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RELIGION AND PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE EDUCATION OF HISPANICS

by

SEGUNDO S. PANTOJA EO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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9/3/98
Date

Chair of Examining Committee
Professor Mauricio Font

9/3/98
Date

Executive Officer
Professor Julia Wrigley

Professor Anthony S. Arroyo

Professor Frank Bonilla, Emeritus

Supervisory Committee
Professor Dean Savage

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

RELIGION AND PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE EDUCATION OF HISPANICS

By

Segundo S. Pantoja

Adviser: Professor Mauricio Font

The dissertation provides a comparative study of Catholic and Conservative Protestant Hispanic—mostly immigrant--parents with children in public and religious schools in New York City. Based on the analysis of secondary sources and original data obtained through a survey and in-depth interviews, the study treats religion as an independent variable in relation to certain aspects of education—e.g., parental involvement and attitudes. The findings document that religion constitutes an educational resource, and show that religion has complex effects--net of other socioeconomic variables, such as parental schooling--on parental involvement and attitudes on discipline, as well as on attitudes toward public and religious schools. Religion was found to influence the quantity and quality of parental involvement. On a scale of eight secular indicators, Catholics show a higher level of parental involvement than Conservative Protestants. Paradoxically--within an otherwise positive role of religion on parental involvement--highly committed Protestants who are new to their faith score the

lowest of all religious groups. On the other hand, Conservative Protestants score higher than Catholics on a liberal-to-conservative scale on disciplinary views. Respondents, whether Catholic or Protestant, indicate that money is the greatest obstacle for parents willing to enroll their children in religious schools. However, Protestants show greater satisfaction with public schools.

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Valderruten and Pedro Estrada I am also indebted, for they have stood by me, read and commented on parts of this dissertation when it was still an inchoate draft, and helped me in countless other ways.

Of course, it would have been impossible to conduct the study without the cooperation of school administrators and religious leaders, such as Dr. David Velázquez, Msgr. John J. Jenik, Rev. Daniel S. Kearney, Rev. Antonio R. López, Rev. Belén González y Pérez, Rev. Cecilio Meléndez and Mr. Michael C. Williams, who gave me entry to their schools and churches. I just hope that the product I deliver will somewhat compensate for the time and attentions they so generously granted me. By the same token, I remain grateful to the 224 respondents and 18 interviewees who took the time to fill the questionnaires and share with me their experiences and feelings.

I thank Stella—esposa y amiga--for her steady and protean support. It would have taken longer to finish the dissertation if she had not been there prodding me to make the deadlines, entering data, stuffing envelopes, and soothing my anxieties.

DEDICATORIA

Dedico esta tesis a mi mamá, Carmen Figueroa, y a Doña Luz Bisonó, abuelas de mi hija, Oriana. They also subsidized my work with their boundless love and unpaid labor.

PREFACE

I am personally and intellectually concerned with the education of Hispanic children, whose educational status is grim. In this study I explore the role of religion in the education of Hispanics; principally, the influence that religion wields on parental involvement. Religion, however, is not limited to home and church. Its presence or absence in school is important too. The success of Catholic and other religious schools and the reported failure of many public schools in educating Hispanic children make one wonder if the presence of religion in schools can make a difference on their education. Therefore, a sketch of public and religious schools as they have evolved in New York is in order.

In colonial New York before the War of Independence, virtually all schools were religious schools, run and maintained by Protestant denominations. By the dawn of the nineteenth century, schooling had become an issue for the early republic. But the first "public" schools were still religious schools. Their public nature was in fact an interdenominational Protestantism. The schools inherited virtually the same curriculum of the denominational schools that had been their predecessors. There was daily reading of bible texts from the King James Version and prayers to start the class day. The first important challenge to the Protestant character of the nineteenth century public school came as a consequence of the massive Irish Catholic immigration to New York beginning in the 1840s. The idea that civil society should make any accommodation to a

Catholic minority was abhorrent to the Protestant majority. The so-called "know-nothing riots" were in part a reaction to some of the demands that a Catholic version of the bible be used in the schools or that prayer not be denominational. One of the results of this bitter period in which there were few concessions was the opening of Catholic schools. Thus began the evolution of the largest modern religious school system in the country.[1]

It is important to this study to point out that the public schools were not secular by today's standards. The reason for the establishment of Catholic schools at the beginning was to counter the Protestantism implicit in public education. Thus it would be inaccurate to see the origin of these schools as a reaction against secular education. Nor were the Catholic schools elitist in the sense that private schools are today. Owing to the low social status of most of the Catholic immigrants, their schools were focused on educating the poor.[2] Ironically, some of the Protestant religious schools withdrew from the circle of state support to avoid any dilution of their religious message, and most gradually emerged as the elite, private schools of today.

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1 The establishment by Elizabeth Ann Seton of a girls school in Emmitsburg, Md., in 1808 is generally acknowledged by historians as the birth of the Catholic school system. But it was after mid-nineteenth century that Catholic schools multiplied in record numbers, especially when "the American bishops of the late nineteenth century looked upon the public schools as proselytizing agencies and, thus, a proximate danger to the faith of Catholic children." (Convey 1992: 35)

2 Coleman and Hoffer show that the assumption of Catholic schools as serving an elite clientele is false. In the first place, the historically dominant form of private schooling in the U.S. has been the Catholic schools. Second, these schools are concentrated in urban areas and charge relatively low tuition by middle-class standards.

The second challenge to the public schools in New York came with the large Jewish immigration of the first decades of the twentieth century. Jews had a long history of maintaining their own religious schools, and many still did. But there was an effort by the city and state to provide a common education and impose standards on basic education, allowing religious instruction as a complementary, but separate function for after-hours or "Sunday school." Thus emerged the public school as "neighborhood school" where dominant traditions were able to negotiate consensus that reflected common ground for the representative groups of students. The learning of English, the commonality of suffering during the Depression, and the patriotic rally to the flag during the War years were events that helped make the public school a place for creating a common vision. But many of these neighborhood public schools still had moments for school prayer and encouraged bible reading. Meanwhile, the Catholic school system continued to flourish as an alternative form of education for large numbers of Catholics. The large number of consecrated religious women who served as teachers at very little cost to parents made the Catholic schools available to a large cross-section of Catholics. There was also the appearance of other religious schools, such as those of the Seventh-Day Adventists who sought, as had Catholics, some measure of insulation from some religious presumptions within the public schools that made their congregational

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Third, they were originally designed for "recent immigrants struggling to find a place in American society." (1987:30)

members uncomfortable.[3]

These patterns continued for both Catholic and public schools after the Second World War and through up until the 1960s. But several social changes had begun. There was a large out migration of second-and third-generation Euro-Americans to burgeoning suburbs, while an influx on African-Americans from the U.S. South and the unprecedented Puerto Rican Great Migration had begun to alter the racial composition of many New York City neighborhoods.[4] These changes were to undermine the concept of neighborhood school within the public system and put a financial strain on the Catholic schools that were located in zones of Puerto Rican influx. Moreover, U.S. Supreme Court decisions, such as Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954) had focused national attention on the schools as agents for integration of the races. Because this function required an active effort to promote equality, the neighborhood quality of most New York City public schools was reduced through greater

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[3] The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in North America operates a system of elementary and secondary education that began in 1872. By 1990, in the North American Division (U.S., Canada and Bermuda), "more than 50,000 students were enrolled in kindergarten through grade eight and another 16,000 at the secondary level." (Dudley 1992: 4)

[4] In a description that captures the impact of national demographic changes between the '60s and the mid-80s on specific schools, Bryk et al. say of St. Madeline, a girls H.S., "The neighborhood surrounding the school has become heavily Hispanic, with most residents very poor recent immigrants who are unable to afford the school's tuition. As a result, enrollment has fallen precipitously from 660 girls to 350. Although the principal considers this a good size in educational terms, St. Madeline's financial condition has become precarious. A further decline in enrollment could easily force the school to close its doors." (1993:332)

centralized control that tended to impose uniformity in curriculum and custom. Unable to anticipate local variations based on particularized circumstances, this centralizing tendency was also in part a secularizing one. The process was completed when formal prayer and bible reading were ended in the city after the Supreme Court ruled in Engle v. Vitale (1962) that the New York State law requiring prayer in schools violated the First Amendment.

The Catholic system was to receive a more cataclysmic shock at the end of the 1960s as the reforms of the Second Vatican Council led to a drastic reduction in the number of consecrated religious women engaged as teachers in the Catholic schools.[5] The cost of Catholic education soared exponentially at the very time that the number of Latinos began to increase, not only from Puerto Rico, but after 1965 from other Latin American countries, principally the Dominican Republic. This led to massive closings of Catholic schools located in areas where Latinos had arrived.[6]

The public school system was also greatly affected by the decision in the late 1960s to decentralize control by allowing for the election of local school boards to govern community public school districts. But this move to neighborhood control did not allow for the reintroduction of prayer or bible

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[5] Concerning school personnel, Bryk et al. say that, "In 1967, religious sisters, brothers and priests constituted 58% in Catholic elementary and secondary schools. By 1983, this proportion had dropped to 24%, and by 1990, it was down to less than 15%. In terms of absolute numbers, religious staff in the schools declined from 94,000 in 1967 to 20,000 in 1990, a drop of 79 percent" (1993: 34).

reading beyond what the Supreme Court's decision in School District of Abington v. Schempp (1963) permitted. The new particularity of each area was seen through the prism of race and ethnicity. Culture and cultural practices as well as bilingual education were now part of the curriculum that could vary from district to district. In a sense, culture had become a surrogate for religion as a touchstone of local identity. But discussion of culture was not intended to be normative, that is, not intended to be moralistic. Cultures and cultural practice were taught as behavior to be accepted unquestioningly.

Unfortunately, these new approaches in the public schools were accompanied by severe financial crisis in the city and a series of mayors who used issues about the schools as confrontational political issues. When combined with the extreme poverty of many public school children, a rise in the level of social violence, the spread of drug addiction and a host of other social ills, public school instruction suffered greatly. To date, the seriousness of such ills has not ebbed. Since there are so many factors which can affect school performance, it is unfair to blame any single policy in school administration or any one facet of curriculum instruction for the failures in education. It is in a climate of widespread unease about education among all New Yorkers that this research took place.

Public schools in New York have adopted certain measures formerly

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[6] "From enrolling 12 percent of the school-age population in 1965, Catholic schools enrolled only 5.4 percent in 1990. The number of schools declined accordingly, from 13,000 in 1965 to 9,000 in 1990." (Bryk et al. 1993: 33)

identified with private schools: target classes for the gifted, school uniforms, parental support in raising money for extracurricular school activities. Meanwhile, the anxiety over standards, morality in the curriculum and the norms for student discipline have fostered a bit of a renaissance in Catholic education in the city. The endemic school closings, though still high, have been leveling off.[7] Even poor parents have now found the means to pay for Catholic school education—although many of these parents and their children are not Catholics.[8]

Thus, in addition to exploring the influence of religion on parental involvement, this dissertation provides data that corroborate the findings of other studies on the changing nature of religious schools in the city. I hope to show that a niche has emerged for Catholic and other religious schools in New York. The numbers speak for themselves: Minorities are 64 percent of New York City's Catholic schools. Thirty-six percent are Hispanic, 23 percent are African-American and 5 percent are Asian (Catholic New York 1996: 20). Only one of the 11 Greater New York Conference of Seventh Day Adventist schools does not have a majority of minorities. Thus, whether Catholic or Protestant, religious schools in New York City are community resources, dependent upon and serving

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[7] For instance, during 1995-96 school year, 50 Catholic schools closed nationwide (The Tablet 1996: 10). Nevertheless, in an indication that demand for Catholic education is on the rise, 1996 marked also the fifth consecutive year of increasing enrollment for the Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of New York. The number of students stood at 107,980 up from 107,122 in 1995. The local figures reflected the national trend, enrollment for the 1995-96 academic year was 2,635,218 (Catholic New York 1996: 20).

[8] Non-Catholic students make up 14 percent of Catholic school enrollment throughout the Archdiocese of New York, and 23.3 percent in New York City (Catholic New York 1996:20).

people of color. In today's inner cities, their function is no longer the same as before when they served a largely second-generation Euro-American middle class. They sometimes appear as a sort of public school that teaches religious morality, rather than an institution that fosters the Catholic, Lutheran or Seventh-Day Adventist faith as it educates. This research focuses on different experiences for religious parents in the hope that their opinions will disclose some trends that may help evaluate school effectiveness.

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CHAPTER ONE

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND GOALS

> The first lesson of culture is that children are not wildflowers; they are domestic flowers, and they require careful tending in both the academic and moral spheres.
>
> Denis Doyle, *Education and character*

Purpose of the Study

The study focuses on Latino parents with children attending public and religious schools in New York City.[1] Parents' views, attitudes, experiences and practices on a range of issues are analyzed for their possible correlations with religious affiliation and commitment as they influence decision making and expectations concerning their children's schooling and their education in general. The study examines how being Catholic or Conservative Protestant, and having high or low levels of commitment to one's beliefs and church, compare to other

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[1] *Latinos/Hispanics*: The subjects of this study are parents representative of a population segment currently termed "new immigrants" from Latin America and the Caribbean. They are the newest members of the Hispanic/Latino ethnic group. The label "Hispanic" was created and operationalized in 1978 by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) as "A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race." (cited in Marín and Marín 1991:22) More recently, "Latino" has been proposed as "the best label to describe Hispanics since it preserves national origin of the referents as a significant characteristic, it is culturally and racially neutral, and may be the least objectionable of all possible labels" (ibid.). Since official publications now use both, and the persons referred to by these terms are for the most part indifferent to such labels (De la Garza et al. 1992), in this research the terms will be used interchangeably.

variables that affect parental involvement as well.[2] Broadly defined, parental involvement is taken to mean attitudes and activities that indicate the quality of parental support, nurturance and monitoring in relation to the educational development of children (Christopher 1996).

The research starts from the notion that the parental expectations for student achievement and the actual performance of the students are causally linked by higher involvement of the parents in the educational process of their children. The literature shows that higher parental involvement contributes to successful student performance in school. Research in the field of education has confirmed that family background factors rank second only to student characteristics among the determinants of school outcomes. For example, Coleman (1966) found that family-related variables as a group weigh more than teacher or school characteristics on school achievement. Therefore, one of the

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[2] *Catholics, Mainline Protestants, and Conservative Protestants.* The Catholics referred to here are Roman Catholics. Mainline Protestant refers to the larger religious groups, such as the Lutherans, Methodists, Episcopalians, and some Baptist groups which, while having distinctive histories and practices, share a common Reformation heritage related to the belief in the Bible as a source of truth and right and to the concept of "the priesthood of all believers.." The definition of Conservative Protestants adopted here includes members of the following groups: Baptists, Assemblies of God, independent Pentecostal, Seventh Day Adventists, Church of Christ, Jehovah's Witnesses and miscellaneous other fundamentalists and evangelical sects. They share, to differing degrees, a dependence on personal revelation from the Holy Spirit and a belief in the literal truth , or inerrancy, of the biblical Scriptures. According to Ellison and Sherkat's report of the national sample of General Social Survey "Approximately 25% of the 1988 GSS respondents reported Catholic ties, and an additional 28.7 associated themselves with Conservative Protestant denominations."(1993:320). In this study, Conservative Protestants will also alternately be called simply Protestants; and when warranted, Seventh-Day Adventists will be separated from other Protestants (Table 1.3).

dissertation's principal aims is to explore how parental involvement among Latinos varies with religious affiliation and levels of religious commitment. That is, whether differences exist between Catholics and Conservative Protestants as well as differentiation within each group according to degrees of religious commitment. Note that *Religious affiliation* and *religious commitment* differ from each other in that religious affiliation is based on a person's identification with specific denominations or churches independently of the strength of the ties to them. Commitment indicates the intensity of attachment to a set of beliefs and, often, the institution that represents them. Nonetheless, intense commitment to certain beliefs as expressed in attitudes and practices does not pass necessarily through the allegiance to or participation in a religious institution. Hence the need to consider both dimensions when assessing people's religiosity. Should the findings be constant in all school settings, both religious and public, although motivations for parental involvement are likely to vary by denominational affiliation?

Theoretical Justification

Previous research on the influence of religion on education in the United States provides the context for this study. Research conducted on non-Latino groups indicates that religion has a bearing on educational achievement and attainment. The concept of education encompasses both school achievement and attainment, in addition to other categories. Education is a broad developmental process

involving various dimensions of the individual, of which formal schooling is but one. School achievement and attainment differ in that the first refers to measures of performance. Observed performance is contrasted with age-graded expectations. Class grades and tests are common ways of measuring how children are performing, although other assessment criteria are also being implemented, such as portfolios. Attainment –also called persistence–refers principally to completion of stages in school careers. Success is often measured by comparing levels and degrees achieved in relation to individual age or age cohorts. *Persistence* has also been studied as "the propensity to stay in school and complete given units of education once they have been begun." (Fox and Jackson 1973:69) Attainment is dependent on the context and societal standards of required schooling. Thus, for instance, today a college degree is becoming the normal (or rather, hoped for) level of attainment expected for the current generation, whereas a high school degree was the norm for the previous generation.

Most research indicates that even after controlling for such variables as class, sex, age and region of origin, Conservative Protestants have consistently exhibited lower levels of attainment than Catholics and Mainline Protestants (Fox and Jackson 1973; Keysar and Kosmin 1995). It is beyond the scope of this study to answer the question whether Latinos are or are not following the same pattern. This work, however, examines parental involvement, a little studied aspect of what normally is termed "family background" in input-output studies of

academic achievement.[3] The focus on this variable will contribute to understanding the factors that can make a difference on student achievement and attainment.

Religious affiliation and religiosity are identified among the distinctive features that characterize Latinos. Despite slight variations among national surveys, the majority of Latinos are still Catholic, though a growing number of Latinos are Protestant, especially *Evangélicos* (or evangelicals). Nevertheless, observers note decreasing rates of Catholic affiliation accompanied by growing rates of Protestantization (Greeley 1988; 1997). Catholic affiliation in some groups, such as Puerto Ricans, is as low as 60 percent, and the most optimistic estimates reach only up to 80 percent, as in the case of immigrant Mexicans (De la Garza et al. 1992).[4]

Religion is known to be noticeably intertwined with Latino culture (Dolan and Figueroa Deck 1994; Diaz-Stevens and Stevens-Arroyo 1997). It generally informs their outlook and practices beyond the home and the religious sphere.

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[3] Bridge, et al. identify 35 inputs or factors which they classify in order of importance for educational outcomes under the following subheadings: individual student characteristics, family background factors, peer group influences, teacher characteristics, and school plant and program factors (1978:6). A recent study commissioned by the U.S. Dept. of Education confirms once more what Coleman had found since 1966 about the characteristics of the individual student and his/her family (1997:vi).

[4] During recent decades, Protestantism arose to claim an increasing share of the believers within and outside the U.S., Latinos and Latin Americans alike. Thus, for instance, the inroads of Protestantism during the last thirty years raised the percentages of Protestants to 30 in Guatemala, 22 in Chile, 16 to 20 in Brazil, and 12 in El Salvador

Moreover, research on Latinos has shown that women are both the main bearers of religious beliefs and practices (Díaz-Stevens 1993), and the most influential in the academic achievement of their children (Zambrana 1995). Women also report in greater percentage than men (88% versus 77%) that religion is very important in their lives (Stevens-Arroyo and Cadena 1995:40). Once the strategic role of parental involvement is acknowledged, an examination of how education is permeated by religious affiliation and intensity of religious beliefs is bound to produce theoretically compelling and practically useful results.

Broader Significance of the Study: Latinos' Education

Education's value in the United States as a means to one's economic and social well being is widely acknowledged by researchers and society at large. Many researchers and policy-makers agree that the place of racial/ethnic groups in the social stratification of contemporary society is strongly related to educational attainment. Therefore, academic and policy researchers' consistent reports that the overall educational achievement and attainment of Latinos is markedly lower than other groups should be a serious reason for concern. For example, only 53 percent of Hispanics older than 25 are high school graduates compared to 83 percent of non-Hispanics (U.S. Census Bureau 1997). The consequences for employment opportunities are clear; the majority of Latinos are

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(Aguilar, Sandoval, et al., 1993: 119, 120). Thus, many of today's immigrants are

employed in occupations such as operative, laborer, and clerical positions. In 1994, the United States Census Bureau reported that above three-fourths of Latinos were earning under $25,000 (U.S. Census Bureau 1994). Latinos, in particular, and society, in general, stand to benefit from understanding and countering the deleterious effects of poverty, deficient schools, and discrimination.

The consequences of lower educational attainment by Hispanics are evident if we keep in mind how they are transforming United States' demographic landscape. Hispanics in the United States have increased more than 100 percent since the 1970s. One third of Hispanics are immigrants, and every day more are arriving. About 40 percent are children under 19 years of age, compared to 28 percent for the general population (Table 1.2).[5] Formerly comprised of primarily Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans, today Latinos encompass persons tracing their origins to all the nationalities of Latin America. The United States Census projects that from 29 million in 1997, they will reach 96 million in the next fifty years—then about 25 percent of the United States population. Samuel H. Preston of the Population Studies Center at the University of Pennsylvania as well as the U.S. Census Bureau project that by 2050 only

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Protestants before entering the U.S.

[5] Hodgkinson, asserts that as babyboomers enter their fifties, "only about one household in four has a child of school age, [...] the median age of Americans continue to rise and [...] children become an even smaller percentage of the population -down from 34 percent in 1970 to 25 percent projected for 2000." (1995:178)

between 50 and 53 percent of the United States population will be white non-Hispanic, down from 74 percent in 1996. He adds that "African-Americans will constitute roughly the same percentage of the population in 2050 (15.4 percent) as they do today (12.6 percent). The fastest growth will occur between Hispanic people and Asian-Americans, fueled primarily by immigration." (1996:96)

Halfinger (1997) reports that according to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 1996 Hispanics represented 26.6 percent of the New York City population. Hispanics' percentages of the total population in the various boroughs range from 18 percent in Staten Island to 50 percent in the Bronx. In Manhattan Hispanics are 30 percent of the population (Halfinger 1997:B2). The growth continues with a concomitant diversification. Until the 1970s in New York the terms "Hispanic" and "Puerto Rican" were almost synonymous. Since then other nationality groups have established themselves in the city, whereas Puerto Ricans are more dispersed throughout the city, and many have left for suburbia, nearby states and even Puerto Rico itself. The 1990 United States Census counted 896,763 Puerto Ricans out of 1,783,511 Latinos in New York City. A recent report noted that "Hispanics in the New York Region increased by 37 percent, or by 767,000 persons in the 1980-1990 period." Puerto Ricans contributed only 12 percent to such population increase (Rodriguez, Santana Cooney, et al., 1995:2). If the Dominican data are accurate, Dominicans are by far the second largest Latino population in New York City, reaching 495,000 in 1997 and expected to top 700,000 by the year 2,000 (Dugger 1997). They are

trailed at some distance by Colombians, Ecuadorians, Mexicans and other nationalities in descending order.

Research Questions

The study addresses the connections between religion and education using original data collected through a multi-strategy approach that combines survey questionnaires and in-depth interviews. It responds to a glaring lack of studies on the role of religion in strengthening family support for education. And in contrast to some researchers, this study does not treat religion as a dependent variable, or a marginal one vis-a-vis other social, economic, and institutional factors. This is in line with Beckford's (1989) contention that religion's "autonomization" in contemporary society has made it into a "cultural resource" which may be invested by people with a diversity of meanings and used for a variety of purposes. In fact, by looking at a little-studied but fundamental dimension of education such as parental involvement, the dissertation eschews the path trodden by other investigations that have belittled cultural and religious variables because they supposedly do not affect education as directly as social class and family background (see Hirshman and Falcon 1985); that have limited themselves to discovering why religiously based schools, on the average, out-perform public schools; or that have focused on assessing how religious --mostly Catholic-- schools contribute to strengthening of faith, as measured by specific attitudes and behaviors (Greeley and Rossi 1966).

The following questions are addressed in this study:

A) If Hispanic parents want their children to have a good education, what do they mean by "a good education"?

B) To what extent and how do religious affiliation and commitment inform parents' involvement in the day-to-day process of schooling, e.g., via homework and help at the school?

C) How are other variables, such as education and income, related to parental involvement?

D) How does religion inform what parents think are the appropriate types and levels of education for their children? Do highly religious parents set higher standards and goals for their children--regardless of whether they attend religious or public schools-- than parents who are not so religiously inclined?

E) How do religious commitment and affiliation inform parents' concepts of discipline, authority and child rearing practices in general?

F) What educational roles do parents attribute to the family, school and church?

G) What is the impact of family structure on parental involvement? Is there a gendered division of labor in attending to children's schooling? What are the practical and ideological bases for such division? In what ways are female-headed families different from intact two-parent families?

H) How is parental religious affiliation related to the choice of school, i.e., religious versus public? Is it possible to rank motivations and reasons among Latinos of all faiths or are such reasons and motivations clustered according to religious affiliation and commitment? What other considerations--e.g., ideological, utilitarian, socioeconomic, residential-- compete with the religious factor in the decision-making process?

H) How do parents relate religion, language and ethnic identity to the education of their children? Do they want their children to retain Spanish? Are they against bilingual education?

Contents of Chapters

Since the dissertation is premised on the belief that religion is an important factor in the education of Hispanics, it explores the extent to which Latinos both draw on religious beliefs and doctrine as a source of motivation, and rely on schools--especially private ones as structures of institutional religion--as a social resource for the benefit of their children. In addition to being a contribution to sociology of religion and education, the research results will possibly inform policy makers and educational leaders, and will be relevant to the current debates on such initiatives as voucher systems and tax-credit plans for school of choice projects.

Chapter Two reviews the literature relevant to four areas touched on by this dissertation: One, studies that shed light on the educational opportunities and processes affecting the double status of immigrant and minority experienced by Latinos; two, research examining the influence that family, especially parental involvement, has on the academic success or failure of children; three, findings concerning the role of religious affiliation in determining school achievement and attainment; and four, arguments and data on the role of religious schools versus public schools in the education of Hispanics, as well as the latter's participation in such systems.

Chapter Three lays out the selection criteria and the procedures followed to gather the original data for this study. The areas covered by the research

instruments are described. The principal and secondary variables are delineated together with their operationalization and measurement. The author describes the participation and levels of cooperation that school administrators, religious leaders, and informants provided. Finally, the survey and interview samples are portrayed along the main variables.

Chapter Four analyzes parents' definitions of a good education and the ingredients that make it so. Parents' views are probed to learn if they separate schooling from a general vision of education that transcends the academic sphere. Parents also express their appraisal of their children' current performance and elaborate on the ideal and realistic educational expectations they hold for their children. In addition, attempts are made to measure parental involvement using quantitative and qualitative indicators. The role of specific religious practices involving children at home and at church are examined to gauge their contribution to children's schooling. Finally, three sections are devoted to study what are the main factors, religious and non-religious, conditioning levels of parental involvement. Besides religious variables, the importance of education, family structure, and gender roles are considered.

Chapter Five is devoted to the types of relationships parents envision and actually establish with schools and churches. It looks at the distribution of responsibilities that takes place, and what parents perceive is the proper contribution of each to the schooling and education of their children. Then, parents' perceptions of public and religious schools are analyzed as well as the

criteria they use to choose one or the other. In the same fashion, an attempt is made to understand what are the impediments parents encounter when they want to enroll their children in religious schools. For all parents, their views on discipline and child-rearing practices are also explored.

In Chapter Six we see how Latino parents affiliated with Catholic and Conservative Protestant churches handle issues of language maintenance and acquisition while grappling with broader questions of cultural heritage and identity. Parents' views on language, bilingual education, and ethnic identity are sought and analyzed for their possible implications for their children's education.

Finally, Chapter Seven summarizes the main findings and discusses them in relation to the theoretical and methodological frameworks laid out in Chapters Two and Three. Also an effort is made to locate the findings in relation to larger socioeconomic and cultural issues surrounding the Hispanic community within the context of contemporary U.S. society. This discussion ends with comments on the implications of the study's results for further research and practical applications.

Table 1.1 RELIGIOUS PROFILE OF HISPANIC AMERICANS

1990 National Survey of Religious Identification based on very large national stratified sample which had 4,868 Hispanic respondents.

Collapsed Categories

Catholic	65.8%
Protestant	**24.6**
Baptist	7.4
Christian Church	5.2
Jehovah's Witness	1.7
Methodist	1.7
Lutheran	0.8
Presbyterian	0.7
Other Protestant	4.7
Mormon	0.8
Orthodox Churches	0.1
Other Religions	1.6
No Religion	6.3
Refused	0.8
	100 %
	N= 4,868

Source: Kosmin and Lachman, *One Nation Under God* (1993:137)

Table 1.2 SELECTED AND COMPARATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF HISPANICS IN THE U.S., 1994 AND 1997

Age structure	Hispanic	Not Hispanic
Percentage under 19 years of age	39.2	28.4
Percentage between 20-34 years	28.2	22.7
Percentage between 35-49 years	18.7	22.9
Households by type		
Married couples with children	36.0	23.8
Married couples without children	18.9	29.1
Other families with children	16.3	8.9
Educational Attainment - Population age 25 and over		
9th to 12th grade	15.5	9.8
High school graduate	53.3	83.4
Some college	13.3	17.7
A A degree	4.7	7.2
Bachelor's degree	6.2	15.5
Advanced degree	2.9	7.9
Earnings of persons age 15 and over		
Less than $10,000	38.1	29.6
$10,000 to $24,999	41.2	32.8
$25,000 to $49,999	17.1	27.3
$50,000 +	3.6	10.3

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Based on Current Population Census Reports, March 1994 and 1997.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review is organized in four sections, namely, Latinos' educational status in the context of minorities, but especially immigrants; the role of the family and parental involvement in education; religion's impact on education and school achievement; and the participation of Hispanics in public, Catholic and other religious schools.

Education of Immigrants and Minorities: The Case of Latinos

Academic and policy research has consistently reported that the overall educational status of Latinos is markedly inferior when compared to other groups (Orum 1986, Marín 1989, Rodríguez 1989, Ramírez 1993). No matter what indicators are used to evaluate how Latinos are faring in terms of educational achievement --e.g., percentage of adults over 25 years of age who have completed high school, dropout rates, college entrance and college graduation rates--researchers unfailingly report grim findings. Marín and Marín, for instance, call attention to "the scandalously high rate of Hispanic adolescents who never finish high school (35.7%), a rate that is almost triple that of Whites and double that of Blacks." (1991:vii) Similarly, other research reports that, "in 1986-87, Hispanics constituted 29.5 percent of the New York City high schools' total enrollment, but accounted for 39.3 percent of their dropouts." (Marín 1989:15)

For some Latino groups, and over time, available statistics indicate that some progress is registered from one generation to the next, yet the disadvantages in comparison with respect to Euro-Americans are persistent. Puerto Ricans, for instance, show improvement over time. In his classic work Fitzpatrick (1987) cites statistics to the effect. "In 1970 [...] second generation Puerto Ricans had reached a much higher level of education than those of the first generation. They were also far advanced in occupation." For instance, of males born in Puerto Rico age 20-24 (first generation) only 5.9 percent were at the professional or managerial levels; of those age 35-44, it was 8.2 percent in 1970. In contrast, for second generation Puerto Ricans in the same age categories, 13.9 percent and 22.2 percent, respectively, were at the professional and managerial level." (1987: 150) (Table 2.1) According to the same author, the 1980 Census registered a continuation in that upward trend for the total Puerto Rican population in New York City, both male and female, into managerial, technical, administrative and white collar employment.[1] Notwithstanding the evolution of school completion rates, Sanchez-Orozco relates that by the late 1970s "almost one-fourth of all Mexican Americans nationwide aged twenty-five or older [still] had less than five years of schooling," and that "in the Southwest of the United States only 60 percent of Mexican American youth graduate[d] from high school compared to 86

[1] The upward trend is also registered among Hispanics over 25 years of age who have completed college. The proportion that had completed four years of college or more by 1988 was 10 % compared with the 5 % registered in 1970 (Carrasquillo 1991:16).

percent of Anglo American youth." (1991:39) As shown in Chapter One, the gap in high school graduation rates for Latinos age 25 and over compared to whites remains at about 30 percentage points.

In the context of overall advancement, some Hispanic groups are doing better academically than others as a reflection of the terms of incorporation into U.S. society and average socioeconomic standing. For example, figures show Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans lagging behind Cubans and other Latinos, especially South Americans. Marín, citing Orum (1986), indicates that by the middle of the past decade, "10 percent of Hispanics aged 8-13, and about 25 percent of those aged 14-20 were below grade level, and Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans were more likely to be enrolled two or more years below grade level than other Hispanics." (1989:43) Marín herself also found that,

> Data also suggest that school attrition rates for Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans start as soon as junior high school and as early as ages 14 and 15. The Hispanic Policy Development Project [...]estimated in 1984 that 40 percent of Hispanic dropouts leave school before tenth grade. (1989:13)

Researchers have tackled the dropout issue from several angles without excluding the subjective dimension. Marín's work on Hispanic high schoolers, as a case in point, summarizes previous findings which indicate that "Puerto Rican dropouts tend to have lower self-esteem than stayers; and that a low self-concept and the lure of drugs are major reasons for dropping out among low-SES minority youth in New York City." (1989:36) Marín says other researchers who studied "adolescent blacks, whites and Hispanics and the relationship between self-

esteem and delinquent behavior, [found that] Hispanics had a lower self-esteem than the other groups." (1989:37) What exactly is missing among Hispanic youth that affects their sense of self-worth is not clearly revealed.

Pertinent also to this dissertation is the literature on how immigrants and minorities have fared educationally. In general, I agree with Ogbu who starts with the premise, borne out by research, that at any given class level black students, on the average, do less well than their white counterparts. In other words, "black students' school success is not strongly correlated with social class, i.e., with parents' education, income or socioeconomic status." (1991:6) In general, this is valid for Latinos too. This does not negate, however, that parental income and education are important predictors of children's educational attainment as shown most recently by the results of the National Educational Longitudinal Survey (Hodgkinson 1995). Children of poor parents do not inescapably fail. Although the family income of two-thirds of Hispanics is less than $20,000 (D'Antonio, Davidson, et al. 1996:151), many of their children thrive academically and the majority keep afloat. The opportunity for mediating variables to be present is clear.

On the area of parental expectations Hispanics of immigrant and native status show differences too. Romo (1984) conducted ethnographic research in Austin, Texas and compared rural, mostly undocumented, immigrant Mexicano and Chicano parents with children attending the same public schools. She reports that there were differential perceptions of children's school experiences. Thus, for example, Mexican immigrants considered their children were making great

progress just because they could attend school, and they felt proud because their children were learning English. Chicano parents, however, felt disappointed with their children's school performance, because despite their children's proficiency in English –in fact few spoke Spanish– they were not learning enough to make the grades and go on to graduation and college.

Some findings have been presented suggesting that immigrant children are faring better than children born in the U.S. (De Wind 1996, Gibson and Ogbu 1991). Ogbu is one of the best known authors exploring how and why immigrant children perform better than native minorities. He argues that native minorities have developed cynical and confrontational attitudes toward American society which produce pessimistic outlooks about their chances to succeed. Immigrant children, on the contrary, arrive imbued with an ideology of progress that makes them see in every problem an opportunity in work-clothes, so to speak. According to Ogbu, such an outlook has an objective basis. "The cultural and language differences faced by the immigrants existed before they immigrated; they did not arise as part of the immigrants' coping mechanisms under subordination or to protect their identity." (Ogbu 1991:20) Cultural and language differences are perceived by immigrants as barriers to be overcome, the necessary price to be paid to achieve their long-range goals of employment, good wages and other benefits. They generally deploy a strategy Ogbu calls "accommodation without assimilation." They differ from non-immigrant minorities in that they do not feel

threatened in their cultural beliefs, cultural practices and language; on the contrary, they are willing and actually do strive to "play the classroom game by the rules" and try to overcome "all kinds of difficulties" in school because they believe so strongly that there will be a payoff later (Ogbu 1991:20).

