
A three stage study was conducted in order to select and test procedures for involving Puerto Rican parents in decision making for elementary school bilingual curricula. The first stage of the study focused on literature reviews that investigated the influence of the family on achievement and intelligence, cultural characteristics of Puerto Rican parents that should be considered by schools when developing relationships with the Puerto Rican community, and the past involvement of Puerto Rican parents in school decision making. During the second phase, selected procedures for obtaining information from Puerto Rican parents about their perceptions of schools' responsiveness to the needs of Puerto Rican children and about the specific needs of particular children were developed. One of the identified procedures was field tested during the third stage. Recommendations for future research and policy formation are included. (SK)
CURRICULUM DECISION-MAKING: THE PUERTO RICAN
FAMILY AND THE BILINGUAL CHILD

by

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Bilingual education is an accepted part of the total curriculum in many school systems throughout the United States. Whereas bilingual education was nonexistent several years ago, it is now mandated in several states, either by the legislatures or by the courts. In examining the history of the movement for bilingual education, it becomes clear that it came about primarily as a result of a determined struggle by oppressed minorities, particularly Latino groups, in this country. Neither individual school districts nor any government agency initiated bilingual education on its own. It is necessary to keep these social and political roots in mind in order to understand the original spirit and objectives of bilingual education.

Oppressed minorities viewed bilingual education as a cultural statement on the part of people whose identity had previously been ignored by school curricula. Minorities maintained that they themselves could best serve as models for their children's education. These parents were determined to control the educational experiences of their children.

Although bilingual education is now a reality in many schools and school systems, there is some question whether the original aims of parents are being fulfilled. Our research suggests that not only are parents uninvolved in curriculum decision-making, but schools are also either unwilling or unaware of how to involve them. Experience also tells us that this is true of decision-making in educational policy and in supervisory and administrative matters. The thought that minority parents could be involved in making improvements in school systems is not seriously considered. Although a larger number of children each year are enrolled in bilingual programs, their education is often meaningless. The major reason is
apparent: neither their parents nor members of the larger bilingual community has been able to make inroads into the educational program. The role of the school, instead of being a resistent one, should be that of an initiator and facilitator in this process of parental involvement. This study centers on parental decision-making as it might affect matters of curriculum change.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to design selected procedures through which the school can involve Puerto Rican parents in decision-making for bilingual curriculum for elementary school children. The first inquiry of selected literature concerns the influence of the family environment on achievement and intelligence. In the second review, the role of Puerto Rican parents in child-rearing is identified. Based on this review, cultural characteristics that the school should consider in relating to Puerto Rican parents are identified. The third review centers directly on the past involvement of Puerto Rican parents in curriculum decision-making, and to a lesser degree, on the efforts of Chicano and Native American parents.

Cultural characteristics identified through the review form the basis for designing procedures for collecting information from parents. The information to be collected from parents is of two types: perceived ways the school curriculum is responsive to the needs of Puerto Rican children; and specific information about the learning needs of particular children. Further, procedures for involving parents in curriculum decision-making were also developed. One procedure were field-tested with selected families. The results of the field test were used to further perfect the procedures.
The specific research objectives that guide the investigation are:

- to describe the influence of family environment on achievement and intelligence
- to identify the role of Puerto Rican parents in child-rearing
- to identify cultural characteristics that the school should consider in relating to the Puerto Rican family
- to identify past involvement of Puerto Rican parents in school decision-making
- to design selected procedures for obtaining information from parents
- to design selected procedures for involving parents in curriculum decision-making for bilingual classrooms
- to field test one selected procedure for obtaining information from parents

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This study is designed in three stages. Stage I is a review of existing research findings. In Stage II, the procedures for obtaining information from parents as well as for involving parents in decision-making are developed. Stage III is the field-testing of a selected procedure.

The design of the study looks like this:
Stage I: Investigation

A. Review of the Literature Centering on the Influence of Family Environment on Achievement and Intelligence

B. Review and Analysis of the Literature Describing the Role of Puerto Rican Parents in Child-Rearing in Order to Determine the Cultural Characteristics that the School Should Consider in Relating to Puerto Rican Parents

C. Review of the Literature Describing Past Involvement of Puerto Rican Parents in School Decision-making

Stage II: Development

Development of Selected Procedures for Obtaining Information of Two Types from Parents:

A. Perceived ways the school curriculum is responsive to the needs of Puerto Rican children

B. Specific information about the learning needs of particular children

Development of Procedures for Involving Parents in Curriculum Decision-Making

Stage III: Field Test

A. Field-testing of One Selected Procedure

B. Perfection of Procedures and Cultural Characteristics

Each step in the design will now be described briefly.
Stage I: Investigation

The purpose of the review of literature is two-fold: to provide a rationale for parental involvement; and to serve as a basis for designing procedures for involving Puerto Rican parents in curriculum decision-making. This review has three distinct parts.

A. Review of the Influence of Family Environment

The first review of literature focuses on the influence of home environment on achievement and intelligence. This review is necessary to provide a rationale for parental decision-making in the school and reasons why the school needs to be knowledgeable of the home environment.

B. Review of the Role of the Puerto Rican Family in Child-Rearing

The second review centers on the role of the Puerto Rican family in child-rearing. Important cultural characteristics are identified. A search of the educational literature used the following headings or descriptors:

- Puerto Rican Family
- Puerto Rican Culture
- Child-Rearing
- Child-Care
- Cultural Characteristics
- Cultural Environment
- Family Influence

Using the second review of literature, the researchers described Puerto Rican cultural characteristics related to child-rearing. These characteristics were ones that the school should be aware of in order to involve Puerto Rican parents in decision-making.
C. Review of Past Involvement of Puerto Rican Parents in School Decision-Making

This review describes the kinds of involvement which Puerto Rican parents have had with schools in the past. The efforts of Chicano and Native American parents were also considered. This review suggests ways in which parents can be involved. A search of the educational literature focuses on:

- School/Community Relationship
- School/Community Conflict
- School/Community Cooperation
- Parent Involvement

Stage II: Development

Development of Selected Procedures for Relating to Puerto Rican Parents

1. Procedures for obtaining information from parents were developed for two reasons: first, so that the school be aware of the perceptions of the parents toward the responsiveness of the school curriculum to the needs of their children; and second, for gathering specific information about the learning needs of particular children.

