant is an immigrant to the United States or who her/himself was raised by at least one Latino immigrant to the U.S. will be the focus.

Latino – Latino refers to Spanish-speakers whose region of origin is Latin America, South America, or the Caribbean (United States Bureau of the Census, 2015). Hidalgo (1998) notes that the Spanish language is "is at the heart of Latino cultures" (p. 112), helping to link individuals culturally. This study will use the term "Hispanic" and "Latino" interchangeably.

Navigation – The ability to navigate refers to negotiating social institutions (Yosso, 2005) and overcoming barriers or to working a system to one's advantage (Auerbach, 2007). In this study, navigation includes family members' knowledge of where to find resources and where to ask questions. In terms of children's schooling, it includes knowing how to respond to communication from their children's schools in order to meet their children's educational needs; "ability to navigate schools" refers to family members' application of their knowledge regarding resources and interactions with school officials.

Parental involvement – Parental involvement includes both academic involvement and participation in children's lives on the part of parents, guardians, and close family members. This definition includes awareness of children's lives, monitoring children and teaching respect for others, as well as establishing trust and communication with their children and advice on life (Auerbach, 2007; Zarate, 2007). This term may also be used interchangeably with *family involvement* in order to include grandparents or other family members who are primary caretakers or who play a major role in children's lives. The term reflects the importance of extended family relations within the Latino family structure (Hidalgo, 1998; Jones & Fuller, 2003).

School officials – School officials are those who have a formal role within a school or district as teachers, administrators, office staff and support staff. This term may also be used interchangeably with the term *school agents* (e.g., Lopez, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001), or *institutional agents* (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). These are among the terms that are found in other educational literature (e.g., Lopez, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001; Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995). This study also uses the terms *school representatives* or *school personnel*.

Traditional parental involvement – will refer to notions of parental involvement that have traditionally been adopted by schools, which center the school as the locus of parental involvement and primarily position parents as being in service of the school to further school-defined goals. This term may also be referred to as *dominant notions of parental involvement*.

Conclusion

Chapter 1 has provided background regarding how traditional notions of parental involvement can exclude families that do not conform to expected mainstream norms in schools. This chapter has also established the purpose of this study and its significance as well as has defined terms that will be used throughout this dissertation. Chapter 2 summarizes some of the current literature regarding parental involvement and community-based organizations, as well as reviews how involvement in community-based initiatives can be a vehicle for family involvement and empowerment. The chapter also describes the theoretical framework, *community cultural wealth* (Yosso, 2005), which has been applied to this study, and discusses existing literature related to studies that have also utilized communal cultural wealth as a tool for examining various contexts. Chapter 3 describes the choices I made in terms of methodology, including data generation and analytical approach and how I worked toward ensuring trustworthiness of my study. Chapter 4 presents findings based on an analysis of interviews, conversations, participant observation, and documents related to Digital Home, a community-based basic technology skills program geared toward Latino parents in an urban mid-sized Midwestern city. Chapter 5 offers a brief summary of study findings, provides implications for research and implications and recommendations for practice.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

This review of the literature begins with a brief summary of some of the current literature regarding traditional parental involvement in relation to Latino families. Then the literature review discusses community-based organizations' structures and norms that lead to community participation and engagement. Following that, I will discuss ways in which participation in community-based groups has served parents who are members of traditionally marginalized groups to feel more empowered and able to exercise their voice in school settings. I will then discuss what schools might learn from community-based organizations. The chapter then describes *community cultural wealth* (Yosso, 2005)*,* the theoretical framework which has been applied to this study, and discusses existing literature related to studies that have also utilized communal cultural wealth as a tool for examining various contexts. Finally, I address how this study builds on what is known about community cultural wealth and extends the literature by applying the theoretical framework to a unique context.

Traditional Parental Involvement Models and Latino Families

In the U.S. *parental involvement*, defined as active participation in a child's education, is widely accepted as an important aspect of successful educational achievement (Reynolds, Mavrogenes, Hagemann, & Bezruczko, 1993). However, conceptions of parental involvement differ depending on people's background experiences and culture (Pérez Carreón, Drake, & Calabrese Barton, 2005). With dominant views of parental involvement aligning with middle-class white norms, parental involvement of low-income and racial and ethnic minority groups is sometimes less encouraged (De Carvalho, 2014; Mediratta, Shah, & McAlister, 2009; Orr & Rogers, 2010). Racial, linguistic, and cultural power differentials tend to result in the voices of

urban-based minority groups being less valued than those of culturally dominant groups in schools (Orr & Rogers, 2010).

A widely-known framework of parental involvement developed by Epstein, Coates, Salinas, Sanders, & Simon (1997) identifies six types of involvement: parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision making, and collaborating with the community. However, this framework – which emphasizes a home-school dichotomy, focuses on the parent's role as one that serves school-identified goals, and stresses notions of individual student success (De Carvalho, 2014) rather than the success of collective groups – may not be suitable for Latino families. Delgado-Gaitan (2004) notes that Latino parental involvement has as a motivation and as an end goal the promotion of opportunities for students. Further, academic achievement is not necessarily measured in test scores, but by the way it impacts positive attitudes toward school (Delgado-Gaitan, 2004).

In a case study conducted in a low-income, high-minority elementary school, Bower and Griffin (2011) found that traditional methods, such as those proposed by Epstein and her colleagues, were not sufficient to engage parents. The study revealed that while efforts were made to communicate with parents on the part of the school, there were not many efforts to foster communication between Black parents and Latino parents, resulting in uncomfortable interactions and low participation in the parent-teacher organization in the school. The school also did not ask parents how they wanted to be involved, instead falling back on school-based, academically focused parental involvement activities. The authors suggest that developing networks of parents could result in greater interactions between parents and the school, could also encourage parents' support of one another and could create a system of relationships where parents recruit one another to participate in activities and engage in advocacy for their children.

In their quantitative analysis of nationally representative data contained in the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Kindergarten Class of 1998-99 (*ECLS-K*), Turney and Kao (2009) found that immigrant parents from non-dominant groups experienced more barriers to parental involvement (and to a greater degree) than did native-born white parents. Foreign-born Latino parents were two-and-a half times more likely to name feeling unwelcome in their children's school than were white U.S.-born parents. They were also five-and-a-half times more likely to indicate that language was an obstacle to being involved in their children's schools than were their white native-born counterparts. Scheduling of meeting times that were not convenient to parents was also a concern for this group of parents.

Furthermore, these traditional notions of parental involvement may not consider the circumstances or cultures of non-white middle-class parents, including low-income families, families of color, or immigrant families. In a case study regarding a series of workshops intended to help Latino immigrant parents of middle school students learn about college planning, Fann, Jarsky McClafferty, and McDonough (2009) refer to studies indicating that Latino parents have high aspirations for their children's future education. However, the Latino immigrant parents they worked with lacked basic information about planning, as well as needing to have concerns about their children's safety and families' financial circumstances addressed. Once they attended the workshops, offered in Spanish in a welcoming environment, parents began planning with their children and sharing information with other parents in their community. Until then, the parents had been an untouched resource for information sharing.

With the U.S. experiencing an increasingly diverse body of students in public schools, these institutions need to consider whether schools' efforts to involve parents are adequately reaching them. If schools continue to view parental involvement as activities that take place

within school buildings during school hours, and only in a language parents do not understand well, a large segment of parents will continue to be excluded from meaningfully engaging with schools. It is essential that schools pay attention to the needs and cultural characteristics of their students and families and learn from them in order to address their needs and build on their assets to educate children from diverse backgrounds effectively. Community-based initiatives, where Latino families may have existing relationships and affiliations, can serve as a resource to facilitate learning about ways that schools can work toward being more inclusive of diverse families.

Community-Based Organizations

Community-based organizations tend to leverage knowledge about constituents to address their needs (Osterling & Garza, 2004), cultivate parental leadership, and increase social capital (Gold et al., 2002). At the same time, as family members learn within the context of community-based initiatives, they bring together past and present knowledge (Civil, Planas, & Quintos, 2012) to create new resources that are shared and to increase various forms of capital (e.g., navigational capital) (Yosso, 2005). These forms of capital are then applied to improving their children's educational experiences in the U.S. Examining community-based settings is also important because research has found that collaborations between districts and CBOs can expand the educational institutions' "social resources and expertise, particularly in reaching out to low-income Latino parents and effectively educating their children" (Ishimaru, 2014, p. 1). Furthermore, since community-based organizations are not legal entities, they are more trusted by immigrants with undocumented status and are, therefore, well-positioned to address this subgroup's specific needs (Yoshikawa, Kholoptseva, & Suárez-Orozco, 2013).

Characteristics of Community-Based Organizations

Community-based organizations (CBOs) possess certain characteristics that can result in the ability to support the growth, development and empowerment of those who participate in the organization (Maton & Salem, 1995) (Figure 1). Ideally, CBOs are reflective of the communities of which they are a part; those involved are moved to participate because of a shared interest in the goals and relationships with others within the organization (Murphy, 2014). The structures and norms of community-based organizations support collective efforts and encourage the commitment of participants to confront issues they are experiencing (Murphy, 2014).
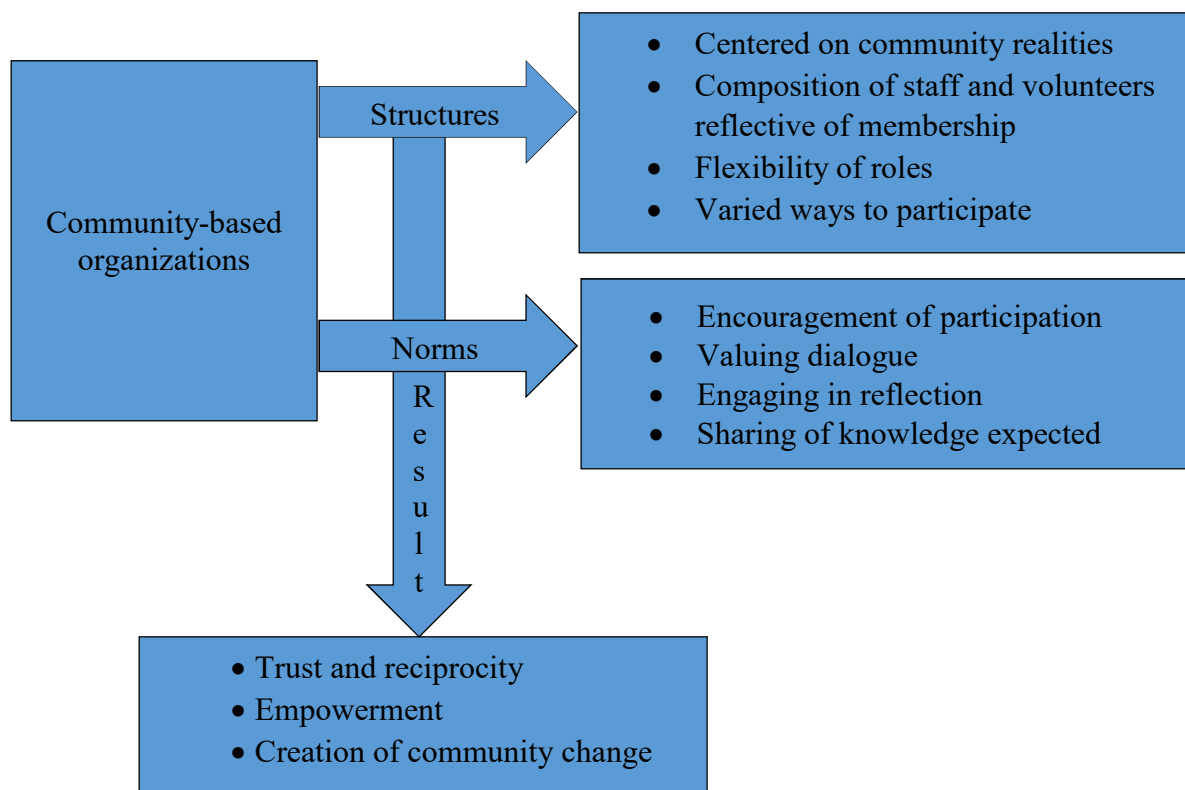
Figure 1: Characteristics of community-based organizations leading to growth and development of those who participate in the organization.

Structures of Community-based Organizations

Community organizations vary, including professional service agencies, volunteer

organizations, and informal groups (Speer & Perkins, 2002). Community-based organizations that mainly depend on volunteers tend to function from a more democratic orientation than do more traditional organizations that maintain a more hierarchical philosophy (Speer & Perkins, 2002). This is due to both the underlying philosophy of organizations and the circumstance of possessing limited resources (Speer & Perkins, 2002). Tasks and knowledge tend to be spread out among members, depending on the need and abilities present at the time, and leadership tends to be more fluid (Murphy, 2014). In this way, organizations are seen more as non-static, open systems, "porous, contingent, and fostering collective action" (Murphy, 2014, p. 51). A variety of structural aspects characterize community-based organizations, including their location, who is involved, and how roles are viewed within the group.

The location of a community-based organization can provide greater access by the community (Speer & Perkins, 2002), but community is not necessarily determined by geographic location (Murphy, 2014). Rather than trying to determine a geographic community center, the basis of placement should be a community's "life-world" (Murphy, 2014, p. 54). An emphasis on understanding a community's reality (Speer & Perkins, 2002) includes staff and volunteers who reflect the identities of those served (Osterling & Garza, 2004) in the CBOs and who possess a deep acumen about those in the community, as well as appropriate approaches to problem-solving (Murphy, 2014). Furthermore, community-based organizations often depend on workers' and volunteers' abilities to be multi-skilled and to share of those skills and knowledge (Murphy, 2014). The flexibility in role structure within organizations benefits members through being able to respond to their needs as well as their capabilities (Maton & Salem, 1995). Based on need, different people can take the lead within the organization, exercise present skills, and develop new abilities (Maton & Salem, 1995). Inclusivity of broad membership through discussion is

important in order to ensure common understandings; in terms of how professionals are viewed within the community-based structure, the contributions and ideas of both professionals and non-professionals are valued (Murphy, 2014). Members also have opportunities to participate in different ways and in different formats. Group members can participate in organization activities that include the full membership, as well as in small groups and one-on-one peer interactions, which can offer a sense of family belonging and can transfer to community life outside of the organization (Maton & Salem, 1995).

Norms in Community-based Organizations

Norms within community-based organizations support members and guide the structures discussed above. Philosophies of inclusion are essential to community-based organizations and their members' ability to handle difficulties (Murphy, 2014). Encouragement of participation, information-sharing and adaptation to circumstances are all common aspects of community-based organizations (Murphy, 2014). Through interaction and participation, group members develop a sense of reciprocity (Maton & Salem, 1995; Speer & Perkins, 2002). Members' sense of trust and reciprocity promotes their tendency to act in the interest of the group (Speer & Perkins, 2002).

CBOs that function from a strengths-based perspective view members as people with past and present knowledge and insights. From this point of view, knowledge is created within the group through participation of members, not only a select few (Murphy, 2014), and collaboration requires that members within the organization must be part of organizational design or problem-solving (Murphy, 2014). Efforts to educate within the group are open to all and have their foundation in the local context, with members having a say, also, in how the education will take place (Murphy, 2014). The education members receive is to be shared with the community. This

information sharing aids in maintaining stability in the organization, as the knowledge can stay within the organization even if participants do not.

As mentioned above, leadership in community-based organizations tends to be more distributed than in more hierarchical structures (Murphy, 2014). Maton and Salem (1995) found that in the community-based organizations they studied, leadership was viewed as a responsibility rather than as a formal position. They found that leaders influenced members directly as well as motivated those who worked with members in the organization. The leaders served as visionary, passionate role models who inspired others (Maton & Salem, 1995) and were skilled, both relationally and organizationally. They accessed resources and supported the evolution of the organizations as well (Maton & Salem, 1995). Leaders also encouraged the development of other leaders in the group and were committed to the growth of others (Maton & Salem, 1995). Rather than fearing others' involvement in decision-making, this opportunity for meaningful involvement was interpreted as a strength. The leadership orientation and aspects identified above help to increase members' dedication to the group as well as develop human resources over time, while also engaging material resources.

Result of Community-Based Structures and Norms

Some argue that if community-based organizations do not explicitly discuss power, the collective efforts toward the communities' ability to handle its own problems may not develop and, instead, may keep communities on the margins (Murphy, 2014) despite engagement with a CBO. However, by working firmly within communities and their daily experiences, CBOs become genuine centers of empowerment, as participatory, resource-providing mediating structures (Maton & Salem, 1995; Murphy, 2014). Through their promotion of "participatory safety" (Onyett 2003, p. 197), where participants can freely express ideas, information-sharing,

dialogue, growth of community skills, and self-direction (Murphy, 2014), organizations exercise responsiveness to community members' desires and can serve as a lever for change.

Community-Based Organizations Connecting Families to Schools

Community-based organizations can play a role in how families interact with the schools their children attend, especially in cases where schools are not effectively engaging them. While school personnel can create welcoming cultures for diverse families, research suggests that these efforts are not a consistent reality across schools (Zarate, 2007). Schools may still hold negative assumptions based on what they perceive to be a lack of parental involvement of Latino immigrant families or deficit views of what these families have to offer. A lack of understanding of Latino immigrant families' needs and assets, then, threatens schools' abilities to work effectively with this group of families in their schools. Warren, Hong, Rubin, and Uy, (2009) note that parental involvement efforts in some urban schools are disconnected from the families and communities the schools serve, while these same communities have strong community-based organizations that are deeply connected to families. Effectively meeting the needs of constituents and recognizing what they can contribute are central to the work of community-based organizations, which offer a space for participants to discuss problems, access resources (Speer & Perkins, 2002), and improve their personal and professional circumstances. Therefore, community-based initiatives can serve as a vehicle to connect schools to families that they are having difficulty engaging.

Community-based initiatives have been utilized to engage traditionally marginalized families to reform education and improve outcomes for their children through recognizing racial, linguistic, and cultural power differentials that often result in urban-based, minority groups' views being less valued than those of culturally dominant groups in schools (Noguera, 2004; Orr

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& Rogers, 2010). Approaches that bring community members together have been central to understanding constituents' needs and identifying collective approaches that best engage and empower families, including Latino immigrants in low-income neighborhoods (Ishimaru, 2014).

In their analysis of four Latino community-based organizations in different regions of the United States, Osterling and Garza (2004) identify elements that made the organizations highly effective in cultivating partnerships and were found in most, if not all, of the organizations studied. All of the organizations worked to engage families as a unit rather than interacting with family members as lone-standing individuals; each had different levels of opportunity for engagement. These varied opportunities ranged from providing emotional support, to developing academic help skills or training members as advocates and leaders. All of the groups developed their agendas based on the expressed needs of their members, rather than imposing goals or assuming what needs were present in the communities. The community-based organizations, staffed by people who were bilingual and representative of those in the organization, offered flexible schedules and accessibility to their members. The organizations also worked to establish partnerships with schools in the Latino communities. Just as these organizations partnered with local schools, López, Scribner, and Mahitivanichcha (2001) found that the four schools in their study also collaborated with community organizations in order to meet families' immediate needs.

From Peer-to-Peer Support to Collective Engagement

Community-based organizations and initiatives have served as spaces where relationships among parents have led to the establishment of peer-to-peer support of individuals as well as have provided collective strength to engage with school officials where they had previously felt silenced. The relationships developed within the activities of community-based organizations

affect participation (Warren, Hong, Rubin, & Uy, 2009) in the organization and beyond (Murphy, 2014), and parental engagement efforts that focus on relationship-building among parents promote parental empowerment through information sharing, strengthening kinship ties and through leadership roles taken on by members within the community (Fann, Jarsky McClafferty, & McDonough, 2009; Lawson & Alameda-Lawson; 2012). Previous research has provided examples of how peer support and interactions within organizations have empowered parents from marginalized groups to amplify their voices beyond their community settings and into their children's schools.

In the Community Action Network, a parent engagement program resulting from the partnership of a school district, a CBO, and a local university, coordinated by a community parent, parents collectively developed and executed program activities (Lawson, & Alameda-Lawson, 2012). As parents developed relationships with one another, they formed peer-to-peer ties, linking one another with community institutions and offering suggestions about social service resources in the community. Another organization, Comite de Padres Latinos/Committee of Latino Parents (COPLA), was first formed for parents to support one another, but then developed into a formal agency through which Latinos can navigate the school system and advocate for their children's education (Delgado-Gaitan, 2001). Through opportunities to build relationships with one another, family members moved from experiencing isolation to experiencing connection and having networks to which to turn. Through engaging with one another, parents found strength in their efforts to navigate relationships with their children's schools (Delgado-Gaitan, 2001). Similarly, in the Parent Organizing Project (POP), Latino parents strengthened their relationships and worked with one another to navigate through their children's schools (Ishimaru, 2014). These relationships, along with other advocacy, led to

increased structural social capital in the form of access to and interchange of information, and fostered parental capacity to speak out in schools regarding their children's needs (Ishimaru, 2014).

Within community-based efforts, parents can establish bonds with each other, providing a kind of familial support (Dyrness, 2007; Hong, 2011). The Logan Square Neighborhood Association's Parent Mentor program, for example, provided a place where parents shared their personal experiences and the ways they encouraged their children (Hong, 2011). One group member told another, "This is your family now…So you don't have to feel as if you are on your own or that you have to do this by yourself. And at the same time, you are going to be a source of support for someone who needs it" (Hong, 2011, p. 71).

The testimonies of the participants in *Madres Unidas* (Mothers United), a collective effort of Latina immigrants who felt silenced and judged within their children's school setting (Dyrness, 2007), further solidify the understanding of the importance of relationships developed within groups that empower parents. The trust built through and the relationships forged within the community-based space of the group promoted mothers' ability to resist a sense of marginalization and to find their collective voice in dealing with school officials. Weekly group meetings led to trust among group members and offered the opportunity to look critically at the underlying narratives that kept Latino parents in a lower position in the school. These discussions resulted in increased confidence to resist the "dominant story" (Dyrness, 2007, p. 266) in the school. One participant shared, "I have learned so much, to speak…I've gotten more courage...before I could barely stand up from my seat to talk!...And now I have a lot of affection for all of you, because you are also my friends, I consider you my friends, and we have a lot of confianza [trust and confidence]" (p. 266). Participation in *Madres Unidas* fostered "mutual

affirmation and support" (Dyrness, 2007, p. 266) which resulted in "the mothers fe[eling] safe to take the risks that learning entails" (p. 266). The strength that the women got from one another led the mothers to share their participatory research process and findings with the school, ultimately resulting in the creation of a Parent Center intended to replicate the positive, safe, and honest home space which *Madres Unidas* had experienced in a member's kitchen. The trusted network fostered in the *Madres Unidas* example supports the idea that social capital can counter the power imbalance (Noguera, 2004) that parents may experience in schools and that members of a community can support each other's resistant capital (Yosso, 2005). Relationships among parents, therefore, can help support one another on a peer-to-peer level, but also as they navigate institutions, by offering advice and serving as a buffer when relations between schools and parents are not positive. These supportive relationships can help also to strengthen confidence to interact with school representatives. Through trusted bonds that form, parents become resources to one another and gain their collective voice, leveraging familial and social capital to further activate resistant capital.

Developing an Understanding of Community Context

When schools truly understand the specific circumstances of the families they serve, the schools can begin to transform the notion of parents in service of the school's goals to demonstrate the schools' commitment to the families they serve, not only for strictly academic reasons, but also because the schools value the families as members of the school community (Pérez Carreón, Drake, & Calabrese Barton, 2005). Recognizing that parental engagement also differs based on children's needs, parental resources and cultural capital can be activated in both traditional ways, such as volunteering at school, and non-traditional ways, such as having daily discussions about school with their children (Pérez Carreón, Drake, & Calabrese Barton, 2005).

Understanding can be fostered by asking families what their needs are, engaging in the communities being served, and in being visible in the community.

Whereas traditional conceptions of parental involvement often place parents in the position of a subject expected to do certain pre-identified activities established by the school, parental engagement includes acknowledging immigrant parents' involvement in formal school spaces and informal spaces (Pérez Carreón, Drake, & Calabrese Barton, 2005). College preparation workshops offered to Latino immigrant parents in Spanish addressed parents' specific concerns regarding their children's college attendance (Fann, Jarsky McClafferty, & McDonough, 2009). As a result, these parents began college planning with their children to fulfill their educational aspirations and activated their familial and social capital by sharing information with other parents in their community. Prior to this engagement experience, the parents had been an untouched information sharing resource (Fann, Jarsky McClafferty, & McDonough, 2009). Knowing how long families have been in the United States and whether the families are within a community that largely reflects their cultural backgrounds can help schools understand and address what parents may need in the form of childcare, interpreters, or transportation, for example, to reduce barriers to participation (Jones & Fuller, 2003). Furthermore, as schools ascertain Latino parents' understandings of parental involvement and communicate the school's own concept of parental involvement, stakeholders can develop new, negotiated understandings on which to base approaches to engage families (Jones & Fuller, 2003).

It is also important to note that although steps may be taken within the school to involve parents, it is essential for school staff and leaders to be visible within communities where their school populations reside. Teachers identified as "exemplary" by Latino community members

expressed that they worked effectively in their schools due to engaging themselves in the community through interactions and acknowledging students' cultural identities, including language (Irizarry & Raible, 2011). These teachers "centered the community in their teaching practice" (Irizarry & Raible, 2011, p. 194), sharing personal struggles of growing up in the community, or including Latino perspectives in the teaching of history. These teachers also "immerse[d] themselves in the social and cultural networks of their Latino students and their …families" (Irizarry & Raible, 2011, p. 188). Having interactions within the spaces frequented by students and families, for example, walking and taking public transportation routes used by families, and participating in community activities can give educators a better understanding and let members of the community see them as well (Jones & Fuller, 2003). Additionally, making home visits and getting to know families on a personal level raised awareness of families' realities (Jones & Fuller, 2003; López, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001) and the funds of knowledge possessed by families (González et al., 2005).