Research investigating specific dimensions of immigrants' schooling reveals a more nuanced picture than the one generated by the general statement above. Several factors intervene to mediate the relationship between immigrant status and school success; the range of variables include those already mentioned, such as positive attitudes and eagerness to succeed, as well as gender and school quality. A recent paper, for instance, has examined data indicating that males of Dominican, West Indian and Haitian descent are underachieving compared with their female counterparts (López 1998). One of the case studies in Gibson and Ogbu (1991) documents how,

> Recent arrivals from Central America were routinely routed to overcrowded, understaffed classes in overcrowded, understaffed poor inner-city schools [...] Teachers complained that they had to operate with far more students than they had been trained to teach. For example, in one school there were 30 to 40 students in each of ESL classes. Because the English department had no room for more students, even those who were ready and eager to enter the regular English program were held back at lower levels. (1991:44)

Thus, instead of blanket statements there is a need for detailed comparative studies that assess quantitative as well as qualitative evidence in relation to a host of relevant variables. It may be deficient schools and prejudiced

administrators may frustrate the plans of even the most determined and initially optimistic students.

Settling in suburban areas because of the lure of good schools has been an attractive alternative exercised by those who can afford it, including many Latinos.[2] Presumably, those who have either moved there from the inner city or come directly from their original countries are escaping some of the detrimental characteristics of *barrio* schools. Using the "school file" from one of the most authoritative studies on education in the U.S. (i.e., Coleman's *High School and Beyond)*, So compares 40 *barrio* schools (where Hispanics are 50% or more) and 198 white schools (where over 98% of the student body is white). Among some of her findings, which she projects to 171 *barrio* schools and 6,251 white schools in the U.S. public school universe, are: The two types of schools are similar in several areas, including spending per pupil, teacher salaries, physical equipment, and curriculum. The major differences appear in the areas of student discipline, including absenteeism and cutting classes (reported by 82% of barrio school administrators as a serious or moderate problem); student-teacher ratios (17:1 for *barrio* schools versus 14:1 for white schools); academic credentials of teachers (less likelihood for *barrio* school teachers to hold M.A. and Ph.D. degrees); teacher

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[2] This pattern has been recently documented in the case of Korean immigrants with school-age children. "Usually they decide where to live largely based on the academic quality of public schools in the neighborhood. Koreans are heavily concentrated in School District 26 (encompassing Bayside, Little Neck and Douglaston), the best among thirty-two school districts in New York City." (Min 1998:66)

absenteeism and lack of motivation (only 10% of *barrio* school administrators reported no absenteeism problem compared to 36% of white school administrators). Notably also, 31 percent of *barrio* school administrators report "serious lack of parental interest" as compared to only 7 percent of white school administrators. So concludes that, "the above figures point to the fact that students in the *barrio* schools are placed in larger classes and receive lower quality teaching than White school students" even within the same school districts (1986:15).

In part, my research seeks to examine if Latino immigrant parents' perceptions of the quality of schooling their children are receiving in New York City fits the picture described by the literature. Relatedly, their views will be analyzed to see if they exhibit also the optimistic outlook said by researchers to characterize immigrants.

The Role of the Family and Parental Involvement

This dissertation builds on findings from previous research that the family -- whatever its shape or quality-- affects students' attitudes and orientations towards the various fields of life, principally education. As Clarke-Stewart (1978) affirms,

> There is already sufficient evidence to demonstrate that parental behavior is associated with children's behavior and development beyond the genetic component [...] It should not be necessary to demonstrate that parental behavior is entirely responsible for children's behavior or even how substantial the environmental contribution is in order to look for educational implications in the research on parent-child relations. (1978:71)

In agreement with such an assumption, the latest attempt to reform schools

at the national level, the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act* --passed in 1994-- has as its eighth and last specific objective, "Parental Participation --By the year 2000, every school will promote partnerships that will increase parental involvement and participation in promoting the social, emotional, and academic growth of children." (Arons 1997:70). In the academic realm, the evolution of James Coleman's views (1966, 1982, 1987) on the centrality of the family among the factors affecting children's education is emblematic of the growing attention paid by social scientists to the issue of quantity and quality in such a relationship. As a matter of fact, in their analyses of the influence that communities have on the education of children--inside and outside the schools--Coleman and Hoffer (1987), and Coleman (1988), argue that the virtual demise of the stable residential community leaves most of the responsibility to the nuclear family which, in turn, has been enfeebled by a series of contemporary changes in economy and society. Such trends have been affecting families across social classes as well as racial and ethnic groups.[3] Sadly enough, they have given rise to the modern paradox of an increasing number of parents possessing high levels of human capital while their children experience diminishing social capital (1987:223).[4] In fact, Coleman's

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[3] Families may suffer structural or functional deficiencies. Structural deficiency is the physical absence of family members as in the case of single parents or when the mother worked before the child entered elementary school. "Nuclear families may also be deficient by lacking the presence of grandparents or aunts and uncles in or near the household." A functional deficiency occurs when there is absence in the family of strong relations between children and parents (Coleman and Hoffer 1987:224).

[4] Human capital is understood as the embodiment in an individual of skills and knowledge resulting from training and experience of which level of education is but one indicator. Social capital exists in the quality and quantity of relations in which an

pioneer work in the quantitative area found that the effect of family background variables as a group was much larger than that of either teacher or school characteristics (Bridge 1979). Notwithstanding the importance of such findings, the variables standing for family background capture only partially the richness of family influence on education. It can be argued that typically used variables such as family size, parents' education, family occupational status, family income, family housing arrangements, possessions in the home, and the educational environment of the home privilege socioeconomic factors over family interaction and values.

Therefore, in contradistinction to the above I propose that the quality of the parent-child interaction bears significantly on students' success or failure. Experts now agree that this is the case since very early in children's educational careers. Clarke-Stewart (1978), summarizes some of the evidence, "Warmth, affection, and tender loving care have popularly been assumed to determine the condition of children, and some support for this view has been provided by empirical research." According to Clarke-Stewart, "Love is not enough to influence children's intellectual or moral development and academic achievement, however." He suggests rather that "when relations between maternal affection and the child's IQ occur it is because the mother's affection is associated with other aspects of her interaction, such as stimulation, responsiveness, or control, which have been shown to be more highly correlated with children's intellectual performance."

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individual is embedded. An individual's access and participation in family and other social networks with their respective expectations and opportunities reflect his or her social capital.

(1978:63) Findings about Hispanics are consistent with the literature on parental participation. Buriel and Cardoza (1988) say that Latino parents who value schooling, believe in their child's ability to succeed, and participate actively in their schooling give their child a better chance at academic success (cited in Zambrana 1995). Evidence abounds on the consequences for children when such support is missing. Marín, for instance, reports that a 1986 analysis of the "High School and Beyond" federal study directed by Coleman,

> found that dropouts tended to come from homes with a weaker educational support system. Compared to stayers, dropouts had mothers with lower levels of formal education and lower expectations for their offspring. Dropouts had mothers who were likely to be working and parents who were less likely to be interested in or to monitor both in-school and out-of-school activities. (1989:117)

In the same vein, Portillo Thomas found in her literature review that Hispanic parents are portrayed as being apathetic and uncooperative with school personnel and practices. Some authors she says "attributed the lack of Hispanic parental involvement to factors such as : a) work interference, b) lack of confidence, c) lack of English language skills, and d) lack of understanding of the home-school partnership."(1991:24) This dissertation will inquire about how such constraints debilitate Catholic and Protestant parents' involvement and the possible measures put in place to ameliorate their effects.

Contrasting reports about Hispanics' performance in religious schools versus public schools may point to differential parental involvement in relation to

the former. Nationwide studies and surveys conducted over the past 30 years (Neuwien 1966; Greeley 1982; Benson and Yeager 1986; Bryk et al. 1993) have focused on the doctrinal and organizational factors contributing to make religiously-based schools effective educational organizations. Although they have hinted at the importance of the family, their treatment of it has been peripheral. Convey (1992), for example, citing Neuwien's pioneer study of 9,451 elementary and 2,075 secondary Catholic schools says that the latter found "that the overall averages of students' ability and achievement test scores were higher than the respective averages on the national norms." (1992:11) Simultaneously, "the vast majority (91%) of the [Catholic school] students rated their parents' interest in school as at least average, with 34 percent rating parents' interest as extremely strong." The influence of family was judged "most important" even in the area of religious development by 48.3 percent of students. The figure compares favorably with the 22.3 percent who said their school's religious instruction was "most important" (1992:12). For his part, Andrew Greeley's *Catholic High Schools and Minority Students* --one of the few studies involving Latinos-- used a random sample of 14,000 students, 7,000 from Catholic schools and 7,000 from public schools, and found that 77 percent of blacks and 70 percent of Hispanics in Catholic schools said their parents expected them to graduate from college. Only slightly more than 40 percent of the public school students said the same (Greeley 1982:21).

For Puerto Ricans in public schools, Rodriguez, citing data from the early 1980s, concurs in that "teachers, parents, and peers all play a role in determining

educational expectations; in particular, parental career values have been found to be closely related to career expectations of Puerto Rican youth." (1989:130) The active role of the family was most recently underlined by the results of a survey among 12,000 members of the National Catholic Educational Association. The report indicates that, "When asked to create a list of only five items that Catholic educators could not do their jobs without in the year 2000, they listed parental support as number one." (The Tablet 1996: 7A)

It is an established fact that studies on the role of the family in the education of children have privileged socioeconomic variables. In a retrospective work, Clarke-Stewart shows that, "Research comparing the performance of children and mothers from different socioeconomic levels was responsible in large part for the plethora of compensatory early childhood education efforts in the 1960s" and 1970s. He says that interventions were based on the premise that lower class or lower income families are deficient in important ways for children's development. According to Clarke-Stewart, "socioeconomic status offers only a crude short-hand index of presumed differences in home environment. Modal behavior, of parents and children, is the same at different socioeconomic levels, and heterogeneity within social classes is generally greater than that between." He notes, however, that "comparison of data from tests and observations of parents and children from different socioeconomic groups reveals some consistent and statistically significant differences in mean levels of performance."(1978:57) In the same review he also asserts that excessive reliance on socioeconomic status, where many variables

are mixed and some times confused –e.g., race, ethnicity, and religion—the approach has impeded our knowledge of the true differential effects of single variables, such as parental income, education and occupation. In any case, he criticizes researchers' inability to unveil convincing relationships that can be said to be linked longitudinally and causally. Finally, Clarke-Stewart disagrees with research results indicating father's occupation as the most important variable accounting for SES differences related to school achievement (Clarke-Stewart 1978:58).

When it comes to Hispanic families and parental involvement, this kind of critique is apt to help us keep alert because socioeconomic factors seem to weigh too heavily on Latinos' chances to survive, let alone succeed. How the parent-child relationship functions might be perceived to be over-determined by family structure and socioeconomic conditions. Take, for instance, percentages of Hispanic people under the poverty line or single mothers: nationwide in the early 1980s, 45 percent of all Puerto Rican families were living in one-parent homes, and in New York City, the proportion was 50 percent. Dominicans are following a similar pattern. In 1990 41 percent of the households were headed by women, but in 1996 the percentage was 49 percent (Dugger 1997:B1). Researchers, such as Marín, find that these figures show "why the structure of the Puerto Rican family is similar to the low-SES black American family who tends to be matriarchal," (1989:19) which is more often than not taken as a sign of weakness. Nevertheless, authors like Clark have done qualitative research to compare the

impact of the single-mother headed households on educational achievement and found that it is not so much how many adults are in the home what makes the difference, but how adults help empower children intellectually. Clark found in his study of black families in Chicago that it is possible to generalize to boys and girls of different social classes and family arrangements the conditions needed to achieve high academically. He says, "for boys and girls high support, plus high internalized control (based on their own reasoning), and a high personal sense of (intellectual) power are needed for high academic achievement." (Clark 1983:197)

But, is it true that Latino children are not being empowered by their parents? So (1987) found, for example, that "the literature on Hispanic education argues that Hispanic parents have low educational aspirations for their children." She cites as representative the work by Heller (1969) on Latino youth, in which the author states that, "parents, as a whole, neither impose standards of excellence for tasks performed by their children nor do they communicate to them that they expect evidence of high achievement." (cited in So 1987:37) Judging by developments in Hispanic family structure, income, and their supposed embodiment of the above mentioned stereotypes, Latinos could easily be discarded to inferior school achievement and attainment and, therefore, condemned to remain imprisoned at the margins of society. While it is true that solely based on statistical figures one would have reason to be dismayed, the variation among Latinos that one finds when looking closely gives reason for hope.

Quantitative and qualitative research has begun to focus on tactics and practices employed by Latino parents, which enable many of them to overcome limitations to support their children's education. Statistical associations alone fail to illuminate these practices. In this regard, Latinos seem to have access to a reservoir of traditions and values attached to the institution of the family that, when tapped, enable parents to contend more efficiently with many of the problems besieging them. Again, this does not diminish the effects that economic stressors have on a possibly declining percentage of Latino two-parent families and the increasing feminization of poverty in some sectors of the Latino population, with serious implications for the well-being of Latino children (Vega 1995).[5]

It is worth underlining that familism is precisely one of the key values researchers have identified as common and principal to the national-origin groups comprising Latinos. Students of Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans agree that this value --defined as the deep importance of the family to all its members, including in many instances members of the extended family-- is a cornerstone on which Hispanics' orientations and behaviors are built. The Mexican-American family, according to Alvirez and Bean, "is one of the strongest areas of life activities, a closely knit unit in which all members enjoy status and esteem. It may

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[5] Gerald W. Bracey reports some of the findings of a recent research based on the National Education Longitudinal Study. He quotes as follows: "Consistent with previous research, SES had statistically significant positive relationship with parental involvement. However, the effects sizes are relatively small. Except for home supervision, the coefficients ranged from .161 to .188, which indicates that the amount of involvement increased by about 16% to 18% of a standard deviation for each 1 standard deviation increase in SES." (Bracey 1996:169)

be the only place of refuge for the individual, providing both emotional and material security." (1978:277) In clear contrast, for example, one author (Mindel 1980) found that non-Hispanic whites actually preferred to move away from kin networks, whereas Latinos clustered around them. Fitzpatrick, in his classic study on Puerto Ricans, called attention to their deep sense of family obligation. He says that among Puerto Ricans, "one's primary responsibility are to family and friends." (1987:71) Fitzpatrick's contribution is directly relevant to this study for he finds that Puerto Ricans' family values derive from the primacy they ascribe to the spiritual. According to him, they "have a sense of spirit and soul as being much more important than the body, and as being intimately related to their value as persons [...] They think of life very much in terms of ultimate values and ultimate spiritual goals, and express a willingness to sacrifice material satisfactions for these." (1987:80) Referring to the largest Hispanic group, Portillo Thomas argues that [public] schools often undermine such values among some Latinos. Says she, "What Mexican-American students have learned to value in school is not necessarily what they have learned from their parents. Students must make a choice, and in the Mexican-American culture, the family values and needs ordinarily come first." (1991:18) This is not an idealization of the Latino family, for the literature is consistent in that Latinos' family values have endured trials over the years and still are distinct from those that characterize the majority population (Mindel 1980).

Even students themselves have provided some evidence to buttress the

relevance of family in their lives. In a 1986 study of the impact of Catholic high schools on low income students, Benson and Yeager presented students with 16 goals and asked them to read the entire list. They were then asked to rank four of the goals in order of importance starting with "extremely important." "The results indicated that Hispanics and Whites ranked 'to have a happy family life' as number one, versus Blacks who ranked it fourth. For Hispanics, 'to have a good job when I am older' was second, while number three was 'to have God at the center of my life.' In fourth place came 'to do my best in school'." (Benson and Yeager 1986:85)

Fitzpatrick and his colleagues confirmed the saliency of the family in yet another context. He reports that, "In a study of Puerto Rican addicts and non-addicts, conducted in the Bronx in the late 1970s, the role of the extended family proved to be the most significant variable in the research." Contrary to their expectations that the significant family variable would be single-parent families versus two-parent families, the one significant variable that emerged was the presence of the extended family. Fitzpatrick reports that there were as many addicts in two-parent families as in single-parent families, but "in the presence of brothers, uncles, *compadres*, grand parents, the likelihood of addiction declined significantly." (Fitzpatrick 1987:86)

Other researchers have found evidence of the interplay between composition and quality of family life with attitudes towards school and achievement, which are relatively independent from socioeconomic variables. In

her review of the literature, Marín found that studies on Hispanic adolescents and educational and vocational aspirations revealed that "low SES Mexican American females are not different from the dominant culture in relation to status attainment." That is, poor girls varied among themselves, some had ordinary goals but others had high career aspirations. And that "despite the low levels of parental education, parents were ranked as the most helpful in deciding on a future job." (Marín 1989:133) In her study, Matute-Bianchi compared Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants. She reports that, "Many of the unsuccessful students also noted that they did not know what kind of job their parents or family would like them to pursue nor had they discussed this with them." Matute-Bianchi notes that this is another area in which there appears to be a difference between the unsuccessful Chicano students and the successful immigrant Mexicano students.

> The latter were usually able to give ready examples of discussions they had with their parents about their futures and the kinds of jobs and careers they aspired to. Differences in parental aspirations for their children, as well as family ideology about preparing for the future, and one's place in it, appear to be significant in the messages that are communicated to unsuccessful Chicano students and successful immigrant Mexicano students. (cited in Gibson and Ogbu 1991:235)

Sufficient evidence has been gathered by extant research on the role of the family as a determinant force of children's school achievement and attainment. As is the case with other ethnic/racial groups, family structure is changing among Latinos – aggravated by substantial poverty rates—often with deleterious consequences for children's education. The results of this study will help update knowledge about the ways in which parents manage to get involved in the education of their children

in the midst of ongoing changes; especially if and how parents relate to religion as a resource for their parental tasks.

Religion's Impact on Education and School Achievement

A literature review of the research on the relationship between religion and education makes evident that little has been done to examine how such a relationship may operate among Latinos. It must also be noted that none of the studies discussed below focus on how religion affects parental involvement. Subjects' religion is often assessed via their parents' affiliation without transcending the nominal level of measurement. In addition, most studies have looked directly into religious affiliation's impact on school achievement and attainment. Especially through the 1970s studies were focused on white males, and the recurrent control variables were race and sex. When such studies carried out comparisons, they were, for the most part, limited to subgroups among Euro-Americans and did not include minorities. Fox and Jackson (1973) examine a representative sample of such works, which they introduce as studies offering the best evidence until then available concerning religious effects on educational attainment. Neil Weller (1960), for example, analyzed data collected in Detroit from 1952 to 1958. Restricting his analysis to white male heads of households raised in urban areas in the North and introducing controls for father's occupation, ethnicity and age, Weller found that Protestants exceeded Catholics in educational

attainment among younger men and men of low ethnic rank (Fox and Jackson 1973 :69). According to the same authors, in 1962, Morgan, et al. presented an analysis of a 1960 national sample of heads of spending units. They also controlled simultaneously for a number of variables including race, sex, father's occupation, age, and number of siblings. They measured the relationship between the respondent's religious origin (indicated by the religious preference of the respondent's father) and educational attainment. Morgan, et al. report that Catholics have lower-than-average attainment, that Baptists, other fundamentalist Protestant denominations and Lutherans have average attainment, and that Presbyterians and Episcopalians have above-average attainment. Additionally, the authors found that for those families who had children who had finished their schooling, an analysis was done of the factors influencing the education attained by the children. After introducing a set of controls similar to those listed above, they confirmed that children of Catholics attained as much or more education than children of Fundamentalist Protestants, but less than children of non-Fundamentalist Protestants (Fox and Jackson 1973:67).

In a study that included Mexicans, David Featherman (1969) "finds that for men of native parentage, Anglo-Saxon Protestants have high attainment, Italian and Mexican Catholics low, while other Protestants and other Catholic groups have intermediate and about equal attainment. For men with at least one foreign-born parent, both Protestant groups exceed the Catholic groups in education." (Fox and Jackson 1973 :68) Also, the authors report on a study by Edward

Laumann (1971) who compared data on native-born white male fathers and sons to determine

> whether father's education was related to son's education in the same fashion within each group. He found that the regression slopes of respondents' education on father's education differed markedly for different groups. For example, the slopes for German Presbyterians and Irish Catholics were above the average slope, while the slopes of German Lutherans and Polish Catholics were below. (Fox and Jackson 1973:68)

In summarizing their review, Fox and Jackson state that, "The typical finding from the studies reviewed above is that with controls for relevant variables, Protestants appear to have some advantage over Catholics in educational attainment." (Fox and Jackson 1973:68) When looked closely, this result can be qualified in two ways: 1) Catholics in some studies or some subsamples have been found to equal or exceed Baptists and Fundamentalists in education; and 2) The Protestant advantages which have appeared have been rather small both in absolute terms (rarely more than a year of education) and in terms of the amount of variance in educational attainment explained.

Thus far, a review of religion's influence on education has been conducted. Nevertheless, the reverse relationship, i.e., that schooling may have an effect on levels and types of religious belief has also been explored, but is not directly relevant to this study. Johnson (1997) recently synthesized findings in this area, noting that all the empirical research conducted on the relationship between education and faith over the years portraits a surprisingly uniform picture. While a few more recent researchers have found little or no educational effect on

measures of belief (Hastings and Hoge 1976; Hunsberger 1978; Albercht and Heaton 1984; McAllister 1985), the majority consistently show a modest negative relationship between the two. According to Johnson, "such findings seem to offer clear support for the idea of a gradual trend away from faith, and that is how they are commonly construed." (Johnson 1997:233)

There is an additional theme in the literature, which states that religion acts as a catalyst on school achievement and attainment. Contemporary researchers have been compiling evidence to answer this question positively. They follow the trail left by earlier sociological studies which, according to Darnell and Sherkat, have "found significant effects of 'religio-ethnic' background net of other social background factors on one key aspect of attainment--educational achievement." (1995:1) These authors contend that culture--and religion as one of its components--influences educational choices in three ways: "(1) by informing individual preferences for educational options; (2) by establishing the set of educational options considered by individuals; and (3) by influencing social rewards for making particular options." (Darnell and Sherkat 1995:6; see also MacLeod 1995) For their part, Keysar and Kosmin (1995) analyzed the differential impact of religion on educational achievement among white American females, and concluded that religious affiliation bore significantly, even if not always directly, on the rates of college education achieved by women. Their research indicates that "individual religious groups differ in the levels of higher education that their adherents attain on the order of 300 percent." (1995:50) The

twelve religious groups they compared aligned themselves in a conservative-liberal continuum with Pentecostals at one end, tending "to reduce female adherents' occupational roles by lowering their opportunities to attain higher education." At the other pole are Jewish women who are "outliers at the liberal end of the religious continuum." (1995:61) Also, in their study, Kosmin and Lachman say the data "suggest that religious identification is a better predictor of educational achievement than race." They found that the educational gap between blacks and whites within the same religious group is much smaller than the chasm between the two races for the national population as a whole. The cases of Episcopalians, Catholics, and Seventh-Day Adventists serve as evidence. Thus, 93 percent of white and 90 percent of black Episcopalians have completed high school. Their college graduation rates are 42 and 41 percent respectively. Among Catholics, 84.5 percent of whites and 83.2 of blacks have finished high school. Their respective college graduation rates are 23.4 for whites, and 21.4 for blacks. The situation is even more striking in the case of Seventh-Day Adventists: blacks have a 17-percentage point difference over whites for high school graduation (81.9 to 65.0) and a 7-percentage point advantage for college graduation (23.7 to 16.8) (1993: 272). As indicated above, religion –not just race– must be reckoned with when explaining people's educational options and attainment.

Although researchers more readily acknowledge the importance of parental intervention than the roots of the latter in religious grounds, religious affiliation and

beliefs of parents have been examined, nevertheless, for their role in shaping attitudes, expectations and practices respecting children's education, when broadly defined. For instance, Ellison and Sherkat (1993), in a study relevant to the present project, incorporated patterns unveiled by previous research. In looking at the importance that parents attribute to obedience and intellectual autonomy, these authors start with four premises: first, they anticipate that both Conservative Protestants and Catholics will value intellectual obedience disproportionately, and that they will also devalue intellectual autonomy. Secondly, their expectations are that three theological convictions --acceptance of the doctrine of biblical literalism, beliefs concerning the doctrine of original sin, and beliefs regarding the punishment of sinners--will be positively related to the valuation of obedience in children and inversely associated with the valuation of autonomy. Thirdly, they expect that the effects of Conservative Protestant affiliation on valuation of obedience and autonomy will be mediated via these three theological tenets. Finally, and in contrast to the Protestants' case, they expect that any estimated effects of Catholicism on child-rearing orientations will be direct, unmediated by the theological factors stated above (1993:318). They rely on data from the 1988 General Social Survey to develop hierarchical OLS regression models. Their full model, though acknowledged to possess limited explanatory power, accounts for "approximately 16 percent of the overall variance in valuation of obedience." In the end, "more than 5 percent of the variance in this parenting orientation is accounted for by religious factors." In addition, they found that the effects of

religious ideology on parental values also merited discussion. "Biblical literalism," they say, "bears a significant positive association with preferences for obedience in children." (1993:321) Such religious-inspired child rearing orientations spread to nearby areas like discipline and corporal punishment. When compared with other religious affiliations, Christopher recently found also that Conservative Protestants differ significantly "from their liberal counterparts in that the former support and use physical punishment more than other Americans." (1996:14) A comparison between Latino Catholics and Protestants on this issue offers an opportunity to see how strongly held among Latino Protestants are beliefs characterizing Euro-American Conservative Protestants, who are said to "expect confrontation between parents and children, due to innate tendencies of children to challenge parental authority," and their beliefs about "decisive parental leadership and male headship of the family." (Christopher 1996:7)

The aforementioned studies are examples of the many ways in which the relationship between religion and education can be explored. As is evident, most studies examine that relationship using religious affiliation, not measures of religious commitment as is undertaken in this dissertation. Moreover, researchers have been most interested in one aspect or indicator of education, namely school achievement. I propose a study that takes a new and fresh look at the relationship between religion and education by examining the potential impact for children's school achievement that religion holds when embodied in the beliefs and practices

of parents. In addition, Latinos offer an unique opportunity for comparison with Euro-Americans and African-Americans. The role of religion can profitably be explored comparatively, for Catholicism is predominant among Latinos whereas the reverse is the case for Euro-Americans and African Americans, who are predominately Protestant.

Without assuming that religious affiliation and educational achievement are necessarily causally linked, I shall contrast the data that my research will generate with the evidence heretofore produced. In addition, I will explore to what extent religion influences educational parental involvement, decision making, and how it may inhere in the motivation of Hispanic students to achieve educationally. This type of comparison may provide clues about religious beliefs as a source of motivation that may be tapped and channeled to encourage parents to become more active agents in deciding not just the type but also the quality of the school they want their children to attend.

Latinos in Public, Catholic and other Religious Schools

This research project will contribute to areas relevant to the ongoing debate about the relative strengths of religiously-affiliated schools vis-a-vis public schools. The analysis of the data obtained concerning parents' experiences with and attitudes towards schools from both systems will add to the comparisons available in the extant literature on religiously-based schools and public sector schools. Judging by the data obtained from the respondents, other roles played by religious

educational institutions will be probed. By taking into consideration the historical experience of public and Catholic schools as bridges that facilitated the "Americanization" of earlier waves of (European) immigrants, this study will assess how schools are re-socializing Hispanic immigrants into U.S. society (Rodríguez 1982). In connection with this, we may also ask: does religiously based schooling contribute to cultural preservation or even to a heightened sense of ethnic identity, or on the contrary, does it weakens attachment to the students' particular ethnic culture? What are the mechanisms through which such results are effected? Do they entail a great price like severing ties with family, language of birth and the home culture?

Latino children's enrollment in religious schools has been rising, in clear contrast with that of Euro-American children, especially in Catholic schools. Their share of seats reaches 10 percent nationally, and 36 percent in New York City.[6] According to the NYS Department of Education Hispanic participation has increased in both the public and Catholic schools of New York City. In 1970 Hispanics were 25.7 percent of the public school population, in 1991 they were 35.2 percent. On the other hand, Hispanics were 13.8 percent of the Catholic school population in 1970, but 29.1 percent in 1991 (NYS State Education Department 1993:33). As noted above, reports on Catholic schools indicate that they benefit from attending such schools as measured by the graduation rates they

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[6] Minorities are 64 percent of New York City's Catholic schools. Thirty-six percent are Hispanic, 23 percent are African-American and 5 percent are Asian (Catholic New York 1996: 20).

exhibit compared with Latino children attending public schools.[7] It is also reported that "the greatest differences in Catholic and public school achievement are found when schools with the highest levels of minority composition are compared."[8] For example, in those schools –whether Catholic or public—where Latinos and African Americans are between 81 and 100 percent of the total, third-grade Catholic school children surpass their public school black and Latino counterparts in reading (17%+) and math (10%+). Fifth-graders in Catholic schools also hold an advantage in writing (6%+). Finally, Catholic school sixth-graders perform better than public school sixth-graders in reading (10%+) and math (11%+) (New York State Education Department 1993:12).

Also, during the early 1980s, Benson and Yeager conducted a study of Catholic high schools in low income areas and found that "Hispanics appear[ed] to be particularly well-served" by such schools. From the ninth to the twelfth grades, on five of the ten outcomes they measured, the average Hispanic student appeared to gain more than the average white student. On the other five, Hispanics appeared to gain as much. They call for further research to determine

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[7] Reportedly, the overall graduation rate from New York City Catholic high schools is 98 percent; of these, 89 percent go to college (Catholic New York 1996: 20). An Adventist publication reports lower college enrollment rates, but says Adventist students enter four-year colleges and universities in higher proportions (66%) than Catholic (51%) and public school students (30%) (Dudley 1992: 34).

[8] Based on data from the High School and Beyond study, Coleman and Hoffer compared the achievement growth of students from different racial-ethnic backgrounds between the sophomore and the senior year. They found that "the achievement benefits of Catholic school are considerably greater for black and Hispanic students than for non-Hispanic whites." For example, the Catholic advantage for black and Hispanic students is more than double the item increment for whites in verbal achievement (Coleman and

why Hispanics appeared to thrive in Catholic schools. Nonetheless, they noted that 16 percent of the ninth grade sample and 12 percent of the twelfth grade sample were Hispanic. The difference, according to them, suggested that some Hispanic students were dropping out before the twelfth grade, and cautioned that the apparent gains could be a product of the dropout phenomenon owing to the exit of struggling students (Benson and Yeager 1986:162).[9]

A host of investigators besides Coleman and Hoffer have consistently found that religiously-based schools, which make up about 80 percent of nonpublic schools, on the average educate the pupils in their charge better than public schools (Convey 1992). The New York State 1993 *Blue Ribbon Panel on Catholic Schools* states that "Catholic schools are effective learning environments. Their effectiveness is evident through analysis of standardized examination results, minimal dropout rate, and high college attendance rate. The success of Catholic schools is most dramatic in the education of students with at-risk characteristics." (Carey and Lachman 1993:5) It is clear that academics are not the only goal

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Hoffer 1987:122).

[9] Coleman and Hoffer also found that high school dropout rates are lower in Catholic and other private schools than in public schools for blacks, Hispanics and non-Hispanic whites. However, "the absolute size of the Catholic sector reduction, relative to public schools, is least for Hispanics and greatest for blacks." (Coleman and Hoffer 1987:127) In addition, they found that "socioeconomic status is strongly related to dropping out in the public and private schools[...] Catholic school students in the lowest socioeconomic quartile are over four times as likely to drop out than those in the next lowest quartile." (1987: 127) On the other hand, the Catholic sector benefits are especially great for students from families with deficiencies, whether functional or structural. "The relation of dropout to deficient families is small or absent in Catholic schools [...] In contrast, the public sector and the other private sector show strong relationships of dropout to family deficiencies." (1987: 129)

parochial schools pursue, or as principal Pat Kelly of Saint Angela Merici school in the South Bronx puts it, "We are here to educate and empower these kids, to do two things with them.[...] One is to make sure that they learn how to read, write and do math--every day. The other is to form their character. We believe in the divinity of being; we believe in the holiness of our existence. That infuses the culture we are in." (Stern 1996:93-94) What is more, other Christian schools are showing similar results. As a case in point, the Northeastern Conference of the Seventh Day Adventist Church's fifteen primary schools were recently featured as an example of effective education solutions in New York City's predominantly black neighborhoods (Millman 1995). Independently, then, of beliefs reflected in partisan interests, researchers have found that the factors determining superior results in parochial schools are not restricted to such variables as socioeconomic status or level of parental education; much less are they dependent on per-pupil expenditures, location of schools, or staff salaries. Study after study has unveiled other causes for the positive results attained by students in religiously-based schools, not the least being the involvement of the family as partners with those institutions.

But, though such discoveries on the part of researchers are not novelties to school leaders, educators, and parents involved with religiously based schools, there is no consensus either among the former or the latter groups as to what really motivates, influences, and informs parental behavior concerning, first, the selection of school and enrollment and, second, the follow-up and investment of

considerable time and energy to assure their children's schooling. It is possible to find interspersed in the literature adduced reasons for some parents' preferences for parochial schools. Greeley, for instance, reports that "superior discipline in Catholic schools often comes up in conversations with black parents in inner cities as one of the reasons why they choose to send their children to Catholic schools even though they are not Catholics themselves." (1982:29) Such assertions are corroborated in New York and other places where there are schools whose students are up to 90 percent non-Catholic. It is worth asking how high such variables as discipline and safety rank among Latinos' priorities, Catholic as well as of other denominations. We can also pose the question about what is the interplay between these two variables and religion on choice of school. Thus far, anecdotal evidence suggests that Latino Protestants too are animated in part by desire for discipline in their decisions to send their children to Catholic schools.

But even in religious schools, where Hispanics perform relatively well, they lag behind when compared with other groups, including blacks. In their study, Benson and Yeager (1986) found that, "Catholic schools appear to retain White students with greater success than minority students. Fifty-nine percent of ninth graders are minority, falling to 52 percent in twelfth grade –with the greatest attrition occurring among Hispanics (16 percent in ninth, 12 percent in twelfth)." (1986:68) Probably it is not solely the quality of the school that makes a difference in whether Hispanic students can finish school successfully, but also the general conditions affecting their performance, such as their parents' situation, economic

and otherwise. Respondents to the questions of this study will have a chance to express their views as well as their tactics to enroll and keep their children in religious schools.

Table 2.1 FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION PUERTO RICANS COMPARED

	1970		1970	
	Born in Puerto Rico		Born in USA	
Professional & Managerial Occupations	20-24 yrs 5.9%	35-44 yrs 8.2%	20-24 yrs 13.9%	35-44 yrs 22.7%

Source: Fitzpatrick (1987:150)

Table 2.2 NATIVE-BORN MEXICAN-ORIGIN 25-34-YEAR-OLD MALES BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION (in percent)

Level of Schooling	1960	1970	1980
Less than 12 years	78.1	45.8	31.0
HS Complete	12.8	35.2	33.8
Some College	3.8	12.3	22.9
College Complete	2.8	2.5	5.8
Grad School	2.4	4.2	6.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, in Carnoy et al. (1993:36)

Table 2.3 BARRIO SCHOOLS VERSUS WHITE SCHOOLS

	Barrio	White
Expenditure by pupil at district level	$ 1,663.00	$ 1,648.00
Teacher first salary step	$10,194.00	$10,227.00
Rate of teacher turnover	11%	11%
Stability of teacher at school for 10 years or more	30%	38%
Student - teacher ratio	17	14
Percentage of teachers holding MA or Ph.D. degrees	23%	37%
Percentage of White teachers	52%	100%
Percentage of administrators reporting parent lack of interest as serious	31%	7%
Percentage of administrators reporting no teacher absenteeism	10%	36%
Percentage of administrators reporting student absenteeism as serious	82%	47%

Source: So, Alvin Y. (1986), "School file" comprising 988 cases and 237 variables, based on data reported by school administrators.

