



**SCCR**

STANFORD CENTER FOR CHICANO RESEARCH  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

**CHICANO CLERGY AND LIBERATION THEOLOGY:  
A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS**

Working Paper Series No. 23

Gilbert R. Cadena

Inter-University Program/Social Science Research Council  
Postdoctoral Fellow  
Stanford Center for Chicano Research  
Stanford University

August, 1988

The purpose of the SCCR Working Paper Series is to publish works that significantly advance our knowledge about Chicanos and other Latinos. We invite your comments and critique. Please address your remarks directly to the author.

STANFORD CENTER FOR CHICANO RESEARCH  
CYPRESS HALL, "E" Wing, Stanford CA 94305

Suggested Reference: Cadena, Gilbert R. 1988. Chicano Clergy and Liberation Theology; A Descriptive Analysis (SCCR Working Paper No. 23). Stanford, Ca: Stanford Center for Chicano Research.

## ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationship between Chicano clergy and liberation theology. It is argued that religion can be a significant element in the empowerment of Chicanos when religious leaders join the side of Chicano laity. Using data from a 1986 national survey of Chicano Catholic priests and bishops, the findings show that the respondents feel Chicanos do not have an adequate voice in Catholic social policy, the Church has discriminated against Chicanos, and the Church has not adequately responded to the social problems facing Chicanos. A substantial number of clergy support and have participated in Latino lay movements (i.e. national encuentros, community organizations, and comunidades de base) and pastoral centers (i.e. Mexican American Cultural Center). The results also reveal that the majority of Chicano clergy are influenced by liberation theology and accept a U.S. version of liberation theology as an appropriate model for Chicanos.

## **CHICANO CLERGY AND LIBERATION THEOLOGY:**

### **A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS<sup>1</sup>**

Gilbert R. Cadena

Catholicism has played an integral role in the history of Chicanos,<sup>2</sup> yet only recently have Chicano clergy been in a position to define their needs and aspirations as a critical mass. During the Chicano Movement of the 1960's and 1970's, Chicano activist clergy in an attempt to make their ministry relevant to crucial issues facing Chicanos participated in a number of Chicano organizations and supported national mobilization efforts. For example, some worked with the United Farm Workers, La Raza Unida Party, the Crusade for Justice, Centro de Acción Social Autónomo (CASA), and others were involved in the grape and lettuce boycotts, the Farah strike, and the Chicano Moratorium of 1970 (Sandoval 1983).

However, unlike Black Church ministers who played a significant role in the Civil Rights Movement, the Chicano Movement was a secular one without the general support of Catholic leadership (Ramirez 1978). Active Chicano clergy were a small minority and participated as individuals, not part of a collective effort of Catholic laity.

Today, the Catholic Church is a site of struggle by Chicanos attempting to make the Church accountable to its laity. The emergence of liberation theology has changed the religious discourse of Chicano clergy and laity into one that challenges

the Church to accompany them in their struggle for empowerment. This paper focuses on Chicano clergy and the influence of liberation theology on Chicano empowerment. Subsumed within this broad concern are three specific questions that are addressed in this study: 1) What are the attitudes of Chicano clergy toward Chicano-Catholic relations? 2) Are Chicano clergy supporting recent Chicano lay movements and pastoral centers? 3) To what extent are Chicano clergy influenced by liberation theology?

Literature on Chicanos and the Catholic Church is in a nascent stage of development. Social science research has generally asserted that the Church has acted as a powerful force for cultural conservatism (Broom and Schevky 1952; Warner and Srole 1957) and assimilation (Grebler, Moore, and Guzman 1970; McNamera 1973). Studies by Chicano scholars have focused on the conflictual relationship between Chicanos and the Catholic Church. For example, Soto (1978) demonstrated that through ethnic stratification on the part of the Church, Chicano laity are marginalized in Northern California. Hurtado (1975) found a significant social distance between Chicanos and the Church in San Diego County. In Chicanos, Catholicism, and Political Ideology, Lawrence Mosqueda (1986) concluded that Catholicism is a form of social control because it conditions Chicanos to accept the dominant ideology of the socio-economic order, and limits the political options and actions of its followers.

Research on clergy working in Chicano parishes suggests that clergy are not bicultural nor sensitive to Latino culture (Rye 1977) and generally they remain tied to parochial activities

rather than take part in social action organizations (Grebler, Moore, and Guzman 1970). McNamera's (1969) study on social action priests working on behalf of the Chicano community found that priests who challenge the political status quo of the Church and local community are negatively sanctioned by both bishops and local authorities. In contrast, clergy involved in advocacy work which does not question local and economic interests are encouraged and supported.

