

THE CHALLENGE OF AMERICAN HISPANICS



SPECIAL 1984 ETHNICITY FEATURE

PREFACE

The '80s have been coined the "Decade of the Hispanic." According to the 1980 census, 14 million Hispanics now live in the United States, exclusive of Puerto Ricans and undocumented. Including these, the population count would rise to approximately 23 million Hispanics.

A national strategy for ministry among Hispanics continues to unfold as major changes occur, as needs are defined, as approaches are developed, and as resources are examined and evaluated. The materials incorporated in this publication were selected from various documents with hopes that it will be of help to each state convention in the development of a language missions strategy design for their area.

Under the leadership of Fermin A. Whittaker, the information herein was compiled and with the office assistance of Judy Smith and Debbie Wright, charts were designed and manuscripts were typed and proofed. Clay Price of the Research Division assisted in providing census graphs, and Carolyn Blunk wrote and edited parts of the materials for publication.

The Hispanics of our country are part of the great American mosaic. It is our challenge to present Christ to the millions in their language and culture so that they can identify Him as Lord and Saviour. We as a denomination will provide the needed witness and ministry. Gracias a Dios, gracias a ustedes, muchísimas gracias.

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Condensed From
U.S. HISPANICS: CHANGING THE FACE OF AMERICA
Population Bulletin

FOREWORD

The U.S. Hispanic population increased from an estimated 4 million in 1950 to 14.6 million in the 1980 census. Conservative estimates project by the year 2020 that the Hispanic population will number some 47 million and displace blacks as the largest U.S. minority.

Eighty eight percent (88%) of the Hispanics in the U.S. live in metropolitan areas. Their occupational status and educational attainment still lags far behind the U.S. average. Unemployment among Hispanics ranges 40-50% higher compared to overall U.S. unemployment figures. The future looks brighter, however, as younger Hispanics and Cubans in particular are beginning to catch up, as is likely also for future generations of Hispanics.

The following pages are a condensed report of the Population Bulletin's U.S. Hispanics: Changing The Face of America and they highlight demographic and socioeconomic trends among Hispanics as noted in the 1980 census data. This information is essential for Language Missions strategy planning.

U.S. HISPANICS: CHANGING THE FACE OF AMERICA

WHO ARE THE HISPANICS?

While "Hispanic" has become a convenient way to refer to Americans of Spanish heritage, the catchall term masks a variety of ethnic, racial, national, and cultural backgrounds. And within the U.S., the various "Hispanic" groups tend to be separated geographically and in their way of life. The four categories used by the U.S. Census Bureau are now most frequently taken to encompass the "Spanish-origin" or Hispanic Population. These are, first, Mexican Americans, or "Chicanos," the largest group, living mostly in the Southwest. Many of these are not immigrants but "Hispanos" who trace their ancestry back to the Spanish colonialists and Indians who were the original inhabitants of the American Southwest. Next are Puerto Ricans, an intermixture of Spanish, Indian, and black, who, as U.S. citizens at birth are not subject to immigration restrictions. Cubans, the smallest group, assumed numerical importance as an ethnic group in the U.S. after the 1959 Cuban Revolution. The "Other Hispanic" category, now the second largest of the four groups, covers people from other Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America and from Spain. Many Hispanos also place themselves in this category on Census Bureau questionnaires. Not included among Hispanics are immigrants from non-Spanish-language Latin American countries such as French-speaking Haitians and Portuguese-speaking Brazilians.

Contrary to popular opinion, Hispanics do not all speak Spanish (11.1 million people reported speaking Spanish at home in the 1980

census, while the Hispanic count was 14.6 million) and not all are Roman Catholic, though 85 percent are estimated to be. The one thing shared by the four Hispanic groups is that all trace their heritage to Spanish-speaking nations. Using language heritage to sort out Hispanics, however, can present problems. For example, an immigrant from Argentina and one from Uruguay may clearly seem to be Hispanic, but what if the first is of Italian birth or descent and the second a German?

DEFINING THE HISPANIC POPULATION

Defining any racial or ethnic group is a thorny problem. What characteristic determines race or ethnicity? Surname? Birthplace of parents, or grandparents? Language usage? Cultural affiliation? Any of these may help classify some persons as "Irish," "Chinese," "black," or "Hispanic," but none can delimit mutually exclusive categories for any population. Racial groups, such as white or black, are often easier to identify since racial intermarriage -- common in the countries from which immigrants come and practically a national tradition in the U.S. Despite such problems, the Census Bureau has made much effort to come up with an acceptable definition of the Hispanic population which is needed for statistical measurements to back up such statements as "Hispanic mothers have more children than non-Hispanics," or to measure changes in the demographic and social characteristics of this population over time.

Prior to the 1970 census, the concept of Hispanics as a group barely existed. Information on some components of the population, such as Mexicans, could be obtained from the usual census questions on a person's country of birth or that of parents, use of

a language other than English at home, and ancestry. Some earlier census reports featured data on persons of Spanish surname and on Puerto Ricans.

But none of the identifiers used prior to 1970 could satisfy the need for a definition which could be applied nationwide and with reasonable consistency over time. The Census Bureau's painstakingly compiled list of some 8,000 Spanish surnames, for example, is only usable in five southwestern states where Spanish surnames are common (Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas). Also, many of these surnames have close twins in Italian and Portuguese. And, of course, Spanish surnames can be lost or gained by marriage. A census question on birthplace or birthplace of parents can obviously account only for first- and second-generation Hispanics. A question on language usage in the home (either as a child, as was asked in 1970, or currently, as asked in 1980) misses Hispanics who do not use Spanish.

Thus we could expect that the different identifiers would produce different results, and they do. From the 1970 census, we can see the limitation of birthplace or parentage data which identified only 5.2 million Hispanics nationwide. This question did perform well in the Middle Atlantic states in 1970 due to the predominance of recently arrived Puerto Ricans in the New York area, but, it did poorly in the five southwestern states.

Although none of these methods may be adequate for a consistent count of Hispanics from census to census, they do have real analytic value and should certainly be used. Knowing how many people speak Spanish at home helps track cultural assimilation. Birthplace or

parentage separates first-generation Hispanics from second-generation Hispanics born in the U.S. But for counting the population, a more consistent method was needed.

THE SPANISH-ORIGIN QUESTION

Enter the Spanish-origin census question. All of the above methods are based on objective characteristics, some of which, such as surname, can change during a person's lifetime. The Spanish-origin question is subjective in that it simply asks persons whether or not they identify themselves as Hispanic. It first appeared in the 1970 census as question 13b on the "long form" used with a 5 percent sample of households across the country, and did not actually ask about Spanish origin but went directly to categories, such as Mexican or Puerto Rican. In 1980, the question appeared as item 7 on the "short form" received by all households. This was done to produce data for Hispanics in small geographic areas, eliminating the effects of sampling error.

The question has some advantages over objective methods. It can easily be repeated from census to census and will consistently count those persons who consider themselves to be of Spanish origin. But it also has some built-in disadvantages. Its performance depends on the tendency of individuals to identify themselves as Hispanics at any given time. This in turn can be influenced by such factors as the wording of the question, the language (Spanish-language questionnaires were available in 1980), the categories given as responses, and even the position of the question on the census form. The version used in 1980, honed in extensive pretests, was an improvement over 1970. It placed the negative response ("No, not Spanish/Hispanic") first to make it easier for non-Hispanics to respond.

It added the popular term "Chicano" to potential responses and eliminated "Central or South American," which in 1970 had picked up many non-Hispanics who interpreted it to mean "Central or Southern United States" and Brazilians who are technically not Hispanic. However, it kept the category "Other Spanish/Hispanic" which is often checked by Hispanos of long ancestry in the U.S. who properly belong in the Mexican category. Also, it is possible that many people were still confused, even though the 1980 census form included guidelines for answering the question.

Despite imperfections, however, the Spanish-origin question does offer the possibility of a relatively consistent enumeration of Hispanics. The census figures derived from this question -- 9.1 million in 1970 and 14.6 million in 1980 -- are most often used as estimates of the U.S. Hispanic population as of those dates. And it has been adopted as the Hispanic identifier in the Census Bureau's monthly Current Population Survey, the primary source of information on the population between census years.

IMMIGRATION

Hispanics' increasing visibility on the American scene reflects a striking shift in the pattern of immigration to the U.S. From 1930 to 1960, Europeans still dominated the immigrant influx -- 41 percent from Northern and Western Europe, and 17 percent from Southern and Eastern Europe. Latin Americans made up only 15 percent of total legal immigration. Since 1960, Latin Americans have averaged 40 percent of the total. By 1975-79, they were up to 42 percent, outpacing legal immigrants from Asia (39 percent) and Europe (down to 13 percent). The total numbers have also been rising. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) statistics put the number of

Hispanic immigrants entering the country legally at 956,000 during the 1950s, 1.3 million in the 1960s, and 1.4 million in the 1970s. Added to this is a growing, if unknown, number of illegal immigrants arriving from Latin America.

This shift in the origins of immigrants has had all the more impact on the makeup of the U.S. population because net immigration has become an increasingly important part of annual population growth as fertility has declined. In 1981, for example, it has been estimated that natural increase (births minus deaths) accounted for 57 percent of population growth; 43 percent was contributed by 1.2 million immigrants -- 480,000 legal immigrants, 217,000 refugees, and an estimated 500,000 illegal immigrants.

Behind the shift are some stark demographic and economic figures. Latin America's labor force is growing by 4 million a year; that of Mexico and the rest of Central America by 1.2 million a year. Forty percent of their current work force is unemployed or working only a few hours a week or days in the year. Per capita income for all Latin America was \$2,063 in 1981. For the U.S. -- even as the recession deepened -- it was \$12,530.

Equally important in the shift to Latin American predominance among immigrants was the change in U.S. policy signaled by passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which came into force in 1968. Responding to an increased influx of Latin American immigrants, this imposed for the first time a numerical limit on legal immigration from the Western Hemisphere -- 120,000 annual arrivals, admitted on a first-come, first-served basis. At the same time, Eastern Hemisphere countries became subject to a 170,000 overall ceiling, plus a 20,000 annual per-country limit based on

a complicated preference system which stressed job skills and reunification with close family members already in the U.S. This abolished a quota system in effect since the 1920s that had favored immigrants from Northern and Western Europe.

The result was an increase in the percentage of legal immigrants from non-European countries. It also left many would-be Mexican migrants to the U.S. without legal means of entry, coming as it did just after Congress had ended the bracero program which, at its peak, had brought to the U.S. over 400,000 temporary Mexican workers annually. Without the visa preference system, there was little control over legal admissions of Latin Americans. To change this and put Latin America on an "equal footing" with the rest of the world, the U.S. in 1977 extended the visa preference system and the 20,000 per-country annual limit to the Western Hemisphere. This put the most severe restriction ever on immigration from the Western Hemisphere and probably stimulated illegal immigration of persons who did not qualify for a preference or refused to wait out the many years it often now takes to gain clearance.

In 1978, the hemisphere quotas were replaced with a single worldwide ceiling of 290,000, later changed to 270,000 excluding refugees, with no more than 20,000 from any one country. Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens are admitted in addition to the 270,000 limit, however, which raised the total of legal immigrants to 480,000 in 1981, for example. Another component of the legal influx are refugees, for which quotas are set annually under the terms of the Refugee Act of 1980; 140,000 refugee slots were allocated in 1982. The 125,000 Cubans of the Mariel boatlift, along with 10,000 Haitians, who also sought refuge in the U.S. during 1980, were admitted under

still another category as special "entrants."

The growing share of Latin Americans among immigrants has aroused public concern about the impact on American standards and values of an ethnically and culturally distinct group endowed with socioeconomic characteristics perceived as inferior to those of the "average" American. Forgotten are the similar concerns voiced at the turn of the century when immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe began to outnumber those from Northern and Western Europe. The degradation of U.S. society predicted at that time has obviously not come to pass.

One issue unique to Hispanics, however, is that they share a common language. This has helped them develop a group identity and increased leverage in demands for special attention and services. It has also provoked a negative response from those who fear the U.S. will be forced into bilingualism, or at least the sort of linguistic factionalism most recently evident in Canada. In 1981, now retired Senator S. I. Hayakawa proposed a resolution to amend the U.S. Constitution to make English the country's official language. Voters in Dade County, Florida, where Miami is located, in November 1980 overturned a countywide policy of bilingualism adopted in 1973.

In numbers is strength, however. Thus Hispanics are likely to continue to dominate immigration to the U.S. to the disadvantage of white non-Hispanics and blacks from other countries who currently make up little of the flow. The U.S. became more ethnically and culturally diverse as the result of earlier shifts in the profile of immigrants and this can be expected to occur again with the increase in Hispanics. Legitimate questions remain about the costs and benefits of reorganizing society and how fast that should happen.

More easily influenced by policymakers than fertility and mortality -- the other two variables that shape a country's population growth and composition -- immigration is likely to remain a much debated issue in the U.S. for some time to come.

LEGAL IMMIGRATION DIVERSITY

Each of the four Hispanic groups has its own unique immigration history and once arrived, has generally settled in different regions of the U.S., as we have seen. There are also differences in the amount that immigration has contributed to each group's growth since 1950 -- almost all for Cubans and "Other Hispanics," and very little since the 1960s for the Puerto Ricans.

Data on legal immigration for Mexicans, Cubans, and Other Hispanics are drawn from INS records. Puerto Ricans, who have unrestricted access to the U.S., do not appear in INS records. To estimate their net migration one must use a residual procedure involving two Puerto Rican census counts and registration of births and deaths for the decade they span.

During the 1950s, Puerto Ricans accounted for half of all Hispanics immigration, providing the U.S. with a net gain of nearly half a million. This movement, with one of every six Puerto Ricans moving to the U.S. during the decade, ranks as one of the most dramatic voluntary exoduses on record. It was driven by the promise of jobs -- any jobs -- as an escape from the island's stagnant agrarian economy, cheap plane fares, and the freedom of entry accorded Puerto Ricans as U.S. citizens.

A sharp rise in immigration in the last half of the 1950s boosted Mexican immigration to almost 300,000 for the decade. The number grew by about 140,000 in each of the next two decades,

yielding a total for the 1970s of just under 570,000. Mexico ranked as the largest single contributor to U.S. legal immigration over this 20-year span and accounted for over 40 percent of all Hispanic immigration.

Cuban immigration also grew dramatically over the three decades. Although the INS statistics add to 527,000 Cuban immigrants for 1960-80, the actual number of Cuban arrivals was close to 640,000, with over 70 percent occurring during the 1960s. Such large numbers of Cubans could only enter the U.S. by assigning them special status as political refugees or "parolees." But the INS records such individuals' entries only when their status is adjusted to "immigrant."

Touched off by Castro's rise to power in 1959, Cuban legal immigration subsequently rose and fell in concert with shifts in both U.S. and Cuban government policies, as we have seen -- surging in the first years after the revolution and in the late 1960s and early 1970s, ebbing after the 1962 missile crisis and following Castro's cutoff of emigration in 1973. The latest and largest influx of Cubans into the U.S. began when an April 1980 rush on the Peruvian embassy in Havana by a crowd demanding asylum drew a sudden response from Castro that whoever wanted to leave the island was welcome to go. By December 1980, 125,000 had arrived in the U.S., transported in a flotilla of boats sent to collect them from the port of El Mariel. These refugees were set off from their predecessors not only by their numbers but also by their socioeconomic characteristics. Most stemmed from "urban working and lower class origins," as had Cubans arriving in the early 1970s, while the first waves of post-revolutionary refugees had been "displaced bourgeoisie" -- well educated, middle and upper class professionals and businesspeople

alienated by the new regime.

One ramification of the timing of the Mariel boatlift, which began just after completion of the 1980 census, was to undermine the relevancy of census data on the Cuban population. Close to 15 percent of the 1981 U.S. Cuban population was not in residence at the time of the April 1, 1980 census.

Comparing the 1980 census count of Cubans (803,000) with the number estimated to have emigrated to the U.S. from 1959 up to the census date (670,000) indicates that some 80 percent of the 1980 population are first-generation immigrants. The Mariel arrivals would, of course, further increase this percentage.

The Other Hispanics are shown to have had the largest gain in immigration over the 30-year interval. From 112,000 and 12 percent of Hispanic immigration in the 1950s, they grew to 503,000 and 36 percent of the total in the 1970s, putting them into second place after Mexicans in their contribution to Hispanic immigration for the decade. For the 1975-79 period, they were actually in first place, as noted earlier. Of course, this total represents immigration from 16 separate nations. The largest contingents come from the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Argentina, and Ecuador, joined in recent years, by growing numbers of escapees from the political turmoil in Nicaragua and El Salvador. This increase in Other Hispanic immigration partly reflects growing population pressures in the countries from which they come. Current population growth in these 16 countries averages over 2 percent a year -- a rate at which a population doubles in just 35 years. This alone foretells for this group an ever-growing dominance in Hispanic legal immigration totals.

After holding first place during the 1950s, Puerto Rican net immigration dwindled to just 41,000 and 3 percent of the total in the 1970s. Why was this? With an island population of less than 2.4 million in 1960 and fertility on the decline, it would have been impossible for Puerto Rico to continue to export half a million residents each decade. But other factors also played a role. For one, pressure on the home job market was relieved by the exodus of earlier emigrants. Economic opportunities may still have been brighter in the U.S. but not enough to warrant the wrench of leaving home. Deciding to stay was also made more feasible by increases in U.S. government welfare support, combined with remittances from family members who had ventured to the mainland.

Unique to Puerto Rican immigration, however, is the fact that the net migration figures mask a large movement of people back and forth from the island, which unrestricted entry to the U.S. permits. Puerto Ricans have been characterized as having "one foot on the mainland and one on the island." Detailed figures for the 1970s show a net flow back to Puerto Rico of people aged 35 and over and older children aged 5-19, but this was offset by a larger net influx into the U.S. of persons aged 20-29 and children under age five. This suggests that young adults are lured to the U.S. with their children by the prospect of better economic opportunities and later choose to return to the island.

SEX AND AGE OF LEGAL IMMIGRANTS

The characteristic ages and sex of the 1950-80 immigrants, which helped shape the age-sex composition of the 1980 resident Hispanic population, also varied among the four groups. Women consistently outnumbered men among immigrants from Cuba and Other

Hispanic countries, as has been true of immigrants to the U.S. generally since the 1930s. Fifty-seven percent of new arrivals among Other Hispanics during the 1950s were women -- a high proportion which reflects the pattern of rural-to-urban migration in Latin America where women also outnumber men. By the 1970s this figure had declined somewhat to 54 percent.

Among Cuban immigrants, the proportion of women was 53 percent in the 1950s and 1960s, just before and after the 1959 Castro takeover, and rose to 55 percent in the 1970s. In this case the predominance of women came about because young men of conscription age were not allowed to emigrate. The sex ratio of Cuban immigrants in the 1980s will have changed with the addition of the Marielitos, 70 percent of whom were men.

Among Mexican and Puerto Rican immigrants, by contrast, men have been more numerous. For Mexicans, the male share was 53 percent during the 1950s, followed by a decline to 50-51 percent in the next two decades. This pattern probably reflects job opportunities in the Southwest. Many legal immigrants in the 1950s may have been former braceros or their relatives who knew of job opportunities for men in the U.S.

Among Puerto Ricans, the proportion of men was 54 percent during the 1950s, 56 percent in the 1960s, and 73 percent in the 1970s. The 1970s figure must be viewed cautiously since it is based on such a small net immigration total. Even so, the increasing predominance of males is obvious. This could be because Puerto Ricans can come to the U.S. freely, without the hurdles that face all other Hispanic legal immigrants, and men are thus easily able to come temporarily to take a job without uprooting an entire family.

Two-thirds of immigrants arriving from Mexico and "Other Hispanic" countries from 1950 to 1980 were between the ages of 15 and 44. This is typical of most migrant streams, for this is the stage of life when one can expect to profit most from a move to a place promising better economic opportunities. As might be expected, such migrants bring with them a sizable number of young children.

Puerto Rican movement during the 1970s, as noted, stands out for its net influx of migrants aged 20-29 and net emigration at ages above 35. The pattern was similar, if less pronounced, in the earlier decades.

Cuban immigrants of the 1950s were mostly in the typical young adult ages but much older in the two decades after the revolution. Thirty-three percent in the 1960s and 45 percent in the 1970s were over age 44. Seventeen percent of the Cuban women who immigrated from 1960 to 1980 were 65 and over, much higher than the 7.1 percent of Cuban women this age counted in the U.S. in the 1980 census. Demographers Sergio Diaz and Lisandro Perez point out some reasons for the older, more female Cuban immigration before the Mariel boatlift:

"The Cuban government generally prohibited the emigration of males eligible for military conscription. Also persons of working age had to spend time in agricultural labor before being allowed to leave the country. There were no such restrictions for the elderly, a dependent population the revolutionary government was not particularly eager to keep."

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

Illegal immigration -- hard to measure but thought to be on the increase -- looms large in any assessment of the impact of recent Hispanic immigration to the U.S. Not all illegal immigrants are

Hispanics, of course, but the majority probably are. Their motives are no different from those of legal immigrants; most come seeking jobs or to escape political and social turmoil at home. Unfortunately, these legitimate interests often conflict with the interests of current citizens.

WHO ARE THEY?

Illegal or undocumented aliens are classified as persons crossing the border "without inspection" or with fraudulent documents, or overstaying a work or student visa. This definition rules out Puerto Ricans, with free access as U.S. citizens, and most Cubans, who have been accorded special refugee status because of the political overtones attached to their movements to the U.S. Thus the undocumented Hispanic population is made up almost entirely of Mexicans and other Hispanics.

An estimated 50-60 percent of all illegal aliens are Mexicans, stimulated by the closeness of the border, a long history of moving back and forth to fill the heavy labor needs of the Southwest's agriculture, and erratic U.S. policies. Mexicans were deported when jobs grew scarce during the 1930s and courted again with the bracero program as labor became short during World War II. Though the bracero program was viewed as a way to stop illegal immigration, it actually served to step up the influx as word got round of jobs to be had across the border. By the 1950s the domestic labor supply was back up to full force and the INS set out to staunch the illegal flow with "Operation Wetback." (Many Mexicans waded clandestinely across the Rio Grande; hence, "wetback.") At the same time, however, U.S. employers were still allowed to hire illegal entrants who

managed to get through. Further illegal Mexican immigration was practically guaranteed by the ending of the bracero program in 1964 and institution of the 120,000 hemispheric ceiling on immigration in 1968 and 20,000 per-country limit in 1977. Currently, with unemployment again high in the U.S, there is renewed pressure for control of the influx from Mexico, just as pressure mounts on the other side to escape Mexico's deteriorating economy and devalued peso.

Much of the illegal movement from Mexico into the U.S. is offset by return migration. Workers come north, find jobs, and eventually return to home and family. The Southwest has been the traditional destination for Mexican migrants but many now make their way as far north as Chicago and Detroit. The farther the search for a job and the more urban the job is, the less likely it is that an undocumented Mexican will move back and forth across the border.

A substantial portion of other illegal immigrants are from such countries as Guatemala, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. Many of these Dominicans enter through Puerto Rico. They obtain travel passes to the island and are virtually unidentifiable among Puerto Ricans in legal transit to the U.S. "Other Hispanic" illegal aliens are more likely than Mexicans to remain in the U.S. once here.

HOW MANY?

In the early 1970s, estimates of the number of illegal aliens living in the U.S. ranged from 2 to 12 million. Recently a consensus has grown for an estimate of 3.5 to 6 million, as given in a 1981 report prepared by Census Bureau demographer Jacob Siegel and colleagues for the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee

Policy. The latest light comes from a Census Bureau study, unveiled in April 1983, which estimated that just over 2 million undocumented persons were included in the 1980 total census count of 226.5 million. This does not reveal how many undocumented residents were missed by the census, but it is difficult to imagine that it was even as many as the number counted because the Census Bureau made a concerted effort to enumerate the undocumented population and to reach all segments of the Hispanic community.

Of the 2 million, 1.3 million, or 64 percent, were estimated to be from Latin America. Mexicans alone numbered 931,000. All other Latin American countries with legal immigration to the U.S. also turn up in the estimate of illegal aliens enumerated in the 1980 census but none made a substantial contribution.

That the number of illegal aliens arriving each year may be increasing is suggested by figures on deportable aliens apprehended by the INS. This number grew from 420,000 in 1971 through, 1979 followed by a slight drop to 976,000 in 1981 and 970,000 in 1982. Apprehensions, however, are not an accurate count of the actual number of illegal aliens entering each year since the same person may be apprehended more than once in a year. Nor do they record movements out of the country. Estimates of the annual net increase in the total undocumented population of the U.S. range from below 100,000 up to 500,000.

EDUCATION

Younger Hispanic adults spend more time in school than their elders did, as is now true for all racial and ethnic groups in the U.S. But Hispanics still lag behind blacks and far behind whites

as a whole in average educational attainment -- the key to economic and occupational progress. Some Hispanic groups are more educated than others, however, which reflects differences in immigration histories more than ethnic attitudes toward education.

Cubans, still dominated by the middle-class and professional people who were the first to flee the Castro regime, tend to be better educated than other Hispanics. So, too, are recent legal immigrants from Central and South America. Educational attainment for Mexican Americans as a whole reflects the much lesser schooling of the majority who are recent legal and illegal immigrants. Average educational attainment is also low for Puerto Ricans in the U.S., partly stemming from the constant flow back and forth between the island and the mainland. Public education in Puerto Rico suffers from scant funding -- just \$694 per pupil in 1977 -- below the \$900 of Arkansas which ranked lowest of U.S. states on this score. Children transferred to schools in the U.S. must usually drop to grades lower than the average for their age and often have their schooling disrupted by moves back to the island; some 20,000 pupils a year were transferred back and forth between Puerto Rico and New York City alone during the 1970s. Frustration with the public school system in Puerto Rico prompts many middle- and upper-class professionals to place their children in private schools.

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT PROGRESS

Hispanics' lesser involvement in education begins early. In 1981, only 25 percent of three and four-year-olds of Spanish-origin were enrolled in school compared to some 36 percent of both blacks and whites as a whole. These early education programs include public and private nursery schools and Head Start, which are

particularly important for children from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Between ages 5 and 15, nearly all Hispanics along with blacks and whites attend school, but the gap widens again from age 16 when students are able to leave school legally in most states. In 1981, school enrollment among Hispanics was 83 percent for 16 and 17 year-olds compared to some 91 percent for blacks and whites, and only 38 percent at ages 18 and 19, in contrast to roughly one-half for blacks and whites. Some 36 percent of Hispanics aged 18 and 19 were not enrolled in school and were also not high school graduates, i.e., they were dropouts. This was more than double the figure for whites of that age (16 percent) and almost double that of blacks (19 percent).

Hispanics' high dropout rates are partly due to the fact that many are enrolled in grades below the average for their age, where they can be bored, feel out of place, and be labeled slow learners. In 1976, about 9 percent of Mexican-American and Puerto Rican 8 to 13 years-olds were at least two years behind their "expected" grade in school, compared to 5 percent of white non-Hispanics; at ages 14-20, the figures were 25 percent for Hispanics versus just 9 percent for non-Hispanic whites. In New England in the early 1970s, 50 percent of Hispanics were at least two grades behind and only 12 percent were in their "expected" grade. Delay is particularly serious for transfer students from Puerto Rico; in Boston, for example, students aged 17-19 who were in senior high school in Puerto Rico are often placed in the sixth or seventh grade.

Not surprisingly, Hispanics are much less likely to graduate from high school than other groups, and the percentage of Hispanic

high school graduates who go on the college dropped from 35.4 percent to 29.9 percent between 1975 and 1980.

HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE COMPLETION

Hispanics aged 25 and over are increasingly likely to be at least high school graduates, like blacks and all white adults, but the gap remains wide. In 1981, 46 percent of Hispanic males, for example, had completed four years of high school or more, up from 33 percent in 1970, but the figure for black males was 53 percent and for white males as a whole, 72 percent. However, younger Hispanics are catching up. Among those aged 25 to 34 in 1981, 57 percent had completed high school. Mexican Americans and Puerto Rican males have made some gains in high school completion since 1960, according to a study by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, but still trailed behind other Hispanic groups as well as blacks and all whites in 1976. There is another gap in high school completion between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan Hispanics; in 1979, only 36 percent of Hispanic adult men living in nonmetropolitan areas had finished high school, compared to 44 percent of Hispanic men in metropolitan areas.