Table 2.4 **SELECTED CATHOLIC SCHOOL ADVANTAGES OVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS**

Comparison of Catholic and public schools where minorities are 81-100%

Grade 3	Reading	plus 17%
Grade 3	Math	plus 10%
Grade 5	Writing	plus 6%
Grade 6	Reading	plus 10%
Grade 6	Math	plus 11%

Source: NYS Education Department (1993:12)

Table 2.5 **PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS DROPPING OUT OF HIGH SCHOOL BY RACE-ETHNICITY AND SCHOOL SECTOR**

Race-Ethnicity		School Sector		
		Public	Catholic	Other Private
White		13.1%	12.6%	10.8%
	sample size	18,062	1,703	508
Black		17.2%	4.6%	14.4%
		3,468	415	15
Hispanic		19.1%	9.3%	22.9%
		4,565	591	55

Source: Coleman and Hoffer, *Public and private schools: The impact of communities* (1987:127)

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

Motivated by the success of Catholic and other religious schools as well as by the reported failure of many public schools in educating Hispanic children, I decided to undertake an exploration of the role of religion in the education of Hispanics, principally on the influence that religion wields on parental involvement. Using original data collected by means of survey questionnaires and in-depth interviews, the study explores the relations between religion and education. Examination of the literature in the sociology of religion and sociology of education, as well as that related to Latinos' education encouraged the researcher to consider looking into the Latino case by designing a study that takes religion as an independent variable in relation to certain aspects of education—e.g., parental involvement and attitudes--which have repercussions on what we may call "outcomes," but which cannot be reduced to standardized test results or simple academic performance.

Survey Design

To collect part of the data a survey was considered the most appropriate approach. This becomes obvious when one considers the size of the Hispanic population and its dispersion throughout the City of New York, especially in four of its five boroughs. The diversity in demographic characteristics, such as national

origin and educational background, combined with variety of exposure to institutions and life in the city require throwing a broad net for which a survey is best suited. This way one can inquire about a relatively large set of variables from a cross-section of the Hispanic population.

The original data for this study were collected in two phases during 1997. First, the survey was administered to approximately 2,000 Hispanic parents with children enrolled in Catholic, Lutheran, Adventist, and public schools in the Bronx, Queens, Brooklyn and Manhattan. The focus in this study will be placed on parents with children in grammar school. This emphasis was chosen because decisions made during these years probably condition later educational options, and because 57 percent of all private school students attend elementary schools, whereas 17 percent attend secondary schools, and 26 percent attend schools that have combined elementary and secondary programs. Nationally, Catholic schools account for 36 percent of the private schools and enroll 54 percent of all private school students. By comparison, other religious schools account for 45 percent of the private schools and enroll 30 percent of all private school students (McMillen and Gerald 1990).

Two hundred and twenty-four questionnaires were filled and returned by respondents in self-addressed envelopes provided by the researcher. They came back from the boroughs of Queens, Brooklyn, Manhattan, and the Bronx. The sample of parents was obtained in two ways: 1) with the help of school administrators (religious and public) school children took home the questionnaire

and asked their parents to fill it out; and 2) with the assistance of Protestant religious leaders, the questionnaire was distributed to church members who have children in school. Both groups of parents were asked to respond and mail the questionnaire back to the researcher. The second procedure was implemented to reach enough numbers of Conservative Protestants whose share of the Hispanic population, though growing, is still small. All respondents were asked to mark on the questionnaire their willingness or not to be contacted for in-depth interviews. About 30 percent of all respondents said yes to that request. The effort made to reach respondents from several locations and of varied characteristics gives me confidence in the sample's approximate representativeness of Latino parents' views and experiences in New York City, especially of those who both are immigrant and identify with either a Catholic or Conservative Protestant religious tradition.[1] The instruments were developed in both Spanish and English to accommodate the respondents' linguistic preferences.

The Questionnaire

The questionnaire included 65 items; many asked explicitly about both the respondent and the spouse, but when this was not specified, as in items 18-20, the information provided was presumed to be about the respondent only. The questions, which were grouped in nine sections, collected basic demographic data

[1] Although record was kept of the number of questionnaires distributed through the participating schools and churches, no written record was kept of the exact number returned as a proportion of those channeled through the various institutions.

(e.g., sex, birth place, age, and marital status); data on religious affiliation and commitment (e.g., type and length of affiliation, and religious practices); both parental types and levels of schooling, as well as employment and income. Other items asked about number of children, schools they were enrolled in, grades and sex; eleven items collected data on activities indicating levels of parental involvement. Other areas explored were attitudes toward school curriculum, language usage, discipline and authority, and criteria to choose schools. A final section focused on current children's school performance and both ideal and realistic expectations of academic achievement (Appendix A).

Dependent and independent variables

More than to prove that religion and education are related, the purpose is to explore how is that such a relationship operates in the case of Hispanics within a specific historical and geographical context. This orientation leads one to inquire about what mediating variables may exist that channel and condition the influence of religion through parents on the education of children. Besides considering standard demographic characteristics of sex, age, marital status and such variables as income, parental occupation, parental education--secular and religious—and other variables such as religious affiliation, religious commitment, parental involvement in school-related activities, parental levels of expectations, and parents' views of ethnic culture, religion, authority and discipline are included. The main dependent variable is parental involvement, and the main independent

variables are parental religious affiliation, religious commitment, and levels of schooling.

Scales were built (codebook—Appendix C) with the answers to questionnaire items to measure the dependent and independent variables, some at an ordinal level and others at a ratio level. Thus, the main dependent variable, parental involvement, was measured through a battery of eight items (Table 3.1) that ranked the frequency of specific activities from "Always" (3) to "Never" (0) (items 33-40). The combined range of values for this scale went from 0 to 24 points.

Table 3.1 INDICATORS OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

1. Attend Parents Meetings	5. Accompany to Public Library
2. Volunteer for School Activities	6. Take to Museum/educ. Activities
3. Remind Children to Do Homework	7. Call/Drop by School to Ask
4. Review Child's Homework	8. Control TV Watching

This list does not exhaust all the activities parents can engage in with their children and which may impact positively on the children's schooling. It is rather a set of secular indicators chosen for their probable relevance to children's school-related performance. They do not denote in principle any association with religious affiliation or commitments. Nonetheless, parental involvement was explored through the qualitative approach which allowed the researcher to perceive other

indicators not reflected in the above scale. Parents were asked to describe routines that they follow with their children in and outside the home. Their narratives included, among others, religious activities at home and church intended to further their children's education.

A second scale used in this analysis is a cultural affirmation scale built from the answers to four questionnaire statements (items 44-47) (Table 3.2). The respondents selected among five options from "Strongly Agree," to "Strongly Disagree." The scale in this case went from 0 to 16 points. In the same vein, a scale from 0 to 20 points was constructed to measure tendencies on discipline, ranging from liberal to conservative (items 56-59, 61) (Table 3.3).

Table 3.2 INDICATORS OF CULTURAL AFFIRMATION

1.I would like to see greater efforts to have Hispanic culture and traditions included in my child(dren)'s school activities	3.I think it is important to have bilingual education in all schools
2.I think it is important for Hispanic youth to hold onto their Hispanic heritage and culture	4. It is a mistake to teach children that the United States is a nation chosen by God as his representative in the world today

Table 3.3 INDICATORS OF VIEWS ON DISCIPLINE

1.Children need and should have more supervision and discipline than they usually get in public schools	4. A woman whose children are messy and rowdy has failed in her duties as a mother
2. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents and teachers, or else he will lose respect for them	5. Whatever some educators say, "Spare the rod and spoil the child" still holds, even in these modern times
3. A well-reared child is one that doesn't have to be told twice to do something	

In designing the questionnaire, attention was given to appropriately measuring religiosity. To the traditional nominal measure of religious self-identification was added a question on length of such affiliation. This addition allowed for examination of the time factor in contributing to differences between Catholics and Conservative Protestants, and helped in the construction of a typology.[2] In measuring religious commitment, three sets of questions were devised to capture a corresponding number of dimensions: Respondents' church attendance, religious rituals at home, and respondents' participation in church-sponsored religious formation events. Church attendance was measured on a simple scale descending from 6 to 0, or "Every day" to "never." Home rituals were registered as activities done regularly, and respondents marked--from a total of three--if they did them or not, that is 0 or 1. Finally, exposure to church-sponsored religious influence was gauged through another set of three events or practices, which the respondents acknowledged to have ever or never done (1 or 0).

It must be noted that for items 12-17, respondents were offered the opportunity to indicate if they did the described activity by themselves or in the company of their spouse and children. If any of the three options was selected, the answer was recorded as "1". Also, the instrument included 6 items, with the first three thought to be more characteristic of a Protestant population, and the last three considered to be typical of Catholics. However, the number of respondents who indicated practicing items 15-17 with some regularity was so low and

overwhelmingly Catholic, that I decided not to include them in this analysis, especially for comparative purposes.[3] A similar situation occurred with the battery employed to measure exposure to certain events and activities sponsored by churches (items 18-23). A negligible number of respondents, both Catholic and Protestant, indicated having taken part in the activities described by the last three items (#s. 21-23). They are activities that are church-sponsored and have a civic or social character.[4] Thus I decided also not to include them in the present analysis.

Fieldwork

The author gained rapid access to religious schools through the intervention of acquaintances as well as through direct approach. The average response time was a month among religious schools administrators (normally the pastor or the principal) who eventually agreed to cooperate with the study. In the end, out of ten requests made, five religious and one private-nonreligious schools participated. The generally welcoming attitude shown by religious school directors indicated that they perceived the proposed study as supportive of their mission. Some

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2. Time is relevant to measures of religiosity. The high level of enthusiasm exhibited by converts to a particular religion differs often from the average commitment of those who have routinized theirs after many years of affiliation.

3 15. Light candles and keep home altar; 16. Say the Rosary; 17. Make pilgrimages and visit shrines.

4 21. Have you ever belonged to a group sponsored by your church that has sports activity as its main goal? 22. Have you ever belonged to a group sponsored by your church that has civic or political activities as its main goal, such as immigration advocacy, tenants organizing? 23. Do you work as a volunteer in organizations that make the material welfare of others their main goal (such as soup kitchen, homeless shelter, hospital visitation)?

administrators saw in the study the possibility of learning more about an area they know is key to obtaining successful educational results. They even said they looked forward to seeing the results promised by the researcher. Administrators who refused to cooperate adduced various reasons. For example, of the two Catholics, one said he did not have the time to review the proposal, while another argued that the questionnaire contained too many questions about the private life of parents. Administrators of two Lutheran schools said the schools were small and had negligible numbers of Hispanic students.

The case of the public schools is a different story altogether. The researcher approached first the New York City Board of Education's Division of Assessment and Accountability. After a month, during which that office recommended changes in the research instrument, permission was granted to request access to the public schools. However, the Division of Assessment and Accountability acts as gatekeeper but cannot guarantee the cooperation of individual schools. Access to specific schools was made conditional on principals' willingness to collaborate. Principals, in turn, were to consult with their superintendent. Needless to say, this rather cumbersome process lengthened the time expected to complete the data collection. Each request for cooperation took a long time to receive a response--an average of two months. Unfortunately and despite the time and energy invested, only one school agreed to distribute, in two rounds, 450 surveys to the parents (About 40 came back). The common concern expressed by public school principals referred to the fact that religion

was a component of the questionnaire. The controversy surrounding issues related to the separation of church and state, the place of religion in public schools as well as some of the items in the questionnaire raised concerns about the propriety of using the schools to reach the parents. Principals seem to be very sensitive to implications for their position of any questions raised by parents or their administrative superiors. The experience proved frustrating to the researcher, probably because he was expecting more congruency between public school administrators' behavior and their praise--so often expressed in private—for the positive effects of religion on students' school life. Hence, in the current climate it would be advisable to eschew schools and reach out to parents of public school children through other avenues, such as parents associations, community organizations and churches.

The Follow-up Interviews

The nature of the majority of the research questions laid bare the need for qualitative data. To answer them adequately, the researcher has to tap the subjective dimension of the respondents, such as asking them about their feelings, experiences, as well as extensive elaboration and detail. The first remarkable aspect about the interviews is the number of people who came forth offering to talk. Presumably, this is a topic which Latinos do not feel compelled to keep private. Participating parents showed an eagerness to share their views and experiences in religious matters, especially what they do at home by themselves or with their

children, and candidly answered questions on areas as sensitive as mother-daughter interaction, sexual education, corporal punishment, and relations with their children's schools. Most of them received the investigator in their homes and allowed the interview to be tape recorded (45-minute average length). Others agreed to be interviewed in their work places, and so the hours ranged from early morning to evening, including weekends. The settings varied but not dramatically, reflecting the similarities in low-to-middle socioeconomic status. The interviews were conducted mostly in Spanish; they were transcribed and translated by the author himself.

Thus in the second stage of data collection, during the Summer of 1997, 18 interviews with parents were conducted. This phase included identifying a representative sample of informants for interviews. An effort was made to include adults from single-headed households and two-parent families with various income and educational levels. Informants were also selected according to religious affiliation, gender, and type of school their children were attending. Working mothers and home-makers as well as fathers, all of them representing the range of the survey sample, shared their views on matters that needed clarification from the questionnaire, but principally on issues requiring elaboration and others not directly asked by the survey instrument.

Included in the interviews were parental concepts of what is a "good education". There were other items that addressed: parental involvement in children's education inside and out of the home; family religious home rituals and

relationship with churches; views on and relationships with schools; labor distribution among family members regarding children's schooling; relevance of socioeconomic factors as told by parents as they impact on their intentions to aid their children's education; views on discipline and child rearing practices; and finally, expectations concerning children's school achievement and attainment. The analysis of qualitative data paid close attention to shared symbolic language, and narratives of personal meanings in the respondents' perceptions and experiences concerning the presence of religion in their decisions about school choice and participation in their children's education (Appendix B).

Data Analysis

Statistical procedures using SPSS were applied to the survey data set to obtain cross-tabulations and correlations. The data were explored for the possible relationships that might exist among the variables considered, e.g., religious affiliation, religious commitment, parental involvement, type of family, parental education, and reasons given for enrolling children in parochial school. The tests most frequently used were the chi-square, t-test, and Pearson-R correlation coefficient .

A cross-case comparison approach was used to analyze the qualitative material. Once transcribed and translated, the interviews were searched to identify characteristics involved in parental motivations, especially religious ones, as well as the factors considered in decision making about involvement, choice of school and

educational plans. The responses to the interviews were examined for patterns that allow for clustering in typologies or themes related to the research questions. The procedure was applied to members of same church-related subsets (intra), and then inter-group comparisons were carried out.

Description of Samples

Nationality and Language

The sample used in this study consisted of 224 respondents. They identified themselves primarily as Dominicans (43%), Puerto Ricans (31%), Ecuadorians (7%), Colombians (6%), and Mexicans (2%). An assorted group of Central and South Americans makes the other 11 percent. The variety captured by the sample reveals some of the population trends that have been transforming Latino New York. Eighty-six percent of the respondents' parents were born outside the United States. Only 33 percent of the respondents said they were born on the United States mainland. Therefore 67 percent are immigrants who have been residents of the United States for periods that range from one to 45 years. Two thirds of them have lived in the country for less than 20 years. Such distribution coincides with the immigration flows ushered in by the Hart Cellar Act of 1965.

Concerning language, 9 percent of the respondents indicated they primarily speak English at home. Spanish is spoken predominantly by 47 percent, and 42 percent reported speaking both about the same at home. There is virtually no difference in the proportions of Catholics and Protestants who speak primarily

English --about 10%. On the other hand the percentage of Protestants who speak primarily Spanish is larger than the Catholic percentage--51% to 44%. The reverse is the case when it comes to those who speak both languages about equally--44% of Catholics to 40% of Protestants. Comparing to figures for Latinos nationally, the proportion of English-only speakers by 1990 among Latino households was 16% (Enchautegui 1995). Concerning Spanish-only speakers, De la Garza et al.'s national study reported that, "the majority of foreign-born Cubans and Mexicans use Spanish exclusively at home, compared to 30 percent of [island]-born Puerto Ricans." (1992:41) The results for my sample occupy a middle position, with the novelty being that a high proportion of respondents acknowledge the use of both languages about equally at home. It comes as no surprise that with the high component of new immigrants in the sample, about half prefer speaking Spanish. As it will be explained later, Spanish language retention among immigrants is in part a function of length of residence in the U.S.

Age and Sex

Respondents' sex composition was 84 percent female and 16 percent males. These figures may be taken as a rough indicator of the dominant presence of women in the education of children. This is unsurprising in light of previous research findings. Presumably, it is part of mothers' responsibility to answer forms coming from or referring to their children's schools. The participation of men in the survey may reflect a variety of circumstances, two of which may be single-parenthood (15% of male sub-sample), and the existence of

fathers actively involved in their children's education.

The ages of the respondents span 22 to 71 years; but 90 percent are less than 46 years old. Without being significantly different, the mean ages for respondents according to religious affiliation are: Catholics, 36, Seventh-Day Adventists, 39, and Other Protestants, 38. The sample's age structure probably has to do with the way parents were approached. Most of the questionnaires were distributed in elementary schools, which provided access to families with young children.

Religious Affiliation and Commitment

Three percent of the sample indicated "none" as their religious affiliation. The proportion of respondents who said they are Catholics amounted to 67 percent.[5] The remaining 30 percent was made up of Conservative Protestants, identified as Seventh Day Adventists (13%) and other Protestants, mostly Pentecostals (17%) (Table 3.12). Respondents reported to have been associated with their current churches for varying lengths of time (Table 3.13): 73 percent indicated an association for over twenty years or their whole lives (Life-Timers), 16 percent said to have been affiliated for ten to twenty years (Old Converts), and 11 percent for under ten years (New Converts). The chi-square test shows that statistically significant differences at the .001 level exist between Catholics and Protestants, for 98 percent of Catholics are "Life-Timers" as opposed to 24 percent of Seventh-Day Adventists and 11 percent of Other

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[5] Note that U.S. born compared with foreign born Latinos have been found to have lower rates of religious affiliation, especially among Catholics (De la Garza et al. 1992).

Protestants. Twenty-eight percent of Seventh-Day Adventists and 63 percent of Other Protestants have been affiliated for ten to twenty years in contrast to less than 2 percent of Catholics. Hence, the "New Converts" category is made up only of Seventh-Day Adventists and Other Protestants.

The survey's results are in keeping with current research on Latinos' religious affiliations. The largest survey conducted to date on religion in the United States indicated that among Hispanics (random sample of 4,868) "66% are Roman Catholic and 23% identify with other Christian groups, mainly Protestant denominations. A variety of other religions attracts 4% of the Hispanics, while 6% have no religion." (Kosmin and Keysar 1992:5) The main Protestant denominations represented among the Hispanic sample were the various Baptist groups with 7.4 percent and "Pentecostals, Jehovah's Witnesses and Methodists each account for about 2 percent of the Hispanic weighted sample." (Kosmin and Keysar 1992:5) Those results confirmed what Rodolfo de la Garza and his colleagues had found out in 1992 about Hispanics' religious affiliations and rates of commitment in their Latino National Political Survey of 2,817 Hispanics and 456 non-Hispanic whites. They report that among Latino respondents who had a religious affiliation, between 60 to 80 percent were Catholic, with the highest rates of Protestant affiliation occurring in the Puerto Rican community. "One-quarter of the native-born Cubans, as well as 19 percent of the native-born Puerto Ricans, and 11 percent of the native-born Mexicans stated no religious preference or mentioned a non-Catholic and non-Protestant

affiliation. These rates exceed the 'no-preference' responses among the foreign-born, regardless of national origin." (1992:37) The authors conclude by stating that despite 90 percent of Hispanics claiming to receive guidance from religion, more than 40 percent rarely or never attended religious services.

In addition to religious affiliation, the survey sought to measure intensity of religious commitment among respondents. Three dimensions were considered for this purpose: one was respondents' church attendance, another was religious rituals at home, and the third one was respondents' participation in church-sponsored religious formation. Concerning church attendance or participation in religious services --the most widely used indicator--54 percent of Catholics, 85 percent of Seventh-Day Adventists, and 87 percent of Other Protestants reported "high" frequency --once or more per week, including Saturdays and Sundays (Table 3.12). When such figures are broken down, statistically significant differences at the .001 level appear, for Catholics concentrate at the lower end (Sundays only, 43%), while 69 percent of Conservative Protestants attend services at least twice a week. At the other end, 23 percent of Catholics said they rarely or never attend services compared with a low of 5 percent for each of the Protestant groups. For Catholics the proportion of regular Mass attenders is rather higher than national figures for Hispanics as reported by D'Antonio et al. (1996), and for those in New York according to Fitzpatrick, who quoted the findings of a New York archdiocesan study of Hispanics that set at about 33 the percentage attending Mass on Sundays (1987: 136).

Three questions sought to tap regularly practiced home religious rituals. Combined as a scale according to how many of three proposed activities are practiced regularly, 22 percent of Catholics indicated to practice two or three of such home rituals. The contrast is clear when compared to Seventh-Day Adventists (79%) and Other Protestants (82%). Interestingly enough, "prayer and meditation" was reported to be practiced by about the same proportion of Catholics and Conservative Protestants, 63 percent and 67 percent respectively. Giving thanks before meals was more common among Conservative Protestants (76%) than among Catholics (36%) And "prayer and Bible study" also was an overwhelmingly Protestant rather than Catholic activity (84% versus 23%). The differences noted on the three measures are statistically significant at the .001 level.

The questions whether respondents have ever belonged to a) a Bible study group, b) a Catholic formation group, e.g., catechism, or 3) have participated in retreats, or revivals (*cruzadas*) were posed to gauge participation in or exposure to church-sponsored religious activities beyond regular services. Here also, if measured from low to high on a scale by number of events, respondents from the three groups who scored "High" are few in proportion to the total from each religious group. Nonetheless, Seventh-Day Adventists, with 33 percent, hold a lead on the other two—Catholics 16%, and Other Protestants 10%. Having participated in a Bible study group was definitely something Protestant respondents had done (78%), while just above a third of Catholics

reported participation (36%). Participation in other types of religious instruction groups, such as catechism, was not as popular either among Protestants or Catholics (37% versus 44%). About a third in each group reported having partaken at least once in a retreat, *cursillo or cruzada*. Thirty-three percent of Protestants and 38 percent of Catholics did so. Once again, the chi-square tests indicate that the differences are significant at the .001 level. This is also significant in another respect, because even though the percentages seem low, participation in this type of activity normally entails an intense religious experience with lasting effects. Many people have reportedly undergone conversions or intensification of their faith while participating in one of these activities (Gillespie 1991).

Marital Status and Parenthood

Probably a reflection of how closely the Biblical command to remain married is followed (1 Corinthians 7:10-11), 69 percent of Seventh-Day Adventists and 74 percent of Other Protestants were married, whereas the married Catholics reached 53 percent (Table 3.13). Another major contrast between the groups lies in the percentages of divorcees. Sixteen percent of Catholics compared with 4 percent of Protestants reported "divorced" status. In the end, adding the categories "single-never married," "divorced," "separated," and "widowed" we obtain a total of 22 percent for Protestants and 43 percent for

Catholics.[6] These percentages could be construed to indicate the presence of single-headed households in a proportion of two-to-one among Catholics compared with Protestants. The above mentioned difference between Protestants and Catholics is statistically significant at the .001 level.

In this sample the number of children per respondent ranged from 1 to 6. Ninety percent of the parents, though, indicated to have between one and three, with the modal value at 2. Although not statistically significant, a contrasting pattern is noticeable between Protestants and Catholics: greater percentages of Protestants have 3 or 4 children compared with Catholics (37% versus 28%, and 10% versus 7%). In short, Protestants in the sample have larger families. Additionally, it must be noted that a small but negative correlation (r= -.19) exists between number of children per family and parental education. The same happens when number of children and family income are correlated (r= -.10): they tend to run in opposite directions.

Education

Table 3.4 RESPONDENTS' HIGHEST SCHOOLING

	Frequency	Percent
Grade School	20	9%
Some H.S.	26	12
High School	34	16
Vocational School	16	7
Some College	62	29
Completed College	42	19
Some Graduate School	17	8
	N=217	100%

[6] The percentages do not always add to 100 percent for reasons that include missing data, or questions that were answered incompletely or incorrectly.

Concerning parental schooling, 21 percent of the sample reported to have completed less than high school. Another 23 percent indicated to have a high school or vocational level of education. Remarkably, 56 percent indicated to possess schooling that ranged from "some college" to a professional degree. Clearly, at first sight, this self-report on schooling sets this sample above what characterizes Latinos in the United States, and highlights the risk of self-selection along educational levels. There is no reason for alarm if we consider the age structure of the sample and the location of the study. On the one hand, most of the respondents are adults between 22 and 45 years old. On the other hand, New York City seems to stand apart in its tendency to concentrate relatively higher proportions of people from all races and ethnic groups with a college degree. To wit, a recent report shows that for Latinos 25 years old and older, the percentage of college graduates in the city is above the national norm (9%) for that group. In New York City the rate is 12%, but in Manhattan it goes up to 18 percent (Halfinger 1997:B3).

A comparison of respondents according to religious affiliation shows that many respondents acknowledged to have attended at least one religious school at some points in their educational careers. They did so in the following proportions: Catholics, 44%, Seventh-Day Adventists, 35%, and Other Protestants, 18%. Furthermore, though the differences in the respondents' mean levels of schooling are not statistically significant, they exhibit a pattern whereby Conservative Protestants show somewhat lower levels of education than

Catholics.

Table 3.5 LEVEL OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Scale	Catholics	SDA	Other Protestants
Low (less than H.S.)	17%	24%	36%
Medium (H.S. and vocational)	23	17	28
High (some college or more)	60	59	36
	100%	100%	100%
	N=146	N=29	N=36

Occupation and Income

The occupations reported by respondents indicated that about 85 percent of them work for wages, though not always outside their home. More than three-quarters of those gainfully employed work full-time. The types of employment characteristic of the majority are low level service sector or manual labor. Thus, forty-eight percent chose the categories "factory," or "clerical/sales;" and at least half of those who chose "other" (e.g., occupations such as orderly, assistant nurse, and security guard) could be classified in either of the aforementioned. The "professional" and "own business" categories contain respectively 6 percent and 9 percent of the respondents.

Table 3.6 RESPONDENTS' EMPLOYMENT

	Frequency	Percent
Factory	30	17%
Clerical	55	31
Professional	10	6
Own Business	15	9
Domestic Services	12	7
Homemaker	28	16
Other	25	14
	N=175	100%

The comparison on occupation between Catholics and Protestants

renders statistically significant differences at the .01 level. The greatest difference in percentage points is in the "home-maker" category: 14 percent for Catholic women versus 22 percent for Protestant women; to which could be added the respective gap of 4 percentage points in the "domestic services" category. Such contrasts may entail repercussions for parental involvement stemming from the mothers' availability to participate in educational activities with their children. This interaction effect is clearer when staying at home to take care of one's children and work, for example as baby-sitter or foster-parent, is a conscious decision that is made probably at some economic cost. Some of the interviewed mothers said that it made more sense–from an educational and economic point of view--to stay and work for pay at home or supplement their husbands' income with public assistance than to pay for child care.

Concerning income levels, one-third of the sample reports incomes substantially below the poverty level. This finding is not a surprise if we remember that about a third of the parents are single heads of households. Another 46 percent report estimated annual incomes of between $12,000 and $36,000. Thus, about three-quarters of the respondents are making less than the median for Euro-Americans ($37,000) as indicated by the 1994 Census reports. The sample's median income is about the same for Latinos in the United States, as reported by the Census Bureau ($24,000). The category by category comparison between Catholics and Protestants does not yield major contrasts; and any percentage differences found are not statistically significant. Such

finding is in keeping with Kosmin's and Keysar's conclusion that "There are in fact no significant class differences between Catholic and Protestant Hispanics [...] Thus, within the two segments of Christian Hispanics we find homogeneity in terms of socioeconomic indicators." (1992: 9) Finally, it is not uncommon that respondents report levels of formal education that are not commensurate with their reported incomes. Clues to understand this paradox are provided by the qualitative data.

Table 3.7 RESPONDENTS' MONTHLY FAMILY INCOME

	Frequency	Percent
$499 or less	15	7%
$500 to 999	53	26
$1000 to 1,999	68	33
$2,000 to 2,999	27	13
$3,000 to 3,999	18	9
$4,000 to 4,999	6	3
$5,000 to 5,999	6	3
$6,000 or more	13	6
	N=206	100%

The Interview Sample

Eighteen respondents provided the qualitative data that offer real-life stories, and personal ways of weaving issues and concepts with specific circumstances. The data obtained through interviews illuminate connections, and help link the descriptions and general trends detected through the survey with the experiences of people.

The group of respondents selected for interviews had the following characteristics:

Table 3.8 GROUP CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERVIEWEES

Sex	Female(15)	Male (3)
Age	29-44 (10)	36-44 (8)
Religious Affiliation	Catholic (8)	Protestant (10)
Heads of Household	Single (5)	Two-parent (13)
Number of Children	1-2 (13)	3-4 (5)
Parent Schooling	High School (6)	Some College or More (12)
Employment Status	Full Time (13)	Part Time (3) Other (2)

In terms of gender, 15 interviewees were women and three were men, all ranging in ages from 29 to 44 years. All but one were born outside the United States. Their lengths of residence in the United States stretched as far back as the early 1970s.

Concerning religious affiliation and commitment, eight respondents were Catholic with various degrees of involvement in the Roman Catholic Church. Ten Conservative Protestants were interviewed, and Seventh-Day Adventists are

over-represented. One respondent indicated no religious affiliation. Five respondents were women single heads of households; the remaining thirteen represented two-parent homes.

Six respondents had attained up to high school. Seven indicated to have some college-level education; the other five had received college degrees or done some graduate school work. Thirteen people reported to be working full time, whereas only three were part-timers. Of the other two, one was unemployed and the other was a housewife. In general, there was a congruency between type of occupation and level of formal education. However, in several cases, the respondents were underemployed. For example, some of the respondents or their spouses who had attained some college education in their countries of origin or had experience in such professions as nurses or teachers were employed in New York doing factory or cleaning work because they had not yet learned English. Respondents reported a desire to improve their employment conditions but they were also aware of the difficulties to carry out such plans. Some have attempted to take English lessons or finish their university studies, but had encountered conflict with their work shifts and home responsibilities. Although hopeful for the long term, they do not perceive their situation to be just transitory.

Other parents for whom English is not a problem are attending school. They are pursuing college or vocational training which usually takes them longer than the norm to complete given the array of responsibilities, including at least

part time work and heavy family responsibilities. Both situations described above helped to account for the disparities between parental education and employment and income. Given the trade-offs parents make to push themselves and their children forward, they often are excluded from adequate jobs and remuneration. It is frequently the case that immigrant parents are poorer than they should be, given their level of education. In considering the determinants of parental involvement, one must be wary of easily correlating education with the other commonly associated predictors--occupation and income.

Table 3.9 SCHOOLS COOPERATING WITH THE SURVEY AND NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES DISTRIBUTED

Location	Catholic	SDA	Lutheran	Public	Private
Manhattan	1 (540)		1 (60)		
Bronx	1 (230)	1 (100)			1 (30)
Queens				1 (450)	
Brooklyn	1 (250)				

Table 3.10 CHURCHES COOPERATING WITH SURVEY AND NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES DISTRIBUTED

	DENOMINATION		
LOCATION	SDA	Evangelical	Dutch Reformed Church
Bronx	1 (130)	3 (150)	
Queens			1 (60)

Table 3.11 SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INTERVIEWEES

ID	Age	Sex	Rel Affiliation	Education	Emp/status	# Children
1	32	female	SDA	H.S.	P/Time	2
2	34	male	Evangelico	M.A.	F/Time	2
3	30	female	Catholic	H.S.	Unemployed	2
4	40	female	Catholic	H.S.	F/Time	4
5	38	female	None	Some Coll	P/Time	2
6	29	female	SDA	Some Coll	F/Time	2
7	40	male	SDA	H.S.	F/Time	3
8	30	female	SDA	H.S.	Homemaker	2
9	31	female	Catholic	H.S.	F/Time	2
10	40	female	SDA	Some Coll.	P/Time	3
11	35	female	Catholic	College	F/Time	2
12	39	female	Evangelico	Some Coll.	F/Time	3
13	34	female	Catholic	Some Coll.	F/Time	3
14	29	female	Evangelico	Some Coll.	F/Time	1
15	44	female	Catholic	Ph.D.	F/Time	1
16	36	male	Catholic	College	F/Time	2
17	36	female	Catholic	College	F/Time	2
18	35	female	SDA	Some Coll.	F/Time	2

Table 3.12 RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION BY NATIONAL ORIGIN

AFFILIATION	P/Rican	Dominican	Ecuadorian	Mexican	Colombian	Other
Catholic	62%	76%	85%	60%	64%	64%
Seventh-Day Advent	6	17		20	18	5
Other Protestant	32	7	15	20	18	32
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	101%
	N=65	N=92	N=14	N=5	N=12	N=25

Table 3.13 LENGTH OF AFFILIATION BY DENOMINATION

Length	Catholics	SDA	Other Protestants
Less than ten years		48%	26%
10 to 20 years	2%	28	63
Over 20 years or life	98	24	11
	100%	100%	100%
	N=150	N=29	N=38

Table 3.14 SERVICE ATTENDANCE BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Scale	Catholics	SDA	Other Protestants
Low	23%	5%	5%
Medium	23	5	8
High	54	85	87
	100%	100%	100%
	N=149	N=27	N=38

Table 3.15 MARITAL STATUS BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Status	Catholics	SDA	Other Protestants
Single	13%	17%	
Married	56	69	76 %
Divorced	17	7	3
Separated	13		21
Widowed	2	7	
	101%	100%	100%
	N=144	N=29	N=38

CHAPTER FOUR

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT

> Education is first and foremost a moral enterprise (at least when morality is understood in a sufficiently broad way). What could be more fitting than to help students try to make moral sense of their education and discover how, in their life's work, they might make the world a better place?
> Warren Nord, *Religion and American education*

WHAT IS A GOOD EDUCATION?

Together with moral imperatives to live as Christians, Latino parents in New York City want their children to be endowed with the necessary skills to forge a productive life which will result in fulfilling occupations as well as happy lives. Yet, similarities and differences emerge between Catholics and Conservative Protestants as they outline their concepts of a "good education."

Conservative Protestant and Catholic parents concur on several counts as they cope with the education of their children. Foremost among these areas of agreement is that a "good education" starts at home. Whatever they might include in their concept of what a good education is, parents acknowledge forthrightly that theirs is the primary responsibility for starting their children on the path to achieve this goal. They conceive education as a process that begins with laying solid foundations during the years prior to school. Teaching by example,

and as a parent says, "not doing what I don't want them to do," seems to be a golden rule among religious parents. A good education, however, does not have to wait until adulthood to bear fruits: children show it, good or bad, already in their tender years.

Conservative Protestant parents differ from Catholics in one important respect. When asked about their definition of a good education, Conservative Protestants approach it, first, invariably from a religiously informed perspective. What comes first to their minds is an idea of education that gives priority to the spiritual and moral realms; all of which is synthesized in a commonly found expression among them, that the first thing children must be taught is "the fear of God." The evidence of such priority is to be shown by the place God occupies in the daily schedule as well as the child's long-term plans. An Adventist father summarized it thus: "What good is it that they become lawyers or doctors if they go the wrong way by not having God among their affairs?"

Although not exclusive to Conservative Protestants, the moral qualities that come to the fore among parents' views are obedience and honesty, especially truthfulness. They elaborate further on what are the proper behavioral manifestations when a child is getting a good education: he or she must be disciplined and obedient, especially respectful towards parents and adults and, when in the classroom, quiet and good natured.

By contrast, most Catholic parents respond to the question about their

definition of a good education by going directly to its secular dimension. The typical definition emphasizes exposing children to good schools so that they learn the basics well. From there, children who receive a good education are the ones who acquire ever more advanced and modern knowledge; later they must meet the test of being able to apply in real life their accumulated knowledge. Protestant parents, on the other hand, had to be prodded to express their views on the academic component of a good education. Invariably they would construe the question to mean first "what must be done to raise your child as a good human being?" As they elaborated beyond this definition, there was no difference of substance with Catholics in what they expect their children to learn in order to be successful in life. Whether they refer to basic skills or to academic degrees, both Conservative Protestant and Catholic show awareness of the need to help their children be ready to face the challenges of living in a modern society, such as the United States. Adventists have a ready answer that leaves no doubt about the possibility of balancing the spiritual and secular sides of education; says one father, "One must prepare oneself practically as if Christ were never to come, and spiritually as if He were to come tomorrow."