2. Selected procedures for involving Puerto Rican parents in curriculum decision-making in bilingual programs were suggested.

The development of both sets of procedures were guided by particular criteria:

- the cultural characteristics identified in the research stage of the study
- the relevance of these procedures to direct decision-making
- the practicality of actually undertaking these procedures by the schools
- the importance of these procedures for initiating curriculum improvement

Stage III: Field Test

A. Field-testing of Procedure with Selected Parents

The researchers field-tested one of the recommended procedures with sampled Puerto Rican parents in two selected towns in Western Massachusetts. At the time of the field testing, the parents in the two field sites were in the beginning stages of setting up procedures for school-home relationships.

B. Perfection of Cultural Characteristics and Procedures

The purpose of field-testing is to provide information for perfecting the procedures and the cultural characteristics. The parents' response to the tested procedure provided information about its appropriateness and applicability. In addition, the researchers shared the cultural characteristics with the parents for analysis and review.

The study, then, has two major products: a set of cultural characteristics that schools should be aware of in relating to Puerto Rican families; and a set of procedures for involving Puerto Rican parents in curriculum decision-making in bilingual programs, one of which has been field-tested.
A review of literature was undertaken in order to provide a rationale for the involvement of Puerto Rican parents in curriculum decision-making in bilingual programs. The review had four interrelated parts:

1. Review of the literature centering on the influence of family environment on achievement and intelligence.

2. Review of the literature describing the role of Puerto Rican parents in child-rearing.

3. Analysis of the above review to determine the cultural characteristics that the school should consider in relating to Puerto Rican parents.

4. Review of the literature describing past involvement of Puerto Rican parents and other bilingual parents in school decision-making.

A summary of the findings of each part follows.*

The literature indicates that the influence of family environment is indeed a crucial factor in the development of intelligence and in the academic achievement of children. The working definition of environment accepted in this study related to a particular set of experiences. Thus, we were not limited to the physical environment, socioeconomic status, or what have been called "content variables" in defining environments.6 Instead, the nature of interactions with families, the aspirations of parents for their children, in other words, "process variables," were judged to be most important. This judgment was based on several studies,7 in which process variables were used and were found to be much more significant in correlating to school achievement than were content variables.

*For a copy of the complete review of literature for each part, write Dr. Sonia Nieto, One Metacomet Street, Belchertown, MA, 01007.
variables. Most studies cited in the review concurred with these findings.

A primary concern highlighted in this first review of literature was the class and cultural biases and limitations of much of the research. "Effective environments," for example, tend to be described by many of the researchers in middle-class terms which in fact have very little relevance on the lives of Puerto Ricans: that is, an emphasis on skills of taking intelligence tests; an abundance of materials or "objects"; "good" models of language usage; ways of relating to children which are task-oriented rather than social; and an emphasis on an "object-oriented" rather than a "person-oriented" environment. In countering these assumptions, several studies were cited which showed that Puerto Rican children can, in spite of poverty and lack of resources, develop both intellectually and academically if their particular learning styles and abilities are taken into consideration. The conclusion reached after this review of literature was the following: where intellectual development of children takes a different path from that of the dominant society, there is a mismatch between home and school expectations and aspirations. However, close home and school cooperation can go a long way in determining the academic success of all children.

The second review of literature centered on the role of the Puerto Rican family in child-rearing. The first step in identifying this role was to define the term "culture." For the purposes of this study, culture was defined as the values, aspirations, and traditions of a given class of society. Further, in order to understand the dialectic nature of culture, the two cultural subsystems as defined by Ramirez (the culture
of survival and the culture of liberation) were used.\textsuperscript{11} The dynamic and contradictory forces of culture were seen in this light, as were the contradictory manifestations of child-rearing in the Puerto Rican community.

In order to get at the child-rearing practices of Puerto Ricans, the values upon which they are built were first developed. Each was defined and examples given from relevant literature. The major values brought out in the review were: authority, respect, dignity, responsibility, and obligation, and "capacidad." Using these as a basis, other pertinent literature which focused on the mismatch of expectations of the home and the school was reviewed. From this, it became clear that there were distinct barriers built up between the home and the school because of differences in perceptions and in values. The major differences in the two settings concerned the following: the role of teachers; the primary responsibilities of children; and the differences in the learning environment, emphasizing either collectivity or competition. The major conclusion reached here was that only through parental involvement could the failure of the school system to educate Puerto Rican children be reversed.

The final part of the review of literature centered on the past involvement of Puerto Rican parents in school decision-making. First, a number of models for community participation were discussed and critiqued. Most levels of decision-making cited were considered unacceptable in terms of the purposes of this study. For our purposes, only shared control or delegating authority were seen as appropriate for parental decision-making.
Next, a historical analysis of the participation of several different linguistic and cultural groups was presented. Here, the decision was made to include not only Puerto Ricans, but Native Americans and Chicanos as well. One reason for this was the lack of information of Puerto Ricans alone. It was also felt that there were enough similarities among the three groups to provide some meaningful insights into shared experiences. Some of the similarities that all three share are: they are linguistic and cultural minorities; they have all been economically, socially, and politically oppressed; all have been colonized by the U.S. government; and all have struggled for bilingual education.

After this review of previous parental involvement in schools, several implications emerged. One of these was the fact that parents often consider meaningful involvement and decision-making in a far different light than most administrators and teachers. Another implication that was clear was that those programs initiated by the community are generally the most effective. In fact, schools have done practically nothing to involve parents in any meaningful way in decision-making. Third, there is a definite need for new structures within schools to provide for real parental decision-making. These new structures are needed because it became evident that traditional committees or other school-initiated groups have done practically nothing in involving Puerto Rican parents.