Scholastic Aptitude Test scores reveal the poorer preparation of Hispanic high school graduates who do go on to college. Among entering freshmen in 1979, the average on the verbal part of the test was 356 (out of a possible 800) for Puerto Ricans and 372 for Mexican Americans compared to 442 for non-Hispanic whites, and 387 for Puerto Ricans and 413 for Mexican Americans in math versus 482 for non-Hispanic whites.

Hispanic college enrollment doubled from one-quarter million to half a million between 1972 and 1981, but still made up only

4.8 percent of total college enrollment in 1981. Once in college, Hispanics are far more likely than other college students to drop out; 57 percent of Hispanic males and 54 percent of Hispanic females fail to graduate, compared to 34 percent of all white males and females. Figures in 1981 for adults 25 years and over who had completed at least four years of college were only 10 percent for males and 6 percent for females among Hispanics, compared to 22 percent for all white males and 14 percent for white females, and 8 percent for both black males and females. Part of the reason for this disparity is that Hispanic students primarily attend two-year colleges. In 1980, 54 percent of Hispanics enrolled in college, compared to 36 percent of all white students, were attending two-year colleges.

WHY THE EDUCATIONAL LAG?

Whether or not he or she was born in the U.S. makes a difference in a Hispanic's educational attainment. Demographers A. J. Jaffe, Ruth Cullen and Thomas Boswell found from 1970 census data that Hispanics born in the U.S. generally attend school longer than their foreign-born parents. Another research team found even greater educational progress between second and third generation Mexican Americans. Thus, like other immigrant groups before them, U.S. Hispanics' educational attainment should improve in time. Meanwhile, there are barriers, as Jaffe and his colleagues point out. "Cultural reinforcement" is one. A constant influx of new arrivals keeps Latin cultural values and the Spanish language alive among Mexican American in the Southwest, Puerto Ricans in the Northeast, and even Cubans in Florida, washed by the wave of Marielitos in 1980. A Mexican-American professional in California described how "macho"

values can hinder education: "If you drop out (to father a child) or to buy a car, you're a big man. But when I came home with my Ph.D., my friends acted like they didn't know me." Early pregnancy and marriage, poverty which forces teenagers prematurely into the labor force, and the problems of overcrowded, poorly equipped big-city schools which most Hispanics attend also boost dropout rates and discourage education. And like blacks and unlike earlier immigrant groups, Hispanics in the U.S. and in its schools have suffered from the discrimination accorded dark-skinned people.

Lack of English clearly retards Hispanics' general educational progress. In 1978, 26 percent of Hispanics in public elementary and secondary schools spoke little or no English. On the other hand, use of Spanish is not necessarily a barrier to education, as proven by Cubans. Though educational levels are generally higher for those who grew up speaking English at home, Cubans, who outpace other Hispanics in high school achievement tests and college entrance, are also most likely to speak Spanish at home. This suggests that factors like more parental education and higher family income determine educational progress more than use of Spanish.

Use of Spanish, however, is an issue in the current controversy over federal funding of bilingual education. Federally funded bilingual programs, in which a student is taught academic subjects in his native language until he can master English, began in 1968 in order to speed school progress for pupils who enter school speaking little or no English. They still cover less than half of Hispanic students in that category, funding was cut from \$167 million in fiscal year 1981 to \$138 million in 1982, and research has not yet shown that the programs have clearly achieved their purpose.

Critics claim that they slow down students' learning of English and foster the use of Spanish which hinders Hispanics' assimilation into the mainstream of U.S. society and could create an "Hispanic Quebec" in the U.S. A widely publicized report of the Twentieth Century Fund, issued in May 1983, recommended that federal bilingual funds be spent instead on teaching English to non-English-speaking children, and asserted: "Although this nation has become more aware of the value of ethnic identities, anyone living in the U.S. who is unable to speak English cannot fully participate in our society."

INCOME AND POVERTY

If Hispanic workers improved their occupational status relative to all workers in the U.S. during the 1970s, this gain has not yet shown up in family income statistics. In 1972, the median Hispanic family income was 71 percent of the median for white families. In 1981, the median for Hispanic families (\$16,401) was still just 70 percent of the median for white families as a whole (\$23,517) after two years of recession had reduced real incomes for all families. Hispanics fare better than blacks, however, whose median family income in 1981 (\$13,266) was just 56 percent of the median for white families, down from 59 percent in 1972. Like blacks, Hispanics' family income must stretch further than that of white families for family sizes are generally larger. Hispanics' relative youthfulness also depresses family income statistics -- younger householders, in general, earn less than older ones.

Hispanics do better when both husband and wife work. In 1981, the median family income for such families was \$23,641, or 80 percent of the median of \$29,713 of all married-couple white families with the wife in the paid labor force. The biggest difference in

Hispanic-white family income levels comes in female-headed families. In 1981, 23 percent of Hispanic families were headed by a female alone -- double the 12 percent among all white families -- and their median income (\$7,586) was just 60 percent of the median income of \$12,508 of female-headed families among all whites.

Cubans, as might be expected, have the highest incomes of all Hispanic groups. In 1979, their median family income was \$17,538, 86 percent of the white median of \$20,502. This was close to double the Puerto Rican median of \$9,855, which was the lowest among Hispanic families and well below the black family median of \$11,644. Mexican-American and Central and South American families had intermediate and similar median incomes -- \$15,171 and \$15,470, respectively.

POVERTY

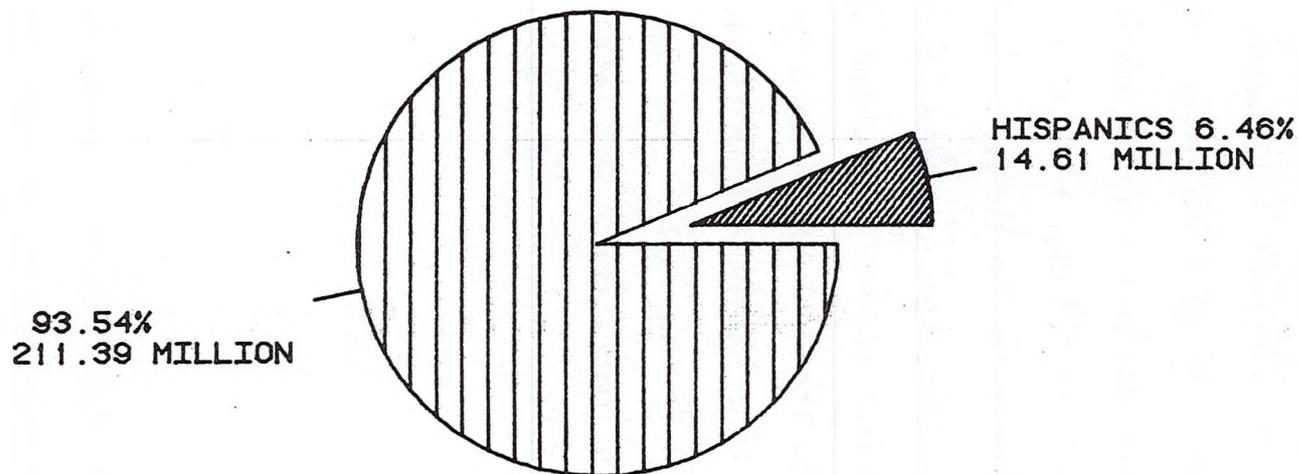
In 1981, close to 800,000 Hispanic families, 24 percent of all Hispanic families in the U.S., were classified as "poor" by the Census Bureau, compared to 8.8 percent of all white families. The Census Bureau's poverty threshold varies by family size and age of the "householder" and is adjusted annually for inflation. It is based only on money income and does not take account of the benefits received by many low-income persons such as food stamps, Medicaid and Medicare, and housing aid. In 1981, the average poverty threshold for a family of four was \$9,287. On this score, too, Hispanics do better than blacks; nearly 31 percent of black families fell below the poverty threshold in 1981. Also, the rise in the poverty rate was a little less for Hispanics than for other families from 1979 to 1981 as the recession deepened and unemployment rose. However, Hispanic families were still 2.7 times as likely as all white families to be living in poverty in 1981, only marginally improved from the

differential in 1973 (3.0) when poverty statistics for the Hispanic population were first calculated.

Thus the statistics for the past decade show Hispanics as a group still trailing well behind the general U.S. population on all measures of social and economic well-being. But a decade is hardly time enough to measure genuine progress. The higher educational attainment of younger Hispanics holds out hope that more Hispanics in general, and not just Cubans, will be joining the higher paid, white-collar work force in the future. And as they do, income levels should increase and unemployment rates fall, along with poverty rates. Even with their present income lag behind the general U.S. population, Antonio Guernica and Irene Kasperuk note in Reaching the Hispanic Market Effectively that "Hispanics in the United States are the wealthiest Hispanics in the world. The opportunity for economic improvement is the primary reason why legal and illegal Hispanic immigration to the United States continues unabated."

Source: Cary Davis, Carl Haub, and JoAnne Willette, "U.S. Hispanics: the Face of America," Population Bulletin, Vol. 38, No.3 (Population Reference Bureau, Inc.: Washington, D.C., 1983.

HISPANICS AS A PERCENTAGE OF U.S. POPULATION, 1980

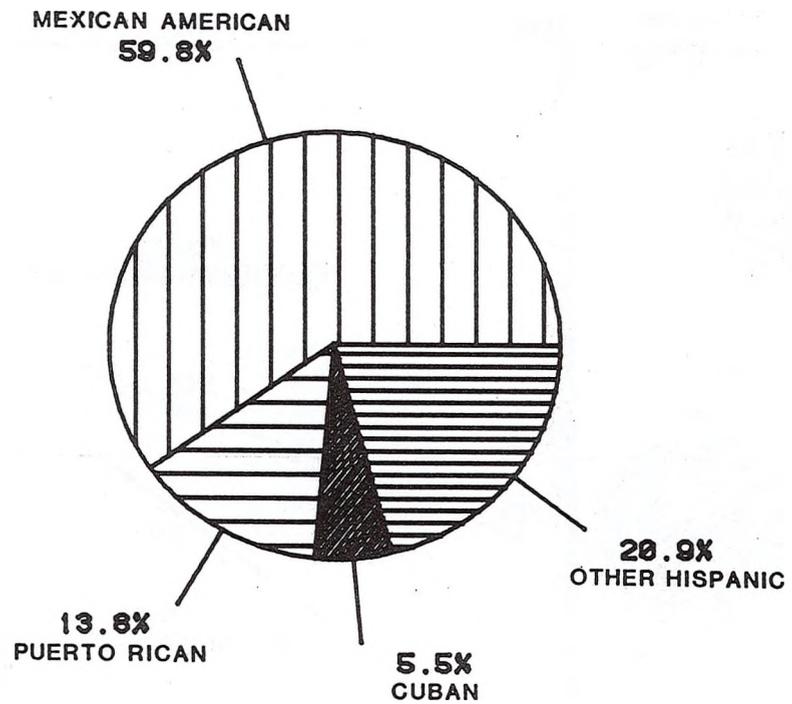


226 MILLION
U.S. POPULATION

Source: Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C., Research Division, HMB.

The above percentages do not include figures for Puerto Rico and illegal aliens.

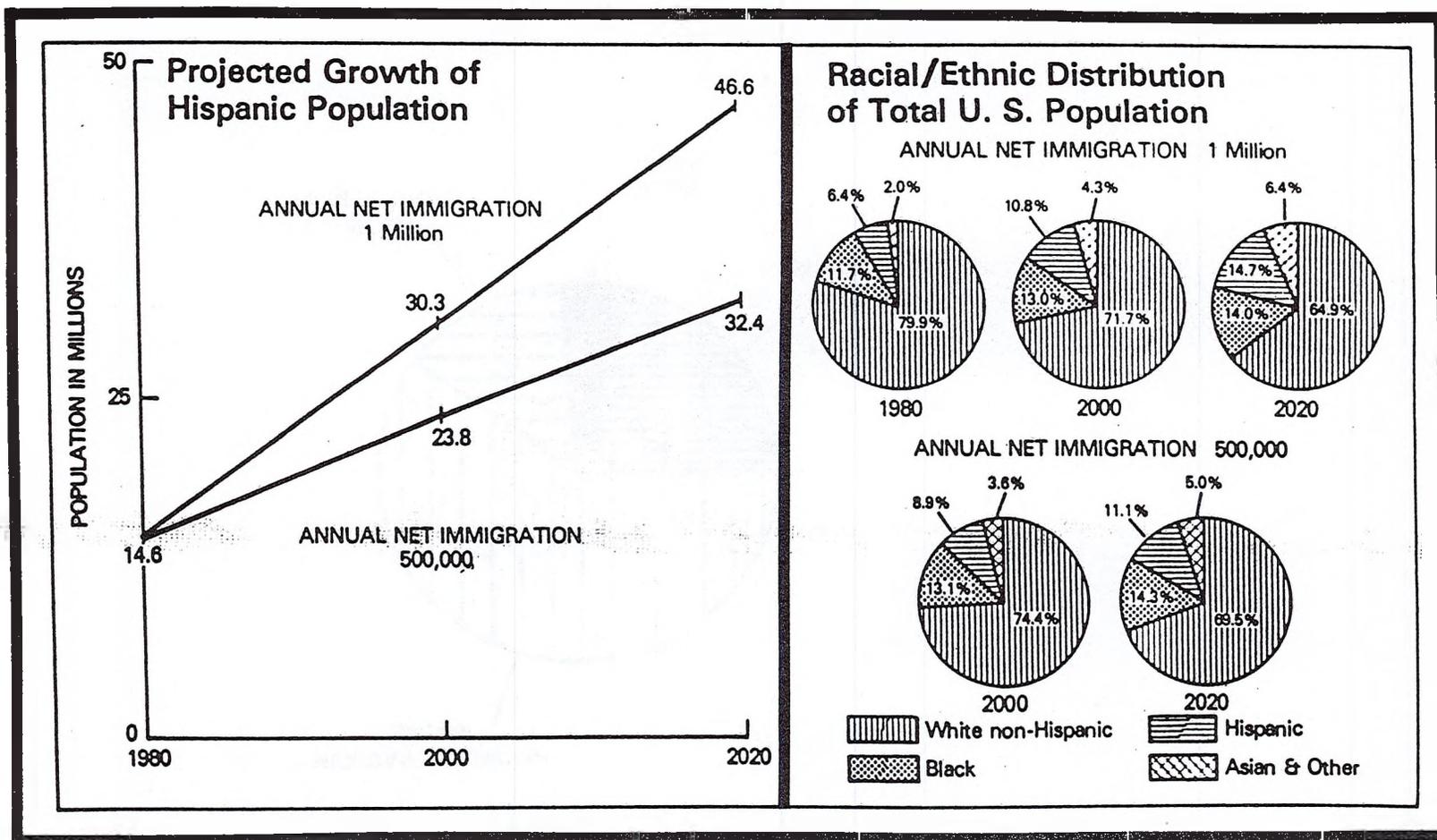
U.S. HISPANIC POPULATION, BY TYPE: 1980



Source: 1980 Census.

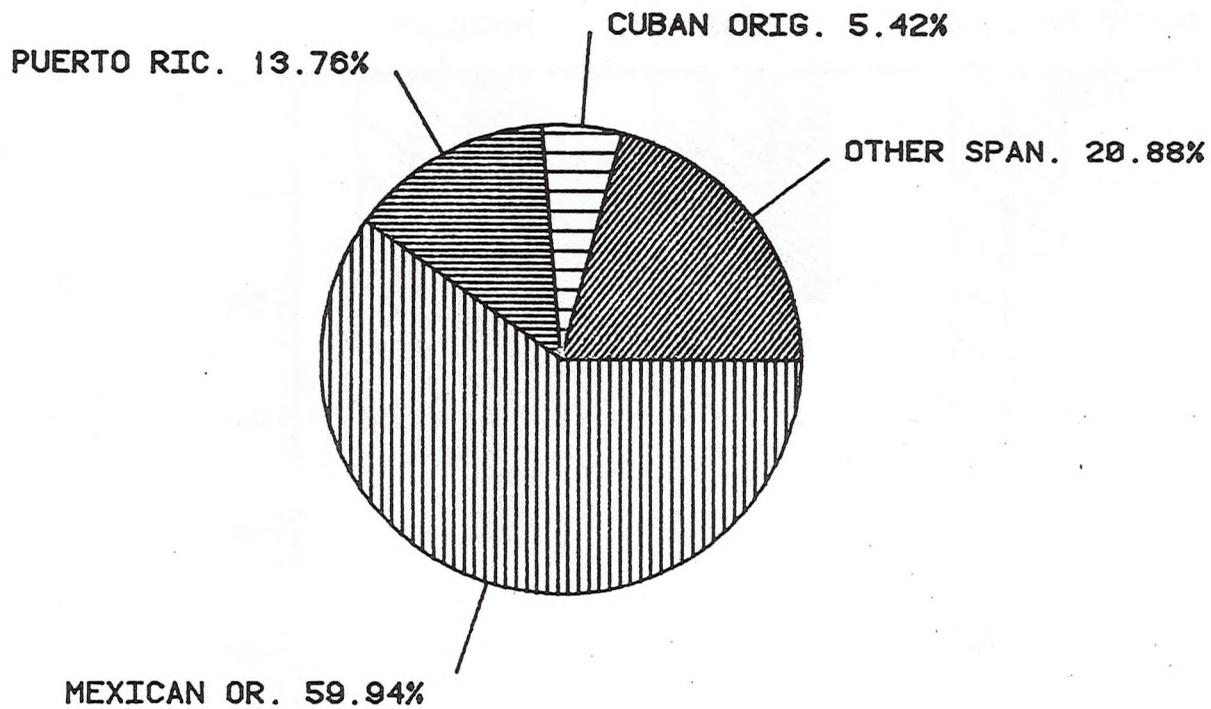
POPULATION 1980 AND AS PROJECTED FOR 2000 AND 2020: HISPANICS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION, AND FOUR MAIN RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUPS

29



SOURCE: LEON F. BOUVIER AND CARY B. DAVIS, THE FUTURE RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE UNITED STATES (WASHINGTON, D.C.: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION SERVICES CENTER OF THE POPULATION REFERENCE BUREAU, 1982).

ORIGIN OF HISPANICS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1980

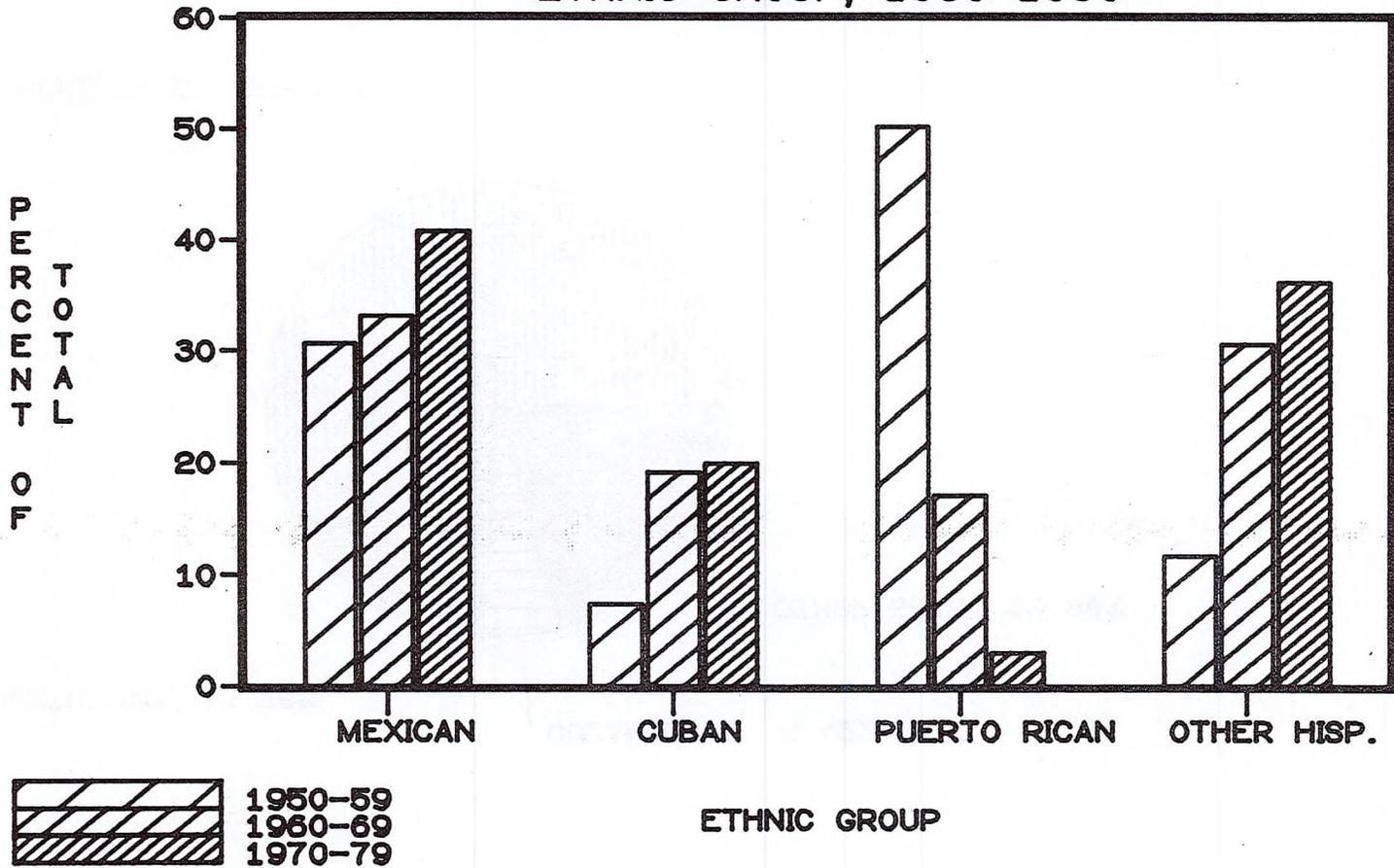


14.6 MILLION
U.S. HISPANIC POPULATION, 1980

Source: Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.

The above percentages do not include figures for Puerto Rico

HISPANIC IMMIGRATION INTO THE U.S. BY ETHNIC GROUP, 1950-1980



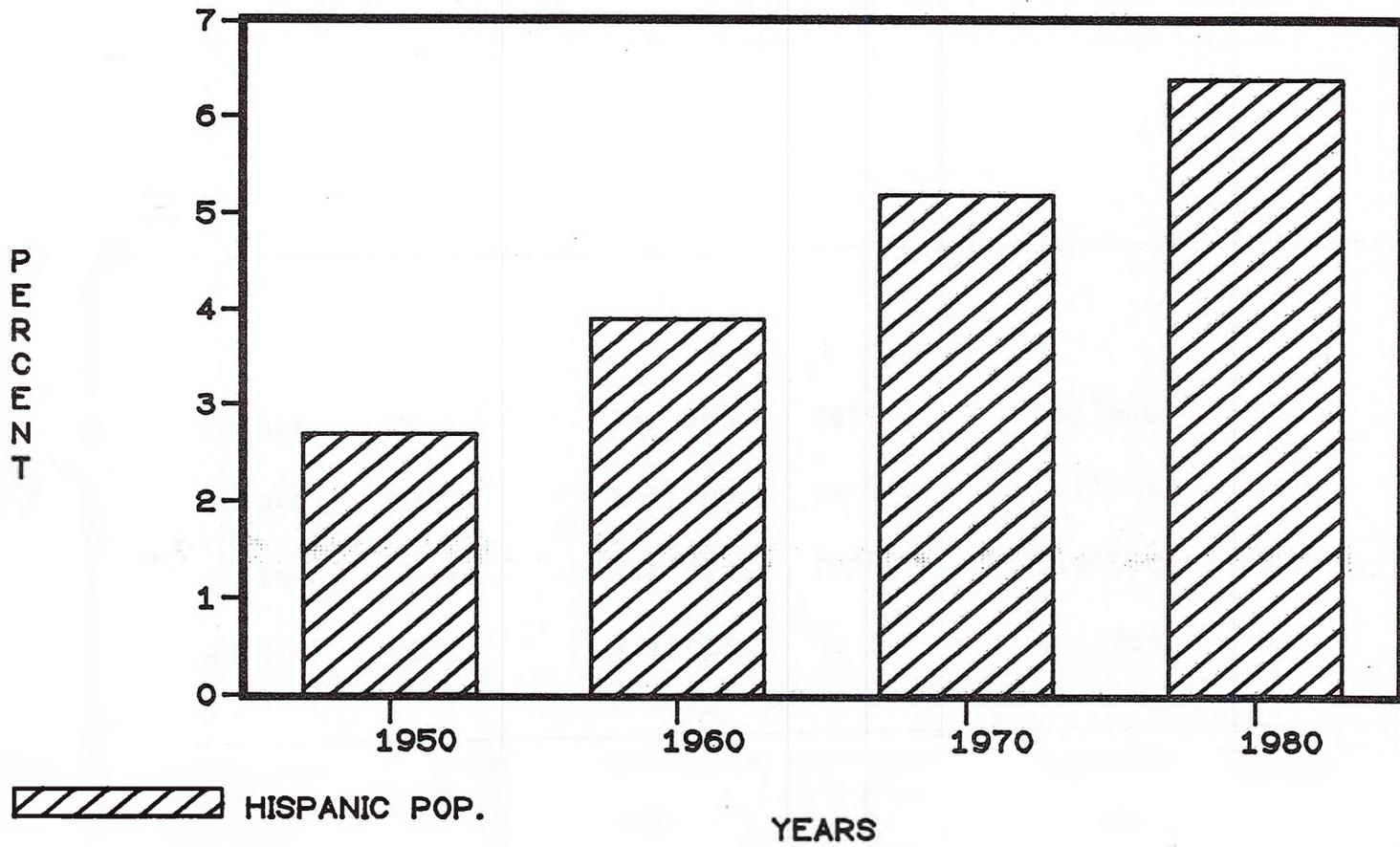
Source: 1980 Census

HISPANIC IMMIGRATION INTO THE U.S., BY ETHNIC GROUP: 1950-1980

Ethnic Group	1950-59		1960-69		1970-79	
	Number of migrants	Percent of total	Number of migrants	Percent of total	Number of migrants	Percent of total
Mexican	293,000	30.7	431,000	33.2	567,000	40.8
Cuban	71,000	7.4	249,000	19.2	278,000	20.0
Puerto Rican	480,000	50.2	222,000	17.1	41,000	3.0
Other Hispanic	112,000	11.7	397,000	30.6	503,000	36.2

Source: Mexican, Cuban, Other Hispanic: Immigration and Naturalization Service annual reports 1950-1979, Table 9; Puerto Rican: Estimated from Puerto Rican census and vital statistics.

