

ABSTRACT

One Bread, One Body, One Church: The Religiosity of Latino and Anglo Catholics in America

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Objective: This paper examines the religious differences between American Latino and Anglo Catholics. *Method:* This study uses multivariate analyses to model the differences between these groups on traditional measures of religious behavior, belonging, belief, and experience of God. Data come from the Faith Matters Survey (2006-2007), a national sample of over 3,100, including 388 Latinos. *Results:* Despite language and substantial SES differences, Latino and Anglo Catholics exhibit similar religious behaviors, beliefs and attachments to the Roman Catholic Church. Still, Latinos and Anglos differ in their experiences of God and frequency of personal prayer. These findings recommend that Latino and Anglo Catholics remain combined in religious tradition typologies.

One Bread, One Body: The Religiosity of Latino and Anglo Catholics in America

by

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A Thesis

Approved by the Department of Sociology

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Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
Baylor University in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
of
Master of Arts

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May 2013

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis chairperson, Dr. Paul Froese, as well as my committee members, Dr. Carson Mencken and Dr. Jon Singletary for seeing me through this process.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Latinos have overtaken African Americans as the largest minority group in the United States and are projected to grow rapidly through both immigration and high fertility rates (Ellison et al., 2005; Guzman & McConell, 2002; Skirbekk, Kaufmann, & Goujon, 2010; Taylor, Gonzalez-Barrera, Passel, & Lopez, 2012). Seventy percent of American Latinos are Roman Catholic and they currently make up more than one third of all American Catholics (Matovina, 2011). Over 40% of all Catholics under the age of 35 are Latinos, and soon Latino Catholics will comprise over half the American Catholic Church (D'Antonio, Davidson, Hoge, & Gautier, 2007; Skirbekk et al., 2010). The country's largest ethnic minority group is now poised to become the majority stakeholder in the nation's largest religious group.

The size of the Latino population in the United States, their majority share of the American Catholic Church and their potential impact on the American religious landscape, makes them an important group for study. Perhaps Latino Catholics represent a special religious category, akin to the segregation of "Black Protestants" in the widely used RELTRAD typology (Steensland et al., 2000). Steensland et al. justify the use of ethnic/racial characteristics to classify a religious group by arguing that "The denominational culture of the Black Church is manifestly different from that of other white Protestant traditions. This is the result of the unique legacy of the Black Church in American history" (Steensland et al., 2000, p. 294). Part of this historical legacy is a way in which Black Protestants differ from other Evangelical Protestants with regards to their economic status as well as their political attitudes. Steensland et al (2000,

p. 295) use three criteria for their typology: history, taxonomy and terminology. Latino and Anglo Catholics share a common history, but may differ in attendance and beliefs, which could suggest different religious types. These religious variables will be analyzed without being conflated with social or political terminology per the RELTRAD model.

Perhaps a similar argument could be made for the difference between Latino and Anglo American Catholics. Latinos are politically and economically distinct from Anglos, and Latino Catholics tend to worship in separate “ethnic” churches, if not simply separate Spanish-language masses (Garces-Foley, 2008). While the Roman Catholic Church is a “top-down” organization, in practice it delegates much of the decision-making to the diocese and even parish levels (Garces-Foley, 2008). This is known as the Catholic organizing principle of “Subsidiarity,” in which many matters are handled by the most local authority (Rerum Novarum 1891). The smallest Catholic structure is normally the parish, and outside of the actual ritual of mass and the sacraments, the parish has great influence over the focus of ministries and the extent to which the local cultural traditions will be emphasized and celebrated. This allows for cultural and historic differences to develop, reminiscent of the distinct legacy of the Black Church.

These differences have not gone unnoticed, and in fact, some researchers treat Latino and Anglo Catholics separately (Putnam & Campbell, 2012; Skirbekk et al., 2010). Woodberry et al. (2012, p. 68) also assert that the “distinct religious traditions” of the Latino population “require greater attention.” Still, Putnam and Campbell conclude that a separate Latino Catholic category would not be appropriate. They explain:

For all that we have emphasized Latino’s distinctiveness with the American Catholic Church, it is fair to ask whether this means that Latino Catholics are analogous to Black Protestants and thus distinctive enough to constitute a separate religious tradition. In a word, no. Black and white evangelicals consciously went their separate ways in the 1800s, while Latino and “Anglo” (and other) Catholics have remained united within a single tradition (Putnam & Campbell, 2012, p. 304).