Finally, the last information gleaned from these case studies was about the ways in which Puerto Rican and other linguistic minority parents have been most effective in decision-making in the past. Twelve distinct roles of parents in decision-making were identified in the case studies. Six of these, which center directly on curriculum issues, were used as the
basis for the development of procedures for involving Puerto Rican parents in decision-making. These were:

- Developing educational objectives
- Influencing instructional methods
- Developing curriculum materials
- Selecting curriculum materials
- Introducing culture, history, and language of the community into the curriculum
- Changing the perspective or viewpoint of the curriculum

DESIGN OF THE PROCEDURES

The procedures designed for helping elementary schools relate to Puerto Rican parents were of two types. Each of these will be described below. In addition, information about the initial construction, revision, and final development of the procedures will be discussed.

1. Procedures for Obtaining Information from Parents

The procedures selected were a questionnaire and a parent interview. The former was to be used for determining the perceptions of the parents toward the responsiveness of the school curriculum to their children. It was felt that this was a crucial first step in involving parents in the educational decision-making process of the school.

Five variables were chosen as the most likely to offer insight into the responsiveness or lack of it on the part of the school. These variables were chosen as a result of the review of literature concerning the child-rearing practices of Puerto Ricans. Each variable was defined within the context of the questionnaire. The five variables, each of which has ten items, are:
Two versions of the questionnaire were prepared, one in English and one in Spanish.

The initial questionnaire was reviewed in several ways. Parents as well as experts in different fields of education and language were asked to check the instrument for several points: language, appropriateness of items, recommendations for further items, and appropriateness of items within each variable. Using the results of this initial review, the questionnaire was revised to reflect changes suggested by parents and educators. The revised questionnaire, both in English and Spanish, can be found in the Appendix.

The second procedure designed for obtaining information from parents was an interview. The interview was to be used for gathering specific information about the learning needs of particular children. The purpose of the parent interview is to ensure that the curriculum developed in the school reflect the needs of the particular children in that school. In addition, learning styles which are different from the majority of students are often disregarded by the school. Through the parent questionnaire, needs and learning styles would be identified and would hopefully be used as the primary data source for a more relevant curriculum.

The format for the parent interview consisted of six parts:

1. Introduction

The procedures suggested for involving Puerto Rican parents in curriculum decision-making were developed in two stages. The first was ways of disseminating information to parents so that their work could be more effective. The procedures are described in conjunction with key issues which parents must be kept informed of by the school.

The second stage for involving parents more meaningfully in curriculum decision-making was one specific mechanism which has been called the "Curriculum Collective." Through it, parents could begin to have some involvement in basic curriculum decisions.

The first procedure developed, the parent questionnaire, was field-tested. Some of the main findings are reported below.

Results of Field-Testing

Two settings were chosen for the field-testing of the parent questionnaire. The first, Countyville, is a small city in Western Massachusetts with a population of approximately 32,000. About 1,000 of these are Puerto Rican. They are for the most part unskilled laborers or farm workers, most with little formal education. The vast majority live in the large housing units of the town. They also tend to be economically oppressed. Approximately twenty-five families have children in the public elementary schools. Although there is a small bilingual program in the
town, many parents have felt that it is not in compliance with the TBE (Transitional Bilingual Education Act of 1971, Law 71A). There has been a history of lack of cooperation on the part of the school toward the Puerto Rican parents. This has resulted recently in an investigation by the Office for Civil Rights of a complaint filed by the Parent Advisory Council (PAC). A bilingual PAC in each Transitional Bilingual Education Program is mandated by State Law.

The second setting, Collegeville, is a small college town in Western Massachusetts with a resident community of approximately 22,000. The Puerto Rican population varies, probably from 200 to 600, depending on the time of the year. That is, most leave the area when the academic year is over. Those who stay and claim residence in the town are both undergraduate and graduate students, usually married and with children, as well as faculty and staff people who work for one of the colleges or university in the area. Most of the Puerto Ricans in Collegeville are highly educated and upwardly mobile, at least economically.

Approximately twenty-four families have children in the elementary schools. There is no bilingual program in the town. Recently, however, some parents have started organizing to develop a pull-out type of language and cultural enrichment program for their children. This plan was twice rejected by the School Committee. The parents have filed suit with both state and federal agencies.

The actual field-testing of the instrument took place in the Summer of 1978. In Countyville, the questionnaire was generally read to the respondents. All were conducted in Spanish. Nineteen parents were contacted and all agreed to participate. This represents 60-75% of the total sample.
In Collegeville, each respondent generally read and answered the questionnaire individually. Thirteen families were contacted, and, again, all responded. Thus, over 50% of the entire sample is included in the results reported here. In the case of Collegeville, approximately one-quarter of those responding did so in English, the remainder using the Spanish version.

Two general types of results were reported out. The first was the actual data collected through the questionnaire. Each of the two communities was reported out separately; results were later compared. The second type of result was ways of perfecting the instrument and the procedures used in administering it. Major findings of both types of results will be reiterated here.

In Countyville, the parents perceive the schools as not responding to their children in any meaningful way in any of the five variables: Linguistic Responsiveness; Cultural Responsiveness; Curriculum Adaptability; Resource Availability; Responsiveness to parents. According to the data, only one variable had a mean score of over three points out of a possible ten. The lowest score was 2.3. The mean total score was 13.8 out of a possible fifty points. The highest score was for the variable which measured cultural responsiveness (3.5). This slightly higher score may reflect the fact that either the school is attempting to adapt its values and behavior to that of the Puerto Rican community, or that these values were not very different to begin with.