Studies have shown that when school leaders make the intentional choice to be visible in the communities they serve and take on roles as community leaders, they can foster trust and increased rapport between the school and community (Khalifa, 2012), foster parental involvement and positive relationships between school representatives and families (González et al., 2005), and establish a culture of understanding and support for students and their backgrounds (Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990). They can also increase their understanding of how and where they can get support to establish alliances to support school issues, thereby building an "advocacy base in the community" (Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990, p. 337). This choice to be visible beyond the space of the school building can result in changed relationships with the school's parents, especially in cases where there is a history of distrust (Khalifa, 2012).

A study by López, Scribner, and Mahitivanichcha (2001), illustrated how schools with high migrant student representation that also successfully involved parents viewed themselves as constantly responsible for meeting parental needs. Personal identification with the migrant experience and schools' understanding and knowledge of the migrant families and their immediate needs informed the varied strategies implemented to get parents into schools (López, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001). Rather than view parental involvement as a way for parents to serve the schools, these schools looked to mitigate families' stresses and, therefore, reduced barriers to their formal involvement in the schools.

These findings suggest that populations of parents, including immigrant parents, who have been marginalized by traditional school structures of parental involvement need leaders in their children's schools to view their roles as transcending the walls of the school, rather than only inviting from within. Community-based organizations, then, can serve as mediating structures by both providing their members the support that promotes their empowerment within the organization and beyond, as the examples discussed above show. In this way, the members whose empowerment has been fostered within the organizations may take action in ways that make it less likely for leaders to ignore their voices. Community-based organizations can also serve as a resource for schools to learn how they can better engage with the communities they serve.

Community-Based Initiatives as a Vehicle for Increased Parental Empowerment

The examples above illustrate the way community-based spaces support members' ability to take action beyond the community-based group. Community organizations have arisen as a vehicle for changing traditional parent-school interactions, which have tended to marginalize low-income parents and parents of color. CBOs may work with constituents to raise their

awareness and promote collective action in order to achieve common goals. Community-based organizations have helped to empower parents, especially those traditionally marginalized in school settings, in order to bring about educational reforms and to make decision-makers accountable to them. They also connect families to resources and help them navigate systems, including schools, as well as helping educational institutions better understand the families they serve. Increased parental empowerment fostered within community-based initiatives leads to improved experiences within the school for both families and children (Ordoñez-Jasis, & Jasis, 2004). *La Familia*, a community-based effort that created a space of "collective creation and solidarity" (Ordoñez-Jasis, & Jasis, 2004, p. 35), led to increased parental involvement in the school and saw increased student achievement. *La Familia* was also viewed as a channel for parents to collaborate with staff, therefore nurturing an inclusive relationship between parents and the school.

Parental engagement experiences that consider families holistically, recognizing and responding to educational and non-educational circumstances, can empower the families by helping them develop an increased sense of being able to act, which results in having better control over life circumstances (Murphy, 2014). Empowerment also has individual and group dimensions (McWhirter, 1991; Sleeter, 1991). Freire's (1990) perspective that constraints exist simultaneously with possibilities for action is exhibited in community-based efforts. Those who experience marginalization and who are affected by poverty can also act against it, and even more so, can affect social change when they have resources and support from partners (Noguera, 2004). Scholars argue the importance of linking schools to communities, both to gain a meaningful understanding about those they serve (McCray & Beachum, 2014) and to prod the will of those with power to transform public education (Warren, 2005). Just as community-

based organizations have helped to organize their constituents for increased justice in economic, health, and housing issues, so too can organizing bring school reform. By engaging those most affected by poor educational conditions (Warren, 2005), community-based organizations can help to fill in the gaps in understanding of the schools serving low-income students and students of color (Osterling & Garza, 2004). Furthermore, because they address multiple issues, community-based organizers can provide a comprehensive view to educational concerns, which are connected to broad issues of immigration, health, and housing (Hong, 2011).

What Schools Can Learn from Community-Based Organizations

School personnel can learn from community-based organizations in different ways. First, schools can learn about the families and the communities they serve by tapping into community-based organizations' expertise about their constituents. Second, schools can learn to adapt their ways to resemble more closely the approaches of community-based organizations, including supporting collective approaches, exercising increased flexibility in response to the circumstances of families, as well as demonstrating a systematic and sustained commitment to parents. Schools and institutions interested in engaging diverse groups of parents would benefit from turning to community-based organizations, which find varied ways to engage with constituents. CBOs also maintain ties with the people they serve in order to learn from them how to better meet the needs of traditionally marginalized groups of parents. By forming relationships, then, with CBOs, schools can improve the educational experiences of students and their families.

Studies have examined how schools can benefit from interacting or partnering with community-based initiatives. Through interviews with coordinators of parental involvement organizations, the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute (Zarate, 2007) found that there was a wide

range of programs that addressed parents in various ways, including disseminating information about K-12 settings, providing leadership development, focusing on advocacy training, and organizing in the community. Regardless of which of the above foci were central in parental organizations' work, the approaches they used to recruit parents were similar. They had goals of empowering parents to be educational advocates for their children, establishing partnerships with private and public players, including schools and districts, and stressing the development of trust. The organizations also evaluated their programs to measure whether results were aligned with goals and facilitated parental involvement by providing transportation, food, childcare, space for meetings, and interpretation services. These various elements, which allow for parents to engage in various ways and address potential barriers to improvement, can serve as an example for schools seeking to engage and empower families.

Ishimaru (2014) suggests that district collaborations with community organizations can result in educational institutions expanding their ability to reach out to low-income Latino parents by helping them gain a better understanding of families, as well as improving the education of their children. Another benefit schools can gain from the relational approach enacted by community organizations is the awareness of families' varying "needs, aspirations, and desires [for] their children's education" (Warren, Hong, Rubin, & Uy, 2009, p. 2210). While these initiatives have been successful, it is important to recognize that they are not a one-size-fits-all approach to engagement; educators need to recognize that it is necessary to adapt efforts to local circumstances.

Community-based organizations also play an important role in how the sub-population of families in which at least one parent has undocumented status in the U.S. finds support (Yoshikawa, Kholoptseva, & Suárez-Orozco, 2013). These families represent five and a half

million children in the U.S., 4.5 million of whom are U.S.-born (Yoshikawa, Kholoptseva, & Suárez-Orozco, 2013). Because community-based organizations are not legal entities, they are more trusted by the people they intend to serve and can, therefore, bring parents "out of the shadows" (Yoshikawa, Kholoptseva, & Suárez-Orozco, 2013, p. 11) through partnering with government agencies and reducing barriers that make parents feel reluctant to give information. In this way, these families are more likely to participate in programs their children, many of whom are U.S. citizens, for which they are eligible. Lawson and Alameda-Lawson (2012) also note in their case study that undocumented parents find community-based organizations a more welcoming body than formal institutions because CBOs tend to function more flexibly and can help parents form relationships with formal institutions within the community. This flexibility and bridging capacity were discussed earlier in the description of effective Latino community-based organizations presented by Osterling and Garza (2004).

Community-based organizations and schools can partner with one another via the provision of workshops and programs within the school as well as the school holding activities within community group spaces. Community-based organizations may have the ability to launch large-scale campaigns through which schools and districts can ally themselves when issues of concern align (Mediratta, Shah, & McAlister, 2009), as in the case of Chicago's Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now's (ACORN's) work with the district to address teacher pipeline programs. Alliances can also be formed on the school level, though these efforts can also prove difficult, as protests over issues, such as poor school conditions, might be seen as criticisms of the schools themselves on the part of the organizations (Mediratta, Shah, & McAlister, 2009).

In some cases, community-based organizations have worked via specific people within schools, such as parent coordinators, to provide supports, for example, on immigration issues (Mediratta, Shah, & McAlister, 2009). The democratic approaches that value contributions of many and the inclusion and development of community voice within organizations position CBOs as legitimate advocates for equity and fairness in schools.

Theoretical Framework

This study applies the *community cultural wealth* (Yosso, 2005) theoretical framework to a community-based technology skills program geared toward Latino immigrant families and community. Emphasizing "cultural knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts possessed by socially marginalized groups" (Yosso, 2005, p. 69), Yosso's (2005) concept of community cultural wealth offers an alternative to traditional interpretations of Bourdieu's (1977) cultural capital, which maintains that upper- and middle-class knowledge, skills, language, and networks (Gonzales, 2012) are valued in ways that reproduce society's hierarchy. The common interpretations of Bourdieu's theory position people of color as being deprived of the capital necessary to experience social mobility. Community cultural wealth brings to light several types of capital communities of color possess, which resist deficit notions and "serve a larger purpose of struggle toward social and racial justice" (Yosso, 2005, p. 69) for a collective. The framework illustrates strengths students from traditionally marginalized groups bring to school from home, which often go unacknowledged by those in power.

Yosso identifies these overlapping strengths as aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistant capital. Aspirational capital refers to communities' "ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future even in the face of barriers" (Yosso, 2006, p. 41). This form of capital may include parents' hopes that their children attend college and have

opportunities that they themselves have not experienced. Linguistic capital includes the transmission of cultural values through *cuentos* (stories), *dichos* (proverbs), and sharing of familial oral histories (Yosso, 2006). It refers to the "intellectual and social skills learned through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style" (Yosso, 2006, p. 43). This linguistic capital is employed, for example, when children modify their communication styles based on the different audiences they encounter (Yosso, 2006). Familial capital encompasses the lessons learned within families offering moral support and guidance for children, as well as through kinship ties within communities (Yosso, 2006). Through familial capital, members of communities connect with each other around mutual concerns and help each other solve problems (Yosso, 2006). Navigational capital is the ability to "make [one's] way through institutions not created with [traditionally marginalized communities] in mind" (Yosso, 2006, p. 43). This capital is exhibited when students "achieve even when they struggle" (Yosso, 2006, p. 43). Resistant capital, described as "knowledges and skills cultivated through behavior that challenges inequality" (Yosso, 2006, p. 49), is developed through the explicit and implicit communication intended to help people assert themselves in the face of injustice and resist pressures to engage in the maintenance of unequal conditions (Yosso, 2006). Social capital activates networks to share information and resources through peer groups (Yosso, 2006). These "networks of people and community resources" (Yosso, 2006, p. 45) help people maneuver through institutions via the sharing of information and resources through personal networks and aid communities in resisting inequities.

Applying the community cultural wealth framework to this study's context is appropriate because the participants at the study site are members of a traditionally marginalized group in at least one of various ways. Study participants are Latino—including members of Latino

immigrant families with school-aged children—and most are low-income. In some cases, participants are further marginalized by their documentation status in the U.S. Yet, while the participants face barriers due to their ethnic identity in the United States, they also possess rich cultures and indigenous knowledges, which they activate and share with one another to live their daily lives and confront difficulties. These knowledges are further developed, and new knowledges are gained, through their engagement in the community-based technology program. This study seeks to illuminate specific ways in which family members' growth translates to their ability to navigate their children's schooling in the U.S.

Other studies have applied the theory of community cultural wealth in order to challenge simplified notions of youth identity, to gain an understanding of how students apply community cultural wealth in situations connected to higher education or to persist in high school, and to examine how families and communities support student success in the area of literacy. Burciaga and Erbstein (2010) explored the role of community cultural wealth in the area of youth well-being and youths' perceptions of themselves in relation to schooling. This study's findings indicated that youth who had left school actively engaged in resisting negative stereotypes of themselves and their communities. While they might be viewed as "dropouts," they did not necessarily see themselves in this way, instead, viewing their leaving school as a "pause" (Burciaga & Erbstein, 2010, p. 7). They also exercised linguistic capital through artistic expression and writing that acted as outlets to communicate their hopes and feelings. These youths also had experience navigating systems for themselves and for others. On average, youth in the study had maneuvered through eight schools between early childhood and high school. In the case of one youth who intervened with his brother's school when school officials identified a speech impediment as a mental disability, navigation sometimes translated into resistance. The

youth also identified adult allies as sources of care and guidance, with caring teachers and school staff as a major resource. However, the participants in the study rarely referred to supports presumably offered by schools (material resources, enrichment opportunities, and social or professional networks) as significant. Study participants expressed that learning was important, but that schooling, which they experienced as being disconnected from their lives, actually interfered with their aspirations to learn. The study also highlighted that while the youth exhibited the application of community cultural wealth capitals, these were not enough to overcome all the barriers the young people faced.

Jayakumar, Vue, and Allen (2013) studied how black students' experiences in a community-initiated college prep program brought to light community cultural wealth in students' ability to access college opportunities. The students in this study saw their college aspirations fostered by their community rather than by their schools. The Young Black Scholars program offered comprehensive assistance in the form of tangible information about the path to college, whereas schools did not help with providing specifics. The program also connected students to other members of the community. While study participants indicated that there was a fifty-fifty chance that school representatives would be helpful to students, the relationships formed within Young Black Scholars provided social capital. For example, students motivated each other and shared information with each other.

In their study on college-going information networks, Liou, Antrop-González, and Cooper (2009) found that community cultural wealth helped support Latino students' college-going aspirations. This study found that the students expecting to go to college located their support for these aspirations within their families and church rather than in their school. Access to opportunities and information were limited by the school officials' perceptions of students.

Students' connections to their faith communities provided access to important information and high achieving multicultural urban peers fostered both social and linguistic capital through information sharing and conversation. Students in the study also used the marginalization they experienced in school as a motivator to refute negative stereotypes by performing well academically.

Huber (2009) examined Latinas' navigation of higher education in light of discourses about immigration. This study found that community cultural wealth served to recover humanity in an environment that dehumanized people with undocumented status. Latinas' testimonies revealed that the cultural lessons and stories shared by their families, such as lessons about hard work and family sharing of migration stories, fostered their aspirations regarding schooling, including their desires to go on to graduate school. The linguistic capital that the Latinas had developed through translating for their families carried over into their conversations with professors. They also found financial and academic support through their community networks. These social networks also served as sources of navigational help, which led to persistence in college. Latinas in the study also expressed a sense of responsibility to help others with limited opportunities due to their documentation status.

Luna and Martinez (2013) applied a community cultural wealth lens to their study on Latino college students and found that participants utilized their cultural abilities and networks to resist oppressive conditions in school and to succeed academically. Parents' influence was essential to the development of student aspirations and their moral support and encouragement were crucial to students' success. The students in the study also sought out guidance regarding academic pathways that would prepare them for college from their familial networks. Furthermore, success was viewed as a collective outcome rather than an individual achievement.

The authors suggest that further research look at the community cultural wealth that Latino parents offer their children.

Harris and Kiyama (2015) use community cultural wealth as one of the theoretical frameworks in their book examining the high school persistence of Latino students in Rochester. The authors provide a strengths-based perspective recognizing family and student assets and illustrating existing community resources. Through the voices of Rochester students and their families, one of the chapters highlights the worth of school- and community-based programs, which served as linguistically and culturally affirming places where students established relationships with adults they trusted and where students found reasons to persist in high school.

Looking at elementary education and parents' involvement in literacy practices, Larrotta and Yamamura (2011) studied interactions and relationships within a school-based family literacy program as a kind of meaningful parental involvement for 10 Latino mothers of students receiving English as a second language instruction. Their study found that the program supported aspirational, social, and familial capital as parents gained confidence in their abilities to support their children's academic success, and as they built relationships with each other and the school. During the literacy program sessions, parents received greetings and school-related information from a school representative, as well as opportunities to learn literacy strategies as a large group and practice them with a parent partner, and then with their children. Within the program, various forms of capital were engaged via structuring literacy strategies in ways that connected to parents' lives and through parental sharing of personal reflections with one another during each session.

Previous studies have illustrated the ways in which community cultural wealth capitals have been manifested in various contexts, including in the lives of youth who left school, in

college-going efforts, in higher education settings, and within school- and community-initiated programs. Most of the studies focus on youth or college-aged people. The current study builds on the existing literature by examining the role of community cultural wealth within a community-based program. This study extends the literature by highlighting community cultural wealth within the goings-on in a program targeted toward Latino immigrant family members in a multi-generational setting. This study also examines how the various forms of capital identified by Yosso (2005) are activated in family members' approaches to their children's schooling. This study centers the voices of the adult family members of the program, as well as the perceptions of the school-aged children whose family members are involved. Additionally, program volunteers' experiences and observations, combined with those of family participants, provide multiple perspectives on the ways the program setting builds on families' capitals applied to children's education, combining existing and new knowledge, skills, abilities, and networks.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I provided a brief summary of some of the literature regarding traditional parental involvement in relation to Latino families. I then discussed literature regarding community-based organizations, including ways in which participation in community-based groups has served parents who are members of traditionally marginalized groups to feel more empowered and able to exercise their voice in school settings, and discussed what schools might learn from community-based organizations. I then describe the theoretical framework of *community cultural wealth* (Yosso, 2005) and discussed findings of existing studies applying the framework of community cultural wealth. Finally, I address how this study builds on what is known about community cultural wealth and extends the literature by applying the theoretical framework to the context of a multi-generational community-based program.

CHAPTER 3: METHODS

The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand how family members' participation in a community-based technology skills program builds on various capitals families possess and fosters Latino immigrant families' ability to navigate their children's schooling experiences in the United States. Gaining an understanding about the how a community-based program provides a space for fostering various forms of capital possessed by Latino immigrant families as well as how program participants themselves nurture each other's capital development offers insight into how Latino family empowerment is then enacted beyond the program's computer lab space to play a role in children's education and schooling. The following questions guide this study:

- How do family members involved in this community-based program perceive family involvement in their children's education and how do they believe schools define parental involvement?

- How does participating in this community-based program affect immigrant Latino families' various forms of capital?

  o How does the development of these forms of capital impact school-family relations?

  o How does the development of these forms of capital impact students' success?

In this chapter I will discuss the choices I made in terms of methodology and why this approach was appropriate for this study, providing the rationale for conducting a qualitative case study. I will describe the study context and participants and the way participants for the study were identified. I will also describe the study setting and participants and will document data

generation and analytical approaches. Then I describe the steps taken toward ensuring trustworthiness of this study. Finally, I will describe my role as the researcher in this study and will address study limitations.

Rationale for Qualitative Study

In qualitative study, the observer is "located" in the world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and the researcher is socially engaged with participants in a natural setting (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Qualitative research allows for depth of study and acknowledges the importance of context in understanding social phenomena and people's experiences (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Qualitative research also requires interpretation of the data generated through observation, interviews, and a variety of other methods (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I sought to gain a deep understanding of how the approaches employed in Digital Home might serve to foster family members' abilities beyond the program, including their involvement in their children's schooling. Participant observation in the organization's technology program over an extended period of time, examination of organization documents since its inception, and interviews with program participants, children from the program participants' families, volunteers, and the organization's founder better answered the proposed questions than surveys or questionnaires would.

Rationale for Case Study

More specifically, this qualitative investigation is a case study. It is intensive and extensive, evolving over time and looking deeply at the group being studied (Creswell, 2007; Flyvbjerg, 2011). Cases also take into consideration the environment in which people are living (Flyvbjerg, 2011). My study sought to gain in-depth knowledge about the experiences of a specific group to answer questions that explain the values, behaviors, beliefs, and language of a culture-sharing group (Creswell, 2007). A case approach using ethnographic methods was

appropriate for this study because the approach answered the "how" questions posed (Yin, 2013) and because I analyzed and interpreted various sources of data to gain a deep understanding of the case (Creswell, 2007). Much like a quilt maker (Burgess, 2003) fashioning a complete cover by combining a variety of pieces, a researcher choosing to conduct a case study also brings together various types of data and incorporates different perspectives to create a complex portrait. Case study is also an appropriate choice because "it is more adapted to a description of the multiple realities at any given site" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 41). This case study will contribute to the existing literature regarding social networks among Latino immigrants through the resulting *analytic generalizations* (Yin, 2013) and *concrete universals* (Erickson, 1986), while providing unique insights into the specific contexts of a group in an urban mid-sized Midwestern city—a context seldom addressed in existing research.

Project Context and Participants

This study took place in an urban mid-sized Midwestern city where Latinos initially settled in the first half of the 20th century. The city's Latino population in 2010 comprised a little over 10% of the total population, almost three times the average Latino population of the state, according to 2010 Census data (United States Bureau of the Census, n.d.). According to the National Center for Educational Statistics (n.d.) data for 2000, the Latino population under age 18 living in the local school district was slightly under 15%. This case study will explore the phenomena of interactions within a technology program run by a community-based organization to expand Latino immigrant parents' ability to navigate their children's schooling experience in the U.S.

I selected this site because the community-based program is intended to support Latino immigrant parents in the area, both in terms of developing skills and in fostering fellowship

among community members, to help Latino immigrant families connect with their children's schools. A retired local school district educator and administrator founded Digital Home[1] in 2011, offering technology skills classes in a computer lab at a community center in a predominantly Latino area of the city. While the program uses space at the center, Digital Home is not a community center initiative. According to the Digital Home web site, the initiative received funding in its first two years through a grant awarded by a religious order in a neighboring Midwestern state. During this time, participants took classes at no cost. After the grant period, the program instituted a per-session fee of five dollars in order to be able to pay the teacher of the courses. However, program fliers noted that no one would be turned away due to the inability to pay. Initially, the program had five computers, some of which did not function. The college students who volunteered with the program would bring their own laptops to help meet hardware needs for the classes. Computers in the lab were purchased through the initial grant and the local public library system donated some computers and accessories as well. The public library system also donated over 200 bilingual children's books and adult books to create a small library within the program's lab. Several desktop computers and laptops were available for children to use while their parents and other adults took their technology classes. A local technology non-profit also initially funded an instructor for Digital Home, though this support soon disappeared because the non-profit wanted to focus on programs for children rather than adult learners. However, the instructor originally provided by the technology non-profit decided to remain with the program as a volunteer because she felt so strongly about the program and continued to be the volunteer instructor in subsequent years.

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[1] Names and identifying information have been changed to maintain the confidentiality of participants

According to program documents, Digital Home had three overarching goals: "to teach parents/guardians to gain basic computer skills to support their children's academic achievement," to connect students to their parents/guardians, while promoting positive behavior and academics, and "to motivate university students…to complete their studies through mentoring opportunities and understanding the importance of their role in serving the community." Since 2011, Digital Home has offered two basics courses, Basics I and Basics II, lasting 10- to 12-weeks per course for one-and-a-half to two hours per session. The courses addressed use of the internet, word processing, spreadsheet, and presentation software skills, as well as typing practice. Students also learned about computer storage and memory, how to save files, how to insert images into documents from clipart libraries, the internet, and external devices. There were also sessions about how to buy a computer, which emphasized buying computers to fit users' needs so that participants could make informed purchases rather than be talked into spending more money than necessary.

According to the coordinator, the curriculum for the course has evolved over time. At one time, thought was given to simply translating an existing English Digital Home curriculum, but participants did not like it, so the course teacher and program coordinator adapted the course to better address participant interests. In February of 2015, recognizing that a long-running course was not suited for some participants' time availability, the program was promoted slightly differently than in previous offerings, listing it as mini-workshops addressing such topics as computer brands and operating systems, to protecting your computer from viruses. During that time, the program also instituted open lab time for students to work on independent projects.

Spanish fliers inform potential registrants about offerings prior to a new *generación* (generation) of courses, and a bilingual web site and Facebook pages with some bilingual posts

promote the program's course offerings, share photos from class sessions, and occasionally provide information about community happenings. Classes generally begin with independent typing practice followed by a presentation on class content for the day. Then class members move to the computers to practice skills related to the content presented. Spanish-speaking volunteers, called technology mentors, are available to answer any questions that participants may have. The volunteers are also available to work with children who come with family members. Most of the volunteers have been undergraduate and graduate students who were bilingual native Spanish speakers. At the end of each class session, adult participants reflected about their experience during the session, writing about three things they learned and what they liked about the session. The class period ended with *convivio*, a familial time during which all present could share food brought by class participants and join in conversation with one another from week to week.

In its first three years, Digital Home held a *clausura*, an end-of-course graduation ceremony on the campus of a local university, with funding help from an ethnic studies program. Invitees have included participants, their families, volunteers and program supporters, and representatives from the community center board. In subsequent years, the *clausura* took place in the community room of a local public library branch. The graduation programs have been predominantly in Spanish with translation into English. Participants have presented their work and have received certificates of participation and perfect attendance. Children of participants receive certificates of participation and volunteers get certificates of appreciation as well. During one of the graduation ceremonies, participants with perfect attendance learned that they would be receiving free computers to take home.

The classes were originally intended for Latino immigrant families with middle and high school children and then included elementary school families. Soon after the program began, members of the general community expressed interest in taking the classes so the coordinator opened the program to them as well. The majority of participants have been Spanish-speaking immigrant local residents with a range of English language proficiency, though a few participants are U.S.-born and some live outside of the local area. Most of the participants have come from Mexico or are from Mexican-American families, though participants have also hailed from various countries of origin, including Cuba and Ecuador. From the start of the program, children have been welcome in the lab space while their family members have taken classes and, at times, have participated as students in the classes as well. This study will focus on program participants with school-aged children in their families.

Prior to conducting the current study, I conducted two small studies, in 2014 and 2015, within the Digital Home setting. Some of the findings of these studies showed that Digital Home has served as a springboard for members and former members of the program to take on roles beyond that of student and to participate in activities in their local communities. Within the Digital Home space, participants have found peer support to engage in English classes at a local university and other classes around the city. They have also gone on to engage in a variety of activities, including entering a local art contest, and enrolling in a local community college, as well as themselves teaching Digital Home class sessions to other groups of Digital Home participants.

I found Digital Home to be a space that respects members' language and culture. As previous studies have found, use of native language and recognition of specific interests and needs of participants led to participants feeling welcome. Participants expressed that being able

to take the class in Spanish removed a barrier from participation. Furthermore, participants'

native language was not perceived from a deficit lens, but was centered as the language of

instruction and communication. Participants with less Spanish language knowledge were able to

consult their dominant Spanish peers as a resource. Described as being "like home," Digital

Home fostered a sense of community where people celebrate milestones and engage in informal

conversation and information sharing. The organization does not require any kind of residency or

citizenship documentation, reducing participation barriers for those members with undocumented

status, providing a safe place to interact with others while developing skills and gaining

information about local resources.