Overwhelmingly, Catholic parents agree with Protestants on the moral and behavioral qualities a child must show as evidence of a good education, but their rationales derive less directly from a religious source. In addition, there are subtle differences among Catholics. These differences stem from the saliency

that religion plays in some more than others. A Catholic mother of two teenage girls, with no ties to the church, argues that a good education starts with the moral component. According to her, if her daughters have a sense of morality they profit from school more, because they know what they go to school for, that is "they know they go there to learn, not to see who it is that they are going to fall in love with, not to pick a boyfriend." Another Catholic mother also emphasizes the moral dimension, but she sees it rooted in her religious faith. She considers that her daughter is a good student because "since she was a little child I have reared her to be so. You see, I am very strict for I am very religious. The child, girl or boy, has to be adapted to the regimen that you teach them so that they can continue the same way in school."

Thus, parents do not neglect their responsibility to provide their children with principles for a good education. In fact, some see it as primarily their preserve. Although they acknowledge schools, especially via teachers, have a role to play in the moral realm, they prefer to have more control over this sphere. Some do it out of concern that their doctrinal beliefs are not shared by school personnel. This view is especially the case with Conservative Protestants. Catholics are more relaxed about this separation of responsibilities, expecting to some degree that a modicum of morality will be taught at schools, if not explicitly at least tacitly through the good example of teachers. Also, a few parents differ philosophically from the morality being passed on to students by schools,

particularly in the emphasis placed on individual and materialistic success. For example, Lorena, single mother and with graduate education, enrolled her son Juan in a magnet public school. She is attracted by the school's high quality academics and pedagogic methods. Nevertheless, she differs with the school's messages as an institution. "The state," says this Catholic mother, "fosters an ethical view that is purely capitalist, that what matters is the individual alone, that if you work hard you will succeed. That is why I want to be in charge of the moral question. The moral component of my son's education, I provide it at home." Parents agree that moral training must lead children to develop gradually the ability to discern for themselves on personal matters, ranging from clothes to friends, with parents watching at a close distance. "I unleash them," says one, "run, jump, go forward, but make good use of your personal freedom --if you want to have it."

Learning to share and live in community is a concern that accompanies religious convictions among Conservative Protestants and Catholics. Though desires for success are focused naturally on their own children, parents are quick to clarify that they also want their children to steer away from egotistical attitudes and practices. Ruth, for instance, phrased it this way, "I wish that my son be happy because he feels useful to society, because he is loved by the people around him. Regardless of the academic level he attains, what matters to me is that he be happy." Others express the desire to see their children successful in

life, but willing to share the bounties that may come with such success. "God willing," says Teodora,

> when my [three] children become professionals, I wish that they teach the young, that they go to different places to give talks where troubled youth may be in need of advice and constructive role models. Although I can't demand it from them, I hope they do as I did when I was a young lady; I used to go with other friends to poor neighborhoods and gave educational talks and taught poor children. At Christmas time, we also collected toys and distributed them among those children.

Referring to her five-year old daughter, a Protestant mother, Karla, said she is training her by providing occasions to share from an early age. Karla, a pastry chef, relates that she takes her daughter to her job, and there "we make muffins and cookies, and on our way home we give them to the homeless or just to people we meet on the street. I also go with her to a place in Manhattan to donate some of her dolls and toys for orphan children. In that and other ways, I teach her that we must give back to God what we receive from Him."

Latino parents exhibit awareness that a good education involves more than schooling. Conservative Protestants see their ideas about how to educate their children rooted clearly in religious grounds. Roman Catholics and the not-so-religious are less inclined to associate their concept of a good education with a religious inspiration, though when probed, all parents agree on the need to cultivate the moral dimension in their children.

Ideal and Realistic Educational Expectations

But how are children doing in school, and what do their parents expect them to attain? Survey respondents provided information on their children's current school performance according to report cards. Seventy-eight percent of Catholics and 71 percent of Conservative Protestants rated their oldest children's performance as either "good" or "excellent." "Satisfactory" performance was reported in a higher proportion by Conservative Protestants (22% versus 15%). These differences were found to be statistically significant at the 0.01 level.[1]

The ideal parental expectations in terms of degree attainment by children were overwhelmingly concentrated in the categories "college" and "professional" for Catholics and Conservative Protestants alike. Catholic parents hope their children obtain at least a college education in a proportion of 34 percent compared with 29 percent for Conservative Protestants. Those Catholics who wish professional degrees–beyond the college level–for their children is 62 percent, while the proportion of Protestants is 61 percent. Now, if respondents' ideal expectations by religious affiliation are compared along a scale ranging from 1 to 4 (1=H.S., 2=vocational, 3=college, and 4= professional degree, such as doctor or lawyer), one finds that Seventh-Day Adventists score even higher

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1 Comparisons involving younger children resulted in differences between Catholics and Protestants that were not significant, probably owing to sample size.

(3.7) than Catholics (3.5) and Other Protestants (3.4).

When parents answered the question about their realistic expectations concerning their children's academic attainment, however, they adjusted them substantially downward. Consequently, the percentages in the lower categories such as "high school" and "vocational school" rose for Catholics as well as Protestants. In a similar fashion, percentages in the category "professional" went down for both groups, and those in the "college" category increased. The most drastic adjustment away from professional degrees is registered among Protestants; they go from 61 to 28 percent, whereas Catholics descend from 62 to 41 percent. This time the differences are statistically significant at the .05 level. Compared along the 1-to-4 scale mentioned above, respondents aligned thus: Catholics and Seventh-Day Adventists are tied with 3.2 points each, whereas Other Protestants trail them again with 3.0. Furthermore, when respondents expecting their children to attain a professional degree are compared by level of education, one encounters even more marked differences, which are statistically significant at the .05 level. Sixty-six percent of respondents with "High" education (some college or more) compared with 45 percent of respondents with "Low" education (less than H.S.) wish their children attained a professional degree (Table 4.1). Once the adjustment to realistic expectations takes place, a substantial advantage is still kept by respondents with "High" education (40%) over those with "Low" education (26%).

Table 4.1 EXPECTED ATTAINMENT OF PROFESSIONAL DEGREE BY PARENTAL EDUCATION

Expectation	Low	Medium	High	Totals
Ideal	45%	62%	66%	N=130
Realistic	26%	44%	40%	N= 77

Interviewed parents provide information that can help make sense of such differences in expectations. From the point of view of educational goals, the children of these parents hope for a typical range of careers. Parents report children aspiring to become firefighters, nurses, businessmen and doctors. Though practical motivations do not set religious parents apart from the rest, the way they react to children's expressing such aims may reveal their religious values. On the surface one may find these parents ordinary, but they are sensitive to their children's abilities and needs in many ways. With her eldest daughter diagnosed as learning-disabled since fifth grade, Constanza recalls the struggle to accept that reality.

> "Nonetheless," she says, "I had to accept the truth, and I have seen how my daughter has tried to get out of Special Ed. I have helped her. I have said to her, 'You can because willing is power. If you want you can.' And so over the years she has overcome her condition gradually. Her teachers tell me that she is reaching her grade level. I know that many kids when they are in Special Ed they drop out by the eighth or ninth grade. But God willing, my daughter will graduate from high school this year."

Also typical of the group, Karla expresses her approach,

> My daughter is still young and she likes many things. If I see that she shows interest in something, I will try to support her to the maximum. I hope to detect opportunely what her interests are so I can guide her. I hope she goes to college and becomes a career woman. But that decision has to be made by her. I am not going to force her to do something she does not like.

Others take a more proactive approach, like Magali, who related that she took her nine-year old daughter to her work place, "I have told her she has to study if she wants to become somebody. I have taken her to the factory where I work at piece rate, and told her, 'this is what I have to do because my parents couldn't give me an education.' But that if she wants to study I am going to help her."

The material world does not, however, lose its importance among religious parents. The link between studying to get a job that pays well to acquire what one needs or wants is made clear to children early on. "I told my daughter" says Seventh-Day Adventist María, "that since she likes to ask for things so much, she will have to earn them through her labors, but of course, she has to study first." Also, parents instill in their children awareness about the connections between learning and employability. "I tell my daughters," says another Adventist mother, Constanza, "'if you don't study, when you go looking for a job, they will ask you 'what can you do?' if you say 'nothing,' then they are not going to hire you. You must know some trade, otherwise you are going to end up mopping floors, clean up apartments or baby-sit. O.K. Those are jobs, but I think you are capable of doing different things, of reaching higher goals'."

Religious influence creeps in at the level of attitudes and approaches: in the hopes and tenacity to aid their children that parents display. Parents report conversing often about goals with their children. They say they take advantage of available opportunities to make their children realize that there is a correspondence between level of effort and success; that nothing comes about without certain sacrifice. Some of them foresee that college will be expensive and are already saving money for that purpose.

Here the idea of the future is not fatalistic at all. Realistic expectations for the majority are accompanied by hopes that their children will win scholarships, and that parents will be able to cover some of the expenses. Religious parents frequently condition their statements about the future on God's will, but that does not deter them from pushing their children to work for success. As mentioned above, one difference between Catholic and Protestant parents is that the latter couch their aspirations more obviously in religious terms. For instance, Cecilia, Pentecostal and mother of three, comments on her children's choice of goals. Says she, "So long as the search of God is the top priority, aspiring to have a career and economic betterment is not incompatible with being a Christian. So long as God is above everything else, and one does not pursue vain things that are unnecessary. So long as one is searching for the kingdom of God, everything else will follow."

Measuring Parental Involvement

On a scale built with eight indicators (see page 53), survey respondents report high mean levels of parental involvement to start with. Conservative Protestants score 15.8 and Catholics 17.5 in a scale from 0 to 24 points, and the standard deviation is slightly higher for Protestants (5.0 versus 4.3). The test of significance showed the difference between Conservative Protestants and Catholics on parental involvement to be significant at the .001 level. Only a slight difference appears between Seventh-Day Adventists (15.5) and Other Protestants (16.1).

Table 4.2 COMBINED PERCENT CHOOSING "RARELY" AND "NEVER" ON PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT ACTIVITIES

Indicators	Protestants	Catholics
Remind children to do homework	8%	4%
Attend parents meetings	12	14
Review Children's homework	18	9
Control TV watching	18	13
Call/drop by school to ask	29	17
Accompany children to public library	51	30
Take children to museum/educ.activities	59	41
Volunteer for school activities	63	49

N=195

When both groups are compared on individual indicators, a pattern emerges. Protestants consistently concentrate higher percentages in the lowest categories--"Rarely" and "Never," especially for those indicators that reflect participation in activities outside the home. Although such concentrations do not have necessarily a negative connotation, they must be kept in mind for their

possible indication of other underlying effects –besides religious orientation– such as parental education, length of residence in the U.S., English proficiency, and even lack of time. In short, Catholics and Protestants are differentially affected in their involvement by religious affiliation. However, they share common underlying socioeconomic factors that contribute to the similar shape in the distribution of percentages for both groups (table 4.2).

Other Dimensions of Parents' educational involvement

Ethnographic work uncovers other dimensions, including religiosity, of parental involvement that complement what is captured by the above-mentioned scale. Thus there is evidence that parents show their concern with the education –and not solely academics– of their children, through various degrees and forms of parental involvement that are not limited to the above-specified list. What comes through in field work among a cross-section of the Hispanic community is that parents –regardless of their background– seem to understand the need for their involvement. However, a host of constraints affect the forms and intensity of such involvement. When parents are able to act upon their understanding, however, it is difficult to ascertain whether they vary according to religious affiliation and whether their practices have a direct or more indirect bearing on children's schooling. Nevertheless, we may attempt to interpret their expressed beliefs and behaviors for what they can tell us in

relation to their children's education.

Concerning time management, most parents attempt to instill a sense of order in the organization and administration of their children's time. Organizing life around chores spread throughout the day and the week seems to be a common didactic technique. Thus, a non-denominational evangelical mother tells us that as soon as her 6-year old daughter gets up in the morning,

> She knows she has to brush her teeth, take a shower and get dressed. She has like a routine, she gets dressed and then has breakfast. After breakfast she places the plates and glasses in the dishwasher. Later she can play and do whatever she wants as long as she keeps her room in an orderly manner. Otherwise she has to clean it first. Everyday she has to take the garbage out; she is responsible for that. Twice a week, she has to wash all the dishes. She is also responsible for feeding the fish I bought her, and every two weeks she must change the fish's water.

Another mother, an Adventist, rearing her daughters alone, and herself attending college, notes that she leaves instructions for the day in clearly sequential order. The youngest daughter knows that she must go to the after-school program until 6:00 PM, and do her homework there. Then she comes home, eats, and takes a bath. Her older sister receives her own set of instructions, which include preparing dinner for her sisters and mother. Being able to delegate functions does not mean less responsibility for the mother, who asserts, "I have always to be inspecting. Not whether they do their chores and homework, but making sure they do them right."

Time administration also goes hand in hand with the way parents deal with the ubiquitous TV set, and such management is part of their efforts to

steer their children towards a more structured and educational use of their time. One mother, for instance, establishes viewing criteria in terms of hours and days, depending on the character of programming and whether it is weekdays or weekends. "If it is an educational program, I let her watch two hours; if it is cartoons, I allow her only one hour." Probably stricter, another mother sets TV viewing time at just one hour. "One hour they watch," she affirms. "One hour when they are in school. After that, they take a shower and go to sleep." On the other hand, for a struggling mother, not having access to certain amenities is a blessing in disguise. A mother of three interviewed at work said, "They are home now, and I don't know if they are watching TV. But at least, thank God, I don't have cable."

Organizing time usage through commands is not the only parental approach to instilling values. Some parents underline the relevance of frequent conversation to make explicit to their children those values they want to transmit. Examples, they say, are not enough, for their children may take too long to discover truths that are not self-evident, especially when it comes to developing the spiritual side of life. Daily occasions must be used to make children think critically, for instance, about the relative importance of material things and the subtle benefits of enjoying nature.

A specific form of these familial exchanges is the ongoing dialogue, particularly between mothers and daughters, concerning aspects of life that

may, if mishandled, have significantly deleterious impacts on the latter's schooling. The topics they cover range from feminine hygiene to marital stability. The mothers make instructing their daughters on such matters a necessary component of their education. One indicator of such concern is how often sexual education crops up in conversations about what mothers consider a good education for their daughters. Such education is punctuated by admonitions to postpone immediate gratification and avoid unwanted pregnancies. It is not atypical for single mothers to use their own cases to show the ravaging impact such events have had on their own educational aspirations. "I tell them," says Constanza who has been single-head of household with three daughters for eight years, "beware, unfortunately I didn't make the right decisions; it is not good nor pretty to be alone and much less with children."

Committed parents who are able to realize their desires to get involved in school-related matters implement a diversity of arrangements to help their children. When two parents are present, for example, mother and father take charge of homework supervision on alternate days. In some cases, which I found more common among parents with college education, parents say that they even give their children extra work on top of that assigned by the school. For those about to be enrolled in school there are also early initiatives. A working single mother, attending college part-time, relates that she goes to

work at dawn, but leaves, nonetheless, assignments with grandma for her pre-school daughter. "She has three notebooks," says she, "one for art, one for math, and another for writing. I leave enough work for the day, and at night I go over it together with my daughter."

Still, parents who are aware that they are not doing enough to help their children academically have ideas of how to go about improving. Another Adventist mother, with only a high-school education, notes that "I don't read the newspaper. In truth I don't like to read at all. But I don't say it aloud. I try to read to my children because they like it, and because the school principal told me it's important that I read to them." When asked if she was not taking her child to the library for lack of time, this mother responded thus,

> No, it's lack of initiative. I have enough time. What happens is that I go through phases, some times I get hot and start doing things like teaching them, taking them to the library. But then I get cold, I lose strength. I get irritable with their behavior. I want them to be perfect. I lose sight of the fact that they are children, and that they learn step by step.

Constraints work to widen the gap between stated intentions and actual involvement. What is amazing is that mothers who work full-time in factories or offices and travel by public transportation still find the time, even if limited to help their children. When asked if she supervises her eight-year old daughter's homework, a mother's resolute answer is, "Every day. After I get home at 7:00 PM from the factory--it takes me two hours to get home--I cook and then I check if my daughter has done her homework. I help her until she goes to bed."

English proficiency may also constitute a challenge to parental involvement. One mother frankly acknowledges that when it comes to helping her child with assignments in English she resorts to guesswork. "I mostly guess," she says, "but I will arrange with the daughter of a friend of mine to come and help her with the English part." A couple where the father is less schooled than the mother has implemented another arrangement whereby the father cooks so the mother can take the time to help their son with the schoolwork.

Parents' concern for their children's schooling and education is manifested to different degrees through initiatives as diverse as setting time apart for regular family dialogue, teaching children to use time efficiently, reading to them aloud, and hiring tutors to supplement parents' efforts when they are short of ability or time. As the interviews with parents reveal, the use of even a well-constructed scale with indicators of parental involvement is bound to be an imperfect measure at best.

The Educational Impact of Home Religious Rituals

For our present purposes, it is important to identify the educational impact--even if indirect--of certain home religious practices. With that aim, I

asked parents to describe practices and rituals aimed at developing in their children a commitment to their particular religious faiths. My intention was to capture any broader and perhaps unintended pedagogical effects that such behaviors might contain. A rather surprising finding, for example, was to hear among some Conservative Protestants that, though interested in seeing their children grow up as members of the churches they now attend, parents make clear that they do not want to force it upon them. This attitude could be interpreted as an attempt to foster individuality and independence in decision making, even in areas dear to religious parents. Several cases illustrate the point. For instance, even when their children ask to be baptized, some parents want them to take their time and consider it carefully. An Adventist mother, who attends church three times a week, explained her tactics thus,

> My daughter has told me, "I want to get baptized when I turn 11." I say to her, "Are you sure you want to do that?" and then she goes away. The reason I do that is that just because she says she wants to get baptized, it doesn't mean she knows what she is doing. When she finally decides to baptize, I know it's going to be important to me. But I want that it be important to her too.

Still, the goal of cultivating children's religiosity depends heavily on parental intervention. A father explains, "I could just take them to church, but if I don't devote time to explain to them with some tact what is right and what is wrong -- the importance of building principles-- not just religious bases, conflict eventually is going to arise between us." A Catholic parent shares the same

approach with the Protestants mentioned above. He is devout. He goes to church, and he prays at home. But he wishes his children not to feel obliged. "I go to Mass because I enjoy it. And I want my children to go too but with *gusto*; because they find meaning in it as I do. That is why I teach more by example. I want them to say 'thank God' at the table, because they find religious value in saying it, not out of obligation." Thus, though obedience and commitment to church are characteristics of religious parents, they are not blind to the educational value of fostering independence of thought in their children.

Rituals practiced as a family at home are more commonly found among Conservative Protestants. Interspersing prescribed routines with spontaneous acts, family units gather several times a week, in the morning and/or night, in rituals that include Bible reading, study of church lessons, *coritos*—singing hymns-- and prayer. References to this type of daily family ritual are scanty among Catholics. The most common act seems to be praying before retiring to sleep. "I make them pray at bed time," says a mother of three. "If my son falls asleep before doing it, I wake him up and ask him, 'My son, did you pray?' He says, 'No mommy. Come I want to pray with you.' So I sit by the bedside and we pray together." In the same vein, another mother relates how she prays and meditates every night. "I pray for my family that is far away. I pray for my daughter. Before we go to sleep we pray together. She is learning." Coming together for worshipping in addition to church attendance is a family affair more

common among Conservative Protestants.

Habits developed for the purpose of worshiping or passing on traditions may strengthen skills applicable in other realms. Frequent dialogue, discussion of church lessons or doctrinal teachings help children with verbal skills and social rules, such as turn-taking to speak or to lead prayers. A mother of three relates her case, "I tell one of my daughters, 'today you lead.' Since the youngest one doesn't know how to pray yet, I ask her to give thanks at meal time. Next day is the turn for the other daughter." Such bonding and communication perhaps strengthen self-confidence that proves useful outside the home.

In keeping with a long tradition of using the Bible in connection with building skills such as reading and literacy in general, Protestant parents make the point explicit. "For us salvation is central," says Luis of the Reformed Church. "To be saved is our aim, and we want our children to be saved. When they read the Bible one wants them to understand." To achieve this goal they invest time and energy to prepare children well. Children receive booklets from the church, and they are responsible for memorizing specific stories or fragments that they must recite or discuss on the Sabbath or Sunday school. In other workbooks they have to color or fill empty spaces with text. Parents want to make sure children do this homework, and to that end they even read aloud the stories during the day or as bedtime stories to their little ones.

Nowadays, resourceful parents use an array of materials available to bring across the religious massage with the help of gimmicks and electronic devices. For example, Ana who has two children –four and eight years old— says that at home "we pray, study the Bible, play games and puzzles, and read stories related to the Bible." Another mother, María, explains that given her son's age, he did not understand that Saturday is a special day when TV is not to be watched. She compromised and acquired videos such as "My Friend the Bible" and others about the Life of Jesus Christ to replace the morning cartoons. The end result of such activities as reading, reciting, memorizing, coloring and discussing religious materials at home and at church may be the intensified practice of skills that probably and inadvertently are transferred to the academic sphere proper.

The Determinants of Parental Involvement

In addition to comparing Catholics and Protestants with respect to the main dependent variable, i.e., parental involvement, these two groups were also compared on three religious indicators (see page 55), as well as education and income. The group statistics on the religious variables showed statistically significant differences on their means for Catholics and Protestants, but not so on parental education and income.

Table 4.3 GROUP STATISTICS AND INDEPENDENT SAMPLES T-TEST

Variables	Religious Affiliation	N	Mean	St Deviation	Sig.2-tailed
Home Rituals	Protestant	51	2.27	.82	.000
	Catholic	143	1.22	.87	
Exposure	Protestant	49	1.53	1.02	.05
	Catholic	141	1.17	1.12	
Attendance Rel Services	Protestant	48	1.75	.60	.001
	Catholic	143	1.33	.80	
Education	Protestant	51	2.94	1.91	.08
	Catholic	140	3.45	1.74	
Parental Involvement	Protestant	51	15.8	5.00	.009
	Catholic	140	17.5	4.32	

As shown in table 4.3, Protestants consistently score higher means than Catholics on the three measures of religiosity. They also evince less variation than Catholics around the mean. Here it is confirmed that, on average, Conservative Protestants are related to their churches more closely than Catholics.

In an attempt to explore ways to explain the possible impact of religiosity on parental involvement, the relationship between length of affiliation and parental involvement was first explored. It was found that respondents with less than ten years of affiliation with their current churches scored lowest on parental involvement (14.4 points), followed in ascending order by respondents affiliated between 10 and 20 years (16.5) and those with affiliations of more

than 20 years (17.5). Secondly, frequency of religious attendance and length of religious affiliation were combined to see what, if any, they contribute. This combination produced a nominal scale of five categories: "Nones," "Recent Converts," "Old Converts," "Mid-Lifetimers" and "High-Lifetimers."[2] The cross tabulation of these types with parental involvement generates the following distribution.

Table 4.4 PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT BY RELIGIOUS TYPE

TYPES	N	MEAN	ST. DEVIATION
Nones	26	17.4	4.1
Recent Converts	18	14.4	6.1
Old Converts	17	16.4	4.1
Mid-Lifetimers	46	16.7	4.6
High-Lifetimers	85	18.0	4.1
	N=192		

Table 4.4 shows values relating the religious categories and parental involvement. The differences between the means are statistically significant at the .05 level. Worth highlighting is the score by "Recent Converts," whose mean (14.4) is the lowest and whose standard deviation is the largest (6.1). Moreover, this category evinces a lower mean than all Protestants together.

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2 "Nones": Low attendance and any length of affiliation, mostly Catholics; "Recent Converts": High attendance and less than ten years of affiliation, all Protestants; "Old Converts": Medium attendance and 10-20 years of affiliation; "Mid-lifetimers": High attendance and 10-20 years of affiliation; "High-Lifetimers": High attendance and over 20 years of affiliation, mostly Catholic.

Considering that "Mid-Lifetimers" and "High-Lifetimers" are made up primarily of Catholics, these results confirm indirectly that as a group Catholics score higher than Protestants on parental involvement. In the case of relatively recent Protestant converts, it looks problematic that their intense piety might be taking them away from activities that could help their children's schooling. Such results then take findings by other researchers about Conservative Protestants a step further. Protestants not only evince lower levels of educational attainment, but they show also lower levels of parental involvement --at least on explicitly school-related activities-- which may affect the educational chances of their progeny. Perhaps commitments to church and devotion at home steer parents away from specifically school-related activities.

The Impact of Parents' Schooling on Their Involvement

Respondents were compared on parental involvement according to their levels of education. Statistically significant differences at the .001 level are evidenced between parents with "Low" (14.9 points), "Medium" (16.5) and "High" (18.1) levels of education. Moreover, an examination of respondents on parental involvement according to highest schooling attained produces the following distribution.

Table 4.5 PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT BY HIGHEST SCHOOLING

RESPONDENTS' SCHOOLING	MEAN	STD. DEVIATION
Grade School	13.6	6.0
Took Some High School	16.0	4.2
High School	16.2	5.0
Vocational School	17.5	3.7
Some / Two-Year College	18.2	3.5
Completed College	18.0	3.7
Some/Completed Graduate School	19.0	3.6

The progressive ascent of mean parental involvement as education increases (Table 4.5) uncovers a positive association between the two variables, as reflected by the correlation coefficient (r= .30). There is a notable difference between the two extreme values. Respondents with the highest education take a lead of above five points over those with the lowest schooling. The test of significance for the means differences between the groups resulted in a value of .001. Whatever the role of religion, parental education is undoubtedly a strong factor underlying parental involvement.

The relationship of income to parental involvement is not as clear as in the case of education and parental involvement. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that education and income do not alter the difference between Catholics and Protestants on parental involvement. When Catholics and Protestants are compared on parental involvement controlling by education and income, the

difference between them remains. The same result is obtained when the two groups are compared holding income constant: For those with family incomes above $36,000 a year, both groups score above their respective means but Catholics score 18.7 and Protestants 16.6 on parental involvement. The difference is statistically significant at the .05 level.

The Relevance of Family Structure and Gender Roles to Parental Involvement

Women bear most of the responsibilities related to child rearing in general, and schooling in particular; that is, independently of their marital status, and even when a father is a present and active participant. Depending on certain conditions, however, they have at their disposal a diversity of arrangements that aid them to better carry out such responsibilities. Thus, although it is a fact that many women's marital status is "single," it does not always mean they are alone. Familism, which paradoxically often reinforces the gender subordination of women by placing a disproportionate burden on them (Hurtado 1995), comes in handy to help solve many of the daily tasks child rearing is made of. Otherwise it would be difficult to understand how mothers, especially those single-heads of households, could get involved in the academic development of their children without the relief provided by a host of blood and quasi relatives, whether they live together or not. Grandmas, though, beat any other contributor to child rearing by far, except perhaps for

the father. Once she occupies a niche in the household, the idea of her being there no more is almost unthinkable.

Table 4.6 PARTICIPATION OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN THREE SELECTED ACTIVITIES

(Protestants in bold)

	MOTHER		FATHER		SIBLINGS		OTHER[3]		
Takes children to / from school	**57%**	62%	**22%**	23%	**10%**	4%	**8%**	9%	N=188
Supervises homework	**73%**	73%	**22%**	22%	**2%**	1%	**2%**	3%	N=191
Attends school meetings	**59%**	70%	**26%**	20%	**2%**	1%	**2%**	2%	N=178

The centrality of the mother is undisputed when it comes to parental involvement in children's education (Table 4.6). It would be very hard to outdo the assessment of their own importance. In a representative affirmation, a mother says,

> The role of the father is secondary. It is auxiliary to the function of the mother. Many families are just appearances, the father is a figurehead, a passive member. The father --without generalizing-- I would like to see how many fathers attend the parents meetings, how many take the children to the doctor, who talks to the children, who advises them, and even who reprimands and punishes them. The mother does most of these things, even when the father is present. The woman is the one who carries most of the burden.

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3 "Other" includes grandparents, though they were not specified in the questionnaire. Moreover, grandparents' involvement may include different activities from the three featured here.

Harsh as this statement may look, it leaves no doubt that the traditional labor distribution within the family remains almost intact, despite the overwhelming participation of women in the labor market. Candidly, a male respondent summarizes the prevailing view,

> The Hispanic culture functions thus: the mother is in charge of the children's education. Even if she works outside the home, she has to do it because that is her function. The mothers are the ones who attend meetings and respond the calls from school. Children are socialized in this environment, and when they grow up, they assume it as normal that women play the role I just described. It's the same with the church. There it's women who are the most active and committed members. They are sensitive, take initiative, take the time to do things. Men dodge commitment to the church. Perhaps they are more motivated by the goal of making money.

As confirmed by the figures obtained and the opinions collected, more Conservative Protestants than Catholics uphold a view that favors family stability along the lines of a male provider and a female in charge of the home and the children. Seventy-two percent of Protestants contrasted with 56 percent of Catholics reported being married. Meanwhile 20 percent of Protestants compared with 12 percent of Catholics said they were housewives. Combined, these proportions can be taken as indicative of substantial differences in preferences of family structure and functioning as well as the upstream struggle to keep a two-parent family intact with a mother at home.

Contrary to the widespread belief that working mothers, especially single ones, are deficient providers of company and support, one finds countless stories of how mothers surmount obstacles to aid their children's development.

It is common to find, for instance, that instead of withdrawing from commitments after work, mothers devise ways to maximize any little time left. Referring to her two children, Sarah says, "All the spare time I have I try to devote to them. On my day off, Wednesdays, I try to take them wherever I go. To the store or the doctor I take them with me. As soon as they are out of school, I go out with them so that we can share time together. On Saturday, we all go together to Church. On Sunday, I spend the whole day with the girls. Except for work, I take my daughters everywhere I go." Time and again, mothers tell of sacrifices --professional or otherwise-- when faced with choices that might prejudice their children. Julia, school teacher in the Dominican Republic but factory worker in New York, relates,

> With three young children I can't afford to get back from work at 6:00 PM, and then leave again to go to study English. Of course, I have attempted to do it twice, but I have given up. For I feel I am neglecting my children, and I am afraid the City takes them away from me. I know I need to get my teaching license, but I better wait until they are a little older and I can leave them alone in the evenings.

The issue of the time needed to learn the ways and get adjusted oneself to the system is central to immigrant women. This was documented decades ago by Fishman, when Puerto Ricans were new in the city. "As the mother becomes more familiar with the schooling process the achievement of the child improves, it is not a problem of an irreversible cultural disposition, but a problem of increasing resocialization within the American school system." (Cited in Fitzpatrick 1987: 251)

Remaining single as a self-imposed status that may protect growing children is also a common story.

> "Not because I say it," comments Constanza. "Other people have also said it. That I have been able to raise a good family alone. I am proud to say it, that I have been single for almost eight years, and I have not given my daughters a stepfather. One has to be very careful, especially when one has girls. I want them to grow up in a constructive and safe environment. So far I have reared my children with God's help only."

For her part, Teodora has an arrangement whereby her former husband takes the children to the public library on Wednesdays, and takes them out also on weekends. He provides some economic support too. So far, Teodora feels that besides giving good example by remaining single, her status is working for the benefit of her children. When asked about plans to re-marry she explains,

> My children have already one father. Why should I give them another? I can have friends, even a boyfriend. But marrying? Not for now. For me it would be like giving them a bad example. Besides, one never knows what kind of man one would get. For me a family is too important, all must be united. Father, mother and children must be like one.

Making ends meet is difficult even for two-parent families. The energy and time involved in solving basic needs of life are frequent deterrents to parental involvement. Such realities as long work shifts or working two jobs are constants among Latinos that make extended family participation a remarkable social resource when available. Grandparents, in particular, provide services--mostly unpaid--that include babysitting, house cleaning, food preparation, not to mention company, emotional support and influences through role modeling and transmission of values. Karla's answers on this issue are exemplary:

Researcher: Suppose your mother no longer lives with you.

Karla: I don't want even to think about it. The difference that would make in the education of my daughter...I don't know if I would be able to keep the job I now have...If I could attend college...I would have to choose between getting an education for my self or attend my child. I don't think I could do both.

Researcher: But you are also planning to do your Master's degree. That would take you at least three years, wouldn't it?

Karla: Between three and five years.

Researcher: So, are you counting on your mother to help you with your daughter?

Karla: Yes.

Researcher: But if she is not there, would anybody else fill the slot?

Karla: Yes, but I wouldn't like to leave my daughter with anybody else. I prefer not to think about it; because if I think about it, it will happen!.

Researcher: We are just trying to figure out the kind of support that you receive from your family.

Karla: Look, just from the economic point of view, if I have to pay a babysitter, I would need two jobs. One to pay the rent, and the other to pay the babysitter. So, I wouldn't have any time left to study or to be with my daughter. Like now, I have time to read to her, and spend time with her, like I do now, taking her to swimming classes.

Grandmothers' help releases time and energy to fulfill parental roles relevant to children's education, but they also educate in their own right. Mary's case is a telling instance.

Researcher: So, if there is no space in your life for religiosity or at least for rituals, are your children different in that regard?

> Mary: Well, they are totally independent about that. They show some religious feelings, but that influence comes from the extended family. Maybe my mother, the grandparents or other relatives. I didn't act like my mother did. For example, every Sunday we had to go to Mass. But since I was fourteen I stopped going to Mass. I don't reject my beliefs or what I was taught. I believe in God. I don't reject the Church or its teachings. I just don't have the interest. I simply respect but don't practice.

In a similar vein, and to show that the extended family needs only to be within reach to have an impact, Lorena tells of how her mother --who is of a different religious affiliation than hers-- has substantially shaped her son's religious inclinations. "There are things my son does that I have never taught him. My mother calls him, takes him to her church, reads the Bible with him, and has taught him how to ask God for things."

Highlighting the importance of the extended family does not negate the participation of fathers, even among divorced and separated couples. What many women complain about is not necessarily the absolute lack of fatherly participation, but the limited assumption of a fair share of the burden. A problem women frequently underscore is that men restrict their contribution to the role of economic providers. Against such a background, there are fathers who step in to play a more active role. Whether at their own initiative or prodded by their wives, they get closer to the educational experiences of their children by participating in such activities such as school meetings, helping with homework, or taking their children to the public library. Referring to her

children Mirta indicates that,

> Most of the attention to their studies is paid by me, the mother, who reviews their homework and checks on their performance with the school. When report cards are due, though, their father also attends parents meetings. That is because I say to him, "you should go *mijo* [dear] so the children see that you are interested in what they are doing."

For her part, Ana agrees that her husband participates little compared with what she does. But she explains that the situation is due to his being absent working hard during the day. "He comes home only to sleep," she says, "but during the weekends he helps the children with their homework." There are cases when, making use of a flexible job arrangement, a father participates in school activities such as field trips. An Adventist teenage daughter attests, "My father goes to almost all my school outings. In my class, I am the only one to raise my hand to invite my parents. Contrary to others, I am not ashamed of my parents. My friends even tell me, 'Hey, your father and mother are nice, and cool,' and all that, because they go with me on school trips and they know all my friends." In another kind of fatherly participation, Mayra tells of the synchronized schedule to take care of her children during schooldays.

> My husband leaves early and comes back early from work. My son gets out of school at 3:00 PM, and my next-door neighbor picks him up. She drops him off at my house in care of my mother who baby-sits my daughter too. My husband gets home around 4:00 PM. He cooks, cleans the kitchen and does other chores, so that when I come home at 6:30 PM, dinner is ready and I can help my son with his homework for a couple of hours.