HISPANIC PERCENT OF U.S. POPULATION, 1950-1980



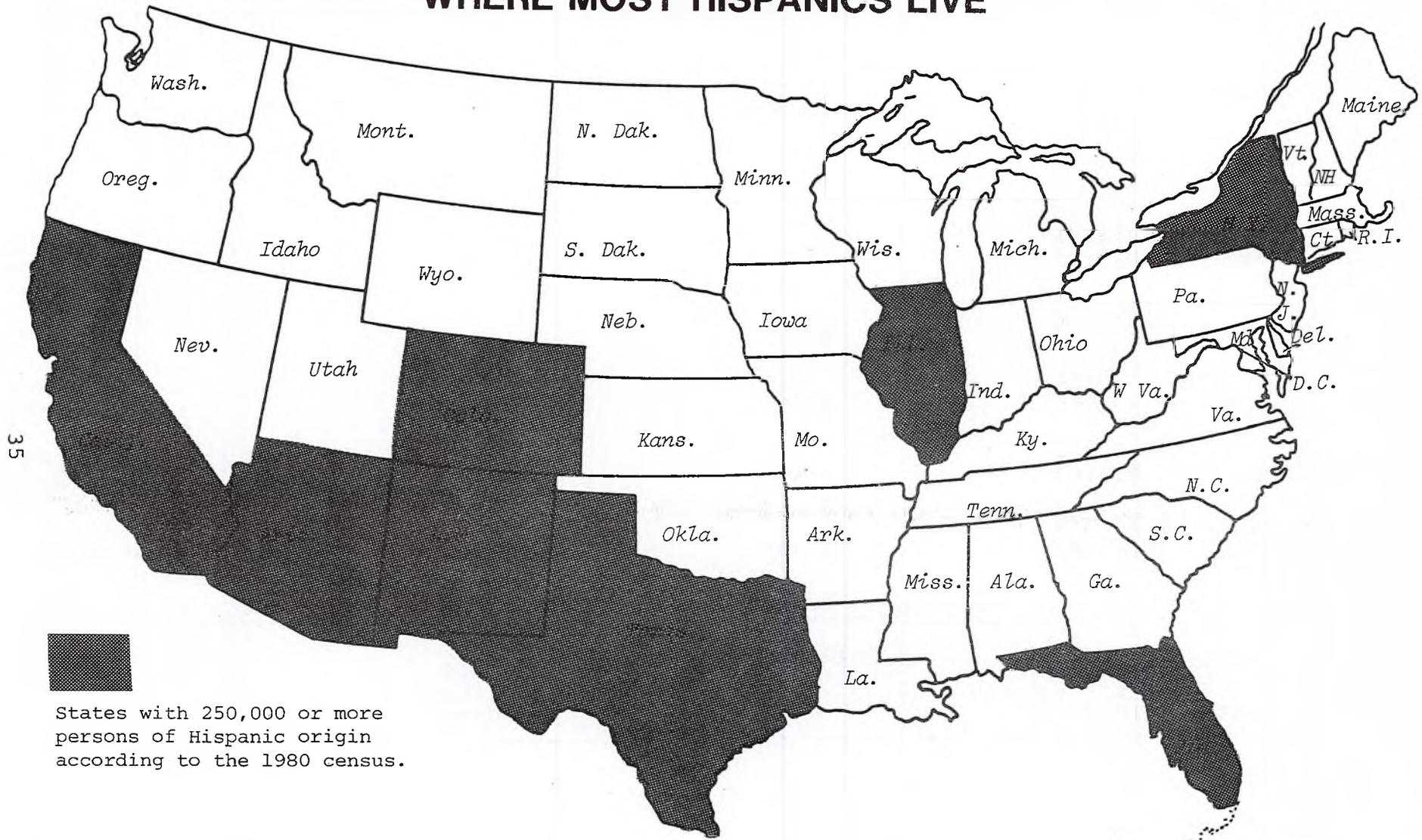
Source: 1980 Census

U.S. HISPANIC POPULATION, BY TYPE: 1980

Type	Number (in thou- sands)	Percent	States with largest concentrations
Total Hispanic	14,609	100.0	California, Texas, New York
Mexican American	8,740	59.8	California, Texas, Illinois
Puerto Rican	2,014	13.8	New York, New Jersey, Illinois
Cuban	803	5.5	Florida, New Jersey, New York
Other Hispanic	3,052	20.9	California, New York, New Mexico

Source: Bureau of the Census, "Persons of Spanish Origin by State: 1980," 1980 Census of Population, Supplementary Report, PC80-S1-7, August, 1982.

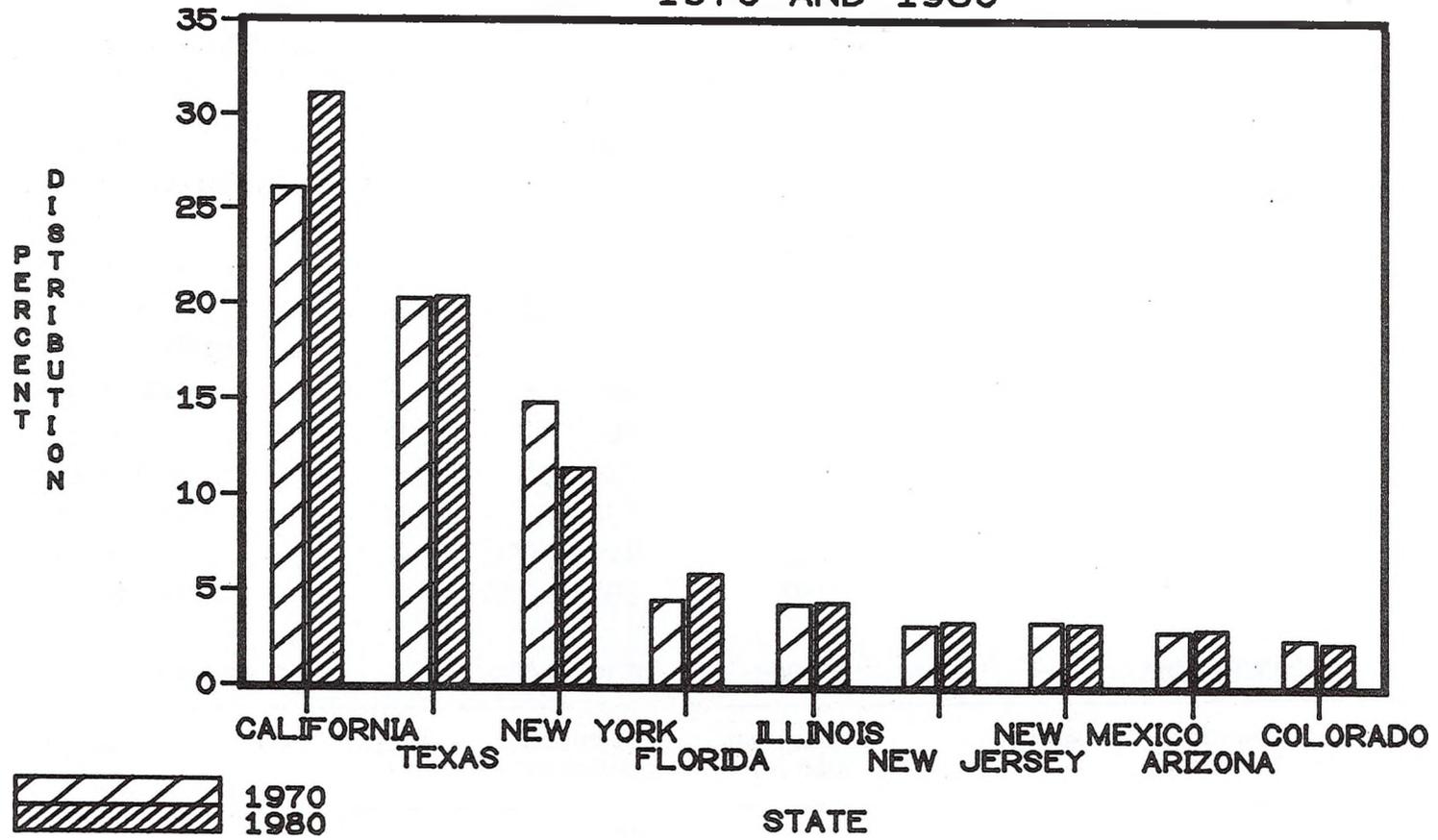
WHERE MOST HISPANICS LIVE



Some 85% of the 14.6 million Hispanics counted in the 1980 U.S. census lived in these nine states. Mexican Americans, the largest Hispanic group, are concentrated in the Southwest, particularly California and Texas. Most Puerto Ricans live in New York and New Jersey. Cubans are headquartered in Florida. The largest numbers of the fourth, more scattered "Other Hispanic" group are found in California and New York.

Source: 1980 Census

TOP NINE STATES IN HISPANIC POPULATION,
1970 AND 1980



Source: 1980 Census

TOP NINE STATES IN HISPANIC POPULATION: 1970 AND 1980

(States with 250,000 or more Hispanics in 1980)

State	1970			1980		
	Rank	Number of Hispanics	Percent distribution	Rank	Number of Hispanics	Percent distribution
United States, total	—	9,072,602 ^a	100.00	—	14,608,673	100.0
California	1	2,369,292	26.1	1	4,544,331	31.1
Texas	2	1,840,648	20.3	2	2,985,824	20.4
New York	3	1,351,982	14.9	3	1,659,300	11.4
Florida	4	405,036	4.5	4	858,158	5.9
Illinois	5	393,204	4.3	5	635,602	4.4
New Jersey	7	288,488	3.2	6	491,883	3.4
New Mexico	6	308,340	3.4	7	477,222	3.3
Arizona	8	264,770	2.9	8	440,701	3.0
Colorado	9	225,506	2.5	9	339,717	2.3
Total in nine top states		7,447,266	82.1		12,432,738	85.1

Source: Bureau of the Census, "Persons of Spanish Origin by State." *1980 Census of Population*, Supplementary Report, PC80-S1-7, August 1982.

^aUnadjusted 1970 Spanish-origin total which differs from 1970 total in Table 3. See text, page 9, for explanation.

The Top Fifteen

Only 15 states had more than 100,000 Hispanics in 1980. In these states lived more than 90 percent of the nation's Hispanic population.

	1980			1970		
	rank	number	percent distribution	rank	number	percent distribution
United States	—	14,608,673	100.0%	—	9,072,602	100.0%
California	1	4,544,331	31.1	1	2,369,292	26.1
Texas	2	2,985,824	20.4	2	1,840,648	20.3
New York	3	1,659,300	11.4	3	1,351,982	14.9
Florida	4	858,158	5.9	4	405,036	4.5
Illinois	5	635,602	4.4	5	393,204	4.3
New Jersey	6	491,883	3.4	7	288,488	3.2
New Mexico	7	477,222	3.3	6	308,340	3.4
Arizona	8	440,701	3.0	8	264,770	2.9
Colorado	9	339,717	2.3	9	225,506	2.5
Michigan	10	162,440	1.1	10	151,070	1.7
Pennsylvania	11	153,961	1.1	13	108,893	1.2
Massachusetts	12	141,043	1.0	15	66,146	0.7
Connecticut	13	124,499	0.9	16	65,458	0.7
Washington	14	120,016	0.8	19	57,358	0.6
Ohio	15	119,883	0.8	11	129,995	1.4
Total	—	13,254,580	90.7	—	8,026,186	88.5

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

HISPANICS IN THE NATION'S STATES

Rank	State	Hispanic Population	Hispanic Percentage of State Population	Percentage of U. S. Hispanic Population	Hispanics in State Elected Offices*
1	California	4,543,770	19.2	31.1	7/120
2	Texas	2,985,643	21.0	20.4	21/181
3	New York	1,659,245	9.5	11.4	7/210
4	Florida	857,898	8.8	5.9	1/170
5	Illinois.	635,525	5.6	4.4	0/236
6	New Jersey	491,867	6.7	3.4	0/120
7	New Mexico	476,089	36.6	3.3	31/112
8	Arizona	440,915	16.2	3.0	12/90
9	Colorado	339,300	11.7	2.3	9/100
10	Michigan	162,388	1.8	1.1	2/148
11	Pennsylvania	154,004	1.3	1.1	0/252
12	Massachusetts	141,043	2.5	1.0	0/199
13	Connecticut	124,499	4.0	0.9	0/187
14	Washington	119,986	2.9	0.8	0/147
15	Ohio	119,880	1.1	0.8	0/132

*These figures include both houses of state legislatures.

More than three-fifths of the nation's 14.6 million Hispanics reside in California, Texas and New York according to the 1980 census. There are 25 U. S. cities with Hispanic populations of 50,000 or more, and New York leads the group with 1,405,957.

Fifteen states have 100,000 or more persons of Hispanic origin, the census indicates. There are 1,353,831 Spanish-origin people in the 35 remaining states and the District of Columbia, 9.3 percent of the U. S. Hispanic total.

Source: U. S. Census Bureau and NLC compilations, as cited by El Hispano, July, 1982, Sacramento.

STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS WITH
100,000 OR MORE HISPANICS IN 1980

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area ^a	Hispanics in SMSA	Hispanics in central city	Largest Hispanic group and its percent of all Hispanics in SMSA
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	2,065,727	866,689	Mexican, 80%
New York, NY-NJ	1,493,081	1,405,957	Puerto Rican, 60%
Miami, FL	581,030	194,087	Cuban, 70%
Chicago, IL	580,592	422,061	Mexican, 64%
San Antonio, TX	481,511	421,774	Mexican, 93%
Houston, TX	424,901	281,224	Mexican, 88%
San Francisco-Oakland, CA	351,915	115,864	Mexican, 54%
El Paso, TX	297,001	265,819	Mexican, 95%
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	289,791	81,671	Mexican, 87%
Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove, CA	286,331	145,253	Mexican, 81%
San Diego, CA	275,176	130,610	Mexican, 83%
Dallas, Ft. Worth, TX	249,613	159,778	Mexican, 89%
McAllen-Pharr-Edinburg, TX	230,212	86,393	Mexican, 96%
San Jose, CA	226,611	140,574	Mexican, 78%
Phoenix, AZ	198,999	115,572	Mexican, 89%
Denver-Boulder, CO	173,362	94,933	Mexican, 63%
Albuquerque, NM	164,200	112,084	Other Hispanic, 56%
Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, TX	161,632	116,076	Mexican, 86%
Corpus Cristi, TX	158,123	108,175	Mexican, 96%
Fresno, CA	150,820	51,489	Mexican, 93%
Jersey City, NJ	145,163	41,672	Puerto Rican, 38%
Newark, NJ	132,356	61,254	Puerto Rican, 47%
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	116,280	63,570	Puerto Rican, 68%
Oxnard-Simi Valley-Ventura, CA	113,241	64,223	Mexican, 89%
Tucson, AZ	111,418	82,189	Mexican, 90%
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	101,418	^b	Puerto Rican, 49%
Sacramento, CA	101,692	39,160	Mexican, 77%

Sources: Bureau of the Census, "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas and Standard Consolidated Statistical Areas: 1980," 1980 Census of Population, Supplementary Report, PC80-S1-5, October 1981; and Cheryl Russell, "The News About Hispanics," *American Demographics*, March 1983, p. 17.

^aA Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (renamed Metropolitan Statistical Area as of July 1983) is a county with a central city (or urbanized area) of at least 50,000 population, plus adjacent counties that are economically linked with that county.

^bDoes not contain a central city.

Metropolitan Hispanics (metropolitan areas with 50,000 or more Hispanics)

Hispanics number over 50,000 in 41 of the nation's 318 metropolitan areas. Mexicans are the largest Hispanic group in almost all of these areas.

<i>metropolitan area</i>	<i>Hispanic population</i>	<i>largest Hispanic group, (and as a percent of all Hispanics in SMSA)</i>
Albuquerque, NM	164,200	Other Spanish, 56%
Anaheim-Santa Ana-Garden Grove, CA	286,339	Mexican, 81%
Austin, TX	94,367	Mexican, 92%
Bakersfield, CA	87,026	Mexican, 91%
Boston, MA	66,417	Puerto Rican, 44%
Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, TX	161,654	Mexican, 86%
Chicago, IL	580,609	Mexican, 64%
Corpus Christi, TX	158,119	Mexican, 96%
Dallas-Ft. Worth, TX	249,614	Mexican, 89%
Denver-Boulder, CO	173,773	Mexican, 63%
Detroit, MI	71,606	Mexican, 62%
El Paso, TX	297,001	Mexican, 95%
Fresno, CA	150,790	Mexican, 93%
Honolulu, HI	54,561	Other Spanish, 62%
Houston, TX	424,903	Mexican, 88%
Jersey City, NJ	145,163	Puerto Rican, 38%
Laredo, TX	90,842	Mexican, 95%
Las Cruces, NM	50,204	Mexican, 85%
Los Angeles-Long Beach, CA	2,066,103	Mexican, 80%
McAllen-Pharr-Edinburg, TX	230,212	Mexican, 96%
Miami, FL	580,994	Cuban, 70%
Nassau-Suffolk, NY	101,975	Puerto Rican, 49%
New York, NY-NJ	1,493,148	Puerto Rican, 60%
Newark, NJ	132,372	Puerto Rican, 47%
Oxnard-Simi Valley-Ventura, CA	113,192	Mexican, 89%
Paterson-Clifton-Passaic, NJ	62,123	Puerto Rican, 58%
Philadelphia, PA-NJ	116,280	Puerto Rican, 68%
Phoenix, AZ	199,003	Mexican, 89%
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	290,280	Mexican, 87%
Sacramento, CA	101,694	Mexican, 77%
Salinas-Seaside-Monterey, CA	75,129	Mexican, 86%
San Antonio, TX	481,511	Mexican, 93%
San Diego, CA	275,177	Mexican, 83%
San Francisco-Oakland, CA	351,698	Mexican, 54%
San Jose, CA	226,611	Mexican, 78%
Santa Barbara-Santa Maria-Lompoc, CA	55,356	Mexican, 85%
Stockton, CA	66,565	Mexican, 86%
Tampa-St. Petersburg, FL	79,431	Other Spanish, 48%
Tucson, AZ	111,418	Mexican, 90%
Visalia-Tulare-Porterville, CA	73,298	Mexican, 94%
Washington, DC-MD-VA	93,380	Other Spanish, 66%

Source: 1980 Census, PC80-1-B

HISPANICS IN THE NATION'S CITIES

Rank	State	Hispanic Population	Percentage of Total Population	Hispanics On Elected Council
1	New York City	1,405,957	19.9	3/43
2	Los Angeles	815,989	27.5	0/15
3	Chicago	422,061	14.0	1/50
4	San Antonio*	421,774	53.7	4/9
5	Houston	281,224	17.6	1/14
6	El Paso	265,819	62.5	2/6
7	Miami*	194,087	55.9	2/4
8	San Jose	140,574	22.1	1/6
9	San Diego	130,610	14.9	1/8
10	Phoenix	115,572	15.1	0/6
11	Albuquerque	112,084	33.8	3/9
12	Dallas	111,082	12.3	1/10
13	Corpus Christi	108,175	46.6	0/6
14	Hialeah*	107,908	74.3	2/7
15	Denver	91,937	18.7	2/13
16	Santa Ana	90,646	39.3	2/7
17	Laredo*	85,076	93.0	8/8
18	San Francisco	83,373	12.3	0/11
19	Tucson	82,189	24.9	2/6
20	Brownsville*	71,139	83.7	3/4
21	Austin	64,766	18.7	1/6
22	Philadelphia	63,570	3.8	0/17
23	Newark	61,254	18.6	0/9
24	Fresno	51,489	23.6	1/7
25	Long Beach	50,700	14.0	0/9

Third column shows the number of Hispanics and the total membership of the city council or comparable elected governing body. For example, of New York City's 43 council members, 3 are Hispanic.

*City has a Hispanic mayor.

Source: U. S. Census Bureau and NLC compilations as cited by: El Hispano, July, 1982, Sacramento.

HISPANIC POPULATION

Alabama	33,299
Alaska	9,507
Arizona	440,701
Arkansas	17,904
California	4,544,331
Colorado	339,717
Connecticut	124,499
Delaware	9,661
D.C.	17,679
Florida	858,158
Georgia	61,260
Hawaii	71,263
Idaho	36,615
Illinois	635,602
Indiana	87,047
Iowa	25,536
Kansas	63,339
Kentucky	27,406
Louisiana	99,134
Maine	5,005
Maryland	64,746
Massachusetts	141,043
Michigan	162,440
Minnesota	32,123
Mississippi	24,731
Missouri	51,653
Montana	9,974
Nebraska	28,025
Nevada	53,879
New Hampshire	5,587
New Jersey	491,883
New Mexico	477,222
New York	1,659,300
No. Carolina	56,667
No. Dakota	3,902
Ohio	119,883
Oklahoma	57,419
Oregon	65,847
Pennsylvania	153,961
Rhode Island	19,707
So. Carolina	33,426
So. Dakota	4,023
Tennessee	34,077
Texas	2,985,824
Utah	60,302
Vermont	3,304
Virginia	79,868
Washington	120,016
West Virginia	12,707
Wisconsin	62,972
Wyoming	24,499
TOTALS	<u>14,608,673*</u>

* Does not include Puerto Rico & undocumented.

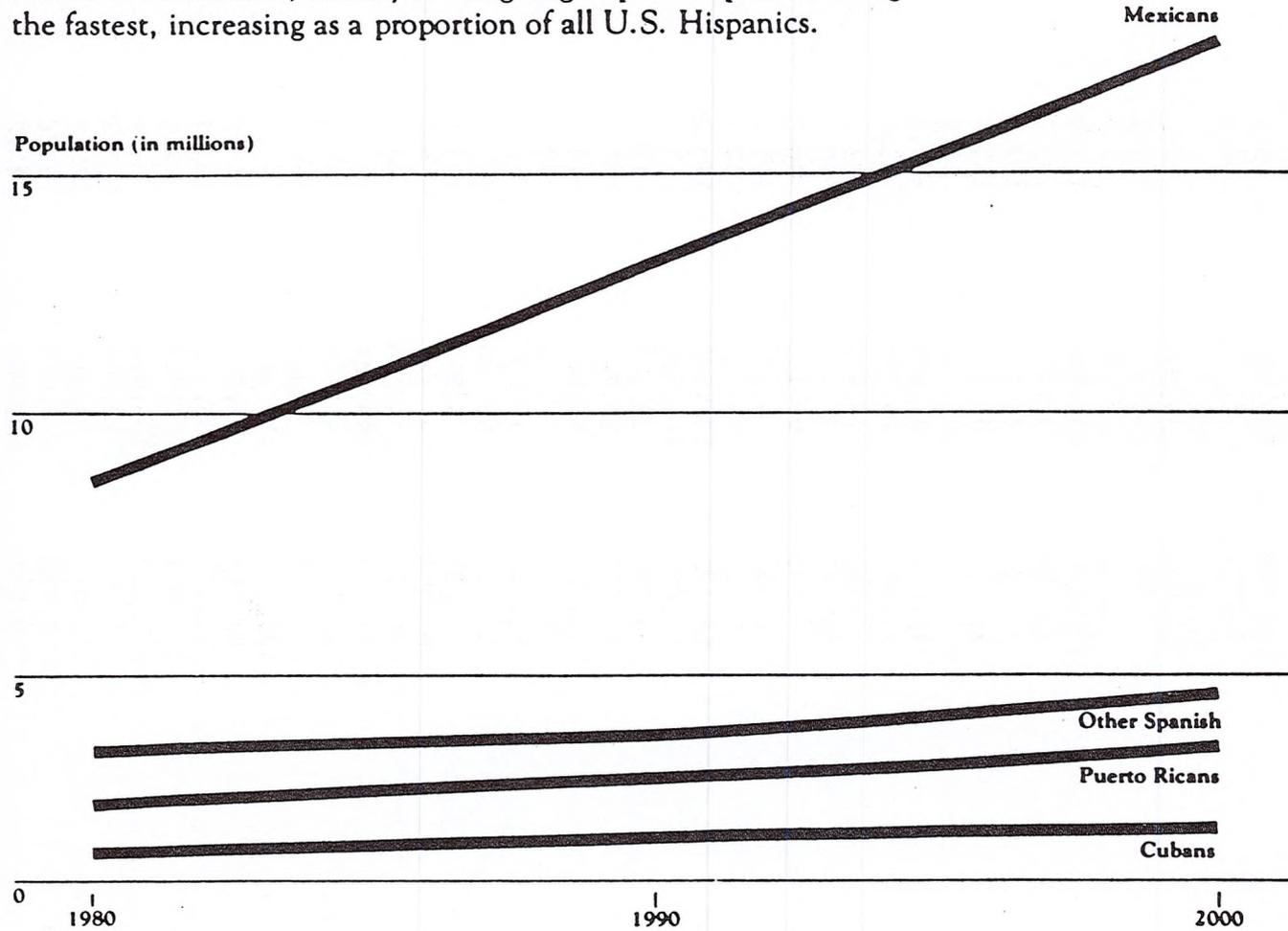
Source: 1980 Census

HISPANIC POPULATION

<u>State</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>Percent Gain/Loss</u>	<u>Percent 1980 Pop.</u>
Alabama	38,848	33,100	-14.7	0.9
Alaska	4,598	9,497	106	2.4
Arizona	264,770	440,915	66.5	16.2
Arkansas	24,358	17,873	-26.6	0.8
California	2,369,292	4,543,770	91.7	19.2
Colorado	225,506	339,300	50.4	11.7
Connecticut	65,458	124,499	90.1	4.0
Delaware	8,477	9,671	14.0	1.6
Florida	405,036	857,898	111.8	8.8
Georgia	45,289	61,261	35.2	1.1
Hawaii	24,821	71,479	187.9	7.4
Idaho	16,077	36,615	127.7	3.9
Illinois	393,204	635,525	61.6	5.6
Indiana	112,472	87,020	-22.6	1.6
Iowa	21,017	25,536	21.5	0.9
Kansas	54,125	63,333	17	2.4
Kentucky	44,749	27,403	-38.7	0.7
Louisiana	70,523	99,105	40.5	2.4
Maine	2,433	5,005	105.7	0.4
Maryland	45,461	64,740	42.4	1.5
Massachusetts	66,146	141,043	113.2	2.5
Michigan	151,070	162,388	7.4	1.8
Minnesota	37,256	32,124	-13.7	0.8
Mississippi	15,815	24,731	56.3	1.0
Missouri	60,080	51,667	-14	1.1
Montana	6,344	9,974	57.2	1.3
Nebraska	20,749	28,020	35	1.8
Nevada	20,505	53,786	162.3	6.7
New Hampshire	2,281	5,587	144.9	0.6
New Jersey	288,488	491,867	70.4	6.7
New Mexico	308,340	476,089	54.4	36.6
New York	1,351,982	1,659,245	22.7	9.5
North Carolina	43,414	56,607	30.3	1.0
North Dakota	2,492	3,903	56.6	0.6
Ohio	129,995	119,880	-7.7	1.1
Oklahoma	51,284	57,413	11.9	1.9
Oregon	22,338	65,833	194.7	2.5
Pennsylvania	108,893	154,004	41.4	1.3
Puerto Rico	2,712,033	3,186,076	----	----
Rhode Island	7,589	19,707	159.6	2.1
South Carolina	14,111	33,414	136.7	1.1
South Dakota	2,926	4,028	37.6	0.6
Tennessee	49,584	34,081	-31.2	0.7
Texas	1,840,648	2,985,643	62.2	21
Utah	33,911	60,302	77.8	4.1
Vermont	1,610	3,304	105.2	0.6
Virginia	40,222	79,873	98.5	1.5
Washington	57,358	119,986	109.1	2.9
West Virginia	8,780	12,707	44.7	0.7
Wisconsin	62,875	62,981	.1	1.3
Wyoming	13,894	24,499	76.3	5.2
U.S. Total including D.C.	9,072,602	14,605,883	60.9	6.4

The Hispanic Future, 1980-2000

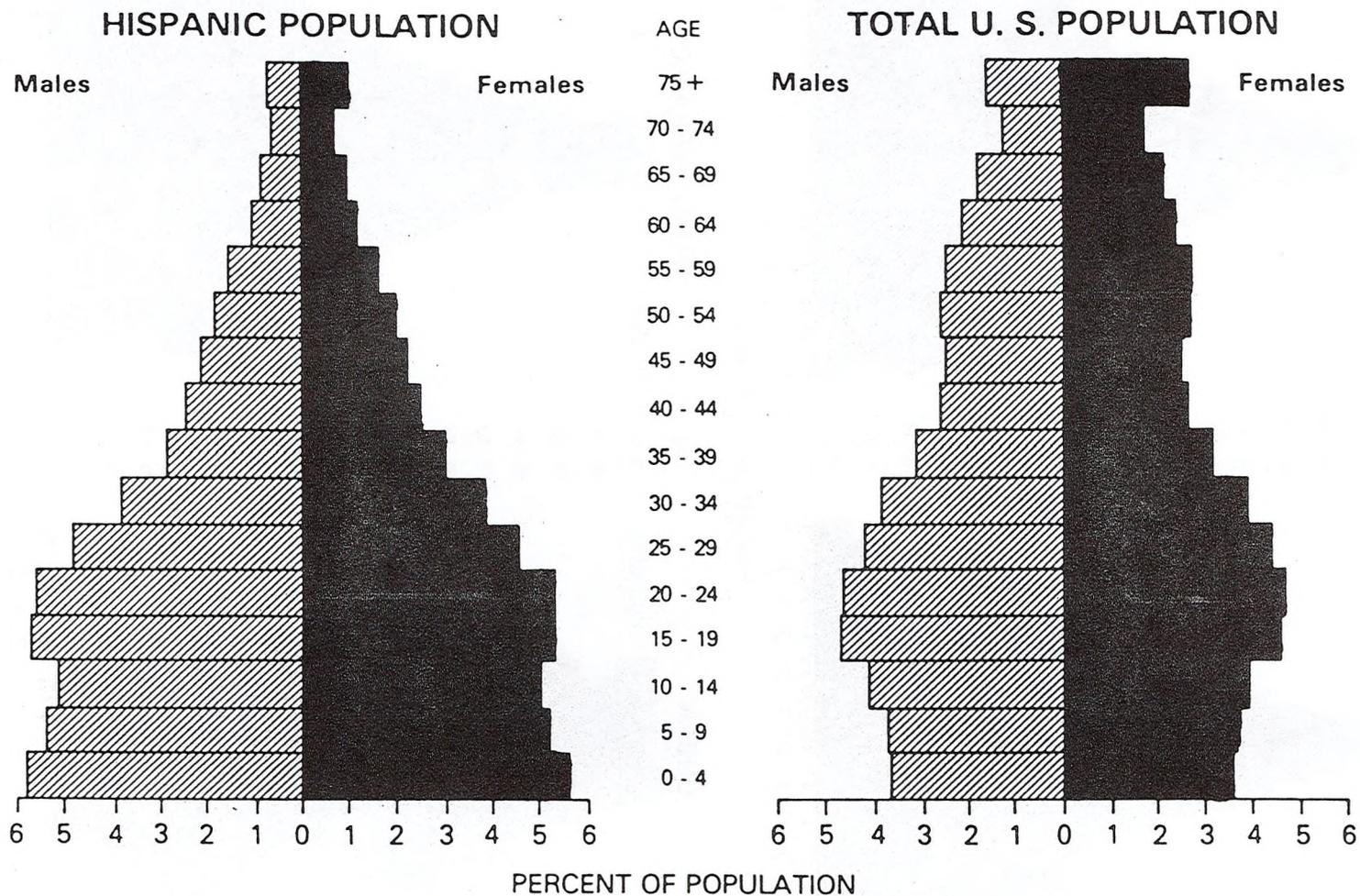
Mexican-Americans, already the largest group of Hispanics, will grow the fastest, increasing as a proportion of all U.S. Hispanics.