Participant Selection

The study utilized purposeful, snowball sampling in order to identify information-rich

informants, including those who may constitute members of "hidden populations" (Patton,

2014). As some participants may have undocumented status in the U.S., their referral by people

they trust was especially important. I sought to conduct interviews with about 20 participants:

adult family participants and children from participant families, as well as several volunteers

with the program, and the program coordinator. I identified adult program participants based on

my knowledge of families who were participating in the technology classes during the formal

time of this study or who participated in Digital Home computer classes in previous generations.

The program coordinator and program volunteers also helped me identify potential study

participants from immigrant Latino families. In this study, Latino families refers to those in

which at least one family participant is an immigrant to the United States or who were raised by

at least one Latino immigrant to the U.S. Adult family members who chose to participate in the

study also suggested others or referred potential participants to me. Children and grandchildren,

who were interviewed were from families of the adult participants in the study who had close contact with the children, either living with them or having at least monthly interactions with them.

I also created an introductory flier (Appendix B), primarily in Spanish with some text translated into English, sharing information about me and describing the study. To ensure that I was communicating with program participants in an effective way, I shared a draft of the flier with the coordinator and a long-time program volunteer. The coordinator added a brief message to potential study participants and her image also appeared on the flier, indicating the coordinator's support of my study. I also recruited volunteers who had been technology mentors with the program over more than one semester, allowing them to interact with different groups of participants over time and during more than one course period.

I applied for and received a small research grant that included funding to offer study participants small incentives in the form of $20 gift cards. I also provided refreshments for interviewees in an effort to help make the interview environment more welcoming and as a gesture of appreciation for participants. Through this funding, I was also able to provide contributions in appreciation to the organization, for example, paper and other needed office supplies. Participants did not know ahead of time that they would receive gift cards for participating.

Data Generation Methods

In order to gain a rich understanding of the study context, I utilized several forms of data generation, including engaging in participant observation, conducting semi-structured interviews, and analyzing various documents. Generating various data points provided the opportunity to corroborate evidence as well as to gain information from different stakeholders who offered

different perspectives about what was going on in this community-based program. These approaches, which rely on data from various sources and different methods of data generation, are characteristic of qualitative case studies, which try to capture the complexities of the studied phenomena. Prior to formally engaging in my dissertation study, I obtained initial IRB approval (Appendix A), with the determination that my study was exempt. Throughout the study period, I communicated with the principal investigator (PI) under whom I worked to ensure that protocols still adhered to exempt status.

Participant Observation

Engaging in participant observation over an extended period of time allowed me as the researcher to become a "trusted person" (Glesne, 2006, p. 63) immersed within the program community. Participant observation was also appropriate because I wanted to know about the attitudes and perspectives of individuals within the program; by interacting with program members I could ask them directly about their feelings, experiences, and perceptions (Cannell & Kahn, 1953). Prolonged engagement also offered the opportunity to follow-up with participants in the space when I had additional questions or wanted to clarify my understandings of what they had shared with me. Additionally, I conducted member checks, taking "tentative findings back to some of the participants" (Merriam, 2002, p. 26) I had interviewed to verify whether I was "captur[ing] their perspectives" (Merriam, 2002, p. 26).

I learned about Digital Home when I attended a workshop facilitated by program volunteers during a student conference in January of 2013. Since the spring of 2014, I have been a volunteer technology mentor with the program. At that time, I contacted one of the workshop presenters, a local university staff member who acted as a liaison between college student volunteers and Digital Home. She introduced me to the program founder and coordinator. I told

the coordinator about myself and, in anticipation of possibly conducting my dissertation study at this site, I communicated my research interest to the program coordinator. She was open to the possibility of having the program documented via research, told me about the program, and also asked about my views of people with undocumented status, as she wanted to ensure that all participants would be treated well, regardless of their immigration status.

I took field notes after each session I attended from the start of my volunteering. In spring of 2014 and spring of 2015, I conducted two small studies, generating data through contact with program participants and volunteers; these helped to inform the design of this current study. During the current study period, from fall of 2015 to spring of 2016, where possible without taking me out of being present at activities, I jotted notes during class activities (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995), typing up the field notes and reflections related to what had happened in class. During the study period, I participated in all of Digital Home's sessions, which took place twice per week for one-and-a-half hours per session, over ten weeks. When possible, I participated in activities shared through the Digital Home Facebook page, that were announced in class, or that I learned about directly from the coordinator via e-mail, in order to interact with Digital Home participants outside of the classroom space and to observe interactions between members of the program. I also attended other activities in the community, where Digital Home families participated. Additionally, on days when I took rides to or from the study site with volunteers and/or the Digital Home coordinator, we had conversations about what was planned for the classes, reflected on how classes had gone, how the participants' skills were progressing, how to spread the word about the program, or talked about the history and present context of the city in general.

Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews include questions that delve into participants' personal experiences as well as reflect theoretical concepts (Galletta, 2013). Conducting semi-structured interviews also provides the flexibility to probe and to gain insights directly from people closely associated with study setting (Cannell & Kahn, 1953). As I developed interview protocols, I considered the purpose of each interview question and each related to the questions I wanted to answer with my study (Galletta, 2013).

Peers, fellow doctoral students, also looked at my interview protocols when I was developing them. The first peer read over questions and gave feedback. This peer's comments included suggestions to separate questions where I was initially planning to ask multiple questions at once. She also asked clarifying questions to ensure that my questions were actually asking what I wanted to know. I made revisions based on peer feedback.

Once I had translated the interview questions, I shared these with another peer, a native Spanish speaker. My purpose here was two-fold. I wanted to ensure that my translations were accurate in terms of the information I wanted to gain. I also wanted to ensure that the Spanish I was using was appropriate for the different stakeholders I was interviewing. Among changes suggested by this peer reviewer was the use of less formal language usage for the children's protocols.

Prior to conducting interviews, I obtained consent or assent (Appendix C) from participants and assured them of maintenance of confidentiality. I also advised them that they could discontinue participation at any time without any consequence to them. There were four different sets of interview questions, one for adult family participants, one for children from the families of these participants, one for volunteers, and one for the program coordinator. Across

interview protocols (Appendix D) I sought to gain an understanding of how participating in the program supported existing forms of capital identified by Yosso (2005) and how these might be activated in the ways family members were active in children's education. Interviewing people who experienced the program in their different roles allowed me to examine various perspectives about how participation in Digital Home affected those involved directly or indirectly with program members, and how the participants in the program themselves shaped the program.

I conducted 17 interviews with 18 participants in English or in Spanish, depending on the interviewee's preference. The six adult program participants represent three different Spanish-speaking countries (Table 1). Though one of the adults is U.S.-born, she was raised by an immigrant mother and has visited the country of origin in the past. The children interviewed were students in three different local school districts (Table 1). Program volunteers (Table 2) interviewed included the program coordinator, program volunteer instructors, the liaison between the program and a local university, and technology mentors. All but one of the adult participant interviews were conducted in Spanish. All child interviews were done in English. All except one of the volunteer interviews were conducted in English. The interview lengths for adult participants ranged from a little over 30 minutes to one hour and twenty minutes. Children's interviews lasted between 10 minutes to almost 30 minutes, and volunteer interviews ranged from 36 minutes to almost one-and-a-half hours. The interview with the coordinator lasted one hour and fifteen minutes. I also had various follow-up opportunities to communicate further with participants who had been interviewed.

Table 1: Adult Program Participants and Children Interviewed

Adult Participant *Country of Origin*	Child, age during study *Districts*	Child(ren) from family interviewed?
Abel and Mariana *Mexico*	Janette, 11 Aarón, 14 *Langley*	yes
Liliana *Mexico*	Danny, 10 Ernesto, 15 *California, Langley, Harley*	yes
Sofía *Cuba*	Children ages 16, 12, 9 *Harley*	no
Isabel ***First generation U.S.-born (Ecuador)***	Sierra, 9 *Weston*	yes
Diana (grandmother) *Ecuador*	Sierra, 9 *Weston*	yes

Table 2: Program Volunteers Interviewed

Program Volunteers	Affiliation
Ana	Program founder and coordinator; Retired Langley School District teacher and administrator
Elisa	University staff at the time of the study; Ana's former student
Cynthia	Undergraduate student from another part of the state
Manuel	Undergraduate student from another part of the state
José	Graduate student from out-of-state
Danira	Volunteer instructor; immigrant from Guatemala
Octavio	Volunteer instructor; immigrant from Guatemala

Interviews occurred in locations that were accessible and comfortable for interviewees, that ensured their privacy, and that were conveniently scheduled for participants. Four interviews took place in the Digital Home computer lab. Several interviews were conducted in a study room

of a neighborhood community center near a local university campus. One interview took place

on a local community college campus. Two interviews took place in a family's home. Another

family was interviewed in the café of a bookstore and another interview was conducted in a local

coffee shop. One interview was conducted by phone. All the interviews were recorded, as all of

the participants allowed the interviews to be audiotaped. During interviews, I jotted down

interviewees responses to questions. This served as a backup in case an audio file became lost or

corrupted. After the interviews, I wrote reflections in my interview notebook. In these notes I

jotted down what I noticed the study participant seemed to stress in their interview and I

sometimes noted where the content of one interview had also been addressed in other interviews.

I transcribed all the Spanish interviews and someone else transcribed interviews in English. I

listened to interview recordings multiple times in order to ensure accuracy of my transcriptions

as well as to confirm accuracy of English transcriptions.

Document Analysis

Document analysis serves several purposes. Documents provide background information

regarding the study context, can lead the researcher to ask additional questions, can help track

changes over time, and can help to support information found via other sources (Bowen, 2009).

Consulting documents related to Digital Home allowed me to see how the organization and its

programs have been presented to the community and to help trace the evolution of the program

since its inception. Reading local media articles about the program, participants and volunteers

provided additional context. Evidence presented in documents served to support or refute other

sources of evidence (Yin, 2013). These documents also led me to ask more questions about the

program prior to my time in the setting and to ask why certain decisions were made. I collected

and analyzed various documents, including public documents and program documentation

generated since the program began. Public documents included Digital Home fliers used to promote classes, the organization's web site, posts on the organization's Facebook page, or other Digital Home information found on the World Wide Web, including articles published in local media about the program or the program's stakeholders. Organizational documents included grant-related documentation, registration questionnaires, and pre- and post-surveys conducted with participants regarding their knowledge of class topics. In the fall of 2015, about one-and-a-half years after our first meeting, the program coordinator gave me access to program documents, such as the progress reports submitted to the program's funder and adult participant, children, and volunteer questionnaires. As part of class registration at the start of each course, participants consented, or not, to their inclusion in possible program promotion or future research endeavors.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was an iterative process. Throughout the analytical process and conducted descriptive and inductive analyses. I began with a line-by-line reading of transcripts, field notes, and documents in order to gain a general sense of "what is happening" (Erickson, 1986, p. 121) in the data. Descriptive analysis helped me to compose a thick description (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of the program context. I also read through the data with the community cultural wealth framework in mind, applying a priori codes reflecting the six types of capital identified by Yosso (2005) based on mentions of participants. Prior to beginning this coding, I created a matrix (Appendix E) of possible things participants would say in relation to the framework capitals and then revisited the matrix after I spoke with participants, adding a column of other references that I had not anticipated. I engaged in inductive analysis as well. This third approach provided me with the opportunity to develop codes related to what participants articulated regarding their

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experiences and perspectives, including paying attention to instances where participants expressed feelings discrepant to what others shared. Some of these codes related to school-family relations, parent outcomes, and changes participants experienced. For example, if a person mentioned changes they noticed as a result of participating in the program, I labeled the segment "parental outcomes." As I continued to read, I began to refine these into sub-categories, such as "parents helping kids with technology or school," "parents' skills/content learned," and "parental independence." Ultimately, these codes were associated with the theme of family empowerment.

I used MAXQDA qualitative analysis software to maintain files together and document my coding of the data. The program also facilitated my ability to pull out related segments of data across data sources. I made notes and memos within the program as well as in a research journal I kept as I analyzed data. In the journal I noted recurring ideas that participants mentioned, questions I had for follow-up, and connections I was making across different data sources and to existing literature. I examined the categories and identified central themes (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995), both due to their repeated appearance as well as those that reflected findings in the literature applying the theoretical framework. I considered patterns that confirmed previous research findings in the existing literature as well as those that might disconfirm previous findings. Throughout the coding process, I made note of code descriptions in the software program and in my research notebook (Saldaña, 2012).

Trustworthiness

There are several components of trustworthiness that contribute to the strength of a study: credibility, dependability, and transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Among the efforts to strengthen credibility were prolonged engagement and continued observation, triangulation, reflexivity, peer debriefing, and member checking. I also engaged in auditing to promote

dependability and confirmability, and engaged in thick description in an effort to work toward establishing transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These are all discussed in more depth below.

Regular engagement at the site since spring of 2014 allowed me to observe the interactions and occurrences in the class setting over time and to become acquainted with the site in depth. I also had several opportunities to attend events that participants went to in the community. Prolonged engagement at the site (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) also gave those engaged in the Digital Home classes the opportunity to learn about me and to interact with me as well. Consulting a variety of data sources contributed to a more complex understanding of the context and to what I noticed. I engaged in triangulation, a technique that uses various data sources and data collection methods to "confirm emerging findings" (Merriam, 2002, p. 31). Interviewing stakeholders with different roles in the group provided varied data sources and interviews, observations, and documents served as different data collection methods, increasing my ability to determine the consistency of findings (Yin, 2014). Taking field notes during and/or immediately after each class session maintained the rich detail of the experienced activities (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). Throughout the analytic process, I looked at the full range of data, considering confirming and disconfirming evidence, conscious of the potential need to reconsider claims (Erickson, 1986). Engaging in reflexivity throughout the various stages of my study and examining my role as the researcher, my personal perspectives, and my relationships with participants (Yin, 2014) enabled me to consider the entire research context, including my feelings and reactions to being in the space. Sharing field notes with colleagues, other graduate students in the field of education, who "ask the difficult questions that the inquirer might otherwise avoid" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 283), a form of a peer debriefing, aided in widening

my perceptions regarding the content of field notes and developing codes (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Member checking via sharing emerging findings with some participants supported the accurate representation of what participants discussed in interviews and conversations (Saldaña, 2012).

In order to promote the confirmability and dependability of my study, I have documented this study in such a way that another person can follow my procedures of data generation and analysis, providing an audit trail (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Having an additional person code some of the data also helped to reduce bias of a single person analyzing all data. Furthermore, I wrote in a way that incorporated rich descriptions that result in the reader of the study gaining a comprehensive picture of the study context, thereby supporting transferability. Transferability does not seek to generalize findings to other contexts, but to provide enough detail that another person can get a sense of how similar her context is to that of the study she is reading.

Role as Researcher

The responsible qualitative researcher's interactions with participants indicate an effort to see them, as best one can, for who they are rather than who they might be assumed to be, especially from the outside. While the researcher negotiates and recognizes her position as an insider-outsider, she grapples with several "pretensions" described by Geertz (1988, p. 144), including "ethnographic ventriloquism," in which the researcher declares that she speaks from inside the community depicted. The researcher also needs to recognize power dynamics and the position she has in even being able to conduct research and to have access to venues through which that research may be shared and disseminated. Historically it has been those who have some kind of privilege "who ask and look" (Geertz, 1998, p. 131), while those with less, little, or no power are "those who are asked and looked at" (Geertz, 1998, p. 131). The researcher is

responsible for caring for her participants, from the design stage through to the presentation stage and possibly beyond. The researcher is reflexive, continually questioning, considering, and being willing to challenge herself throughout the process.

Who I am, what I have experienced, and what I find important to know about influence what I choose to research. As a community engaged researcher, I hope that my findings will make a positive practical impact in the field of education and in the lives of families. My interest in how Latino immigrant families navigate U.S. school systems stems from both personal and professional experiences. As a native Spanish-speaking child of South American immigrants and as someone who worked closely with parents when I was an educator in New York City schools with high immigrant populations in low-income neighborhoods, I have some personal understanding of immigrant experiences in the U.S. I can bring these potential language and experiential bridges into my interactions with the participants in my study. At the same time, I have not assumed that being a Spanish speaker automatically means that I understand exactly what participants are expressing. I have listened attentively to various aspects of their communication with me, including their native expressions and body language.

I also have not assumed that my experience coming from an immigrant family or working with immigrants equates to knowing the experiences of the participants in the study. Aside from differences stemming from background nationalities and linguistic expressions, I am familiar with a different context, the Northeast of the U.S. versus the Midwestern site of my study; I come from a middle-class background and a predominantly English-speaking community, whereas several participants in my study are not middle-class, primarily speak Spanish and reside in a predominantly Latino area.

As a volunteer in the program since spring of 2014, I have had the opportunity to see the program evolve over time and to become familiar with some of the participants who have participated over that time period. In working to help participants during class sessions, I may have appeared as some sort of authority—at least in terms of technical knowledge. In my desire to help the organization with possible grant or funding leads, I have had an interest in seeing the organization and its programs succeed. Furthermore, as a participant observer who has engaged with the program coordinator, other volunteers, and program participants inside and outside the lab space, personal bonds have formed. As a researcher in this setting for a prolonged period, I have somewhat of an insider status, but also have an outsider status due to contextual differences as well as living outside the community in which the program runs.

Over the last several years, there were times when I felt nervous and concerned, not wanting to seem like I was in the space simply to conduct research. I hoped that the people in Digital Home knew that I had respect for them and for the community and was not simply in the space to "take the information and run," as I describe it and has sometimes happened when researchers enter traditionally marginalized communities. When Ana allowed me access to program documents, I think I truly felt that she knew that I could be trusted. Even as I transition out of the city where Digital Home runs, I am reflecting on "what leaving the field" and relationships with the program and participants will look like. In disseminating findings to various audiences, including the local school district, I will continue to have contact with the program and must consistently consider what this aspect of the research process means for the Digital Home community.

My personal and professional experiences brought me to this research with the view that Latino immigrant parents have a strong sense of the importance of the education of their

children, both in terms of their formal schooling and in the people they will become. Parents hold high aspirations for their children and support their children's education, yet the schools that educate children from Latino immigrant families may not fully understand this type of support. Therefore, recognizing context and situating the cultural and social realities of Latino immigrant families, as well as my own, is essential. At the same time, in conducting this study, I was aware of the need to be open to the possibility that what I learned through the investigation might run counter to my initial perceptions. Further, I have hoped that this research would amplify the voice of Latino immigrant families within the schools their children attend, thereby shaping practice in their children's schools and possibly directing their voice to other venues as well.

Limitations

All of the adult participants who were interviewed for this study had been in the U.S. for over 10 years and have had children in U.S. schools for several years now, so their experiences may not reflect those of currently or recently arrived parents. Still, their experiences offer insights based on years of contact with U.S. schools. Additionally, all of the family members interviewed for this study expressed positive experiences with the program. It is possible that there have been parents in the program who did not feel that they gained as much as these participants did, and whose voices are not heard in this study, though even after asking several study participants directly and based on observation over several years, I have not found parents who attended the class and did not find it to be a valuable experience. Reasons why some have not taken Digital Home classes or did not continue are addressed in my final commentary. Additionally, although the purpose of this study was to gain a deep understanding of the experiences of those in Digital Home and how the space affected their various forms of capital, the perspective of the school district is not captured in this study. Having a sense of the district's

point of view would provide an even fuller understanding of the context in which Digital Home existed and would display more clearly the perspectives from which officials within schools and districts carried out their work in relation to Latino immigrant families.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I restated the study's purpose and guiding research questions and explained in detail the research design of this study. I documented the choices I made in terms of methodology and why this was the appropriate approach for this study. I also described the study setting and participants in depth. Then I documented data generation and analytical approaches, so that the reader would be able to have a clear understanding of these processes. Following that I described the steps I took to work toward ensuring the trustworthiness of my study, including triangulation of data sources and collection methods, providing thick description, and engaging in peer debriefing. Finally, I described my role as the researcher in this study and addressed study limitations. In chapter four, I will discuss major findings from this study.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents findings based on an analysis of interviews, conversations, participant observation, and documents related to Digital Home, a community-based basic technology skills program geared toward Latino parents in a Midwestern city. Digital Home's founder established the program in response to existing inequity in Latino families' access to the internet and ability to use technology. Through the "methodology" employed in the program, one that built on and leveraged the Latino participants' cultural characteristics, various aspects of community cultural wealth—familial, linguistic, and navigational capitals—served as a base to support and extend families' educational and personal aspirations. Activating community cultural wealth, the relationships and knowledge base fostered within the program supported families' resistant capital, evidenced by parents' persistence and abilities to advocate for their children within their schools. While the empowerment experienced by Digital Home families did not appear to spread widely within the districts' schools, the program did make an impact in the way parents could participate in their children's schooling, and there is interest seeing the program replicated in another state.

Perception of Langley City and Local School Districts

Digital Home courses took place in an urban mid-sized Midwestern city, an environment that some study participants perceived as unsupportive of Latino culture, language, and families. These views were discussed in general, but on occasion were also addressed directly within the context of the local school system. In their discussion of the societal and schooling context, some of the participants compared the general environment in which Latinos in the area lived with the more positive language and cultural experiences that they had in Digital Home. Digital Home was viewed as an inclusive space, where Latinos had felt excluded elsewhere. Though Latinos

have lived in the area for decades, starting in the first half of the 20th century, these residents have not necessarily felt that they have been recognized as a presence in the area. Diana, an Ecuadorian immigrant living in Langley City for close to two decades, talked about where it would be good to place program fliers so that the Latino community would be informed about Digital Home, saying "…hay mucha gente hispana aquí, aunque no se vea, pero hay mucha hispana."/"There are a lot of Hispanic people here, even if it is not seen, but there are many Hispanics." Diana also noted the difference in the number of Hispanics in the area now compared to when she arrived in Langley City close to twenty years prior.

Elisa, a Digital Home volunteer, long-time resident, and graduate of the Langley School District, the area of the city where Digital Home runs, also alluded to invisibility in the context of families who "were undocumented" and who experienced fear at the possibility of immigration sweeps. "[T]here was that feeling of 'stay inside your house.' 'Don't say anything.' 'Don't make any sudden moves.' 'Don't be noticeable.'" These were all thoughts that she believed, "…we all know…[lead] to things like depression and, you know, solitude and just feeling unempowered, you know, disenfranchised." As a result of some of the area's families' immigration status, they experienced isolation and disconnection. This sense of invisibility, expressed by Diana and Elisa, is one that Donna Marie Harris and Judy Marquez Kiyama (2015) discuss in their community-engaged study in Rochester, New York, where Latino students and families' felt invisible due to navigating institutions that promoted circumstances that opposed their success.

Aside from expressing a sense that people were hidden away, not speaking families' native language or concealing knowledge of Spanish also occurred due to attitudes in the area about speaking Spanish. Several volunteers spoke about the deficit perspectives that society

places on speaking Spanish and how these impact the views of children of Spanish-speakers. When asked what they thought the children took away from the use of Spanish in the Digital Home classes, those interviewed noted that Spanish-speaking was not as prevalent for the children as it was for their parents. Elisa described how, among the children, "the majority…spoke Spanish. But they didn't see it as something very important to speak…in school or with…friends." José, a graduate student volunteer with Digital Home, talked about the "generational differences" in language usage:

> The instruction is in Spanish with the adults, but the kids tend to speak English… some…are very shy to speak Spanish…most of these participants are migrants from Latin America, especially Mexico. We have participants from Cuba, from Honduras, from Guatemala, El Salvador…when they bring their children…they tend to be, obviously, very fluent in English and not very fluent in Spanish, but that's a given…one of the things that I see, and it hurts me, is the fact that in the public setting…These kids are shy or they do not like, or they negate the Spanish language.

Describing this pattern as "very unfortunate," José linked the trend to "the challenges that society is imposing on why these kids are taking that route" and referred to the existing research "on bilingual education and why kids stop" speaking Spanish. Here, José acknowledged the underlying messages children receive about their families' native language. Spanish is not valued or encouraged outside of children's homes. Ana, Digital Home's founder and coordinator, also referred to how "some of the kids didn't want to speak Spanish," but seeing bilingual university students who were Digital Home volunteers and who are proud of their ability might change their view.

The comments made by the parents, representing children in three different districts in the area, illustrated how school environments maintained the existing language barrier. While some schools had little or no native language resources, even in the Langley School District (LSD), where there was more diverse language representation, there was still a lack of support.

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Mariana, a Mexican immigrant and the mother of two students in a LSD school, felt that in order to get notices sent home in Spanish, parents had to know that they could request notices in their family's native language. Because her children were not identified as English language learners, the accommodation was not made automatically. In terms of one-on-one parent-teacher contact, Mariana shared how she would tell her child's Spanish teacher, a non-native Spanish-speaker, to speak with her in Spanish, but the teacher would not do this naturally, seeming hesitant to do so. Liliana, a Mexican immigrant and mother of two sons who had been enrolled in the Langley district but who now attended Harley District schools after the family moved to a different part of the city, explained her difficulty with understanding everything shared at her children's schools solely in English. In her experience, when going to a school meeting "a lo mejor voy a entender un cincuenta porciento y no, no me siento cómoda"/"maybe I will understand some fifty percent of it and no, I don't feel comfortable." She did not attend as many meetings at the school as she'd like to because of the language barrier, although, "Quisiera estar allá más, pero, pues, por el idioma, a veces no."/"I would like to be there more, but because of the language, sometimes no."

Children from program participants' families also noted concerns about language. When asked what they would like their school to know about their family, most of the children answered something related to language or cultural identity. Danny, Liliana's youngest son, who remembered very little about the time he spent in Digital Home several years before, aside from "they always serve food and they always…speak Spanish," said that he would want the school to know that the family is "Mexican," but did not elaborate. Ernesto, Liliana's eldest son, thought that the school should know "that my parents don't speak English that well." He also said that he

thought his parents felt "nervous" when they got to the school "because they don't speak English that well and I translate for them."