Most research on Chicanos and the Catholic Church was written during a period when Chicano lay movements and liberation theology had not taken root in the Church. The present study adds to the literature by incorporating both of these currents. In addition, this is the first national study conducted on Chicano priests in the United States.<sup>33</sup>

#### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The basic thesis guiding this paper is that religion can be a significant element in the empowerment of Chicanos. I argue that religion does not always reproduce existing social relationships (e.g. class, ethnic, and gender inequality), but at times serves as a catalyst in bringing about empowerment or social change. Whereas religion typically supports the given social order, under certain conditions, some religious leaders may join the side of subordinate classes or groups (Gramsci 1957, 1971; Maduro 1982). When sectors of the Church, in this case clergy, begin to have influence outside the religious sphere, the Church can then act as one of the mediators and contribute to the process of a larger social movement. In order for religion to

transform the social conditions of a subordinate class or group, it must construct a worldview that is critical of the dominant view of society. In addition, a movement must be formed to incorporate class and/or group consciousness, organization, and mobilization.

Under capitalism, religion is not the main reproducer of social relationships, therefore, in the United States there can be significant social changes without religious mediation. However, within a given society, if a group has a strong religious worldview, external political changes will have difficulty mobilizing without its religion undergoing an appropriate transformation (Maduro 1982). Since Catholicism continues to be the dominant form of religion for Chicanos, it is argued that religious mediation is essential in the development of class, gender, and ethnic consciousness.

#### **RESEARCH METHODS**

This study of clergy is used as a point of departure for the analysis of the religious institution in general. As official leaders of the Church, their individual and collective actions are significant in the way critical issues are posed. Much of the impact of religious institutions is characterized by its leaders: how they view the problems and how they see their role in confronting those problems. In this case, the clergy's opinions of Chicano-Catholic relations and liberation theology may or may not reflect the majority viewpoint, but their views will provide an indicator of the significance of these ideas.

This study builds on the work done by clergy and theologians by quantifying the emergence of a U.S. liberation theology. The data are drawn from a 1986 national study of Chicano clergy (Cadena 1987). A structured mail questionnaire was sent to 200 Catholic priests and 8 bishops of Mexican descent born in the United States.<sup>4</sup> The final response rate was 140 cases, or 67 percent of all Chicano clergy. Since every effort was made to develop a comprehensive list, the survey population was assumed to include the universe of Chicano clergy.<sup>5</sup> The questionnaire consisted of three main sections: 1) biographical information, 2) Chicano-Catholic relations, and 3) liberation theology.<sup>6</sup>

To examine the role of Chicano clergy it is important to situate them in a specific context and historical moment. Therefore, a brief history of Chicanos and the Catholic Church is presented to understand the antecedents that have led to the experiences and attitudes of Chicano clergy in the present period.

#### **CHÍCANOS AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH**

Historically, the Church rarely supported Chicano social movements and generally has reproduced societal inequalities (Mirande 1985; Cadena 1987; Acuna 1988). From 1848 to 1970, Chicano Catholics had virtually no voice in the decision-making process of the Church, from theological production, pastoral planning to social policy. For example, it was not until 1970 that the first Chicano bishop was appointed in the U.S. Catholic Church.<sup>7</sup> Thus, for over one hundred years, Chicanos were "dependent Catholics" without an indigenous Church leadership to

represent them.

Today, Chicanos/Latinos form approximately one-third of all Catholics in the United States and about 70 percent of the Catholic laity in the Southwest. By the year 2000, it is estimated that Latinos will constitute over 50 percent of the U.S. Catholic Church. Yet, of the nearly 350 bishops, only 8 are Chicano; of the 54,000 U.S. Catholic priests, approximately 200 are Chicano; and of the 107,000 nuns, less than 1,000 are Chicana.<sup>88</sup>

The 1970's was a watershed decade for Chicano Catholics. With the mobilization of Chicano clergy and Chicana nuns,<sup>90</sup> the founding of national pastoral centers, the emergence of lay movements, and the appointment of Chicano bishops, Latino Catholics began to have an impact on the policies of the U.S. Catholic Church. It is in this period that sectors within the Church begin to serve as advocates for Latino empowerment.

The lack of a collective voice and the rise of the Chicano Movement led Chicano clergy to form their own national organization. In 1969, they founded PADRES (The Fathers), an acronym for Priests Associated for Religious, Educational, and Social Rights. PADRES announced it would be a "voice of the voiceless" and took steps to make the Church more responsive to the Chicano laity. Rather than being a group that only benefited its membership, it sought changes in the traditional policies of the Church. For example, PADRES called for the appointment of Chicano bishops, requested subsidies for low-income parishes, supported inner city projects, and requested educational support

in Chicano communities. Further, the organization proposed that Catholic liturgy adapt to the needs of Latinos, the Church use its influence to support the United Farm Workers Union in California, and seminaries reflect Chicano seminarians and parishioners in their curriculum (Sandoval 1983).<sup>10</sup>