Although Latinos and Anglos are housed under the same global authority structure, they have been in many cases geographically distinct and we know they differ on their economic and social issue positions. Therefore Putnam and Campbell's assertion requires more investigation.

Is it true that Anglo and Latino Catholics are of one religious type? Using Putnam and Campbell's Faith Matters Survey, I investigate the extent to which Latino and Anglo Catholics vary in their religious experiences, beliefs, behaviors, and sense of belonging to the Catholic Church. The extent to which these common measures of religiosity are different suggests the extent to which Latino and Anglo Catholics have distinct religious cultures.

In sum, I find that despite substantial SES and language differences, Latino and Anglo Catholics appear surprisingly similar in their religiosity. Still, Latino and Anglo Catholics differ in their experiences of God and personal prayer. These exceptions reflect the divergent cultural influences of the global south and American Protestantism but fail to upend their shared attachment to a singular Catholic tradition. In the end, Latino and Anglo Catholics share not only a common Church but also similar expressions of religiosity. We should talk about these two diverse populations as having one religious type. The fact that Latino and Anglo Catholics may differ dramatically on other social-cultural dimensions may reduce the statistical importance of being an American Catholic in other analyses. Still, we need to be conceptually clear in how we construct religious categories, and, in this case, Anglos and Latino Catholics are of one group.

CHAPTER TWO

American Latino and Anglo Catholics

The Latino population in the United States is not homogenous. Not all American Latinos are Catholic (Dolan and S.J 1997; Hunt 1999; see Bartkowski et al. 2012); research shows that approximately 20% of Latinos now identify as Protestant or non-denominational Christians (Bartkowski, Ramos-Wada, Ellison, & Acevedo, 2012; Perl, Greely, & Gray, 2006). American Latinos also trace their ancestry from many different nations. The three largest Latino groups in the United States are Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Cubans (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, and Albert 2011). Mexicans are the most likely to be Catholic, and Puerto Ricans are the most likely to be Evangelical (Pew Research Hispanic Center, 2007). Even within the Latino population, there is a range of diversity in both ethnicity and religious affiliation.

Catholic Latinos differ from Evangelical Latinos in important ways. In most instances, Latino Evangelical Protestants are more socially conservative than Latino Catholics. Research shows distinction on issues such as abortion attitudes (Bartkowski et al., 2012; Ellison et al., 2005) and same-sex marriage (Ellison, Acevedo, & Ramos-Wada, 2011). Not only are Latino Catholics less conservative on these specific “family based” issues, this trend extends more broadly to a wide array of social and political issues (Ellison et al., 2011; Gibson & Hare, 2012). Latino Catholics’ less conservative stance, complicates their political portrait.

In part because the United States is overwhelming Protestant, Latino Catholics are often compared to Anglo Protestants. Studies have compared religiosity and attitudes toward money, as well as consumer spending habits between Latino Catholics and Anglo Protestants

(Patwardhan, Keith, & Vitell, 2012). Some noted differences about cultural meanings of money between Anglo Protestants and Latino Catholics (Falicov, 2001). These studies examine the different orientation that Latinos have toward business in light of their considerable power in the marketplace as consumers. Patwardhan, Keith and Vitell (2012) show Latinos have higher levels of what they term “extrinsic” or external, visible religiosity than Anglo Protestants, but the same amount of “intrinsic” or internal, personal religiosity.

Latino religiosity is often framed in terms of its external, visible and effusive nature. Much of what we do know about this diverse Latino population’s religiosity comes through the rich qualitative work that has been done describing their distinctive devotional traditions (Dolan and S.J 1997; Ellison, Acevedo, and Ramos-Wada 2011; Matovina 2005, 2011; Odem 2004; Stevens-Arroyo 1998). These popular religious practices include things such as veneration of Patron Saints or the Virgin of Guadalupe, as well as Marian devotions (Dolan & Deck, 1997; Ellison et al., 2011; Matovina, 2005, 2011; Stevens-Arroyo, 1998). It is from this vein of research that we get the full picture of the vibrancy of Latino religiosity. These studies move us past the image of Latino praying the rosary, and into theatrical Good Friday processions involving the whole community, and jubilant celebrations of feast days (Matovina, 2011).