Unresponsiveness was most evident in the extent to which the schools adapt their curriculum to reflect the history and culture of Puerto Rico. This finding was particularly important for two reasons: first, it proves that the focus of the present study (parental involvement in curriculum
development), is indeed the crucial problem; second, it is an area where parents can have meaningful involvement because of their background and experiences. Although most respondents have children in the bilingual program, the score for linguistic responsiveness was very low. This finding seems to highlight the fact that providing a bilingual program in and of itself does not guarantee linguistic responsiveness on the part of the school. Although almost all parents answered that they could visit their child's classroom at any time, the score for responsiveness to parents was dismally low (2.5). This would seem to suggest that simply opening up the school to parents is not enough. Other mechanisms for involving parents in concrete and meaningful ways would probably go much further in developing responsiveness to parents on the part of the school.

The responses of parents in the PAC are even lower than those of parents not in the PAC. Here, the range of scores was from 1.5 to 2.5 of parents in the PAC compared to 2.8 to 4.2 of parents not in the PAC. This can probably be interpreted to mean that PAC parents, through their dealings with the schools, have become more frustrated and alienated than those parents who have had little or no contact with the schools.

A comparison was also made of Puerto Rican parents who have children in the bilingual program and those who do not. It was felt that, if the school were doing its job, these scores should be quite different because bilingual classes are presumably better able to respond to the needs of Puerto Rican children. The perceptions of the parents, however, did not confirm this expectation. In fact, in three of the five variables, the scores were higher for parents with no children in the bilingual program. This finding, however, should be tempered with caution because the number
of respondents who do not have children in the bilingual program was so small.

What should be emphasized here is that no group--PAC, non-PAC, in bilingual program, not in bilingual program--perceives the school as responsive to the needs of Puerto Rican children. Thus, although there may be higher or lower scores in some groups, the fact remains that, on the whole, the schools of Countyville have been insensitive and unwilling to deal with the needs of Puerto Rican children.

The major conclusion to be reached here is that one-way involvement is not enough. Although parents trying to penetrate an unresponsive school system may make some significant changes, more often than not they end up frustrated and alienated. It is clear then that the school must be pressured to respond to the needs of its charges if any long-lasting and consistent changes are to take place.

In Collegeville too, the parents seem to perceive the schools as unresponsive to Puerto Rican children. The mean score for each variable ranged from a low 1.5 (linguistic responsiveness) to a high of 6.7 (responsiveness to parents). The range of total scores was from ten to thirty, with a mean total score of 15.8.

The very low score for linguistic responsiveness may reflect the fact that there is no bilingual program and therefore no institutional support for the language of the children. In terms of cultural responsiveness, the score was also quite low. Despite the fact that parents seem to think that the schools are more positively inclined to respond culturally in interpersonal areas, they indicted the schools for their lack of cultural sensitivity in the physical environment.
The highest score in Collegeville, 6.7, seems to indicate that the schools are quite responsive to parents. Those items which focused specifically on the school's effectiveness in communicating with parents scored highest. Those which centered on the role of parents in curriculum and on the responsiveness of the principal scored lowest. These findings may lead us to conclude that the schools of Collegeville are interested in a one-way communication with parents, but that they are not seriously interested in parental decision-making and thus provide few mechanisms which foster it. This score makes clear that responsiveness to parents is not enough. In other words, it should be a first step, not a final one, in responding to the needs of children. Although the schools of Collegeville seem to have taken this first step, the scores of the other variables are a clear indication that much more must be done for the school to be responsive to its Puerto Rican children.

In comparing the results of the two communities, it is evident that parents in both are generally dissatisfied with the job the school system is doing. This dissatisfaction is apparent in both communities in every variable but one. The parents from both communities seem to agree on these fundamental issues: the schools are not dealing effectively with the linguistic and cultural needs of their children; they are not making any meaningful attempts to modify the curriculum to reflect the reality of their children's lives; and, they are not providing many resources which would help their children fulfill their needs.

Moving on to the instrument itself, two types of information were analyzed in order to perfect the questionnaire. The first were problems that were almost immediately apparent in the data. The first of these centered on the number of "Don't Know" responses. In fact, the mean number of "Don't Know" responses was slightly over ten in each community. In
order to alleviate this problem, those items which had the most number of "Don't Know" responses across both communities were analyzed. Based on this analysis, some items were changed and others were eliminated altogether.

Another problem apparent in the data was whether some items really measured Puerto Rican cultural values. These questions have to do with respect, collective work, cooperation, and family responsibilities. In both communities, these scores were relatively high compared with other scores. It would seem then that the schools try to emphasize similar values as those of the Puerto Rican family. However, if this were really so, there should be very little alienation on both the part of the children and the part of the parents. It is clear that this is simply not true. We can conclude that there are other items which would more accurately measure this mismatch of home and school values. Because of this, two items were changed.

Another explanation may be that both the school and the Puerto Rican home value those behaviors which demonstrate obedience, respect, and even passivity. However, in the Puerto Rican home, these expectations are part of a larger and more consistent cultural whole. The children may feel that, in the school, there are voiced expectations (curiosity, activity, spontaneity, etc.) which conflict with silent expectations (passivity, obedience, and quiet). In effect, the children as well as their parents may be pointing out the contradictions between the expressed and the hidden curriculum. Finally, other minor changes were made in questions which seemed illogical.

The second type of information which was analyzed in an attempt to perfect the instrument were the observations on the part of the researchers.
The first problem focused on the way in which the instrument should be administered. To help eliminate inconsistencies in administration as well as an overabundance of "Don't Know" responses, it was suggested that, in the future, the instrument either be read to respondents or that they work together in small groups in answering it. In the absence of either of these approaches, it is recommended that the interviewer point out and explain beforehand certain questions which might cause problems, as well as the sparing use of "Don't Know" in answering. The second problem which became apparent in administering the questionnaire was the negative wording to some items. Three items were changed to the positive form because of clumsy construction or confusion.

Recommendations

In this section, several types of recommendations based on the findings will be made. First, indications of further needed research will be made. Second, recommendations on how schools can best use the information will be suggested. And, finally, recommendations will be made concerning the responsibilities of parents for communicating with schools and the needs of their children.