Mariana and Abel's eldest child Aarón, a Langley School District high school student, also noted that schools should understand that his parents' "English is not…as good but they do understand and speak it, just some parts, they just kind of fall off, um, like have some patience and a translator." He went on to say that "we'll go to conferences…there's a translator there, but she has to go through like three different families at one time, so I feel like they're still kinda short…there's some teachers that speak English and Spanish and so I feel like that's good." In reference to patience, he explained that teachers "get impatient with" students, but he had not seen this happen with parents. Aarón recognized the need for schools to provide resources to help promote communication between school staff and families. Both he and Ernesto highlighted the importance that schools understand families' language circumstances which may inhibit parents' ability to communicate and their comfort level in the school.

In addition to naming language barriers, lack of culture recognition was also mentioned by several study participants who wanted schools to understand parents' linguistic contexts or wanted to see greater incorporation of culture within school environments. While research has indicated that using families' language and including communities' cultures within curriculum are elements of working effectively with Latino students (Irizarry & Raible, 2011), most of the parents interviewed and Aarón mentioned that cultural representation within their respective schools was limited. Isabel, Diana's U.S.-born daughter and parent of a fourth grade daughter at the time of the study, was a graduate of the Langley School District. She intentionally had not enrolled her daughter, Sierra, in the district because she was concerned about her child being bullied as she had been. Isabel talked about the curriculum her daughter was being taught in

school: "I would love it if [the school] had, if my daughter knew who César Chávez was and who Frida was…little things like that…She doesn't know any of the Hispanic leaders…César Chávez wasn't just for Hispanics. He was for all human beings." Isabel enrolled Sierra in a "Spanish dance group…for her to learn at least a little bit" and made an effort to "teach her who the Spanish leaders are because there's not enough teachers putting that into their academics." She hoped that in middle school, also within her daughter's current Wallis School District, this would change. She also believed that in Sierra's current school, "there's like more than half the school, I think, I feel like are Hispanic and they don't know about their own culture." Isabel viewed the inclusion of culture in the curriculum as beneficial for Latino students, so that they could understand the contributions of Hispanic leaders, but also felt that learning about these figures was important for non-Latino students as well.

Just as Isabel observed in her daughter's school, Aarón, in a conversation separate from his interview, did not recall the presence of Latinos in the school curriculum, but did think of one black teacher and one other teacher who included non-Europeans in their lessons. While he could not name Hispanic Heritage Month activities in his school, he did mention a Latino club that met before or after school, which students could join. Isabel's and Aarón's observations indicate that their schools' practices run counter to curricular practices that promote success of traditionally underserved students. The omission of Latinos in these school curricula can result in feelings of students' and families' experiences, cultures, and language not being valued within formal education (Bernal, 2002), despite students and families themselves recognizing that they possess and create valuable knowledge. Research findings have shown that students exposed to curriculum in which their cultures were represented and who developed positive racial-ethnic

identities experienced an increased sense of agency, engagement and positive outcomes related to academics, high school graduation, and college-going (Sleeter, 2011).

Mariana and Abel, who emigrated from Mexico about a decade prior to taking Digital Home courses, also expressed a desire for more recognition of all students' cultures, not only Mexican culture, in their children's school. They felt that native countries' cultures could be incorporated a bit more "para que no se nos olvide,"/"so that we don't forget." They wanted to see certain days commemorated so that children in general, not only children whose families had come more recently to the U.S., could have accurate information about the various countries represented in the school. They added that this did not necessarily have to occur daily, but perhaps once a year there could be recognition of home countries' independence days. They gave the example of how Cinco de mayo is treated in the school as though it were Mexican independence day, but this is not the case, as this occasion actually marks a battle, something more to be commemorated, but not necessarily celebrated.

Other parents spoke of the ways American and their home cultures differed in their approaches to content taught or interactions with school personnel, but that schools did not explicitly acknowledge. Sofía, who arrived in the area from Cuba just prior to 2000 and who had three children in the Harley School District, wanted to see schools recognize that certain Latino cultures hold certain values, different from those of North American culture and that "no se puede cambiar la cultura de un país,"/"the culture of a country cannot be changed." She offered the example of how sex education was addressed in her son's school and her concern about "how far" the lessons would go. Liliana also spoke of the differences between what Latinos communicated with educators compared to what American families shared. She felt that many Latino families, "no se atreven a decir que si hay problemas en la casa,"/"do not dare to share if

there are problems at home," but that children then bring these problems to school. She added, "Pero yo sé que los Latinos nunca, no dicen nada"/"But I know that Latinos never, don't say anything," while she has observed that Americans tell the teacher when there are problems and then the teacher pays attention and helps that child more. She added that she found her younger son's teacher to be friendly and that when she attended parent-teacher conferences, the teacher would ask personal things like how the family is doing. Mariana also pointed out how in Mexico, parents would be able to speak with their children's teachers relatively easily, but in her experience in the U.S. "todo es con 'appointment'"/"everything is with 'appointment,'" adding steps to being able to communicate directly with children's teachers. This aspect of schooling in the U.S. has the potential to be an obstacle for many Latino cultures that place a high value on relationships (Hill, 2009), and for immigrant parents who want to have more relationships with their children's teachers (Ladky & Peterson, 2008).

Volunteers with the program further talked about the ways the local district addressed technology needs and how non-U.S.-born parents were not a priority for the local school system. Immigrant families, they believed, were not connected with additional supports that might help them engage more with the school system. Elisa spoke specifically about what she observed and perceived about the Langley School District based on her many years of familiarity with this school system. When she was a student in the district, she said, technology programs originated from short-lived grants, rather than being institutionalized as part of district initiatives "and usually, for a Latino student to be able to participate in that, it was really rare." Her statement demonstrates the perception of a lack of full inclusion, if not exclusion, from additional learning opportunities for Latino students. Over the years, Elisa had seen that the district would provide opportunities for students to participate in programs initiated by a technology organization or the

local university, "from outside places," but that these initiatives were "not coming from the school district." Instead, "the school district kinda hops on and says, yeah, we have the kids…but they're not developing this. They're not formulating these programs. They're not funding this stuff." Here Elisa expressed her belief that the district did not truly invest in technology programs, instead these initiatives were contingent upon the interests and efforts of others outside of the school system. If these projects were not brought to the district, then the programs simply would not exist. She added that in the approximately 30 years that she has been in the area, programs for parents have not been a priority "let alone Spanish speaking parents. Because we're always, the Spanish-speaking parents are always a second thought…Spanish-speaking parents have always been a second thought, in our school district and in many school districts." Elisa's view reflects findings related to research on parental engagement in schools, noting that preparation for fostering involvement is often inadequate, "especially for engaging families for whom English is a second language" (Hill & Torres, 2010).

Further, Elisa stressed that had Ana not "push[ed] this through, uh, it probably wouldn't've happened because the school district wasn't gonna get off their behinds and go develop this." In Elisa's view, Ana was working to do what the district had not. The coordinator created a program that would both focus on technology and center the needs of Latino families and students. Octavio, a program volunteer who, himself, questioned how effective the Digital Home program has been at engaging and empowering more of the community, asked "Why, why would the school push it? I don't see why they would push it…they don't have a self-interest in pushing it." While he felt that, "maybe one teacher who's struggling with a mom who doesn't know [how to use computers]…maybe she'll say, 'Why don't you take a class? Why don't you go here?'" He did not "think that there's a, there's an interest in pushing it." He did not see any

institutional interest on the part of schools to support and promote the Digital Home program. If anything, Octavio believed, much like Elisa did, that any work toward connecting parents to a technology program would not be systematic, but would occur by chance. It was in this environment, one that study participants noted did not always recognize them or their cultural identities and that did not support the maintenance of bilingualism or make specific efforts to engage Spanish-speaking parents, that the Digital Home program was conceived and in which the basic technology skills courses took place. The creation of Digital Home can be viewed as the result of Ana activating her own community cultural wealth in order to counter a negative context for local Latinos, in turn fostering community cultural wealth capitals for program participants, working toward Latino family empowerment.

Activating Community Cultural Wealth to Create Digital Home

The creation of the program illustrates the way the program founder and coordinator, Ana, tapped into her own community cultural wealth, exercising social, familial, and resistant capitals in order to develop a vehicle that fostered others' various forms of capital. Digital Home began in opposition to existing inequity in the form of a technology gap for area Latinos. Ana, a recently retired school principal in the Langley School District, had witnessed district schools increasingly moving toward communicating with parents via e-mail about homework and grades, and posting school activities on their respective websites. The middle school principal and long-time educator in the area recognized that there "were many parents who did not have access to the internet and even if they had access to the internet, they didn't know how to" use it. She described a gap that would grow and grow "for Hispanic/Latino kids." She noted the existing gap for these students "and the computer was going to be, make a bigger gap and I didn't want that." Ana decided to take action in order to counteract the existing disparity and to prevent its

widening for Latino students in the area. In response to this concern Ana decided to develop a proposal for a bilingual community-based program teaching basic technology skills to Latino Spanish-speaking parents in the greater Langley City area. By teaching family members these technology skills, she believed, the program would help to resist the potential for an increased gap and to reduce the existing one, as well as offer an opportunity to practice reading skills and build community among adult family members who attended.

In order to bring her idea to fruition, Ana, an active member of the local community, leveraged her own social networks. Ana's long-standing ties to the local community center, her part-time work at the public library, her association with a religious order in the region, and her familiarity with writing grants and reading grant applications as a volunteer for a local non-profit, all came together to help Digital Home offer its program of classes and to continue beyond the program's initial funding. Ana tapped into her relationships with people in the district and close friends in the community to help read and refine the grant proposal and write subsequent evaluation reports. She obtained funding to start the program by engaging her long-time affiliation with a religious order focused on promoting justice. By speaking with the community center's director, she secured a site for the program. Later, Ana applied for another grant, locally, that funded a server for the entire community center, a resource that was sorely needed. She also connected with a local technology non-profit to obtain an instructor for the classes and collaborated with offices at the local university to help recruit volunteers to serve as technology mentors for the program and for financial assistance in reserving on-campus space for end-of-course celebrations.

Once the program to serve parents and guardians in the local community was established, Ana used her personal connections across the district to spread the word and "tried to see if [the

district] would do a mass mailing to the Spanish-speaking parents in the district…to actually help promote" Digital Home, but that never happened. The Langley School District has not promoted the program formally since Digital Home's inception in 2011. The district was willing to promote the program if it were to be moved to a school site. Ana suspected that the district took this position "because it would look good for them to have it in the school, I think." She was concerned that while the district had better computer labs and newer equipment, parents might be "more hesitant to go into the schools, especially initially." This thought of Ana's reflected not only her experiences as an educator and community member in the area, but existing research that has found that non-U.S. born parents were less likely to find schools welcoming than U.S.-born parents (Turney &Kao, 2009). By not moving the program and continuing it despite limited material resources, Ana resisted the district's seemingly traditional parent involvement perspective that a program geared toward parents, had to take place in a school building. Ana also saw advantages to keeping the program at the local community center where participants could learn about other services that were available to them, such as the clinic and food pantry. Mariana, a former program participant and current program volunteer, had also spoken about the advantage of Digital Home taking place in the community center, citing the hours the center is open compared to school hours. Ana further stressed that the approaches taken in Digital Home, and not simply the curriculum content, were what was appealing to program participants and supported them and their learning. Just as the creation of Digital Home was the result of the program founder's existing social, familial, and resistant capital at play, the program setting fostered the community cultural wealth of the adult participants, the children in their families, and the volunteers who shared the program space.

Fostering Community Cultural Wealth

The stories and experiences shared by adult participants, their children, and volunteers with the program, illustrate how Digital Home became a space where participating families could learn and grow together and where the different types of capital that Tara Yosso (2005) outlined in the framework of *community cultural wealth* were acknowledged and developed. The program "methodology," as it was termed by Ana, built on the cultural characteristics of program participants, heavily emphasizing community-building, thereby fostering familial capital. The program supported families' aspirations, their "dream of possibilities beyond their present circumstances" (Yosso, 2005, p. 78) and promoted linguistic capital through honoring families' native language and bilingualism. Digital Home also cultivated navigational capital that helped to leverage existing and emerging social capital and led to greater ability to resist and "maintain attitudes that challenge the status quo" (Yosso, 2005, p. 81). These various forms of capital worked together, rather than discretely, as parents applied these different forms of capital in their daily lives, including toward their interactions with their children's schools. For children who shared this community learning space or who heard about their family members' experiences in the program, families' experiences in Digital Home offered opportunities to see family members persist and succeed; for volunteers, the space led to connection with members from the local community, to students' ability to contribute to the community beyond their campus, and to affirmation of their own Latino identities.

The "Methodology"

The Digital Home "methodology," which Ana referred to as "how to present that content… that's the part that's very different…it's a whole different style that's not your typical, you know, lecture. The other has to be part of it." The methodology included individualization

via, ideally, one-on-one technology mentoring on the part of volunteers, hands-on practice, and the "very intentional…sharing" during *convivio*, which was an expectation in the program. Adult participants were expected to bring something to share for an after-class meal, as a way to thank the student volunteers. This was an element that Ana had seen "worked…in the community and at church." Even the base Spanish curriculum, used with permission from the library, had been adapted to be more visual and language-appropriate for the Digital Home participants. Ana "changed some of the explanations and terminology so that it'd be more understandable." She had found some of the translation too literal, so she modified it "so that it would be more understandable culturally." Ana recognized that providing technology content was no enough. She and program instructors also had to be attentive to nuances in language and to its accessibility for program participants. Additionally, the analogies used in order to teach technology content aligned with the experience and existing knowledge of class participants. In explaining units of computer storage, for example, Danira referenced measurement units in sewing as a comparison. In every subsequent offering of the course, instructors continued to find and use resources that were in Spanish and which presented content in an accessible manner for course participants.

Reducing barriers. Digital Home's coordinator and instructors sought to present content and create a program space that was accessible to class participants. This included providing instruction in Spanish, but also communicating in ways that were clear to participants, thereby connecting to their linguistic capital. The program was also organized to function in ways that recognized participants' circumstances, engaging their familial capital, for example. Taking participants' life situations circumstances into account, then, reduced barriers to participating in the technology classes. In order to fulfill Digital Home's mission to "promote connections,

communication, and access" several aspects of the program reduced barriers to participation, with respect to language, family structure, and potential participants' immigration status. Digital Home appears to be the only technology basic skills program in the general area to offer classes in Spanish. Over the course of the program's existence, a few participants from outside of Langley City have traveled to attend the program's courses because they could not find classes in Spanish in their own area. Program participants expressed appreciation for being able to take Digital Home's classes offered in Spanish because this facilitated their learning, unlike when people spoke English quicker than they could process the information in English. Danira also commented on the benefit of Spanish-language instruction for class participants: "les da más confianza de hacer preguntas…porque …saben el inglés, cómo expresarse, pero no cómo usarlo para aprender más, entonces…en español se siente más cómodo de hacer la pregunta…uno busca sinónimos para las palabras [tecnológicas]."/"it gives them more confidence to ask questions… because…they know English, how to express themselves, but not how to use it to learn more, so…in Spanish it feels more comfortable to ask the questions…one looks for the synonyms for the [technological] words." Danira recognized what several adult participants espoused during classes and in interviews and what Aarón had said about his own parents' English language proficiency. Knowledge of English is not all-or-nothing. Language proficiency exists on a continuum and non-native speakers need support to help them direct their language skills toward learning and meaningful interactions.

Digital Home was described by almost all of the study participants as being like family or, as Mariana described, like "una casa más"/"another home." The program welcomed children in addition to their parents or grandparents, and actually was designed with the intention to work with families and not only with parents, a characteristic of effective community-based

organizations working with Latinos (Osterling & Garza, 2004). This aspect of the program took participants' familial capital into account, often working with people as part of a family unit rather than as individuals. By providing space for children to do homework and also use computers, the program addressed concerns about childcare, inviting participation (Ordoñez-Jasis & Jasis, 2004). Mariana and Liliana both noted the importance of being able to bring their children to the classes. Mariana pointed out that this was unlike other programs where "no te aceptan con niños"/"they don't accept you with children." Abel felt that without the ability to bring their children, they would not have been able to participate. While Mariana did not agree, she did say that it would have been more difficult to take classes without being able to come as a family. While Digital Home maintained course enrollment and attendance records, the program did not require any kind of residency or citizenship documentation for participants. Participants' ability to take classes without the risk of revealing their immigration status reduced participation barriers for those members with undocumented status and provided a safe place to interact with others while developing skills and gaining information about local resources. Ana made this decision to increase access to a wider population despite the fact that the program would be ineligible to apply for grants that did require resident and citizenship documentation. This decision may have served to bring parents "out of the shadows" (Yoshikawa, Kholoptseva, & Suárez-Orozco, 2013).

Promoting familial capital through community-building. The *confianza* (trust) stemming from "mutual affirmation and support" (Dyrness, 2007, p. 266) developed over time as participants engaged in shared learning experiences, created a sense of community that resulted in a feeling of extended family. The trust and reciprocity so visible in the Digital Home space were not necessarily present for the Latino immigrant families in their respective schools. In this

space, class participants learned that they could turn to one another for help in the class, but in general life matters as well. The tone set in the Digital Home classroom space, unlike some classroom and school structures that reflect mainstream U.S. expectations (Hill, 2009) which are more individual-centered, reflected the "communal and interdependent characteristics of Latino cultures" (Conchas, 2001). Familial capital goes beyond the resources shared among people who know each other and includes the kinship ties that are formed and deepened within members of the community. This multi-generational setting, described by Ana as a place where "elders can learn from youth and youth can learn from elders," was repeatedly referred to in interviews, in general discussion throughout the years, and at different *clausuras*, as being a "family." Digital Home saw interactions among children, parents, and other adult program participants and program volunteers develop into cherished, supportive relationships. Several participants talked about these interpersonal connections as being very much a part of Latino culture and identity. For participants, Latino identity was described in terms of familial and linguistic capital. Latinos were described as "muy de familia"/"very family-oriented," and as a culture where "we need community." One person commented to me that in Latino culture, once a relationship is formed, the link remains. This person also shared that as she formed relationships with parents, their children became part of those links that formed as well. Study participants also referenced language and communication styles as part of Latino culture, citing that Latinos share their time "contando chistes, contando anécdotas"/"telling jokes, telling anecdotes" and sharing sadness as well. In referencing *convivio* at the end of each class, Cynthia described that time of sharing as "just like you would be at a Latino household." She also equated speaking Spanish as a volunteer with the program as a way to connect with her culture.

Class participants found motivation in being able to learn among people who became

friends and "family." Mariana described how "no te cansas, no te sientes ni aburrido, no quieres faltar"/"you don't get tired, you don't feel bored, you don't want to be absent." Abel added that at Digital Home, teaching was in line with how class participants wanted to learn: "no es como algo que te imponen. Es como tu quieras aprenderlo"/"it is not like something imposed upon you. It is how you want to learn it." Liliana spoke of the pleasant nature of people in the classes: "Y siempre, la pasabamos muy bien porque,…eran señoras, no siempre señoras, unos con niños, o otras señoras muy, muy agradables que hacían que la tarde se fuera rapidito."/"And always, we had a good time because…there were ladies, not always ladies, some with children, or other ladies, very agreeable, who made the afternoon go fast." Diana echoed Liliana's sentiment. Snapping her fingers as she talked about how time flew, she said, "porque todo era que se iba así."/"because everything went like that." For Liliana, "Me sentía en confianza, en familia porque…todos…ibamos…así al mismo nivel."/"I felt confident, among family because…all of us…were going…at the same level." The time spent in Digital Home included some pushing on the part of volunteers and many laughs as participants engaged in their new experiences with computers. People joked around and helped each other in the classes. At one of the *clausuras*, Digital Home's end-of-course celebration, several of the program participants shared PowerPoint presentations and listed each other as resources they could turn to in class and for non-class needs as well. Not only did the community share their good times, but their problems also. Participants talked about how they learned to have more patience and how to help one another. Isabel described that in Digital Home, she saw people who "care about each other…People are actually very self-aware of their surroundings, which made me think a little bit more…'Maybe it is okay…to do as much as you can for other people.'" For Isabel, as well as for others, the space was not one solely where she learned technology skills, but where she gained a community of

care outside of the support she received from and offered her own family.

Aside from providing a comfortable and enjoyable space for adults and children to learn and to be, forming supportive, lasting relationships was characteristic of Digital Home's family feel. Isabel described the lasting relationship participants could count on with Digital Home.

> The thing about Digital Home, when you make a friendship, that is a relationship…that is always open…you're always able to go back and ask for that help. It's never a closed door…A lot of programs, they shut their door afterwards and they're like, nope, we're done…you can't talk to these people or something and it's awkward. With Digital Home, even if you're gone for like three years and you come back…it's truly amazing because they open their doors and they're like, 'hey, how you been? We haven't seen you in forever. How [are] you doing?' And it's like you never left.

Diana's involvement with Digital Home echoed Isabel's description of the open door. She participated in Digital Home in its first years and returned to take classes to brush up her skills a couple of years later. Diana found a great deal of moral support at Digital Home, where she could return to continue learning and to reconnect with caring, supportive people who "de las cenizas me levantan"/"from the ashes they lift me" when she was having a difficult time. In Digital Home Diana found connection and kindness within a community that was a source of strength to persist. Having people to turn to as resources and for moral support helped people activate their social networks, navigate systems and be able to resist and persevere in the face of difficulties they encountered day to day.

The children and college students in the program also acknowledged the family feel they experienced. Aarón described being around the adults in the program as "comfortable to sit next to them because…you have that feeling, like of a family cuz, like, they're all welcoming to you…you have a sense of family in the class and like you're able to share with them what you think." Aarón found Digital Home to be a place of warmth and one where he could express himself among adults who valued his thoughts. Cynthia, a college student from another part of

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the state who volunteered with the program, described how the program "fostered…a family ideal" where participants who may or may not have known each other prior to the program "have to engage with other students and reach out for help and you probably make relationships." Cynthia described how people would "joke around" and how they celebrated birthdays. For Cynthia, the family aspect "was an impact for me, too. It was like a family away from home." Elisa also commented on the importance of these types of relationships for the college students because, "when they come here to campus…they get homesick really quick. [College volunteers in Digital Home]…didn't feel as homesick because…they had each other…and…these families…would open their doors to them. So they didn't feel like they were so far from home." For volunteers like Cynthia, Digital Home provided a community away from home and people to whom they could turn when they could not be with their families.

Social and familial capital fostering and supporting aspirations. The members of the Digital Home community and the stories they imparted demonstrate the ways in which social and familial capital combined to establish and expand the aspirations of those involved with the program. Through enacting aspirational capital people maintain their hopes despite facing obstacles, "often without the means to make such dream a reality" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). Yosso notes that "aspirations are developed within social and familial contexts, often through linguistic storytelling and advice (*consejos*)" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). Parents communicated to their children that success came from doing well in school, but that their interpersonal skills were also important to succeed in life. Abel, who worked in construction, used an analogy of architectural plans (theory) and construction (application) to emphasize that academics was not the only thing that moves one forward in life, saying that "teoría y práctica son cosas muy diferentes"/"theory and practice are two very different things." In Abel's view, interactions with others and the

ability to apply what one learns in school are essential to succeeding throughout life.

Almost all of the parents supported their children's education by going to meetings and school conferences, and supporting children's extracurricular activities. They also talked about being aware of their kids' assignments and whether they had done their homework. For Liliana, who talked also about her children's involvement in church activities, as for almost all of the adult program participants interviewed, being involved had always been a priority, "siempre he tenido muy claro que es muy importante estar involucrado y estar viendo cómo."/"It has always been very clear to me that it is important to be involved and to see how" to be involved. The way adult participants spoke about their involvement supports findings on the varied ways that Latinos view education – the personal development of their children is included in the concept of *educación* (Valdés, 1996). Latinos view their involvement in their children's education, in school and beyond formal school settings, as an important part of the younger generation's development. The adult family members who took Digital Home classes shared both their academic and personal hopes for the children in their families, in most cases also talking about their children's development as healthy and good people. All family members interviewed talked about wanting the children in their families to pursue education beyond high school. The desires that they expressed align with much of the literature that has documented families' high expectations for their children's educational attainment (Fann, Jarsky McClafferty, & McDonough, 2009; Pew Hispanic Center/Kaiser Family Foundation, 2004).

Digital Home's multigenerational setting, where all could participate and contribute regardless of age, fostered aspirational capital through offering adult participants the ability to pursue their own interests in learning and, at the same time, sending a message to the children that studying was important. Adults worked toward making their own educational and personal

aspirations a reality and set an example of continuing to learn beyond traditional school-age. Diana and Isabel, a mother and daughter who took Digital Home courses at different times, expressed their hopes for Sierra, Isabel's daughter and Diana's granddaughter. Isabel wanted Sierra to be "better than me…I want her to have so much more opportunity." She went on to say that she herself had had opportunities, but that she wanted her daughter to "take advantage of the opportunity while she's young." At the same time, Diana talked about wanting her granddaughter to graduate and said that she talked to Sierra about being able to learn "aunque esté uno viejito,"/"even though one is old." Diana's *consejo* to her granddaughter to study while she is young, to be prepared and not to wait until later was intended to foster Sierra's aspirations (Huber, 2009) and promote academic success (Hill & Torres, 2010; Valencia, 2002). Diana's two-fold message of being prepared early and of still being able to learn when older stemmed from her own life experience of putting on hold her own continued schooling to raise her children and her return to school at a local community college as a result of the encouragement and success she had experienced at Digital Home. Diana now found great satisfaction in resuming the schooling she forewent when she was younger, due to various circumstances, including the need to provide for her children. She said "siempre hay una oportunidad y un lugarcito para…uno,"/"there is always an opportunity and a little place for oneself." With her experience in Digital Home, Diana found a place for herself and the actualization of her personal aspirations, first in the technology class and then in community college and in her community at-large. Furthermore, as program participants talked about the ways in which they wanted to apply the technology skills they learned, for example to build businesses or to be able to create personal documents such as recipe books, classmates and children were exposed to more ideas about how new knowledge and skills could translate to their lives.