The number of Chicano theologians at schools of theology is negligible. This critical underrepresentation means that "doing theology" is left to individual priests, lay theologians, offices of Latino affairs, and national pastoral centers. The most significant center of Chicano theological and pastoral planning is the Mexican American Cultural Center (MACC) in San Antonio, Texas. Founded in 1972, MACC is widely known for developing Latino religious materials, publishing books on Chicanos, training clergy and laity to minister to U.S. Latinos, and serving as a Spanish language institute. In addition, the center plays an important role in the dialogue between Chicano clergy and Latin American liberation theologians--e.g., Gustavo Gutiérrez (Peru), Enrique Dussell (Argentina), and Juan Luis Segundo (Uruguay)--who teach courses and attend meetings at MACC.

Three significant lay movements have provided new avenues for Chicano leadership to emerge and made it possible for Chicano clergy to contribute to changes within the Church. The first lay movement was the National Pastoral Encuentro (encounter) organized in 1972, 1977, and 1985. Each encuentro represented a national attempt to address issues that affect Latinos in the Church and in society. During the 1985 encuentro over 200,000 Latinos participated in the development of recommendations that were given to the U.S. Bishops. These recommendations guided the

bishops in writing a pastoral plan whose purpose was the inclusion of Latinos in all aspects of the Church. More importantly, the encuentro process helped organize Latinos into a national force within the Church.

A second development was the formation of Chicano/Catholic community organizations that linked Catholic parishes and community organizing. Groups such as Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS) in San Antonio, Texas, and United Neighborhood Organization (UNO) in Los Angeles, California adopted an Alinsky style of grassroots organizing by addressing local problems and forcing local politicians to be accountable to the Chicano community. The formation of comunidades de base, or basic Christian communities was a third development. These small groups study the Bible and link the words of scripture to the conditions in which the participants live. The comunidades de base bring together fellowship and engage in consciousness-raising and community action. These lay developments, pastoral centers, and the participation and leadership of Chicano clergy and Chicana nuns have contributed to a U.S version of liberation theology.

Since the 1970's, Latin American liberation theology has influenced U.S. theological thought and practice. In Latin America, liberation theology represents "a new way of doing theology" by creating theology from the viewpoint of the poor (Gutiérrez 1973; Segundo 1976). In the U.S. there is not one liberation theology, but several strains of liberation theology are developing: Black, Feminist, Chicano, and Jewish theologies

(Cone 1970, 1975; Ruether 1983; Welch 1985; Ellis 1987). Each group is re-creating theology to fit their particular experiences.

Today, there are a number of Chicano theologians, priests, sisters, and laity involved in the process of reinterpreting Catholicism (Sandoval 1983; Stevens-Arroyo 1984; Ponce 1985; Avalos 1986) and theology to reflect the Chicano experience (Elizondo 1983; Deck 1986; Guerrero 1987; Isasi-Diaz and Tarango 1988). These writers see liberation theology as the product of both the historical indifference of the Catholic Church and the social injustices Chicanos have faced in the United States. For Chicanos it has meant an understanding of Catholicism that fits the Chicano/Latino reality and includes finding the tools to work for social justice within the Christian gospel. Chicano liberationists (followers of liberation theology) have adopted a methodology of empowerment that includes four major tenets: 1) understanding the Chicano/Latino reality in the United States; 2) analyzing the social, political, economic, and religious structures relevant to Latinos, 3) developing and implementing strategies to address inequalities in the Church, in the community, and in society; and 4) reflecting critically on the overall process in light of scripture. In sum, it is a process of consciousness, analysis, action, and reflection.

## **FINDINGS**

Since research on Chicano clergy is a new area of study and this sample is unique because it represents a majority of all Chicano priests and bishops in the Catholic Church, a descriptive

account of the findings is presented.

### Chicano Clergy Profile

The following biographical data describes the Chicano clergy who participated in the study. Almost three-fourths (72.7%) of the respondents worked in a parish setting. Thirty-eight percent (38.6%) served as pastor (38.6%) and 15 percent served as associate pastor. The rest worked in a variety of positions: vicar (7.1%); administrator, director, Offices of Hispanic Affairs (4.3% each); and bishop, chaplain (3.6% each).<sup>1111</sup>

The majority of priests in this study were located in the Southwest United States, principally in California (30.7%) and Texas (26.4%). Three other states with substantial numbers of Chicano priests were Arizona (7.1%), New Mexico (6.4%), and Colorado (5.7%) Outside the Southwest, Illinois (3.6%) and New Jersey (2.1%) were the only states with more than 3 Chicano priests.