Family structure and its functioning have an impact on the education of children as reflected in the number of persons they come in contact with and the types of relations those people establish with them. Among Latinos the extended family plays a vital role by fulfilling direct and indirect responsibilities that support children's education. In addition to the nuclear members, grandparents make an important contribution. Grandmothers are of special significance when the home rests on the shoulders of a single mother.[4]

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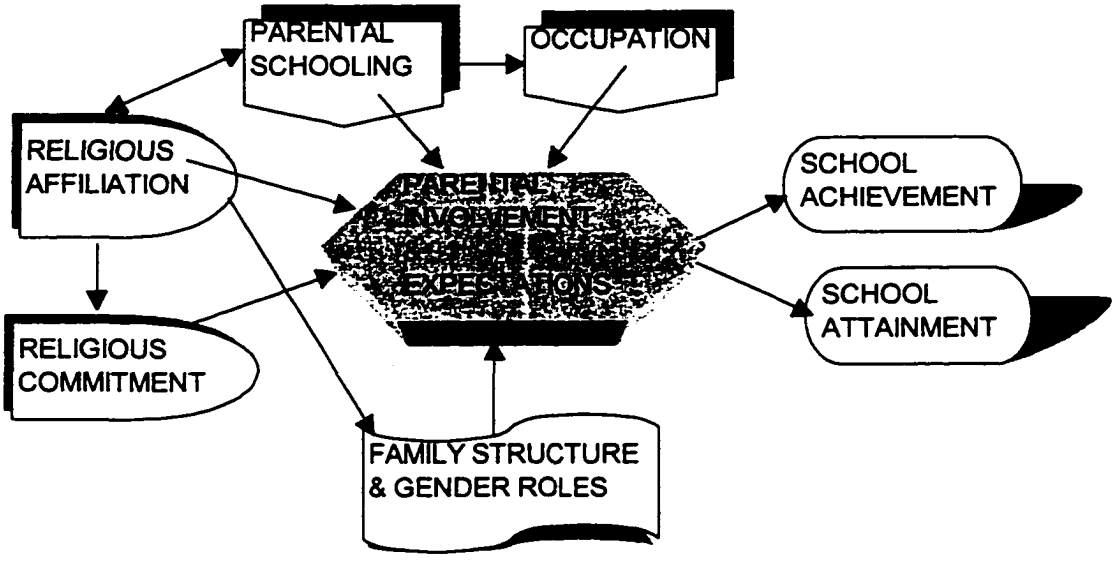
[4] Rich descriptions of how extended families, especially grandmothers, support children can be found also in Nitza M.Hidalgo, "Profile of a Puerto Rican family's Support for School Achievement." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Atlanta, April 12, 1993. This pattern is a common one in many immigrant communities; see, for example, Pyong Gap Min's *Changes and conflicts: Korean immigrant families in New York*, (especially pg. 59-82). Allyn and Bacon, 1998.

Conclusion

The following diagram summarizes in schematic form the discussion offered in this chapter about parental involvement and its predictor variables.

ILLUSTRATION 4.1
PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT AND ITS WEB OF VARIABLES



On a scale (0-24 points) devised to measure parental involvement, Catholic parents register a higher score than Conservative Protestants (17.5 versus 15.8). Most of the difference seems to stem from a greater tendency on the part of Conservative Protestants to participate "rarely" or "never" in activities related to their children's schooling that involve direct interaction with schools and visiting places such as public libraries, museums or other educational outings.

Though as a group, Conservative Protestants evince lower parental involvement than Catholics, it is parents new to Protestantism and "High" in church attendance who score lowest (14.4), followed in ascending order by those affiliated with Protestant churches for ten to twenty years (16.4). Since both parental education is positively correlated with parental involvement, and Conservative Protestants report on average lower levels of education, it is probable that the differences between Catholics and Protestants on the parental involvement scale are partly the result of differences in parental schooling.

The involvement of parents, however, is not captured in its totality by the above-mentioned scale. Religious parents in particular tend to engage heavily in religious activities both at home and church. They get their children involved in such activities too. In the process, their children derive benefits that may directly and indirectly aid their schooling. From intensive parental time sharing and emotional support resulting from joint worshipping and Bible study to conversations on practical advice to preparing and participating in Sabbath and Sunday school, children learn and practice skills that may prove valuable in their school life.

Conservative Protestant parents, on average, report closer attachment to church and more intense religious commitment than Catholics. They, more than Catholics, articulate a concept of education both that is rooted in religious

beliefs and that is couched in religious terms. Although Catholics define a good education more readily in secular terms, ultimately they coincide with Protestants in the perceived need to help their children develop spiritually, and cultivate life's moral dimension. This tendency is understandable in light of Catholic humanism, a tradition that--at least from the time of St. Thomas Aquinas—has anticipated no contradiction between human knowledge and religion. With some notable exceptions, the Reformation was more suspicious of natural knowledge and science, and these characteristics are reflected in the data.

Conservative Protestant parents also differ from Catholics concerning educational expectations. The major difference resides not in the ideal expectations parents hold about their children's attainment, but on what they realistically expect their children will attain. The downward adjustment parents make from the ideal to the realistic among those who hope their children will become professionals is less drastic in the case of Catholics—from 62% to 41% compared with 61% to 28% in the percentages of Catholics and Protestants respectively. Such adjustment may be yet one more effect of differences in parental education. Less formally educated parents may be less confident than the better educated ones in projecting future higher levels of attainment for their children.

Once more, mother's centrality to the educational enterprise is unquestionable. Though most mothers are engaged in paid work too, this is no excuse for neglecting their child-rearing responsibilities. Doubtless, their ability to translate their enthusiasm into concrete activities that aid their children's schooling is often thwarted by factors, such as lack of time and their own educational deficiencies. Nevertheless, parents furnish abundant testimony about creative arrangements that involve parents and other relatives, especially grandmothers, in helping children's education and the daily tasks necessary to support it.

CHAPTER FIVE

> Without guidance we are at best an ethical tabula rasa.
> Doyle, *Education and character*

FAMILY, SCHOOL AND CHURCH: DIVISION OF LABOR OR PARTNERSHIP?

This chapter examines how parents perceive their relationship with school and church, and the contribution they expect from each towards educating their children. First the types of schools their children are attending, including the selection criteria and constraints faced by parents will be explored. Then follows an analysis of parents' views on discipline and authority concerning child rearing.

According to Arons (1997), the entire school reform movement of the 1980s and 1990s in the U.S. "has confirmed that public schools need fundamental change if public education is to survive. Yet with few exceptions, the reform proposals fail to take account of the diversity of goals that Americans have for their children's education" (1997: 49). In the case of Hispanics, it seems that the diversity amongst them does not overlap perfectly with the divides characteristic of society at large which give rise to so-called "cultural wars." Latinos, whether Conservative Protestant or Catholic, generally envision a collaborative relationship with the schools their children attend. Those with active membership welcome the contributions of their churches. It is true that some have stories of close relationships with schools, whereas others report less warm ones. Nevertheless,

most prefer to give schools the benefit of the doubt and are willing to share the responsibility in the educational enterprise. Although there are some who see schools as not fulfilling adequately their mandates, few respondents, if any, perceive schools pushing their children towards goals they themselves do not cherish.

As it is often found in the literature, school authorities and commentators refer to Hispanic parents' alleged negligence concerning aspects of their children's schooling, such as their avoidance of interaction with schools.[1] Nevertheless, other research on Hispanics, especially one that is broad in its considerations of relevant variables, points to the reasons keeping parents from meeting adequately such responsibilities, and throws light on the remarkable participation of many parents--in spite of the odds. For instance, the 1992 Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) found that compared with any other government or public agency, schools are the institutions Latinos interact the most with. According to the LNPS, "more than half of Mexican and Puerto Rican and 40 percent of Cuban respondents engaged in school-related activities. The most often mentioned activities were meeting with a teacher and attending PTA meetings. The least-frequently mentioned activity was attending a school board meeting." (De la Garza et al. 1992:117) In a representative response from my sample, a mother elaborates on how she thinks responsibilities are shared between family and school,

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[1] The 1980 and 1982 High School and Beyond principals' surveys found that "Principals of almost 20 percent of the Catholic school students believe that parental lack of interest in school matters is a problem, but even this relatively high rate is still less

> "For me, they have the same responsibility," says Teodora. "The teacher towards the parents and the parents towards the teacher, it's mutual. I have to keep in contact with the teacher. I must ask 'How is my daughter doing?' That is, in order to know what she lacks, what is she missing in school. I can't limit myself to taking my daughter to school and back. The parent's responsibility includes going to the teacher; asking about her performance, 'Is she behaving well?' Asking about everything. It's not just leaving all the work to the teacher."

The concern and willingness to interact with their children's schools is present among parents. Nevertheless, their ability to engage in such an interaction is often constrained by factors beyond their control.

Between Religious and Public Schools: Do Latinos Have a Choice?

The respondents, who were reached through religious and public schools as well as churches, reported their children attending the various types of schools in the following proportions by religious affiliation.

Table 5.1 **SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION**

Type of School	Protestant	Catholic
Public	62%	48%
Catholic	9	43
SDA	25	3
Lutheran	2	4
Other	2	1
	100%	99%
	N=68	N=143

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than half of the corresponding public school rate." (Coleman and Hoffer 1987:53)

Nine percent of Protestants have their children enrolled in Catholic school. Three percent of Catholic respondents have their children in Adventist school, and the similar proportion is using a Lutheran school. Parents in the survey were asked about different criteria they have or they would consider for enrolling their children in religious schools (Table 5.2). These criteria involved dimensions other than the economic factor, including religion, morality and academics. Parents registered their opinions on a Lickert scale with five items; each containing five options--from strong agreement to strong disagreement.

Table 5.2 CRITERIA FOR SCHOOL CHOICE

Percent Selecting "Somewhat" and "Strongly Agree" by Religious Affiliation

STATEMENT	SDA	O. Protestant	Catholic	Sig. Level
1.I chose a Catholic/Christian school because it provides Bible study, religion class and prayer	48%	54%	59%	Not N=126
2.I chose a Catholic/ Christian school because it provides an effective alternative to the Anti-God attitude prevalent in public schools	41%	44%	45%	Not N=100
3.If our public school had the same academic and moral qualities of our Catholic/Christian school, I would be happy with public school for my children	52%	72%	73%	.01 N=153
4.If our child's public school had quality academics, good discipline, and loving teachers, I would probably have not sought out a Catholic/Christian school	45%	56%	61%	.01 N=129
5.My parenting standards would be maintained as long as my children are given quality moral training in school, even if it is not religious in nature	69%	74%	81%	Not N=175

In three of the five items, Catholics register a higher proportion in the combined categories "somewhat" and "strongly agree." Catholics would exchange one type of school more readily for the other depending on the academic and moral qualities they perceive. This is corroborated by the statement on not seeking out a religious school if the public school has quality academics, discipline and loving teachers (61% versus 45% and 56% for SDA and Other Protestants, respectively); and by feeling that one's parenting standards are upheld if moral training is provided by public schools (81% versus 69% and 74%). A flexibility is implied in that more Catholics than Protestants are willing to trade off a specific religious morality for moral development of some sort. These parents seem to think more or less along the lines proposed by Warren Nord, that

> Schools must set moral standards, model right behavior, punish and reward students for their actions, nurture caring relationships, and develop students' moral identities by providing them with stories and histories that give direction to their lives...Courses in civics and ethics can do a great deal to provide students with the language, ideas, and theoretical resources to make sense of and think critically about, their personal and public lives. (Nord 1995:350)

Overall, the greater tendency of Catholics to agree with the questionnaire statements is also evident in that when the scores on the items 3-5 are combined into one scale ranging from 0 to 12, the Catholic mean is 9.0, whereas the Seventh-Day Adventist mean is 6.7, and the Other Protestants' is 8.2. The difference in their means is significant at the .01 level. And as it will be explained later, the lower percentages of Seventh-Day Adventists agreeing with the

statements are evidence of a stronger allegiance to denominational schools on the part of Protestants, but especially Seventh-Day Adventists.

Reasons for Not Attending Religious Schools

Besides asking parents for the relative ranking of their criteria for choosing religious schools, respondents for this study with children in public schools were asked their main reason for not having them in religious schools.[2] The three principal reasons offered by respondents grouped by religious affiliation were as follows:

Table 5.3 REASONS WHY PARENTS ARE NOT USING RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

Main Reason	SDA	Other Protestant	Catholic
Religious school is too expensive for me	75%	39%	69%
Public school is fine with me	13	58	25
Distance/ Car needed	12		2
Other		3	4
	100%	100%	100%
	N=16	N=26	N=68

The figures in tables 5.2 and 5.3 seem to indicate that Seventh-Day

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[2] According to Arons (1997) the Supreme Court's 1925 opinion that the fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in the Union repose "excludes any general power of the state to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only has come to be regarded as the charter of educational freedom in America and the constitutional foundation of the right to choose a nongovernment school." (Arons 1997:104) He also points to the difficulty of many parents in realizing their aspirations, "On the other hand, economic changes have steadily eroded the value of the constitutional right to choose an alternative to public schooling. Because the cost of all schooling has risen so steeply since 1925, school choice has been transformed from a right of conscience into a privilege of wealth. Within fifty years of the *Pierce [v. Society of Sisters]* decision, the freedom it guaranteed had become available only to the relatively few families who receive scholarships or whose wealth make them able to afford private school tuition on top of state and local school taxes. Thus, while the independence of the nongovernment schools that parents may choose has increased marginally, the practical ability to choose those schools has decreased significantly."(Arons 1997:105)

Adventists and Catholics in the sample are more dissatisfied with public school, and in greater percentage see the option to enroll their children in a religious school restricted because of monetary reasons. On the other hand, Catholics seem also–under certain circumstances—more ready than Protestants to give up a religious school for a public one. That is, they are also willing to compromise on types of religious schools if a public school offers quality academics with moral training. Protestants other than Seventh-Day Adventists, on the other hand, are twice as likely to report satisfaction with the public schools their children are attending. But as it will be elaborated, qualitative data show that Protestants who are willing to enroll their children in religious schools tend to be more specific and firm than Catholics concerning the religious affiliation of the school. In other words, ideally, if their children are to attend a religious school they prefer one of their own denomination. María, who for monetary reasons keeps her daughter in a public school, says, "Even if I have to take my daughter to school by bus, I prefer to keep her at the Adventist school than to enroll her in a Catholic one. There is one [Catholic School] around the corner, but what are they going to teach her there? They are going to teach her to believe in saints, and other things that are not true, like keeping Sunday and not Saturday as the holy day."

Some Conservative Protestants, however, must compromise in the face of overriding interests. Such is the case, for example, when a scholarship is won to attend an expensive school, or when their esteem for public school runs low.[3]

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[3] A survey by the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute revealed that among 733

Karla, who is a non-denominational Protestant, explains,

> My reason for enrolling my daughter in a Catholic school was not primarily religious. You know, I am not Catholic. I am Christian. Well, we are all Christians. But the first reason was that I expect a quality education from that school. A secondary reason, I would say, was that they also instill in children love for God, and that is nice. But that was not the motivation. Public schools have become a large bureaucracy, a machine to dispense jobs and contracts. The children are not the center of their concerns. They start to teach reading in the second grade. They make children take exams not to measure what they have learned, but to see if they reach the minimum requirements the school authorities have established. And that is ridiculous!

Judging from the proportions of respondents falling into the various cells in table 5.3, Protestants and Catholics concur in rating the cost of religious schools as number one reason for not sending their children to one of those schools.[4] Acknowledging that she was prejudiced against public schools long before her daughter was old enough to attend one, María feels sorry that the timing was not more propitious to act on her wishes. When the time came to enroll her in first grade, the family was in debt and with no alternative to public school.

> "I never liked public school for my children," she says. "Probably because of negative experiences people close to me had with them. One of my nieces was always being pushed around, and once she was pushed down the

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New Yorkers 61 percent rated Catholic schools in New York City as "very good" or "good," whereas only 13 percent gave those ratings to public schools (McDonnell 1996: 27).

[4] Coleman and Hoffer found in a national sample considerable overlap in enrollment in public and private, especially Catholic, schools by levels of income. Although rich and poor enrolled their children in non-public schools, they found that "most of private school enrollment is from the middle income range [$12,000 to 24,999 in 1980]." In the same vein, "The Catholic and public schools are virtually identical in the representation of students whose mother's education ended with high school graduation or some college, accounting for almost 70 percent of the student bodies in both sectors." (Coleman and Hoffer 1987: 30-31)

> stairs. My other niece came home terrified because a boy was going to hit her. The daughter of a sister in the church had an eye operated because a child in school ruptured it with a pencil. I used to say, 'Lord, please Lord, help me to spare my child, that she don't have to attend a public school.'"

Compared with Catholics, Conservative Protestants are slightly less prone to find fault with public schools. Protestants report satisfaction with public schools in a proportion of two-to-one over Catholics. And when schools are failing, one finds Protestants willing to accept more parental responsibility for the school performance of their children. "I know," says Claudio, "that there are teachers better than others, and that some put more effort into their jobs. I acknowledge as well that there are students who work harder than others. That is why I don't take the attitude of making schools responsible for everything that is wrong."

In interviews with parents who are paying tuition in private schools, I found that not one regrets it.[5] Though aware that such tuition is a significant amount in their budgets, they generally reject the idea of calling this expense a "sacrifice." Rather, some parents see it as an investment, and others prefer to treat it as a fixed cost, comparable to the apartment rent or the cost of utilities. Parents describe a variety of ways to come up with the money to pay tuition. Karla, for instance, explains: "I will pay $1550 a year. I expect that half will come from my

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[5] Cibulka et al. conducted a study of inner-city private schools at the end of the 1970s, when the U.S. median household income was approximately $20,000 a year. They found that about 85 percent of inner-city private school parents reported an income of less than $20,000. Tuition ranged between $200 and $800 a year. They considered it a revealing fact to find the high "number of families (63 percent) with an income of less than $5,000 who are paying $300 or more to send their children to an inner-city private school. And that 81 percent of the families earning between $5,000 and $10,000 a year manage to pay $301 or more to send their children to inner-city private schools."

income tax return. The rest, I will get it from saving on movies, clothes, and things like that." Researcher: "But aren't those savings a sacrifice?" Karla: "Not quite. For me, it would be a sacrifice if I choose going to the movies and send my daughter to a public school. There, I would be sacrificing her future."

I noticed that when parents use the word "sacrifice" in relation to tuition costs, they refer to the trade-offs required to get the funds to cover school expenses. Such is the case with the time they give up, when instead of spending it with their family, they must be away working extra hours to afford what they consider a better schooling for their children.

When parents express their views outside the survey format, they give evidence of knowing not only about their own circumstances constraining their choices, but also about conditions affecting urban schools, or particularly the schools in their neighborhoods. They also elaborate sophisticated arguments for choosing one particular type of school over another, not limiting themselves to the economic or religious factors, but combining those factors that matter to them in unique ways that make it complicated for the social scientist to generalize with due fairness to the diversity present in the real world.[6]

(1982:37) In 1998, tuition ranges between $1,500 and $3,000.

[6] Safety concerns and distance from home to school combine with cost of tuition to deter religious parents from enrolling their children in a denominational school of their preference, e.g., The Bronx-Manhattan SDA school (which is 55% Hispanic) serves children whose parents belong to 14 churches in both boroughs. The school can provide bus service only for those in the Bronx. Thus, for parents in Manhattan, especially those with children in the early grades, sending them to the SDA school becomes additionally prohibitive.

Take the case of Laura, a Catholic who is active in her church. In addition to going to Mass every Sunday, she participates in various church committees and devotional groups, particularly in the *cursillista* group. Stating her reasons for choosing a school, she says, "I am not going to send my son to a Catholic school to learn religion. In that respect, no. It doesn't make a difference to me if my child goes to a Catholic or a public school. I am not going to send my child to school to learn religion. He goes to school to learn other things. The discipline, religion, and values I teach him at home." Laura believes that parents' commitment to their children's education has the power to even make up for some of their intellectual shortcomings. Parents do not have to depend on the availability of private schools. She says she gives a lot of her time to the Catholic church but sees no need yet to put her son in a religious school. Public schools can be made to work for you, she says, if parents get involved. If parents get engaged with their children at home they supplement the school's job and can demand more from it. But is this mother happy with public schools? Well, temporarily. She has specific plans for her son.

> We plan to take him out of the public school as soon as he finishes the fourth or fifth grade; before he begins to choose his friends. Now I take him to school at 8:40 AM, and my neighbor picks him at 3:00 PM. He doesn't have a chance to socialize with anybody besides his classmates. But when he goes to intermediate school he will have a chance to mingle with other children. Maybe I should not say it, but I think that in the Catholic school he will have opportunity to be with other kinds of children, a better company for him. I suspect children in a private school come from homes where parents care more for their children. You see, in the public school my child attends now, very few parents attend parent-teacher conferences, and the appearance of some children clearly shows they are neglected. That is why I want a better environment for my son.

Another mother, Haydee, who is of Catholic background, sees no need for her two daughters to aspire to a private school, if she could afford it. "I live in a nice area [in Brooklyn]; and schools depend on the area they are located. If you live in a middle class neighborhood, those middle class parents are going to participate and demand more for and from the schools. Therefore, although I have not participated mostly for lack of time, I know other parents have and they are getting a good education for their children."

Constanza, living in a poor neighborhood in the Bronx, reports her three daughters are doing well in school. When the researcher asks, "So would you say they are attending good schools?" She corrects him, "No. Good programs within the schools, yes. Because they have been good students, they have been selected to participate in programs for talented children. Owing to that participation, they have received a good education and are ahead of their grade level." Researcher: "Then you have never felt a need to enroll them in a private school?" Constanza: "No, neither respecting education nor morality. At home we are always inculcating them what they must not do."

Also, the immigrant experience leads many parents to use their knowledge of schools in their country of origin to evaluate what they find in the public or private schools of New York City. Thus, a mother's wary reply shows that, in her eyes, some aspects of schools in New York compare unfavorably with her South American country's schools.

Researcher: You have your children attending public school. Have they

attended any private or religious school?

> Cecilia: No, not in this country. Although based on what I have observed, there is not much of a difference between the children who attend Catholic and public schools. Respecting behavior, when they get on or off the school buses, there is hardly any difference in terms of the noise, conversation, language, and manners they exhibit. If it were not for the uniform, you would not be able to tell who is from a Catholic and who is from a public school. And that is valid for boys as much as for girls.

A Religious School: An Unrealizable Dream?

While acknowledging that his three children who attend public school are performing in a range from satisfactory to excellent, an Adventist father confesses:

> The dream of every Christian father is to have his children in a Christian school. That is a dream. But for a person in our economic condition it is a little heavy. On the other hand, one must acknowledge that the secular education provided by public schools is often more complete. Well, I don't know the whole story here, but in my country [Dominican Republic], public schools are more demanding. Here my children have gone through a fire test, a trying experience, but thank God they are doing well.

In reflecting a disposition to do the most from what they have, Claudio exhorts his children to engage constructively with their school.

> Although my wish had been that my children attended Adventist schools, I realize that can't be owing to our economic situation. Nevertheless, I advise them to behave properly while they are in public school. It doesn't matter. They have to honor their identity as Christians. Of course, I harbor no illusions that they do it to perfection. But at least we make the effort of reminding them.

This constructive attitude towards public school is also found in other respondents, who agree with trying to make the best out of the situation they are in. Cecilia, somewhat disappointed with public schools, says she would prefer her children to attend Christian schools. For the moment, however, that possibility is out of reach.

Therefore, she insists that despite the school's discipline problems, low standards, and uncaring teachers, her children must give the best of them while they are in the public school. She believes that by being good students they not only fulfill their responsibility, but they can still play a positive role model for others; they can be "salt and light to the world."

Another Adventist mother, Esquirina, restrained by economic straits makes no secret of her aspirations--were her situation to change.

> Researcher: Do you think you will keep your daughter in public school or are you planning to change her?
>
> Esquirina: If my economic condition allowed me, I would already have my child in the Adventist school. But my economic situation makes it impossible for me; it is too expensive for me. If my situation were to improve in the next two or three years I would register her in the Adventist school.

When prodded with a hypothetical situation, she takes a revealing turn, indicating the saliency that denominational allegiance has among Protestants.

> Researcher: If your situation were to improve soon, would you consider another religious school that is not Adventist?
>
> Esquirina: Only a Methodist school would be a good alternative, not any other. That is because before we became Adventist we were Methodist--up to about 6 years ago. These two religions are very much similar to each other. If I had to elect among other religious schools I would choose a Methodist, especially one that is located near Fordham Road [Bronx].

When money rather than religion is the focus, parents still would like to have more options. A mother with no particular religious affiliation and two children in public school was also asked the same hypothetical question. She said money was an

important reason in exercising her choices.

> Researcher: If, hypothetically, you had the money to pay private tuition, would you register them in a Catholic or other religious school?
>
> Candida: I don't see any benefit or loss in enrolling them in that particular type of school. What I look for in a school is safety, teachers that care, a good learning environment. So far, I have found those things for my children in public schools. This, of course, after I asked friends around. I visited schools, and made my choice in an informed way. I am satisfied with the schools my children are in, they are learning and they are safe. Naturally, I don't want to disqualify all religious schools, for the same reasons that I can't disqualify all public schools. There are good and bad schools in both sectors.

Thus, religious and non-religious parents wish they could afford the option of a private school. Their aspiration, however, does not necessarily imply a negative attitude towards public schools. In the same vein, fairness is a virtue not exclusive to parents with children in a particular type of school. Parents who are sending their children to religious schools have also kind words for public schools even when they are getting what they want from religious schools. In addition to specific ideological considerations, other factors are included that are more specifically related to their experiences. Thus, for instance, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with schools stems many times from identifiable sources, often personified in a particular teacher or school administrator. On other occasions, it is the environment and human touch that parents perceive as positively or negatively affecting their children. A Protestant mother recounts the basis for her positive assessment.

> Researcher: How do you evaluate your experience with the [Adventist] school your child is attending?"

> Mother: Very good. You know that it's not enough to be a knowledgeable teacher, but also to give children love and be tender with them. The teachers there are kind to the children. I hear negative things about the public schools, but like in everything else there are exceptions. Like everywhere else, religious schools also have problems, not just the public schools. For example, the other day I heard that students from two Catholic schools were fighting against each other. Thank God the school my daughter attends is one of the good ones. Then again, I would not mind to have my child attend any type of school, including the Catholic, but my preference stems from my interest that the school teach my daughter the same principles, doctrine that I am teaching her at home. In other words, I don't doubt that the Catholic school could academically prepare my daughter well.

In this she agrees with other Protestant respondents, and not just Adventists. The perceived need to send children to schools that teach beliefs consistent or identical with one's religion is often underlined. However, at least in two instances, mothers agreed to send their daughters to Catholic schools after they secured assurance that they were not going to be indoctrinated. To wit, says Constanza --whose 14-year old daughter won a scholarship and chose to attend a Mid-Manhattan Catholic high school:

> At the beginning I was a little concerned. I really didn't want her to go there. I was worried. Not that they were going to change her mind, but to engender confusion out of a clash with what she is learning at home. I inquired at the school about that, and I told her, "Otherwise you will continue in public school." But they told me that they were going to respect the fact that she is Adventist; they are not going to demand from her that she practice what our Catholic brothers do. Naturally, I will keep my eyes open.

The Educational Contribution of the Church

Parents who have an active religious affiliation consider it important to expose their children to the influence of their churches. They believe that if Christian teachings are followed to the letter, there won't be any space in children's

lives for vagrancy or procrastination in the fulfillment of their duties, whether at home, school or society at large. They recognize the need for a partnership between family and church for the development of their children, although how it bears on their schooling is often not explicitly articulated. Luis of the Reformed Church, for instance, relates that the education of children is one of his church's concerns:

> When we present a newly born child to the congregation, the pastor solemnly says, "This church commits itself to help the parents rear this child in the paths of the Lord." So, our church has a structure, a discipline based on respect. It stresses that parents are responsible for their children. The church makes us aware that our parental responsibility cannot be delegated to society or any of its institutions, including schools.

Some parents report that, on occasions, preaching at church has helped them discern about aspects of their children's education.[7] María recalls,

> I used to complain that my children didn't watch enough TV. They didn't leave me alone to do my things. Well, one day the pastor made me realize that one must be careful with the TV. The pastor said that too many mothers, to get rid of their kids, put them to watch TV. That way they are not only learning negative things, but they end up spending more time in front of the box than studying the Bible. I agree, you know why? Because if you put on the Spanish Channel 41, all you see after 11:00 AM is soap operas and talk shows about sex and women. And I don't think that is a good thing, especially at an hour when children are returning from school.

Claudio, who is Adventist, agrees that a separation of functions is expected between the home and the school, which leaves room for church support. "Naturally, what the school contributes most is secular and scientific knowledge. I

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[7] Coleman and Hoffer show that the academic benefits of "Catholic school attendance for Catholic-religion students are greater for those who attend religious services more frequently. Infrequent attenders still realize a benefit from Catholic school compared to their public school counterparts, but their benefits are only about half of

believe that, in general, the home makes the greatest contribution in the areas of spirituality, morality and ethics." Researcher: "But would you expect the school to contribute something in those areas too?" Claudio: "One would hope, but it doesn't always happen that way." He adds that the Adventist church provides programs that are exclusively for children. They aim at helping them grow spiritually. Such programs are geared to guide children towards healthy forms of entertainment and life styles. They are taken frequently, for example, to camping and excursions in the city and throughout the country. Concerning school matters, Claudio says the pastor is solicitous and helps promptly in case a family needs orientation.

Also, when children do not attend a religious school, many parents complete the home-school-church triangle by making them attend Saturday or Sunday religion classes at their respective churches. Suggesting another way of tackling the question about whose responsibility is to provide children with sound moral principles, Magali asserts,

> I believe that is primarily the parents' responsibility. If the school also imparts them, it is much better yet. Children spend more time in the school than with their parents. I, for instance, take my daughter to school, and then I leave for work. I come back at 7:00 PM. It would be ideal that parents and school were both offering the children moral and religious education. That is, as long as the school teaches them the same religious beliefs and principles their parents are inculcating them. It's important that they be of one and the same religion, otherwise the children are going to be confused.

In finishing, she tells of her plans to enroll her daughter for religion classes at her parish church.

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those realized by frequently attending Catholics." (1987: 136)

One immediate way in which keeping children in religious classes is relevant to schoolwork is the series of skills children exercise in preparing for and participating in them, such as learning lessons and doing homework. On Saturday or Sunday children recite, discuss, and do various activities that put to use skills they are learning in regular school. Another advantage is that some perceptive religious teachers at church can detect strengths as well as deficiencies in students. Such was the case of a girl who, according to Karla,

> was not reading well in her religion class. The Sunday school teacher noticed the girl was below her expected reading level. She brought it to the attention of the girl's mother, who in turn spoke to her teacher in school. That way the mother and the teacher were able to develop a reading program for the girl to bring her up to the appropriate reading level.

Consistent with participant-observation done elsewhere (Ramírez 1993), the present research found that Seventh Day Adventists, as a group, give explicit emphasis to schooling as compared to other Conservative Protestants. Claudio, a father of three, says the church's motto about developing simultaneously the mind, the heart, and the hand is a reminder that children must strive to develop harmonically in all three aspects: intellectually, spiritually, and practically. For her part, Ana tells of her plans to enroll her girl in the Adventist school to take advantage of the discount members obtain as an incentive. For other parents, though –given their limited means–the incentive is not enough. Nevertheless, they heed to the extent possible the church's advice. Ramirez's research among Seventh-Day Adventists in Massachusetts indicates that, "The church in its public gatherings praised high school, college and all other graduates inviting them to

special ceremonies and 'graduation' exercises as part of the church's official activities." The author continues: "Striving for educational attainments is not perceived as an individual pursuit, it is presented as a collective responsibility. At home, parents push their children to succeed, at church the pastor and other church officers promote it as the 'church's responsibility,' at all levels the community involves itself in educating its children." (1993: 56)

In Constanza's words,

> The church has been a second school for my daughters. I believe the church has contributed an important part of their education. It has taught them, besides God's Word, good advice on what is the path to follow in life, and about the consequences of taking the wrong way. It has taught them also what is the value and the role of children. I think children must learn from home and church. The school can't be made responsible for everything. The school teaches them tools to make a living; it's more future oriented.
>
> Researcher: But do you think that a child could be a good person and a bad student at the same time?
>
> Constanza: Well, everything depends on the parent's dedication, on the effort of both parent and teacher. Because if we as parents let the child do whatever she wants to do, it doesn't matter how much morality she has, she is not going to reach her goals in school. That is because children learn not only in school, they also learn at home. And that is going to depend on the parents' dedication to their child. Because if the parents don't say, "Until you have done your homework, you won't watch TV." Then where is her education going?

As if to complete her thought on the possible cooperation envisioned among the three institutions, she goes on, "Of course, if I had been able to put my daughters in an Adventist school, it would have been superb. The school would have reinforced what they learnt in the home and the church."

But Haydee, disenchanted with organized religion--first with Catholics and later with Jehovah's Witnesses--claims that the home and the school suffice to forge productive individuals out of her daughters. "As long as the home and school work together," she says.

> It's not just a matter of sending the children to school, and then not demanding anything from them at home. In the case of my daughters, even since they were little I set specific study times for them. For example, afternoons were devoted specifically to read books. I didn't let them turn on the TV. In my home that was prohibited. They grew up with that rule. That is why nowadays I hardly have to tell them anything. They come home, rest for a while, and then begin to study. If they have to go to the public library, they go. They take home lots of books, and they rarely watch TV.

About the relationship with her daughters' public school she says, "I have not missed a single parent-teacher conference. And I have given teachers authorization to call or write me in case of problems. The parent-teacher relationship is essential, and I like to keep that contact."

Child Rearing: From Conservative to Liberal?

In general, churches' contribution to children's schoolwork is indirect; it takes place in the context of exhortations and assistance to rear children well--under Christian principles. Thus, when parents do not have their children in religious schools, church support for the educational enterprise relies on a general formula rooted in doctrine, stressing some or other parental practices along denominational lines. For all, the framework for rearing good children involves providing them the necessities of life, affection and support as well as discipline. Although Catholics have been portrayed traditionally as harboring more authoritarian parenting norms than Protestants (Lenski 1961), recent research has

found that contemporary Conservative Protestants surpass Catholics with their distinctive authoritarian parenting orientations. According to Ellison and Sherkat, such "child rearing norms reflect the influence of three theological tenets of Conservative evangelical behavior: biblical literalism, beliefs about human nature, and attitudes about the punishment of human sin." (1993: 314)

In order to probe if Latinos follow or deviate from that pattern, the survey asked respondents to indicate their intensity of agreement or disagreement with a group of statements aimed at eliciting indication of their positions on matters of discipline and authority (Table 5.4). Also, a discipline scale from 0 to 20 was devised to measure how close parents come to be associated with an approach characterized in the literature as Conservative as opposed to a Liberal approach to child rearing--the closer to 20, the more conservative. The overall average on this scale is 13.6 points. Protestants, however, score higher than Catholics--14.6 to 13.2. The variation around the mean is smaller among Protestants than among Catholics, as indicated by standard deviations of 3.96 and 4.80, respectively.

Table 5.4 INDICATORS OF ATTITUDES ON DISCIPLINE
Percent choosing "Strongly Agree" by Religious Affiliation

	SDA	O. Protestant	Catholic	
1.Children need and should have more supervision and discipline than they usually get in public Schools	69%	77%	70%	N=180
2.A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents and Teachers, or else he will lose respect for them	79%	74%	62%	N=174
3.A well-reared child is one that doesn't have to be told twice to do something	55%	46%	36%	N=137
4.Whatever some educators say "Spare the rod and spoil the child" still holds, even in these times	41%	36%	26%	N=111
5.A woman whose children are messy and rowdy has failed in her duties as a mother	31%	23%	19%	N=94

I also explored if parental involvement was correlated with discipline, and the results indicate such correlation is inverse and moderate (r=-.21). Thus, parents holding disciplinary conservative views may, on the average, be less involved than liberals in the schooling of their children as defined in the parental involvement scale. Moreover, a correlation exists between discipline and parental education. The relationship is inverse, of moderate strength (r=-.23), and statistically significant at the .01 level. When Protestant and Catholic respondents with education above "some college" were compared by religious affiliation, their scores on discipline descended below their respective averages--13.7 for Protestants and 12.4 for Catholics. Parents with high school or less education were also compared. The scores on discipline this time went up for both Protestants and Catholics, 15.9 and 14.6, respectively. Education impacts on

discipline, and whether the scores rise or fall on the scale, the difference between Protestants and Catholics not only remains, but widens.

Discipline and church attendance are also correlated. The correlation is moderate but positive (r=.23), and statistically significant at the .01 level. Protestants and Catholics "High" on church attendance registered also higher than average scores on the discipline scale. Again, the difference between Protestants and Catholics (14.8 to 14.1), though somewhat reduced, stays.