It is evident from the findings that further research is needed. In terms of developing procedures, the purpose of the present study has been exploratory in nature. Thus, field-testing was done with only one of the procedures and in only a limited community. However, several procedures were outlined, including the questionnaire, a parent interview, and the Curriculum Collective. In order to come to any firm conclusions about the efficacy and usefulness of these procedures in promoting Puerto Rican parental decision-making in curriculum, all would have to be field-tested and analyzed. In conjunction with this, further field-testing of the revised
questionnaire is necessary. For example, it may be that this final version is not the best for certain communities. Some items, previously omitted, may in fact be more appropriate in selected settings than others.

A third consideration in which further research is recommended concerns the number and variety of settings in which the procedures are used. Because only the questionnaire was field-tested, and this only in a small, rural community, it is clear that the findings cannot be generalized to the entire Puerto Rican population in the United States. In fact, probably no generalizations can be made for even the rural or small-town Puerto Rican population. At best what can probably be said is that these findings hold true for the rural or small-town Puerto Rican population in Massachusetts. In order to make the results of this study more valuable for other communities, its validity for different settings would first have to be established at a higher level of confidence. This holds particularly true for large, urban, centralized school districts which provide a sharp contrast to the communities studied here and which are, nevertheless, the kinds of communities where the great majority of Puerto Ricans live in this country. It is quite possible, due to the objective conditions of the people in these areas, that some procedures would have to be modified and others eliminated altogether. In this connection, a large-scale study comparing urban to rural, centralized to decentralized, and large to small communities would be most helpful.

Another problem having to do with the communities selected for field-testing concerns the relationships between these schools and the Puerto Rican community. Both communities have a history of lack of cooperation or insensitivity on the part of the school to the Puerto Rican children. This in itself points up the fact that indeed most school systems are lax in dealing with the needs of their Puerto Rican youngsters and often adamant
about not allowing parents any direct role in school matters. Nevertheless, the fact that only communities like these were field-tested may make some of the findings unreliable. Granted that school systems which are responsive to the needs of Puerto Rican children and which have attempted to set up solid communication between the home and the school are extremely limited in number, some of these should be selected for field-testing. It may be that some of the procedures suggested in the present study were indeed followed by them; on the other hand, they may prove to be of limited use in some communities. This can only be known when schools with a history of concern and cooperation with the Puerto Rican community can be contacted and researched.

A further recommendation concerns the identified cultural characteristics of Puerto Rican families. These were used as the basis for developing part of the questionnaire as well as the other procedures. However, as became clear from the findings, some of these cultural characteristics may not have been the most accurate indicators of Puerto Rican cultural values. It seems, for example, that the school and the family often agreed on items in which these cultural characteristics were included. In reality, however, we know that this is not the case. In fact, cultural differences are usually the greatest source of misunderstanding between home and school. There seems to be a need, then, to redefine or refine some of these cultural characteristics measured, so that they would more accurately reflect the sources of cultural conflict in specific cases.

One way of doing this might be to go directly to the community to canvas people concerning specific instances of cultural conflict which they have come across. Puerto Rican parents would, of course, be the main source of information here. However, it would be instructive to also include
in the sample Puerto Rican community workers, educators, and sociologists. In this way, the cultural characteristics identified would be based on actual and concrete experiences and not simply on generalizations gleaned from the literature.

Four suggestions for further research have been highlighted. These have concerned field-testing of all the procedures; field-testing of the revised questionnaire; field-testing the procedures in other settings, particularly in large urban centers and in school systems which have a history of cooperation with the Puerto Rican community; and using Puerto Rican parents themselves as a data base for determining instances of unresponsiveness to cultural values.

We now turn to a consideration of how schools can best use the information gathered in this study. As a first step, it would be necessary for schools to come to grips with the problems and attempt to solve them in some mutually acceptable ways with the community. This first step is the most difficult one and has not even been taken by the vast majority of schools. Even then, schools which have responded have tended to do so only as a result of great pressure from the community. Becoming aware of the problem and making a commitment to deal with it is thus a giant step in the process, whether provoked by protest or self-awareness. Hopefully, the present study provides adequate and needed information for this awareness to take place.

A second step would involve providing for the dissemination of information to the staff. The type of information included in this study would be helpful as a starting point in helping the staff become aware of the issues: child-rearing practices in the Puerto Rican home; miscommunication between the home and the school; case studies of successful
involvement of Puerto Rican parents in school decision-making; and so on. A variety of mechanisms could be used for sharing this information, including workshops, newsletters, staff meetings, in-service training, and field trips. It is hoped that parents would be involved in all of these ventures, either as organizers, participants, consultants, or presenters. If schools were to use the information from the present study in only these two ways, they would be going much further than most schools in facing issues pertinent to the Puerto Rican community. Nevertheless, in order to be responsive to the needs of Puerto Rican children, they would have to put this information to use in the day-to-day operations and concerns of the school.

The way in which to operationalize the information from this study would seem to be in carrying out the procedures. The results could then be used as a basis for reformulating curriculum priorities for the school. However, the procedures could not be implemented in a vacuum without first having some solid links with the community. The schools' responsibility would be to set up contacts with community members so that a flow of communication and discussion could be initiated and sustained. Initial contact is very important in communicating to the parents the seriousness and sense of purpose of undertaking such procedures. Needless to say, many Puerto Rican parents have become wary of questionnaires, meetings, and promises which have either led nowhere or else have been used to exploit the community. If, however, the community can share control and be assured of cooperation on the part of the school, some progress can undoubtedly be made.
In actually carrying out the procedures, schools should be careful to keep in mind the characteristics of the particular Puerto Rican population in the area, since there is no such thing as a monolithic Puerto Rican community (i.e., urban, rural, highly educated, poorly educated, highly mobile, stable, etc.). It would be hoped, however, that the procedures be carried out in the same order in which they were developed here so that a logical sequence from initial communication to meaningful involvement would take place. These procedures, in fact, can be seen as stepping-stones to the involvement of Puerto Rican parents in decision making, culminating in the Curriculum Collective. Information gathered from each of these stepping-stones would be necessary in carrying out the total mission.