Unlike the Chicano population in general, Chicano clergy are well educated: one-fifth (20.3%) have a Bachelor of Arts degree, two-thirds (66.4%) have a Master of Arts degree, and more than seven percent (7.2%) have earned a Ph.D. Compared to the clergy population as a whole, Chicano priests are relatively young with nearly two-thirds between the ages of 31 to 50 years. The largest age group is 31 to 40 (35.3%), followed by the 41 to 50 age group (29.5%), and then the 51 to 60 group (21.6%).

To determine the socio-economic background of the respondents, several questions were asked about the parents of the clergy. Three-fifths of both parents had a grade school

education or less and about one-quarter of the fathers (22.5%) and mothers (27.7%) had four years of high school or less. Compared to about twelve percent of the mothers, seventeen percent of the fathers had either trade school training or some level of college.

The parents occupational levels were collapsed into four groups.<sup>12</sup> For fathers, the occupational categories were professionals/managers (15.9%), clerical/sales (23.5%), craftspersons/operators (27.3%), and service workers/laborers (32.6%). Among mothers, the occupational levels were professionals/managers (5.8%), clerical/sales (3.6%), craftspersons/operators (4.4%), service workers/laborers (14.6%), and housewives (71.5%).

These findings indicate that Chicano clergy are relatively young, well educated, involved in parish/pastor work, hold few administrative positions and are concentrated in California and Texas. Furthermore, the vast majority of Chicano clergy are from a working-class background.

### Chicano-Catholic Relations

The first research question addressed in this study centers around the attitudes of Chicano clergy toward Chicano-Catholic relations. Table 1 shows that most (92.8%) of the clergy who responded indicated that Catholicism has strongly influenced Chicano culture. Nearly two-thirds (63.7%) felt the Church was in touch with the important issues affecting Chicanos in their local diocese. A majority (57.6%) of the respondents, however, were not satisfied with the way the national Catholic Church has responded

to the social problems of the Chicano community. Furthermore, 84 percent of Chicano clergy indicated that Chicanos did not have an adequate voice in the decision-making process of the U.S. Church, and a similar number (82.4%) felt Chicanos have been discriminated against by the institution.

These findings suggest that gains are being made for Chicanos in dioceses where a bishop is supportive of Chicano/Latino ministry and pastoral development. At a national level, however, clergy feel that Chicanos do not have an adequate voice in Catholic social policy and that discrimination continues to exist at many levels of the Church.

---

Insert Table 1 about here

---

#### Support of Lay Movements and Pastoral Centers

The second research question examined the support of Chicano lay movements and pastoral centers. Participation in the national encuentros showed an increase with each encuentro. About 22 percent of the respondents participated in the first encuentro in 1972 and over one-quarter (26.4%) of the clergy participated in Encuentro II in 1977. Almost 40 percent (37.9%) took part in the third encuentro.

Over 92 percent of the clergy supported the efforts of Chicano/Catholic community organizations, such as, United Neighborhood Organization (UNO) and Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS). Almost two-fifths (38.6%) of the respondents worked with one of these organizations or a similar one in their diocese--e.g, Austin Interfaith, El Paso

Interreligious Sponsoring Organization, The Metropolitan Organization, and Valley Interfaith in Texas; Interfaith Task Force in Colorado; and San Diego Organizing Committee, Santa Ana Neighborhood Organization, and South Central Organizing Committee in California. Two-fifths (40%) of Chicano clergy were involved in U.S. comunidades de base, primarily in California and Texas. About three-fifths (57.9%) of all respondents participated in programs, such as, conferences, seminars, and coursework offered at the Mexican American Cultural Center (MACC).

These findings confirm the importance of Chicano lay movements and pastoral centers over the last two decades in the development of liberation theology. Further, the data suggest that Chicano clergy support, participate, and are influenced by these new developments (see Table 2).

---

Insert Table 2 about here

---

### Liberation Theology

The third research question addressed whether or not Chicano clergy are influenced by liberation theology. In general, the results indicate that almost 90 percent (87.2%) of Chicano clergy were familiar with liberation theology; one-third (32.9%) were quite knowledgeable and over one-half (54.3%) felt they had a general idea of the theology. Knowledge about liberation theology was acquired through a variety of methods, but most respondents learned about it on their own rather than through formal instruction: personal reading (75%), the media (64%), contact with other clergy and theologians (58%), and workshops and

speakers (54%). Other significant sources of information were the Mexican American Cultural Center (41.2%), seminary training (40.4%), and travels to Latin America (30.1%).<sup>13</sup>

Liberation theology has influenced 70 percent of the respondents' personal ministries. Of this percentage, over one-quarter (27.1%) were strongly influenced and over two-fifths (42.9%) were somewhat influenced. The majority (56.7%) of clergy felt that liberation theology offers an acceptable model for Latin America and about one-fifth (17.9%) felt its relevance was restricted to a specific sector of the population.