The literature also shows us that this effusiveness is carried into Latinos experience of God. Studies show that Latino Catholics are more experiential or charismatic in their worship style than Anglos Catholics (Palmer-Boyes, 2010; Suro et al., 2007). The Catholic Charismatic Renewal Movement (CCR), which began in the U.S. in the 1970’s, brought a ‘Pentecostal expressionism’ to American Catholicism (Palmer-Boyes, 2010). It began on college campuses in the U.S., but gained incredible traction in Latin America, where Pentecostalism is becoming Catholicism’s number one competitor (Chestnut, 2003). Pentecostalism brings out a more

experiential expression of faith, and almost two thirds of Latino Catholics say that the masses they attend at least occasionally include the raising of hands, clapping, shouting or jumping (Suro et al., 2007). In fact, 54% of Latino Catholics identify as Charismatic or Pentecostal, compared to only 10% of their Anglo counterparts. Research on Latino worship styles, shows a more physical style of worship and a more mystical experience rooted in the Pentecostal conception of Charismatic Catholicism.

As noted earlier, there is ongoing discussion in the literature about Latino Catholics and whether they belong in a separate RELTRAD category like Black Protestants. Even though Putnam and Campbell (2012) assert that they do not think Latino Catholics should be separated from Anglo Catholics, they do continue to use them separately throughout their analyses. Woodberry et al (2012) leave this question open to future research. The surge in American Latinos is certainly leading to an increasing number of questions about how to treat them in analysis (D'Antonio et al., 2007; Skirbekk et al., 2010; Taylor et al., 2012).

There is less scholarly focus on how Latino and Anglo Catholics are different from or similar to each other, but there is some evidence that the presence of Latinos is beginning to change some things about the American Catholic Church. Instead of being concentrated in the Northeast, the American Catholic population is now evenly distributed throughout the country with significant Latino concentrations in the South and Southwest (Dillon, 2011). In some states with a traditionally low Catholic population, such as Georgia, Latino Catholics now outnumber Anglo Catholics (Odem, 2004). Latinos have more “orthodox” Catholic opinions, on both ends of the political spectrum. Putnam and Campbell (2012, p. 302) encourage readers not to conclude that because of this Latinos are “more Catholic” simply because they are more in line

with the Church's teachings, but instead to "recognize that Anglos and Latinos experience Catholicism differently."

During the first wave of major white ethnic immigration to the United States in the 19th century, ethnic parishes were formed and the Church served as a conduit into American culture. The literature substantiates that the Church has been a vital tool of assimilation for immigrants (Edgell & Tranby, 2010; Greeley, 1976; Herberg, 1983). However, research also suggests that the predominantly white, middle class bishops, priests and lay leadership of the American Catholic Church may not be well enough equipped to successfully integrate primarily poor Latinos into congregations (Fitzpatrick, 1990). In light of the Church's stance on stressing the importance of culture for human growth, perhaps a key function of church will be preserving Latino culture. It is unclear what to expect as the outcome of this new approach.

Schwadel, McCarthy, and Nelsen (2009) show that lower income Anglo Catholics are less likely to attend mass than their middle class Anglo counterparts, but income does not seem to affect Latino church attendance. Recent research also points out similarities between Anglo and Latino religiosity. Bartkowski et al. (2012) indicate that Latinos display the same "traditional Catholic disjuncture" between official Church Teaching and personal views in regards to abortion.

Diversity within the American Latino population is vast. Latinos come from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds and almost 20% claim a religious affiliation other than Roman Catholic. Evangelical Latinos are more conservative, in general, than Latino Catholics. The literature illustrates Latinos rich and distinct devotions and traditional "popular" religious practices. More Latinos label themselves as Pentecostal and overall Latinos worship style is more charismatic and their experience of God is more mystical.

Differences between Latino and Anglo Catholics are also vast. These groups have different geographical concentrations and diverge starkly in their SES. How do these differences affect religiosity? There are two main expectations. The first asserts that the shared tradition of Catholicism will override any SES and cultural differences between Latino and Anglo Catholics and these groups will appear the same on religion measures. A second expectation is that these differences map onto two distinct religious groups, with Latinos being more effusive, intense, and doctrinaire in their religiosity.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Expectations

Catholic Homogeneity

The Roman Catholic Church is a global hierarchy run by a centralized authority structure. The centralization of Catholic decision-making concerning official doctrine would lead researchers to expect very little difference between the religious practices of Latinos and Anglo Catholics, even if they were not located in the same country. There could be some variation, in patron saint veneration or other expressions of cultural or ethnic particularities, but the rigidly structured liturgy of the Catholic mass is applied worldwide with little variation.