Several recommendations for ways in which schools can use the information from this study have been pointed out. Each of these is necessary if the study is to become a living commitment to curriculum change, particularly as it applies to decision-makers in schools with Puerto Rican children.

The third type of recommendation focuses on the responsibilities of parents for communicating with schools about the needs of their children. As has so often been true, most schools will not even consider issues until a great deal of pressure is generated from the parents. It is therefore the responsibility of parents, both individually and collectively, to force schools to deal with their needs by making those needs known to them.

There are two general recommendations here. The first concerns the responsibility of parents to establish contacts with specific school personnel. Guidance counselors, psychologists, special needs coordinators, bilingual directors, and so on would fall into this category. This personnel
should be aware of any difficulties which children are encountering in school in order to take appropriate measures. They should also be aware of the fact that Puerto Rican parents will confront them on any issue which they feel is unresponsive to their children. By establishing these contacts, some of the more flagrant abuses of school systems may be avoided (i.e., placing bilingual children in special needs programs simply because they speak no English; classifying an inordinate number of Puerto Rican children as retarded; and so on). At the same time, specialized school personnel would become, if not sensitive to the needs of children, at least aware of the fact that they are ultimately accountable to the community for their actions.

A second general recommendation considers the need for parents to form advocacy groups for themselves in order to deal effectively with schools. Although parents would make up the bulk of these groups, they could certainly invite other interested parties to work with them (i.e., community workers, sympathetic professionals, etc.). The purpose of such a group would be to provide support and even technical assistance to parents. Although ad hoc in nature, the group would be a visible reminder to the school that parents are not isolated, either in problems or in purpose.

The functions of advocacy groups could be manifold. They might engage in self-education by having workshops on selected issues of concern to the particular community. For example: what do reading scores measure? Why are the reading scores of so many Puerto Rican children in this school so low? What is special education? Are the children receiving adequate instruction in English or in Spanish? State or federal agencies could be contacted to provide parents with this type of information.
The group could make itself available especially for meetings in which the needs of a particular child are being discussed. This is often necessary in core evaluations, discussions of achievement test and I.Q. results and report cards, so that individual parents are not put on the spot by school personnel. Legitimate criticisms of procedures followed by the school could be brought out at these times. Often, individual parents are intimidated by the institution of the school and therefore unable to confront the real issues facing their children. The advocacy system provides an unalienating support system which in turn can begin to deal with the real problems faced by children.

Another helpful function of the advocacy group might be to become a watchdog in observing, collecting, and reporting actual cases of insensitivity or unresponsiveness on the part of the school. Many times, parents believe that what their children are experiencing are individual or isolated acts of racism or unresponsiveness. Therefore, they often do nothing about making their concerns known to school personnel. Nevertheless, when parents begin to understand the behavior, attitudes, and actions of the school as a pattern and not as isolated occurrences, their power in coping or overcoming these issues becomes much greater.

Finally, an advocacy group could serve as a primary source of information for community resources, values, and materials for the school. In other words, they could channel the school toward appropriate community leaders and effective instructional materials that the school may have been unaware of. In addition, they could make the school aware of the cultural values of the family which are often ignored by the school.
Although they would still be an advocacy group for parents, they could also be a data source for schools interested in beginning to meet the needs of Puerto Rican children in their schools.

What becomes apparent is that schools in and of themselves will not do the job that parents demand. It is therefore the responsibility of individual parents to communicate with schools about the particular needs of their children and, as a group, the needs of Puerto Rican children in general. It is only then that schools will begin to focus on these problems in any concrete way.

This paper had two purposes. The first was to summarize the study in general. After the problem and purpose were restated, the results of the review of literature were given. The methods used in designing the procedures were outlined with particular emphasis on the parent questionnaire. Following this were the results of the field-testing. The second purpose of this paper was to make several types of recommendations based on the study. The first of these centered on further needed research. Four specific recommendations were advanced. Another set of recommendations concerned how schools can best use the information from this study. Several steps schools could follow in making the findings helpful for their particular situation were suggested. The third type of recommendation focused on the responsibilities of parents for communicating with schools about the needs of their children. Two general suggestions were made in this connection. One of these, the advocacy group, was discussed in more detail.
The present study has attempted to develop procedures for involving Puerto Rican parents meaningfully in curriculum decision-making. As was clear from the field-testing of just one of these procedures, the schools of two small Massachusetts towns are almost completely unresponsive to the needs of Puerto Rican children. Assuredly, no set of procedures can reverse this stifling condition for it is rooted in not only the school but also in the economic, social, and political systems of this country as a whole. Procedures such as these can, however, begin to expose some of the most blatant problems in a more public way so that parents become aware of their role in combatting the educational system. The way in which this action takes place depends in no small way on the schools themselves.
FOOTNOTES

1. Title VII of the E.S.E.A., passed in 1968, provides federal financial support for bilingual programs. Furthermore, according to Bilingual-Bicultural Education: A Handbook for Attorneys and Community Workers (Cambridge: Center for Law and Education, 1975), twenty-five states now either permit or sanction bilingual education. Of these, eight mandate it (pp. 273-280). These figures are from 1975. Since that time, a number of other states have joined the states mandating bilingual education.


3. "Minorities" in the context refers to people who speak a language other than English as their primary language; it does not refer simply to non-white ethnic and racial minorities, in which case the term Third World would have been used.