In the context of the United States, over two-fifths (44.6%) felt liberation theology could offer an acceptable model of Catholic faith for Chicanos and one-fifth (20.15) stated it was acceptable for only a portion of the population. The combined responses indicate that almost two-thirds (64.7%) of Chicano clergy consider liberation theology an appropriate model for Chicanos. Table 3 presents the findings on attitudes toward liberation theology.

---

Insert Table 3 about here

---

Liberation theology is also concerned with socio-political issues that affect the Chicano community. Two questions addressed societal discrimination and U.S. political and economic structures to determine the clergy's view of social inequality in the society at large. Overwhelmingly, ninety-three percent of the clergy felt Chicanos have been discriminated against by many groups and institutions in the United States. Three-fifths (60%)

of the respondents felt reforms in political and economic structures were needed to benefit Chicanos. Over one-third (35.5%) stated that radical changes were necessary and only four percent of all respondents felt the present structures were fair to Chicanos. These responses suggest that Chicano clergy are aware of some of the structural conditions that affect the majority of Chicanos (see Table 4).

---

Insert Table 4 about here

---

Regression analysis was used to further examine the relationship between liberation theology and Chicano clergy. This method demonstrates the correlations between a set of independent variables and a dependent variable. Initially, it was argued that lay movements and pastoral centers contributed to Chicano liberation theology. Four independent variables were used in this analysis: participation in *comunidades de base*. (CEB), Chicano/Catholic community organizations, the encuentros, and the Mexican American Cultural Center (MACC). The dependent variable was whether or not liberation theology has influenced a person's ministry.

Table 5 shows a correlation matrix of each independent variable and the dependent variable. The matrix determines whether any of the independent variables are highly correlated with each other. Since the highest correlation coefficient between MACC and encuentro is .206 the risk of multicollinearity is negligible.

---

Insert Table 5 about here

---

Table 6 shows the result of multiple regression based on these variables. The data suggest that there is a strong correlation between liberation theology and participation in lay movements and pastoral centers. Three of the four independent variables in this analysis—Mexican American Cultural Center, comunidades de base, and encuentros—had a positive affect on whether a person's ministry was influenced by liberation theology. Support of community organizations revealed a lower and statistically non-significant affect on a person's ministry.

---

Insert Table 6 about here

---

These findings show that Chicano clergy are conscious of Latin American liberation theology and that the development of a U.S. liberation theology is having an impact on the way clergy define their personal ministry. The results also suggest that liberation theology is not an abstract idea but a consequence of critical consciousness and personal experiences. While Chicano clergy are a heterogeneous population and differ in their level of support of liberation theology, clearly, the majority are influenced by it.

#### **DISCUSSION**

This paper examined the present socio-religious dynamic of Chicanos and the Catholic Church by highlighting the attitudes and experiences of Chicano priests and bishops. From the perspective of religion as a source of empowerment, the data presents new evidence that Chicano clergy, as one sector of the Church, can be a catalyst in bringing about changes in the

Church. In contrast to Grebler, Moore, and Guzman (1970) and Rye (1977), this study shows that Chicano clergy are involved in social action/lay movements and are conscious of the structures of inequality. Their participation in religious-political activities of the 1980's represents a collective leap from their isolated actions of previous decades.

Clergy are aware of institutional racism within the Church and have chosen to accompany the laity in their efforts to make the Church more accountable to the Chicano laity. The findings of this study provide evidence for recent Chicano theological literature stating that "new ways of doing theology" must reflect the cultural and historical context of Chicanos. Thus, the data suggest that shifts made by the laity and the emergence of liberation theology are creating the conditions and foundations conducive for the development of a worldview critical of oppressive structures.

The participation in lay movements and pastoral centers have affected the ministry of a large number of clergy. These actions by clergy and laity are part of the affirmation process taking place within the Church, that is, Chicanos are no longer allowing the Church to define religion on their behalf. Rather they are becoming an active part of the process of redefining the Church to benefit Chicano laity.

Although, Catholicism has traditionally supported the given social order, this study empirically adds to the work of Gramsci and Maduro, by showing that some religious leaders have contributed to a break in traditional religious hegemony in

their attempt to develop a counter-hegemony of Chicano liberation theology. Overall, this study demonstrates that Chicano clergy know about and are influenced by liberation theology and that clergy generally accept a U.S. version of liberation theology as an acceptable model for Chicanos.

## CONCLUSIONS

While Chicano culture has historically been tied to Catholicism, it is only within the last two decades that Latinos have had a collective voice to interpret and reinterpret Catholicism to reflect their social experiences. The emergence of liberation theology is not an isolated phenomenon but a consequence of clergy and laity taking into account their religious, political, and economic conditions. Since the current political agenda of most Chicano organizations and leaders tends to be reformist, the character of Chicano liberation theology has been concerned with self and social empowerment, rather than major structural changes.