The hierarchy and centralization of Catholic authority establish this ritual and doctrinal consistency, albeit with some amount of global/regional/diocese level variation (Mooney, 2006). It is possible that Catholicism, as a culture, will create enough commonality that variation among practitioners throughout the world will be minimized. Having the common experience of being an “American” may also increase the likelihood that Latino and Anglo Catholics exhibit the same behaviors. A shared Catholic Church and a shared nationality suggest that Latino and Anglo Catholics are really one religious type, despite their ethnic and economic differences.

Catholic Heterogeneity

Table 1 presents some of the sociodemographic differences between Latino and Anglo Catholics. Anglos have higher levels of education and higher incomes. Latinos are younger and are more likely to have children. Latinos are also more likely to be foreign born and more likely

to have completed the interview in Spanish. Latino and Anglo Catholics appear strongly segregated along economic, political, geographic, linguistic and cultural lines.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics Means' Comparison

Demographics	Anglo	Latino
Male ^a	0.50	0.43
Age	48.90	37.10*
Children ^a	0.38	0.67*
Married ^a	0.57	0.57
Education (categories)	4.50	2.60*
Income (categories)	4.40	2.20*
Native Born ^a	1.00	0.39*
Spanish ^a	0.01	0.62*
<i>n</i>	514	212

Source: Faith Matters Survey, 2006

^a Dummy Variable (1,0)

*P-Value <.001

Latinos occupy a different social space than Anglo Catholics. Anglo American Catholics have been upwardly mobile in recent decades and are now firmly middle class, on par with their Mainline Protestant neighbors (Keister, 2005, 2007, 2011; Schwadel, McCarthy, & Nelsen, 2009). Latino Catholics are in a very different economic position than their Anglo counterparts, with many of them classified as lower and working class (Schwadel et al., 2009; Sullivan, 2005). Many of the distinctions that can be seen between Anglo and Latino Catholics in the descriptive statistics may be in large part driven by SES variables.

Latinos are also geographically concentrated in the Sunbelt. More than three quarters of the Latino population is located in the South and the West (Ennis et al., 2011) Over half of the Latino population resides in California, Texas and Florida (Ennis et al., 2011). The traditional

concentration of Anglo Catholics has been in the Northeast. These differing regional concentrations may lead to regional subcultures, which contributes to an overall differing social location.

This is not to imply that those Catholics in the South and West are exclusively Latino, there are large populations of both Anglos and Latinos throughout the United States. Migration patterns have moved Anglo Catholics to the West and Southern regions of the country. Due to immigration influxes, the northeast is increasingly home to more Latinos. In fact, New York is the state with fourth largest population of Latinos (Ennis et al., 2011). Anglo and Latino populations are frequently in the same diocese and sometimes the same church. Catholic Parishes are almost three times as likely to be multiracial (Garces-Foley, 2008).

Frequently, however, there were separate religious services for distinct groups based on linguistics (Garces-Foley, 2008). This parallel worship was considered important by the church, because, as Pope John Paul II argued, immigrants “must be able to remain completely themselves as far as language, culture, liturgy and spirituality and particular traditions are concerned.” Separate worship services were seen as essential to help preserve this sense of distinction and the official policy of the church became one of inculturation, encouraging cross cultural interaction in parishes. The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) clarified this agenda in a 2000 letter, stating, “It is not a call for ‘assimilation’ or the disappearance of one culture into another, but for continuing cooperation in pursuit of the common good and with proper respect for the good of each cultural tradition and community.” Separation was then considered desirable, because it would assist in the maintenance of differing cultural practices, including language.

The language from the church was very direct; no longer would they be an agent of “Americanization” as they had been for earlier generations of ethnic whites. This is a drastically different attitude for Latino Catholics than the relatives of their Anglo co-parishioners faced decades earlier.

Frequently, practitioners blur where their religion ends and their culture begins. It is often a blend of practices, which they are not capable of distinguishing from one another. For example, a *quinceanera* is a common Latino celebration marking a young women’s entrance into adulthood. Although the meaning of the ceremony can vary, some Latinos were seeking to have the *quinceanera* during the mass and treated almost as a lesser sacramental celebration. This caused concern among U.S. priests, as this is not an official rite of the Church. In 2007, the U.S. Bishops reacted to the *quinceanera* controversy, by seeking official approval from the Vatican to create a “rite” for the *quinceanera*, a blessing either at the end of mass or a blessing outside of mass (Matovina, 2011). The bishops privileged the cultural importance of the ceremony to Latinos and found a way to create a sanctioned ceremony for these Latino families.

