

Liberation Theologies in the United States

An Introduction

EDITED BY

Stacey M. Floyd-Thomas
and Anthony B. Pinn



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Latina Theology

NANCY PINEDA-MADRID

Historical Backdrop

The significance and contribution of Latina theology becomes clear when read in light of the contentious histories of Latina/os in the Americas. No single historical narrative line exists for Latina/os, as the term serves as an umbrella representing many distinct groups of people, each with their own history (Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, etc.).¹ Frequently, dominant political and economic powers have used religious ideas to bolster their own legitimacy and to provide a veneer of moral righteousness for their ideas. Throughout Latina/o history, this fusion of political power and religious ideas became more poignant during periods of significant transition (e.g., the conquest of “New Spain,” the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1848, the civil rights movement). While these had a direct impact in the lives of all Latina/os, Latinas experienced the brunt of these political transitions acutely.

In the years after Christopher Columbus’s “discovery of America” in 1492, he and many others interpreted his arrival in the “new world” to be part of God’s plan, a plan to create a new, pure Catholic Christian church in the Americas, one that would stand in marked contrast to the corrupt Catholic church of Europe and as a Catholic bulwark in the face of the reformations sweeping many European countries. Spain’s Catholic rulers, Ferdinand and Isabella, promoted these ideas. Early in the 16th century, Spanish Protestant communities began to take root in Seville and Valladolid, but the inquisition completely suppressed them by 1562. In 1524, shortly after the conquest of the Aztecs and much of Mesoamerica, the Catholic church in Spain sent twelve Franciscan priests, widely known as “Los Doce,” to the “new world” to represent the biblical twelve apostles and begin the work of evangelizing the indigenous population. This became a pointedly ambiguous endeavor in that it prevented the complete annihilation of the indigenous in many regions, but not all, yet it also legitimized the conquest and the resulting enforced labor

of the indigenous population. In some regions of the Americas, like Cuba, the conquest led to the extermination of the indigenous population within decades. As indigenous populations plummeted, the Spaniards increasingly brought more and more Africans to the Americas, enslaving them in order to maintain a steady labor force.

Throughout the middle of the 16th century, debates raged in Spain's most celebrated universities concerning the conquest. Did the pope have authority over the lands occupied by nonbelievers? How could the "Americas" be "discovered" if they were not abandoned lands? If the indigenous rejected the Christian faith, then didn't the Spanish have the right to punish the indigenous and force acceptance of Christianity? Do Christians have the right to impose morality on "barbarians"? Are the indigenous fully human beings and therefore capable of receiving the sacrament of baptism? All of these debates were attempts to come to grips with whether or not the conquest of the Americas was morally justified. Needless to say, the political and economic power interests of the Spanish Crown ultimately trumped all other concerns. The point is that this coalescence of politics and religion repeatedly functioned to the detriment of the indigenous and the enslaved Africans, who, in addition to the Spanish, are foremothers and forefathers of Latina/os.

While the history of Latina/os in what is today the United States has had many contentious moments, the early 19th century would certainly be among the more poignant. By and large, the United States of the late 18th century (and perhaps still today) understood itself as an "elect nation," which for the vast majority meant a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant nation. In the early 1800s, this self-understanding developed into an aggressive nationalism and became codified in the doctrine of "manifest destiny." This idea of America's providential calling and mission fueled westward expansion and cloaked it in a mantle of extending the "kingdom of God." When white settlers confronted Mexicans in the West, these white Americans formulated an idea of themselves as racially Anglo-Saxon, as a people superior to others and therefore entitled to economic and political domination from the Atlantic all the way to the Pacific. In the process, lands historically populated by indigenous and Latina/os were taken. In 1821, Spain was forced to cede Florida. In 1836, recently arrived Anglo-Saxon settlers finally won Texas's independence from Mexico. In 1848, Mexico lost half of its territory, being forced to cede all of what is today California, New Mexico, and Nevada, as well as major portions of Colorado, Arizona, and Utah.

All the Latina/os living in these lands automatically became U.S. citizens; in fact, however, their status and standing was diminished. Only white males

had rights before the law (e.g., land rights, language rights). This provoked a stinging awareness, not only of the social restrictions faced by women in general but also those faced by Latina/os. Former Mexican nationals, regardless of their skin color, were not considered white. In the 1860s, Anglo-Saxon recent arrivals organized the lynching of long-settled former Mexican nationals (who were now U.S. citizens) living in the southwest. This became a strategy for Anglo-Saxons to gain control of the land and its resources. The lynching continued until the 1920s.

But the United States was not finished. In 1898, the United States forced Spain to cede the island of Puerto Rico. The United States sought the willing assistance of Protestant churches in the colonization of Puerto Rico. Long before the war with Spain was over, these churches had a plan set to carve up the island among themselves for missionary purposes. The United States christened this missionary work a “sacred calling” and then claimed that it justified its colonization of Puerto Rico. That is, the United States claimed that it was not so much acting on its colonial and economic interests but was serving the higher purpose of evangelization. Many years later, Bernardo Vega, a Puerto Rican social activist in New York City, summarized the prevailing sentiment of U.S. citizenry in the early decades of the 20th century as follows: “Cuba and Puerto Rico were just two islands inhabited by savages whom the Americans had beneficially saved from the clutches of the Iberian Lion.”² U.S. colonial interest did not end with Puerto Rico. Between 1898 and 1909 the United States twice occupied Cuba, which went on to become an independent nation. Even so, after 1909 the United States continued, rather freely, to exert capital and influence in Cuba until the communist revolution of 1959.