The children from program families also talked about goals they wished to pursue. Ernesto, a high school sophomore and Liliana's eldest son, had plans to be an engineer, while his younger brother Danny, wanted to develop video games. Isabel's daughter, Sierra, had aspirations to be a veterinarian and Mariana and Abel's daughter, Janette, wanted to be a video editor. She said that while she already had some familiarity with "some things about the computer," being at Digital Home "showed me to, like, go deeper." In this way, Janette's engagement over the years with the content taught in Digital Home supported her aspirations. The content she learned in Digital Home increased her social capital in the form of information gained, which then had an impact on her future plans. While he was not certain what area of study he would pursue, Aarón talked about attending college, saying, "I'm the first child and my parents didn't go to college so I want to start the cycle, [of] going to college…so that we could all get a better education and…do the same thing for like the next generation that comes." Aaron's comment about starting a college cycle is indicative of the "culture of possibility" (Yosso, 2005, p. 78) fostered within his family and further supported in Digital Home, where Aarón's contact with students pursuing higher education had come "mainly" through his interactions with college volunteers in the program. Identifying himself as a future first-generation college student and the first in his family to attend, he saw his attending college as the start of a new educational pattern for his family. He would be the first, but certainly not the last. In this way, Aarón also expresses his education not in terms of himself as an individual, but as an advancement for his family (Gonzales, 2012).

Ana's idea to include college volunteers in the program was "a way to connect [families] with the university…they could see that there were other Latinos…that the university was real and it was a tangible option for their children...Many of them had not been to the university…or

knew university students." As José described, he had seen children in the program "become inquisitive," asking students, "'why are you going to school?' Or 'what are you studying for?'" José believed that the volunteers who came from an academic setting became "role models…Not only for the kids but also for the parents," serving as a "link" that made them think, "'hey, there's somebody who's resembling me, who has the same ethnic background as me and my child can also aspire to go to college.'" Meeting the college students created "a positive association of, of understanding that college is available and that it's attainable if you work hard..." Interactions with college students gave both adult family members and children real-life examples of Latinos who were at a stage that the families aspired to reach and made the goal of attending higher education more attainable.

Linguistic capital and positive cultural identity. While instruction in Spanish had the practical result of reducing barriers due to language, an obstacle documented by numerous studies on parental involvement (e.g., Fann, Jarsky McClafferty, & McDonough, 2009; Ladky & Peterson, 2008; Turney & Kao, 2009), honoring students' home language also sent positive messages about bilingualism and cultural identity that countered the societal messages previously discussed in this chapter. Aarón talked about the importance of bilingual volunteers who worked with the class participants, not only for their ability to communicate flexibly between two languages, but for the way they could relate to the parents and others taking classes. Referring to Danira, a Guatemalan immigrant herself, Aarón said that "having the bilingual teacher…help[ed] them and she was able to connect with them, too. Like, 'I had the same problem, too, when I was, when I was like you.'" This observation on Aarón's part points to aspects found to be effective characteristics of community-based organizations, an awareness of

the community reality of members (Speer & Perkins, 2002), and volunteer representation reflecting the identities of those served (Osterling & Garza, 2004) by the program.

For Cynthia, speaking Spanish at Digital Home "felt like I was going back to my culture." Her experience volunteering also "helped me realize what I really need to work on as far as my Spanish…I can hold a conversation but…when you speak to a native speaker, it's a little bit more difficult." She referred to the differences between the Spanish she spoke with her parents and the type of Spanish she needed to interact with others. She also talked about how further developing her Spanish language abilities also helped her professional development, using formal Spanish to develop bilingual web pages. Ties between language and culture were further evident on occasions when college students came to the program with their course assignments for Spanish classes. For example, the community enjoyed sharing the different words used across various Spanish-speaking countries. Elisa described how "everybody would just start laughing" about the nuances of Spanish language across Latino cultures. Members within this community also joked around and told stories that had been shared in their families and that were part of their home cultures. After the distribution of certificates at one *clausura*, time was spent telling *chistes* (jokes) and sharing *cuentos* (stories) as the group ate and enjoyed each other's company.

Ana believed it was important for children in the program to "hear the university students speaking Spanish, which is what I wanted them to hear. Because it's one thing to hear their parents," but she would point out to the children, "they're learning Spanish…they want to keep their Spanish…you know, they're using Spanish in this way." She would also point out that these college students' bilingualism would afford them opportunities like getting jobs due to their language skills. As a result of seeing these bilingual college students, she thought, "the kids

started to feel like, 'oh, okay. It's okay for me to speak Spanish. It's not just mom and dad that speak it.'" Ana's comment, much like José's commentary regarding children and their use of Spanish, alluded to the fact that the children lived in environments that did not value families' native language. The opportunity for children to see college students whom they deemed successful also embrace Spanish, a form of communication the younger students had only seen used within their homes, could dismantle an implicit dichotomy of choosing their home culture *or* success in school (Nieto, 1996). Octavio, who was a volunteer instructor for a couple of the Digital Home generations (this term refers to each semester of courses), believed that children "get a, a positive message, watching people who they respect, using Spanish for…important information." Children, then had chance to see speaking Spanish as an asset and a tool that they could utilize to access additional resources. Aarón identified himself as a bilingual and was proud to speak both English and Spanish

> I feel like being bilingual is good…you're able to teach people that, let's say someone that only speaks English try to speak to someone that only speaks Spanish, they would never connect. So you need someone that speaks both languages to translate. So I feel like I'm kind of like a connector to both worlds, kinda.

Through opportunities to practice Spanish and to interact with others who valued bilingualism and connected it with their Latino identity, youth and college students received positive messages related to language and culture. Through sharing about the differences within their language, all involved grew in appreciation for the richness of Latino culture and language.

Developing navigational capital. Digital Home fostered program participants' navigational capital, which "acknowledges individual agency within institutional constraints" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80), and increased parents' abilities to access resources within and beyond their community to better understand how to direct their children's schooling experiences. Among the program's goals, Ana said, was to help participants be able to "access…[and] understand the

system, because…there is a cultural…difference in many cases" between the way many of the immigrant families were living the way things work in the U.S. Ana talked about cultural differences between expectations in parents' native countries and those in the United States: "sometimes when the person goes and they're told 'no'…they just accept the 'no'…I was like, 'No, you pay taxes. Those services are there for you…you don't have to be rude or disrespectful…but you can demand that…they take care of you.'" The idea that parents' taxes pay teachers' salaries or help to fund the schools their children attended was new to them. Parents' ability to navigate the institutions they encountered grew through discussions and "lessons" targeted toward families' knowledge base regarding the systems they encountered daily, including the educational systems in which their children were enrolled. When parents gained a greater understanding of how U.S. systems worked and what the expectations were for them and their children, adult family members used their "handle over their technology," as Elisa referred to it, as well as the information that was shared, to help their children with schoolwork and to help them prepare for their future.

A number of study participants, adult family members, children, and volunteers alike, shared how parents' knowledge of their children's schooling context rose and how they could help their children with schoolwork in ways they had not been able to before. Abel and Mariana talked about having a greater understanding of why their children needed to use a computer. Mariana and Sofía both talked about working side by side with their sons to use e-mail or to work on assignments. Liliana and Danny both talked about an occasion when he had "this PowerPoint thing and my mom helped me." Liliana remarked that at the time he came with this assignment, she knew how to use PowerPoint, but had he come two weeks prior to that, she would have been asking what PowerPoint was. Liliana shared that what she learned at Digital

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Home also made a big difference in terms of being informed about what was going on in school, "si yo no hubiera agarrado las clases aquí, yo no sabría cómo usar…los correos electrónicos, y entonces, no me enteraría de todas las cosas que pasan."/"If I had not taken the classes here, I wouldn't know how to use e-mail, and then, I wouldn't find out about all the things that happen." With their computer skills, Aarón explained, his parents became "like another resource I could use" because "they'll know where to go and where and what to look up to help me with anything I need." As Aarón and other study participants shared, parents were able to use their newly learned technology skills to help guide their children as the students completed schoolwork.

Cynthia remarked that parents, many of whom had children in elementary school, "would express to the entire class that…they felt great that they were able to help their children out because they…know…where to go and where to find things and help their kids out with their homework." Manuel, another undergraduate volunteer, speculated that what parents learned in classes probably "helped them…being more outgoing…especially being more involved with their kids' school work and being more…productive at school." He added that "seeing…what their kids are actually going through or what they need help with" increased their awareness aware of "'my son or daughter is struggling with this'" and then could consider what they had learned from Digital Home "'that I can…apply to my son or daughter's schoolwork.'" According to Manuel, not only could parents help their children with assignments, but they gained a greater understanding of what their children experienced in school, and where they might need help, seeking to apply their skills and what was learned in conversation to their children's formal education.

Digital Home, also offered "little lessons," such as information about what a GPA (grade point average) is. The parents would bring their children's report cards to class because Ana

wanted the parents to see how their children were improving and to ensure that parents understood "the citizenship codes" and the grading system on the report cards because in "most of the other places, like in Mexico," grading systems were different. Here, parents learned, for example, that an "'A'… would be equivalent to a 10, basically. And that's a good, good thing." In terms of knowledge of opportunities beyond high school, as volunteers would share what they were studying when they were introduced to the group, parents also became aware of the varied areas of study available in college and this was "a very [eye-]opening experience for" them. Danira also referred to families having the opportunity to go "un poquito más allá de, de lo que conoces"/"a little beyond what you are familiar with," when they were introduced to "la comunidad americana, porque es, es diferente a nuestras comunidades, realmente"/"the American community, because it is different to our communities, really," when class was held at a public library branch and families were exposed to the library system and all of its resources.

When Ernesto was invited to join his school's chapter of the Junior National Honor Society, Liliana asked Ana if this was important, and Ana explained how Junior National Honor Society leads to National Honor Society and how universities look upon honor society membership. Ana shard an article she had seen about Harvard offering full scholarships to students who were in the Honor Society. Subsequently, Ernesto joined and completed his service hours at Digital Home as a junior technology mentor. Liliana also described how she and another mother each received letters about a college scholarship opportunity for their children. When Liliana showed Ana the letter, the coordinator explained to her, and she explained to me during the interview, that if the family received one $500 award and then another, they could bring these funds together to help defray the costs of her children's education. This new knowledge helped to make college aspirations more of a reality. Liliana further explained that she would always

take school papers to Ana and Elena, another volunteer, showing them and saying, "Entendí esto así,"/"This is how I understood this." Although she and others understood some of what school notices explained, they wanted to be certain and Ana was always knowledgeable: "Siempre veníamos aquí con cualqier papel, aunque entendíamos algo, para estar seguras—que Ana dijera, porque ella siempre sabe."/"We always came here with any paper, even though we understood some of it, to be sure—that Ana would [confirm] it, because she always knows." In this way, parents directed the trust that they had established with Ana and others at Digital Home toward learning to navigate their children's schools and to become more aware of opportunities.

Family Empowerment

Participants in Digital Home experienced empowerment in different ways. For some, participation in the program led to a transformation in how they understood themselves and positive possibilities in their lives and, for others, it manifested in belief in their abilities to take actions toward their goals (Sleeter, 1991). In founding Digital Home, Ana saw the program as a potential vehicle for "people to get a kind of education that can motivate them and give them the self-confidence to do other things." As the stories of Digital Home participants demonstrate, the increased self-confidence families experienced grew out of engaging multiple types of capital that became "part of the knowledge base of resistant capital" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80) that participants enacted to face their fears, to persist and succeed, and to advocate for their children. José emphasized the sense of "empowerment" he witnessed develop over time. In explaining how he defined "empowerment," José said that it is "the ability of an individual to have agency in their decision-making that will alter positively their immediate and long term livelihood." In Digital Home, families experienced empowerment through their newfound technology skills, which connected them with information, with others, and with their children's schools. The

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message that they had rights to information and services empowered them to ask questions, and their successes in the program encouraged them to reach beyond their individual knowledge and their usual spaces. Members in the community also took on positions of leadership within the spaces they frequented.

Persistence and Success

In Digital Home, some participants arrived never having turned on a computer and some had fears about breaking something or that learning technology skills would be too difficult. However, by the end of each course, participants left with new skills and ideas of how they might use them. José shared that, as parents continued to learn in the class, he would hear them say, "phrases like 'I never thought that I was able to do this.' 'I never thought that I was gonna be able to accomplish that.' 'I never knew this existed.'" Where there were "all these…doubts at the beginning…Digital Home helps them with opening them up in regards to the, to the world, to the technological world." He described the parents as becoming "very inquisitive." As José noted, class participants surpassed what they initially believed they were capable of and continued to seek to increase their knowledge and use of the technological resources now in the palms of their hands. At one *clausura*, the mother of an elementary school son shared with everyone her sense of happiness at being able to help her son with his schoolwork and expressed that she felt more a part of the world. Ana also pointed to this example during her interview, saying that this mother "felt like now, she was part of society…That really touched me hard because that's almost feeling like you're a nobody and now she felt like a somebody." Ana was taken aback at how this parent's participation in Digital Home resulted in her no longer feeling completely disenfranchised. Danira noted a sense of self-satisfaction, this sense of "Oh, yo también puedo"/"Oh, I can [do it], too," as some of the adult students prepared to co-teach

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lessons themselves. Program participants saw that they were able to start teaching their peers as they had been taught by Digital Home instructors. Liliana summarized the impact of the courses the parents took: "A lo mejor no es para muchas personas, es…cualquier cosa, pero para los que no sabíamos nada,…es bastante, porque de no saber ni de prender la computadora a ahora, a hacer cosas, y envestigar cosas que a veces necesitamos"/"Maybe it's not for many people, it's…just anything, but for those of us who knew nothing…it's a great deal, because from not knowing not even how to turn on the computer, and now do things, and investigate things that we sometimes need" was a major positive change. Liliana described how significant and enduring the Digital Home experience was for her and her peers who went from having virtually no experience with computers to becoming self-sufficient. Through persisting in the classes and facing their fears, participants experienced a sense of empowerment through succeeding in attaining content knowledge and skills some initially did not know they could learn. For some, learning in the classes also helped them to feel less isolated and disconnected from society. With these new skills, they now could look for information they needed, gaining a sense of independence and ability to provide for their own needs.

Diana's experience with Digital Home transformed her whole outlook "Y me ayudó mucho y aprendí mucho, y también con los diplomas que me dieron…Fue como…una patadita que yo siempre digo que me dio Hogar Digital."/"And it helped a lot and I learned a lot, and also with the diplomas they gave me…It was like…a little kick, I always say, that Digital Home gave me." The little kick to which she referred was the impulse to pursue English classes at a local community college. Participating in Digital Home courses, where people talked to her and her classmates "con amor, con cariño"/"with love, with care" resulted in her feeling that, "He cambiado,…digamos que 95%. Es que di un giro, di un giro [emphasizes this last word]…Me

cambió la mente y cuando entré para el CC, más toda vía. La manera de, de ver las cosas…Uno tiene derechos…como ser humano, como persona."/"I changed…say 95%. It's just that I took a turn, I took a turn [emphasizes this last word]…My mindset changed and when I entered CC, still more. The way of, of seeing things…One has rights to…everything, as a human being, as a person…" The sense of worth that was communicated to Diana gave her the strength to pursue her aspirations and the relationships she had established at Digital Home continued to help her persist when she experienced challenges at the community college and in her life in general.

Within the program space, children observed their parents succeed and reach an end goal to its end. Danira believed that children witnessing their parents' learning was an essential aspect of the program and the children's comments supported this belief as they discussed their parents' recognition at Digital Home's closing celebration. In talking about what it was like to be involved in several Digital Home *clausuras*, Aarón said, "I think it was like, like a milestone for them [his parents] because they actually got on and used the computer. And I think that's what other people felt, too…a feeling of accomplishment." He further noted that he felt good about seeing his parents graduating because, "I saw them learn and get through something without quitting." Sierra also received positive messages from seeing her mother and grandmother's recognition at the program's closing ceremonies: "It felt good because it was part of my family. It felt, it made me feel like my family were being really, they, it means they can succeed and it makes me feel like, that, that since my family could succeed in anything, so could I." For Sierra and for others, seeing the adults in their lives recognized at the Digital Home graduation ceremony inspired pride and belief in children's own possibilities for success and for working toward the completion of a goal.

Engaging in Advocacy for Their Children in Schools

Parent participants also gained a sense of empowerment through being able to advocate for their children in their school settings. Program participants were encouraged to exercise their voice by asserting their rights and acting toward getting desired outcomes. The examples described in this section are focused on children's schooling, though some parents shared other examples as well. Elisa, like other volunteers, noticed parents' participation "really helped them see that they had a voice" and that the people on the receiving side of that communication, educators, people in participants' work places, and in doctors' offices "were receiving their messages and…thought they were important." She described how parents started to pursue opportunities at their children's schools and to reach out to personnel at their children's schools, where they would not have before. She attributed this motivation to the "connections…[and] networking" the parents were experiencing in the program, both in person and via technology. Elisa described that parents were talking to teachers "and not being afraid" because with their technology knowledge, they felt encouraged to talk to their children's teachers to let them know that communication was welcome: "they felt that they could come out…and…let [teachers] know, 'if something happens, let me know.'…They felt very comfortable." This increased comfort parents gained through their personal connections within the program and through the technology skills learned led them to feel that they could engage more with those in their children's schools in order to learn more about and to pursue opportunities offered by the schools which might benefit their children. As Elisa described it, the parents who might have felt timid approaching their children's schools would no longer "go hide in their little cave…they're going to be out and about and asking people ques7tions." José felt that parents' ability to "ask around within the school" empowered them to be able to address concerns when they knew "that their

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kid's struggling in school." José and other volunteers urged parents to inquire within the school about "free services that might help [a struggling] child." He noticed that parents could be "more involved [in this way] because Digital Home gives them ideas, which perhaps they were not aware of before." The encouragement to engage with their children's schools and to ask questions, paired with an expansion in the ways parents could participate, led these adult participants to feel more comfortable to communicate with their children's teachers and to be more directly involved with their children's schooling.

On different occasions, Mariana recounted how she had made changes to her children's academic programs. She told me that she was prepared to hear "no" at first, but that she still advocated for programmatic changes. She described the different people she had to go through before being able to speak to a counselor to make changes. Her years of having children in the local school system, as well as conversations and contacts she had made in Digital Home, taught Mariana to better navigate her children's schools, figuratively and literally. She noted that being in Digital Home provided an opening to resources and ideas that aided her ability to navigate her children's school system.

Upon learning that Janette's math class had a substitute teacher rather than someone permanently assigned, Mariana had her daughter's class changed. Previously, when Aarón had been in middle school, she had his program completely changed as well. She explained that she arranged for Aarón to be transferred from a Spanish class that was too low-level and would not push him, to a French class. She also had him moved into advanced math, once she realized that there were different sections of the same subject. She removed him from his assigned health class, saying that the content in the class appeared to be the same as he had already been taught in other programs the family had participated in in the community. Mariana also shared that she

wanted her son to take art so that he would have varied experiences and added that Aarón started playing the saxophone in his school band. Mariana ensured that her children were in classes that would challenge them and stressed to her children that learning was more important than earning high marks in easier classes. The academic changes that Mariana advocated for sent her children the message of learning and working in challenging environments over easy grades and also improved her children's trajectories toward college, as math courses, for example, have been found to predict college enrollment and graduation (Crosnoe, 2009).

Isabel, who described Digital Home as a "life changer," experienced, perhaps, the greatest change in terms of being involved in her daughter's schooling and educational experiences. Isabel translated the messages she heard and the encouragement she received in Digital Home to paying much more attention to notices sent home and to actively advocating for her daughter's safety at school. She found a great deal of backing from the people in the program, especially from the trusting relationship she had formed with Ana, whom Isabel had remembered as her middle school vice principal, but whom she did not know well until Digital Home. In comparing her parental involvement approach prior to and after attending the Digital Home course, she shared:

> I feel a lot better knowing that because Digital Home and working with Ana, it made me realize a lot, and if it wasn't for her support, I would just let things slide like I did before. I wouldn't ask questions like I did before. Now I'm so focused in her education that they expect me to ask questions and they're like, 'oh, no, here she comes again.' Yeah, I am coming over here. I'm gonna ask every question because it is important. It's not something that you should take lightly at all. It's, it's regarding that piece of your heart that's walking out the door every day.

Prior to attending Digital Home, Isabel would not ask questions, instead using her mother-in-law as a surrogate. For Isabel, asking questions was inappropriate. She "was taught that in middle school, don't ask questions because then you're stupid." She had also learned that, "You don't

ask the teacher questions. You just believe whatever the teacher tells you." Isabel had received

messages as a student that discouraged her from asking questions, even as an adult. She has also

learned that asking a teacher questions was unacceptable.

Like many parents who are not comfortable in their children's schools because of their

own schooling experiences (Auerbach, 2007), Isabel's educational past made her hesitant and

averse to making contact with Sierra's school. When she received e-mails from the school, she

did not feel she had time to read them: "I never checked them because I felt like it was a big

bother or that it wasn't important." However, as she spent time in Digital Home, "I became more

confident in saying [to teachers],'Hi, how [are] you doing? How is this year going?'...cuz I was

very shy before…I wouldn't talk to the teachers. I wouldn't ask questions." She described how

> Now I do ask questions. Now I want—to know what's going on this week in school. 'Do you have a schedule for her so that way, I know what you guys are doing every single day?' I like to know things. Very, very OCD about how everything goes, step by step by step, and it's very nice to know that I can kind of put the teachers on edge because I know that I, I, do have that right to ask all these questions about my daughter and her education. That it's not shameful. It's not disrespectful. It's not something I can't do. It's not taboo anymore.

Isabel went from feeling ashamed to ask questions to asking many questions in her daughter's

school, "I'll talk to the secretary…and the secretary has a very monotone look to her face, but I

can see when she becomes irritated…and it really stirred her a little bit that I started asking all

these questions. I saw like an expression of shock, like 'oh, you talk.'" Isabel's confidence came

from feeling, "like I had a voice." She noticed that even the school secretary observed her

transformation from a silent parent to one who was vocal in the school. She expressed that she

witnessed this increase in confidence in her classmates as well.

When Sierra was being bullied in school, Isabel found encouragement to speak with her

daughter's teacher. She recounted how she felt, "I don't know if I can. [Ana] was like, 'no, go

ahead and talk to the teacher'…that's your daughter. If you feel like something's not being done for you, you need to go and…fix it. Get mad, Isabel." While Isabel felt unsure about speaking to her daughter's teacher regarding Sierra being bullied, Ana reassured her that she could and should take action to rectify the situation on her daughter's behalf. The support she had from others in the program, whom she felt accepted her just as she was, "felt very liberating." In describing how she is more actively involved in her daughter's schooling and in getting Sierra involved in extra-curricular activities; she spoke of her former sense of feeling "powerless" compared to "now I'm more aware of my surroundings instead of being dead to the world and just drudging along…kinda like a zombie." Isabel recognized the difference in herself, between feeling helpless prior to attending Digital Home classes, to feeling free to be herself and to be more vocal and alert.

Digital Home participants received explicit communications that they had the right to be served well by institutions and agencies they came in contact with, and that no question was wrong. These direct messages along with implicit messages of acceptance, led parents in the program to engage their navigational, social, and familial capital toward advocating for their children's academic trajectories and safety, and to resist possible dismissal of their concerns on the part of school personnel. In these ways, parents became more directly engaged with their children's schools.

Remaining Barriers to Greater Inclusion within Schools

While the Digital Home space provided improved access to participants by centering their native language and valuing bilingualism, and by empowering them in the various ways described above, obstacles to greater inclusion remained, especially in the areas of language and communication, a common barrier for immigrant parents (Ladky & Peterson, 2008; Turney &

Kao, 2009), and recognition of culture. While some schools had little to no native language resources, even in Langley School District, where there was more language representation, Mariana described how her children's school did not easily accommodate Spanish-speaking families whose children were not identified as English language learners. As described previously Mariana also encountered reluctance on the part of her child's Spanish teacher, a non-native Spanish-speaker, to speak with her in Spanish. On the other hand, both Mariana and Liliana talked about Spanish-speaking teachers in the Langley District being a helpful resource. They both referred to Spanish-speaking teachers who offered them assistance even when the educators were not their children's teachers. Mariana, for example, received advice on which summer programs might be best for her son to attend. The teachers who offered this advice enacted their own linguistic capital as bilinguals to aid parents and to help them navigate the system to increase opportunity and potential success. These teachers were also people in the schools with whom the parents felt a connection due to the care and understanding the educators demonstrated and their willingness to help the families navigate different issues.

As explained by Liliana, trying to understand everything shared at school, including written notices sent home, solely in English was difficult and left her feeling uncomfortable and not as eager to attend meetings at the schools. Still, Liliana took this situation as a given. She expected not to have native language resources to which she could turn: "es que es Harley. De hecho, cuando mi hijo iba a la escuela en Langley, allá había maestros que hablaban español y si uno no sabía, ellas nos ayudaban, pero allá en Harley, no."/"it's that it's Harley. In fact, when my son went to school in Langley, there were teachers who spoke Spanish and if we didn't know, they helped us, but there in Harley, no." In the Langley District, there were bilingual personnel

who could help parents understand what they did not know, but in the Harley District, Liliana could not count on such assistance.

In Digital Home, where "identity was center to what was going on [and]…the language was center to how things were being taught," according to Elisa, learning was facilitated through a recognition of families' language and culture, through responsiveness to their needs and concerns (Auerbach, 2007; Murphy, 2014; Osterling and Garza, 2004), and through discussions intended to help parents navigate their school spaces. These types of communication were facilitated by language, but also by the underlying respect for and understanding of the families. However, while the program's ability to engage families' community cultural wealth made a great difference in the lives of the Digital Home families in terms of an expanded knowledge base and increased understanding of U.S. schooling, parents' forms of capital still did not penetrate school spaces in a way that "resistance takes on a transformative form" (Yosso, 2005, p. 81). The experiences regarding the absence of human resources that could help parents connect more readily with and within schools, both in terms of communication and navigation of the school system, indicate that the schools themselves did not realize the "potential of community cultural wealth to transform the process of schooling" (Yosso, 2005, p. 70). Children's indication that they wanted their schools to understand their families' language circumstances and their cultural background is further evidence that schools did not have a grasp of either of these. The tensions revealed within interviews regarding perceptions of the local school district and district's lack of promotion of the program offer insight into why transformation remained more with those in the space of Digital Home rather than more generally in the schools. Additionally, because families were not concentrated within one school, but had children enrolled in different schools and districts, collective action within schools was

also more difficult to realize. Still, by their own accounts, the experiences in Digital Home have positively impacted the families involved and potentially others with whom they come in contact. Furthermore, a person who was familiar with the program when she lived in the Midwest is now looking to establish a program patterned after Digital Home in another city and region of the United States.