Another way the Church encouraged the celebration of Latino culture was in Spanish-language masses. Seminarians are standardly required to know at least two modern languages, in anticipation of having to serve congregations with multiple language needs (Garces-Foley, 2008). The average Catholic parish has over 3200 registered members and offers 4 masses a weekend (Cidade, 2011). Over one third of U.S. parishes offer mass in a language other than English and Spanish is the second most common language mass is celebrated in in the United States (Cidade, 2011). The Church has encouraged this parallel worship, because it is through culture that the human is fully realized (Gaudium et Spes 1965). Although many churches seek to integrate the distinct linguistic groups of the parish, especially during special holidays, much

of the worship is single language (Garces-Foley, 2008). Many native born Latinos still use Spanish in daily life (Maldonado, 2005) and 35% of Latinos living in the United States say they are not fluent in English (Ennis et al., 2011). This makes Latinos linguistically distinct from Anglos.

Despite the popular myth that most Hispanics living in the United States are immigrants, only about a third are foreign born (Sullivan, 2005). Research indicates that about 32% of Latinos are native born of native born parents, or third generation (Sullivan, 2005). It is possible that coming from another country and culture, i.e. being foreign born, would create another set of cultural norms regarding religion. This cultural distinction could play a role in differentiating Latino from Anglos on measures of religiosity.

The global tendency of all Latinos to be more charismatic and effusive in their worship style (Maldonado, 2005; Matovina, 2005; Palmer-Boyes, 2010; Suro et al., 2007) indicates that we should expect Latino Catholics to be more charismatic or experiential. Latino heritage allows for emphasis on the more “mystical,” effusive and personal elements of religious experience. Latinos are four times as likely as Anglos to identify as Charismatic or Pentecostal. It seems highly probable that this different orientation would have ramifications on measures of religion.

These social, economic and cultural distinctions make it likely that Latino and Anglo Catholics represent a very different religious type and that these distinctions will bear out in differing levels of religious measures.

CHAPTER THREE

Data and Methods

Data for this study come from The Faith Matters Survey, conducted in 2006- 2007 on behalf of Harvard University by International Communications Research and funded by the John Templeton Foundation. This survey utilized a random-digit dial (RDD) sample to acquire a national cross-section. Roughly 3,100 Americans were given an hour long phone survey in this national survey. Respondents were told this was a survey about “current events” by researchers at Harvard and Notre Dame. Participants were then asked about their religion (beliefs, belonging and behavior) and their social and political engagement. For more details on the study please see Putnam and Campbell (2012).

This survey was translated into Spanish. The Spanish Translation of the Faith Matters Survey makes it a unique application for testing my hypothesis. Almost 70% of the Latino Catholics who took this survey did so entirely in Spanish. This Spanish translation gives analytic access to less assimilated Latinos, and also provides a contrast group of Anglo Catholics, which specialty sub samples of Latinos cannot provide. Of those surveyed 737 were Catholic, and 388 identified as Latino.

Measures

Dependent Variables

This study explores measures of religious behavior, belief, belonging and experience of God. The first measure of religious behavior considered was church attendance. Church

attendance is phrased as "How often do you attend religious services?" The responses range from several times a week (8) to less than once a year (1). The second religious behavior measure was prayer; the question was worded as follows: "We'd like to ask about various ways in which some people practice religion, whether or not they belong to a particular congregation. The first/next item is: prayer outside of religious services. Do you do this . . .?" The responses were never (response 1), occasionally (response 2), roughly once a week (response 3), a few times a week (response 4), roughly once a day (response 5) and several times a day (response 6).

Religious belonging was measured using questions about the Institution of the Catholic Church, since the subsample was Catholic. The first question was about confidence in church leaders; "Please tell me whether you basically agree or basically disagree. How about . . . I have a lot of confidence in the Catholic hierarchy?" Basically agree is coded 1 and basically disagree is coded 0.¹ The second religious belonging question addressed the issue of having female clergy, which is not permitted in the Roman Catholic Church; "Please tell me whether you basically agree or basically disagree. How about . . . Women should be allowed to be priests or clergy in my house of worship?" The response options were "basically agree" (coded as 1) and "basically disagree" (coded as 0).