High Alternative, assuming slowly decreasing fertility rates and immigration of 5.1 million Hispanics between 1980 and 2000, from "Projections of Hispanic Population for the United States 1990 and 2000," Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy, Palo Alto, CA 1982.

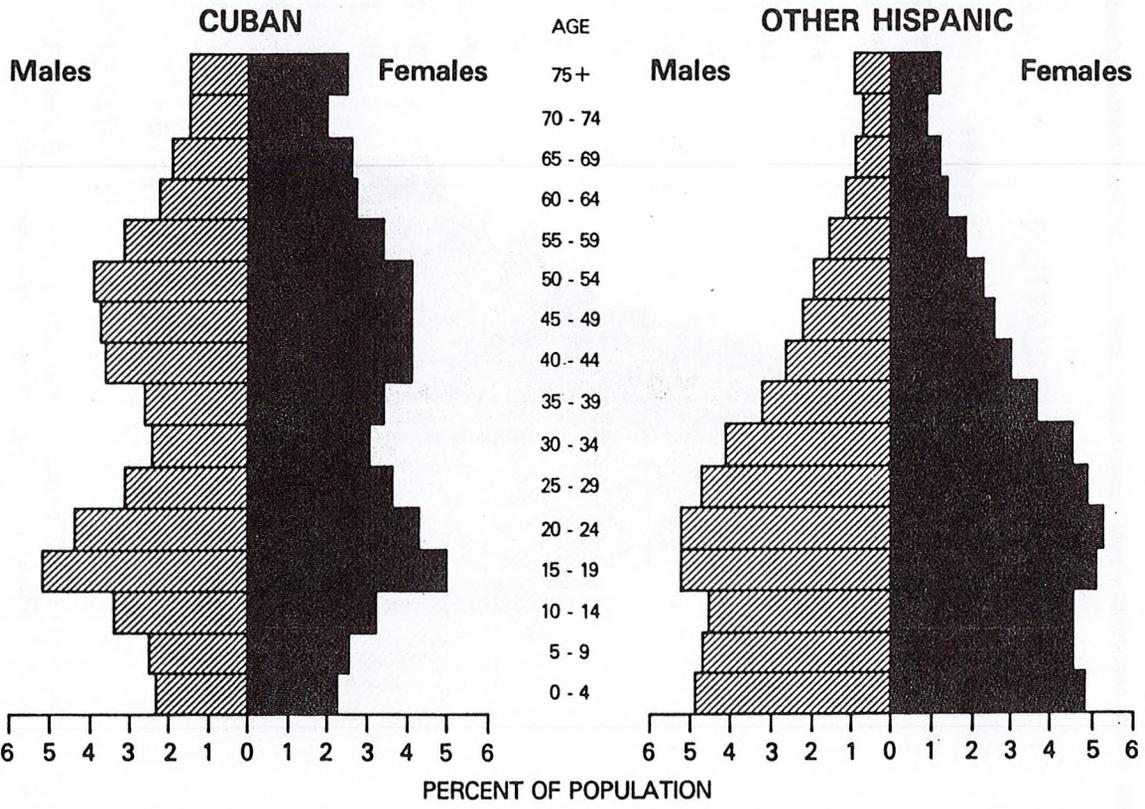
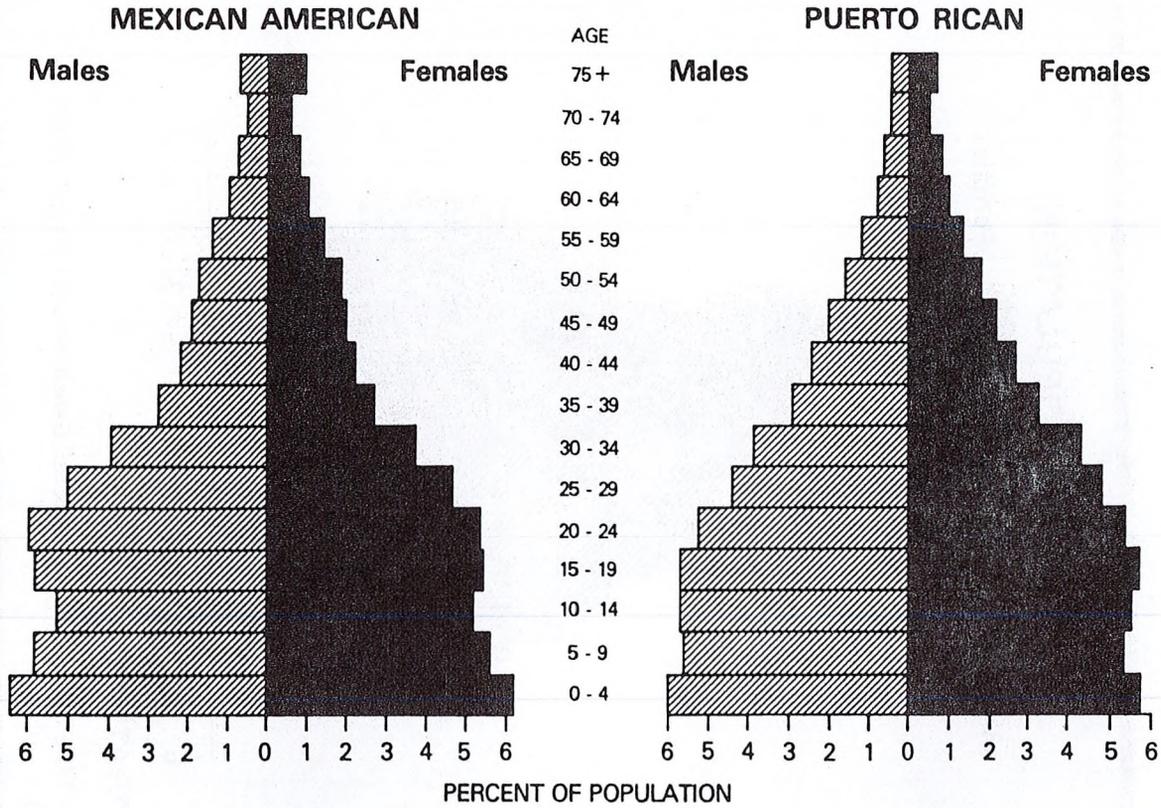
Source: American Demographic, March 1983

AGE-SEX COMPOSITION OF THE HISPANIC AND TOTAL U. S. POPULATION: 1980



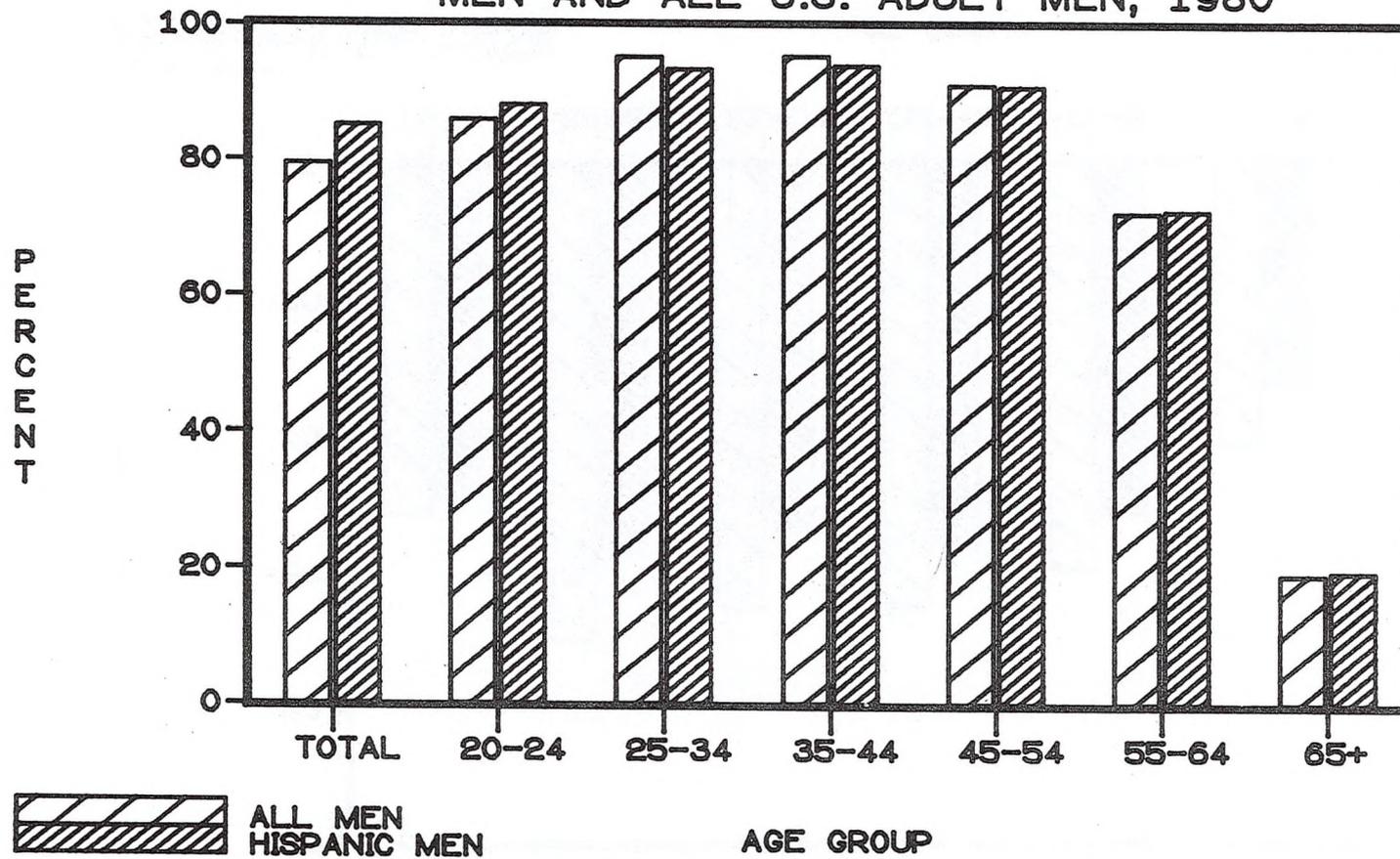
Source: Bureau of the Census, "Age, Sex, Race, and Spanish Origin of the Population by Regions, Divisions, and States: 1980," 1980 Census of Population, Supplementary Report, PC80-S1-1, 1981.

AGE-SEX COMPOSITION OF THE FOUR HISPANIC GROUPS: 1980



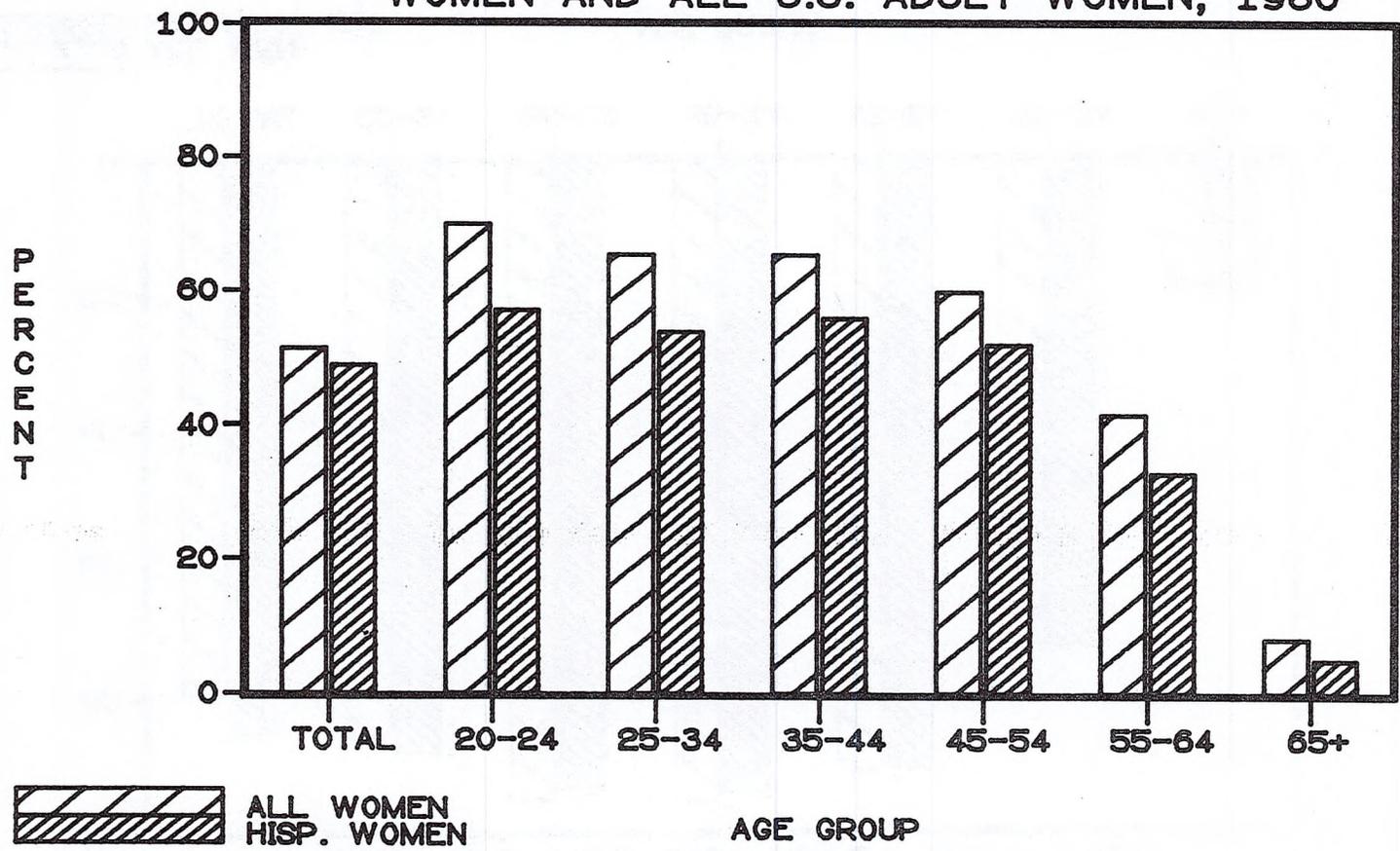
Sources: Bureau of the Census, 1980 Census of Population, General Population Characteristics, PC80-1B, various state issues.

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF HISPANIC
MEN AND ALL U.S. ADULT MEN, 1980



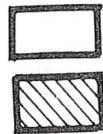
Source: 1980 Census

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES OF HISPANIC WOMEN AND ALL U.S. ADULT WOMEN, 1980



Source: 1980 Census

INCOME: HOW CUBAN-AMERICANS COMPARE



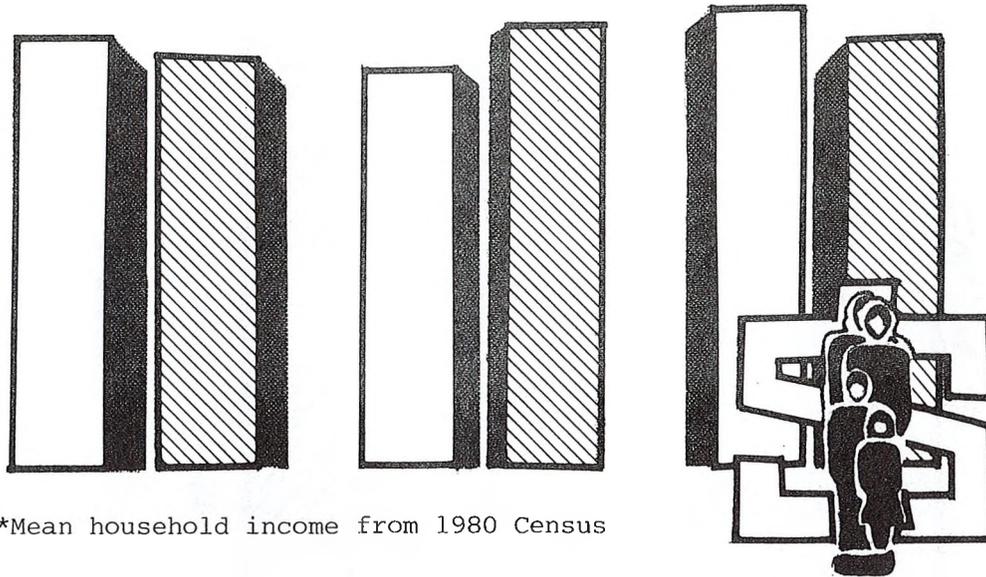
CUBANS

NON-CUBANS

IN FLORIDA

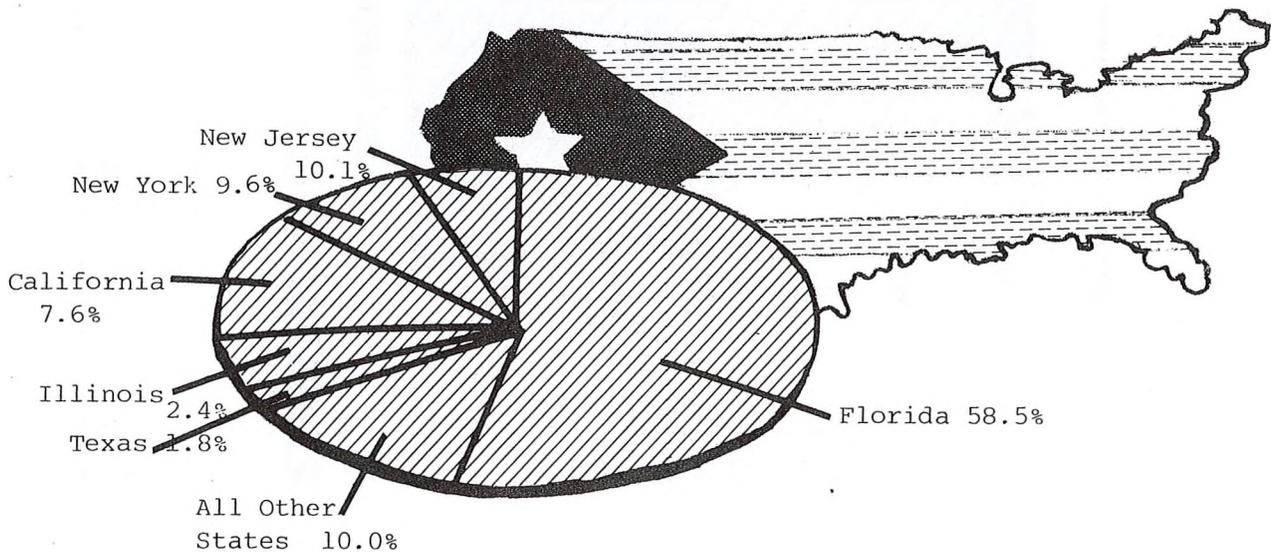
IN NEW YORK,
NEW JERSEY

ELSEWHERE
IN THE U.S.
(excluding Florida,
New York, New Jersey)

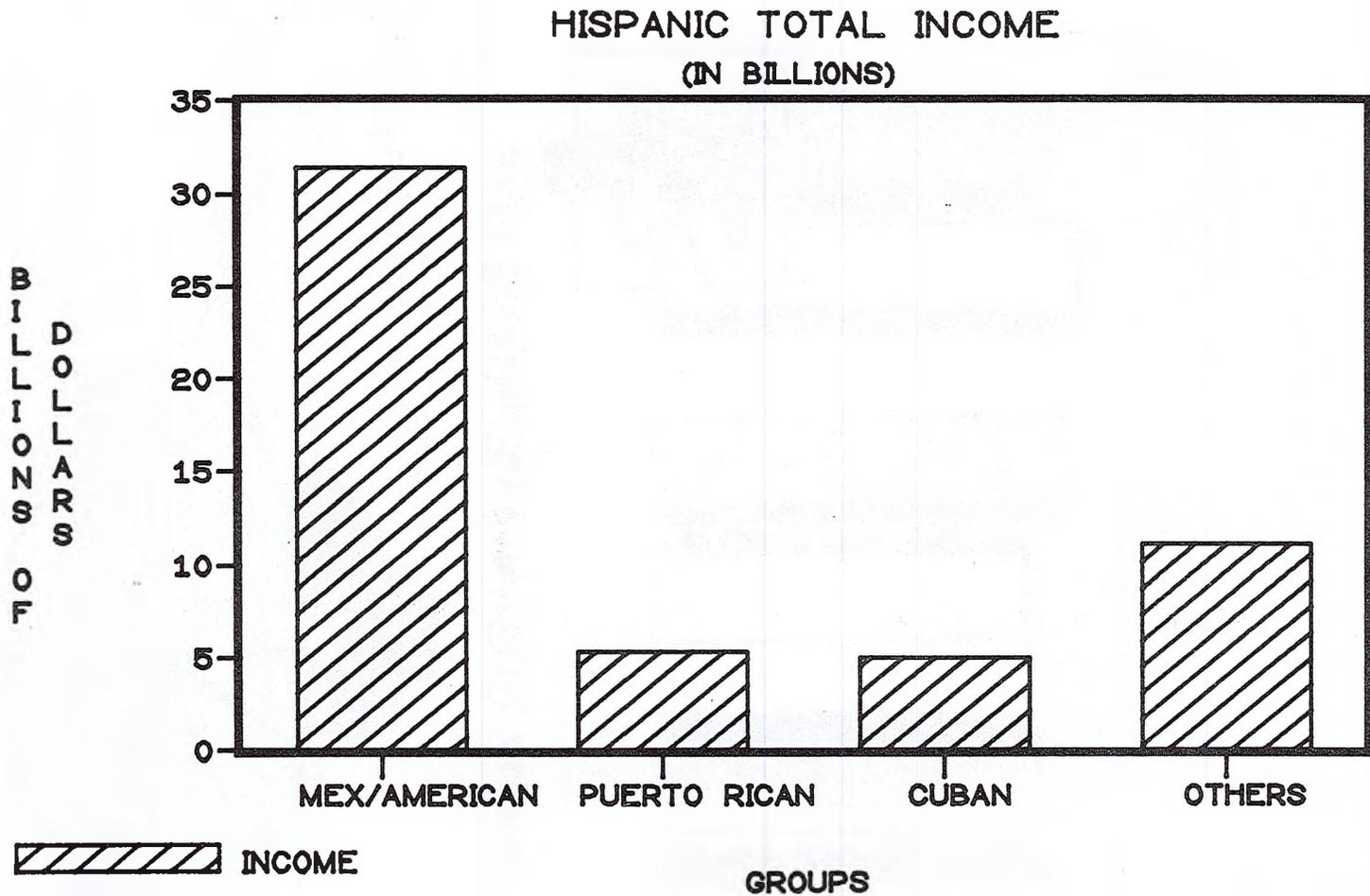


*Mean household income from 1980 Census

WHERE CUBAN-AMERICANS LIVE

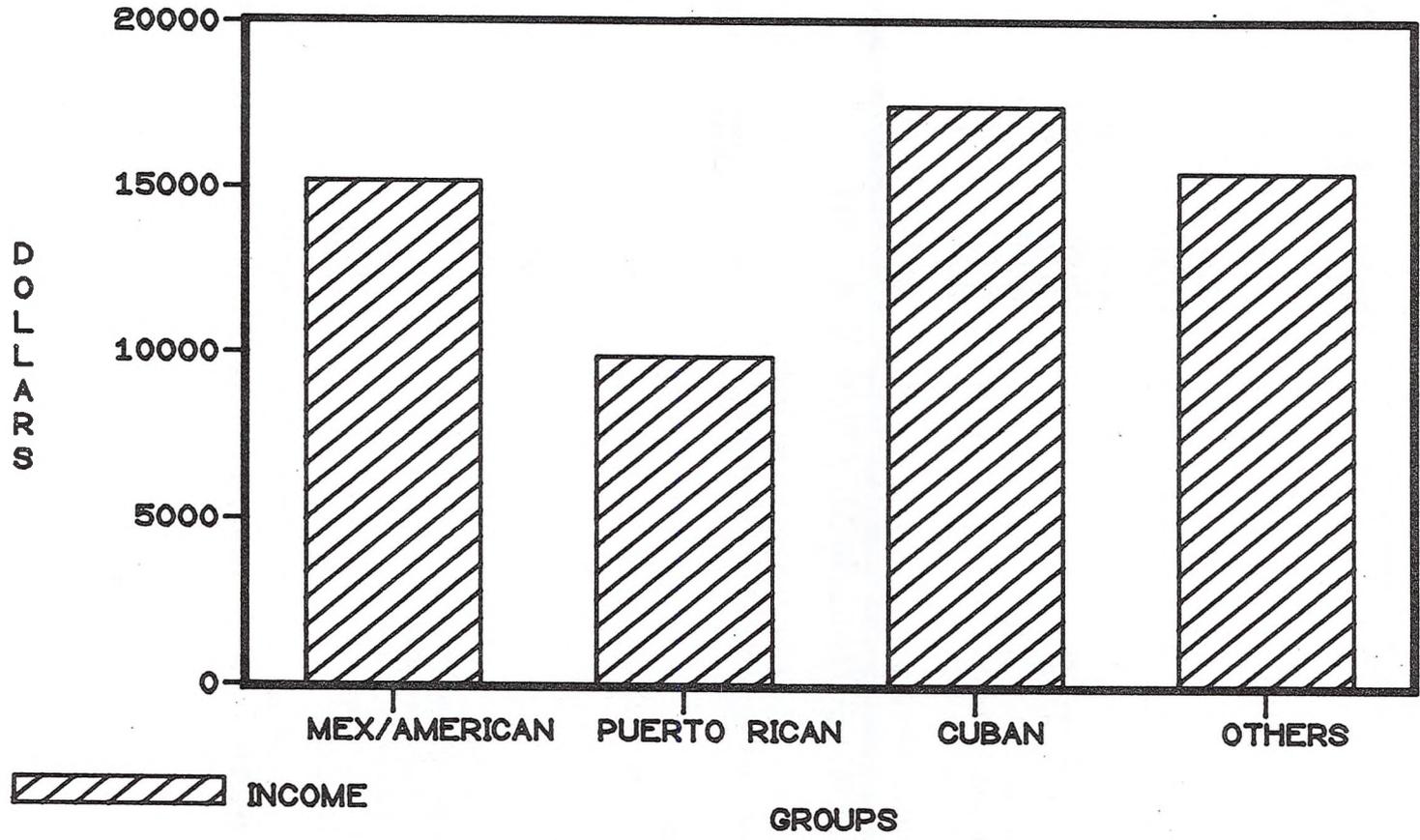


Source: The Miami Herald, December 18, 1983



Source: 1980 Census

HISPANIC FAMILY INCOME



Source: 1980 Census

Mexican-American Households / Los Angeles-Long Beach

Almost half of Mexican-American households contain married couples with children—a far higher proportion than for all U.S. households.