Although, the number of Chicano priests and bishops are small, they are in a critical position to play a significant role as leaders and participants in the process of Chicano empowerment. As a prophetic social group, liberationist clergy have the potential to mobilize Chicanos inside and outside the Church. Already, their influence has affected the emergence of a Chicano liberation theology that is beginning to alter traditional Catholic hegemony. The dialectical relationship between liberation theology, clergy, and laity is contributing to Chicano empowerment in the Catholic Church. This development has

set the stage for active Church sectors to contribute to a larger movement of social justice.

## NOTES

1. This paper was assisted by a grant from the Committee on Public Policy Research on Contemporary Hispanic Issues of the Inter-University Program and the Social Science Research Council. I want to thank Armando Valdez, Olga Vasquez, and Maria Alaniz for their valuable comments on this paper.

A version of this paper was presented at the 1988 Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association in Las Vegas, Nevada.

2. I use the term "Chicano" to describe persons of Mexican descent who are living in the United States on a permanent basis. When I use the collective terms "Latino" or "Chicano/Latino" I am referring to persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central and South American descent living in the United States. See Mirande (1986:2-3, 241) and Acuna (1988:ix-xi) for a discussion of both these terms.

3. There has not been a social science investigation of Chicano clergy to date, however, several internal studies by pastoral centers, dioceses, and religious offices were conducted to identify and acquire demographic data on Latino priests ("A Survey of National Priests..." 1979; "Ministry Among Hispanic Americans" 1980; Rodriguez 1986).

4. The exact number of Chicano priests is unknown. In 1978 Soto estimated there were less than 200 priests, and Sandoval estimated the number declined to approximately 180 by 1983. My estimation of 200 is based on a national mailing list sent to 277 Latino clergy born in the United States. From my returned questionnaires, 75 percent of them were Chicano, arriving at the figure 208. Taking into account the 8 Chicano bishops, I concluded there are 200 Chicano priests (See Cadena 1987).

5. The sample frame was made up from four sources: 1) Directory of Hispanic Priests... (Rodriguez 1985), 2) The Official Catholic Directory (1986), 3) Los PADRES mailing list, and 4) personal contacts of the project director.

6. The instrument was designed using a variety of sources. Hurtado (1975) and Mosqueda (1979) were helpful on questions regarding Chicanos and the Catholic Church, and Smith's (1982) study of Chilean priests was consulted for questions on liberation theology.

7. In 1970, Fr. Patricio Flores was appointed auxiliary bishop of the archdiocese of San Antonio, Texas. Nine years later he was elevated to archbishop of San Antonio.

8. In addition, there are 11 other Latino bishops and approximately 1,700 Latino priests that are not Chicano (See Rodriguez 1986).

9. Chicana sisters founded LAS HERMANAS (the Sisters), a national organization of Latina sisters and lay women in 1971.

10. By the 1980's, PADRES refocused its objectives to broaden its membership, develop new forms of urban ministry, and sensitize clergy to Chicano/Catholic culture. The organization became increasingly concerned with policy issues, such as, recruitment and training of Latino seminarians, and in-service training of seminary programs on Latino issues. PADRES was also involved in professional lobbying efforts in Washington D.C. supporting and opposing legislation that affected Chicanos (e.g. opposing guest-worker programs, Simpson-Mazzoli and Simpson-Rodino Bills, etc.)

11. The majority (52.1%) of priests were diocesan priest compared to those in a religious order (47.9%).

12. The occupational levels were determined by the Hodge-Siegal-Rossi Prestige Scale used in General Social Surveys, 1972-1978: Cumulative Codebook (Davis 1978).

13. The percentages do not add up to 100 percent because the category options were not mutually exclusive.

## REFERENCES

- Abalos, David T.  
1986 Latinos in the United States; The Sacred and the Political. Nortre Dame, IN: University of Nortre Dame.
- Acuña, Rodolfo.  
1988 Occupied America: A History of Chicanos. NY: Harper and Row.
- Broom, Leonard and Eshref Schevky.  
1952 "Mexicans in the United States: A Problem in Social Differentiation." Sociology and Social Research, 36:150-158.
- Cadena, Gilbert R.  
1987 "Chicanos and the Catholic Church: Liberation Theology as a Form of Empowerment. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Riverside.
- Cone, James H.  
1970 A Black Theology of Liberation. PA: Lippincott.
- 1975 The God of the Oppressed. NY: Seabury.
- Davis, James Alien.  
1978 General Social Surveys, 1972-1978; Cumulative Codebook. Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.
- Deck, Allan Figueroa.  
1986 "Hispanic Ministry Comes of Age." America (May):400-402.
- Elizondo, Virgilio.  
1983 Galilean Journey: The Mexican American Promise. NY: Orbis Books.
- Ellis, Mark.  
1987 Toward a Jewish Theology of Liberation. NY: Orbis Books.
- Gramsci, Antonio.  
1957 The Modern Prince and Other Writings. NY: International.
- 1971 Selections From the Prison Notebooks. NY: International.
- Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman.  
1970 The Mexican-American People. NY: Free Press.