Religious belief was measured using two questions; the first was about belief in God. The question was worded as follows: "We're going to ask you about various things that some people believe in and others don't. Are you absolutely sure, somewhat sure, not quite sure, not at all sure, or are you sure you do not believe in God?" Respondents were coded into two main categories those who believe in God, coded as 1, and those who show any level of disbelief in God, coded as 0. The second question was regarding belief in moral boundaries. "Which comes

¹ The Faith Survey codes questions into a binary "basically disagree v. basically agree" and then in a follow up question, respondents are asked whether that is "strongly or somewhat."

closer to your views? Some people say there are absolutely clear guidelines of what is good and evil; others say there can never be absolutely clear guidelines of what is good and evil.” “There can never be absolutely clear guidelines” is coded as 0 and “there are absolutely clear guidelines” is coded as 1.

The final set of religious question was about whether or not the respondent had personally experienced God. The experience question reads: “Have you ever personally experienced the presence of God, or not?” Response options were no (coded 0) and yes (coded 1).

Independent Variable

Latino was coded as all respondents who responded affirmatively to the question: “Do you consider yourself Hispanic or Latino?” Latinos were coded as Latino regardless of their response to the race question. Whether or not the respondent was foreign born was controlled for via the answer to this question: “Were you born in the United States?” A response of no was coded zero and a response of yes was coded 1. An interaction term was created to combine foreign born and Latino for the analysis. The subsample was constructed so that only those respondents who indicated their religion to be Catholic were included.

Controls

The analyses also controlled for key, established covariates. These factors include standard socio demographic variables such as gender, age (measured in years) marital status (married=1) and whether or not the respondent had children (has children=1). The region of the country the interview took place in was controlled for, with those from the South being coded as 1. Respondent education is measured categorically in seven categories: none or grade 1-8; high school incomplete; high school graduate/GED; business, technical or vocational school; some

college, no four year degree; college graduate; and post graduate or professional. Income was also a categorical measure: \$20,000 or less; \$20,000- \$30,000; \$30,000- \$40,000; \$50,000- \$75,000; \$75,000- \$100,000 and \$100,000 or more.

Another key control is political ideology. In this survey the question is worded as follows: "Thinking politically and socially, how would you describe your own general outlook- as being very conservative, moderately conservative, middle of the road, moderately liberal or very liberal?" This coding using a 5 point scale for political ideology, with very conservative coded as 1 and very liberal coded as 5.

For institutional control, a question involving official church teaching was employed: "Please tell me whether you basically agree or basically disagree; How about...It is possible to disagree with the pope on issues like birth control, abortion or divorce and still be a good Catholic?" Basically agree is coded as 1 and basically disagree is coded as 0

In the model involving whether or not women should be priests, traditional gender roles were controlled for. The question was worded as follows, "Please tell me whether you basically agree about . . . It is much better for everyone involved if the man is the achiever outside the home and the woman takes care of the home and family." Basically agree is coded as 1 and basically disagree is coded as 0.

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

Table 2 provides the OLS regression results for the religious behavior variables church attendance and frequency of personal prayer. The first model shows all Catholics' church attendance. Predictably, the significant influences on church attendance are the respondent's reported religious importance, frequency of prayer, and their political ideology. The set of variables which address ethnicity show that there is no significant difference in church attendance for Anglo and Latino Catholics. This is regardless of whether or not they are foreign born. The second model of frequency of personal prayer show that significant influences are the respondent's gender, how important religion is to them, and their church attendance. Latinos are significantly less likely to pray as frequently as Anglos or native born Latinos. Foreign born Latinos are significantly more likely to pray than both native born Latino and Anglo American Catholics.

Figure 1 illustrates the interaction between Latino and foreign born on Prayer. From this analysis, we see that foreign born Latinos are more likely to pray than any other group.