	<i>percent of metropolitan population</i>	<i>percent of all Hispanics in metropolitan area</i>	<i>percent of all Mexican-Americans in the U.S.</i>
Mexican-American Population (1,650,934)	22%	80%	19%
	<i>number</i>	<i>percent of all households</i>	<i>U.S. index*</i>
Households	411,847	100.0%	—
Family households	343,612	83.4	114
married-couple families	256,070	62.2	103
with children less than 18	190,124	46.2	147
no children less than 18	65,946	16.0	56
female householder	61,092	14.8	141
male householder	26,450	6.4	246
Nonfamily households	68,235	16.6	62

Puerto Rican Households / New York City

One third of New York City's Puerto Rican households contain families maintained by women—three times the proportion for all U.S. households.

	<i>percent of New York City Population</i>	<i>percent of all Hispanics in New York City</i>	<i>percent of all Puerto Ricans in the U.S.</i>
Puerto Rican Population (860,552)	12%	61%	43%
	<i>number</i>	<i>percent of all households</i>	<i>U.S. index*</i>
Households	278,928	100.0%	—
Family households	214,388	76.9	105
married-couple families	109,959	39.4	65
with children less than 18	69,214	24.8	79
no children less than 18	40,745	14.6	51
female householder	93,193	33.4	318
male householder	11,236	4.0	154
Nonfamily households	64,540	23.1	86

Source: 1980 Census, PC80-1-B

Cuban-American Households / Metropolitan Miami

Cuban married couples in the Miami SMSA without children living at home outnumber those with children at home.

	<i>percent of metropolitan population</i>	<i>percent of Hispanics in metropolitan area</i>	<i>percent of all Cuban-Americans in U.S.</i>
Cuban Population (407,253)	25%	70%	52%
	<i>number</i>	<i>percent of all households</i>	<i>U.S. index*</i>
Households	140,749	100.0%	—
Family households	115,205	81.9	112
married-couple families	94,071	66.8	111
with children less than 18	45,218	32.1	102
no children less than 18	48,853	34.7	121
female householder	16,782	11.9	113
male householder	4,352	3.1	119
Nonfamily households	25,544	18.1	68

*Ratio of Hispanic household share to U.S. household share

Source: 1980 census, PC80-1-B

Source: 1980 Census, PC80-1-B

HISPANIC CONGRESSMEN

Robert Garcia, D	New York
Kika de la Garza, D	Texas
Henry Gonzales, D	Texas
Manuel Lujan, Jr., R	New Mexico
Matthew Martinez, D	California
Solomon Ortiz, D	Texas
Bill Richardson, D	New Mexico
Edward Roybal, D	California
Esteban Torres, D	California

Source: Cary Davis, Carl Haub, and JoAnne Willette, "U.S. Hispanics: Changing the Face of America," Population Bulletin, Vol. 38, No. 3, (Population Reference Bureau, Inc.: Washington, D.C., 1983).

RELIGIOSITY OF THE MEXICAN AMERICANS
by Joshua Grijalva

FOREWARD

In his paper, Joshua Grijalva, National Consultant, Ethnic Leadership Development, Language Missions Division, HMB, explores the fundamental experience common to all cultures, particularly the Mexican American. Religiosity has identified the Mexican American "culturally more than any other single factor." Through their religious experience, the Mexican American culture has been diffused.

Grijalva traces the assimilation of the Aztec and Spanish-Catholic religious systems to the subsequent formation of the religiosity of the Mexican Americans.

Observations have been made that a religious and cultural awakening is rising among Hispanics in the United States. This paper gives definition, background, and development to the cultural and religious nature of Mexican Americans and their newly emerging profile. As the foremost major denomination in the United States, with regards to ministries to ethno/linguistic peoples, we Southern Baptists must meet the challenge of the Mexican Americans. It is herein that the challenge is presented.

RELIGIOSITY OF THE MEXICAN AMERICAN

Joshua Grijalva
Language Missions Division
Home Mission Board

INTRODUCTION

The culture of a society or a particular group deals with language, habits, customs, ideas, beliefs, social and religious values, etc. Culture is best understood in terms of how religion functions in the lives of its adherents and the part it plays in the community. It is virtually impossible for a society to exist without some form of religion to solve some of the fundamental problems confronting its members. Birth, death, illness, disappointment, failure, frustration, fire, pestilence, hatred, anger, jealousy, etc., can be faced where there is love, hope and faith. Religiosity is a fundamental experience in all cultures.

During the last few years the Mexican American has caught the attention of the entire nation concerning several vital issues. These issues have dealt with injustice in labor, neglect of health, the inability of the educational system to understand and provide learning, the bilingual problem, etc. The news media has focused the attention of Americans to the needs of the Mexican Americans socially, economically, educationally, and culturally.

Mexican Americans are the second largest minority group in the country and it is estimated before the end of the century, they will be the largest minority. In addition to the 15,000,000 Mexicans and Mexican Americans, there are 8,000,000 other Hispanics who face some of the basic problems. Socially, politically and economically efforts have been made to better understand Mexican American needs. It is my conviction that, in order to better understand them, one must understand them religiously. It cannot be taken for granted that all Mexican Americans are Catholic. Eighty-five percent of the Mexican Americans profess to be Catholic, but only 15 percent are practicing Catholics. Yet most Mexican Americans are very religious.

When and how did Mexican Americans receive this rich heritage? Their religiosity came from the Aztecs and the Spaniards. Catholicism helped to crystalize religiosity in today's Mexican American. Perhaps the most significant symbol in Mexican American religiosity is La Virgen de Guadalupe. Directly or indirectly, La Virgen has played a major role in Mexican American life today. Mexican American religiosity centers around La Virgen, whether or not the person ever went to Church.

But, what does a study of the religiosity of the Mexican American mean to Southern Baptists in the midst of Bold Missions Thrust? For one, such a study has never been attempted. Second, to understand the religious feeling and heritage of the people can

help us to understand how to win them to Christ. Thirdly, the study will help us to serve them more effectively through the ministries of the Home Mission Board and Southern Baptists.

I. A DEFINITION OF RELIGIOSITY

Religiosity is religiousness that is intense or excessive; it is the practical fulfillment of religious obligations. In his book on the Southwest, Bless Me Ultima, Rudolfo Anaya portrays a very religious Mexican woman who, upon the return of her three sons from World War II, prays in the following manner as described by a younger son: "Jesús, María Purísima, my mother cried. "Blessed Virgen de Guadalupe, thank you for your intercession! Blessed St. Anthony, Holy San Martín, Ay Dios mio, gracias a San Cristóbal." She thanked every saint she knew for her sons' safe delivery from war. She read the letter over and over and cried on it. When my father came home he had to pry the letter from her hand. By then, it was falling apart with her tears, and the magic letters were stained and faded.

"We must pray," she beamed with joy although her eyes were red with drying. She lit many candles for the Virgin and allowed Ultima (a curandera) to burn sweet incense at the foot of the Virgin's statue. Then we prayed rosary after rosary, until the monotonous sound of prayer blended into the blur of flickering candles.

"We prayed until our faith passed into exhaustion that numbed us to sleep. The first to fall asleep was Theresa, and my father quietly got up and took her to bed. Then Deborah nodded and toppled. And I, who wanted to endure to please my mother, was next. I felt my father's strong arms carrying me out, and my glimpse was that of my mother and Ultima kneeling obediently at the foot of the Virgin, praying their thanks."¹

Several of the components of Mexican American religiosity can be found in the mother's prayer: liturgy, magic mysticism, Catholicism and curanderismo. From a Catholic point of view, the prayer is exhaustive, fervent and evoked by a woman who constitutes the moral and spiritual fiber that often holds the family together. It is a prayer in the name of Jesus, but it is also believed in times of crises that the more saints that are named, ready help will be provided. It is also a prayer of thanksgiving. The spirit of worship is evident and intense; strangely the mention of church is absent. The prayer is the silent cry of a hungry soul to the Virgin to supply grace.

In analyzing the prayer, curanderismo is added to the names of all the saints, for if the first can help, the latter cannot harm. The curandero is the home version of doctor, pharmacist, psychologist, counselor, and friend who can help heal the body and often the spirit. Catholicism and curanderismo form a part of the Aztec heritage inherent in Mexican American religiosity. These are

factors that make up Mexican American religiosity. Just as a mestizaje was created culturally, so a religious mestizaje was created. Mexican American religiosity is an assimilation of Aztec and Spanish Catholic religious systems. In a sense, this religiosity helped the Mexican and Mexican American to identify themselves culturally more than any other single factor.

The participants of this religiosity have generally been stereotyped as being submissive and disinterested, participating in Sunday misas and occasional fiestas. On the other hand, as De Madriaga has pointed out, this religiosity is "an individual passion like love, jealousy and hate."² The Mexican American can be passionately religious and in his auto-religiosity find relief for his needs and problems. Religion is strengthened through his culture and culture is strengthened through religion. It is the assimilation of the Aztec and the Catholic religions which have given the Mexican American a religious sense to life.

II. THE RELIGIOSITY OF THE AZTECS

Religiosity is perhaps the most important symbol that the Aztecs left the Mexicans and Mexican Americans. The Aztec empire was born in a hostile, pluralistic society of civilized nations in the valley of Mexico. They founded Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) in 1345. They arrived as intruders, but with deep religious convictions that Huitzilopochtli, the terrible warrior god of the Sun, had led them to this place. But what did Aztecs believe and practice? "They recognized the existence of a supreme, omnipotent Creator and Lord of the Universe, who knew all thoughts, gave all gifts and was the perfect perfection, under whose wings they found repose and sure defense."³ However, in actual practice, the idea of the oneness or unity of God was so vast to the Aztec mind that a plurality of thirteen major deities and more than 200 inferior gods were added to simplify such matters as presiding over the elements, the changing of seasons, and the various occupations of men. The altars dedicated to Huitzilopochtli throughout the cities of the Aztec empire reeked with the blood of human sacrifices.

"The Aztecs believed in three separate states of existence in the future life. The wicked, comprehending the greater part of mankind, were to expiate their sins in a place of everlasting darkness. Another class, with no other merit than that of having died of certain diseases, capriciously selected, were to enjoy a negative existence of indolent contentment. The highest place was reserved, as in most war-like nations, for the heroes who fell in battle or in sacrifice. They passed at once into the presence of the Sun, whom they accompanied with songs and choral dances, in their bright progress through the heavens and after some years, their spirits were to animate the clouds and singing birds of beautiful plumage, and to revel amidst the rich blossoms and odors of the gardens of paradise."⁴

A new baby was sprinkled with water and the lips and bosom with the words, "the Lord was implored to permit the holy drops to wash away the sin that was given to it before the foundation of the world." Moral maxims such as "Keep peace with all"; "bear injuries with humility"; "he who looks too curiously on a woman, commits adultery with his eyes," were quoted by the Aztecs. Priests were devoted to serve some particular deity in one of the more than 25,000 temples scattered throughout the empire. The priests educated the children in hieroglyphics, astronomy, natural science, government and mathematics. The priests also encouraged the people in the confession of sins; prayer and penitence were observed regularly. The influence and importance of the sacerdotal system within the religion of the Aztecs was quite impressive. Long before the Spaniards landed in Mexico, the sign of a white cross was already a religious symbol among the Aztecs.

At this point, it is not difficult to recognize some blending of the Aztec religion with Catholicism. Before the Church introduced La Virgen through the Indian, Juan Diego, the Aztecs had a similar goddess called Tonantzin. Instead of human sacrifice, the Church offered the Eucharist. Baptism was similar among the Aztecs and Catholics; confession of sins was characteristic of both and whereas the Aztecs selected its great war heroes and raised them to the highest strata of eternal "sainthood," the Church did the same for its spiritual heroes. The discipline of flogging and penitence was practiced by both groups. The pomp, spectacular show of priests and temples was easily received and adapted by the Catholic Church, as was the fiesta spirit of the Aztecs. the Spaniards had come to Mexico to "seek gold, glory and give the Gospel."

The traditional ways of worship of the Aztecs blended strongly to the Catholic Church; Aztec theology fused into Catholic belief. The Spanish culture merged with the Aztec culture. The new Mexican had a new religion.

III. MEXICAN AND MEXICAN AMERICAN CATHOLICISM

Mexican Catholicism cannot be separated from La Virgen. The birth of the Mexican culture with its new sense of religiosity was a painful process. It welded old Aztec traditions and beliefs with Spanish Catholicism. In the zocalo in Mexico City, there is an inscription to the "mextizo" which reads, "On this site on the night of August 13, 1521, heroically taken by Cortez, and valiantly defended by Cuauhtemoc, it was neither defeat nor victory, but the painful birth of the Mexican people: ni la derrota, ni la Victoria, sino el doloroso parto del pueblo Mexicano" The painful birth of the "pueblo mexicano" also forged a new culture and a new religion.

The Mexican could proudly point to the glory of his Aztec heritage. On the other hand, he could also speak the language of

the Spaniards and enjoy the arts of music, dancing and painting. But the new religion did not produce any great changes; only name changes, symbols and some theology. The basic religious ideas remained. The church of the Indian and the mestizo of the Southwest after 1810 was not elaborate like the one in Spain, nor glorious like the Aztec temples. The Southwestern church served a new culture, a new kind of language and a new people, mostly of whom were poor. The Southwestern borderland church did not receive all the religious education, and social advantages that had been bestowed by Catholicism to Mexico.

Perhaps greater than the tragedy of abandonment of a people who were passionately religious was the fact they became politically cut off from Mexico in 1848 as a result of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty. Mexico agreed, as a result of its defeat in the Mexican American War, to accept the Rio Grande as the new border between Mexico and the United States, ceding the Southwest. In addition, Mexico received \$15,000,000. Overnight, 75,000 Mexican became "Americans." The new Mexican Americans became foreigners in their own country! Whereas no one had questioned their race, culture, customs and language they were now hated by some, mistrusted by others and unwelcomed by most. They were strangers in their land. They were often treated like Indians, if not worse; they were not part of the American society. Jobs were scarce for them. Their traditional fiestas were now observed and enjoyed by the Anglos, while they watched.

The Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty left, not only a political and geographical separation of a people from their country, but created a spiritual vacuum. Within the context of the new culture, most of the people became, at best, nominal Catholics. Prior to the signing of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty, a representative of the United States speaking in Las Vegas, New Mexico said:

"Those who remain peaceably at home, attending to their crops and their herds, shall be protected by me, in their property, their persons, and their religion...my government respects your religion as much as the Protestant religion and allows each man to worship as his heart tells him best."⁵

The Church contributed little to the cultural or religious growth of Mexican Americans. There are certain characteristics of Southwest Hispanics, Catholic or non-Catholic that one can observe, however:

1. La Familia--The family is the most important unit in life, and the individual is likely to place the needs of the familia above his own. If there is a conflict between school or work and the family, the individual will be more sensitive to the family demands.⁶ Hispanics have a deep respect for the individual and in the familia these humanistic values are nurtured and passed on. The extended familia may include the relatives (los parientes), the

in-laws (los suegros), cousins (los primos), the grandparents (los abuelos), the godparents (los padrinos), etc. These relationships reflect both the value of the person and the family. The home becomes the first and most important school of human relationships. Compadrazgo unites families.

2. La Ley--Law for the Hispanic is an ideal to be striven for sincerely. He is taught to obey it from childhood; to disobey is to bring dishonor to all the familia. When trouble comes to a member of the familia with the law, it becomes the problem of all the familia to try to solve the problem.

3. Machismo--This masculine characteristic is associated with dominance, strength, virility and sex. The dominant theme is sexual virility not only in relationship with his wife but in extramarital affairs. To make women pregnant is to be muy macho. But even with all his authority to control the family, it is the wife and mother who has more influence with the children. Finally, the traditional macho image in familism is in today's society, in many instances, eroding.

4. Tiempo--For Hispanics, time (el tiempo) does not run, but walks ("el tiempo anda").⁸ Today and tomorrow are tied together. So that if something is not accomplished today, one does not fret or become preoccupied: there is always mañana. Because Hispanics revel in God's gift of life, they can enjoy life today and not worry about tomorrow. While many Anglos suffer collapses and ulcers because of their race with the clock, perhaps they can learn to walk like the Hispanic and let mañana take care of itself.

5. Language--Hispanics are diversified as far as their nationality is concerned: they may be Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Argentine, Nicaraguan, etc. but they are united by a common tongue. They may speak good Spanish, as a "Tex-Mex," with a Cuban accent, or a Chilean brogue, but it is understandable Spanish. They may be mono or bilingual. They may be exoethnic, bicultural or assimilated but the language is still the bond that binds. Language is not merely words; it is the potent symbol laden with meanings of history, culture, tradition and religion. To the Hispanic, it conveys from generation to generation, the deepest meaning of their lives.

There are other characteristics of the Hispanic that time does not permit us to discuss.

In the bishops' national convocation held in 1981, the Catholic Church recognized that the Hispanic people of the United States are in the midst of a religious and cultural awakening. The Church recognized the need for a consensus in developing a sense of unity that would bring about the participation of Hispanics into the Church. Baptists need to sense such a need in the light of a cultural and religious awakening of Mexican Americans as well as other Hispanics.

IV. BAPTISTS AND MEXICAN AMERICAN RELIGIOSITY

In discussing the religiosity of Mexican Americans at least three major areas have been presented: a definition of religiosity, the religiosity of the Aztecs, and Mexican/Mexican American Catholicism. We can say that religiosity is the most notable characteristic of Mexican Americans. The attitudes of defiance and rebelliousness are often external expressions of their internal and intense spirituality. They are portraying a deep need for religious identification. As they seek new concepts of life, they are repudiating the mechanistic and traditional concepts of the Catholic church. With all that the Catholic Church may offer, it does not offer the Christian Gospel. In the past:

"The Mexican understood his religion poorly if at all. The Church had made the average Mexican merely a surface practitioner of a religious rote, deeply imbued with a form of religiosity but not necessarily loyal to the Church as the hierarchy defined both loyalty and Church...

"In the United States today, most Mexican Americans are nominal Catholics, and they reflect an extremely wide variety of attitudes toward the church as an institution and toward specific church dogmas.

"The emerging profile of the Catholic Mexican immigrant (or the Mexican American) then, is hardly that of the practicing Mass and Sacraments Catholic normative of northern European, Irish and therefore of American Catholicism."9

Individualism, honor, dignidad, and alma are characteristics which identify the Mexican American. These give him ethical, religious and personal fulfillment. Church or no church, there in the inner soul, lies true religion. In his soul is his cathedral and on the altar is the Virgen de Guadalupe. He can worship in his inner soul; at the same time, he can ask la Virgen for his daily needs. This form of religiosity excludes priest and church. In this form of repressed Christianity, the Mexican American expresses his religiosity through his ambiguous Spanish and Indian cultural background; one gave him the form of religion, the other gave him the spirit.

The Catholic church is concerned. There is a growing realization that within the folk-type of Mexican American religiosity, with proper instruction, spiritual growth can result. Perhaps the greatest asset the church has is La Virgen. Born as invention of necessity to reconcile the sixteenth century Aztec to the conquest and to Spanish Catholicism, the result was the birth of Mexican Christianity. The church is seeking to provide fuller and more meaningful ministries to its people. The church acknowledges that mistakes have been made in the past and it is

willing to learn from others in order to provide needed ministries to Mexican Americans.

This brings us to the important question: How are Southern Baptists meeting the challenge? Let it be said that Southern Baptists are the foremost major denomination in providing study, programs and ministries to all ethnic groups within the United States. But, are there new horizons that we need to explore? Are we providing programs to ethnics solely on the logic that these are good for our churches so they must be good for them without having a "cultural collision" or without Christian cultural contextualization? There is a desperate need for a re-evaluation, a renewal for what really constitutes a successful ethnic church, not before the eyes of man, but before God and a world in need. When Christ gave His life for the church, He gave His life for the world. A church-limited vision is also a mission-limited vision. A church which has as its mission self is not fulfilling New Testament service. As Barth has reminded us, "God is in dialogue with the church, and the subject of that conversation is the world." Perhaps many a church marches to the beat of its own drum, its own choir, its own message. And, perhaps the beat of the sick, the lament of the lost is forgotten. Or, perhaps there is the fear of intimidation or the fear of being criticized for helping an ethnic brother. Bonhoeffer reminds us that, "Christ died for the world, not for the church." And James Stewart said,

"A church that is content to remain isolated in sanctified seclusion from the world around its doors and the clamorous problems of the age, has no right to bear the name of Him who chose to dwell with publicans and sinners. It tends to draw in upon itself, more concerned to maintain its own institutional life than to break down barriers by offering the outsider friendship in the name of Christ. Small wonder if the world passes by that kind of church with a show of contempt. It has ceased to be Messianic. It has disowned its redemptive mission. To this travesty of the Gospel, Christ's eyes are as a flame of fire."¹⁰

The church is not expected to offer solutions to all the world's problems which characterize our urban, secular and technological society. But as someone has said, "We can never be excused for failing to act morally." And the Mexican American as well as other ethnics have a moral/spiritual problem that needs the time and love and prayers of Southern Baptist. Never in the history of Southern Baptists has the Bold Mission challenge been greater than with the 135,000,000 ethnics living in our country.

Mexican Americans as well as other ethnic groups seriously question the relevance of religious institutions: both Catholic and Evangelical, which refuse to stand with the suppressed minorities in their struggles for justice, survival and the American way of life. As early as 1845, the Home Mission Board was

charged with the task of "establishing a Baptist witness in the city of New Orleans though there was the obstacle of the 'heterogeneous' population drawn from mixed cultural backgrounds, though communication was often difficult."11 In 1945 the Home Mission Board answered the call to enter California and the Western United States and since 1954 the Board has answered missionary needs into the far-flung parts of our country. In keeping with the needs and the mission opportunities, the task of ministering to ethnics has been assigned to the Language Missions Division. Basic church growth concepts, refugee programs, ethnic theological training and other missiological methods are used in reconciling ethnics to God, in their own culture and language. Living in a pluralistic society is not an easy task, but Christ in culture is a blessing to all.

CONCLUSION: A PERSONAL CRITIQUE

To recognize the assets of a religion within a culture is to recognize an opportunity to see the strengths as well as to measure the weakness within a society. My critique on the religiosity of Mexican Americans is an effort to help Southern Baptists see how we can best win them to Christ through our Bold Mission Thrust. I offer the following suggestions:

1. On religiosity--This is a big "plus" in favor of Mexican Americans. Baptists, with a New Testament conversion experience, can lead them to Christ.
2. La Virgen de Guadalupe--Since most Mexican Americans revere her in part or as a whole, one must keep in mind that these people have a built-in goddess and a theology that requires prayer and seriousness in order to convey the message of the living Christ.
3. The Catholic Church--The failures and strengths of the church have been pointed out. Mexican Americans will 'defend' the church as though they were faithful; they must be led to see that genuine and fuller religiosity is to be found in Christ.
4. Some Theological Reflections
 - (a) Conscientization--This is the awareness that results from the study of the values of a culture; this is a type of study of ethnic cultures that Baptists would do well to undertake.
 - (b) Love for ethnics--'Love' is a word too often contained within the walls of a church, but not outside where the people live. Love has won more ethnics to Christ than all the programs we have.
 - (c) On Salvation--The gap between Mexican American religiosity and Christianity is in the biblical interpretation of salvation. And that difference can spell death or salvation.

"There are untapped resources in ethnics," says Oscar I. Romo, "living in a pluralistic society whose contribution can enhance the greatness of this nation and who can also become great in the Kingdom of God."

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Adapted From
"The Gospel Movement In The Hispanic Community"
by Dr. Rene Cardenas

FOREWORD

Anthropologist, Dr. Rene Cardenas, in his paper, "The Gospel Movement in the Hispanic Community" analyzes statistical trends to extrapolate his thesis indicating a "doctrinal shift from Catholicism . . . to the various protestant denominations" among Hispanics in the United States.

This broad based shift in the religious affiliation of many Hispanics towards the protestant denominations has strategic implications for Southern Baptists with regards to Bold Mission Thrust emphasis.

THE GOSPEL MOVEMENT IN THE HISPANIC COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

By the end of this decade, Hispanics will constitute the largest ethnic minority group in this nation. Their population growth rate exceeded the 60% level between 1970 and 1980. It is expected to double within the next decade and triple by the year 2000. Census Tract statistics indicate that the Hispanic population count ranges between 15 - 16.8 million souls. An additional 5 - 11 million undocumented aliens from Mexico, Central and South America are proliferated throughout the major rural Hispanic entrepots of this nation.

The gross income of legal residents is estimated to be \$58.8 billion. The undocumented resident contributes largely to the invisible economy - earning an estimated \$6.4 billion - a percentage of which is exported to families in countries of origin.

It is estimated that the Hispanic population will experience unprecedented social, political and economic mobility in the years to come as a result of increased interest and awareness in education, skills development and socialization patterns of behavior.

The Hispanic population constitutes a vast reservoir of untapped resources and a potentially vigorous market for entertainment and leisure-time products. They traditionally spend a higher percentage of their expendable dollar on home-related entertainment products and activities because of their nuclear and extended family orientation. This minority market has been largely ignored by producers of goods and services, who on an Alpha and Omega

linear scale, position the Asian and the Black as minority extremes, ignoring the Hispanic and their expenditure potential.

HISPANIC RELIGIOSITY

A common myth equates Hispanics generically with Catholicism. There is no question that the Hispanic is an ardent church goer. But, research indicates there are approximately 5.8 million Hispanic Protestants in this nation today. These projections were confirmed by assessment of U.S. Census Tract data and by random sampling of non-profit church centers in three Southwestern states.

An accelerated doctrinal shift from Catholicism among Hispanics in the United States, Mexico, the Caribbean, Central and South America to the various Protestant denominations, began in the early 1900's. At that time, Protestant missionaries began an earnest effort to spread evangelism among Hispanics. These efforts resulted in large scale conversions among the Mexican population of the Southwest and Cuban, Puerto Rican and Dominican populations. Other speculative sects and cults followed suit to draw former Catholics away from their traditional allegiances to the Catholic Church.

Interestingly enough, the majority of Hispanic church goers in this country attend independent churches that have no formal organizational ties to either the Assembly of God or the Baptist churches, or other major religious movements. These non-allied denominational Protestant movements have proliferated in the Hispanic entreports of this nation. Loosely knit mini-Apostolic organizations constitute a broader, self-perpetuating, non-Catholic constituency than those groups affiliated with the more formalized Baptist

or Assembly of God in Christ organizations.