A comparison of Conservative Protestants and Catholics on these five items makes evident that: 1) they are similar on the pattern formed by the decreasing percentages of agreement with the proposed statements; and 2) though only on item #4 the differences are statistically significant (.01 level), Conservative Protestants concentrate more heavily on the "strongly agree" option than Catholics, who tend to divide their concurrence by tempering their agreement and opting in greater percentages for the "somewhat agree" category.

The first two statements seemed to be the least problematic to agree with. Above 70 percent of Catholics and Protestants agree strongly that children need more supervision and discipline than they are getting in the public schools, and see also as a serious threat to parental and teacher authority that children be permitted to talk back.

Not having to repeat a command to a child (item #3) enjoys popularity among half of Protestants, but only one-third of Catholics. Compared with Protestants, though, Catholics seem to be compromising for they place twice as

much percentage points in the "somewhat agree" category than Conservative Protestants (39% to 20%). If respondents to the statement are compared by levels of church attendance, it is found that 47 percent of those with "High" church attendance strongly agree with it compared to only 24 percent of respondents with "Low" attendance. If, on the contrary, level of education is used to compare respondents, 61 percent of those with "Low" education strongly agree with the statement compared to only 31 percent of those with "High" education.

Strong support for corporal punishment is low among all respondents, yet Conservative Protestants manage to keep a substantial lead on Catholics. Notwithstanding the low percentages strongly agreeing with the statement, respondents with "High" church attendance surpass (37% to 29%) respondents with "Low" attendance. On the other hand, the reverse is the case if those agreeing strongly are compared according to their educational level. Respondents with "Low" education flock to this category in a proportion of 36 percent compared to those with "High" education (27%). Unsurprisingly, the item enjoying the least popularity is the one that attributes to the mother all responsibility for children's disorderly conduct. Here again, Protestants who strongly agree with the statement outpace Catholics by up to 12 percentage points, as in the case of Seventh-Day Adventists. In any case, taking into consideration that more than 80 percent of the respondents are women, it is significant that two-fifths in both groups (if the "somewhat" and "strongly agree" categories are combined) are willing to accept total responsibility for the behavior of their children. Again, the pattern noted

above for items #s. 3 and 4 recurs here. Respondents with "High" church attendance strongly agree with the statement in a proportion of almost 3:1 compared to respondents of "Low" church attendance. Once again, respondents with "High" education score as little as half as do those with "Low" education (17% to 33%).

Among the majority who disagreed with the statement, several respondents voiced their opposition in various forms to the judgment passed on women when children behave in unbecoming ways. In a representative reaction, for instance, Lorena, who has extensive experience working with the Dominican community, said:

> We all have responsibility, as community and as society. I know many families, many mothers who have tried to give their children the best rearing they could. Nonetheless, their children have strayed. We as women don't have control of everything. Nowadays the TV is sending messages that undo what we try to build. Our children are watching too much TV. That is a very direct influence, and even if you try to control the TV, you can't control the programming. Even the most apparently innocent cartoons are riddled with violence.

Others say they look back with nostalgia to the time when they were growing up and their parents had a say on who they could have as friends, for they could tell from the background of their friends' parents. Today, it is almost an impossible mission to know the kinds of friends your children are picking, and much less the background of their parents. They argue that today, far from small-town life, most parents are socially isolated in the big city, bereft of the support provided in the past by extended family and neighbors who were concerned and used to get involved in the rearing of all children, not just their own.

Whether one decides to emphasize the differences or the similarities between Conservative Protestants and Catholics, it is clear that the descending pattern in their levels of agreement with the questionnaire statements replicate the widely reported contemporary trend towards more liberal child-rearing attitudes and practices. Such a trend, decried in many quarters as indication "that Americans are losing their moral compass," (Arons 1997) probably has been determined by societal changes in other areas. One that has been identified as primary is the increasing level of schooling accompanied by abundant information about new pedagogical and child-rearing techniques. The argument has been made that such liberalizing trend tends to blur the differences in child rearing approaches between the three branches of Christianity: the Mainline Protestants, the Catholics and the Conservative Protestants (Alwin 1986).

So far, the evidence suggests congruency between Latinos' views and other Conservative Protestants and Catholics in the population at large. Therefore, on the average, Protestants are more conservative than Catholics concerning discipline in child rearing. Furthermore, for all parents the above figures imply that if parents tend to lean on the liberal side of discipline and have relatively high levels of education, they probably tend to be more involved in the schooling of their children.[8]

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[8] The flip side of the argument, that more disciplinarian parents score lower on parental involvement may, again, reflect Protestant affiliation and the way the parental involvement scale was constructed.

Disciplining: Differences of Method, Not of Principle

In their study of Conservative Protestant parenting literature, Ellison and Sherkat say it suggests that "training children in the virtues of obedience is the first step towards their worldly success and eternal salvation." (1993: 316) Catholics may be said to agree in principle with the statement, but they do not make it so explicit. When given the chance, respondents express their views on authority and discipline. Of them it may be said, they reflect the aforementioned liberalizing trend which, however, cannot be taken to mean exactly that standards have been relaxed. Undoubtedly, most Hispanic parents go along with the priority given to obedience as a prerequisite for a good education. They vary, though, in their ideas about how to secure it or what to do when it breaks down. In that regard, what this research captures is a complex effort by parents to introduce some flexibility in the management of their children accompanied by the belief that strictness is not equivalent with a punishing attitude. As an illustration, a Catholic college-educated couple, John and Ruth explain their approach to disciplining their eight-year old boy:

> During the week we work him with rewards. The reward is the film he can watch; the reward is that the girl from next-door can come to play with him; the reward is to read him a book before he goes to sleep. The punishment, on the other hand, is to withdraw those privileges. It is not to read him a book--and that is painful to him; it is not to invite his next-door friend; it is not to allow him to see a movie.
>
> Researcher: What do you do when he commits serious infractions?
>
> Ruth: Well in those cases we send him to the bathroom for some minutes or until he calms down or we call him out.

> Researcher: But do you ever use physical force on him?
>
> John: We don't believe in violence. There are some situations, difficult situations, but we try to exercise self-control. We use instead dialogue, avoiding also abusive or violent language. Above all we try to explain to him why he should not do something or repeat a mistake, so that he learns from the experience.

As will be seen below, support for corporal punishment has not disappeared. It has rather been checked by the adoption of a host of alternatives that leave it as one, but definitely not the first tool in the disciplinary kit. Teodora, Catholic and with some college education, says that in handling her three children she keeps the belt as a back up, which occasionally she uses.

> "I talk to them," she says. "I give them a command twice and up to three times. If they don't obey, I take away something they like. For instance, I don't allow them to watch TV for some time. Or, in the case of my son, I forbid him to play Nintendo–that's something he really fears. But sometimes, I raise the specter of the belt, 'I talked to you already. I am going to have to use the belt.' And they know, it is effective."

A Pentecostal mother of three, Cecilia, says that, with time, she realized there is need sometimes to punish the children physically. She adds that the important thing is to do it with method, for even the Bible authorizes the use of the rod (Proverbs 29:15). "The method includes warning at the first fault, but on the third one, you have to hit them, so that they learn, and they have to be told why you are punishing them."

Obviously, Cecilia is not alone in resorting to Scripture as source of authority for the use of force. This is a practice common among Protestants, who know full well the injunctions to rear their children appropriately if they want to

spare their children and themselves the punishment that comes with failure to do so (Proverbs 22:6; Ephesians 6:4). Cecilia continues, "We as parents must correct our children because we will ultimately be judged as parents for what our children become. They are given to us as raw stones, and our responsibility is to turn them into diamonds."

Laura thinks that if parents are providing for the material and emotional welfare of the child, then there is space for disciplining that includes physical punishment.

> "Now," she says, "if you only discipline the child, and don't provide the other things, then you fall into what people call child abuse. My husband and I give our children all the things they need and a lot of quality time. So, if I have to punish them, especially my son who is eight-years old, I give him his '*pau-pau*'. Although, most of the time I do it by depriving him of things he likes, such as watching TV, not allowing him to phone his cousin, play in the backyard or ride his bicycle."

Constanza who has three adolescent girls argues that corporal punishment does not work in her case. She relates that once, one of her daughters told her, "You hit me, but the pain soon goes away, and then what?" Constanza thinks that taking away privileges is a more effective approach. "The way I punish them is by prohibiting some things like not watching TV for a week; not allowing them to go to a party or a function; or making them work to earn a leave." In this she agrees with other respondents who think that relying excessively on the rod can backfire for "a day will arrive when they would become immune to the beatings and not respond to the threat of pain." After that qualification, Esquirina continues, "Even though they don't have to be beaten as animals, it is necessary that you hit them.

Because they need it. Sometimes that is the only way they respond. Of course, I prefer to talk to them, but I don't want to be forever yelling at them."

Conclusion

This study's sample and existing data on Latinos confirm that parents are genuinely concerned with establishing a collaborative relationship with their children's schools. For a variety of reasons, however, many parents are not working directly or visibly with the schools. On the other hand, Latino parents' reported views reveal that they are making efforts at home to support the teachers' work.

It is more common to find among Conservative Protestants a desire to have their children attend religious schools, preferably non-Catholic and of their own denomination. Catholic parents entertain the possibility of a religious school for their children more in the context of unattractive public schools. Although Catholic as well as Protestant parents would like to have more viable options, Protestant parents express in greater proportion satisfaction with the public schools their children attend. All, however, hold monetary reasons as the major factor thwarting their legal right to exercise choice.

Religious parents, both Catholic and Protestant, find in their churches and doctrines valuable resources for inspiration, guidance and support in strengthening their children's education. Those who enroll their children in church-related activities expose them to constructive environments, influences, and educational activities that help them practice skills, social and academic, which reinforce their

school work. In the case of Seventh-Day Adventists, parents consistently report explicit attention, on the part of the church, with children's academic advancement.

Finally, in a scale devised to locate parents on a measure ranging from Liberal to Conservative (0 to 20), Protestants score higher than Catholics (14.6 versus 13.2). Also, parental education and parental involvement are correlated with views on discipline, but in opposite directions. The higher the education of parents, the lower their score on discipline; and the higher the score on discipline, the lower their score on parental involvement. Notably, whether rising above or descending below the mean, Protestants always score higher than Catholics on the discipline scale. Such findings confirm that Hispanics are going along with two trends registered for the general non-Latino population: Conservative Protestants both hold more disciplinarian views, and report higher agreement with disciplinarian practices than Catholics. And liberalizing currents have a moderating effect on child-rearing practices, as expressed in such trends as the de-emphasizing of corporal punishment, and showing a lesser tendency to attribute total responsibility to mothers for children's disciplinary problems.

CHAPTER 6

"WHAT IS OURS IS THEIRS": LANGUAGE, RELIGION AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

In this chapter we shall see how Latino parents affiliated with Catholic and Conservative Protestant churches handle issues of language maintenance and acquisition while grappling with broader questions of cultural heritage and identity. One of the main arguments here is that religion and language constitute tools that individuals and families employ, though often unwittingly, to defend and affirm their perceived national-origin peculiarities. The defense of ethnicity as epitomized in the efforts by parents to keep Spanish alive has been demonstrated not to impinge negatively on schooling. On the contrary, research has shown that Spanish proficiency has a positive effect on achievement; it is limited English proficiency that lies at the root of failure (Solis 1995).

The Language of Choice at Home

Table 6.1 RESPONDENTS' DISTRIBUTION ON PRIMARY HOME LANGUAGE BY NATIONAL ORIGIN

Language	Puerto Rican	Dominican	Other
English	26%	3%	5%
Spanish	17	55	74
Both	57	42	21
	100%	100%	100%
	N=65	N=92	N=67

The national comparison carried out by De la Garza et al. (1992) provides evidence that Puerto Ricans are the group with the lowest proportion of Spanish speakers at home. In addition to being an immigrant group that boasts four generations in New York, the historical experience with the North American presence in Puerto Rico, accompanied by efforts to make English the official language there, account to some extent for the linguistic distinctiveness of this group—In fact, English was the language of instruction in Puerto Rico until 1948 (Carrasquillo 1991). The results of De la Garza et al.'s study indicate that the majority of foreign-born Cubans and Mexicans used Spanish exclusively at home, compared to 30 percent of island-born Puerto Ricans. Among the native-born, 62 percent of Mexicans, 50 percent of Puerto Ricans and 31 percent of Cubans used English predominantly or exclusively at home. They found in addition that,

> More national-origin variation existed among the foreign-born. Seventy-nine percent of foreign-born Mexicans and 74 percent of foreign-born Cubans were better in Spanish or only spoke Spanish. Among [island]-born Puerto Ricans, the percentage who used Spanish dominantly or exclusively dropped to 60 percent. Between 15 and 30 percent of respondents were equally capable in Spanish and English. The native-born were more likely to be fully bilingual than were the foreign-born. (De la Garza et al 1992:41)

In this study, though 74 percent of the Puerto Rican respondents were born on the mainland, only 26 percent reported that English was the primary language spoken at home. On the other hand, just 17 percent said they speak primarily Spanish at

home. These figures also confirm the findings by De la Garza and colleagues (1992) on the low proportion of Spanish-only speakers among Puerto Ricans. In contrast, more than half of the Dominican respondents (55%) indicate that Spanish is primarily spoken at home. Spanish also reigns king in the homes of other Latinos (74%), more than half of whom indicated to have been residents of the U.S. for less than 15 years. If the Puerto Rican case is taken as a harbinger, the tendency for non-Puerto Rican Hispanics is to become increasingly bilingual, rather than English monolinguals.

The percentage of Dominican respondents (42%) who said they speak both English and Spanish about the same at home gives strong indication that they are catching up fast with bilingual Puerto Ricans (57%).[1] For Dominicans and other new immigrants, speaking both languages at home about equally seems to be dependent on length of residence in the U.S. and whether they have studied in U.S. schools (Zentella 1981). At the same time, speaking both languages is a sign of acculturation for those not born in the continental U.S. The Dominican respondents' modal category for length of residence in the U.S. was 10-20 years, followed by the 20-30 years interval. So, those who answered the question about

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[1] In an ethnographic documentation of linguistic practices among Puerto Ricans in New York's lower east side, Urciuoli notes that, "Although Spanish is heard less and less frequently—even between mothers and children, English is far more commonly heard than it was a decade ago—its value remains central." (1991: 298) She reports also that "While respect for Spanish remains alive, the amount of Spanish needed to satisfy that respect is decreasing. There is a sad sense that the Spanish inherited from family is shrinking steadily, while English grows and engulfs the familiar world." (Urciuoli 1991: 301)

their time living in the U.S. provide evidence that a considerable number of Dominicans both have been exposed long enough to and have made the effort to learn English to the point of being able to speak it in the intimacy of their homes.

Extrapolating from this study's sample, Spanish would be the preferred or only language used at home for at least half of Hispanics in New York City. Among the rest, the majority prefers to speak both English and Spanish. Spanish use in and outside the home is increasingly legitimized by the growing Hispanic mass media and religious institutions serving them. Common cultural roots and contemporary expressions through the mass media facilitate interaction among members of the Latino community.[2]

The churches help maintain the language too, particularly through their efforts to serve the growing Latino population. As the Latino contingent of the Catholic church grows, so does it in strategic importance to the institution. For their part, Protestant churches have been effective in attracting Latinos (A considerable number of the Latinos flocking to Protestant churches in recent years is coming from a non-active status in Catholicism). The Protestant churches, generally small

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[2] There are two national TV networks that broadcast in Spanish, 233 full-time radio stations, five daily newspapers in New York, Los Angeles and Miami (Subervi-Velez 1994). In New York City, there are two daily newspapers, four full-time radio stations, and two TV stations. In addition there are myriad magazines, weekly newspapers, and several cable TV stations. HTV is a new full-time music channel for Spanish productions. Music is another important contributor to the forging of a Pan-Latino identity: as a way of expressing feelings, aspirations, discontents, nostalgia, but also hope.

and numerous, also multiply the venues for speaking and praying in Spanish. When it comes to providing a common framework within which the various nationalities that coexist in New York can meet, Protestant churches unwittingly supplement rather than compete with the work of the Catholic church. In so far as the Catholic church has welcomed Spanish speaking peoples by exercising a degree of flexibility, exemplified by Masses in Spanish, growing numbers of Spanish-speaking priests, and willingness to get involved in the material concerns of this constituency –e.g., housing, immigration, job training-- Latinos find in the Catholic as well as the Protestant faiths social and cultural benefits that transcend the specific theological determinants of their particular religious affiliations (Caraballo Ireland 1991). For instance, Protestant congregations and the Catholic charismatic movement offer their members ways of worshiping and relating to each other that are considered more congruent with certain features of Latino culture. Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Mexican Americans, and the rest of Latinos exhibit a penchant for religious expression that is emotional and that fits well with the opportunities provided by these Christian churches to sing, tell testimonies of personal revelations, cry, and even speak in tongues.

It is common to find that many Hispanics, though fluent in English, feel more comfortable with religious services in Spanish. As a case in point, Laura states that she prefers to hear the Mass in Spanish, "although I have no problem attending an English service," she adds. "The church in my new neighborhood doesn't have services in Spanish. That is a problem for me, because my grandmother doesn't

know English and, from time to time, we have to travel back to our old church in Brooklyn to accommodate her. I also prefer Spanish because I am a lector, and I like reading in Spanish better." In addition to preferring Spanish for personal expression, parents wish their children would also keep the language.

Parents' efforts to make their children speak Spanish stem from a variety of sources: from cultural pride to practical advantages in the market place. To the question, "And why do you want your daughter to keep learning Spanish?" Magali replies: "Because I want that when she grows up she can speak both languages and so secure employment more easily. Besides, that is my language, and I want her to be able to communicate with her grandparents and brother in Ecuador." Others are more radical:

> "It's a matter of principle," says Lorena. "I don't speak English at home. I tell him to address me in Spanish. I had to do that because I noticed that when I sent him to school, even the teacher changed his name. He brought papers with the name of 'John'. I told him, 'these are not your papers.' He said, 'yes, Mom, they are, because my name in English is John.' I replied to him, 'But your name is not in English, it is in Spanish: Your name is *Juan Ramón*. If they change your name, they kill two generations, because I gave you that name in honor of your father and your grandpa.' I noticed also that he began to develop a dislike for Spanish, so I had to take the appropriate measures."

In their efforts, parents sometimes feel they are alone and swimming against the tide. At times, other institutions, such as churches, team up with them and make the prospect of children's literacy in Spanish brighter. In the end, the individual outcomes are not guaranteed for they depend on many variables besides parental intervention. As this research makes evident, most parents are language conscious, but they are not militant about language use and maintenance beyond

home and church. Hispanics have not been mobilized around language loyalty and purity as has occurred in, for example, Quebec.

Among Latinos, pride in one's culture thrives side by side with planting ever firmer roots in the U.S. Hispanics are pragmatic and, while holding to their cherished values, they embrace the economic and political advantages furnished by U.S. society. De la Garza et al. (1992), for instance, found in their study of the three major Hispanic groups positive views on their experiences with government. They report that Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans expressed optimism about their future. The researchers suggest that "the relationship between these groups and mainstream society is not so harsh as to isolate the Hispanic community and make it easily mobilized around narrow ethnic appeals." (1992:16) The same feelings crop up among respondents in this study as they tell their stories of incorporation to New York, no matter how difficult. Claudio, summarizes the feelings. "We come from a country we are not ashamed of. But it must be said that we are also very grateful to this country. We are in debt to this nation, for I must say that even though I own nothing here to speak of, I have achieved already many things I couldn't get in my country."

Bilingual Education

Bilingual education is a controversial issue and not just for Hispanics. Respondents were asked whether they agreed bilingual education should be kept

in all schools.[3] Catholics registered a lower level of agreement than Protestants with that statement. Parents reflected the uneasiness surrounding bilingual education evident in the ongoing debate about its merits, especially when argued by politicians--and even parents' advocates--that it is related to low school achievement (Del Valle 1997). In the end, "I think it is important to have bilingual education in all schools" found stronger support among Seventh-Day Adventists (79%) than among Other Protestants (72%) and Catholics (65%) (Table 6.2). Additionally, if respondents who chose the "strongly agree" option are compared by level of education, those with "Low" education exhibit a clear contrast with respondents possessing "High" education. The former are more decidedly in favor of bilingual education. The latter offer a less enthusiastic and more qualified support (Table 6.3).

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[3] Differences in opinion arise also from the variety of understandings about what bilingual education is and should be. For example, in New York, bilingual education has been officially understood and implemented as follows: "a process for identifying and assessing the language dominance of Spanish-surnamed children was to be created; bilingual education classes would be offered to those children who scored below the 20th percentile on a language assessment and who scored higher on their Spanish language assessment than on their English language assessment. A bilingual education class was described as a program where children received ESL classes in place of a regular reading class and received their academic subjects in their native language to the extent necessary, depending upon their English language proficiency." (Del Valle 1997:50)

Table 6.2 PERCENT CHOOSING "SOMEWHAT" AND "STRONGLY AGREE" BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Catholics	Other Protestants	SDA	
Somewhat Agree	19%	21%	3%	N=39
Strongly Agree	65%	72%	79%	N=152

Table 6.3 PERCENT CHOOSING "SOMEWHAT" AND "STRONGLY AGREE" BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	Low	Medium	High	
Somewhat Agree	11%	16%	19%	N=36
Strongly Agree	78%	76%	61%	N=148

Nonetheless, the reasons for supporting bilingual education vary. Some parents see bilingual education as the opportunity schools provide for children to learn Spanish formally, something the home cannot always provide. Those who perceive a threat to their heritage when children only learn English also favor bilingual education. They are aware, however, that placing their children in such programs involves trade-offs. María says of her eight-year old that she is in second grade and progressing in English. "She understands a lot, though she doesn't speak much. I know that if she were in regular English classes she would know much more."

Researcher: But still, you want her to continue in the bilingual program?

María: Of course. Before, I used to think differently. I used to say, "I want my children to be schooled in English only." But my husband opposed that, and

> I saw his point. That is why I changed. My husband said children learn English easily, while Spanish is easily lost too. So, he wants them to keep learning Spanish. And it's true, because if they are Hispanics, they have to know the language well.

Constanza, like other parents, states that bilingual education has a place in the schooling of children, though a restricted one. Says she,

> I agree very much with keeping bilingual education in schools, and a child in it as long as the child needs it. However, the responsibility to teach them Spanish lies with the parents. We can't ask the teacher to be able to cover much in 45 minutes, especially with so many children in a classroom. It is us, the parents, who have to reinforce the language at home.

On the other hand, there are critics of bilingual education who blame other Hispanics for their supposed unwillingness to learn English. "I think one reason why many Hispanics are not succeeding in this country," argues Laura, "is because they are very comfortable not having to learn English. If they are in court or a hospital, there are interpreters for them. If they go to the supermarket or the beauty parlor, they are catered to in Spanish." And she goes on, "People are not making the effort. Children born here are being taught in Spanish, and that is not right. They must be taught in the language they will need to work and be successful in this country. Bilingual programs should not be for small children, but for people who immigrate already old, like my grandmother."

Her view probably reflects the position of those Hispanics who were born in the U.S., or who do not have a fresh memory of their immigrant experience. Recent immigrants tend to follow rather the view expressed by Claudio:

Some people say that those who want to preserve Spanish don't want to

> learn English. Nonsense! I don't know anybody who comes to this country and doesn't want to learn English. What happens is that one's reality as immigrant is fraught with problems. First and foremost is paying the bills. The landlord, ConEdison, the telephone company don't care if you want to learn English. They want you to pay the bills. And to do that, you have to work and work.

Cecilia's view is also friendlier toward bilingual education. Being a recent immigrant, she says, the bilingual program helped ease her children's insertion into New York's school system. She agrees with keeping the bilingual programs for new immigrant students to facilitate their transition to U.S. schools and society. Furthermore, she coincides with Teodora who attests to the possibility of keeping Spanish for home use, regardless of their children's acquired fluency in English. Says she: "Since we have been here only for three years, I have not perceived that my children and I have a communication problem owing to changes in language. We speak Spanish at home, and my children have expressed their wish to continue using their mother tongue, despite their rapid acquisition of English as a second language."

Moreover, the structure of the sample may also have something to do with the differences between respondents by religious affiliation. One must consider the fact that 62 percent of Protestant respondents had their children in public schools, in contrast to 48 percent of Catholics. This majority of Protestant respondents have more of a chance of being offered bilingual education for their children. Catholic schools do not offer this option to parents. Thus the higher percentage of respondents who are Catholic and have their children in religious school where bilingual education is not provided may reflect both that their children do not need

it and their acceptance of the status quo. So these Catholic parents are not as enthusiastic about bilingual education as are Protestant parents with children in public school.

An understanding of Latinos' varied experiences and views on language is needed today, especially because subtle as well as open attacks against Spanish, and the concomitant proposal to make English the official language of the land, are gaining ground in some circles; not the least in locations where Latinos are a visible presence (C.Q. Research 1996). What emerges from the present study is the finding that Latino parents, especially mothers who are the most direct cultural transmitters, make the home into an incubator of Spanish proficiency despite the societal pressures that threaten to push it further down in its inferior status. In New York this does not seem as daunting a task as in other parts of the country, though. Latino parents in New York have been spared, at least during the last three decades, the traumatic experiences that characterized Chicanos' schooling in the Southwest. Stories abound of how Mexican Americans were physically and psychologically punished for speaking Spanish, and thus developed a widespread reluctance to bring up their children as Spanish speakers; a defensive mechanism perhaps to stave off the reprimands of the Anglos and their institutions (Galindo 1995; Carrasquillo 1991).

The home and church constitute two complementary spaces where Latinos are battling to keep and pass on language and culture to their children. The schools, however, are sometimes perceived as being unhelpful to these efforts. On the other

hand, parents are protective about their vernacular, but they are savvy enough to acquire and master the English language; time and schooling reveal it in the increasing share of bilingual speakers among Hispanics. Bilingualism is fast becoming characteristic of the communication patterns in Latino homes, which does not seem to weaken in the least their identity or cultural pride. In general, parents are supportive of bilingual instruction in schools as long as it is not "a sterile educational methodology," but a tool that reflects a respect for their culture and language (Del Valle 1997:55).

Language and Cultural Affirmation

A cultural affirmation scale is used in this analysis which was built from the answers to four questionnaire statements (items #s. 44-47). The scale ranges from 0 to 16 points, and respondents are placed into three levels, from "Low" (up to 7 points), to "Medium" (8-11), to "High" (12–16). Thus, when respondents are compared on this scale by religious affiliation, it is found that on average both Catholics (12.6 points) and Protestants (13.0) score "High", without their small difference being statistically significant. Again, if respondents are compared on the same scale by national origin similar results are obtained. All groups score "High" with scores close to each other and not significantly different.

Table 6.4 CULTURAL AFFIRMATION BY NATIONAL ORIGIN

Natl. Origin	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
P/Rican	65	12.7	2.9
Dominican	92	13.0	3.0
Ecuadorian	14	12.6	2.9
Colombian	12	12.4	4.3
Mexican	5	12.2	4.9
Other	25	12.5	3.0
Total	224		

A comparison between bilingualism at home and cultural affirmation indicates that acquiring proficiency in English is not detrimental to cultural identity nor does it displace the value attached to Spanish. Additionally, for all respondents it is remarkable that when primary home language is cross tabulated with cultural affirmation, all three language groups score a "High" mean (above 12 points) regardless of what language is spoken. The situation of dominant Spanish speakers is self-evident, but calls attention the fact that even English-only speakers make it into the "High" category (12.1); although they lag slightly behind Spanish-only speakers (12.8) and bilinguals (12.7). In any case, disentangling language and culture is something many people just do not do. Take, for instance, the case of an Adventist mother who put it this way,

> Yes, I would like it [Spanish] to continue being the dominant language in my home. Because even though my daughters were born here [U.S.], we are *Hispanos,* our roots are there, in our country, which is also their country. I want my daughters to grow up speaking Spanish; and not only that, but I will try to have them learn to read it and write it; that they learn about their land, Santo Domingo; for what is ours is theirs too. I speak Spanish around the house all the time; and I correct my daughter when she makes mistakes. I explain to her the correct way of saying things. I tell her, 'no dear, that is not the proper way of saying that.' The purpose is to progressively enrich their vocabulary.

Thus, if not for Puerto Ricans, for Dominicans the link between language and cultural identity is still strong. In another instance, Constanza categorically rejects the possibility of her daughters' not speaking Spanish well, despite their being native U.S. citizens and having received their schooling in English. "It doesn't make sense not to speak Spanish if you are Hispanic," she affirms. She accepts that both languages be spoken at home, but not that they be mixed or "disfigured," which betrays ignorance and mistreatment of both. She has laid out her rules: "If they address me in half Spanish and half English, I don't acknowledge them until they speak correctly in one or the other. They must learn to respect the fact that Spanish and English are two great languages, with enough vocabulary to express one's thoughts completely in either."

There is no doubt about the value Hispanic parents place in acquiring literacy in English, for themselves and their children. On the other hand, there is less of a consensus about the emphasis that Spanish must be given, and the methods conducive to their maintenance, especially as the home language. Speaking primarily Spanish is not simply a matter of lack of proficiency in English, or a low educational level. Speaking primarily Spanish at home may result from either lower levels of schooling in the U.S. --there are also immigrants who have been schooled in their home country but lack English skills-- or a conscious decision to restrict the use of English at home to preserve Spanish. In either case the language is maintained, though doing it out of a conscious decision may carry a high symbolic value.

Generational Contrasts in Language Patterns

Choosing a language is also an option that distinguishes generations. Zentella (1981) studied the language patterns of 19 families in a representative block in East Harlem. She concluded that English was the predominant language of children on the block, but the language spoken to them at home was Spanish for the largest number of them. Spanish was the language that parents spoke to each other and to their children in twelve of the families. The families for whom English was the favored language of communication totaled five. The other two couples with children were constant codeswitchers (1981: 85). Probably, a higher proportion of today's Puerto Rican parents, members of a better educated generation, have made the transition towards bilingualism without weakening their grasp of Spanish. Zentella's findings point also to the distinction that must be made between the language predominant among children and the one the parents prefer to communicate with them. And parents who want their children to speak Spanish often find they put up resistance. Making them speak Spanish looks like an uphill battle, even when the school is helping with multicultural and other enriched curricula. "I talk to them in Spanish," says Carmen, "because they have to know their language, that they are *Hispanos*. They answer in English, though. They are lazy, and don't try to speak it. But I know they understand me. I insist. I keep talking to them in Spanish. My daughter takes classes-- I think once a week. She is learning and reads in Spanish." Being immigrant and age at time of arrival are two

important variables affecting both attitudes towards and use of Spanish. Claudio's two sons, for instance, living in New York for six years --where they entered school at first and second grade respectively-- tell of their preference already for English in their exchanges among siblings. They acknowledge, however, that they often alternate between English and Spanish. In addressing their parents, though, the reverse takes place: "Yes, generally we speak to them in Spanish; sometimes in English," affirms the older of the brothers.

Portes's and Schauffler's (1996) study of adolescent children of immigrants in Florida demonstrated that even under propitious conditions--such as Little Havana's ethnic enclave--the young prefer English over Spanish for most of their social interactions, especially in the school and on the street. More recently, Dugger (1998) reports that a follow-up study with 5,200 youngsters in California and Florida shows that, even though 9 out of 10 speak a language other than English at home, by the end of high school 88 percent of them prefer English. Such findings are consistent with the pattern revealed by Puerto Ricans many years earlier. Fishman found that choice of English or Spanish depends upon domains of interaction; says he, "use of Spanish was reported primarily in the domain of family, secondarily for the domains of friendships and religion, and least of all in those of education and employment, while the reverse held true for English." (Cited in Fitzpatrick 1987: 251)[4]

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[4] Separation of domains has a sociopolitical dimension too. For example, Bonnie

The distinction of languages appropriate to each domain is fostered by parents concerned that their children may be at a disadvantage if allowed to fall behind in English.[5] Parents like Laura may have second thoughts about emphasizing Spanish when they see their children stumble linguistically in school. "Now, I don't have any problem with speaking Spanish," she argues. "We do it at home all the time. When my son was born, for instance, we were so concerned with teaching him Spanish, that we avoided speaking to him in English. But when he went to pre-school and the teachers and other children addressed him in English, he didn't know what to do, nor did we. We were scared about what his feelings were and how he was going to perform. Thank God, he picked up English fast, and soon we were relieved." Situations like this one illustrate the complexity parents face when they want their children to get ahead at the same time that they uphold their Hispanic culture.

Urciuoli says that inner-city Puerto Ricans' extending Spanish to otherwise English speaking neighbors (mostly blacks) signifies local equality. "The use of Spanish by middle-class whites in positions of authority over Puerto Ricans, on the other hand, is likely to be seen as intrusive, and Spanish is much more likely to be treated as a boundary between 'Puerto Rican' and 'American'."(1991:295)

5 Fishman et al. report about lower-class Puerto Ricans in Jersey City. They found that, "Although children often use English with each other, the appropriate language to use in the home with adults is Spanish. Observations confirm the fact that Spanish is the language of baby-talk. It is used spontaneously and without conscious effort when parents talk to very small children, even in homes where English is spoken by the parents to each other and to the older children." (1975:39)

Hispanic Culture in the Schools and Churches

Table 6.5 PERCENT "HIGH" ON CULTURAL AFFIRMATION BY EDUCATION AND RELIGION

	Catholic	S.D.A.	Other Protestant
Education			
Low	100 (14)	68 (5)	100 (6) N=25
Medium	90 (18)	100 (5)	100 (1) N=24
High	75 (55)	87 (13)	100 (8) N=76
Totals	N= 87	N= 23	N= 15

For Catholics, percentage "High" on cultural affirmation decreases with increasing levels of education. The contrasting results in relation to Protestants probably reflect an array of factors at the institutional and individual levels. Such factors may include, for instance, the fostering of identity by Protestant churches which organize Latinos in Hispanic denominations, and the critical or cautious attitude towards ethnic identity issues developed by parents as they have become more acculturated and better schooled.[6] Also, with increasing schooling parents' views may become more skeptical and controversial regarding such issues as bilingual education, multiculturalism, and the importance of emphasizing English. Notwithstanding a necessary caveat owed to the paucity of data on Protestants, it seems that level of education does not have a linear bearing on cultural affirmation

[6] According to Sandoval, for instance, "in the 1990s, Hispanics had only a token number of bishops [20], compared to their proportion of the Catholic population; two hundred native-born Hispanic priests and only fifteen hundred foreign-born Hispanic priests" (Sandoval 1994:133). By way of contrast, just two of the evangelical branches where Latinos are active, the Southern Baptist Convention and the Pentecostal denominations, boasted by

for Adventists; and in the case of other Protestants, education levels do not seem to affect their "High" sense of cultural affirmation.

Congruent with the foregoing, the desire to see Hispanic culture and traditions reflected in the schools' curricula as well as the wish for Hispanic youth to hold onto their Hispanic heritage enjoyed consistent support by all religious groups. Nevertheless, substantially higher percentages of Seventh-Day Adventists (96%) than Other Protestants (76%) and Catholics (84%) chose the "strongly agree" option for the first of the proposed statements: "I would like to see greater efforts to have Hispanic culture and traditions included in my child's school activities". On the second statement ("I think is important for Hispanic youth to hold onto their Hispanic heritage and culture") respondents' rates of agreement were very similar to each other: 86 percent for Seventh-Day Adventists, 87 for Other Protestants, and 87 percent for Catholics. These figures may imply both dissatisfaction in many parents as well as a certain degree of alienation with respect to the cultural component in Latino children's schooling.

From what interviewed parents report, it seems that Arons's prescription goes indeed largely unheeded. He says that "because, along with knowledge and skills, culture is inevitably transmitted through education, schools are a vital part of every family's ability to sustain itself, to honor its heritage, and to secure its future" (1997:130). Schools are seen by many parents as working at cross purposes when it comes to the values and attitudes they, especially the religious ones, see their

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1991 of having 2,400 and 4,200 Hispanic pastors respectively (Tapia 1991:19).

children are picking from the whole school environment.

Interviewees, particularly Protestants, attest to perceptions of their churches not schools as partners in language and cultural transmission. One Protestant father affirmed,

> The church adapts itself to the culture and helps in the development of self-esteem. The school tends to destroy the child's self-esteem. Children are considered deficient for their difficulties with the English language. Their culture is not appreciated. What happens is that the child perceives this attitude in the teachers and other adults who represent authority within the school. I estimate that by third grade children's self-esteem has already been eroded.