5. The aims of bilingual education are indeed fuzzy and depend on one's vantage point. Thus, the legislation may stress one aim while administrators stress another, and parents yet another. However, the findings of a study conducted by Sally D. Tilley ("An Analysis of Q-Sort Ranking of Goals and Objectives in Bilingual Education," Bilingual Review, Vol. III, #3, Sept.-Dec., 1976) are consistent with the assumptions of the present study.
Ms. Tilley asked a random sample of the directors of the 200 bilingual project centers in the country to rank 57 objectives of bilingual education. The two which were ranked highest were: "To develop and maintain child's self-esteem in both cultures," and "To establish cooperation between home and school of bilingual child." (p. 224)


11. Ibid.
Influence of Family Environment on Achievement and Intelligence


Gordon, Ira J. "What do we Know About Parents-As-Teachers?" Theory Into Practice. V. XI, n. 4 (June, 1972), pp. 146-149.


Role of Puerto Rican Parents in Child-Rearing


Past Involvement of Linguistic Minority Parents in School Decision-Making


Bard, Bernard. "The Clash is Between Teachers Who Have Jobs and Those Who Don't--With School Boards in the Middle." The American School Board Journal, V. 161, n. 9 (Sept.).


"Indian-Controlled Schools: A Quiet Revolution." Citizen Action in Education. V. 1 (Spring, 1974), pp. 6-7, 12.

Journal of Education. Special Issue Devoted to Community Participation in Education. V. 158, n. 3 (August, 1976), and v. 159, n. 1 (February, 1977).


INSTRUCTIONS: We need your help in finding out how your child's school responds to Puerto Rican children. Because you are a parent of a Puerto Rican child, you are the best judge of how the school reacts to Puerto Rican children. Please tell us how you think the school treats your child so that this information can be used to make the school better for all Puerto Rican children.

On the right of each statement are three boxes, one marked T (for True), one marked F (for False), and the other marked DK (for Don't Know). For each statement, put an X over the box which best describes your child's school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>TRUE</th>
<th>FALSE</th>
<th>DK</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Information about the school is usually available in both English and Spanish.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Information about all school programs is usually available in both English and Spanish.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Some non-Hispanic children in the school are learning Spanish as a foreign language.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Some of the teachers in this school speak Spanish to my child.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. In my child's notebook, I have seen a lot of work done in Spanish.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. In this school, there are classes in Spanish for teachers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. In this school, they have signs in Spanish in most offices and in the hallways.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. My child speaks Spanish better now than when (s)he first entered this school.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. My child has told me (s)he is sometimes told to stop speaking Spanish and to speak English instead.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. In this school, the children are encouraged to speak Spanish whenever they want.</td>
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<tr>
<td>11. This school offers workshops on Puerto Rican history and culture to the teachers.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
12. My child has been punished for cheating when (s)he has been working together with other children.

13. The people in this school respect Puerto Rican culture.

14. Parents are often criticized for keeping their children out of school for family illness or when their children must help with problems in the Welfare Department or other agencies.

15. My child is punished when (s)he misses school to help out at home.

16. My child is punished when (s)he is disrespectful to anybody in school.

17. My child is not encouraged to invite other members of our family into the classroom.

18. In this school, children are not taught to respect their teachers.

19. My child's classroom reminds me of Puerto Rico.

20. In this school, they sometimes serve Puerto Rican food in the cafeteria.

21. My child has learned songs and games from Puerto Rico during school time.

22. My child has learned about Puerto Rican history in school.

23. My child has learned about Puerto Rican culture in school.

24. Parents are never asked to give ideas for teachers' lessons.

25. My child sometimes takes object from Puerto Rico to share with the other children in the classroom.

26. In this school, they teach Puerto Rican history and culture on special days or holidays.
27. The children have learned something about Puerto Rican music in this school.  

28. My child recognizes the major symbols of Puerto Rico (flag, coat of arms, etc.).  

29. My child can name some important people in Puerto Rican history.  

30. My child can name some important historical events in Puerto Rican history.  

31. My child has seen films or slides of Puerto Rico or of Puerto Rican people in this school.  

32. When you walk through this school, the Puerto Rican presence can be seen in many places: on the bulletin boards, in exhibitions, and in other articles of our culture in the halls, classrooms, auditorium, cafeteria, and library.  

33. The library in this school has books in Spanish.  

34. My child has read books about Puerto Rican people in the library in this school.  

35. Sometimes, Puerto Rican people from the community are asked to come to school to speak to the children about different topics (for example, music, food, their jobs, etc.).  

36. There are Spanish-speaking aides in this school.  

37. Some of the textbooks in my child's classrooms are about Puerto Rican history.  

38. My child has taken school trips which have helped him/her learn more about Puerto Rican history and culture.
39. My child has brought home books in Spanish from school.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

40. My child has never participated in or seen assembly programs about Puerto Rican people in this school.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

41. The counselors have regular meetings with the parents to discuss the progress of their children.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

42. If I tell the teacher I think my child should be learning something in particular, (s)he usually includes it in his/her plans.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

43. Puerto Rican parents are treated courteously by the school staff.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

44. In this school, they let me know when my child is doing well.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

45. If parents are unhappy about how the children are being taught, the principal takes some action to improve the situation.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

46. In this school, they have workshops on curriculum for the parents.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

47. Parents can visit classrooms at anytime to see their child's progress in school.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

48. Parents are asked to review books and other materials that they think would be good for their children.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

49. In this school, there are frequent meetings with the parents and teachers to discuss how our children are doing in school and at home.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |

50. In this school, parents are never involved in planning what their children are going to learn.  
   | TRUE | FALSE | DON'T KNOW |
   |      |       |            |
INSTRUCCIONES: Necesitamos su ayuda en investigar cómo la escuela de su hijo(a) responde a los niños puertorriqueños. Como Vd. es el padre de un niño puertorriqueño, es el que mejor puede juzgar cómo la escuela reacciona a los niños puertorriqueños. Por favor, déjenos saber cómo cree Vd. que la escuela trata a su hijo para que esta información se use para hacer que la escuela sea mejor para todos los niños puertorriqueños.