The Hispanic population has experienced great socioeconomic mobility within the past 30 years. Vertical mobility resulting from increased economic fortunes created the lateral shifting experienced by the Hispanic from the barrio to middle class neighborhoods, and as a result, a growing segment of the Hispanic bilingual population now reside in middle class and upper middle class neighborhoods.

Quantification of projections derived from simple factor analysis of SES information from Census Tract surveys allowed us to determine the following income base of Hispanics within their four larger classifications:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Family Income</u>	<u>Group Total</u> (in billions)
Mexican-American	\$ 15,200	\$ 31.410
Puerto Rican	\$ 9,900	\$ 5.341
Cuban	\$ 17,500	\$ 5.008
Others (Central & South American)	\$ 15,500	\$ 11.123
		<hr/>
		52.883
	Additional Investment Income	\$ 6.000
	TOTAL	\$ 58.883

Evangelism in the United States and Latin American amongst Hispanics is influenced by the pace, pressures, politics and economics of modern-day living. The Charismatic movement within the Catholic Church in Mexico, Central America and the United States is changing the Apostolic nature of Catholicism. Charismatic adherents are being driven from the Catholic Church in large numbers,

and while many do not abandon the Catholic Church, they do practice a new form of liberalized Christianity within the framework of their beliefs and rituals. There is increased evidence that these Charismatics are joining Protestant church organizations within their community.

Protestant family expendable dollars, unlike that of other free-wielding religious organizations, are usually restricted to basic necessities and family-oriented luxuries. As a result, very few expendable dollars are invested in alcoholic beverages, or in those broader social activities Fundamentalists frown upon.

TOWARD A NEW HERO

Unlike other groups, the Hispanic has no claim on a national spokesperson. Leaders have emerged, but only with regional impact.

The Hispanic movement lacks that luxury at all levels. The 5.8 million Christian Protestants in this culture can be united behind several strong Apostolic leaders, but this consolidation must take place on a philosophical rather than doctrinal plane.

REALITIES OF CONSOLIDATION

The Hispanic Protestant movement can and will be consolidated into a major social and economic force.

SOURCE: "The Gospel Movement in the Hispanic Community",
Rene Cardenas, Ph.D.

Condensed From
HISPANICS IN NEW YORK: RELIGIOUS, CULTURAL
AND SOCIAL EXPERIENCES

FOREWORD

The following report is an excerpt from a study conducted by the Office of Pastoral Research of the Archdiocese of New York. The study was conducted in four counties where some 95% of the Hispanics in New York live: Manhattan, Bronx, Richmond, and Westchester. A probability sample was selected and surveyed. Each county was represented in the sample by the actual numbers of Hispanics living there; thus, half of the individuals in the sample came from the Bronx since half of the Hispanics in New York live in the Bronx.

The survey was conducted by personal interview in the homes of the Hispanic interviewee's, since previous studies indicated Hispanics did not respond well to mailed questionnaires. The sample surveyed were between the ages of 18 and 65. A questionnaire was designed and open-ended questions were included. Questions were printed in Spanish, with the English equivalent immediately following. The questionnaire was pre-tested, and bilingual interviewers were employed and trained.

Of the 1,200 Hispanics interviewed, 995 surveys were completed and results tabulated in the study (83% return). Of those interviewed, almost one half were men (49.9%) and the rest (52.1%) were women.

Some of the findings follow in the succeeding pages.

HISPANICS IN NEW YORK: RELIGIOUS, CULTURAL
AND SOCIAL EXPERIENCES

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LANGUAGE

A fairly large majority (72.1%) of the Hispanics are bilingual. A substantial minority, however, speak only Spanish (26.0%).

Respondents were asked, "which language do you usually speak" in a variety of social settings. The following table shows that though almost three-quarters are bilingual, Spanish is the language usually spoken at home by 56.1% of the respondents. English is dominant at home for 9.4%. Not surprisingly, as the settings become more public, and presumably more ethnically heterogeneous, the use of Spanish decreases and the use of English increases. But even in the work place, 49.7% usually speak both languages. Combining the first and third columns results in the finding that 65.4% speak a substantial amount of Spanish at work, implying that a large majority of Hispanics remain connected to some of the Hispanic population even in the work place.

LANGUAGE USE

	Spanish Only	English Only	Both
Spoken	26.0%	0.3%	72.1%
At Home	56.1%	9.4%	34.4%
At social gatherings	33.3%	10.3%	56.1%
At work	15.7%	34.7%	49.7%

Some characteristics of our respondents' background are related to their language use. It can be seen from the first section of the next table, for example, that the groups with more formal education contain larger proportions of bilingual individuals. This varies from 37.5% of the least educated to a full 91.2% of the most educated.

In addition, there are some areas of the archdiocese where Hispanics are more bilingual than in other areas. North Manhattan and Park West contain the smallest percentages of bilingual individuals, 54.2% and 61.7% respectively. The Northwest Bronx, on the other hand, is 82.1% bilingual, with Staten Island-Westchester and the East Bronx also having high percentages, 77.4% and 77.0% respectively. The areas which are highly bilingual are the areas where Hispanics have most assimilated. The areas that are least bilingual are where Hispanics have not assimilated to the same extent. Also, these areas contain larger proportions of Dominicans, who, as can be seen in the third section of the table, are less bilingual than other Hispanic groups.

PERCENT BILINGUAL: BY BACKGROUND

<u>EDUCATION (in years):</u>	<u>0-4</u>	<u>5-8</u>	<u>9-11</u>	<u>12-13</u>	<u>14 +</u>
% Bilingual	37.5	59.1	76.4	78.7	91.2

<u>IDENTITY:</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Dominican</u>	<u>Other</u>
% Bilingual	80.5	49.8	56.2

<u>AGE (in years):</u>	<u>0 - 25</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55 +</u>
% Bilingual	83.3	69.6	70.4	57.5	63.6

<u>GENERATION:</u>	<u>Born in U.S. or came before 8 years old</u>	<u>Came to U.S. after 8 years old</u>
% Bilingual	90.0	68.5

<u>HOUSEHOLD INCOME:</u>	<u>- \$ 10,000</u>	<u>\$ 10,000 +</u>
% Bilingual	60.3	77.4

Age is also related to language use, with the younger age groups being more bilingual than the older groups. Of those under 25 years of age, 83.3% are bilingual. Of those 55 and older, the figure is 63.6%. Of those who came to the United States after they were eight years old, 68.5% are bilingual. Of those who were born in the U.S. or came before they were eight, 90.0% are bilingual.

Also, of those whose household income is \$10,000 or more, 77.4% are bilingual, whereas 60.3% of the under \$10,000 group are bilingual. Not surprisingly, language use tends to coincide with all of the general indicators of assimilation.

EDUCATION

The range of education varies from none to over fourteen years. About one-tenth of the group have had none or very little schooling - less than five years. Another one-fifth have had five to eight years of education, and a third one-fifth have had nine to eleven years of schooling. Half of the group, therefore, have had eleven years or less of

education. About one-third of the sample have had a high school education and an additional small group of one-sixth have had college education and beyond.

EDUCATION

<u>Years of schooling</u>	<u>#</u>	<u>%</u>
0	22	2.2
1-4	99	9.0
5-8	185	18.6
9-11	207	20.8
12-13	315	31.7
14 +	146	14.7
No response	<u>21</u>	<u>2.1</u>
TOTAL	995	100.0

Those who are of the second generation are more highly educated. Over one-fourth of this group (29.3%) are in the most highly educated category of fourteen years or more, as compared to one-tenth of the first generation.

EMPLOYMENT

Just under one-half of the respondents (46.9%) are employed. As may be anticipated and because of the sampling methodology, differences are present between males and females. For females, in accord with the overall employment pattern for Puerto Rican women, two-thirds are not employed and one-third are employed.

EMPLOYMENT

	#	%
Employed	467	46.9
Not Employed:		
less than 1 year	102	10.3
1 - 4 years	166	16.7
more than 5 years	221	22.1

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND CHANGE

In general, studies of the contemporary Hispanic religious community have used the estimates of 80% being Catholic. Our respondents show that 83.5% identify themselves as Catholic; just under one-tenth identify themselves as Protestant and a slightly smaller proportion regard themselves as not affiliated with any religion.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

Catholic	83.5%
Protestant	9.3%
Not affiliated	7.2%

Of the Protestant group, 40% belong to the Pentecostal churches and 26% to the Evangelical churches. In addition to these, 34% were divided among Jehovah's Witnesses, 7th Day Adventist, Baptists, and others.

Most Hispanics have not changed their religious affiliation. Only 6.5% report they have changed. Some of the information from those who have changed religious affiliation is of assistance in pinpointing when and how this change does take place.

Of those who acknowledge a change in religious affiliation, the majority were formerly Catholic. Reasons given for this change vary, but the most frequently recurring reason given is that of the family. This may be particularly true of those who say that the change took place at an early age of 15 years or younger. Reasons such as losing an appreciation of religion and negative experiences are also among the more frequent reasons cited. On the other hand, gaining an appreciation of religion is also cited as a reason for change.

The age at which change in religion occurs is significant. About one-third takes place at an early age before 16 years of age and might be related to family reasons. About one-third takes place between the ages of 16 and 24 and again almost one-third between the ages of 25-39. Few changes take place after forty years of age. Most of these changes have taken place in the United States. The indication, therefore, is that change in religious affiliation among Hispanics, usually takes place in the U.S. mainland, and among the youth and young adult population.

THE HISPANIC AND RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

Over the past decade, many studies have been conducted from a concern about diminishing church participation and membership. Many of these studies have shown that belief is related to church involvement. Our own studies in the Yorkville area of Manhattan and also in Rockland County have also shown that beliefs are related to church involvement. What these studies demonstrate is that those who are non-practicing Catholics maintain a weaker belief structure than those who go to church on a regular basis, and this is especially true with regard to the central beliefs of the church.

What is then immediately striking about the beliefs of the Hispanic community, is the strength of their beliefs around traditional orthodox matters - about the existence of God, about Jesus Christ, Mary, heaven, and hell. This holds for both those who regularly attend church and for those who do not.

TRADITIONAL DOCTRINAL BELIEFS

The interviewer asked questions about a number of basic traditional beliefs such as a belief in the existence of God, in the incarnation and the resurrection. The interviewee was also asked to describe God in his or her own words. Beyond this, the question on these basic beliefs covered the existence of heaven, hell, and purgatory. The following section will provide some of the data from this part of the interview.

God's Existence. The question on the belief of God asked the respondent to select one of four statements that best described their own belief. The four statements were: "I believe in a God

who cares about me and I have no doubts about it." "While I have doubts, I sometimes believe in a God who cares about me." "I believe God is a higher power of some kind." "I do not believe in God."

BELIEF IN GOD: HISPANICS

	%
No doubts about a God who cares	77.1
Sometimes believe	12.1
Higher Power	8.7
Do not believe	1.2

The above table shows that over three quarters (77.1%) of the Hispanics have no doubts about a God who cares, while 12.1% sometimes believe. In addition, 8.7% believe that God is some kind of higher power, and 1.2% do not believe in God. These figures include practicing Catholics as well as non-practicing Catholics, Protestants and the non-affiliated. In the Rockland County Study which interviewed only Catholics, 76.0% of those who regularly attended Mass entertained no doubts about a God who cares for them while 9.8% did have doubts and 12.2% saw God as a higher power. In contrast, among those who did not practice in terms of Mass attendance, 48.8% had no doubts about a God who cares, 15.9% had some doubts and 33.0% believed in a God as a kind of higher power. In conclusion, the comparison between the Hispanic Study and the Rockland County Study shows the Latino group with a much stronger belief in a God who cares about them.

As is to be expected in comparing practicing and non-practicing persons, 89.6% of the group who attend Mss or other religious services frequently entertained no doubts. 74.7% of the sporadic attenders at religious services and 66.7% of the non-attenders had no doubts about a God who cares. Those who believe in a God as some kind of higher power are 14.2% of the low practicing, 10.9% of the non-practicing and 3.8% of the high practicing. The non-believers in God were an exceptionally small group with only 1.2% of the total number of respondents.

BELIEF IN GOD: BY CHURCH ATTENDANCE

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sporadic</u>	<u>Never</u>
No doubts about a God who cares	89.6%	74.7%	66.7%
Sometimes believe	6.1%	10.0%	19.4%
Higher Power	3.8%	14.2%	10.9%
Do not believe	0.0%	0.5%	2.8%

In this report, the category frequent attenders includes those who attend everyday up to those who attend two or three times per month. Sporadic attenders include those who attend once per month up to any level of attendance short of "never."

Differences: Age, generation, education, and religious affiliation also make a difference in beliefs about God's existence. As the age of the respondents increases, there is a marked tendency toward professing a stronger belief in a caring God. The group over 55 years had no non-believers in their group. Of those in the second generation, 62.1% believe in a God who

cares, as compared to 79.8% of the first generation. In terms of educational level, those with an eighth grade education or less were less likely to have doubts about a God who cares about them. Even though the more educated persons did share this kind of confidence in general, they did believe in a caring God with some doubts or in a God who is a higher power rather than reject all belief in God. Among the Protestant Latino group the belief in a caring God was stronger than that of Catholic Latinos.

Christ's Death and Resurrection. For beliefs in the death and resurrection of Christ, the existence of hell and the existence of purgatory, the respondent was asked to choose one of the following statements which best reflected their thinking:

- "I believe in it firmly"
- "I believe in it with some doubts"
- "I have serious doubts about it"
- "I do not believe in it"
- "I have no opinion."

DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF CHRIST:
BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>No Affiliation</u>	<u>Total</u>
"Christ died on the cross and rose from the dead"				
Believe firmly	90.7%	94.6%	57.7%	88.5%
Some doubts	5.1%	2.2%	14.1%	5.4%
Serious doubts	2.3%	2.2%	14.1%	3.1%
No belief/No opinion	1.9%	1.1%	14.1%	3.0%

DEATH AND RESURRECTION OF CHRIST:
BELIEF BY AGE

	<u>-25</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55 +</u>
"Christ died on the cross and rose from the dead"					
Believe firmly	82.2%	92.1%	87.8%	88.8%	95.2%
Some doubts	8.7%	4.0%	5.7%	4.8%	2.7%
Serious doubts	4.3%	2.2%	4.2%	1.6%	2.0%
No belief/No opinion	4.8%	1.8%	2.3%	4.8%	0.0%

About nine-tenths of the group (88.2%) believe Jesus was the Son of God and a slightly higher proportion believe in Christ's Resurrection (88.5%). As compared to Catholics and Protestants, persons with no church affiliation professed a much lower adherence to this belief (57.7%). Further, among the non-affiliated respondents, 14.1% expressed serious doubts and 14.1% expressed no belief or no opinion concerning this central doctrine of Christianity.

A firmer belief in the death and resurrection of Christ is held by the more practicing church goers and by two age groups - those over 55 and the 25-34 age group. Age-wise these two groups expressed the highest proportion of "firm belief" in this doctrine (95.2% and 92.1%). This percent was only 82.2 for those under 25.

Again, a greater proportion of first generation (89.9%) than second generation (80.0%) Hispanics believe firmly in Christ's Resurrection. There was no generational difference for belief in Jesus as the Son of God.

Existence of Heaven, Hell and Purgatory. The last three doctrinal beliefs to be considered in this section are the existence of purgatory, hell and heaven. Of the entire group, 77.7% believe that heaven is eternal union with God, and another 13.3% believe that it is "some kind of life but I am not sure." Only 61.0% believe firmly in hell, with an additional 11.9% believing somewhat. Even fewer (37.4%) believe firmly in purgatory, with 5.9% believing somewhat.

BELIEF IN HELL: BY HISPANIC IDENTITY

	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>Dominican</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
"Hell exists"				
Believe firmly	65.8%	53.8%	51.5%	61.0%
Some doubts	10.9%	13.3%	15.2%	11.9%
Serious doubts	5.4%	11.7%	6.1%	6.9%
No belief/No opinion	17.9%	21.3%	27.3%	19.5%

BELIEF IN HELL: BY CHURCH ATTENDANCE

	<u>Frequently</u>	<u>Sporadic</u>	<u>Never</u>
"Hell exists"			
Believe firmly	64.3%	49.5%	65.0%
Some doubts	12.0%	18.6%	8.3%
Serious doubts	5.4%	8.6%	7.8%
No belief/No opinion	18.4%	23.3%	18.9%

BELIEF IN PURGATORY: BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

<u>Years of Education</u>	<u>0-4</u>	<u>5-8</u>	<u>9-11</u>	<u>12-13</u>	<u>14 +</u>
"Purgatory exists"					
Believe firmly	51.2%	53.4%	40.8%	37.4%	29.1%
Some doubts	7.4%	9.8%	11.4%	12.1%	11.0%
Serious doubts	8.3%	8.6%	10.9%	13.2%	13.4%
No belief/No opinion	0.0%	28.2%	37.6%	37.4%	46.5%

BELIEF IN PURGATORY: BY GENERATION

	<u>Born in U.S.</u>	<u>Before 8</u>	<u>After 8</u>	<u>Total</u>
"Purgatory exists"				
Believe firmly	27.6%	29.4%	44.4%	37.4%
Some doubts	8.0%	5.9%	11.3%	9.5%
Serious doubts	14.9%	8.8%	10.9%	9.9%
No belief/No opinion	49.4%	55.9%	33.5%	31.9%

Educational level affected the level of belief in the existence of purgatory. More than half of those with an eighth grade education or less believe firmly in the existence of purgatory, while 37.4% of those with a high school education and 29.1% of those with at least two years of college had a firm belief in purgatory.

Of the group born in the U.S., only 27.6% express a firm belief in the existence of purgatory while 49.4% express either no belief or no opinion. Likewise, of those who came to the U.S. before age eight, 29.4% express firm belief and 55.9% either no belief or no opinion. Of those who came to the U.S. after age eight,

however, 44.4% expressed firm belief in the existence of purgatory and 33.5% expressed no belief or no opinion.

By religious affiliation, 29.7% of the Catholics, 68.7% of the Protestants, and 67.8% of those with no affiliation, expressed no belief in the existence of purgatory. The largest group with a firm belief in this doctrine were the Catholics (47.1% of the Catholic population.)

Differing age groups contain differing percentages of people who believe that heaven is eternal union with God. These figures are presented in the following table. Other groups again differed. Of the second generation, 63.0% believe that heaven is eternal union, compared to 80.9% of the Catholics. Among the Catholics, 90.0% of the frequent mass attenders believe this, compared to 76.4% of the sporadic attenders and 68.9% of those who never attend.

BELIEF IN HEAVEN: BY AGE

"Heaven"	<u>- 25</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55 +</u>
Eternal union	69.4%	80.0%	78.7%	83.7%	88.3%
Not sure	21.0%	13.3%	11.6%	11.4%	6.9%
Does not exist	5.7%	4.4%	6.2%	2.4%	2.1%
Other	3.9%	2.2%	3.5%	2.4%	2.8%

SUPPORTING BELIEFS

Anointing of the Sick. The interview contained questions on the anointing of the sick and on certain aspects of prayer. Less than 80% of all of the respondents answered the question on

the anointing of the sick. 662 of the 831 persons who considered themselves Catholic responded on this question. Of this group, 71.9% expressed a firm belief and another 4.7% some doubts. 41 of the 93 Protestants expressed a firm belief along with 18 of the 71 who claimed no religious affiliation. From the other extreme, 116 Catholics (17.5% of the Catholics who responded to this question) expressed no belief in the sacrament of the anointing. Of the second generation, 59.3% believe firmly in the anointing of the sick, compared to 68.4% of the first generation.

BELIEF IN ANOINTING OF THE SICK: BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>No Affiliation</u>	<u>Total</u>
"Anointing of the Sick"				
Believe firmly	71.9%	52.6%	36.7%	53.8%
Some doubts	4.7%	5.1%	2.0%	3.6%
Serious doubts	5.9%	5.1%	6.1%	4.6%
No belief/No opinion	17.5%	37.2%	55.1%	17.3%

Intercession of the Saints. The interviewees were asked about their belief in whether "the saints can intercede with God in our name." Again age made a difference in response; belief in the intercession of the saints increased with the age of the respondents. With each older age group, the category of no belief in this teaching systematically diminished in size except with the oldest group where the percentage of the group decreased slightly. Only 31.6% of the second generation believe firmly in this, compared to one-half of the first generation.

INTERCESSION OF SAINTS: BY AGE

	<u>- 25</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55 +</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
"Saints can intercede with God in our name"						
Believe firmly	29.0%	45.8%	47.5%	63.2%	62.3%	46.2%
Some doubts	8.9%	13.3%	8.2%	6.4%	5.5%	8.7%
Serious doubts	16.5%	8.4%	7.8%	7.2%	5.5%	9.3%
No belief/No opinion	45.5%	32.4%	36.6%	23.2%	26.7%	33.9%

INTERCESSION OF THE SAINTS: BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

	<u>Years of Education</u>				
	<u>0-4</u>	<u>5-8</u>	<u>9-11</u>	<u>12-13</u>	<u>14 +</u>
"Saints can intercede with God in our name"					
Believe firmly	62.8%	60.1%	40.1%	43.0%	33.8%
Some doubts	4.1%	7.1%	9.4%	11.3%	9.2%
Serious doubts	9.1%	6.6%	9.9%	10.4%	12.7%
No belief/No opinion	24.0%	26.2%	40.6%	35.3%	44.4%

The belief in the ability of the saints to intercede with their prayers dropped as the educational level increased. Over 60% of those with less than an eighth grade education held a firm belief in this, while only 43% of high school graduates and 33.8% of those with at least some college education held to this as a firm belief. This is clearly a Catholic belief: 53.8% of the Catholics expressed firm belief in it while only 19.4% of non-affiliated and a mere 6.6% of the Protestants did.

BELIEF IN COMMUNICATION WITH THE DEAD: BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>No Affiliation</u>	<u>Total</u>
"Persons with special powers can communicate with the dead"				
Believe firmly	20.2%	8.7%	12.9%	18.5%
Some doubts	8.0%	1.1%	10.0%	7.4%
Serious doubts	14.6%	3.3%	10.0%	13.2%
No belief/No opinion	57.1%	87.0%	67.1%	60.2%

VIEWS ON ARTIFICIAL CONTRACEPTION

	<u>Hispanic</u>
"Use of artificial means to prevent pregnancy is wrong"	
Believe firmly	55.2%
Some doubts	5.6%
Serious doubts	5.9%
Do not believe	26.5%
No opinion	6.1%
No response	0.7%

SHARING WITH THOSE WHO HAVE LESS

	%
"I should share with those who have less"	
Believe firmly	91.8
Some doubts	3.5
Serious doubts	0.7
Do not believe	1.2
No opinion	1.4
No response	1.4

ALL HUMANS ARE TO BE TREATED EQUALLY: BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	<u>Catholic</u>	<u>Protestant</u>	<u>No Affiliation</u>
"All human beings should be treated equally"			
Believe firmly	94.5%	100.0%	72.9%
Some doubts	2.7%	0.0%	12.9%
Serious doubts	0.6%	0.0%	2.9%
No belief/No opinion	2.2%	0.0%	11.4%

Among the Latinos, the Protestant respondents were unanimous on this issue of equality (100%), while Catholics showed a strong unity on the belief (94.5%) and those not affiliated with a church less concern (72.9%).

SUMMARY

We have found that New York Hispanics have a relatively high level of belief in traditional doctrines of the Church. For

example, 77.1% indicated having "no doubt about a God who cares." This percent includes non-practicing Catholics and non-Catholics, as well as practicing Catholics. In Rockland County, this figure was 76.0% for only the practicing Catholics.

Different percentages of people "believe firmly" in the different doctrines. The most accepted are the death and resurrection of Christ (88.5%), and the belief that Jesus was the Son of God (88.2%). The percent believing that heaven is eternal union with God is 77.7% but another 13.3% indicated that heaven is "some kind of life but I am not sure." These two percents combine to 91.0%. Approximately half of the group believe firmly in anointing the sick (53.8%), that the dead need prayers (47.8%), and in the intercession of the saints (46.2%).

In regard to certain moral teachings, New York Hispanics also have a relatively high level of belief. For instance, of Rockland County church-going Catholics, 22.4% agree that artificial contraception is wrong. This figure for all of the Hispanic groups is 55.2%.

Again, there are differences on different issues: 87.9% firmly believe that "married persons should have sexual relations only with their spouses;" 67.0% firmly believe that "premarital sex is wrong;" 64.4% that "abortion is always wrong;" and, as mentioned, 55.2% that artificial contraception is wrong.

New York Hispanics also have strong beliefs concerning social responsibility. A full 92.8% believe firmly that all humans should be treated equally, and 91.8% believe that they should share with those who have less. Only 39.0% of Rockland church-

going Catholics feel this way.

Certain sub-group differences have appeared rather consistently. As would be expected, frequent churchgoers tend to hold more traditional beliefs. This can also be said for the older age groups, the less educated, and first generation immigrants.

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES; THE CELEBRATION OF RELIGION

The practice of one's religion always includes observance of acts of worship and devotions prescribed by the Church and religious customs and ways of praying which are very much a part of our daily living. The former are what is termed institutional practices and the latter, folk practices.

The traditions considered in this study may be divided into four groupings:

1. Religious folk practices: those that are adaptations or transformations of institutionalized practices such as wearing medals, saying prayers, etc.
2. Superstitious folk practices: those that have their roots in spiritism, voodoo cults or other non-Christian traditions, such as visiting botanicas or mediums.
3. Quasi-institutional folk practices: those that are practiced partially through the institutional Church but have gained a meaning of their own in the lives of people, such as novenas and pilgrimages.
4. Institutional practices: those observances prescribed by the Church or considered a part of the expected program provided by the local parish.

Folk practices are not divorced from institutionalized religion. Quite to the contrary. Although we cannot say that one is dependent upon the other, in many cases the existence of one is closely related to the existence of the other. In the lives of people the two intermingle, enrich and support one another and together constitute the reality of religious experience. In our survey, we look at both channels through which the faith of the Hispanic community is expressed.

FOLK PRACTICES

Folk Practices Defined.

Folk practices are those acts of reverence, cults or forms of worship that reflect the religious life style particular to the people of a locality. For Hispanics some are adaptations or transformations of institutionalized practices in the Catholic religion; others are of non-Christian origin; still others have come out of custom and usage as variations of practices taught by missionaries. Whatever their source, however, folk practices have their roots among the people, not within the institutionalized structure of the Church. They are not imposed, sanctioned or directed by religious authorities. They continue to exist because the people maintain them. They are the outward expressions of the local worldview as it relates to the deities. As such, folk practices can be seen more as a part of local culture than of an institutionalized system of rituals and beliefs.

The interview asked questions on a number of items that may be considered as folk practices. On these items the respondents were asked to indicate:

- a. If he/she follows the practice regularly now.
- b. If he/she followed the practice in the past.
- c. If the parents ever followed the practice.

Religious Folk Practices

In analyzing religious folk practices we will concentrate on those aspects that indicate how the practices have changed from the past to the present generation, what relationship there is between folk practices and mass attendance, and how folk practices vary according to the place of origin.

Past, present and parents compared. The following table lists the religious folk practices under analysis in the order of magnitude in which they are followed currently by the respondents. The list starts with the least popular and progresses to the most popular. This table also indicates the percentage of respondents who follow the practice now, the percentage who followed it in the past, and the percentage whose parents followed it.

When we compare the parents' religious folk practice with those of the respondents, one thing become evident: although the practices are still followed by many of the respondents, the rate of participation has declined for every item being considered. The parents show higher participation in every one of these practices. Looking closely at the table, however, we see that change has not been equal in all the practices. Some interesting situations appear.

If we analyze the rate of practice within each group (parents and respondents now) we find that at the lower level of preference there is no difference in the order in which the practices rank.

The practices that show the lowest rates for both parents and respondents are wearing a habit, burning incense, and self inflicted penance. At the higher end of preference, however, there appears to be a decisive change. The four items that were highest among the parents have been replaced in the list of current preferences by the three that immediately preceded them. The practices most popular among the parents were the use of medals (68.4%), lighting candles in church (57.8%), keeping altars or images at home (57.4%), and saying the rosary, (56.8%). These practices have not only decreased in absolute number of followers but have been replaced in relative popularity. The three most followed practices now are blessing the house or property (45.5%), giving thanks before meals (48.8%), and reading the Bible (55.6%).