In his view, the church does not approach Spanish as something to be overcome but as something to be cherished, which is the reverse of the assumption commonly found in schools. There the view often is that the roots of poor school performance lie in individual students' efforts and in the cultural values espoused in students' homes (Bigler 1997:21).

For her part, Constanza points that her Adventist church has as its policy the maintenance of the Spanish language.

> The church is totally in favor of that. Nonetheless, some parents are not. I had a confrontation in my church precisely because some of them wanted to use English texts in the Sabbath school. I told them we would be negligent if we were not to stick to Spanish only. That if people wanted their children to receive the classes in English they could attend the American church, not the Hispanic church.

Such testimony goes along Ramírez's (1993) work on Adventist Puerto Ricans, which shows that when they live in areas surrounded by a majority of non-Spanish speakers, the church becomes a vehicle for children learning and practicing

Spanish and Puerto Rican culture. He reports how several community members offered that as the main reason for church attendance. In certain contexts language is even glorified, or "as Juan Cubillo told me, 'Español es el idioma del cielo.' I have heard this statement in different types of gatherings, from the pulpit, from the platform, during conversation and joking." (1993:114)

To offer an illustration of what can happen when parents neglect putting emphasis on preserving the language, María contrasts her case with that of her relatives.

> My sister-in-law moved to a suburb in Florida. She is surrounded by so many Americans, her only Hispanic community is in the [Adventist] church. I have seen my sister-in-law speaking in English to her children, and I beg her, "For God's sake, speak to them in Spanish. Don't you see they are losing their language?" She replies that she can't do anything, because they only listen to English in the school, and from their neighbors and friends. I feel sorry for them. My nephew used to speak Spanish well when they lived in New York, but now he sounds like Eric Estrada. I tell him that he sounds worse than Eric Estrada. I say, one must make some effort to prevent that from happening to one's children.

Table 6.6 CHURCH ATTENDANCE BY LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

Attendance	English	Spanish	Both
Low	23%	16%	22%
Medium	23	17	19
High	54	67	59
	100%	100%	100%
	(N=22)	(N=100)	(N=95)

Notwithstanding the anecdotal evidence, it seems that primary home language is related less to religious affiliation and more to church attendance. In the sample, the proportions of speakers of English, Spanish or both are roughly the same among Catholics and Protestants. Some slight differences are found but they are not statistically significant. There is, however, a larger share of Protestant churchgoers than Catholics who speak primarily Spanish (51% to 44%); for those who speak both about the same, the reverse is the case, Catholics 44 percent and Protestants 40 percent.

Intergenerational studies on Latino religious behavior show that church attendance and other indicators of religiosity consistently decrease from first to third generation (Cadena 1995). A similar pattern arises for those who speak both languages equally well at home. On the other hand, as the proportion of those who are Spanish-dominant rises, so does their frequency of church attendance. In addition to the cultural lure of Spanish-speaking churches, one must consider that they also offer more than spiritual nourishment, especially to recent immigrants. It has been documented that immigrants flock more frequently to church for both lack of other institutional links and need of fellowship as well as social and psychological help.[7]

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[7] Hispanics seem to fit a well documented pattern for other immigrant and ethnic groups. Of the Korean community, Min says, "Survey studies conducted in major Korean communities indicate that more than 70 percent of Korean immigrants attend a Korean church at least once a week.[...]The active participation of Korean immigrants in Korean

Table 6.7 LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Language	Low	Medium	High	Totals	
English	10%	10%	81%	101%	N=21
Both Eng/Span	17	23	60	100%	N=91
Spanish	28	26	46	100%	N=103

Also, different levels of parental schooling characterize the three language groups. When schooling is measured from low to high, the differences are stark. Eighty-one percent of respondents who speak English only, 60 percent of those who speak both about the same, and only 46 percent of Spanish-only speakers possess a "High" level of education (some college or more). In other words, a higher proportion of Spanish-only speakers have a "Low" education. Thus, it is probable that primary language spoken at home and level of education have a combined effect on parental involvement. Such an effect is perhaps more evident in the case of Spanish-only speakers. All in all, there seems to exist some relationship between primary language spoken at home by respondents and their involvement, beyond influencing their children's linguistic preferences. Thus, for instance, Spanish-only speakers score 16.3 points on the parental involvement scale, English-only speakers score 16.9, and those who speak both about the same score 17.9.

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churches helps them maintain their regular social interactions [...] Churches also help Korean immigrants maintain their cultural traditions by providing Korean language programs for children and by celebrating traditional Korean holidays with Korean foods." (Min 1998: 21)

Table 6.8 LANGUAGE BY EDUCATION BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	CATHOLICS			PROTESTANTS		
Education	English	Spanish	Both	English	Spanish	Both
Low	7%	23%	14%	20%	38%	23%
Medium	13	29	19		21	31
High	80	48	67	80	41	46
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	N=15	N=65	N=64	N=5	N=34	N=26

Concerning the differences between Catholics and Protestants, those who speak Spanish at home make up the lowest percentage among those with "High" education in both religious groups. Comparing along the same "High" educational level, the results obtained respecting those who speak both occupy a middle position, though Catholics hold a substantial difference over Protestants. Sixty-seven percent of Catholics, and 46 percent of Protestants reported speaking at home both Spanish and English about the same. Thus, for both denominations, the percentage of bilingual homes notably increases with level of education, especially for the category "High." Clearly, parental level of education makes a difference when it comes to being able to communicate comfortably in both languages within the family, particularly with the children, who normally prefer English to begin with.

Conclusion

Parents' views on language, bilingual education, and ethnic identity were sought and explored for their possible implications for their children's education. Respondents scored "High" on a cultural affirmation scale as measured by level of agreement with statements covering schools' fostering of Latino culture—e.g.,

through their activities and curricula, the importance that the young hold onto their Hispanic heritage, and the convenience that all schools keep bilingual programs. Protestants and Catholics scored "High" on the cultural affirmation scale as did respondents by national origin, whether Puerto Rican, Dominican, or of other national origins. In addition, it was found that cultural affirmation is not weakened by preference of English as the home language, though English-only speakers are few compared with Spanish-only and bilingual speakers.

For Catholics Spanish preference is inversely related to parental education. Respondents with "Low" and "Medium" education speak mostly Spanish at home in a proportion of 2:1 compared with those respondents in the "High" education category. In addition, "High" church attendance is a distinct feature of Spanish-dominant immigrants, as is their higher concentration in the "Low" education category, irrespective of religious affiliation.

Nevertheless, predominance of Spanish is also a function of both length of residence in the U.S. and a conscious choice on behalf of ethnic identity. For all Christian parents, whether Catholic or Conservative Protestant, level of education is strongly related to bilingualism at home—reflecting probably years of schooling in the U.S. and efforts to keep Spanish alive.

Bilingual education is a hot topic for parents. Substantial majorities of Protestants and Catholics support the statement that all schools should keep bilingual education. However, there is more agreement on this point among Protestants than among Catholics . There seems to be, though, a consensus

among more recent immigrants that, at least for their children, bilingual education has been helpful in facilitating their adaptation to New York City's school system. Some parents support bilingual education for they see it as an opportunity for their children's learning Spanish, not only out of a desire to preserve cultural heritage, but also because they perceive it as a way of enhancing their children's future opportunities, such as their employability. On the other hand, parents who oppose bilingual education have one of their strongest arguments in that bilingual education should not be provided to Latino children born in the U.S. This is a disservice to their schooling, they argue, for children being taught in Spanish do not learn English proficiently and fast enough to compete and access opportunities outside the home.

But no matter what efforts parents make to instill in their children a love for Spanish, Hispanic children seem to follow a trend children of other immigrant groups have followed: They prefer English for their interactions outside--and even inside--the home, except some times for talking to their parents. In this endeavor, parents perceive that to help children retain Spanish, churches are often more effective than schools. Moreover, in the case of parents, the more Spanish is prevalent at home, the more they attend church. It may be inferred, then, that children exposed to the reinforcing influence of churches find in them a Spanish-supportive environment too.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH, AND CONCLUSIONS

The Issue

Education is the key to human development and socioeconomic advancement for most individuals and social groups. As with the general population, education is vital to Latinos' future. Consider, for instance, that forty percent of Hispanics are under 19 years of age. Their current educational status, however, is besieged by worrisome statistics. Hispanic youth's dropout rate is three times the rate of white-non-Hispanic students. Hispanic adults over 25 possess a H.S. graduation rate 30 percentage points below their white counterparts. Moreover, the majority of Hispanic working parents started the 1990s with an occupational profile characterized by a concentration in occupations such as operative, laborer, and clerical positions. Thus, it is expected that as Hispanics become an ever larger proportion of the U.S. population, their collective fortune will have a corresponding impact on society at large.[1]

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[1] The U.S. Census projects that the Hispanic population is expected to contribute 35 percent of the nation's population growth from 1995 to 2000, 44 percent from 2000 to 2020, and 62 percent from 2020 to 2050. In 2050 the nation's Hispanic population is expected to reach 96.5 million (1997). Considering that 83 percent of the respondents were female, the 1990 Census indicates that in New York Hispanic women were employed as follows: 28.2 percent in jobs such as cooks, housekeepers, and private child

This study has been written in hopes of making a contribution to an understanding of the factors that influence Hispanics' chances of success in school. It departs from the well established thesis that the more parents get involved, the better the chances that children will succeed in school and beyond. In light of the reported success of Catholic schools for Latinos, I began to explore the importance of religion to the education of children via religion's effects on parental involvement. Thus, this research illustrates—with figures and personal stories--the affirmation made in other studies that parental involvement is crucial to the education of children. It corroborates that the schools' effectiveness depends upon parents' collaboration. In sum, the success of religious schools in educating Latino children may have more to do with the religiousness of their parents than with the religiousness of the schools. A mother succinctly summarized this argument when she expressed that,

> My reason for enrolling my daughter in a Catholic school was not primarily religious. You know, I am not Catholic. I am Christian. Well, we are all Christians. But the first reason was that I expect a quality education from that school. A secondary reason, I would say, was that they also instill in children love for God, and that is nice. But that was not the motivation.

General Considerations of Method and Theory

The pursuit of answers to the questions posed at the beginning of the study takes place in the context of the research literature covering the following four dimensions: Latinos' educational status as a minority, especially as

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care workers; 16.7 percent as waiters, kitchen workers, cleaners, and child care workers; and 21.4 percent as machinery operators, assemblers, and other factory type jobs.

immigrants, the role of the family and parental involvement in education, religion's impact on education and school achievement, and the participation of Hispanics in Catholic and other religious schools instead of public schools.

The study compared respondents according to religious affiliation and religious commitment. In addition to the standard use of religious affiliation or identity, I develop indicators and scales that capture other dimensions of the respondents' religious beliefs and experiences. I found that religious commitment follows familiar patterns of religious affiliation. Echoing the church-sect differences elaborated by Troeltsch, Conservative Protestants score higher than Catholics on certain measures of religiosity; viz. respondents' church attendance, and participation in church-sponsored religious formation. I was somewhat surprised to find that Protestants also scored higher than Catholics on religious rituals at home.

Despite the different ways that religious commitment was expressed by Catholics and Protestants, both groups had high levels of parental involvement with the education of their children. I took into account important socioeconomic measures such as the level of parental educational attainment, income, family structure, and the role of women, namely mothers and grandmothers. In drafting the research questions, it became evident that a combination of methods and an interdisciplinary approach would be required. Such approach, for instance, allowed me to integrate social science with theology and thus recognize respondents' religiosity in its own terms, with its normative value.

This study is based on data obtained from a sample of 224 parents, with half of them sending their children to religious schools and half sending their children to public schools. Seventy percent of the respondents were born outside the U.S. mainland. The respondents identified themselves primarily as Dominicans (43%), Puerto Ricans (31%), Ecuadorians (7%), Colombians (6%), and Mexicans (2%). An assorted group of Central and South Americans makes the other 11 percent. Eighty-four percent of the respondents are female and 16 percent are male. The sample was drawn from respondents living in four of New York City's five boroughs. I had hoped to obtain a larger sample, but after a year of data gathering and despite the collaboration of school administrators and religious leaders, its expansion seemed an onerous possibility. The investment of time and energy to ensure the participation of schools was too high, especially given the low rate of return (12%), and the refusal of most public school principals.

Since this research was never envisioned as a definitive study, I would not suggest the reader to draw statistical inferences which could be said to possess reliable generalizability. What I did was to introduce some concepts about Latino religious experience into my variables, which gives me confidence in its approximate representativeness of Latino parents' views and experiences in New York City, especially of those who both are immigrant and identify with either a Catholic or Conservative Protestant religious tradition. Hence, this case study invites replication and comparative analysis in order to evaluate more completely

the situation of Hispanics as they vary both from region to region (e.g., Northeast versus Southwest), and in their national-origin composition. To wit, in contrast to the Northeast, Mexican-Americans and Cubans are obviously the predominant groups in the Southwest and the Southeast respectively. Fortunately, there is a way to compare my findings on a primarily religious sample with a study of a population not selected on the basis of religion. I refer to Portes et al.'s longitudinal study of children of immigrants in California and Florida. Dugger's (1998) account of the results indicate that children of immigrants as a group are outperforming their U.S.-born peers in every grade. Also, students from two-parent families and whose parents have better education and jobs perform better than the rest of immigrant children. Consistent with previous studies, Latino children are outperformed by and have higher dropout rates than Asian and English-speaking West Indians. In the end, the youngsters who were performing better than average, even despite lower parental socioeconomic background, did so by studying longer hours and watching less TV—areas that reflect levels of parental involvement (Dugger 1998). In a way Portes et al.'s research confirms but adds little that is new to help our understanding of the why's and how's of parental involvement and children's differential rates of performance. Social science would benefit if advantage were taken of these large scale studies to explore the role of other than socioeconomic variables such as religion. (Portes and colleagues interviewed 5,200 eighth and ninth graders in Southern California

and South Florida in 1992. Eighty-two percent of them were interviewed again in 1995 and 1996 when they were high school seniors).

I hope that the richness and depth of the qualitative material in my study compensate the shortcomings of sample size. Furthermore, given the nature of the research questions, qualitative analysis may, in the end, prove to be not just a complement to quantitative analysis, but better fitting to answer most of them. However, here, too, a larger number of interviews than the 18 actually conducted may have been helpful.

It is hoped that in future studies, particularly in the area of Latino education and religion, researchers will not only improve on the methods used here, but will also capitalize on the findings of the present study. This way, it can be expected that they will be able to provide us with more complete and definitive answers than the ones outlined here. Nonetheless, because improving Latinos' educational status is a pressing matter, I hope parents, practitioners in the educational field and religious leaders as well as policy makers will find the results of this dissertation useful for both their meditations and practical endeavors.

The Findings

There were both expected and unexpected findings concerning the research questions:

A) If Hispanic parents want their children to have a good education, what do they mean by "a good education"?

B) To what extent and how do religious affiliation and commitment inform parents' involvement in the day-to-day process of schooling, e.g., via homework and help at the school?
C) How are other variables, such as education and income, related to parental involvement?
D) Do highly religious parents set higher standards and goals for their children--regardless of whether they attend religious or public schools--than parents who are not so religiously inclined?
E) How do religious commitment and affiliation inform parents' concepts of discipline, authority and child rearing practices in general?
F) What educational roles do parents attribute to the family, school and church?
G) What is the impact of family structure on parental involvement?
H) How is parental religious affiliation related to the choice of type of school--Is it possible to rank motivations and reasons among Latinos of all faiths or are such reasons and motivations clustered according to religious affiliation and commitment?
I) How do parents relate religion, language and ethnic identity to the education of their children? Do they want their children to retain Spanish? Are they against bilingual education?

In Chapters Four through Six the dissertation has documented for Hispanics many of the findings reported in the literature for other racial and ethnic groups as well as social categories, especially immigrants, that parents care about their children's education and the performance of their schools (López 1998). The ranking they give education in their hierarchy of values marks many of their family decisions, starting with their motivation to emigrate to the U.S. for the sake of their children's future. Latino parents aspire to give their children an education that is adequate for the times and society they live in. Parents show evidence of being aware that the availability of quality schools, however, is not something they can control. Their involvement in their children's education, on the other hand, is more amenable to their intervention; and it is here that their

active participation makes a difference. But even their involvement in this area is also often conditioned by circumstances difficult to alter. Think, for example, of their own levels of education. As it has been shown here and elsewhere, parental level of schooling is positively correlated with parental involvement. Their understanding of the importance of education and how to secure a good one is limited in the case of those parents with lower levels of schooling. Coleman and Hoffer, for instance, show that the reverse is the case for better-educated parents. "The more schooling that a parent has completed," say they, "the more that parent will understand about what different schools have to offer, and the more likely the parent will place a high value on education." (1987:31) Closely related to parental education are the limitations inherent to socioeconomic status. A majority of Latino parents need both to make a living in physically exhausting jobs and to have two breadwinners whenever possible, which limit the chances parents have to get involved in their children's schooling, especially in activities that call for direct interaction with schools, and trips to places such as libraries and museums.

Religion's Influence on Parental Involvement

Latinos are becoming more diverse in their religious affiliations, and this has an effect on their outlook and behavior, including beliefs and practices related to their children's education. Evangelical and fundamentalist denominations are growing among Latinos. In that regard, this research

captures a trend registered by other studies. As converts, most often from a non-active status in Catholicism, they evince intense levels of religious commitment. Conservative Protestants tend to have, for instance, higher rates of church attendance. In this study, 54 percent of Catholics, 85 percent of Seventh-Day Adventists, and 87 percent of Other Protestants reported "High" frequency --once or more per week, including Saturdays and Sundays. Other measures of religious commitment indicate clear differences between Catholics and Protestants. For example, giving thanks before meals is reported as a frequent activity by 76 percent of Protestants in contrast to 36 percent of Catholics. In the same vein, 84 percent of Protestants report to practice "prayer and Bible study," in comparison to 23 percent of Catholics.

Protestants consistently score higher means than Catholics on three measures of religiosity.[2] Conservative Protestant parents, on average, report closer attachment to the institutional church and more intense expression of religious commitment than Catholics. They also exhibit less variation than Catholics around the mean. Do these denominational differences relate to education? I found that Protestants, more than Catholics, articulate a concept of education both that is rooted in religious beliefs and that is couched in religious terms. Catholics define a good education more readily in secular terms, though when pressed, they coincide with Protestants that children need help to develop

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[2] The average scores are as follows: Home rituals, Protestants 2.27 vs. 1.22 for Catholics; Religious exposure, Protestants 1.53 vs. 1.17 for Catholics; Attendance, Protestants 1.75 vs. 1.33 for Catholics (see page 100)

spiritually, and cultivate life's moral dimension (Question A). Evidently, the consistent differences between Protestants and Catholics stem from worldviews characteristic of each tradition. This tendency is understandable in light of Catholic humanism, a tradition that--at least from the time of St. Thomas Aquinas—has anticipated no contradiction between human knowledge and religion. With some exceptions, the Reformation was more suspicious of natural knowledge and science, and these characteristics are reflected in the data. Conservative Protestants' distrust of much of the secular world foments a limited disengagement from secular institutions, including public schools. A compounding effect results, then, when such a desire to protect children from the influences of the world is combined with lower parental education.

One of the basic assumptions of this study is that religion matters to education. The 1990 National Survey of Religious Identification (NSRI) showed that Catholics—whether white or black—show as a group higher levels of high school and college graduation rates than members of most evangelical and fundamentalist churches, such as Lutherans, Jehovah's Witnesses, Baptists, Seventh-Day Adventists, and Pentecostals.[3] If the data from this dissertation's sample were representative of all Latinos, we might confirm that Latinos follow the same pattern as unveiled by the NSRI. Higher proportions of Protestant than

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[3] Among non-Hispanic whites over 18 years of age, high school and college graduation rates go as follows: Catholics (84.5% and 23.4%), Lutheran (81.0% and 18.9%), Jehovah's Witnesses (67.6% and 4.4%), Baptist (66.9% and 11.3%), Seventh-Day Adventist (65.0% and 16.8%), and Pentecostal (61.1% and 6.3%) (Kosmin and Lachman 1993: 272).

Catholic respondents indicated to have "Low" education (less than H.S.)—24 percent of Seventh-Day Adventists, 36 percent of Other Protestants, and only 17 percent of Catholics. There were not enough data to decide if increasing rates of Protestant affiliation may reinforce a pattern of lower levels of educational attainment. It may be that socioeconomic factors or length of stay in the U.S. are other factors affecting this pattern. In any case, the common assumption that Protestants value education more than Catholics was not evidenced in this study.

On a scale (0-24 points) devised to measure parental involvement, Catholic parents register a higher score (17.5) than Seventh-Day Adventists (15.5) and Other Protestants (16.1), while the standard deviation is higher for Protestants. Most of the difference seems to be due to a greater tendency on the part of Conservative Protestants to participate "Rarely" or "Never" in activities related to their children's schooling that involve both direct interaction with schools and visiting places such as public libraries, museums or other educational outings. Again, the noted difference between Protestants and Catholics may be partly rooted in the humanist inclinations of the latter.

As a group, Conservative Protestants evidence lower parental involvement than Catholics, but it is parents new to Protestantism and "High" in church attendance who score lowest (14.4), followed in ascending order by those affiliated with Protestant churches for five to twenty years (16.4). Perhaps commitments to church and devotion at home steer parents away from specifically school-related activities. Since both parental education is positively

correlated with parental involvement, and Conservative Protestants report on average lower levels of education, it is probable that in addition to the specific religiously-based differences noted above, the variations between Catholics and Protestants on the parental involvement scale are the result of differences in parental schooling. Parental involvement by level of education shows an ascending pattern for both: for parents with grade school their average parental involvement score is 13.6, for those with high school is 16.2, followed by those with some college, 18.2, and up to parents with graduate school, 19.0. Such results then take findings by other researchers about Conservative Protestants a step further. Protestants not only exhibit lower levels of educational attainment, but they show also lower levels of parental involvement--at least on explicitly school-related activities--which may affect the educational chances of their progeny (Question C).

However, a countering force may be at work among religiously committed parents. Higher commitment has, for the most part, a positive influence on children's education. The influence takes many forms and it is mediated by parents and churches. For example, in the case of Protestant parents, they have larger families, and they both seem to value marital stability more and evince higher rates of two-parent homes than Catholics (74% versus 53%). They also put a premium on moral education and openly foster in their children the cultivation of virtues, such as honesty and obedience—which are germane to school performance. In addition, religiously committed parents spend quality time

with children sharing religious training that indirectly reinforce some academic skills (Question B). For their part, churches complement parents' functions by providing spaces and times where children listen to reinforcing messages and get opportunities to practice academically useful skills as they participate in Sabbath and Sunday school.

Thus, the involvement of parents is not captured in its totality by the above-mentioned secular scale. Religious parents in particular tend to engage heavily in religious activities both at home and church. They get their children involved in such activities too. In the process, their children derive benefits that may directly and indirectly aid their schooling. From intensive parental time sharing and emotional support, resulting from joint worshipping and Bible study, to conversations on practical advice to preparing and participating in Sabbath and Sunday school, children learn and practice skills that may prove useful in their school life.

Rituals practiced as a family at home are more commonly found among Conservative Protestants. Interspersing prescribed routines with spontaneous acts, family units gather several times a week, in the morning and/or night, in rituals that include Bible reading, study of church lessons, *coritos*—singing hymns-- and prayer. References to this type of daily family ritual are scanty among Catholics. For them, the most common act seems to be praying before retiring to sleep. Yet, coming together for worshipping in addition to church attendance is a family affair more common among Conservative Protestants.

To reiterate, habits developed for the purpose of worshiping or passing on traditions may strengthen skills applicable in other realms. Frequent dialogue, discussion of church lessons or doctrinal teachings help children with verbal skills and social rules, such as turn-taking to speak or to lead prayers. Such bonding and communication perhaps strengthen self-confidence that proves useful outside the home, with benefits such as helping to prevent students from dropping out of school. The end result of such activities as reading, reciting, memorizing, coloring and discussing religious materials at home and at church may be the intensified practice of skills that probably and inadvertently are transferred to the academic sphere. One more advantage is that some perceptive religious teachers at church can detect strengths as well as deficiencies in students, and so they can advise parents on working with the school for the betterment of the children.

Conservative Protestant parents also differ from Catholics concerning educational expectations (Question D). Parents were asked first what their ideal expectations were; they were asked next about their realistic expectations. The major difference resides not in the ideal expectations parents hold about their children's attainment, but on what they realistically expect their children will attain. The downward adjustment parents make from the ideal to the realistic among those who hope their children will become professionals is less steep in the case of Catholics—from 62% to 41%-- compared with Protestants--61% to 28%. Such adjustment may be yet one more effect of differences in parental

education. As a case in point, only 26 percent of respondents with "Low" education compared to 40 percent of parents with "High" education indicated they realistically expected their children to attain a professional education. Less formally educated parents may be less confident than the better educated ones in projecting future higher levels of attainment for their children.

In a scale devised to locate parents' views on discipline along a Liberal to Conservative (0 to 20 points) continuum, Protestants score higher than Catholics (14.6 versus 13.2) (Question E). Parental education and parental involvement were found to be correlated with views on discipline, but in opposite directions. The higher the education of parents, the lower their score on discipline; and the higher the score on discipline, the lower their score on parental involvement. Notably, whether rising above or descending below the mean, Protestants always score higher than Catholics on the discipline scale. Such findings confirm that Hispanics are going along with two trends registered for the general non-Latino population: 1) Conservative Protestants hold more disciplinarian views, and report higher agreement with disciplinarian practices than Catholics; and 2) liberalizing currents have a moderating effect on child-rearing practices, as expressed in such trends as the de-emphasizing of corporal punishment, and showing a lesser tendency to attribute total responsibility to mothers for children's disciplinary problems.

Finally, family structure and its functioning have an impact on the education of children as reflected in the number of persons they come in contact with and the types of relations those people establish with them (Question G).

Among Latinos the extended family plays a vital role by fulfilling direct and indirect responsibilities that support children's education. Mother's centrality to the educational enterprise, though, is unquestionable. Despite being engaged in paid work too, most mothers do not use that as an excuse for neglecting their child-rearing responsibilities. Doubtless, their ability to translate their enthusiasm into concrete activities that aid their children's schooling is often thwarted by a variety of factors, such as single-parenthood, lack of time and their own educational deficiencies. Nevertheless, respondents furnish abundant testimony about creative arrangements that involve parents and other relatives, especially grandmothers, in helping children's education and the daily tasks necessary to support it.

Parental Involvement's Relationship to the Quality and Type of Schools

Urban public schools in New York are plagued by problems from underfunding to overcrowding, and from underqualified teachers to violence. Urban public school students increasingly lag behind non-urban public school children in the state and the nation.[4] Parents realize not only that their children are not getting the schooling they need to succeed, but also that the public schools in the city also spawn all kinds of negative influences. Such is the

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[4] A recent report based on data for 1994 and 1996 from the National Assessment of Educational Progress compares urban and non-urban school achievement as reflected in standardized tests. In New York, 39 percent of urban fourth graders scored at the basic level or higher in reading compared with 70 percent of non-urban fourth graders. In math, 39 percent of urban eighth graders scored at the basic level or higher compared

backdrop for calls for school reform, the search for other educational alternatives, such as charter schools, and the rising popularity enjoyed by religious schools. Latinos ask the same questions about the city's public schools as the rest of the population. Even though this dissertation has focused on Catholic and other religious schools, it is important to press that the public schools are the principal instrument for the education of Latinos. Public schools are viewed as a valuable community resource. For instance, newly arrived Dominicans, as well as other newly arrived Hispanics, tend to identify schools as the first provider of social services for their children. For the immigrant family lacking solid familiar resources, school is seen as the most available source of emergency services or referrals for food and housing or social security assistance (Carrasquillo 1991:40). Nonetheless, Catholic and other religious schools are also viewed as community resources.

This dissertation found ample evidence that Latinos in New York are enthusiastic inheritors of religious institutions and buildings not created for them, but which were often intended, nevertheless, to serve immigrants like themselves. Although the schools and many of the churches are aging structures today, they are reinvigorated with the presence of the Hispanic children and faithful who flock to such institutions. Latinos are providing churches and schools with opportunities to renew and fulfill their mission. The numbers speak for themselves: Minorities are 64 percent of New York City's Catholic schools.

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with 75 percent of non-urban eighth graders. Again, in science for 1996, the contrast was

Thirty-six percent are Hispanic, 23 percent are African-American and 5 percent are Asian (Catholic New York 1996: 20). Only one of the 11 Greater New York Conference of Seventh Day Adventist schools does not have a majority of minorities. Thus, whether Catholic or Protestant, religious schools in New York City are community resources, dependent upon and serving people of color.

Latino parents surveyed reported that a "good education" involves moral training (cf. Chapter Four). Conservative Protestants see their ideas about how to educate their children rooted clearly in religious grounds. Roman Catholics and the not-so-religious are less inclined to associate their concept of a good education with a religious inspiration, though when probed, all parents agree on the need to cultivate the moral dimension in their children. More than 70 percent of Catholics and Protestants agree somewhat or strongly that children need more supervision and discipline than they are getting in the public schools, and see also as a serious threat to parental and teacher authority that children be permitted to talk back. Reflecting a consensus on the primacy of parents in the education of children, a respondent compared her role to that of a jeweler: Parents have the responsibility of helping their children transform themselves from raw stones into diamonds. Thus, parents do not neglect their responsibility to provide their children with principles for a good education. In fact, some see it as primarily their preserve. Although they acknowledge schools, especially via teachers, have a role to play in the moral realm, they prefer to have more control over this

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29 percent versus 73 percent (Bronner 1998).

sphere. Some do it out of concern that their doctrinal beliefs are not shared by school personnel. This view is especially the case with Conservative Protestants. Catholics are more relaxed about this separation of responsibilities, expecting to some degree that a modicum of morality will be taught at schools, if not explicitly at least tacitly through the good example of teachers.

These attitudes about moral training carry over to Latino children of religious parents who attend public school (cf. Chapter Five). In reflecting a disposition to do the most from what they have, religious parents exhort their children to engage constructively with their schools. This constructive attitude towards public school is also found among respondents who would prefer their children to attend Christian schools. Aware of their economic limitations and public schools' shortcomings they insist that their children must give the best of themselves while they are in the public school. And as one mother stated referring to her children, that by being good students they not only fulfill their responsibility, but they can still play a positive role model for others; they can be "salt and light to the world." This study's sample, and existing data on Latinos, confirm that contrary to stereotyped generalizations, many parents are genuinely concerned with establishing a collaborative relationship with their children's schools. For a variety of reasons, however, parents are not working in greater numbers directly or visibly with the schools. On the other hand, the stories and views reported in this study reveal that many are making efforts at home to support the teachers' work.

A majority of the parents who are sending or would enroll their children in religious schools do it not for religious reasons, or at least not exclusively. They certainly want their children to receive moral training, but they do not seek that schools indoctrinate them in a particular faith. They are motivated by a host of factors that include quality academics, discipline, safety, and loving teachers. Nonetheless, when all is said and done, it is more common to find among Conservative Protestants a desire to have their children attend religious schools for religious reasons, preferably non-Catholic and of their own denomination. Catholic parents entertain the possibility of a religious school for their children more in the context of unattractive public schools.

Also, the concern and willingness to interact with their children's schools is present among parents. Nevertheless, their ability to engage in such an interaction is often constrained by factors beyond their control. For example, volunteerism at school and school-related activities, such as fund-raising is one of the distinguishing features of involved parents. Admittedly, participation of parents in activities to support schools is not massive, and engagement of parents with children in private schools is higher than among those with children in public schools. Coleman and Hoffer say that the greater involvement of parents of Catholic school children than that of parents of public school children or non-religious private schools is explained by functional versus value community differences. According to Coleman and Hoffer, "In a value community, the involvement of families in the school is largely determined on an

individualistic basis, while the scope of community involvement is greater in the functional community. Thus, parents who would otherwise avoid the school or be involved in its activities are induced to participate through the social relationships that define the functional community." (1987: 55)

Although Catholic as well as Protestant parents would like to have more viable options, it is non-Adventist Protestant parents who express in greater proportion (2:1) satisfaction with public schools. Since public schools in New York City have often been viewed as "Protestant" schools, this may reflect a general belief that the public schools in the U.S. should reflect a generally Protestant orientation towards religious belief. When probed, however, a substantial majority hold monetary reasons as the major factor thwarting their legal right to exercise choice. Seventy-five percent of Seventh-Day Adventists, 69 percent of Catholics and 39 percent of Other Protestants indicated that money is the primary reason not to enroll their children in religious schools. Latinos, then, exemplify the gap that exists between nominal and effective demand for religious schools. Probably, though, for most Catholics such demand is simply a cry for better public schools.

Conclusion

Religion, then, partly shapes parental involvement. Throughout this study Catholics and Protestants varied from each other on measures of parental involvement, as gauged by qualitative criteria and a scale of eight secular indicators. Belonging to either a Catholic or a Protestant tradition makes a

difference in outlook and behavior that is relevant to the education of one's children (Question B). The specificity of religiously-based differences becomes apparent when one compares Catholics and Protestant Hispanics on other variables, such as cultural affirmation and language. The differences between them, though, depend also on levels of education and time of residence in the U.S. not just on religious affiliation (Question C). Whether Catholic or Protestant, Hispanics evince similarly high levels of ethnic pride and wish both that their children retain the Spanish language and that schools be more sensitive by including more elements of the Hispanic culture in their curricula (Question I).

It was not argued in this work that religion makes children successful in school, but that religion constitutes a resource. It was documented that intensity of religious commitment bears on parental involvement. While at home or church, people can draw on religion to support children's education. In general, Catholic and Protestant parents who are committed to their churches, but not excessively so, are better able to provide their children with the company, guidance and assistance they need to perform better in school. Religious parents, both Catholic and Protestant, find in their churches and doctrines invaluable resources for inspiration, guidance and support in strengthening their children's education. Those who enroll their children in church-related activities expose them to constructive environments, influences, and educational activities that help them practice skills, social and academic, which reinforce their school work. In the case

of Seventh-Day Adventists, parents consistently report explicit attention, on the part of the church, with children's academic advancement (Questions D, E, F, G)

Furthermore, it may be speculated that parents who are not religiously inclined or are not linked to a church may still provide helpful assistance to their children, but they may lack the multidimensional support most parents affiliated with churches are deriving for them and their children—which also include reaffirmation of ethnic identity and the opportunity to preserve the Spanish language (Question I). Religious attendance constitutes an involvement in what Coleman and Hoffer call a locally based functional community. Religious schools are another example of functional communities, for they have a sense of shared purpose, values consensus among the staff, and high levels of commitment to the common goals. But since most children attend public schools, they and their parents are not under the influence of such functional communities. On the other hand, membership in religious groups is more widespread. Therefore, Coleman and Hoffer warn that "religious groups are, of course, only one of the bases of functional community that cuts across generations, but, with the waning of other bases, it is one of the most important, perhaps the most important, that remains." (1987: 138)

Now, when parents can afford to enroll their children in religious schools, they capitalize on another dimension of religion as a resource. They benefit from a tradition of efficiency proved by countless anecdotes and hard statistics. Since, by definition, parents with children in private and religious schools are a small

minority, any benefits to children's education owing to parents' involvement accrues overwhelmingly to children in public schools. There is certainly a synergistic effect when not only schools, but also churches, encourage greater parental involvement. Based on these findings, it could be expected, therefore, that children's schooling stands to benefit if church leaders would play an active role by implementing and participating in programs that support secular education. They could also speak more loudly and frequently to parents with a message that encourages them both to improve their own schooling and to step up their involvement in their children's school-related activities.

In the short term, then, while reforms are enacted and plans are implemented that can improve the quality of public schools in urban areas like New York City, measures—whether fiscal, judicial or political–that support religious schools would go a long way towards ameliorating the educational deficits affecting Latino children. The churches, too, could commit more resources not only to keeping open but to building schools that attract Hispanic children regardless of their parents' religious identification. For their part, policy makers and other public officials could see and treat religious schools for what they are, invaluable public resources that provide a service whose price often makes them unreachable to the people who need them most.