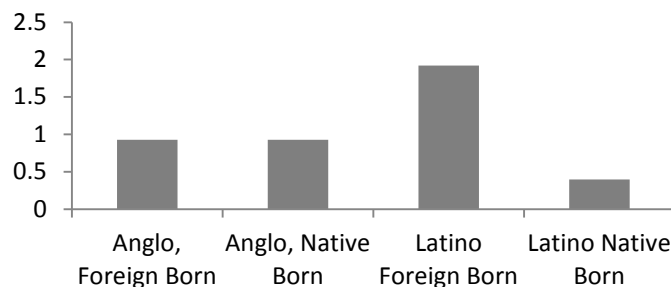


Figure 1: Latino, Foreign Born Interaction on Prayer

Table 2

<i>Religious Behavior</i>		
Variables	Model 1: Church Attendance	Model 2: Prayer
<i>Demographic Controls</i>		
Male ^a	-0.25	-0.43***
Age	0.01	0.01
Married ^a	0.08	0.03
Children ^a	0.12	0.20
South ^a	-0.01	-0.11
Education	0.08	0.09
Income	0.07	0.01
<i>Religious Controls</i>		
Religious Importance	1.24***	0.73***
Attend	---	0.12***
Pray	0.20***	---
Disagree with Pope	-0.08	.03
<i>Ideology</i>		
Political Ideology	-0.24**	0.07
Traditional Gender Roles	---	---
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Latino	0.19	-0.53*
Foreign Born	0.14	-0.27
Foreign Born* Latino	-0.02	.99*
Intercept	2.27**	0.93*
<i>n</i>	603	603
<i>r</i> ²	0.3	0.25

* P-Value <.05, **P-Value<.01, ***P-Value <.001

Weighted Data

^a Dummy Variable (1,0)

Source: Faith Matters Survey, 2006

Table 3 shows the results for the binary logistic regressions predicting religious belonging measures. Model 3 shows that religious importance and church attendance are both important predictors of confidence in Church leaders. Latinos and Anglo American Catholics are not significantly different in their level of confidence in Church leadership, regardless of whether or not they are foreign born. Model 4 shows that church attendance, political ideology,

Table 3

Institution: Religious Belonging

Variables	Model 3: Confidence in Church Leaders	Model 4: Women Priests
<i>Demographic Controls</i>		
Male ^a	0.37	0.20
Age	-0.01	-0.003
Married ^a	-0.09	0.11
Children ^a	-0.19	0.30
South ^a	0.14	-0.27
Education	-0.04	0.09
Income	-0.06	-0.02
<i>Religious Controls</i>		
Religious Importance	0.52***(1.68)	-0.11
Attend	0.28***(1.32)	-0.22***(1.25)
Pray	---	---
Disagree with Pope	-0.43	0.63**(1.87)
<i>Ideology</i>		
Political Ideology	-0.13	0.25**(1.28)
Traditional Gender Roles	---	-0.50*(1.65)
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Latino	-0.09	0.32
Foreign Born	-0.30	-1.30**(3.67)
Foreign Born* Latino	0.30	0.47
Intercept	-0.12	1.31
<i>n</i>	590	570
<i>r</i> ²	.23	.23
Likelihood Ratio	108.9***	99.89***

* P-Value <.05, **P-Value<.01, ***P-Value <.001

Weighted Data

Odds Ratios shown in Parenthesis

^a Dummy Variable (1,0)

Source: Faith Matters Survey, 2006

gender roles and whether or not one feels a person can disagree with the pope and be a good Catholic were significant influences on predicting opinion about women priests. Latinos and Anglo American Catholics show the same level of support for having women as priests in the Church. Foreign born non-Latinos are less likely to favor women priests.

Table 4

<i>Religious Beliefs</i>		
Variables	Model 5: Belief in God	Model 6: Good/ Evil Clear Boundaries
<i>Demographic Controls</i>		
Male ^a	-0.40	-0.24
Age	0.01	-0.02**
Married ^a	0.19	-0.20
Children ^a	-0.12	0.07
South ^a	0.12	0.30
Education	-0.20	-0.12
Income	-0.09	0.06
<i>Religious Controls</i>		
Religious Importance	1.21*** (3.35)	-0.66***(1.93)
Attend	0.28***(1.32)	-.02
Pray	---	---
Disagree with Pope	-0.07	0.43
<i>Ideology</i>		
Political Ideology	-0.12	-0.18*
Traditional Gender Roles	---	---
<i>Ethnicity</i>		
Latino	0.20	-0.19
Foreign Born	1.29	0.24
Foreign Born* Latino	-1.09	-1.78**(5.92)
Intercept	0.1	1.78***
<i>n</i>	604	582
<i>r</i> ²	0.36	0.23
Likelihood Ratio	140.94***	109.65***

* P-Value <.05, **P-Value<.01, ***P-Value <.001

Weighted Data

Odds Ratios shown in parenthesis

^a Dummy Variable (1,0)