- Guerrero, Andrés G.  
1987 A Chicano Theology. NY: Orbis Books
- Gutiérrez, Gustavo.  
1973 A Theology of Liberation. NY: Orbis Books.  
1983 The Power of the Poor in History. NY: Orbis Books.
- Hurtado, Juan.  
1975 An Attitudinal Study of Social Distance Between the Mexican American and the Church. San Antonio, TX: Mexican American Cultural Center.
- Isais-Dias, Ada Maria and Yolanda Tarango.  
1988 Hispanic Women, Prophetic Voice in the Church; Toward a Hispanic Women's Liberation Theology. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row.
- Maduro, Otto.  
1982 Religion and Social Conflict. NY: Orbis Books.
- McNamera, Patrick H.  
1968 "Social Action Priests in the Mexican American Community." Social Analysis, 29, 4 (Winter):177-185.  
1973 "Catholicism, Assimilation and the Chicano Movement: Los Angeles as a Case Study." Pp. 124-130 in R. de la Garza, A. Kruszewski, and T. Archeneiga (eds.), Chicanos and Native Americans: The Territorial Minorities. NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- "Ministry Among Hispanic Americans: Report on a Cooperative Program in Preparing Seminarians for Ministry."  
1980 Sponsored by the Mexican American Cultural Center and The Saint Meinrad School of Theology.
- Mirande, Alfredo.  
1986 The Chicano Experience: A New Experience. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame.
- Mosqueda, Lawrence J.  
1979 "Chicanos, Catholicism and Political Ideology." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle.  
1986 Chicanos, Catholicism and Political Ideology. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

- The Official Catholic Directory.  
1986 IL: P.J. Kenedy and Sons.
- Ponce, Frank.  
1985 "Religion and the State of Hispanic America."  
Pp. 78-88 in The State of Hispanic America  
(Vol. V). Oakland, CA: The Hispanic Center  
for Advanced Studies and Policy Analysis.
- Ramirez, Ricardo.  
1978 "The American Church and Hispanic Migration:  
An Historical Analysis (Part II)." M.T.  
(April).
- Rodríguez, Manuel J. (ed.)  
1986 Directory of Hispanic Priests in the United  
States of America. NY: Spanish Heritage.
- Ruther, Rosemary Radford.  
1983 Sexism and God Talk: Toward a Feminist  
Theology. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Rye, Gary.  
1977 "Hispanics and the Roman Catholic Clergy: A  
Case Study in Conflict." Ph.D. Dissertation,  
U.S. International University.
- Sandoval, Moisés (ed.)  
1983 Fronteras; A A History of the Latin American  
Church in the Church in the USA Since 1513. San Antonio,  
TX: Mexican American Cultural Center.
- Segundo, Juan Luis.  
1976 The Liberation of Theology. NY: Orbis Books.
- Smith, Brian H.  
1982 The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges  
to Modern Catholicism. NJ: Princeton  
University Press.
- Soto, Antonio Robert.  
1978 "The Chicano and the Church in Northern  
California, 1848-1978: A Study of an Ethnic  
Minority Within the Roman Catholic Church."  
Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California,  
Berkeley.
- Stevens Arroyo, Antonio M.  
1984 Prophets Denied Honor: An Anthology of the  
Hispano Church of the Hispano Church of the United States. NY  
Orbis Books.

"A Survey of the National Priests in the Northeast of the United States."

1979 Conducted by Centro de Pastoral Hispana para el Nordeste, New York, NY (October).

Warner, W.L., and Leo Srole.

1957 "Differential Assimilation of American Ethnic Groups." Pp. 435-445 in Milton L. Barren (ed.), American Minorities. NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

Welch, Sharon D.

1985 Communities of Resistance and Solidarity; A Feminist Theology of Liberation. NY: Orbis Books.

TABLE 1

Chicano Clergy and Chicano-Catholic Relations

---

<u>Variable and Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Catholicism has strongly influenced Mexican American culture.		
1 Strongly agree	95	68.9
2 Agree	33	23.9
3 Disagree	9	6.5
4 Strongly disagree	1	.7
2. The Church is in touch with the important social issues which affect Mexican Americans in my diocese.		
1 Strongly agree	18	13.0
2 Agree	70	50.7
3 Disagree	37	26.8
4 Strongly disagree	13	9.4
3. Mexican Americans have an adequate voice in the decision-making process of the Catholic Church.		
1 Strongly agree	4	2.9
2 Agree	18	13.0
3 Disagree	78	56.5
4 Strongly disagree	38	27.5
4. Mexican Americans have been discriminated against by the Church.		
1 Strongly agree	27	19.9
2 Agree	85	62.5
3 Disagree	22	16.2
4 Strongly disagree	2	1.5
5. In general, how satisfied are you with the way the Catholic Church has responded to the social problems of Mexican Americans?		
1 Extremely satisfied	2	1.5
2 Satisfied	26	19.0
3 Neutral	30	21.9
4 Dissatisfied	65	47.4
5 Extremely dissatisfied	14	10.2