A la derecha de cada oración hay tres cuadros, uno marcado V (Verdad), otro marcado F (Falso), y el otro NS (No sé). Por cada oración, ponga una X sobre el cuadro que mejor describe la escuela de su hijo(a).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NÚMERO</th>
<th>ORACIÓN</th>
<th>VERDAD</th>
<th>FALSO</th>
<th>NO SE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Casi siempre, hay información sobre la escuela en inglés y en español.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Casi siempre, hay información sobre todos los programas de la escuela en inglés y en español.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Algunos niños que no son hispanos están aprendiendo español en la escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Algunos maestros(as) en esta escuela le habían español a mi hijo(a).</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Yo he visto mucho trabajo en español en la libreta de mi hijo(a).</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>En esta escuela, hay clases de español para los maestros.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>En esta escuela, hay carteles en español en casi todas las oficinas y en los pasillos.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mi hijo(a) habla español mejor ahora que cuando empezó en esta escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>En esta escuela, a veces a mi hijo(a) se le dice que deje de hablar español y que hable sólo inglés.</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>En esta escuela, se estimula a los niños a hablar español cuando deseen.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>En esta escuela, ofrecen talleres sobre la historia y cultura de Puerto Rico a los maestros(as).</td>
<td>VERDAD</td>
<td>FALSO</td>
<td>NO SE</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>A mi hijo(a) se le ha castigado por copiarse cuando ha estado trabajando junto con otros niños.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>En esta escuela se respeta la cultura puertorriqueña.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Se critica a los padres a menudo por no mandar sus hijos a la escuela cuando tienen que ayudar con enfermos en la familia o hacer diligencias a la oficina de &quot;Welfare&quot; u otras agencies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>A mi hijo(a) se le castiga por faltar a la escuela cuando tiene que ayudar con algo en casa.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>A mi hijo(a) se le castiga cuando muestra una falta de respeto a alguien en la escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>A mi hijo(a) no se le estimula a invitar a otros miembros de nuestra familia al salón de clase.</td>
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<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>En esta escuela, los niños no aprenden a respetar a los maestros.</td>
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<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>El salón de clase de mi hijo(a) me recuerda a Puerto Rico.</td>
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<td>19.</td>
<td>A veces sirven comida puertorriqueña en la cafetería de esta escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Mi hijo(a) ha aprendido canciones y juegos de Puerto Rico en esta escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Mi hijo(a) ha aprendido sobre la cultura puertorriqueña en esta escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>VERDAD</td>
<td>FALSO</td>
<td>NO SE</td>
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<tr>
<td>24. Nunca se les pide a los padres que den ideas para las lecciones de los maestros.</td>
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<tr>
<td>25. A veces, mi hijo(a) lleva objetos de Puerto Rico a la escuela para compartir con los otros niños en su salón.</td>
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<td>26. En esta escuela, enseñan la historia y cultura de Puerto Rico en días especiales o festivos.</td>
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<tr>
<td>27. Los niños han aprendido sobre la música puertorriqueña en esta escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td>28. Mi hijo(a) reconoce los símbolos mayores de Puerto Rico (la bandera, el escudo, etc.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Mi hijo(a) puede nombrar algunos personajes importantes en la historia de Puerto Rico.</td>
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<tr>
<td>30. Mi hijo(a) puede nombrar algunos hechos históricos importantes de la historia de Puerto Rico.</td>
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<tr>
<td>31. Mi hijo(a) ha visto películas o diapositivas de Puerto Rico o de puertorriqueños en esta escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td>32. Cuando uno camina por esta escuela, la presencia puertorriqueña se hace sentir en muchos sitios: en los tablones de edictos, en exhibiciones y en objetos de nuestra cultura que hay en los pasillos, los salones, el auditorio, la cafetería y la biblioteca.</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. En la biblioteca en esta escuela hay libros en español.</td>
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<tr>
<td>34. Mi hijo(a) ha leído libros sobre personas puertorriqueñas en la biblioteca en esta escuela.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Núm.</td>
<td>Frase</td>
<td>Verdadero</td>
<td>Falso</td>
<td>No Sé</td>
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<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>A veces se les pide a personas de la comunidad puertorriqueña que vengan a la escuela a hablar con los niños sobre distintos temas (por ejemplo, la música, la comida, sus trabajos, etc.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Hay ayudantes de maestro que son hispanos en la escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Algunos de los libros de texto en el salón de clase de mi hijo(a) tratan de la historia puertorriqueña.</td>
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<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Mi hijo(a) ha ido a giras que le han ayudado aprender más sobre nuestra historia y cultura.</td>
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<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Mi hijo(a) ha traído a casa libros en español de su escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Mi hijo(a) nunca ha visto ni ha participado en programas en el auditorio sobre puertorriqueños en esta escuela.</td>
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<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Los consejeros tienen reuniones regularmente con los padres para hablar sobre el progreso de los niños.</td>
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<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Si creo que mi hijo(a) debe estar aprendiendo algo en particular y se lo digo al maestro(a), casi siempre lo incluye en sus planes.</td>
<td>☑</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>En esta escuela, se trata a los padres puertorriqueños con respeto.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>En esta escuela, me dejan saber cuándo mi hijo(a) está progresando bien.</td>
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<td>45.</td>
<td>Si los padres no están contentos de cómo se les está enseñando a sus hijos, el principal toma medidas para mejorar la situación.</td>
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<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>En esta escuela, tienen talleres sobre currículo para los padres.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
47. Los padres pueden visitar el salón cuando deseen para ver el progreso de sus hijos en la escuela.

48. A los padres se les pide que repasen libros y otros materiales que ellos crean serían buenos para sus hijos.

49. En esta escuela, hay reuniones frecuentes con los padres y los maestros para hablar de cómo nuestros hijos están progresando en la escuela y en el hogar.

50. En esta escuela, los padres nunca están envueltos en planear lo que van a aprender sus hijos(a).