Conclusion

Digital Home's methodology, building on families' cultural characteristics, engaging and developing community cultural wealth, formed a basis on which parents were able to expand the ways in which they were involved in their children's schooling. Through developing trust and strong relational ties, and by providing a space to gain a greater understanding of schooling in the United States, parents experienced a sense of empowerment. As a result, parents directed their energies to shaping their children's academic trajectories and advocating for their children's safety. While the promotion of families' community cultural wealth was not able to completely counteract or remove the language and cultural barriers that families experienced in their children's schools, the program did make a positive difference by expanding the ways families involved themselves in their children's schooling and in terms of their increased confidence as a result of being encouraged to exercise voice and having a greater understanding of systems in the U.S. Furthermore, the stories and experiences shared by those involved with Digital Home can serve as a model for other community-based programs and provide insights to school and district leaders regarding effective approaches for engaging Latino families in schools. These understandings serve as a basis for the recommendations offered in the next chapter, so that educational leaders can enact culturally responsive leadership and promote culturally responsive family engagement practices.

CHAPTER 5: IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand how family members' participation in a community-based technology skills program builds on and draws out various capitals immigrant Latino families possessed and fosters their ability to navigate their children's schooling experiences in the U.S. How did Latino immigrant families' participation in Digital Home affect their various forms of capital as identified by Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth framework? How did participating in this program impact families' relationships with their children's schools and their children's own success? This study has shown that by having the opportunity to learn within a space that honored and built upon their cultural characteristics, and where care and relationship-building were central, families gained a sense of empowerment. Empowerment transformed how they understood themselves and positive possibilities in their lives or increased their belief in their abilities to act (Sleeter, 1991), resulting in their ability to expand the ways they engaged in their children's education, including advocating for their children by engaging directly with school officials. However, the various capitals parents possessed still could not overcome all barriers. Families' sense of inclusion in schools continued to be limited by language barriers and by schools' lack of recognition of families' cultures. In this chapter, I will offer a brief summary of the current study's findings in relation to the above research questions. Situating these findings in the larger narrative of family engagement, community-based spaces, and culturally responsive leadership, I summarize what educational leaders can learn about engaging Latino immigrant families by looking at the culturally responsive approaches enacted by those in Digital Home. I present implications for theory and practice, along with recommendations for practice, and implications for further research, which stem from study findings and an understanding of the Digital Home context.

Summary of Study Findings

All of the parents interviewed were involved in their children's education in ways aligned with the literature on how Latino parents tend to perceive their involvement in their children's education. The parents viewed *educación* as a holistic endeavor, not only focused on academic success, but also emphasizing children's development as good people. Among the ways they supported their children's development included consistently communicating with their children about their educational and parental expectations, and taking their children to activities at school as well as in the community so their children could participate. For the most part, parents also saw the activities that schools promoted as parental involvement–attending parent-teacher conferences, and signing homework–as aspects of involvement that were reasonable and part of their parental responsibilities. While the one grandmother Diana was less available to attend school events when her children were growing up, both she and her daughter Isabel (now a parent herself) talked about how she had encouraged and worked with her children to study when they were growing up. In fact, the grandmother commented that she now sees her daughter doing with her grandchild what she had done with her own children years ago, encouraging her granddaughter to develop her academic potential.

Involvement in Digital Home fostered existing capital, such as aspirational capital, held by those involved in the program, but also strengthened other forms of capital through the development of trusting relationships, shared information, and communal learning. The program acknowledged that participants brought their ways of knowing to the Digital Home space. Experiential knowledge and community were valued in the program. While mainstream perspectives often place value on individuality (Bernal, 2002), the trust and reciprocity fostered in the space highlights and acknowledges relationship and interdependence. A graphic shared at

each first class and at each program closing illustrates the cycle of connections between the various stakeholders envisioned by the program (Figure 2), though the arrows would more accurately be multidirectional. These stakeholders include parents and guardians, students, college-student volunteers, school staff, and community resources, who would come together to learn with and from one another.
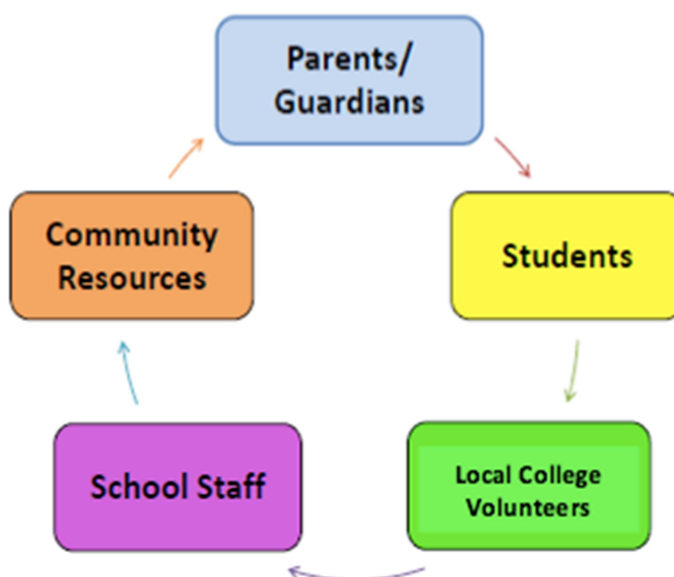

Figure 2: Digital Home's graphic illustrating the envisioned stakeholders interacting in the program.

Those involved with the program also noted that the Spanish language technology classes offered an opportunity to have greater access to technological language because participants could use their linguistic capital to learn. For others, Spanish provided a cultural connection and

opportunity to increase their skills as bilinguals, or to be in a space where there was pride in being bilingual—resisting negative societal views on Spanish speaking. Participants' familial capital nurtured a "healthy connection to [the community] and its resources" (Yosso, 2005, p. 79) because people whom they trusted, classmates and volunteers alike, discussed and problem-solved together by sharing advice and experiences, and by applying newfound technology skills to access information and connect or reconnect with others. Furthermore, being able to share this learning space with their children reduced participation barriers connected to the need for childcare and gave all a greater opportunity to learn from each other. This structural and emotional support served as tools that increased the abilities with which participants could navigate the institutions with which they engaged daily. For participants with school-aged children in their families, this included navigating their local school systems. The successes experienced by participants in the class, through gaining skills and overcoming fears, coupled with their increased abilities to navigate, and the positive messages encouraging participants to assert their rights, also increased their resistant capital. This resistant capital was activated via participants' engagement in spaces they previously had not frequented, such as an ESL class on a local university campus, or might have felt they had less rights to, such as social services or even responses from children's schools. Ways that parents advocated for children directly with their children's schools included making changes to their academic programs and addressing bullying.

In terms of family-school relations, there was a sense from parents that they could and should approach school officials with their concerns, a change for some parents from their experiences prior to participating in Digital Home. Still, when parents had questions regarding their understanding of notices sent home, for example, some parents interviewed did not look to school representatives for clarification. Instead, they turned to those in the Digital Home

community, especially the program founder and coordinator, to confirm or correct their understandings of school information. No parents mentioned parent-teacher organizations, district parent centers or liaisons as a source of support, information, or connection. Parents did, however, mention that when there were Spanish-speaking teachers in their children's schools, they sometimes went to these faculty members for clarification or advice regarding their children's involvement in different programs, whether they were their children's teachers or not.

Children within Digital Home benefitted from the program in various ways, both related to their out-of-school experiences and their formal schooling. Children commented on witnessing their adult family members succeed by seeing the course to its end, overcoming fears, and being recognized for their participation during the program's *clausuras*. Children also noted their family members becoming independent in their technology use. Their family members' participation sent messages of persistence and accomplishment and even gave them a greater sense of being able to succeed, personally, because their family members could. Children also learned typing skills, how to use programs such as PowerPoint, and gained a deeper understanding of technology skills and knowledge that they applied to their schoolwork, and that also put them ahead of their peers. These children helped their peers using their advanced knowledge and reported that their peers recognized them as knowledgeable in technology skills. Children of Digital Home parents also benefitted from their parents' greater understanding of why they needed to use technology and identified their parents as additional resources because they could use their technology skills to help their children with school-related tasks.

Digital Home was also a place for several of the children who were interviewed to practice leadership skills. Some of the children who attended with their parents were looked to by other children in the program as role models from whom they took behavior cues, such as

helping other adults in the program during the hands-on learning time. One child was also able to complete his Junior National Honor Society service requirement at Digital Home by serving as a volunteer technology mentor. Furthermore, children were able to develop positive identities as bilinguals, with one child noting the significance of the setting being a bilingual space so that everyone could learn and then relating bilingualism to himself and his ability to be a "connector" to Spanish- and English-speaking "worlds."

Implications for Theory

Community cultural wealth is a theory that opposes dominant interpretations of cultural capital (Yosso, 2005). As such, it serves as a tool to reframe the deficit discourses often associated with traditionally marginalized communities, which portray them as not having "the social and cultural capital required for social mobility" (p. 70). Instead, community cultural wealth highlights the various assets people of color possess and which they apply daily in confronting systemic obstacles, including deficit thinking, which Yosso (2005) calls "one of the most prevalent forms of contemporary racism in US schools" (p. 75). Applying the community cultural wealth framework in this study helps us to view parental involvement beyond the traditional paradigm, acknowledging the assets and holistic view that immigrant Latino parents bring to their engagement with their children's education, which includes formal schooling and school spaces, but also focuses on children's development as people, overall. Employing this framework places participants' experiences within the context of the challenges they faced in environments that did not appear to value their cultures or rendered them invisible. As Ana's reason for beginning Digital Home illustrates, the coordinator saw an issue with existing circumstances that created a gap for Latino students. This gap did not stem from the Latino parents and students in the district, but from limitations in access to and information about

systems. As this study reveals, tensions arose at times due to cultural differences between U.S. systems and those in families' native countries, and due to the perceived priorities or omissions on the part of local school districts in relation to inclusion of Latinos and aspects of Latino culture.

This study offers additional evidence to support the idea that learning in culturally validating spaces can be transformational when the strengths and abilities people hold are viewed as a starting point, rather than framed from a deficit perspective. Digital Home stressed an approach that met people where they were (Auerbach, 2009) in terms of their technology skills-based knowledge, comfort level, and identities, but also recognized and adapted program content to how participants wanted to apply their new knowledge and toward participants' personal goals. The program addressed the daily concerns of family and other participants, including issues of housing, immigration, and job skills, through group discussions that took place over the duration of the courses. Although direct references to power and discrimination were not central in class discussions, the messages transmitted in the program regarding participants' rights stemmed from a perspective of social justice and the assumption that members had the agency to address and solve their problems, thereby encouraging participants to take action and not accept obstacles as insurmountable absolutes.

Further, by focusing on the lived experiences and knowledge of the program's adult and child participants as well as those of the volunteers involved in the program, this study illustrates the ways that educational transformation can take place in small, practical ways that are very powerful. In my time spent within the program, and through informal conversations and formal interviews with participants, I had the opportunity to witness community cultural wealth in practice in their lives. The multiple generations present in Digital Home formed familial bonds

with one another, becoming resources for each other, as several expressed, solving problems together and maintaining ties outside of the Digital Home space. These kinship relations further served as a source of strength for participants to venture beyond their zones of comfort and advocating for themselves and for others. In relation to children's schooling, parents spoke of the ways their experiences in the program provided support for navigating existing structures, such as bureaucracies that discouraged ongoing and meaningful parental communication in schools. The program also countered societal messages that downplayed the value of families' native language or tended to exclude diverse cultures within the curriculum and school environment. Linguistic capital in the form of bilingualism was explicitly positioned as a valued as a tool for learning, an opportunity-opener, and an aspect cultural identity. This study further exemplifies the complexities of language, in terms of diversity across Spanish-speaking countries, but also in the way language functions as a tool for learning and how language proficiency should be understood.

This study provides a tangible, in-depth example of Yosso's (2005) community cultural wealth theory from which educational leaders can learn how to engage diverse families in culturally responsive ways. This study's findings demonstrate how a community space builds relationships, and centers culture and families' aspirations in ways that local districts have not, resulting in a lesser sense of inclusion, if not exclusion, for diverse families. Digital Home can serve as a model for how leaders can recognize and build on the assets and varied forms of capital of traditionally marginalized groups, Latino immigrant families in this case, in order to enact in culturally responsive family engagement and leadership. This will be addressed in greater depth within the section regarding implications for practice. Further research related to the community cultural wealth framework should examine how technology learning, specifically,

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serves as a medium for drawing out families' various forms of capital. Additionally, research can assess the potential ripple effect as a result of participants' initial involvement in community-based programs such as Digital Home, as they utilize their skills and the confidence gained to engage in a wider range of arenas and share their new understandings with others in the community.

Implications for Practice

Family Engagement through Cultural Validation

As documented in chapter 4, a major aspect of Digital Home's welcoming nature was its inclusiveness and effort to meet participants where they were (Auerbach, 2009). Classes were paced for groups' overall beginner skill-levels with the idea of moving everyone forward. Aarón, a child who spent several years in Digital Home, contrasted schools and Digital Home. In schools, he said, "they have set goals for people…they'll…move on without them," but in Digital Home, if someone needed more time, "they would wait for that person, too, and then they all move on as one, one group and they'll learn. And if one person didn't know, another student can help them learn." Learning was not for individual success, but was a communal achievement (Gonzales, 2012). Adult participants were recognized as a part of families and their families were welcome in the space, whether weekly or on occasion. This culturally validating space was responsive to participants' dispositions to view trusting relationships as foundational to their comfort and ability to learn. The interactions in Digital Home encouraged knowledge creation that was multi-generational and multi-directional, and that established a sense of extended family, with everyone having the potential to be a teacher as well as a learner.

The collectivistic perspective reflected in the community established over the weeks courses were taught built on the importance of interconnectedness and relationship representative

of the Latinos in this setting. Those in the setting worked with one another, supported each other

(Lawson, & Alameda-Lawson, 2012), and celebrated happy moments and milestones, laughing

together (Gonzales, 2012) and also sharing moments of sadness with one another. These

interactions beyond content learning were typical of this community. Just as the program

emphasized a "methodology" that welcomed and encouraged families by centering their cultural

characteristics and their lived realities (Speer & Perkins, 2002) in the program, leading to a sense

of welcome and messages of encouragement, schools can learn from the example of Digital

Home about the ways to reduce the more rigid and formal nature parents may find in schools

(López, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001), which do not foster a sense of welcome or

connectedness.

Technology skill-building and community-building served as foundations to address a

variety of concerns in the lives of participants in a way that reflected how the group wanted to

learn and in ways that validated their cultural norms. As Elisa mentioned in her interview, "a lot

of the programming and the curriculum did not address immediately the needs of school," but

there was an overarching goal that with the technology skills learned, participants would be able

to use their skills to communicate with others outside of their home. Participants used their new

skills in various ways, including to earn promotions at work and to reconnect with, in some

cases, long-lost family.

The approaches that validate the cultural characteristics of the families attending the

program result in culturally responsive family engagement. Culturally responsive family

engagement strives to connect with families as a unit and from a perspective of understanding

their characteristics, strengths, and needs. The success that Digital Home has had in working

with the families who attend the program's classes serves as a reminder to schools that being part

of the community is an effective way to reach families, especially those who traditionally have not been as included.

Recommendation: Incorporate cultural values and norms in family engagement efforts. It is important that district and school leaders provide opportunities for parents to engage in ways that align to their cultural values and norms, just as Digital Home's coordinator did. School systems must act in ways that relay a message that families' cultures are valued and allow for relationships to develop. This requires an ongoing commitment by leaders to help develop these relationships. Rather than address parents separate from their children, family engagement should include opportunities for family learning based on family interests and needs. There is also potential for leveraging the presence of elders in the community who can share their knowledge and wisdom within school spaces. Educators and educational leaders should be aware that engagement need not be rigid and need not look like a formal workshop or meeting in a school building, but can take place in community spaces frequented by the families they serve.

Learning from this Community–Based Space

Digital Home exemplifies several aspects found to be characteristic of community-based organizations that promote participation among groups. Among the elements that enabled the program space to be supportive of participants, children, and volunteers were an understanding of community context, community needs and strengths, and self-direction. The program also incorporated qualities of community-based initiatives found to be effective in working with Latino families, including cultural representation of the program participants within the body of volunteers, addressing multiple issues instead of focusing on one goal, flexibility, addressing families as a unit, and cultivating parental leadership. These features came together to make Digital Home a program that was responsive to the needs and desires of those in the program and

that viewed participants as being capable of addressing and solving their own problems.

Digital Home did not intend only to teach technology skills, but to also utilize this area of need and interest to help members of the community access information about and address additional issues they faced. While the formal content of Digital Home's curriculum centered on technology, the program space allowed for discussing issues and considering possible actions to take regarding concerns about immigration, housing, parenting skills, formal education, and involvement in community activities in general. By acknowledging the multiple issues (Ishimaru, 2014; Osterling & Garza, 2004) that arose, the program sent participants a message that their concerns were heard and that their voices mattered (Maton & Salem, 1995; Speer & Perkins, 2002). The program coordinator recognized the social inequities experienced by participants (Auerbach, 2007; Lopez, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001; Ordoñez-Jasis, & Jasis, 2004), and this influenced decision-making in establishing the program. Aware that there might be people with undocumented immigration status interested in the classes, there was no requirement to show identification or to provide a social security number. This decision limited funding sources that could subsequently be pursued, but as a major goal of the program was to increase access and to encourage the perception of the program as a safe and trusted space (Yoshikawa, Kholoptseva, & Suárez-Orozco, 2013), this was an accepted trade-off. Furthermore, as noted in chapter 4, when participants were informed of the ways systems in the U.S. work, such as social services or school funding, they were also encouraged to assert themselves and ensure that they were receiving adequate service or availing themselves of resources they might need. Several of those interviewed talked about the program urging participants to assert their rights as tax-payers and, as Diana said, "como persona"/"as a person."

The majority of Digital Home volunteers over the years were students from Latino backgrounds and from different parts of the United States, or from outside of the U.S. Most were proficient in both English and Spanish. In some cases, volunteers were students studying Spanish and hoping to practice their language skills. When students were not as comfortable speaking Spanish they engaged in volunteering tasks they felt more able to do, like helping children with homework. Although many of the program volunteers were not from the local area, program participants shared a common interest and cultural values, including the importance of a sense of family. Volunteers spoke about how being with Digital Home families and other local community members reminded them of being with family elders or siblings in their own families. Together all of those at Digital Home explored the nuances of Spanish as a common language. Other volunteers were longer-term members of the community and had a deep understanding about the history and context of Latinos in the area. In this way, the volunteer body at Digital Home reflected an important characteristic of community-based organizations regarding contextual understanding (Murphy, 2014) and, more specifically for those that worked effectively with Latinos, regarding the importance of participants' language and culture (De Gaetano, 2007; Osterling & Garza, 2004) being represented in order to encourage families' involvement.

While Digital Home had a curriculum of specific content units, flexibility was also part of the curricular structure. Throughout the weeks of Digital Home's courses, class content was modified in response to participants' comments, conversations among the group, and direct participant requests. Unit pre-tests informed program instructors to adapt lessons according to participants' initial knowledge base and skills. Participant needs and feedback were essential to planning and no single course offering was exactly the same as a subsequent offering of the

course. For example, the basic technology course might teach the same skills, but different support materials or assignments might be used to support skill practice.

Parent leadership within the Digital Home community could be observed in a variety of ways. Adult participants applied their organizational skills as they coordinated the weekly *convivio*, ensuring that anything needed for the meal and fellowship time was supplied. The program coordinator and instructor also encouraged participants to take on teaching roles as they became more knowledgeable and confident in their abilities, an aspect illustrative of a commitment to members' personal growth and leadership development (Maton & Salem, 1995). Several of Digital Home's alumni began to prepare to co-teach content and a few returned to the program to serve as volunteers, bringing their children or grandchildren to help as well. This form of leadership enacted on the part of former participants was indicative of leadership as a commitment rather than resulting from holding a formal title (Maton & Salem, 1995). The program coordinator also solicited input from participants when developing fliers to recruit future class members. Digital Home's adult participants also made announcements in church prior to the start of a new course period. People's affiliations with churches in the area were one source of recruiting program participants, as word of mouth from Digital Home alumni promoted the program as a positive and important learning opportunity.

Furthermore, there was fluidity in terms of roles within Digital Home. During different offerings of courses, when content unfamiliar to those who had been technology mentors was taught, they sat in on classes as students. The coordinator was perceived to be a knowledgeable resource who "siempre sabe"/"always knows." While she was well-informed and prepared, she did not hesitate to ask questions when she was unsure about a piece of content or about speaking Spanish, and she enthusiastically sat down to be a student along with others when topics she was

unfamiliar with were taught. This orientation within the Digital Home community was not lost on participants. At one *clausura*, as participants shared about their experiences in Digital Home, one person who had just completed the course said that in Digital Home "ninguno es mejor que otro."/"no one is better than anyone else." Everyone was valued and all were treated with respect.

   Recommendation: Establishing formal partnerships. Research conducted by Warren, Hong, Rubin, and Uy (2009) has documented that while some community-based organizations successfully engage urban families, at times, schools in the very same urban area remain disconnected from the families they serve. Digital Home has proven to be a welcoming place where participants find a safe space to engage in a learning community and has served as a springboard for participants to engage in the broader community. The program has also equipped parents with navigational knowledge that has aided them in better understanding U.S. school expectations and structures, enabling them to make better-informed decisions about and advocating for their children in school. Community-based programs that work with Latino families may be positioned as resources from which schools can learn how best to improve rapport with (Ramirez, 2003) and engage the growing numbers of Latino children and families in the U.S. in respectful ways and then incorporate these responses institutionally.

   Community-based initiatives can serve in a bridging capacity between families and school systems. Given that research has found that parents, especially those from traditionally marginalized groups, are less likely to feel welcome and comfortable going into their children's schools (Auerbach, 2007; Turney & Kao, 2009), community-based programs can serve as a bridging space. For example, a beginner technology class might be offered in a general community space, with an advanced course being offered in a school building where hesitant

parents might go once they feel more comfortable and where there may be greater capacity to offer higher level technology skills topics. Family members could initially take the course in the community space and then be informed that subsequent courses will be offered within a school site. Still, as Digital Home's coordinator noted, the program is not just about the curriculum or about the equipment available. This comment on Ana's part reflected the feeling articulated by a composite parent character in one of Yosso's (2006) counter-stories. The parent expresses that focusing on material conditions for students is insufficient if "We have new textbooks and new buildings, but no *corazón* [heart] inside those buildings that listens to and appreciates our kids" (Yosso, 2006, p. 38). In the same way that material resources would not necessarily improve the educational experiences of children in schools, any program that would be offered directly by the district should consider aspects that make Digital Home effective in engaging those who come into the space. Care, addressing issues that are not directly academic (Auerbach, 2009; DeMatthews, Edwards, & Rincones, 2016) but that are center in people's lives, viewing families as a unit rather than engaging with parents as individuals, and developing of parental (or family) leadership (Osterling & Garza, 2004) are all essential. In order to understand what happens in community-based spaces, district and school leaders should make efforts to experience the spaces firsthand to get a clear picture of methods in place. This study can serve as a resource to help educational leaders gain an understanding of how families have benefitted from their involvement in Digital Home, in relation to their lives in general and in terms of children's schooling, and to learn about how families perceive their relationships with their children's schools.

Formal partnerships between school systems and grassroots community-based initiatives can benefit both the schools and the community-based efforts. Digital Home maintains a positive

reputation within the community and has earned the trust of families and community members who have benefitted from its classes. By associating with a trusted community-based initiative, schools may increase their ability to reach out to Latino immigrant parents. Through acknowledging and listening to the expertise present in the community, a school system partnering with a community-based initiative such as Digital Home can send the message that it is aware of valued community spaces and relationships and appreciates these also. By taking on this orientation intentionally, with time perhaps schools where relationships were previously strained or were not established may be improved (González et al., 2005; Khalifa, 2012). In turn, school systems' material resources can help build the capacity of community-based initiatives. For example, districts have the capacity and material resources to send program fliers to all Spanish-speaking homes in the district, where a volunteer-run program likely would not.

Culturally Responsive Leadership

While much recent research highlights the importance of educational leaders' ability to lead in diverse contexts and to be able to adjust their leadership practice to be responsive to the populations in their schools, studies have also found that school leaders feel unprepared to resolve diversity-related tensions or lacked material and district-level supports that would help them address these issues (Young, Madsen, & Young, 2010). Findings such as these suggest that preparation programs are not adequately preparing their students for these circumstances (Auerbach, 2009) and that improved preparation programs and in-service professional development that reflect culturally responsive leadership are greatly needed.

The term *culturally responsive leadership* implies a sense of action and urgency (Khalifa, Gooden, & Davis, (2016) on the part of educational leaders who "create school contexts and curriculum that responds effectively to the educational, social, political, and cultural needs of

students" (p. 1278). In their synthesis of the literature regarding culturally responsive leadership, Khalifa, Gooden, and Davis (2016) identify four aspects of culturally responsive leadership: critical self-awareness, ensuring culturally teacher preparation and responsive curricula, promotion of culturally responsive and inclusive school environments, and engaging students and families in community contexts. Educational leaders participate in ongoing critical reflection and are willing to "engage in new ways of knowing and doing" (Lopez, 2015, p. 173). Culturally responsive leaders seek to "build capacity on issues of equity, diversity, and social justice" (Lopez, 2015, p. 173). This leadership orientation requires intentionally engaging in practices that challenge existing circumstances that are not conducive to the success of all children and ensure inclusion of diverse students and families (Johnson, 2017). Furthermore, culturally responsive approaches are not actions that are engaged in sporadically, but are embedded into the institutional culture of a school (Auerbach, 2009; DeMatthews, Edwards, & Rincones, 2016; Smith, 2005). Rather than be a separate strand, diversity-related efforts should be an integrated part of the organization's overall mission (Young, Madsen, & Young, 2010). Culturally responsive leaders understand that they must recognize the "community, institutional, and societal forces that impinge on urban students, their families, and the school itself, forces that include poverty, racism, and inequities" (Crow & Scribner, 2014, p. 299) as a part of their ability to lead effectively. The Digital Home coordinator was a culturally responsive leader who applied her understanding of local context and history, founded on her experience as a long-time educator and community member, to help establish an environment that was culturally responsive for all involved in the program. This approach was "embedded within a given…community, and society at a given place in time" (DeMatthews, Edwards, & Rincones, 2016). By embedding this knowledge in the program design, she helped set a tone that affirmed

participants' identity while also establishing a space to address challenges faced by members of the community.