---

TABLE 2

Chicano Clergy and Recent Developments within the Church

<u>Variable and Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Since 1972 there have been three National Hispanic Encuentros. Did you participate in any of them?		
Encuentro I (1972)		
1 Yes	31	22.3
2 No	108	77.7
Encuentro II (1977)		
1 Yes	37	26.4
2 No	103	73.6
Encuentro III (1985)		
1 Yes	53	37.9
2 No	87	62.1
2. Mexican American/Catholic Community organizations, such as, United Neighborhood Organization (UNO) in Los Angeles and Communities Organized for Public Service (COPS) in San Antonio, are organizing in many cities throughout the United States. In general, do you support or not support these efforts?		
1 Support	121	92.4
2 Not support	10	7.6
3. Did you participate in these or other similar organizations?		
1 Yes	45	32.1
2 No	95	67.9
4. Have you worked with "Comunidades de Base" in the United States?		
1 Yes	56	40.0
2 No	84	60.0
5. Have you participated in any programs at the Mexican American Cultural Center (MACC) in San Antonio, Texas?		
1 Yes	81	57.9
2. No	59	42.1

TABLE 3

Chicano Clergy and Liberation Theology

<u>Variable and Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. In Latin America, Liberation Theology is developing in certain sectors of the Church. How familiar are you with Latin American Liberation Theology?		
1 I am quite knowledgeable	46	32.9
2 I have a general idea	76	54.3
3 I know little about it	14	10.0
4 I am not familiar with it at all	4	2.9
2. If you are familiar with Liberation Theology, how have you learned about it?		
A Seminary	55	40.4
B Travels to Latin America	41	30.1
C Seminars, workshops, speakers	74	54.4
D Personal reading	102	75.0
E Mexican American Cultural Center	56	41.2
F Contact with clergy/theologians	79	58.1
G Media, newspapers, magazines	87	64.0
3. Has your personal ministry been influenced by liberation theology?		
1 Yes, strongly influenced	36	27.1
2 Yes, somewhat influenced	57	42.9
3 No	40	30.1
4. In general, do you feel Liberation Theology offers an acceptable model of the Catholic faith in Latin America?		
1 Yes	76	<b>56.7</b>
2 Yes, but only for a sector of the people	24	17.9
3 No	17	<b>12.7</b>
4 Don't know	17	12.7
5. Based on what you know, do you believe a U.S. Liberation Theology can offer an acceptable model of the Catholic faith for Mexican Americans?		
1 Yes	62	<b>44.6</b>
2 Yes, but only for a sector of the people	28	20.1
3 No	24	<b>17.3</b>
4 Don't know	25	18.0

TABLE 4

Chicano Clergy and Ethnic,  
Political, and Class Relations

---

<u>Variable and Category</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1. Mexican Americans have been discriminated against by many groups and institutions in the U.S.?		
1 Strongly agree	75	54.3
2 Agree	54	39.1
3 Disagree	7	5.1
4 Strongly disagree	2	1.4
2. How do you feel about the present political and economic structures of the United States in regards to Mexican Americans?		
1 The political and economic structures are fair to Mexican Americans.	6	4.3
2 The political and economic structures need reforms to benefit Mexican Americans	83	60.1
3 The political and economic structures need radical changes to benefit Mexican Americans	49	35.5

---

TABLE 5

Correlation Matrix, Means and Standard Deviation  
of Liberation Theology and Independent Variables

	Liberation Theology	CEB	Community Orgs.	Encuentro	MACC
CEB		.335			
Community Orgs.	.091	.028			
Encuentro	.327	.194	.037		
MACC	.357	.195	.128	.206	
Mean	1.992	1.598	1.110	1.732	1.370
St. Dev.	.751	.492	.361	.445	.485

N=127

TABLE 6

Multiple Regression Analysis on the Influence of  
Liberation Theology on a Person's Ministry

Independent Variables	Standardized Coefficients (BETA)	Unstandardized Coefficients (B)	t
CEB	.240	.366	2.960 **
Community Organizations	.043	.089	.544
Encuentro	.225	.380	2.777 **
MACC	.258	.400	3.159 **
R <sup>2</sup> = .25			

N=127

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01