RELIGIOUS FOLK PRACTICES

<u>Practice Followed</u>	<u>Now</u> %	<u>Past</u> %	<u>Parents</u> %
Wearing habit or special dress	4.7	13.9	25.8
Burning Incense	19.6	25.0	25.1
Self inflicted penance	20.1	26.0	31.6
Burning candles at home	22.5	30.5	46.6
Sprinkling holy water	26.6	31.0	40.9
Saying the rosary	28.8	39.3	56.8
Holding prayer services at home	29.2	31.8	41.2
Lighting candles (in church)	33.5	45.1	57.8
Keeping an altar or images at home	36.2	39.8	57.4
Wearing medals, crucifixes, etc.	42.0	57.4	68.4

<u>Practice Followed</u>	<u>Now</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Past</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Parents</u> <u>%</u>
Blessing the house or property	45.5	40.5	52.0
Giving thanks before meals	48.8	48.0	55.9
Reading the Bible	55.6	52.1	56.6

RELIGIOUS FOLK PRACTICE: BY MASS ATTENDANCE

<u>Practice Followed</u>	<u>Mass Attendance %</u>		
	<u>Frequent</u>	<u>Sporadic</u>	<u>Never</u>
Wearing habit or special dress	9.1	3.8	0.8
Burning incense	20.5	27.8	14.2
Burning candles at home	31.1	32.1	8.5
Self inflicted penance	34.9	20.8	4.6
Sprinkling holy water	39.2	34.9	9.3
Lighting candles (in church)	46.8	44.8	13.7
Keeping an altar or images at home	47.1	54.7	14.9
Holding prayer services at home	47.8	31.6	9.0
Saying the rosary	50.1	27.4	8.0
Wearing medals, crucifixes, etc.	56.7	45.3	25.3
Blessing the house or property	63.3	51.9	24.0
Giving thanks before meals	65.3	52.8	29.9
Reading the Bible	76.7	57.1	33.2

Although the three practices that are most popular now (blessing the house, giving thanks before meals, and reading the Bible) are not practiced now as widely as they were by the respon-

dents' parents, there is an increase in popularity between the respondents' past and present practices. That is, for each of these practices there is a drop from the parents' to the respondents' past practices, but there is an increase from their past to their current practices.

It is interesting to note that the most popular current practices are also those that are more in line with general practices among Catholics in the United States.

Hispanic identity and folk religious practices. When folk practices were related to Hispanic identity the highest rate of participation in almost all cases was among the respondents from places other than Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic. Two items are exceptions: 1) burning incense where the Dominican Republic is highest, and 2) reading the Bible which is highest for Puerto Rico. In reading the Bible, however, the difference between Puerto Rico and those from other countries is too small to be truly significant. Since the highest number of respondents come from Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic, it was thought necessary to compare practices in these two countries. Puerto Rico ranks significantly higher in the use of medals and in reading the Bible (a difference of 10% in each case). On the other hand, the Dominican Republic ranks higher in burning incense, holding prayer services in the house and blessing the house or property. In the other two items there are no significant differences between these two groups (saying the rosary and giving thanks at meals).

RELIGIOUS FOLK PRACTICES: BY HISPANIC IDENTITY

<u>Practices</u>	<u>Puerto Rico</u>	<u>Dominican Republic</u>	<u>Other</u>
Burning incense	17.3	27.9	15.0
Holding prayer services at home	24.4	38.3	39.0
Saying the rosary	27.5	28.3	39.0
Wearing medals, crucifixes, etc.	43.5	32.5	55.0
Blessing the house	42.3	50.8	54.0
Giving thanks before meals	47.8	45.8	63.0
Reading the Bible	58.0	48.8	56.0

Generation and folk religious practices. Looking at the series of folk practices by the three generational groups, there is clearly a diminished practice by the second generation in every single case. None are practiced by a majority of this group.

Reading the Bible is the most popular practice still observed by just under one half of the Hispanics born on the U.S. mainland. Wearing scapulars, medals, rosaries or crosses; blessing or consecrating the house or property; keeping images of saints or an altar at home; and saying grace before meals are retained by 30% to 40% of this second generation group.

Some customs which have diminished by more than 10% from the first to second generation include those of the traditional church: blessing the house, saying grace, and saying the rosary. This may be part of the process of assimilation to the American Catholic Church.

On the other hand, folk customs which have not changed in degree of practice are the wearing of medals or crosses, the burning of incense, and the keeping of pictures and images of revered personages. These trends suggest that the second generation does not maintain the traditional church practices, but does maintain practices which seem to be in keeping with aspects of the youth culture.

RELIGIOUS FOLK PRACTICES: BY GENERATION

<u>Practices followed</u>	<u>First Generation</u>	<u>Came to U.S. Before 8 yrs old</u>	<u>Second Generation</u>
Wear medals, crucifixes, scapulars or rosaries	38.9%	36.1%	42.6%
Practice self-imposed penance	15.8%	22.2%	22.0%
Wear a habit or special type of dress	1.1%	0.0%	5.3%
Hold prayer services at home	17.9%	19.4%	30.9%
Say the Rosary	21.1%	19.4%	30.1%
Read the Bible	48.4%	61.1%	56.1%
Give thanks before meals	30.5%	50.0%	50.8%
Use charms, special potions, herbs, or other things obtained at the "botanica"	9.5%	8.3%	6.9%
Sprinkling holy water	18.9%	30.6%	27.3%
Burn incense	14.7%	22.2%	20.0%
Keep candles in the house under a religious image	16.8%	22.2%	23.1%
Do you visit mediums, fortune tellers, or advisers	3.2%	8.3%	5.3%
Bless your house or property or consecrate them to God, the Virgin or a saint	34.7%	33.3%	47.2%

<u>Practices followed</u>	<u>First Generation</u>	<u>Came to U.S. Before 8 yrs. old</u>	<u>Second Generation</u>
Keep images of saints or an altar at home	32.6%	27.8%	36.9%
Make novenas	29.3%	38.2%	53.7%
Light candles	27.4%	33.3%	34.1%
Make pilgrimages and/or visit shrines	5.3%	8.3%	12.3%
Make animal sacrifices or offer food to saints or sacred objects	6.3%	2.8%	2.8%

INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES

The questionnaire contained a number of items on "institutional" religious practices, including frequency of Mass attendance, communion, confession, prayer and participation in such activities as novenas and pilgrimages. Mass attendance, communion, confession, and devotions were considered to be primarily Catholic practices. Questions on these items were therefore asked only of Catholics.

CHURCH/TEMPLE ATTENDANCE: BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	<u>Catholics</u>	<u>Non-Catholics</u>
Frequently	39.6%	70.0%
Sporadic	24.3%	14.0%
Never	<u>36.1%</u>	<u>16.0%</u>
TOTAL	100.0%	100.0%

Catholic Mass Attendance. Catholic Mass attendance was analyzed by age groups and other characteristics of the respondents.

CATHOLIC MASS ATTENDANCE: BY SEX

	Male	Female
Frequently	35.0%	43.6%
Sporadic	23.6%	24.9%
Never	41.5%	31.5%

CATHOLIC MASS ATTENDANCE: BY AGE

	- 25	25-34	35-44	45-54	55 +
Frequently	23.3%	37.6%	43.8%	48.2%	51.2%
Sporadic	23.9%	27.4%	28.1%	25.5%	12.6%
Never	52.8%	35.0%	28.1%	26.4%	36.2%

Profile of Mass Attenders. The following table presents more detailed figures on frequency of Mass attendance by all of the Catholics in the sample.

CATHOLICS AND MASS ATTENDANCE

How often do you go to mass?

Everyday	1.3%
Several times a week	7.8%
Once a week	21.9%
2 or 3 times a month	8.5%
Once a month	4.3%
Several times a year	12.8%

Once a year or less	7.2%
Never	34.3%
No response	1.8%
TOTAL	99.9%

Most often when we speak of a "praticing" Catholic, it refers to a Catholic who attends Mass regularly each Sunday and on the specified holydays of the church. Using the basis of going to Mass once a week or more often, three-tenths (31.0%) of our Hispanics are participating Catholics and seven-tenths (69.0%) are non-practicing Catholics. Of this latter group, the majority attend Mass very sporadically or more likely, never go to Mass. Over one-third of our Hispanic Catholics never go to Mass. Fifteen Catholics did not respond to this question and would probably be non-church attenders bringing this group closer to two-fifths of all the group.

Who then is the Hispanic who is "practicing" and who is completely "non-practicing?" Are they different? The population was divided into four groups: weekly attenders (includes every-day, several times a week, weekly), monthly (includes two or three times a month, once a month), yearly (includes several times a year, once a year or less), and never.

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF CATHOLICS BY MASS ATTENDANCE

	<u>Weekly</u> %	<u>Monthly</u> %	<u>Yearly</u> %	<u>Never</u> %
<u>Age:</u> Under 25	11.2	15.0	24.1	32.3
25 - 34	24.0	22.4	25.3	22.5
35 - 44	28.3	29.0	31.9	21.1
45 - 54	15.9	19.6	11.4	9.8
55 +	20.9	14.0	7.2	14.4
<u>Sex:</u> Male	40.3	43.0	45.8	53.3
Female	59.7	57.0	54.2	46.7
<u>Hispanic</u> <u>Identity:</u> Puerto Rican	60.5	66.4	60.2	73.7
Dominican	28.3	20.6	25.3	21.1
Other	11.2	13.1	14.5	5.3
<u>Generation:</u> Born in U.S.	6.6	9.3	17.5	7.0
Came 8 or before	3.9	4.7	4.2	2.8
Came after 8	89.5	86.0	78.3	90.2
<u>Marital</u> <u>Status:</u> Currently married	59.3	49.5	44.6	29.8
Single	14.3	22.4	31.3	37.9
Living with someone	3.5	2.8	3.0	10.5
Widowed	6.2	5.6	4.2	6.0
Divorced	8.5	6.5	9.6	10.5
Separated	7.8	12.1	6.6	5.3
<u># of years in U.S.:</u> Born in U.S.	6.6	9.3	17.5	7.0
2 - 4	11.2	6.5	15.1	11.9
5 - 9	14.7	15.9	8.4	23.9
10 - 19	32.9	29.9	23.5	32.6
20 +	29.5	35.5	33.7	23.5

BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS ... (continued)

	<u>Weekly</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Monthly</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Yearly</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Never</u> <u>%</u>
<u>Education:</u> 0 - 4	15.9	15.9	9.0	9.8
5 - 8	23.6	15.0	21.1	16.8
9 - 11	20.2	20.6	18.1	22.8
12 - 13	26.4	29.9	33.7	34.7
14 +	11.2	17.8	15.7	13.7
<u>Occupation:</u> Professional	5.0	6.5	7.8	5.6
White Collar	8.1	11.2	9.0	15.8
Blue Collar	22.9	20.6	17.5	16.8
Service Worker	10.5	13.1	12.0	6.3
Unemployed	48.4	42.1	50.0	52.3
	(258)	(107)	(166)	(285)

IMPORTANCE OF GOING TO CHURCH BY MASS ATTENDANCE

	<u>Weekly</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Monthly</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Yearly</u> <u>%</u>	<u>Never</u> <u>%</u>
<u>In your opinion, how important</u> <u>is it to go to church?</u>				
Very Important	81.0	66.4	50.6	35.4
Somewhat important	15.9	25.2	33.1	35.1
Not very important/Not at all	0.0	6.5	13.9	27.4
<u>Can a person be religious and</u> <u>not go to church?</u>				
Yes	57.0	77.6	85.5	88.8
No	40.3	19.6	13.9	6.7

CATHOLIC FREQUENCY OF COMMUNION

Several times a week	2.7%
Once a week	11.8%
2 - 3 times a month	7.6%
Several times a year	11.9%
Once a year or less	7.5%
Never	58.6%

FREQUENCY OF PRAYER: BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Catholic %	Protestant %	Non-affiliated %
Daily	59.0	72.2	0.0
Once a week	20.3	16.7	44.3
Sporadic	12.0	4.4	0.0
Never	8.7	6.7	55.7

FREQUENCY OF PRAYER: BY AGE

	<u>- 25</u>	<u>25 - 34</u>	<u>35 - 44</u>	<u>45 - 54</u>	<u>55 +</u>
Daily	30.3%	55.9%	60.7%	72.6%	73.8%
Once a week	29.8%	23.3%	19.8%	17.7%	13.1%
Sporadic	18.4%	11.5%	9.2%	3.2%	4.8%
Never	21.5%	9.3%	10.3%	6.5%	8.3%

FREQUENCY OF PRAYER: BY GENERATION

	Born in U.S. %	Before 8 %	After 8 %
Daily	34.7	44.4	58.8
Once a week	27.4	30.6	20.7
Sporadic	16.8	16.7	9.5
Never	21.1	8.3	11.0

WHERE PEOPLE PRAY

At Home	72.3%
At Church	36.3%
Another Place	14.5%

WHY PEOPLE PRAY

Give Thanks	7.8%
I like it	6.1%
For help, blessing	28.8%
For forgiveness	1.6%
To feel at peace	8.4%
To feel near God	7.5%
To ask for something, and Give Thanks	11.7%
Family custom	7.3%
Other	1.1%
No answer	9.5%

HOW PEOPLE PRAY

Use your own word	84.9%
Say formal prayers you have memorized	62.4%
Use the Bible	42.6%
Read or meditate upon the life of a Saint	8.4%
Use other type of Prayer	6.7%
Pray by yourself	79.0%
Pray with members of the household	18.7%
Pray with friends or other relatives	15.7%

LANGUAGE USE

During the interview, respondents were asked a number of questions concerning their language use in some religious settings. It was found that three-quarters (74.8%) pray only in Spanish, with an additional 15.4% praying in both Spanish and English. Only 9.7% pray only in English. Similarly, as can be seen in the following table, three quarters (75.3%) confess in Spanish, and three quarters (76.6%) of the most recent child's baptisms were conducted in Spanish. Paralleling language use in social settings, the use of English in religious settings increases as the activities become more public and institutional. In confession, 16.4% use only English, and 22.2% of the baptisms were in English.

Spanish is much less prominent in the religious activities of the respondents' children. Only 37.8% of the children pray only in Spanish, with an additional 29.1% using both languages. Only 34.9% of the children received religious instruction in

Spanish, with an additional 14.7% receiving it in both. Almost half (49.9%) of the religious instruction was only in English. Of the religious instruction that took place in this country, it was reported that 73% was only in English.

THE LANGUAGE OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITY

	Spanish Only %	English Only %	Both %
Prayer	74.8	9.7	15.4
Confession	75.3	16.4	8.3
Child's Baptism	76.6	22.2	1.2
Children's Religious Ed.	34.9	48.9	14.7
Children's Prayer	37.8	32.8	29.1

In terms of religious practice, it was found that the bilingual are less inclined to attend Mass on a regular basis. The following table shows that, of the bilingual, 36.6% attend frequently compared to 47.5% of those who speak only Spanish. In addition, 38.1% of the bilingual never attend Mass, while 26.0% of those who speak only Spanish never attend.

Similarly, 26.9% of those who speak only Spanish consider themselves to be very religious, while only 16.4% of the bilingual feel this way. And again, 82.6% of the Spanish speaking group said that the pope's visit was important to them while the percentage for the bilingual group was 71.4.

These two groups were also compared in relation to their belief in traditional doctrine. Of those who speak only Spanish, 47.5% scored "high" on the traditional doctrine scale. Of the

bilingual, 39.5% scored "high". These figures are also presented in the following table. Apparently, as Hispanics become more assimilated, there is also a tendency for them to become somewhat less religious.

LANGUAGE AND RELIGION

	<u>Spanish Only</u> %	<u>English Only</u> %
<u>MASS ATTENDANCE</u>		
Frequently	47.5	36.6
Sporadic	24.2	23.4
Never	26.0	38.1
TOTAL	(219)	(538)
<u>CONSIDER SELF RELIGIOUS</u>		
Very	26.9	16.4
Somewhat	43.1	44.5
Not very	25.9	26.2
Not at all	4.2	12.8
TOTAL	(216)	(530)
<u>CONSIDER PROGRAMS "IMPORTANT"</u>		
Visit of the Pope	82.6	71.4
Cursillo	53.9	41.8
Parish Council	47.9	40.5
TOTAL	(219)	(538)
<u>TRADITIONAL DOCTRINAL SCALE</u>		
Low	4.6	7.1
Medium Low	26.5	22.1

LANGUAGE AND RELIGION (continued)

	Spanish Only %	English Only %
<u>TRADITIONAL DOCTRINAL SCALE</u>		
Medium High	21.5	31.4
High	47.5	39.5
TOTAL	(219)	(538)

UNDERSTANDING THE SACRAMENTS

In New York, the life of the church for individuals as maturing Christians is closely intertwined with the sacramental life of the church. At an initial stage in our inquiry, we asked our respondents to name the three most important sacraments.

It is clear that formal knowledge of sacraments is not a part and parcel of being Catholic Christians for a large segment of the Hispanic community.

Almost half (47.1%) were not able to provide any answer and a further 11.6% gave responses which were not sacraments such as the ten commandments. Thus this means that almost three out of every five Hispanics could not provide the name of any sacrament. An additional 4.7% could name only one sacrament and further a similar number could name only two. This would mean that just over one-quarter of the respondents could name three sacraments.

Baptism was given most frequently as a sacrament, by almost two-fifths of the respondents. Holy Eucharist and Confirmation were named by 20% to 30% of the group, and matrimony by 17%. Holy Orders and particularly Anointing of the sick were mentioned by very few persons.

NAMES OF SACRAMENTS

"In your opinion, What are the three most important sacraments?"

Baptism	26.5%
Eucharist	19.1%
Confirmation	14.4%
Matrimony	11.7%
Penance	5.8%
Holy Orders	1.3%
Anointing	0.0%
Other	21.0%
TOTAL	100.0%

BAPTISM

Most Hispanics have been baptized and most have also had their children baptized. Only twenty-seven persons are not sure whether they were baptized, and twenty persons did not respond. Of those with children, however, 56 replied that some of their children were baptized and 68 said their children were not baptized. This would indicate some erosion of the reception of the sacrament.

Most persons were baptized at an early age of one year or less. Between 10% to 15% in the following ten years, another 8% at an older age.

Baptismal Ceremony. Questions about the baptismal ceremony of the youngest baptized child were asked. The answers would reflect their most recent experiences about the ceremony.

AGE OF BAPTISM

	Respondent %	Children %	"Ideal" %
1 yr. of age or less	79.2	65.2	67.8
2 - 5 years	6.7	12.6	5.3
6 - 10 years	3.6	3.2	4.8
11 + years	5.7	3.4	14.4
Don't Know	2.7	1.1	3.4
Any age			2.0
No Answer	2.0	39.2	2.3

BAPTISMAL CEREMONY

Language

English	21.7%
Spanish	74.5%
Both	1.2%

Most commonly, baptism took place in Spanish, as a group and outside of Mass. It is interesting to note that of these, the child's place of birth makes a difference in the language of the ceremony, but not for the context, and form of celebration.

Godparents. The choice of godparents is an important one for the Hispanic family, and in this choice, human qualities such as generation, leading an upright life and concern for the children or relationship as being a friend or relative play the most prominent part. Almost two-thirds use these as bases for selection

of godparents. One-quarter do consider the religious beliefs and practices of a person, sometimes in combination with human qualities. Some other reasons given were diverse and varied ranging from: "To respect one another," to "As long as it is not a family member."

Confession

Several examinations of the new rite of penance have shown that people go to confession for any number of reasons, most commonly because they feel comfort and at peace when they receive the sacrament, to know their sins are forgiven, to grow in faith, in search of spiritual direction and also out of habit. Of the 836 Hispanics who acknowledge confession as part of their religious practice, about one-third (34%) say that forgiveness is the main reason and secondly (20.1%) mention a need to talk to someone. These are the two main reasons given for going to confession. Whether a person is practicing or non-practicing seems to make no difference in terms of reasons given. These responses would also appear to have no relation to the person's kind and strength of beliefs, including a belief in hell.

Let us briefly recall the degree to which confession is a part of the religious practices of the New York Hispanic. Few go to confession on a regular basis, and the greatest number never go to confession. However, among those who do go to mass on a regular basis, one-third go to confession on a regular basis, and another two-fifths sporadically (two or three times a year, or once a year) and one-fifth never go.

HAVE YOU BEEN CONFIRMED: BY AGE

	<u>- 25</u>	<u>25-34</u>	<u>35-44</u>	<u>45-54</u>	<u>55 +</u>
Yes	56.2%	70.2%	69.3%	70.3%	81.9%
No	43.8%	29.8%	30.7%	29.7%	18.1%

HAVE YOU BEEN CONFIRMED: BY GENERATION

	<u>Born in U.S.</u>	<u>Came before 8</u>	<u>Came after 8</u>
Yes	64.1%	48.4%	70.0%
No	35.9%	51.6%	30.0%

HAVE YOU BEEN CONFIRMED: BY MASS ATTENDANCE

	<u>Frequent Attendance</u>	<u>Sporadic Attendance</u>	<u>No Attendance</u>
Yes	79.3%	67.5%	58.1%
No	20.7%	32.5%	41.9%

While over four-fifths of the Hispanics indicate that the sacrament of confirmation is administered in their religion, less than three-fifths (58.5%) have been confirmed. Of these persons, 17.1% were confirmed at an age under 7, one-fifth (21.7%) at an age between 7 and 10, 26.7% between the ages of 10 and 13, and 16.4% at fourteen years of age or older. The rest do not recall at what age they were confirmed. Half were confirmed in Puerto Rico, 22.7% in the Dominican Republic and 17.5% here in the U.S. mainland. Of persons under 25, one-fifth have not been confirmed.

Of those persons with children, 40.2% have children who received the sacrament of confirmation.

What is of interest, is first the respondents' reasons for why people are confirmed:

Strengthen	13.8%
Relationship to God	3.5%
Custom	21.5%

A few said comfort or family pressure. Almost half do not know why people receive confirmation. When children have been confirmed, the main reason given (70.1%) by the parents is that it is an obligation or a need.

HOLY ORDERS

The New York Hispanics in the sample were asked "In your opinion, why do some people decide to become priests, ministers, etc.?" By far, the most common reply by over two-fifths of the respondents is that it is a calling (42.8%). Small groups respond in terms of service: a service to God (15%) or to serve people (11.6%). A few say that it is because the persons are sure of their faith (4.3%). Very few think that it is the influence of parents.

WHY DO SOME PEOPLE DECIDE TO BECOME PRIESTS, MINISTERS, ETC.

Calling	42.8%
Serve God	15.0%
Serve people	11.6%
Sure of faith	4.3%
Negative attitude of people	3.7%

Parents' influence	0.9%
Other	1.4%
Do not know	9.3%
No response	10.9%

RELATIONSHIP TO THE LOCAL CHURCH

An important goal of this survey is to assess the Hispanic community's relationship to the Church in New York. Some institutional practices like Mass attendance have already been discussed. In this section, we will further elaborate on Hispanic involvement in the Church, including the sources of positive and negative experience with church, participation in church activities and organizations, familiarity with church programs and contact with church staff. This section reports only on the 831 Hispanics who identify themselves as Catholic.

Positive and Negative Experiences

Rarely are experiences in any situation totally good or totally bad; inevitably they are a mixture. For the Hispanic community also, their contact with the Church in New York is both positive and negative. We have asked a number of questions about their experience since coming to New York. In reading their responses two things should be kept in mind: first, the purpose in doing so is to try and distill out aspects of their experience which might lead New York's Hispanic Catholics to be more a part of the church here, and those aspects which are alienating. Second, from the experience of our interviewers and from other researchers we know that Latinos are reluctant to express anything negative

about the church, the priests and religious, therefore, any such expression, however minor should be taken seriously.

"GOOD" EXPERIENCES

"Let us talk about your experience of the church in New York. First, some good things. Of the following statements, which two would you say best describe your positive experiences of church in New York?"

Felt welcome	49.8%
Priests & ministers have a warm and friendly attitude	37.7%
Sensitive to the Hispanic culture	17.9%
Services are in Spanish	16.5%
Helpful with spiritual problems	12.4%
Helpful with social problems	11.8%
There is a feeling of community	8.5%
None of these really apply	---
Other	---

The two statements which mention specific Hispanic concerns, that is, sensitivity to Hispanic culture and Hispanic services, were selected by fewer respondents, 17.9% and 16.5% respectively. It is not clear from this question whether these two traits are seen as lacking in the church or whether these are just not a primary source of positive experience for a large part of the Hispanic community. Also, fewer than 15% of the respondents selected "helpful with spiritual problems," "helpful with social problems," or "there is a feeling of community."

"BAD" EXPERIENCES

"Now let's talk about some bad experiences of church. Of the following statements, which two would you say best describe your negative experiences of church in New York?"

Priests/ministers are cold and show no concern for the people	15.4%
There is little or no help with social problems	11.8%
There is little or no help with spiritual problems	9.7%
Lack of sensitivity to Hispanic culture	5.4%
Felt rejected	4.2%
The services that I need are not provided in Spanish	3.7%
None of these really apply	---
Other	---

The most common source of bad experience, selected by 15.4% of the group, is the feeling that priests and ministers are cold and show no concern for the people. The second most frequently selected, by 11.8%, is that there is little or no help with social problems. The same was said in regard to spiritual problems by 9.7%. Again, the specifically Hispanic choices were not selected by many: lack of sensitivity to Hispanic culture by 5.4% and needed services not provided in Spanish by 3.7%. An additional 4.2% of the respondents indicated a feeling of rejection as a source of negative experience.

PERCEIVED IMPORTANCE OF CURRENT CHURCH DEVELOPMENTS

	<u>Important</u>	<u>Not Important</u>	<u>Heard of, but don't know about</u>	<u>Never heard of</u>
Visit of the Pope	74.7%	3.7%	9.4%	12.2%
Cursillo	43.0%	2.8%	23.1%	31.2%
Parish Council	42.4%	1.2%	14.6%	41.9%
Rel. Ed. Coordinator	34.4%	1.0%	11.7%	52.9%
Luz y Vida	33.1%	1.1%	19.3%	46.6%
Charismatic Renewal	28.8%	4.6%	24.8%	41.9%
Vatican Council II	25.9%	1.7%	12.6%	59.8%
Int'l Eucharistic Congress	18.5%	1.7%	12.3%	67.5%
Ministry of the Laity	10.7%	2.0%	12.3%	75.0%
Encuentro I & II	9.4%	1.2%	13.5%	75.9%
Medellin	6.4%	2.2%	21.7%	69.8%
Puebla	4.6%	1.2%	19.6%	74.7%

Two events covered widely by the mass media are the International Eucharistic Congresses and the visit of Pope John Paul II in 1980. Eucharistic Congresses which have been held since 1881, take place in various countries all over the world and draw hundreds of thousands of Catholics in a mass affirmation of their faith. The most recent Eucharistic Congress was held in Lourdes in 1981, and before that in Philadelphia in 1976. Both the pope's visit and the Congress in Philadelphia were widely publicized, but clearly the visit of the pope remains more important to the New York Hispanic. Three-fourths (74.7%) say it is important

to them. For the Eucharistic Congress only one-fifth (18.5%) indicate it as important.

The Cursillo, Charismatic Renewal and Luz y Vida are non-parish based renewal movements. Charismatic Renewal, rated "important" by 28.8%, brings groups together to draw out the particular "gifts" of the individual through prayer and/or healing. Cursillo Emphasizes the training of a leadership through an intensive spiritual renewal program. This was the second most important item, rated "important" by 43.0%. Luz y Vida rated important by 33.1%, is an outgrowth of the Cursillo in that the leaders from the Cursillo extend themselves to the community and form Bible study and prayer groups.