Educational leaders who have been successful in engaging in culturally responsive practices in schools address more than academic issues, viewing "community needs as a 'bridge' to meeting school goals" (Auerbach, 2009, p. 16). Family engagement tends to be perceived as part of a "broader moral commitment to social justice and educational equity for disenfranchised Latino families" (Auerbach, 2009, p. 9). Digital Home utilized the teaching of technology skills to not only helped parents connect to their children's schools, but as a vehicle for parents and other participants to access information that could be used in various aspects of their lives. While studies highlight the importance of educational leaders' efforts to reach out to communities and to marginalized families, (Auerbach, 2009; DeMatthews, Edwards, & Rincones, 2016; Theoharis, 2010), studies also indicate that, on the whole, educational leaders may not know where to start or how to do so effectively.

Recommendation: Engaging in critical reflection to support action. As culturally responsive leadership begins with examining personal values and beliefs (Lopez, 2015) regarding education, students and their families, being critically conscious is a first step toward taking action toward equity. Educational leaders, therefore, need to be aware of their own biases and consider whether or not their behaviors foster inclusion for all. In addition to engaging in critical reflection by looking within themselves, they must also examine the current systems and circumstances present within their schools.

Educational leaders need to think about whether or not their actions model ways for teachers to establish welcoming environments in their school buildings (DeMatthews, Edwards, & Rincones, 2016; Madhlangobe & Gordon, 2012; Smith, 2005; Theoharis, 2010) and assess

how their school settings are, or are not, positive spaces for the families of their students. Considering how the school perceives family engagement and how these perceptions shape relationships with families can help those in schools consider whether the values they espouse in terms of student and family support align with their actions (Nuri-Robins, Lindsey, Terrell, & Lindsey, 2007). As leaders recruit new faculty and staff, they can make conscious efforts to ensure that those hired believe in the ability of all students to succeed and do not have deficit thinking about diverse students and families. Digital Home made efforts to recruit volunteers who were committed to working respectfully with Latino immigrant families and who had an understanding of or were open to learn about, participants' cultures. Hiring personnel who exhibit knowledge of the populations present in the school, and the local context and history of the school, is another way to act upon the realization that intentional hiring is a key piece to establishing responsive, inclusive school environments.

Professional development examining equity and justice issues (Theoharis, 2010) can help faculty and staff reflect on and be able to talk about issues of inequity, where they might be tempted to engage in "racial erasure" (McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004, p. 613), a practice used to avoid addressing racism and its effects within schools. Such professional development may also promote educators' ability to think and "talk about differences [in a way] that recognizes and respects individuals and their cultures" (Nuri-Robins, Lindsey, Terrell, & Lindsey, 2007, p. 16). Furthermore, professional development can include ways that teachers may use home-school experiences in their teaching practice (Grant & Wong, 2004; Ladky & Peterson, 2008; Madhlangobe & Gordon, 2012) and tap into the knowledges and literacies that students engage with at home (González et al., 2005) and within other spaces in their communities. Faculty and staff would benefit from professional development that helps them understand the linguistic and

cultural backgrounds of their students and families in order to foster better relationships and disrupt deficit narratives built on assumptions about families' abilities or interest in supporting children's education. Professional development can include learning about languages, about educational expectations in other countries, and the effect of racism in the lives of families and students (Grant & Wong, 2004).

Within educational leadership programs, racial autobiography (Gooden & O'Doherty, 2015) has been used as a tool of reflection with pre-service and in-service educational leaders. The assignment, a "brief autoethnography" (Gooden & O'Doherty, 2015, p. 18), intends to have students look deeply at the roots of their current beliefs about race and to consider the contexts that have shaped their own racial identities. In their use of racial autobiography in their own leadership preparation classes, Gooden and O'Doherty (2015) found that students engaged in self-reflection and expressed an increased commitment to act and become anti-racism advocates. This assignment served as a foundation to "support critical examination of individual, cultural, and institutional racism and dismantle the structures that perpetuate the current opportunity gap that students of color experience in our schools" (Gooden & O'Doherty, 2015, p. 18), and by extension, their families. Further, when leaders evaluate their personal culture as well as that of their schools, they can understand personal and institutional barriers to equity in their schools (Nuri-Robins, Lindsey, Terrell, & Lindsey, 2007).

Skrla, Scheurich, Garcia, & Nolly (2004) recommend conducting equity audits to systematically examine and make plans to disrupt inequities in schools by assessing teacher quality, program equity, and achievement equity. Family engagement should be included in the programming strand of equity audits in order to systematically look at how schools are reaching out to families and how families perceive their relationships with schools and school personnel.

Through this vehicle, schools can look at data regarding whether families of all groups of students, including ethnically, racially, and linguistically diverse students and students of varied ability, are equally feeling included and respected by school officials. "Inclusion," in this case, refers to more than parents coming into the school building, but also refers to whether they feel valued, and whether their needs and strengths are recognized and acted upon.

Recommendation: Increasing contact with families and communities. As mentioned previously, partnering with community-based organizations and initiatives can be mutually beneficial to both the community-based space and the school system. Community-based organizations are a source of information and can serve as models by which educational leaders can connect with the communities in which they serve. Additionally, schools can improve their understanding of families, especially those from traditionally marginalized groups, and the community contexts in which they live by inviting community members into their schools and by going into communities themselves.

In order for schools to be able to respond to familial concerns, they need to know more about the families they serve. In Digital Home, the time that those in the space had to talk with one another facilitated community members learning about one another and their interests. Additionally, since the courses took place over a span of weeks, participants and volunteers had consistent contact over several months. Research has found that on-going (Ladky & Peterson, 2008; López, Scribner, & Mahitivanichcha, 2001), informal contact between teachers and immigrant families improves relationships between school and home (Ladky & Peterson, 2008). Incorporating oral histories (McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004), sharing families' stories (Grant & Wong, 2004) and taking interest in children's life events all connect children's school lives to their lives outside of the school building (Ladky & Peterson, 2008). Parents can be invited to

serve on panels (Grant & Wong, 2004) in the school or community spaces in order to share their experiences with teachers. One suggestion Aarón had for schools was to invite parents into the school to share with students what they do for a living. He recognized that parents had valuable information to share and schools would benefit from recognizing them as a resource as well. Developing community mentoring relationships, including recruiting non-native English speaking mentors (Grant & Wong, 2004), would offer students and parents the chance to "see 'themselves'" (Grant & Wong, 2004, p. 22) and tap into additional role models from within their communities, much like the Digital Home technology volunteers did, in terms of supporting aspirations and modeling possibilities. This effort would also recognize the resources already present in the community, as in Ernesto's case where his interest in becoming an engineer stemmed from meeting an engineer within his community.

Aside from inviting communities into schools, it is also important that educators themselves spend time within communities. Ana was not only visible within Digital Home, but was active in the church that several participants attended and also participated in other local community organizations and events. She often shared information in Digital Home regarding happenings in the community and at the local university, and program participants and volunteers were encouraged to do so as well. For schools, neighborhood walks (Jones & Fuller, 2003; McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004) and home visits (González et al., 2005; McKenzie & Scheurich, 2004) serve as ways for educational leaders and teachers to get to know families and communities better. McCray and Beachum (2014) emphasize the importance of leaders making an effort to engage possible community networks, including faith-based institutions. Being visible within communities is an intentional decision that can extend an educational leader's role from school building leader to leader within the community as well, fostering trust (Khalifa,

2012) and family and community involvement. Educational leadership programs can also ensure that their programs incorporate community engagement within their course of study. Johnson (2017), for example, recommends that leadership preparation programs include apprenticeships in the community and field-based experiences requiring students "to engage with diverse families and communities in civic forums" (p. 196), including having the opportunity to "work under the leadership of parents and neighborhood leaders in community-based projects" (p. 196). In a sense, these approaches to educational leadership blur the line between school and community as completely discrete entities by establishing a supportive culture that recognizes students and families holistically.

Implications for Further Research

This study has illustrated the ways in which Digital Home, a community-based program, has been developed and implemented, centering the language and cultural characteristics of the adult participants and their families in order to promote and further develop the community cultural wealth of those involved with the program. The study has also raised additional questions and opened the door for future research that is beyond the scope of the current study.

Taking a more in-depth look at the program founder and coordinator's various identities as a Latina, a former migrant worker, an educator, an organizer, a community member, and a Catholic would offer insight into the influences that played a role in her decisions as a leader in schools as well as in her local community. While a body of literature regarding Latino leaders is beginning to be developed (e.g., Cortez-Covarrubias, 2015) and published, specifically looking at Latino leaders' personal backgrounds and experiences as leaders, this is still an emerging area (Hernandez & Murakami, 2016). Further, looking at this aspect of leadership and Latino identity will contribute to the field's understanding of leaders from diverse backgrounds, and how they

lead in order to promote social justice, which is also important in light of the growing ethnic diversity in K-12 schools and the need to ensure leadership toward the success of all students, regardless of background.

While the focus of this study was not college persistence or mentorship, this study's findings indicate that college students' participation in Digital Home provided additional social supports to them in terms of feeling connected to their home cultures and to a community beyond their school campus. Further research on how this volunteer opportunity played a role in students' college years, and possibly beyond, could offer insights into how community engagement influences students' perception of themselves culturally, of their ability to complete their college degrees, and of their sense of leadership through contributing to communities. Additionally, looking further at the aspects of university-community partnerships that facilitated students' volunteerism, and those that were not flexible enough to be sustained, could lead to recommendations informing university outreach with diverse communities and programs that function outside of the norm of existing university-community partnerships.

Following Digital Home children and families in subsequent time periods would contribute to understanding the potential long-term effects of community-based programs that work closely with families. Extending this study longitudinally to see how families do or do not trace back certain Digital Home experiences to other aspects of their lives will offer insights into what elements of programming and approaches appear to be most effective for program participants.

Finally, as the findings of the current study are disseminated within the community and local school systems, documenting how this study is received will facilitate an understanding of

the continued tensions, negotiations, and collaborative successes experienced in promoting community engagement within formal educational settings.

Final Commentary

The program's continuation requires participants to attend classes and volunteers to assist class participants and children who attend, as well as other resources. The program coordinator believed that if the program could "get them in," participants would benefit from taking Digital Home classes and see how valuable the program is. However, reach more members of the community is an energy-intensive process, especially in a context that works on the basis of relationships and personal connection. One former Digital Home student echoed the belief of how beneficial the classes are, stating that some of the reasons she has heard for people not attending are actually excuses because those who have not taken the classes don't know just how useful it is to learn how to use a computer.

As mentioned in the limitations section of chapter three, this study does not engage the voices of families in the community who have not enrolled in Digital Home's classes, or those who have not completed the course. Within my discussions with Digital Home volunteers, there was a mention that some students from the community who enroll in class work seasonally, so they might begin a course, but not complete it. Other members of the community go to their home countries for several months in the year and this time falls within the course duration. Among other reasons study participants believed people did not attend classes included work schedules, church commitments, transportation limitations, not being aware of when each set of classes started, and children's school events. The initial change in cost from free to $5 per class session after the program no longer had grant funding was also identified by as a possible factor by some, though another study participant did not think cost was a deterrent. Classes are no

longer advertised as carrying a fee, but fliers note that donations are accepted. While those who took the class surpassed fears of being incapable of learning, some in the community who had not attended still expressed concerns that they could not learn or felt the content was too difficult. For others, the content was too basic. Not having a computer or internet access at home was also a reason for not taking classes. One study participant also mentioned that people in the community with undocumented immigration status might still be hesitant to participate in a public space for fear of encountering immigration officials, especially during times of heightened public rhetoric regarding "illegal" immigration. Regarding this last concern, the program has been careful about how and where it advertises the classes, as maintaining a sense of safety and access for those who want to participate is of the utmost importance.

There are also a couple of observations I can offer that address those who do not continue. There was the case of one person, Rita, who had started the course previously, but did not finish it. Rita returned in the spring of 2017 and completed the course. She also mentioned, in her class introduction, that she quit her second job precisely to be able to complete the course this time. Another participant who is the mother of two school-aged children, Rosario began the course, bringing her daughter with her. She attended several sessions, but did not complete the course. However, she was invited to and encouraged to attend the end-of-course *clausura* to receive a certificate of participation. As we spoke at the *clausura*, she mentioned that she feels even more motivated now to complete what she started. These two instances, where participants who did not complete courses initially, received the message that they could return is reflective of the "open door" described by Isabel.

While questions about sustaining the program were not asked directly in interviews, many of the adult participants and the volunteers voiced concerns about the program being able

to continue. They were aware that after the initial grant period, class sizes had gotten smaller and they knew that the program was run completely voluntarily. Some expressed that they hoped that this study could open the doors for there to be more awareness about the program as well as for obtaining funding or other support, such as promotion by the district or the community center institutionalizing Digital Home as a program of its own, to help ensure the program's continuation and its expansion. Financially, it would be ideal if there were a grant large enough through which a person could be hired as a dedicated program director. Obtaining financial resources would also help with maintaining the computer lab.

For recruitment of volunteers not familiar with the community program, part of recruitment would mean helping people really to get a strong sense of the program. At the program's latest graduation event, which occurred after this study's data collection, one guest who had been hearing from her friend who volunteered at Digital Home throughout the year, remarked that after seeing and hearing program participants and their families speak during the *clausura*, she now really understood the program and what she had been hearing about all school year. Resources toward updating the web site and developing short videos (for example, with student testimonies) would help with a variety of aspects needed by the program: encouraging students to register, recruiting volunteers, and having materials that can be shared with potential funders. Despite the challenges faced by the program, as was discussed at a planning meeting in spring of 2017, as long as there are people who want to come and learn, the program will be run.

Digital Home was conceived in response to existing and potentially increasing gaps in technology skills and access for Latino families in an urban mid-sized Midwestern city. Digital Home's founder and coordinator developed the program using her experiences as a long-time educator and community member as a foundation for the program. Her experiences as a middle-

school teacher who worked with students from diverse backgrounds and varying levels of English proficiency in one classroom, and not knowing "all the languages…German and Polish and Arabic" motivated her to "learn different strategies and different ways to get information across to people." Teaching "struggling learners [that] oftentimes…other teachers didn't want in their classroom" led to the realization that she needed to maintain student interest by looking beyond the textbook and thinking about her own learning style, which she thought was similar to that of her students. As a result, she made efforts to "involve them in their own learning." She then "carried [these approaches] over to my work with the adults" in Digital Home. In the community, she had observed potlucks and informal meeting time during events help to build community among event goers and this was then incorporated into Digital Home. The coordinator had shared with me that she did not have a formal theoretical base for her decisions as she planned Digital Home, but her own lived experiences in schools and within the community guided her decision-making and her ideas about what would work. She thought that this study, connecting the program to formal research and theoretical foundations, might help to legitimize the program in the eyes of the local district. She was optimistic that the study's findings and analysis of other program data would encourage the formal school system to help institutionalize the program in ways it had not since Digital Home's inception. This study does not capture the reasons why the district has not recognized Digital Home as a formal community partner without the program moving to a school building in the district. However, I have wondered if traditional ideas of what valid knowledge is and who holds it are at play in the district's decision. It is hoped that this study's findings will serve as a basis for renewed communication efforts between the program and the local district. Time will tell if having the program connected to a formal scholarly study will help to motivate greater collaboration. Still,

while Digital Home has not been able to spread more widely across the district to more families, its impact on the lives of those who have been a part of the program should not be underestimated. As they themselves have expressed, the program has been a "life changer," a mindset transformer, a vision opener, and a place where they experienced success. The participants have taken these successes with them into different aspects of their lives, going beyond the familiar.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

IRB Approval Letter

MICHIGAN STATE
U N I V E R S I T Y

**Initial IRB
Application
Determination
*Exempt***

November 3, 2015

To: Terah Venzant Chambers
        620 Farm Lane, Room 433

Re: **IRB# x15-865e** Category· Exempt 1
        Approval Date: November 3, 2015

Title: Parental Empowerment through Tech Program Participation

The Institutional Review Board has completed their review of your project. I am pleased to advise you that **your project has been deemed as exempt** in accordance with federal regulations.

The IRB has found that your research project meets the criteria for exempt status and the criteria for the protection of human subjects in exempt research. **Under our exempt policy the Principal Investigator assumes the responsibilities for the protection of human subjects** in this project as outlined in the assurance letter and exempt educational material. The IRB office has received your signed assurance for exempt research. A copy of this signed agreement is appended for your information and records.

Renewals: Exempt protocols do not need to be renewed. If the project is completed, please submit an *Application for Permanent Closure*.

Revisions: Exempt protocols do not require revisions. However, if changes are made to a protocol that may no longer meet the exempt criteria, a new initial application will be required.
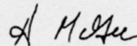
Problems: If issues should arise during the conduct of the research, such as unanticipated problems, adverse events, or any problem that may increase the risk to the human subjects and change the category of review, notify the IRB office promptly   Any complaints from participants regarding the risk and benefits of the project must be reported to the IRB.

Follow-up: If your exempt project is not completed and closed after three years, the IRB office will contact you regarding the status of the project and to verify that no changes have occurred that may affect exempt status.

Please use the IRB number listed above on any forms submitted which relate to this project, or on any correspondence with the IRB office.

Good luck in your research. If we can be of further assistance, please contact us at 517-355-2180 or via email at IRB@msu.edu. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

A. McGee

Harry McGee, MPH
SIRB Chair

c: Elizabeth Gil

**Office of Regulatory Affairs
Human Research
Protection Programs**

**Biomedical & Health
Institutional Review Board
(BIRB)**

**Community Research
Institutional Review Board
(CRIRB)**

**Social Science
Behavioral/Education
Institutional Review Board
(SIRB)**

Olds Hall
408 West Circle Drive, #207
East Lansing, MI 48824
(517) 355-2180
Fax: (517) 432-4503
Email: irb@msu.edu
www.hrpp.msu.edu

MSU is an affirmative-action,
equal-opportunity employer.

Recruitment Flier

APRENDIENDO DE LAS FAMILIAS DE ▮▮▮▮

Mi nombre es Elizabeth Gil. Soy estudiante trabajando en mi doctorado en la Escuela de Educación en Michigan State University. Soy hija de padres inmigrantes colombianos y me crié en la ciudad de Nueva York. Tengo un hermano y una hermana. Como maestra en escuelas del Bronx y de Harlem, tuve el placer de trabajar con grupos de estudiantes y familias diversas en escuelas (primarias) elementales. Me gusta trabajar con y aprender de las familias Latinas en los Estados Unidos. Tengo interés en aprender más sobre cómo las escuelas pueden mejorar la forma de servir estudiantes Latinos. Ese aprendizaje para mi viene de hablar con los padres Latinos. Por eso me gustaría hablar con ustedes quienes han participado en los cursos de ▮▮▮▮, sea reciente o en los años pasados. Si participaron en algún curso de ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ y tienen hijos, nietos, o sobrinos que son estudiantes en la escuela del grado kínder a doce (K-12) por favor de contactarme. Gracias.

LEARNING FROM ▮▮▮ FAMILIES

My name is Elizabeth Gil. I am a student at Michigan State University, working on my doctorate at the College of Education. I am the daughter of immigrant Colombian parents. I was raised in New York City and have a brother and a sister. As a teacher in schools in the Bronx and Harlem in Manhattan, I had the pleasure of working with diverse groups of students and families in elementary schools. I have an interest in learning more about Latino immigrant families in the US and how schools can improve how they serve Latino students. I would like to talk with current and past years' ▮▮▮▮▮▮ participants who have children, grandchildren, nieces or nephews currently in school in grades K-12.

Para contactar a Elizabeth/To contact Elizabeth: gileliza@msu.edu

Me llamo ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮. Soy fundadora y directora de ▮▮▮▮▮▮. Estamos en el quinto año de dar cursos de computación básica en español para adultos, especialmente padres/madres de familias. Solo hemos podido ofrecer los cursos de ▮▮▮ con el apoyo y colaboración de mucha gente y organizaciones como ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, ▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮ y los voluntarios de Michigan State University y Lansing Community College. Me da mucho gusto que Elizabeth Gil esté haciendo este trabajo de investigación. Es importante saber qué tipos de programas son de beneficio para las familias Latinas. Y es muy importante que las familias Latinas puedan compartir sus opiniones sin prejuicio y para que tengan voz en como mejorar la educación para los niños Latinos en los Estados Unidos.

http://▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Directora de/Director ▮▮▮▮

Imagen de http://faithpub.com/▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

APPENDIX C

Research Participation Information and Consent Form

You are being asked to participate in a research study about your experience participating in ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ activities. This study will primarily focus on your experiences as part of the organization.

I am asking your consent to 1) speak with you informally about your participation in ▮▮▮▮ ▮▮ classes, 2) allow the researcher to observe and participate in classes, and 3) interview you individually about your experiences participating in ▮▮▮▮▮▮ classes one to two times. Each interview will last up to one hour and will be audio recorded. Some portions of class will be audio recorded throughout the research period. However, your name will not be mentioned in any of the audio recordings or transcriptions.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary. You have the right to say "no" at any time. You may change your mind at any time, refuse to answer certain questions, or discontinue participation at any time. Your decision to participate in the study does not affect your participation in ▮▮▮▮▮▮ or any related activities. All results of this research will be treated with strict confidentiality. Your name or other identifying features will not be used in any analysis or in any reporting of this research. The results of this study may be published or presented at professional meetings, but the identities of all research participants will remain anonymous. Only the primary investigators (Dr. Terah Venzant Chambers and Elizabeth Gil) will have access to the data. Your confidentiality will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law.

Participating in the study poses minimal to no risk to you. The only activity you will be asked to do is to respond to interview questions. You and other participants may benefit as the results of this research study are used to learn more about how to improve the experiences of Latino community members.

If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, please contact the project investigators: Terah Venzant Dr. Chambers, email: terah@msu.edu, telephone: (832) 421-3456, or Elizabeth Gil gileliza@msu.edu, phone: 917-674-7668, mail: 620 Farm Lane, Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, Michigan, East Lansing, MI 48824.

If you have any questions about your role and rights as a research participant, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at (517) 355-2180, FAX (517) 432-4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu, or regular mail at: 408 West Circle Drive Room 207, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

My name is: _____

Please check the following statement as applicable:

_____I voluntarily agree to be interviewed and give assent for the interviews to be audio taped.

Participant Signature _____ Date _____

Participant Name (printed)_____ Date _____

Formulario de información y consentimiento para participación en estudio de investigación

Estimado participante de ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮:

Mi nombre es Elizabeth Gil y soy estudiante doctoral en Michigan State University. Estoy trabajando en un proyecto, en un estudio de investigación acerca de su experiencia participando en actividades ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮. Este estudio se centrará principalmente en sus experiencias como parte del programa.

Le pido amablemente su consentimiento para 1) hablar de manera informal acerca de su participación en clases de ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮, 2) permitir que la investigadora observe y participe en las clases, y 3) entrevistarlo/a una a dos veces individualmente sobre sus experiencias en las clases de ▮▮▮▮. Cada entrevista durará aproximadamente una hora y será audio grabada. Algunas partes de la clase pueden ser audio grabadas durante del período de investigación. Sin embargo, su nombre no se mencionará en ninguna de las grabaciones de audio o transcripciones.

La participación en el estudio es completamente voluntaria. Usted puede cambiar de opinión en cualquier momento, negarse a responder a ciertas preguntas, o dejar de participar en cualquier momento. Su decisión de participar en el estudio no afecta su participación en ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ o cualquier otra actividad relacionada. Todos los resultados de esta investigación serán tratados con estricta confidencialidad. Su nombre u otros elementos de identificación no serán utilizados en ningún análisis o reporte de esta investigación. Los resultados de este estudio pueden ser publicados o presentados en conferencias profesionales, pero las identidades de todos los participantes en la investigación se mantendrán anónimas. Sólo las investigadoras (Dra. Terah Venzant Chambers y Elizabeth Gil) tendrán acceso a los datos. Su confidencialidad será protegida en la medida máxima permitida por la ley.

La participación en el estudio plantea un mínimo o ningún riesgo para usted. Ud. y otros participantes pueden beneficiarse ya que los resultados de este estudio de investigación se utilizarán para obtener más información sobre cómo mejorar las experiencias de los miembros de la comunidad Latina en Lansing.

Si tiene dudas o preguntas acerca de este estudio, por favor comuníquese con las investigadoras del proyecto: Dra. Terah Venzant Chambers, correo electrónico: terah@msu.edu, teléfono: (832) 421-3456, o Elizabeth Gil gileliza@msu.edu, teléfono: 917-674-7668, correo postal: 620 Farm Lane, Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, Michigan, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Si usted tiene alguna pregunta acerca de su papel y sus derechos como participante en la investigación, o si desea presentar una queja sobre este estudio, puede ponerse en contacto, de forma anónima si así lo desea, con el Programa de Protección de Investigación Humana de Michigan State University al (517) 355-2180 , FAX (517) 432-4503, o irb@msu.edu e-mail o correo postal: 408 West Circle Drive Room 207, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Cordialmente,

Elizabeth Gil

Elizabeth Gil
Estudiante doctoral
Michigan State University

Su firma y fecha indican que usted conoce el contenido de esta carta y que ha decidido participar en el proyecto descrito en la carta. También indica que ha recibido una copia de esta carta.