It will also be important for public schools to redefine themselves regarding how moral questions are treated in the curriculum. Issues of discipline, dress codes, home assignments, and parental involvement should also be addressed.

This dissertation found that it was religion in the parents rather than the religion in the schools that was the major overall factor in a "good education" for Latinos. If it is possible to recast public education in ways that match these expectations, it is likely that some of the success of Latinos in Catholic and other religious schools could be replicated in the public school system.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Family and Religion in the Education of Hispanic Children

We are affiliated with the Graduate School of the City University of New York, and are trying to understand the influence of family and religion in the education of **Hispanic** children. This knowledge may be useful to administrators and politicians to make their decisions about how to improve the relations between schools and parents, to establish better relations between private and public schools, and eventually to improve the education of all children. Please help us by answering the following questions. The Questionnaire is ANONYMOUS AND VOLUNTARY. It will take approx. **half hour.**

****

Please Circle or Mark an "X" Next to Your Answer

1. Sex a. Female____ b. Male____ **Yes / No**
2. Age_____ 3. Were your parents born in the continental U.S.? ( ) ( )
4. Were you born in the continental U.S.? ( ) ( )

5. Are you: a. Puerto Rican___ b. Dominican___ c. Ecuadorian____ d. Mexican____ e. Colombian__
f. Other (specify)_____ 6. Years living in the U.S._____

7. Which do you speak **primarily** in the home?
a. English___ b. Spanish___ c. Both ____
8. Are you currently.....
a. Single, never married_____ b. Married_____
c. Divorced_____ d. Separated_____ e. Widowed_____

9. Which of the following is your current religion?

	Yourself /	**Your Spouse**
A. Catholic.....	( )	( )
B. Protestant: i. Lutheran	( )	( )
ii. Seventh-Day Adventist.....	( )	( )
iii. Pentecostal.....	( )	( )
C. Other denomination (please specify)_____	( )	( )
D. None.....	( )	( )

10. For how long has it been your religion?

	Yourself /	**Your Spouse**
a. Over 20 years or whole life.....	( )	( )
b. Between ten (10) and twenty years (20).....	( )	( )
c. Between five (5) and ten (10) years.....	( )	( )
d. Five (5) years or less.....	( )	( )

11. How often do you attend Mass or the Services of your church?
a. Daily___ b. Couple of times a week____ c. Sundays___ d. Couple of times a month___
e. Once a month____ f. Christmas/Holy Week____ g. Never / Almost never____

Which of the following activities do you do **regularly**?	Yourself /	Self & Spouse /	With the Children
12. Prayer and meditation.....	( )	( )	( )
13. Prayer and Bible study.....	( )	( )	( )
14. Give thanks before meals.....	( )	( )	( )
15. Light candles and keep a home altar.....	( )	( )	( )
16. Say the Rosary.....	( )	( )	( )
17. Make pilgrimages and visit shrines..	( )	( )	( )

Either You, Your Spouse or Both:

	Yes	/	No
18. Have you ever belonged to a church group that has reading / studying of the Bible as its principal goal?	( )		( )
19. Have you ever belonged to a church group that makes religious education (catechism) its principal goal?	( )		( )
20. Have you ever participated in a retreat to make a commitment to Christ, like a cursillo or cruzada ?	( )		( )
21 Have you ever belonged to a group sponsored by your church that has sports activity as its main goal?	( )		( )
22. Have you ever belonged to a group sponsored by your church that has civic or political activities as its main goal, such as immigration advocacy, tenants organizing ?	( )		( )
23. Do you work as a volunteer in organizations that make the material welfare of others their main goal (such as soup kitchen, homeless shelter, hospital visitation) ?	( )		( )

24. Did either you or your spouse attend **Catholic or other Christian** schools?	Yes	/	No
a. Yourself	( )		( )
b. Your Spouse.	( )		( )

25 If yes, indicate which **Catholic or other Christian** schools you or your spouse attended

	Grade School	High School	College
a. Yourself	( )	( )	( )
b. Your Spouse	( )	( )	( )

26. What is your **highest level of education** ?	**Yourself**	/	**Your Spouse**
a. Completed elementary school	( )		( )
b. Completed junior high school (or intermediate school)	( )		( )
c. Completed high school	( )		( )
d. Completed Vocational School	( )		( )
e. Completed community college	( )		( )
f. Completed four-year college	( )		( )
g Completed graduate or professional degree work	( )		( )

27. Where do you work, or if you are not employed now, where was your last employment?	**Yourself**	/	**Your Spouse**
a. Factory	( )		( )
b. Office (such as sales, secretary)	( )		( )
c. Own business	( )		( )
d. Professional (such as lawyer, doctor)	( )		( )
e. Domestic worker (such as home-attendant)	( )		( )
f. Homemaker	( )		( )
g. Other (specify)_____	( )		( )

28. Concerning question 27, how do or did you work:	Yourself	/	Your Spouse
a. Partime	( )		( )
b. Fulltime	( )		( )
c. Two jobs	( )		( )

29. Which of the following categories best describes your **monthly total family** income (from all sources, including social security, public assistance and salaries? a. $499 or less ____ b. $500 to $999 ___
c. $1,000 to $1,999 ___ d. $2,000 to $2,999 ___ e. $3,000 to $3,999 ___
f. $4,000 to $4,999 ___ g. $5,000 to $5,999 _____ h. $6,000 or more ____

30. How many children do you have? _____

31. Please provide the following information only for children attending school, **from oldest to youngest.**

	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
a. Age (years)	____	____	____
b. Sex (M/F)	____	____	____
c. Grade (1 to 12)	____	____	____
d. Catholic School	____	____	____
e. Lutheran School	____	____	____
f. Adventist School	____	____	____
g. Public School	____	____	____
h. Other Private School	____	____	____

32. If you have children in **public** school, Why **don't** you have them attending Catholic / Christian school? (Mark **the most important**)

a. Public school is fine with me ____ b. I can't afford a private school ___ c. Distance ____
d. Motor vehicle transportation is required ___ e. Language difficulties ____
f. Seats were not available this year ____ g. Other (please specify) _____

	Frequently/	**Sometimes /**	**Rarely /**	**Never**
33. How often do you or your spouse attend the parents' meetings at your child(ren)'s school?	( )	( )	( )	( )
34. How often do you or your spouse volunteer for activities related to your child(ren)'s school? (such as fundraising, helping with teacher-led trips, school maintenance, clerical duties)...	( )	( )	( )	( )

Concerning your child(ren)'s education, how often do you or your spouse do the following activities?

	Frequently/	**Sometimes /**	**Rarely /**	**Never**
35. Remind them to do their homework	( )	( )	( )	( )
36. Go over their homework after they finish.....	( )	( )	( )	( ).
37. Accompany them to the public library.....	( )	( )	( )	( )
38. Take them to museums and other educational activities.....	( )	( )	( )	( )
39. Call in or stop by the school to ask about their progress.....	( )	( )	( )	( )
40. Control the time they watch T.V.....	( )	( )	( )	( )

Who among the members of your family does most of the following:

	Mother /	**Father /**	**Older Brother or Sister/**	**Other Relativee**
41. takes the child(ren) to and from school?	( )	( )	( )	( )
42. supervises the child(ren)'s homework?.....	( )	( )	( )	( )
43. attends school meetings and volunteers at the school?.....	( )	( )	( )	( )

Please respond to each item by marking the column that best describes your opinion concerning the item.

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
44. I would like to see greater efforts to have Hispanic culture and traditions included in my child(ren)'s school activities.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
45. I think it is important for Hispanic youth to hold onto their Hispanic heritage and culture.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
46. I think it is important to have bilingual education in all schools	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
47. It is a mistake to teach children that The United States is a nation chosen by God as his representative in the world today	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
48. I chose a Catholic/Christian School because it provides Bible study, religion class & prayer	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
49. I chose a Catholic/Christian school because it provides an effective alternative to the anti-God attitude that is prevalent in public schools.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
50. If our public school had the same academic and moral qualities of our Catholic/Christian school, I would be happy with public school for my child(ren).	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
51. If our child's public school had quality academics, good discipline, and loving teachers, I probably would not have sought out a Catholic / Christian school.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
52. The home, school and church must work together to train children so that the child is not confused by different religious points of view.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
53. My parenting standards would be maintained as long as my child(ren) are given quality moral training in school even if it is not religious in nature.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neutral	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
54. School uniforms interfere with the child's need to express individuality....	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
55. As long as a school has computers and a big library, the lack of discipline does not matter.....	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
56. Children need and should have more supervision and discipline than they usually get in public schools	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
57. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents and teachers, or else he will lose respect for them.....	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
58. A well-reared child is one that doesn't have to be told twice to do something.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
59. A woman whose children are messy and rowdy has failed in her duties as a mother.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
60. If children are told too much about sex, they are likely to go too far in experimenting with it.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
61. Whatever some educators say, "Spare the rod and spoil the child" still holds, even in these modern times.	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

62. Judging by their report cards, please indicate which of the following **best** describes each child's **average** school performance:

(from oldest to youngest)	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
1. Excellent	( )	( )	( )
2. Good	( )	( )	( )
3. Satisfactory	( )	( )	( )
4. Just Passing	( )	( )	( )
5. Failing	( )	( )	( )

63. Please indicate what is the educational level **you hope** for each child to complete:

(from oldest to youngest)	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
1. High School	( )	( )	( )
2. Vocational (such as training in mechanics, computers)..	( )	( )	( )
3. College	( )	( )	( )
4. Ph.D. or Professional degree (such as MD., lawyer).....	( )	( )	( )
5. Other (specify)_____..	( )	( )	( )

64. Please indicate what level do you **realistically expect** them to complete:

(from oldest to youngest).	Child 1	Child 2	Child 3
1. High School	( )	( )	( )
2. Vocational (such as training in mechanics, computers)..	( )	( )	( )
3. College.....	( )	( )	( )
4. Ph.D. or Professional degree (such as MD., lawyer).....	( )	( )	( )
5. Other (specify)_____..	( )	( )	( )

Muchas Gracias

65. Please check here if you would be willing to be called to arrange an **interview** at a time that is convenient for you _____

Name _____Tel. # _____

Best time_____A.M. / P.M.

Please Return in the Self-Stamped Envelope

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

[Many of the following questions were commonly addressed to respondents, others were selectively asked depending on the case]

Bueno para comenzar, me podría decir Ud. qué es lo que considera una buena educación?
For starters, would you please tell me, what do you think a good education is, what it consists of?

Qué herramientas considera indispensable para que sus hijos tengan una buena educación?
What tools do you believe must be provided to your children, so that they have a good education?

Qué importancia le da al contenido ético, moral, y espiritual?
What importance do you attribute to the ethical, moral, spiritual components of education?

Qué importancia le dan Uds. a lo académico en la educación?
What importance do you attribute to the academic component in your children's education?

De dónde cree que viene su concepto de una "buena" educación?
Where, do you think, your concept of a "good" education comes from?

A través de tu vida como madre / padre tu concepto de una buena educación ha cambiado o ha sido siempre el mismo?
Has such (your) concept of a good education changed (evolved) over time, or as far as you can remember, has it always been the same?

Uds. enfatizan la felicidad de él/ella...Cómo ven la contraparte social a la educación de él? Solo interesa que él sea feliz, o cómo lo ven en su relación con los demás, al prójimo?
You said that his/her happiness is a priority for you...Do you see a flip side to it, a sense of responsibility towards his/her neighbor? How do you see his/her relationship towards other human beings?

Cómo reconcilia la educación para bienestar individual con resposabilidad hacia la comunidad?
How do you reconcile an education for your children's individual wellbeing with their responsibility towards the community?

Ud. orienta sus hijos para que se eduquen sólo para su propio beneficio? O les enseña, cómo les enseña a compartir?
Do you counsel them so that they get an education for their own benefit only? Or do you teach them, how do you teach them, to share?

Y tú participas en actividades de beneficio social?
And do you participate in communitarian activities, work that benefits other members of the community?

Ud. [o ambos padres] profesan ser católicos [protestantes], como viven su catolicidad [protestantismo]?
You [both of you] profess to be Catholic [Protestant], how do you live out your Catholicism [Protestantism]?

Qué actividades de carácter religioso comparten en la casa y en la iglesia?
What types of activities that have a religious character do you share with your children at home and at church?

Y cuando va a la iglesia, lleva a sus niños también?
When you go to church, do you take your children with you?

Hay en tu iglesia entonces escuela dominical, y la instrucción es en español o en inglés?
Does your church offer Sunday school to your children, in Spanish or English ?

Y la iglesia les da material de estudio a los niños, y cuáles?
Does your church distribute study materials to your children, and what kinds of materials?

Por favor digame cómo manifiesta su compromiso religioso como catolica [o protestante]. Se considera Ud. una persona bastante compromometida?
Please tell me dow do you make known your religious commitment as a Catholic [or Protestant]. Do you consider yourself a highly religiously committed person?

Experimenta Ud. un sentido de communidad con otros miembros de su iglesia [congregación]? Qué actividades o sentimientos comparte con las otras personas que le hacen vivir en y sentir un espíritu de comunidad?
Do you experience a sense of community with the other members of your church? What activities and feelings do you share with people who attend church with you that give you a sense of community?

Se puede dar el caso de que algunos de los niños de miembros de la iglesia les esté yendo mal en la escuela?

Do you think it possible that children of members of your congregation are not doing well in school?

Háblame de la TV, tú crees que la TV es un amigo o un enemigo de la educación de los niños?
Talk to me about TV, do you think that the TV is a friend or an enemy in the education of children?

En los días de semana, cuánto tiempo ven los niños TV, y que clase de programas?
And during the week, how much TV do your children watch, and what types of prgrams?

Y a museos, la biblioteca van con frecuencia o casi no va, y por que razones?
And do you go (together) to the public library, museums with certain frequency, or don't you go, and for what reasons?

Durante un día y una semana típicos, que actividades realizan en la casa que se consideren educativas, que le ayuden para la escuela a los niños?
On a typical day of a typical week, what activities do you do at home that could be considered educational, that are somehow helpful for your children's schooling?

Pero, cuénteme, Ud. que tiempo le dedica a su hija, a ayudarle con las cosas de la escuela?
Please tell me, normally what amount of time do you devote to helping your children with school homework?

Para Ud., es importante que sus niños se acuesten temprano?
Is it important for you that your children go to bed early?

Como le enseñas a tus hijos a desarrollar un sentido de responsabilidad?
How do you teach your children to develop a sense of responsibility?

Aparte de tu decirle, cómo le enseñas con ejemplos?
Besides telling them, giving them guidelines, do you make a conscious effort to teach them by example?

Conversan con los niños sobre planes educativos de largo plazo, consultan con los niños sobre sus aspiraciones, o estimulan un interés en alguna carrera en particular?
Do you discuss with your children about long-term educational plans? Do you consider their own expressed aspirations? Do you stimulate any specific career interests?

Cree Ud. que las escuelas públicas son todas lo mismo, o cree Ud. que entre las escuelas públicas existe variedad suficiente como para encontrar buena calidad en algunas...dependiendo, por supuesto, del involucramiento de los padres?
Do you think that public schools are all the same? Or do you think that there exists enough variety among them so that it is possible to find high quality education in some of them, of course, depending on how much parents get involved?

Considera Ud. que la escuela tiene otra u otras funciones aparte de enseñar tales cosas como matemáticas, ciencias, lectura, escritura ..?
Do you believe that schools have other responsibilities besides teaching the basics such as math, science, reading and writing?

Cual es su concepto de la escuela pública en general, y en particular con respecto a la escuela a que asisten sus niñas/niños?
What is your opinion of the public schools in general, and what do you think, in particular, of the school your children attend?

Cree Ud. que los padres en conjunto pueden influir sobre la calidad de la educación que la escuela provee a los niños?
Do you believe that parents as a whole can influence on the quality of the education that schools provide to the children?

Ud. dice que no se ha involucrado mucho en la escuela a la que asiste su hijo, a que se debe eso?
You say that you have got involved little with the school your children attend, What do you think are the reasons for that lack of involvement?

Entonces Ud. dice que sus niñas hasta ahora han asistido a escuelas públicas buenas. Quiere eso decir que Ud. no ha sentido necesidad de matricularlas en escuelas religiosas o privadas?
So, you say that your children have attended good public schools, does it mean that you have never felt a need to enroll them in a private or religious school?

[En caso de experiencias negativas con escuela pública] Y teniendo en cuenta esas experiencias negativas, por qué no has enviado tus hijas a una escuela católica/religiosa?
[In case of negative experiences with public school] So, considering that you have such negative experiences with public school, why have you not enrolled your children in a Catholic or religious school?

Hipoteticamente, desean que su hijo continue en escuela pública o considerarían una escuela privada [católica o protestante]
Hypothetically, do you wish to keep your children in public schools? Would you consider enrolling them in a private school [Catholic or Protestant]?

De quien cree Ud. es la responsabilidad por la educación de los niños? Cree que debe haber una estricta separación de responsabilidades entre la escuela y la familia?
Whose responsibility is it to educate the children? Do you believe that there must be a strict separation of responsibilities between the school and the family?

Cree Ud. que aunque la escuela pública no sea muy buena, los niños—si tienen apoyo en la familia y la iglesia--pueden ser buenos estudiantes?
Do you believe that even though the public school is not very good, if children are helped by their family and church, they still can be good students?

Está Ud. de acuerdo en que en la escuela les den a sus niños educación sexual?
Do you agree that it is O.K. for schools to provide sexual education to your children?

Por favor elabore sobre su opinión de que si a los muchachos se les habla demasiado sobre el sexo, lo mas probable es que terminen experimentando con el?
[If applicable] Please elaborate on your agreement with the statement that if children are told too much about sex, they will eventually experiment with it?

Cuales cree Ud. son las contribuciones de la iglesia y la escuela a la educación de sus niños?
What do you think are the contributions made by church and school to the education of your children?

Los aportes educativos de la iglesia se limitan, digamos, a los servicios de los sábados, o hay otros más allá de los servicios regulares?
The educational contributions of the church, are they limited to the teachings or exercises during regular services?

Encuentra en las enseñanzas de su iglesia, o en los mensajes de su párroco [o pastor] que le son de ayuda o utilidad en la educación de sus hijos?
Do you find in the teachings of your church, or in the preaching of your priest [pastor], that they are helpful [or useful] in educating your children?

Cuáles temas son recurrentes en su iglesia que Ud. cree se relacionan a la escolaridad y la educación?

What themes are treated frequently in church that you would consider bear on the issues of schooling and education?

[Si aplica]Ud. indicó que tiene a sus hijos en escuela pública y que no asisten a escuela privada por razones monetarias. Si hipoteticamente Ud. tuviese el dinero para pagar la matricula, los pondria en una escuela católica o religiosa?
[If applicable]You indicated that you have your children in public school for monetary reasons. If, hypothetically, you had the money to pay private tuition, would you register them in a catholic / religious school?

Como evalua Ud. su experiencia y la de sus hijos con la escuela pública?
How do you evaluate your and your children's experience with public school ?

[SI aplica]Ud. dijo en el cuestionario que está satisfecha con la escuela pública, podría elaborar sobre las razones para esa satisfacción?
[If applicable]You indicated in the questionnaire that you are satisfied with the public school, would you please elaborate on the reasons for such satisfaction?

En su opinion, cree Ud. que las escuelas religiosas o privadas son mejores que las públicas?
In your opinion, do you believe that religious or private schools are better than public schools?

Y que piensa de la idea o propuesta de que en la escuela pública les den clase de religión a su niños?
What do you think of the idea or proposal that religion be taught in the public schools?

Considera que la responsabilidad de la escuela es sólo la instrucción académica?
Do you agree that the school's responsibility is just to impart academic instruction?

[Dependiendo del caso] Si una escuela católica/protestante le quedara cerca a su casa, matricularía sus hijos en ella?
[Depending on the case] If a Catholic / Protestant school were located near your home, would you enroll your children in such a school?

Entonces cuando Ud. considera matricular su niño en una escuela privada, Ud. no necesariamente piensa en una escuela católica o religiosa?
Then, when you consider the idea of enrolling your child in a private school, you don't necessarily think of a Catholic/religious school?

Ud. cree que las escuelas públicas mejorarían si se permitiera que enseñaran religión en ellas?

Do you believe that public schools would improve if it were allowed that religion be taught in them?

Cuál cree Ud. es la mayor diferencia entre la escuela católica/religiosa y la escuela pública ?
What do you think is the major difference between Catholic/religious school and public school?

Cual es tu concepto de disciplina, que importancia le atribuyes a que tus hijos sean disciplinados?
What is your concept of discipline, how important is it for you that your children be disciplined?

En cuestión de buscar escuela, lo que importa es que enseñen religión, o no?
When it comes to choosing a school, how important is it for you that they offer religion classes?

Podria explicarme si su decision de registrar su niña/niño en la escuela catolica/religiosa tuvo que ver con sus creencias religiosas, y hasta que punto—comparado con otras razones?
Would you please explain to me if your decision to enroll your child in a Catholic/religious school was influenced by your religious beliefs, and to what extent—compared with other reasons?

O sea tu no temes que haya indoctrinación de parte de la escuela cátolica sobre tu hija ?
So, you do not fear that the Catholic school is going to indoctrinate your child?

Entonces hablando de costos, cómo se está preparando para los que ahora se avecinan con la escuela de tu niña?
Speaking of tuition costs, how prepared are you to cover such expenses?

Si un hijo ha salido mal hijo, desordenado y grocero, es porque ha fallado la mamá en sus deberes? Dónde cree que esta la resposabilidad por eso?
If a child is messy and rowdy, do you think the mother is responsible?

Escogiendo los amigos de sus hijos, tiene Ud. algo que ver?
Do you interfere with the kinds of friends your child chooses?

Como están rindiendo sus niñas en la escuela?
How would you rate the school performance of your children?

Y en términos de ayudarles con las tareas, aparte del papá y la mamá, quienes más se involucran?

When it comes to helping the children with schoolwork, besides mother and father, who else gets involved?

[Si no habla inglés] Pero Ud tiene interes en aprender el ingles?
[If not English proficient] Are you interested in improving your knowledge of and ability to speak English?

Hablemos del lenguaje, que valor le dan Uds. al hecho de que se hable español en la familia?
Let's talk about language, what value do you attribute to spekaing Spanish at home?

Entonces Ud. desea que sus hijos mantegan el lenguaje, y para que quiere que hablen español?
So, you wish your children keep the language, what do you want them to speak Spanish for?

Como percibes tú el asunto del lenguaje en la casa, cuál lenguaje se habla más, y cuál es tu criterio particular sobre eso?
What importance do you give to the issue what language is spoken at home, what are your cirteria about that?

No crees que hay contradicción entre mantener el español y aprender el inglés...?
Don't you see any contradiction between maintaining Spanish at home and the need to learn English?

Y la iglesia, tiene posiciones expresas sobre la importancia de mantener el idioma?
Does your church have an explicit policy about using Spanish?

Tu crees que la iglesia ayuda a mantener un sentido de identidad hispana, o a cultivarla?
Do you think that your church fosters a sense of Hispanic identity, that it supports Latino culture?

Qué opinión tiene de la educación bilingue?
What opinion do you have of bilingual education?

Como relaciona Ud. su lenguaje y su cultura?
How do you see the relationship between the Spanish language and Hispanic culture?

Respecto a la misa/culto, prefiere Ud. el sevicio en español o en inglés?
Do you prefer to have mass /religious services in Spanish or in English?

Que otras actividades realizan como familia para mantener el español?
What other activities do you do as a family to keep the language alive?

Ud. cree que si sus hijos pierden el idioma van a tener problemas de identidad?
Do you believe that if your children lose the Spanish language, they will have identity problems?

CODE BOOK

Data is stored in SPSS system file. What follows is a list of the project variables and their respective positions in the system file.

NAME **POSITION**

ID **Case identification**.....1

Q1 **Gender**.....2
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	female
1.00	male

Q2 **Age**.....3
Measurement Level: Ratio
Missing Values: 999.00

Q3 **Parent's Place of Birth USA?**.....4
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	no
1.00	yes

Q4 **Respondent's Place of Birth USA?**.....5
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	no
1.00	yes

Q5 Latino Ancestry 6
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	Puerto Rico
1.00	Dominican
2.00	Ecuadorian
3.00	Mexican
4.00	Colombian
5.00	Other

Q6 No of Years Living in the US 7
Measurement Level: Ratio

Missing Values: 999.00

Q7 Primary Language Spoken at Home 8
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	English
1.00	Spanish
2.00	Both English and Spanish

Q8 Marital Status 9
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	single
1.00	Married
2.00	Divorced
3.00	Separated
4.00	Widowed

Q9A Self --Religious Affiliation 10
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	None
1.00	Other
2.00	Baptist
3.00	Seventh-Day Adventist
4.00	Lutheran
5.00	Catholic

Q9B Spouse --Religious Affiliation 11
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	None
1.00	Other
2.00	Baptist
3.00	Seventh-Day Adventist
4.00	Lutheran
5.00	Catholic

Q10A Self --Length of Religious Affiliation..... 12
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Five years or less
1.00	Between 5 and 10 years
2.00	Between 11and 20 years
3.00	Over 20 years or whole life

Q10B Spouse --Length of Religious Affiliation 13
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Five years or less
1.00	Between 5 and 10 years
2.00	Between 11and 20 years
3.00	Over 20 years or whole life

Q11 Religious Services Attendance 14
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Never
1.00	Christmas/Holy Week
2.00	Once a month
3.00	Couple of times a month
4.00	Sundays
5.00	Couple of times a week
6.00	Daily

Q12 Prayer and Meditation 15
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	No answer
1.00	Yourself
2.00	Self and spouse
3.00	With children

Q13 Prayer and Bible Study 16
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	No answer
1.00	Yourself
2.00	Self and spouse
3.00	With children

Q14 Give Thanks Before Meals 17
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	No answer
1.00	Yourself
2.00	Self and spouse
3.00	With children

Q15 Light Candles and Keep Home Altar.....18
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	No answer
1.00	Yourself
2.00	Self and spouse
3.00	With children

Q16 Say the Rosary 19
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	No answer
1.00	Yourself
2.00	Self and spouse
3.00	With children

Q17 Make Pilgrimages and Visit Shrines.....20
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	No answer
1.00	Yourself
2.00	Self and spouse
3.00	With children

Q18 Ever Belonged to a Bible Group 21
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	no
1.00	yes

Q19 Ever Belonged to a Catechism Group.....22
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	no
1.00	yes

Q20 Ever Participated in a Retreat, Cursillo o Cruzada.....23
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	no
1.00	yes

Q21 Sports Activity.....24
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	no
1.00	yes

Q22 Civic or Political Activities.....25
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	no
1.00	yes

Q23 Volunteer in Community Activities.....26
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	no
1.00	yes

Q24A Respondent Attended Catholic or other Christian Schools..... 27
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	no
1.00	yes

Q24B Respondent's Spouse Attended Catholic or other Christian Sch 28
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	no
1.00	yes

Q25A Respondent Schools Attended 29
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	PRIMARY
1.00	SECONDARY
2.00	COLLEGE

Q25B Respondent's Spouse Schools Attended 30
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	PRIMARY
1.00	SECONDARY
2.00	COLLEGE

Q26A Respondent's Highest Level of Education Completed 31
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Grade school
1.00	Took some High School
2.00	High school
3.00	Vocational school
4.00	Some college – 2 YEARS
5.00	Completed college
6.00	Did some graduate school

Q26B Respondent's Spouse Highest Level of Education Completed.....32
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Grade school
1.00	Took some High School
2.00	High school
3.00	Vocational school
4.00	some college – 2 YEARS
5.00	Completed college
6.00	Did some graduate school

Q27A Respondent's Employment 33
Measurement Level: Nominal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
1.00	Factory
2.00	Clerical
3.00	Professional
4.00	Own business
5.00	Domestic services
6.00	Homemaker
7.00	Other

Q27B Respondent's spouse Employment **34**

Measurement Level: Nominal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
1.00	Factory
2.00	Clerical
3.00	Professional
4.00	Own business
5.00	Domestic services
6.00	Homemaker
7.00	Other

Q28A Respondent's Employment Status **35**

Measurement Level: Nominal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Partime
1.00	Fulltime
2.00	Two jobs

Q28B Respondent's spouse Employment Status **36**

Measurement Level: Nominal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Partime
1.00	Fulltime
2.00	Two jobs

Q29 Monthly Family Income.....37
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
1.00	$499 or less
2.00	$500 to $999
3.00	$1,000 to $1,999
4.00	$2,000 to $2,999
5.00	$3,000 to $3,999
6.00	$4,000 to $4,999
7.00	$5,000 to $5,999
8.00	$6,000 or more

Q30 Number of Children.....38
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Q31A1 First Child's Age.....39
Measurement Level: Ratio

Q31A2 First Child's Gender.....40
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	male
1.00	female

Q31A3 First Child's School.....41
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
1.00	CATHOLIC
2.00	LUTHERAN
3.00	SDA
4.00	PUBLIC
5.00	OTHER PRIVATE

Q32 Reason Why Child is in Public School 48
Measurement Level: Nominal

Value	Label
.00	Public school is fine with me
1.00	PRIVATE TOO EXPENSIVE FOR ME
2.00	Distance
3.00	Motor vehicle transportation
4.00	Language difficulties
5.00	No vacancies available
6.00	Other

Q33 Frequency of Attendance to Parents' Meetings at Child School.....49
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Never
1.00	Rarely
2.00	Almost Always
3.00	Always

Q34 Frequency of Volunteerism at Child's School.....50
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Never
1.00	Rarely
2.00	Almost Always
3.0	Always

Q35 Remind Them to do Their Homework 51
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Never
1.00	Rarely
2.00	Almost Always
3.00	Always

Q36 Go Over Their Homework After They Finish 52
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Never
1.00	Rarely
2.00	Almost Always
3.00	Always

Q37 Accompany Them to the Public Library 53
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Never
1.00	Rarely
2.00	Almost Always
3.00	Always

Q38 Take Them to Museums and Other Educational Activities.....54
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Never
1.00	Rarely
2.00	Almost Always
3.00	Always

Q39 Call in or Stop by the School to Ask About Their Progress.....55
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Never
1.00	Rarely
2.00	Almost Always
3.00	Always

Q40 Control the Amount of Time They Watch TV 56
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Never
1.00	Rarely
2.00	Almost Always
3.00	Always

Q41 Takes the Child(ren) to and from School?.....57
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Other relative
1.00	Older brother or sister
2.00	Father
3.00	Mother

Q47 It's a Mistake to Teach that US is God-Chosen Nation 63
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q48 Chose Religious School for Religious Instruction 64
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q49 Chose Rel Sch as Alternative to Anti-God Attitude in Pub Sch ...65
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q50 If Public School Had Same Moral Qualities as Religious School, I Would Prefer.....66
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q51 If Public School Had Same Academic Quality, I Would Have Not Sought Re.....67

Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q52 Home, Church & School Must Work Together to Avoid Rel Confusion.....68

Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q53 My Standards Would be Maintained If Moral Training is Provid..69

Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q54 Uniforms Interfere With Individuality 70

Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q55 If School Has Computers & Big Library, Discipline Doesn't 71
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Value Label

.00 Strongly disagree
1.00 Somewhat disagree
2.00 Neutral
3.00 Somewhat Agree
4.00 Strongly Agree

Q56 Children Need More Supervision & Discipline 72
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Value Label

.00 Strongly disagree
1.00 Somewhat disagree
2.00 Neutral
3.00 Somewhat Agree
4.00 Strongly Agree

Q57 A Child Should Not Be Allowed to Talk Back to Adults.....73
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value Label

.00 Strongly disagree
1.00 Somewhat disagree
2.00 Neutral
3.00 Somewhat Agree
4.00 Strongly Agree

Q58 A Well-Reared Child Is Not Told Twice.....74
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value Label

.00 Strongly disagree
1.00 Somewhat disagree
2.00 Neutral
3.00 Somewhat Agree
4.00 Strongly Agree

Q59 A Woman Whose Children Are Messy Has Failed 75
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q60 If Children Hear Too Much About Sex They Will Experiment.....76
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q61 Spare the Rod and Spoil the Child Still Holds.....77
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Strongly disagree
1.00	Somewhat disagree
2.00	Neutral
3.00	Somewhat Agree
4.00	Strongly Agree

Q62A First Child's Current School Performance 78
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
1.00	Excellent
2.00	Good
3.00	Satisfactory
4.00	Just passing
5.00	Failing

Q62B Second Child's Current School Performance.....79
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
1.00	Excellent
2.00	Good
3.00	Satisfactory
4.00	Just passing
5.00	Failing

Q62C Third Child's Current School Performance 80
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
1.00	Excellent
2.00	Good
3.00	Satisfactory
4.00	Just passing
5.00	Failing

Q63A Ideal Schooling Expectations About First Child 81

Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
1.00	High school
2.00	Vocational school
3.00	College
4.00	Professional or Ph.D
5.00	Other

Q63B Ideal Schooling Expectations About Second Child 82

Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
1.00	High school
2.00	Vocational school
3.00	College
4.00	Professional or Ph.D
5.00	Other

Q64A Realistic Expectations About First Child 83

Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
1.00	High school
2.00	Vocational school
3.00	College
4.00	Professional or Ph.D
5.00	Other

Q64B Realistic Schooling Expectations About Second Child 84

Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
1.00	High school
2.00	Vocational school
3.00	College
4.00	Professional or Ph.D

5.00 Other

Q64C Realistic Expectations About Third Child 85
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Value Label

1.00 High school
2.00 Vocational school
3.00 College
4.00 Professional or Ph.D
5.00 Other

Q65 Did Respondent Grant Interview? 86
Measurement Level: Nominal
Value Label
1.0 Yes
2.0 No

RQ9A Religious Affiliation Recoded.....87
Measurement Level: Nominal
Missing Values: 999.00

RQ9B Spouse's religious affiliation Recoded.....88
Measurement Level: Nominal
Missing Values: 999.00

RQ11 Service Attendance Recoded.....89
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value Label

.00 Low
1.00 Medium
2.00 High

RQ12 Prayer and Meditation Rec.....90
Measurement Level: Nominal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value Label
1.0 Yes
2.0 No

RAFF Religious Affiliation Rec 99
Measurement Level: Ordinal

RQ10A Length of Affiliation Rec 100
Measurement Level: Ordinal
Missing Values: 999.00

Value	Label
.00	Less than 10
1.00	11 to 19 Years
2.00	20 or Life

AUTH Discipline Scale (Q56-59,61) 101
Measurement Level: Ordinal

EMPLOYS Respondent's Type of Employment Rec 102
Measurement Level: Ordinal

Value	Label
1.00	Factory
2.00	Clerical
3.00	Professional
4.00	Own business
5.00	Domestic services
6.00	Homemaker
7.00	Other

C_VS_P Rel Affiliation Catholics vs. all Protestants 103
Measurement Level: Scale

Value	Label
.00	No religion
1.00	Catholic
2.00	Protestant

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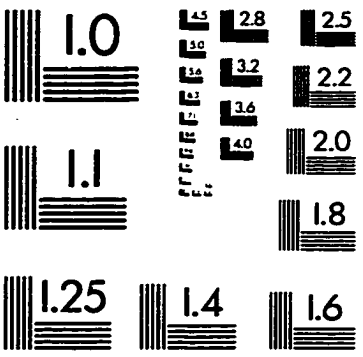

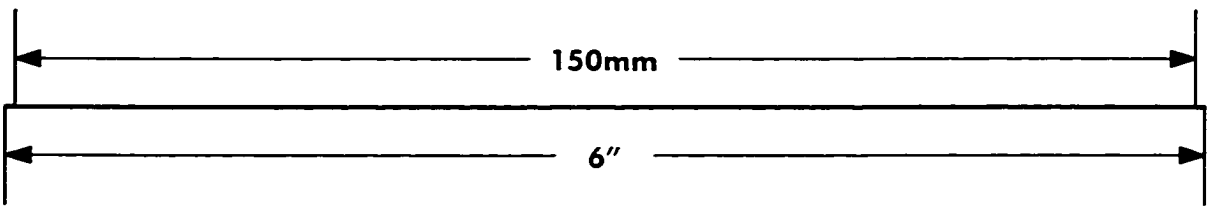

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