Source: Faith Matters Survey, 2006

Table 4 shows the results for the binary logistic regressions on measures of belief. Both religious importance and church attendance were significant predictors of belief in God, as seen in Model 5. Latinos and Anglo Catholics are equally likely to believe in God. Model 6 illustrates that religious importance, political ideology and whether or not one feels a person can disagree with the pope influenced whether a respondent believed that there were clear moral boundaries. Foreign born Latinos are 5 times more likely to say that there are absolutely clear

guidelines than either Anglos or native born Latinos. It is possible that this distinct difference is a residue of global south, because these foreign born Latinos are coming from countries in the global south, they may look different on these religious/cultural measures. This is also the case in the next analysis where we see that all Latinos are more likely to have experienced God.

Table 5 shows the result for the binary logistic regression results for experience of God measures. Native born Latinos are 2.6 times more likely to have personally experienced God.

Table 5

<i>Experience of God</i>	
Variables	Model 7: Experienced God
<i>Demographic Controls</i>	
Male ^a	0.18
Age	0.001
Married ^a	-0.12
Children ^a	-0.03
South ^a	-0.12
Education	0.24***(1.27)
Income	-0.06
<i>Religious Controls</i>	
Religious Importance	0.61***(1.84)
Attend	0.10*(1.1)
Pray	---
Disagree with Pope	-0.09
<i>Ideology</i>	
Political Ideology	-0.12
Traditional Gender Roles	---
<i>Ethnicity</i>	
Latino	0.95***(2.58)
Foreign Born	0.57
Foreign Born* Latino	-0.73
Intercept	-2.39***
<i>n</i>	587
<i>r</i> ²	0.16
Likelihood Ratio	76.72***

* P-Value <.05, **P-Value<.01, ***P-Value <.001

Weighted Data

Odds Ratios shown in parenthesis

^a Dummy Variable (1,0)

Source: Faith Matters Survey, 2006

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion and Conclusion

The results show that on almost all religious indicators Latino and Anglo Catholics demonstrate no significant difference. Ethnicity does not serve as a predictor of levels of church attendance, confidence in church leaders, opinion of female priests, or belief in God. Interestingly, foreign born Latinos have a greater frequency of personal prayer, and stronger belief in clear moral boundaries. In these rare instances, it is the fact that Latinos are foreign born which predicts differences. This suggests that second generation Latinos may drop these distinctions.

Latino Catholics are more likely to experience God alone and with others. These results mostly likely reflect the more expressive and Pentecostal nature of Latino worship style. Distinctions in worship style may very well be rooted in Latino's global south culture which is more effusive than the religious culture of mainstream American Protestantism. Still the global hierarchy of Catholicism should ensure relatively standardized worship surrounding the rituals of the mass and the distinctions, such as clapping or shouting, should be minor.

Although the American Catholic population is internally diverse, both in terms of ethnicity and SES, members represent one church. If the goal is to create concise religious typologies that are conceptually coherent, it is proper then to speak of one Catholic Church in the United States. Unlike Black Protestants, Latino and Anglo Catholics represent one historical trajectory, and they attend and believe at the same rates. This analysis shows that American Catholicism spans Latino and Anglo cultures, but they do not constitute two distinct religious types.

There are limitations to this study, one is sample size. Translating surveys into Spanish is not common, and rarely do surveys get a sample of Latinos that is proportional to their numbers - 16-17% of the US population.

Future research into Latino Catholics is necessary to determine in what other ways Latinos are different from their Anglo counterparts. These data indicate that they are different on many social measures. Grouping Latino and Anglo Catholics will likely make American Catholics less likely to statistically predict political, social, or economic characteristics. For instance, the distribution of political party preferences within the American Catholic Church closely resembles the distribution for the country as a whole (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2006). Since we know that Latinos are more likely to affiliate with the Democratic Party, it would seem that as the proportion of Latinos grow; the Catholic Church will be pulled to the left. Another alternative, if Keister (2007) is correct and Latino Catholics experience the same upward mobility of their Anglo counterparts, they may become more politically conservative.

A deeper analysis of Putnam and Campbell's data confirm their assertion that Latino Catholics should not constitute their own religious tradition. Racial and economic diversity within a tradition should not be assumed to constitute a splintering of that tradition. Despite internal diversity, Latino and Anglo Catholics constitute one religious type.

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