IMPORTANCE OF CHURCH DEVELOPMENTS AND MASS ATTENDANCE

	Frequently %	Sporadic %	Never %
Visit of the Pope	86.3	86.6	54.0
Parish Council	61.7	47.5	17.7
Cursillo	60.8	37.6	27.0
Rel. Ed. Coordinator	46.2	43.1	15.7
Luz y Vida	44.4	37.1	18.0
Charismatic Renewal	43.8	27.2	13.3
Vatican Council II	37.7	33.2	8.0
Int'l Eucharistic Congress	28.6	21.8	5.3
Ministry of the Laity	17.3	12.4	2.3
Encuentro I & II	15.2	8.9	3.3
Medellin	8.8	7.9	2.7
Puebla	7.9	3.0	2.0

IMPORTANCE OF CHURCH DEVELOPMENTS AND HISPANIC IDENTITY

	Puerto Rican %	Dominican %	Other %
Visit of the Pope	71.0	79.7	86.9
Parish Council	37.2	52.0	52.4
Cursillo	36.9	61.4	38.1
Rel. Ed. Coordinator	30.5	40.6	45.2
Luz y Vida	28.1	45.0	36.9
Charismatic Renewal	27.3	31.7	31.0
Vatican Council II	21.3	30.2	45.2
Int'l Eucharistic Congress	14.5	22.3	35.7
Ministry of the Laity	9.2	10.4	21.4
Encuentro I % II	9.0	5.9	20.2
Medellin	4.2	7.4	17.9
Puebla	4.0	3.5	10.7

SOME CONCLUSIONS

In 1970, the Spanish-speaking population of the Archdiocese numbered just over 700,000 and comprised 14% of the total population. By 1980, according to the U.S. Census, Hispanics total almost 850,000 or 17% of all persons in our ten counties. In addition, the composition of the Spanish-speaking population has changed, become more diverse. Puerto Ricans are the largest group, but a quarter of the Hispanics are also from the Dominican Republic, and another one-tenth from Cuba, Ecuador, Colombia and other Latin American countries. This continuing migration is

further complicated by the ease with which Hispanics come and go from their homelands, resulting in a Hispanic population which is at all stages of assimilation from the new arrival to the third generation Hispanic. The Office of Pastoral Research estimates that Hispanics comprise 35% of the Catholic community and will grow rapidly to over 40% by 1990.

The following are some of the findings which have implications for developing evangelization and liturgical approaches, and for pastoral concerns:

1) One-third of the Hispanics relate to the local churches. One-third go to church very sporadically, and one-third never go to church. Yet, a majority of the Latinos say that the local parish and school are important to them.

2) Almost all were Catholic. At the present time, 83.5% identify themselves as Catholic, 9.3% as Protestant, and 7.2% do not identify themselves with any religious denomination. Among the Protestants, the largest numbers are Pentecostal and Evangelical. The case studies give evidence of the support, community and appeal provided by these groups. Religious change takes place at a relatively young age.

3) Hispanics in New York have strong religious and moral beliefs especially around those which are central to orthodox Catholic belief. These are about the existence of God, the Resurrection, the existence of heaven, hell, and belief in the Virgin Mary.

The strength of their beliefs is clear when a comparison is made with others studies of non-Hispanic Catholics. Some differences

are apparent, especially by age and generation giving evidence of weaker beliefs for the younger age group under 25, and correlatively those born on the U.S. mainland.

4) Among the Hispanic community, folk religious practices as well as institutional religious practices are an essential part of the expression of their beliefs and are interrelated. Persons whose religious practices are highly institutional also tend to observe many folk religious customs. Those who do not observe institutional religious customs also do not observe folk religious practices and might therefore be considered secularized.

5) This last group which includes the non-affiliated as well as those persons who never go to church is probably among the more assimilated of the Hispanics.

6) Folk religious practices which are retained are those which are more in conformity with American customs.

7) The New York Hispanic has little knowledge and participation in "conciliar" church developments as consultative structures of the church, lay involvement, ministries as lectors, eucharistic ministers, the developments of the Latin American church as articulated at Puebla and Medellin.

8) The question of church association is more than that of language. A large proportion are bilingual, indeed the younger generation are at ease with English. It is crucially the question of "feeling welcome" and of "feeling at ease."

9) The youngest generation is fluent and more at ease in English, and have absorbed many of the values and cultural norms of the United States.

10) Almost three-quarters of the Hispanic population are bilingual. Certain groups are proportionately more bilingual than others, including the younger, the better educated, the second generation, the Puerto Ricans and those with a higher income.

11) Generally speaking Spanish is the preferred language in intimate situations. While three-quarters are bilingual, three-quarters pray and go to confession only in Spanish, and over one-half speak only Spanish at home.

12) A strong sense of concern and responsibility towards their own community and others reflects a very personal approach to social needs as works of mercy.

13) Less of a sense of social responsibility including social issues which involve political action. Even with the leaders it is a concern for the future rather than the deed.

14) Growing numbers of young Hispanics with college education and in the professions are unrelated to the church and have a willingness and readiness to be of service.

15) A sense that what is important is religion and not necessarily the Catholic Church. Therefore a tendency to hop around from religion to religion to whichever church welcomes them while maintaining a Catholic identity. They therefore practice the two religions with no problems.

16) As well as diversity of Hispanic background there is a diversity of religious style and these cut across the Latin American countries.

17) Hispanic religiosity in New York is basically a church of

the poor and due to the elitist quality of the church in Latin America they have been separated from the church. Therefore, we have to seek to integrate them not expect them to take the lead in this.

18) The Church in New York should think of itself as missionary.

19) The efforts of the Church in New York have not been fruitless - these efforts show through in the attitudes of the New York Hispanic to the Church in New York especially the clergy, but more has to be done.

There is then allied with a strong belief system, and many religious traditions, a clear acknowledgement of the importance of the local church in the lives of our Hispanics, and a sense of responsibility to support the church. These are for the Hispanics in the Archdiocese of New York, their contributions and the resources which they bring to all of us. It may well be that ministry to the Hispanic community is also the Hispanic community's ministry to the New York community.

HISPANICS AND MINISTRY: A STATEMENT OF CONCERNS

INTRODUCTION

After the completion of the study of the Hispanic experience in the Archdiocese of New York, a three day meeting was held, at St. Joseph's Seminary in Yonkers. The participants in that meeting formed a balance of those involved immediately in pastoral work, those from area programs and offices and the resource people who helped conduct the study. With certain noted omissions, the group was well-qualified to discuss both professionally and experientially

the results of the study.

This report answers a suggestion of that meeting that a summary be prepared of the major concerns of the participants as they reacted to the materials. Obviously, with a meeting of such duration, with the quantity and quality of the material and the background diversity of the participants, a complete statement would be impossible and impractical. The purpose in this report is to insure that the central focus and themes are presented, with the thrust of the discussion and the basic flavor highlighting particular concerns. Continued reflection and discussion are necessary to plumb the richness of what has been uncovered.

The one qualification mentioned above concerned those whose experience did not form part of this working group or a sufficient part. These included: younger priests, ordained after the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council whose insights are modified by the timing of that experience; religious whose contribution in the educational and social fields would make them valuable participants; Hispanic deacons who represent an indigenous "American" group, capable of the bridging of relationships among different cultures; and finally, the young people in ever increasing number who hold a key to the future of the Church in New York and whose values, practices and beliefs must be considered in the preparation of a future pastoral approach to the opportunities for ministry among Hispanics.

MEANING OF THE STUDY - SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS

From the beginning of the meeting and throughout the deliberations, two reactions seemed to predominate. One was the significance

of the findings of the survey and will be dealt with here immediately; the other was concerned with the proper use of the entire study in the apostolate with Hispanics in the future. This will be the subject of much of the remainder of this presentation.

Early in the conference it was evident that one aspect of the study was confusing to the participants, especially those directly involved in pastoral work. Surprisingly, it was that the conclusions of the survey seemed to be too positive. Reaction to the Catholic Church in New York seemed to be favorable. The staff explained that a certain "Catholic bias" might well be present in the survey because the interviewers did identify themselves as representatives of the Archdiocese. This open statement of the origin of the study was necessary in order to make it clear that it was not governmentally sponsored, a continual fear among the respondents. The probability sampling methodology was explained to the group showing a valid scientific sample was collected following accepted sociological norms.

These results, while perhaps too positive, are a reminder that much of value has been achieved in the Archdiocese. A number of priests and religious have been trained for bi-cultural, bilingual ministry and their work has been appreciated and somewhat successful. The various programs that have been and are being conducted on the Archdiocesan, vicariate and parish levels have resulted in more knowledgeable and involved lay people. Frustration with some elements of these efforts, as with the "gaps" and lack of full coordination in the Hispanic apostolate, should

not blind us to the good that has been accomplished. The history of Archdiocesan concern as presented in the New York Hispanic ministry paper is obviously marked by some confusion about goals and policies. However, clearly a major effort was and is being made to minister to a dramatically increasing Hispanic population.

Finally, this study challenges the church in New York to move in certain directions that will be of immense benefit to the future ministry to and by Hispanics.

Our first point, then, is that the conclusions of this survey are both interesting and valid. They are a welcome reminder of the good that has been accomplished in the recent past, and a spur to more creative efforts in the future.

The second major "reaction", certainly the most important and often repeated emphasis of the conference, was that this material must be used in planning the future of the Hispanic apostolate in the Archdiocese. This point cannot be over-stressed. There was a sense of urgency both in the discussion groups and in the general sessions. Various means of using this material in the parish, vicariate, and Archdiocesan levels will be suggested later. However, it is clear that the sense of the committee was to call for this study to be used as the beginning of an ongoing process. All indicated their willingness to assist in the implementation that the Cardinal deems appropriate in the future Archdiocesan efforts. Clearly, all agreed that the massive amount of work and participation makes it imperative that it be widely and wisely used in planning pastoral and social initiatives. This committee, or a similar body, must be continued in order to suggest and implement

these possibilities. The Director of the Spanish-Speaking Apostolate and the Vicar for Spanish Pastoral Development will play key roles in coordinating this effort. Both expressed a willingness to do so.

Thus there was great enthusiasm in the reception of this study, provided that it must be seen as a vehicle for future actions, and not as a final product in itself. At this point, we can mention several areas that were discussed and in which action was suggested.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

The participants concluded that more religious education is needed on every level. In light of this study, our traditional approaches and programs in religious education must be evaluated and possibly changed. There is a need to find new ways to satisfy the hunger of hispanic people for a greater religious instruction. The findings of the study will be of interest to all who are involved in some form of education or religious formation of Hispanics. Under that heading, specific mention was made of Catholic schools and C.C.D. programs.

In the discussions of the participants, the feeling emerged that a willingness to understand and serve Hispanic peoples would naturally raised questions about money, personnel and the best use of our schools and other resources.

The area of adult education received a large share of time because of its importance. Although the Cursillo, Marriage Encounter and Charismatic movements have had great effect, an all around strengthening of efforts is needed. In spite of the many

worthy programs for adults, there is still a general lack of knowledge of the theology of the church, its social teachings and the teachings of the Second Vatican Council.

At the local level, priests, religious, deacons and laity should work as a parish community to develop catechesis. For example, Hispanics are confused about a sense of sin and some of the moral questions because of a perceived confusion in the church today.

Hispanic adults are seeking religious formation and training for ministry. Young Hispanics, especially those who are making career choices or at some other transition point in their lives, should be invited to prepare themselves for a greater share in religious education efforts. It was noted that when Hispanic adults do receive training for leadership and ministry, they should have the opportunities to exercise their ministry in parishes and be given a degree of responsibility when working with others. Their training for leadership roles should not separate them from their people or make them into an elitist group.

Whatever educational approaches are made, whether to the older or younger Hispanic adult, several points must be carefully considered:

- 1) The number of years in school they have completed.
- 2) Their deep respect for the individual person.
- 3) Their strong sense of family and community which is not anti-institutional.
- 4) They are a "home" with conciliar church.
- 5) A personal approach to the Hispanic will be more effective.

- 6) A lack of vocabulary to talk about sacraments and worship should not be understood as ignorance.
- 7) The Hispanic, very often, has a non-verbal, intuitive grasp of religion and its concepts.

One area where more could be done is when the Hispanic family seeks to baptize a child. Strong cultural factors are at work on this occasion and a program of sacramental formation should include godparents who have a special role in the social support system of the Hispanic family.

LITURGY AND POPULAR RELIGION

Many Hispanics in New York learned a language and style of worship and prayer which is unfamiliar to many priests whether they be from the United States, Spain, Puerto Rico or another Latin American country. Ministers should try to understand and appreciate their sense of religion. It is helpful to keep in mind the document "The Church and People On the Move" which calls us to achieve:

A unity in plurality, that is, that unity which is not uniformity but harmony, in which every legitimate diversity is taken up into the common and unifying effort.

The paper on popular religion makes the distinction between the masses and the elite and the feeling was that the opposition or dichotomy described between the masses and the elite was too exaggerated. For some of the practices that are termed "popular," e.g. the recitation of the rosary, various novenas, echar el agua, etc. the usage can in large part be attributed to the instruction and encouragement of the clergy. There was and is

a common acceptance on the part of both "masses" and "elite" of many of these practices. Note that "santeria" is not included in this observation.

The notion of popular religiosity seems to be a rather recent invention with little or no basis in fact prior to the massive missionary endeavors of the 16th and succeeding centuries.

The paper also seems to view the renewal of interest in the popular devotions of the people as simply a tool for a greater evangelization. The motivation of liturgists lies along the lines of letting the people speak their own language in their worship of God. Liturgists view ritual forms as being as much of a language as Spanish, French or English.

As regards the variety of popular forms of worship, the meaning which they contain is more important than the form itself (generally speaking). Incense, for example, was a pagan form of worship in the Roman Empire which was eventually accepted into christian worship -- but only later it lost its pagan associations in the fourth century. It is of critical importance for the church to firmly root these practices in the saving mystery of Christ, to deepen their superficial meanings until the bedrock of Christ's redemptive work is encountered in all its richness. If we should seek to discard or uproot the people's work, we run the risk of abandoning them, or of seeming to abandon them. While affirming the exaggeration of the dichotomy in popular religiosity, we can still speak in this way because we see economic, class, cultural or educational differences as their underlying cause -- not an intellectual versus emotional opposition (all, no matter how

intellectual, have an emotional dimension in their personality, and vice-versa -- worship must be an engagement of the whole person). Not enough has been done about instruction in liturgy. The word itself is not familiar to Hispanics. The survey highlights the importance of language in encouraging participation by the people. Here in the United States Mass attendance is greater than in Latin America, and there is more awareness of the duty to contribute monetarily.

While the origins and meanings of many of the practices of santeria are known to the clergy, and are viewed by them as seriously compromising orthodox belief, many people see nothing wrong in these practices. The extent of botanicas, as noted in the survey, attests to this ignorance. The way in which to deal with this problem most effectively must still be found. Without making a serious proposal, we explored ways in which this could be done, and ways in which something similar (e.g. in Africa by missionaries) had been done. We noted, as did the paper, the union of devotion and theology that exists in the eastern rite churches.

The importance of symbols and rituals in the liturgy kept returning as a topic of discussion. If santeria continues to exercise a hold on our people, we see it as a function of its use of symbols. A response to this would be a more effective symbolic and ritual practice in our churches. There is a critical need for studies on the nature and function of symbols in the liturgy -- or wider distribution of already existing studies. We must be able to celebrate liturgy in such a way that the inherent drama of ritual and symbolic acts can be felt by all. In an age in which

the content and forms of belief have been claimed by the "masters of suspicion" we must be able to enter into this area again with a "second naivete" (Paul Ricoeur's phrases).

A few practical matters relating to the use of the Spanish language in the liturgy are:

1) The value of bilingual celebrations (they are necessary for special events).

2) The need to know how to use the Spanish language in such a way that its inherent dignity comes through.

3) The difficulties caused by varied versions of the Lord's Prayer, the prayers of the Ordinary of the Mass, and biblical readings.

4) The importance of proper instruction in how to read biblical readings in the mass.

5) The language ability of the celebrant as a major consideration.

Finally, two crucial needs are pinpointed. First the need to form and sensitize ministers in the Hispanic community in Hispanic customs, symbols, language and culture. Second, the need to develop formative tools for the Hispanic people in order to root their religious practices more solidly.

YOUTH

The gaps that are evident in youth ministry are widespread, both socially and educationally. Culturally sensitive ministers are needed on all levels of education. The task is immense because particular attention must be paid to:

- the notably low level of participation of youth in church

life and worship

- the growing number of college students among the Hispanic population

- "dropouts" who need evangelization and educational and social assistance

- high school students in Catholic schools (where more priests, brothers and sisters who are committed to "inner-city work" are desperately needed) and to public school students, for whom programs to teach and evangelize are an obvious need

- reaching out to youth through both sports and formation programs especially to the newly arrived

- boys and girls receiving equal attention

In particular, youth must be encouraged to become more involved in the parish through peer ministry, seats on the parish council and true respect for their opinions and judgments. Perhaps masses for Hispanic youth could promote this participation as well as bilingual catechesis.

Again, caution is needed in this area. Many young people are already rapidly assimilating into American society. Whether this is a good thing is a matter for debate and perhaps scholarly investigation. However, it is certainly an element to be aware of in any program designed for Hispanic youth.

Although both religious and moral beliefs are very strong, clearly levels of practice and education about religious beliefs are much lower. This would indicate that major efforts are needed on local levels in the area of religious education for all.

ECUMENISM

The results of this study will be shared with the Ecumenical Commission of the Archdiocese. Although ecumenical cooperation is most desirable and has been successful, especially in areas of social action, there is clearly a different situation in dealing with Pentecostal and other sect-type religions. Often they have an anticatholic and anti-clerical attitude which undermines true ecumenism. Perhaps the commission could address this situation at one of its meetings and propose guidelines in this area.

The attraction of these fundamentalist groups for Hispanics is undeniable. Even when they maintain a basic Catholic identity, Hispanics may begin to worship with these religions for one or more of the following reasons:

- 1) Community life.
- 2) Conversion experience and the opportunity to assume a position of leadership.
- 3) Emotional appeal.
- 4) Hispanic minister.
- 5) Clear doctrine, which is based on biblical fundamentalism.
- 6) Rejection of spiritism and santeria which are carried over from their homelands.

There is much in these motivations that is legitimate. The church must spread the message of Christ in an understandable and culturally relevant way. Both the cursillo and charismatic movements have led the way in providing for the pastoral care of Hispanics, who might be attracted to these sects, within the catholic community.

In addition to the caution about anti-catholic groups, there was a further concern about ecumenism among Hispanics. It must always be accompanied by theological education so that the danger of an indifferentism that suggests that all religions are the same can be avoided. In short, there is a real place for ecumenism among churches serving Hispanics, but it must always be correctly understood by all those who are involved.

FAMILY

The Hispanic family in New York is in a state of transition from one culture to another, and this produces additional stresses to those which are present in any family between husband and wife, parent and child, and from social pressures of a complex urban living.

Some of these should be given careful attention and sensitivity both by parish and school staff.

Roles of men and women in the family change due to economic situations and also the cultural milieu into which the family moves. Particular attention should be paid to the difficult role which Hispanic women often have. From a submissive role in traditional Hispanic society, particularly if she is working, she gains economic independence and is exposed to an environment in which merit is accorded on the basis of individual ability and self-assurance. Stress is even more present when the husband who has traditionally occupied a dominant position cannot find employment. The members of the family need to retain the sense of dignidad which is central to Hispanic family values. Sensitivity should be present to regard the family as a whole as well as acknowledging

the capabilities of the individual.

Parent-child relationships have been rooted in the value of respeto. Care should be taken to continue this in balance with the emphasis on assertiveness and self-reliance endemic to the American school system. In relating to parents respect should be present for the traditional patterns of childrearing which have taken place.

It is also necessary to act upon the needs of the elderly Hispanic who will be increasing in number. The survey was conducted with Hispanics from 18 to 65 years of age since at that time a joint study proposal was being developed with the Department of Aging of Catholic Charities Fordham University of Social Work and the Office of Pastoral Research. Since this did not come about, research should be continued for our Hispanic seniors.

VOCATIONS

There are still very few vocations from Hispanics in the U.S. to priesthood and religious life. One encouraging fact however, is that one-third of the respondents in the survey would like their son to be a priest. Thus, the stereotype of Hispanics opposing vocations for their sons is not confirmed by this study. This indicates that major efforts must be made in this area to promote effective programs to encourage vocations.

The number of parents who would be pleased by a child's religious vocation was much higher than most participants would have expected. Interestingly most of those interviewed saw very little parental influence in "causing" a religious vocation. Here, then, is another area where further actions may yield very

favorable results.

The results of the study should also be shared with the Office of the Vicar for Religious. The role of sisters and deacons in pastoral work does not seem to be as widely known as one might expect.

STAFFING AND LANGUAGE

If they are to be effective, priests and other ministers must be familiar and comfortable with the language and culture of the people with whom they are working. This is most obvious in liturgical celebration where the use of symbols and command of language is so vital. Although programs to assist American priests and religious in this regard have been somewhat successful, they must be continued and strengthened. Similar programs should be developed for priests who come to the Archdiocese from Spain. Frequently, their ability to speak Spanish is not matched by their knowledge of the culture of the Hispanic groups who reside in the Archdiocese. It is essential that these priests receive assistance in this area so that they can function well in the Archdiocese.

St. Joseph's Seminary presently has a rule that all seminarians should be able to speak a pastoral language at the time of ordination. This rule should be strictly enforced with an emphasis on Spanish as the chief pastoral language that is needed in the Archdiocese.

While not the focus of this study, this clearly raises the question of the type of assignment that not only newly ordained,

but also all priests will be asked to undertake. At the present time, the Personnel Board is as responsive as possible to the desires of priests about the type and area of assignment that they wish. With the growing shortage of clergy, we must ask whether the "needs of the Archdiocese" will come into conflict with the desires of individuals as far as their choice of type of parish (or type of school for that matter) is concerned. Although enforcing the rule at Dunwoodie about speaking a pastoral language would not necessarily mean a decline in the freedom that priests now have about choice of assignment, it might well be a step in that direction.

The possibility of sending an Hispanic student to a bi-cultural seminary, such as the one in Miami, should be considered in individual cases.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of this investigation have been more hopeful and positive than some might have expected. They also reveal a number of areas which call for action on the part of the church in New York. This valuable document provides the foundation on which to build further pastoral actions.

The findings of this study will be published in a more compact way and made available to parishes and local groups for their consideration.

The Hispanic study quite clearly presents the Church in New York with a major challenge and opportunity. Those who participated in the study have done a major service and should be highly commended.

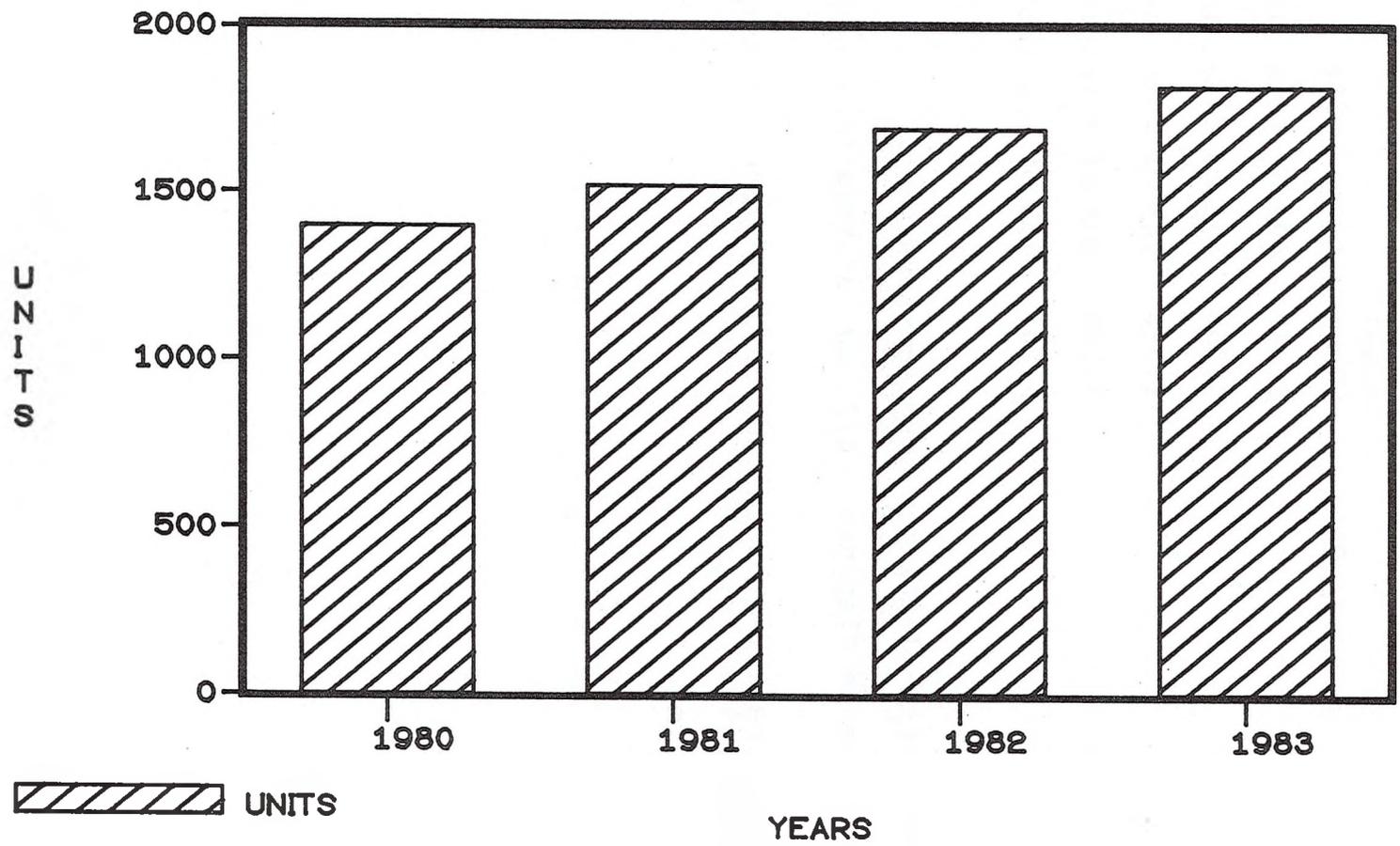
However, the primary task remains before us: this study must be used -

- to value the contributions made by Hispanics
- to understand the Hispanic peoples and their needs
- to evaluate what has happened in Hispanic ministry in the past
- to chart the course of what should happen in the future.

Source: Hispanics in New York: Religious, Cultural and Social Experiences, Office of Pastoral Research, Archdiocese of New York.

**SOUTHERN BAPTIST
HISPANIC CHURCH GROWTH**

NUMBER OF HISPANIC UNITS, 1980-83



Source: 1980 Census

5 YEAR GROWTH PATTERN FOR HISPANIC
CONGREGATIONS/UNITS

	<u>Hispanic Congregations/Units</u>	<u>Total Congregations/Units</u>	
1978	1,200	2,962	40% of total is Hispanic
1979	1,400	3,250	43% of total is Hispanic
1980	1,522	3,526	43% of total is Hispanic
1981	1,694	3,858	43% of total is Hispanic
1982	1,822	4,203	43% of total is Hispanic

Total increases - 1,241 new congregations/units

Total increase in Hispanic - 622 new congregations/units

For a 5 year period $\frac{1}{2}$ of the new congregations/units have been Hispanic.

AKC - 6/83

Source: 1980 Census

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of
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Language Missions Division
Home Missions Board
SBC

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INTRODUCTION

This bibliography has been extracted from the larger volume, "Ethnic American, A Bibliography." It contains information on materials about Hispanics in the United States and has been compiled to assist mission leaders in their efforts to share the gospel with Hispanic Americans.

This bibliography is by no means exhaustive, only representative of the material which is available on the subject of Hispanic Americans. Following are the subgroups for which information is provided.

1. Argentinians
2. Brazilians
3. Chileans
4. Cubans
5. Mexicans and Puerto Ricans
6. South Americans

This should be a valuable resource for conducting research about Hispanics in the United States.

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