_____ Yo acuerdo voluntariamente para ser entrevistado/a y doy consentimiento para que las entrevistas sean grabadas en audio.

Firma del participante _____

Nombre del participante (impreso) _____ Fecha _____

APPENDIX D

Research Participation Information and Assent Form

You are being asked to participate in a research study about your experience participating in
███████ activities. This study will primarily focus on your experiences as part of the
organization.

I am asking your assent to 1) speak with you informally about your participation in ███████
classes, 2) allow the researcher to observe and participate in classes, and 3) interview you
individually about your experiences with ███████ classes. Each interview will last up to
one hour and will be audio recorded. Some portions of class will be audio recorded throughout
the research period. However, your name will not be mentioned in any of the audio recordings or
transcriptions.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary. You have the right to say "no" at any time.
You may change your mind at any time, refuse to answer certain questions, or discontinue
participation at any time. Your decision to participate in the study does not affect your
participation in ███████ or any related activities. All results of this research will be treated
with strict confidentiality. Your name or other identifying features will not be used in any
analysis or in any reporting of this research. The results of this study may be published or
presented at professional meetings, but the identities of all research participants will remain
anonymous. Only the primary investigators (Dr. Terah Venzant Chambers and Elizabeth Gil)
will have access to the data. Your confidentiality will be protected to the maximum extent
allowable by law.

Participating in the study poses minimal to no risk to you. The only activity you will be asked to
do is to respond to interview questions. You and other participants may benefit as the results of
this research study are used to learn more about how to improve the experiences of Latino
community members.

If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of
it, or to report an injury, please contact the project investigators: Terah Venzant Dr. Chambers,
email: terah@msu.edu, telephone: (832) 421-3456, or Elizabeth Gil gileliza@msu.edu, phone:
917-674-7668, mail: 620 Farm Lane, Erickson Hall, Michigan State University, Michigan, East
Lansing, MI 48824.

If you have any questions about your role and rights as a research participant, or would like to
register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan
State University's Human Research Protection Program at (517) 355-2180, FAX (517) 432-
4503, or e-mail irb@msu.edu, or regular mail at: 408 West Circle Drive Room 207, MSU, East
Lansing, MI 48824.

My name is: _____

Please check the following statement as applicable:

_____I voluntarily agree to be interviewed and give assent for the interviews to be audio taped.

Participant Signature _____ Date _____

Participant Name (printed)_____ Date _____

Formulario de asentimiento (para estudiantes de edad minima de 7 años)

Mi nombre es Elizabeth Gil y soy estudiante doctoral en Michigan State University. Estoy trabajando en un proyecto sobre las experiencias de personas participando en actividades de ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮. Me gustaría invitarte a ser parte de este proyecto que nos ayudará mejor entender cómo apoyar a las familias Latinas con estudiantes en las escuelas locales. El estudio ya ha sido explicado a tu padre, madre, o tutor(a), y tienes permiso para participar si así lo deseas.

Tu participación en el proyecto es voluntaria y en cualquier momento puedes decir que no deseas seguir participando. Parte del estudio incluye una o dos entrevistas contigo durante la cual me puedes hacer preguntas a mi or puedes saltarte preguntas si así lo deseas. La entrevista será grabada en audio.

Si deseas participar, usaré un nombre falso en lugar de tu nombre verdadero en mis reportes por escrito de manera que nadie sepa que tú estás incluido/a en el reporte.

Tu decisión de participar en el estudio no afecta participación en ▮▮▮▮ o cualquier otra actividad relacionada.

Si tienes preguntas sobre este studio, me gustaría saber cuáles son y que podamos hablar.

Por favor escribe tu nombre y firma si deseas participar en el estudio.

_____

Nombre de estudiante

_____

Firma de estudiante   Fecha

_____

Nombre de padre o tutor

_____

Firma de padre o tutor   Fecha

Elizabeth Gil

_____

Elizabeth Gil   Fecha
Estudiante doctoral
Michigan State University

APPENDIX E

Interview Protocols

Interview Protocol for Adult Family Members

Hello. Thank you for taking time to meet with me today. I appreciate your helping me learn about your experiences here in the U.S., as well as your experiences in **Digital Home***. As a reminder, anything you say here will be confidential and none of what you share will be connected with your name.*

1. How and when did you hear about *Digital Home*? Tell me a little about how you came to take classes with *Digital Home* and your experiences with *Digital Home*. (past participants: When did you participate?)
   Prompts:
   What made you enroll in classes?
   What have you learned in *Digital Home*, including content and interpersonal skills?
   Do you participate in other programs provided in the community? Did you learn about the program(s) through *Digital Home*?

2. What is valued in Digital Home?

3. What has been useful to you in the process of taking classes with *Digital Home*? How have you used what you have learned?
   Prompts:
   How has your participation benefitted you and or a family?
   Do other members of your family use the services?

4. How would you describe relationships with classmates? [familial capital]
   Prompts:
   How do the relationships with others in *Digital Home* help you to connect to your community?

5. Where do you go when you need help with something, for example, with completing paperwork? (social capital)

6. Tell me about a time that you have had to navigate a system in the U.S. [navigational capital]
   Prompts:
   What resources did you use to navigate?
   What challenges did you encounter?

7. Can you describe your relationship with the school(s) the child(ren) in your family attend? How does the school reach out to parents?

8. Has anything in *Digital Home* had a connection for you in terms of how you might interact with your child(ren)'s/grandchild(ran's)/niece's/nephew's school(s)? In your own schooling or approaches to learning?

Prompts:
Have you developed skills that have helped you use school resources or to interact with the school?
Does *Digital Home* inform you about resources related to other educational opportunities?
Do you have conversations with others in *Digital Home* about schools or education?

9. Is there anyone else that you recommend I speak with?

Thank you again for your time. Your talking to me is very important in helping me to understand your experiences in* Digital Home*. I hope that I can meet with you again at a future date.

Protocolo para entrevistar a los miembros adultos de la familia

Gracias por tomarse el tiempo para hablar conmigo hoy. Agradezco su ayuda para aprender acerca de sus experiencias aquí en los EE.UU., así como sus experiencias en Hogar Digital. A modo de recordatorio, todo lo que diga aquí será confidencial y nada de lo que comparta estará conectado con su nombre. Puede saltar cualquier pregunta que no quiera contestar.

1. ¿Cómo se enteró de *Hogar Digital*? ¿Cuándo se enteró del programa? (participantes de pasadas generaciones: ¿Cuándo participó?)

2. ¿Qué le hizo inscribirse en las clases?

3. ¿Cómo se siente estar en *Hogar Digital*? ¿Cómo se siente cuando está en el hogar digital?

4. ¿Cómo se siente acerca de las clases que se ofrecen en español?

5. a) ¿Qué ha aprendido/aprendió en las clases que ha sido útil para usted? ¿Cómo ha usado lo que ha aprendido?

Preguntas generadoras:
¿Cómo su participación ha sido de beneficio para usted y su familia?
¿Los otros miembros de su familia utilizan los servicios?

b) ¿Qué ha aprendido/aprendió en las clases que eso no ha sido tan útil? ¿Qué ha aprendido pero no ha usado?

6. ¿Cómo describiría las relaciones entre los compañeros de clase? ¿Y con los voluntarios? [capital familiar]

Preguntas generadoras:
¿Ve a sus compañeros fuera del *Hogar Digital*?
¿Ha desarrollado nuevas relaciones como resultado de *Hogar Digital*?

7. ¿Usted participa en otros programas en la comunidad? ¿Cómo se enteró sobre este/estos programa(s)?

8. ¿Dónde va cuando necesita ayuda con algo, por ejemplo, con la realización de trámites? [capital social]

9. a) ¿Cómo es la forma de hacer las cosas aquí, diferente de la forma en que se llevan a cabo en su país de origen? [Capital de navegación]
b) Cuénteme acerca de los recursos que ha utilizado para ajustarse a esas diferencias.

Preguntas generadoras:
¿Qué desafíos ha encontrado debido a estas diferencias?

10. ¿Cuáles son sus esperanzas para el/los niño(s) en su familia? (Por lo general, educativamente) [capital de aspiración]

11. ¿Cómo está involucrado en la educación de sus hijo(s)/parientes quienes están en la escuela?

12. ¿Ha cambiado con el tiempo su idea de lo que significa estar involucrado? Si es así, ¿qué ha hecho que cambien sus ideas? (Si la familia tiene más de un hijo, pregunte si hay diferencias en la experiencia entre los niños mayores y los más jóvenes y por qué esto puede ser.)

13. a. ¿Cómo se siente cuando se va a la escuela de su hijo? - ¿Cómo se siente cuándo recibe una carta o una llamada de la escuela o el maestro?¿Puede describir su relación con la gente en la(s) escuela(s) del/de los niño(s) en su familia?

Preguntas generadoras:
¿Cómo se conecta(n) la(s) escuela(s) con su familia?
¿Qué le piden a las familias?
¿Las escuelas, toman en cuenta la opinión de las familias?
¿Cómo se inicia el contacto con el/los maestro(s), administración?
b. ¿Hay alguna forma que le gustaría que la escuela se comunicara o involucrara a las familias?
c. ¿Qué le gustaría que la escuela supiera acreca de su familia?

14. ¿Cree que su participación en *DH* ha cambiado como puede participar educación del/ de la/ de los niño/a/os de su familia? ¿Cómo Ud. participa en la educación del/ de la/ de los niño/a/os de su familia?

15. ¿Cree que su participación en *Hogar Digital* ha hecho una diferencia en cómo le va en la escuela a el/la/los niño/a/(s) de su familia? En caso afirmativo, ¿Cómo?

16. ¿Cree que su participación en *Hogar Digital* ha cambiado la forma en que usted se ve a sí mismo/a?

Preguntas generadoras:
¿Ha desarrollado habilidades que le han ayudado utilizar recursos de la escuela o para interactuar con la escuela?
¿*Hogar Digital* le informa sobre recursos relacionados a oportunidades educativas?
¿Tiene/Tuvo conversaciones con otras personas en *Hogar Digital* sobre las escuelas o la educación?
17. ¿Hay alguna otra persona con quien me recomiende hablar?

18. ¿Hay algo acerca de sus experiencias con *Hogar Digital* o como miembro de la familia [especificar] de un niño en edad escolar que cree que es importante que yo sepa?
19. ¿Quién cree Ud. Que debe saber sobre este estudio?
20. ¿Tiene alguna pregunta para mí?

Gracias de nuevo por su tiempo. Aprender de usted es muy importante para mí. Espero que podamos hablar de nuevo en una fecha futura.

Hello. Thanks for meeting with me today. I appreciate your helping me learn about what you think of **Digital Home** *and you and your family member's/members' involvement in* **Digital Home***. As a reminder, anything you say here will be confidential and none of what you share will be connected with your name.*

1. Who in your family goes/went to *Digital Home* classes? When (if not currently participating)?

2. Before your family member went to *Digital Home* did you share your technology knowledge with your family?

3. Do/did you and your family member(s) ever talk about what they learned in *Digital Home*?
   (If no, will ask what the child thinks happens in *Digital Home.*) (If yes)
   a. What did they learn/are they learning?

   b. Have you seen them use what they have learned?

4. Did/do you ever attend class with your family member(s)?
   (If yes)
   a. What do/did you do during *Digital Home?*

   b. Did you interact with other kids during *Digital Home* class time?

   c. Have you learned anything at *Digital Home* that you used in school or that you talked about with someone at school?

   d. How would you describe *Digital Home* and the people in *Digital Home?*

5. How do you help your family member(s) with *Digital Home* now?

6. How do(es) your family member(s) help you now that he/she has participated in *Digital Home*?

7. How does your school communicate with or involve families? Is there a way you wish your school communicated with or involved your family?

8. Do you think that *Digital Home* has helped your family member to help you with school in any way or to connect with people at your school?

9. How would you describe *Digital Home* to someone who is not familiar with *Digital Home*?

10. Is there anything else that you would like to share about *Digital Home*?

Thank you. Your answers help me to understand more about what happens at **Digital Home** *and what people learn. I hope that if I have more questions, I can meet with you again.*

Protocolo de entrevista para niños

Hola. Gracias por tomar su tiempo para hablar conmigo hoy. Agradezco su ayuda para aprender acerca de lo que piensa sobre Hogar Digital y usted y la participación de los miembros de su familiar en Hogar Digital. A modo de recordatorio, todo lo que diga aquí será confidencial y nada de lo que comparta será conectado con su nombre. Puede saltar cualquier pregunta que no quiera contestar.

1. ¿Quién en tu familia va/fue a clases de *Hogar Digital*? ¿Recuerdas cuándo (si no está participando actualmente)?

2. Antes de que tu miembro de la familia fuera a *Hogar Digital* Ud. compartías lo que sabías acerca del uso de las computadoras con tu familia?

3. Has hablado con este/estos miembro(s) de la familia sobre lo que han aprendido en *Hogar Digital* o ¿Has visto lo que ha(n) aprendido en las clases?
 (Si no, va a preguntar lo que el niño piensa que ocurre en el hogar digital.) (En caso afirmativo)
a. ¿Qué aprendieron/están aprendiendo?
b. ¿Has visto cómo ha(n) utilizado lo que ha(n) aprendido?

4. ¿Has asistido alguna vez a clase con el/los miembro(s) de su familia?
(En caso afirmativo)
a. ¿Qué hiciste durante la clase de *Hogar Digital*?
b. ¿Interactuaste con otros niños durante la clase *Hogar Digital*?
c. ¿Has aprendido algo en *Hogar Digital* que ha utilizado en la escuela? Ha hablado con alguien en la escuela sobre algo que aprendió en *Hogar Digital*? ¿Cuénteme?

5. ¿Has asistido a un evento de graduación de *Hogar Digital* (clausura)? ¿Cómo fue esa experiencia?

6. ¿Cómo describirías *Hogar Digital* a alguien que nunca ha estado en una clase?

7. ¿Cómo te sientes acerca del hecho que las clases son en español? [Capital lingüístico]

8. ¿Cómo ayudas a un miembro de tu familia (s) con el uso de las computadoras ahora?

9. ¿Cómo le ayudas ahora el/los miembro(s) de tu familia que ha(n) participado en *Hogar Digital*?

10. a. ¿Cómo crees que se sienten tus papas cuando van a las escuelas? (e.g., se ponen emocionados; nerviosos, o evitan hablar con los maestros porque no pueden hablar inglés, o si el niño tiene que traducir muchas cosas para sus papas)

b. ¿Cómo involucra la escuela a los miembros de su familia? (Dependiendo de la respuesta, le preguntaré acerca de si los miembros de la familia participan.)

Estímulo: ¿Son las cartas o boletines de noticias de la escuela enviadas en un idioma que los miembros de su familia entienden?

11. ¿Hay una manera en que deseas que su escuela se comunique con tu familia? ¿Hay una manera que deseas que participe tu familia? Cuénteme cómo.

12. ¿Crees que *Hogar Digital* ha ayudado al miembro de tu familia con tu escuela en alguna forma? (ejemplo: conectar con la gente en su escuela, estudios, participación)

13. ¿Qué quieres ser cuando seas grande?/¿Cuáles son tus planes para el futuro? ¿Qué te ha hecho decidir que esto es lo que quieres hacer? [Capital de aspiración]

14. ¿Hay algo más que te gustaría compartir sobre *Hogar Digital*?

15. ¿Quién debe saber acerca del programa?

16. ¿Tienes alguna pregunta para mí?

Gracias. Sus respuestas me ayudarán a entender más acerca de lo que sucede en Hogar Digital y lo que la gente aprende. Espero que si tengo más preguntas, pueda hablar contigo otra vez.

Thank you for meeting with me today. I appreciate your helping me to learn about the experiences you have seen with Digital Home and your experiences with Digital Home. As a reminder, anything you say here will be confidential and none of what you share will be connected with your name.

1. How and when did you learn about *Digital Home*? When did you volunteer?/Since when have you been a volunteer?

2. How would you describe *Digital Home* and what happens in *Digital Home*? (interactions, content)

3. What is valued by those who participate in *Digital Home* classes?

4. How would you say that a majority of participants with school-aged children in their families find out about the *Digital Home* classes?

5. What have you seen the participants with school-aged children in their families do with what they have learned in the classes?

6. How have family participants shaped what happens in *Digital Home*?

7. Is Digital Home is a place where families or participants can be informed about other resources in the community?

8. Do you see people who participate in *Digital Home* at any of the community events you attend? Do you think this is a result of their participation in *Digital Home*?

9. What impacts have you seen for the participants in the program, or even for the volunteers who participate?

   Prompt: Can you give some examples?

10. For families with children in schools, can you talk a little bit about whether or not you've observed participants connect more to their children's schools or experienced a change in how they are involved in the children's education (in and out of school)?

11. Is there anything else that you'd like to add about *Digital Home* or anything that you've seen with families, anything that that you've experienced yourself, on the volunteer end?

12. Is there anyone else you suggest I speak with?

Thank you so much for your time. I hope that if I have additional questions, at some point, I can contact you again.

Protocolo de entrevista para voluntarios

Gracias por reunirse conmigo hoy. Agradezco su ayuda para aprender acerca de las experiencias que ha visto con *Hogar Digital* y sus experiencias con el programa. A modo de recordatorio, todo lo que diga aquí será confidencial y nada de lo que comparta estará conectado con su nombre. Puede saltar cualquier pregunta que no quiera contestar.

1. ¿Cómo se enteró acerca de *Hogar Digital*? ¿Cuándo aprendió acerca de *Hogar Digital*?

2. ¿Cuándo fue usted voluntario? / ¿Desde cuándo has sido voluntario?

3. ¿Cómo describiría el *Hogar Digital* y lo que sucede en *Hogar Digital*? (Interacciones, contenido)

4. ¿Cómo ha visto que la mayoría de los participantes con niños en edad escolar averiguan acerca de las clases para *Hogar Digital*?

5. ¿Qué ha visto que los participantes con niños han hecho con lo que han aprendido en las clases?

6. ¿Cómo los participantes con niños en su familia han ayudado a formar lo que ocurre en *Hogar Digital*?
7. ¿*Hogar Digital* es un lugar donde las familias puedan estar informados acerca de otros recursos en la comunidad? ¿Puede dar algunos ejemplos?

8. ¿Usted ve las personas que participan en *Hogar Digital* en algunos otros eventos que asista en la comunidad? ¿Usted piensa que esto es el resultado de la participación de ellos en el *Hogar Digital*?

Preguntas generadoras: ¿Qué relación ve usted? / ¿Qué te hace decir eso?

9. ¿Qué impacto ha visto para los participantes en el programa, o incluso para los voluntarios que participen? ¿Puede dar algunos ejemplos?

10. Para las familias con niños en las escuelas, ¿puedes hablar un poco acerca de si o no sabes si los participantes se conectan más a las escuelas de sus hijos? Cuenta cómo.

Preguntas generadoras:
 ¿Ha escuchado o presenciado un cambio en la forma en que están involucrados en la educación de los hijos (dentro y fuera de la escuela)?

11. ¿Cómo cree que los participantes de la familia (incluyendo los niños) ven el uso del español en el programa? ¿Por que dices eso? [Capital lingüístico]

12. ¿Hay alguna otra persona con quien me recomienda hablar?

13. ¿Hay algo más que usted piensa que yo deba saber sobre *Hogar Digital* o cualquier cosa que usted ha visto con las familias, o que usted ha experimentado como voluntario?
14. ¿Quién cree Ud. Que debe saber sobre este estudio?
15. ¿Tiene alguna pregunta para mí?

Muchísimas gracias por su tiempo. Espero que si tengo preguntas adicionales, en algún momento, me puedo contactar con usted de nuevo.

Thank you for meeting with me today. I appreciate your helping me to learn about what you have seen with **Digital Home**. *As a reminder, anything you say here will be confidential and none of what you share will be connected with your name.*

1. When did you decide to establish *Digital Home*?

2. Why did you select this vehicle and not something else?

3. How have your experiences as a former principal and teacher in the area influenced *Digital Home* as an organization and the way the curriculum has evolved? (organizational skills, knowledge of curriculum, people connections, awareness of people's needs in the area/community)

4. How would you say that a majority of participants with school-aged children in their families find out about the *Digital Home* classes?

5. What is valued by those who participate in *Digital Home* classes?

6. How would you describe the interactions and the environment in *Digital Home*?

7. What have you seen the family participants in *Digital Home* do with what they have learned in the classes?

8. How have family participants shaped what happens in *Digital Home*?

    Prompt:
    Are there directions they have taken *Digital Home* that you had not anticipated when you began the program? Can you give examples?

9. Have the participants changed the way you think about the program? In what way?

10. Do you find that Digital Home is also a place where family participants can be informed about other resources in the community?

11. Do you see people who participate in *Digital Home* at any of the community events you attend? Do you think this is a result of their participation in *Digital Home*?
    a. What do interactions outside of *Digital Home* look like?
    b. How have these evolved over time?

12. For families with children in schools, can you talk a little bit about whether or not you've observed participants connect more to their children's schools or make a difference in how they are involved in the children's education?

13. What has been *Digital Home*'s relationship with the local school district? What would you like it to be like?

14. Is there anything else that you'd like to add about *Digital Home* or anything that you've seen with families, anything that that you've experienced yourself?

15. Is there anyone else you suggest I speak with?

Thank you so much for your time. I hope that if I have additional questions, at some point, I can

contact you again.

Protocolo para entrevistar directora

Gracias por reunirse conmigo hoy. Agradezco su ayuda a mí para aprender acerca de su experiencia con Hogar Digital. A modo de recordatorio, todo lo que diga aquí será confidencial y nada de lo que comparta estará conectado con su nombre. Puede saltar cualquier pregunta que no quiera contestar.

1. ¿Puede describir *Hogar Digital*? (Por ejemplo, el formato del programa, el lenguaje, las metas, los participantes, el lenguaje)

2. ¿Cuándo decidió establecer el *Hogar Digital*? ¿Puede hablar sobre el proceso de hacer realidad *HD*?

3. ¿Por qué seleccionó este enfoque para lograr lo que usted acaba de describir, y no otra cosa?

4. ¿Cómo ha influido a *Hogar Digital* como programa su experiencia como ex-director y ex-maestra en el área?

5. ¿Cómo han influido sus experiencia como ex-director y ex-maestra en el área la forma en que el plan de estudios ha evolucionado? (Capacidad de organización, conocimiento de los programas, las conexiones de las personas, el conocimiento de las necesidades de las personas en el área / comunidad)

6. ¿Cómo diría que la mayoría de los participantes con los niños en edad escolar en sus familias han aprendido acerca de las clases de *Hogar Digital*? ¿Ha cambiado esto en los últimos años?

7. ¿Cómo describiría las interacciones y el medio ambiente en *Hogar Digital*?

8. ¿Qué han podido hacer los participantes de familias con niños en las escuelas con lo que han aprendido en la clase?

9. ¿Cómo han influido los participantes de familias lo que ocurre en el *Hogar Digital*?

Preguntas generadoras:
¿Hay direcciones que han tomado *Hogar Digital* que Ud. no había previsto cuando comenzó el programa? ¿Puede dar ejemplos?

Protocolo para entrevistar directora, p. 2

10. Los participantes han hecho que cambie su manera de pensar acerca del programa? ¿De qué manera?

11. ¿Le parece que *Hogar Digital* es también un lugar donde los participantes de la familia pueden ser informados acerca de otros recursos en la comunidad, incluso, recursos educativos?

12. ¿Ha visto a las personas que participan en *Hogar Digital* en eventos de la comunidad en los cuales Ud. participa? ¿Usted piensa que esto es el resultado de su participación en *Hogar Digital*?
a. ¿Cómo son las interacciones de participantes fuera de *Hogar Digital*?
b. ¿Cómo han evolucionado las relaciones con el tiempo?

13. Para las familias con niños en las escuelas, ¿puedes hablar un poco acerca de sí o no los participantes se han conectado más con las escuelas o si hay una diferencia en la forma en que están involucrados en la educación de los niños?

14. ¿Cuál ha sido la relación de *Hogar Digital* con el distrito escolar local? ¿Cómo le gustaría que fuera?

15. ¿Hay algo más que le gustaría añadir acerca de *Hogar Digital* o cualquier cosa que usted ha visto con las familias, o alguna cosa que usted ha experimentado?

16. ¿Qué le gustaría ver que suceda como resultado de este estudio?

17. ¿Hay alguna otra persona con quien me recomienda hablar?
18. ¿Quién cree Ud. Que debe saber sobre este estudio?
19. ¿Tiene alguna pregunta para mí?

Muchísimas gracias por su tiempo. Espero que si tengo preguntas adicionales, en algún momento, podemos hablar de nuevo.

Data Analysis Matrix

Table 3: Data Analysis Matrix

Possibilities Matrix - Community Cultural Wealth

Type of Wealth	Possible responses related to self	Possible responses related to participants' kids	Possible responses related to adult participants (from others)	Possible responses related to participants' kids (from others)	Unexpected expressions
Aspirational ("hopes and dreams")	wanting to improve skills for self; continued education	want to see kids do better in school	people want to improve their own lot (jobs, ability to do better)	can see role models who are in college; see their parents as students/learners	
Linguistic (language and communication skills students bring with them)	They value my native language here; thes speak in a way that matches my way of expression	I learned more Spanish; I liked hearing Spanish; my parent(s) could participate better; Parent- I wanted them to hear more Spanish	access via language	Kids see additional ways that language happens	Spanish language helped with: formal language, job opportunity
Familial (social and personal human resources students have in their environment, drawn from their extended familial and community networks)	ability to reach out to others; connections maintained; church connection	seeing college students they could ask questions of	attended other events together; strength in going together, not alone	seeing others in school, adults or kids, and feeling connected	Volunteer saw elders
Resistant (equal rights and collective freedom; historical legacy of engaging in social justice)	learned we have rights; felt more a part of the world		advocates for selves and their children		program helps me rise from the ashes; picks me up
Social ("peers and other social contacts")	making friends; people as resources for other information		attended other events together; strength in going together, not alone		
Navigational (navigate "social institutions," including educational spaces)	help with paperwork; understanding communication from school	seeing college students they could ask questions of			

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