Indeed, the doctrine of manifest destiny fostered a climate of collaboration between the colonial and economic interests and the religious interests of Christian denominations within the United States, Protestant and Catholic alike. As the United States took control of these lands, mainline Protestant denominations introduced the Protestant faith to Latina/os living in the Caribbean and other parts of Latin America, as well as those living in the new southwest territories of the United States. The first generations of Latina/o Protestants emerged in the 19th and 20th centuries. While Catholicism had been rooted in these lands for centuries, significant conflicts within the church developed as white clergy from the eastern United States displaced the sitting Latino bishops and clergy. Perhaps the most well known conflict was the one that erupted between Bishop Jean-Baptiste Lamy and the Catholic clergy and people of the New Mexican territories. This protracted conflict began in 1851 shortly after Lamy was appointed bishop of Santa Fe, and he

publically suppressed the devotional practices and religious culture that had grounded New Mexican Catholicism for more than two centuries.

The situation of Latina women shifted dramatically when these lands came under the control of the United States. Under Spanish and Mexican governance, the settlers occupying these lands included people of Spanish, African, and indigenous heritage who lived under a rigid hierarchy based on class, color, and labor that privileged the Spaniards. Even though indigenous and Blacks were relegated to the bottom rungs of the social scale, there is evidence that free Blacks, non-elites, and Latina women could and did own property. Along these lines, married Latinas were at an advantage in that they kept control of their property: even after they married, they held a one-half interest in the community property they shared with their husbands; then, when they became widows, they inherited the land and wealth of their deceased husbands. Such was not the case for their Euro-American counterparts. Under English common law, when women in the United States married, all their property was automatically held in common with their husbands, and they could not own property separate from their husbands. So when the Mexican and Spanish lands came under U.S. control, Latina women lost considerable property and wealth.

In the early 1960s, the Roman Catholic Church in the United States launched its most significant effort ever on behalf of an immigrant population. In this case, it was to assist Cuban refugees and immigrants in the aftermath of the overthrow of Fulgencio Batista in 1959. By the end of 1962, the Catholic Church in Florida offered several Masses with sermons in Spanish and had spent over \$1 million to assist refugees with their resettlement. Many additional Catholic institutions were soon established for the purpose of serving the needs of the Cuban Catholic community.

In contrast, within the same decade of the 1960s, a critical consciousness intensified among many Mexican Americans living in the southwest. Anti-foreign hostility led to a wave of intense and open repression against Mexican Americans throughout the 1950s. Eventually, this fueled an explosion of civil rights organizing. In 1968 a high school student strike in Los Angeles triggered the Chicana/o movement, or *El Movimiento*, one of several social protest movements that led to an accelerated critical awareness relative to race, gender, and class. Within *El Movimiento*, however, a division among the Chicana leaders emerged between those utterly committed to the liberation of Chicanas as women and those for whom liberation meant liberation of *la raza* as defined by the male leadership of *El Movimiento*, meaning that liberation for women would have to wait.

Many practicing Catholic Chicanas and Latinas supportive of El Movimiento confronted yet another layer of conflicts. During the late-1960s, the institutional Catholic Church positioned itself as opposed to all that El Movimiento represented. Latina/o sisters, priests, and other church leaders were typically and explicitly instructed by Anglo church leadership *not* to celebrate Mass or offer any ministry in Spanish. Yet, El Movimiento stirred pride and ethnic consciousness around being Mexican American by directly challenging overt racism, not only of society at large but also within the institutional church. Latinas, particularly women religious, found themselves caught in the middle. Would they remain within the church, challenging its blatant racist practices, or would they leave? In 1971, led by Sr. Gregoria Ortega and Sr. Gloria Graciela Gallardo, some fifty women religious gathered in Houston, Texas, and formed Las Hermanas, whose mission was to promote effective ministry among Latina/os. From its inception, the projects of Las Hermanas focused on the injustices experienced by Latinas, particularly at the hands of the church.

With this as a backdrop, Latinas began writing theology in the late 1970s (Ada María Isasi-Díaz, María Pilar Aquino, and Marina Herrera), roughly a decade after Virgilio Elizondo (the originator of U.S. Latina/o theology) and Orlando E. Costas (the originator of Latina/o evangelical theology) each began their own publications. Two phases in the development of Latina theology can be distinguished: the first, from about 1980 to 2001; and the second, from roughly 2001 to the present.

Description

The first attempts to theologically articulate Latinas' desire for liberation grew out of the visionary soil that generated Las Hermanas (1971), the Womenchurch movement and the Women's Ordination Conference (1970s), the founding of the Mexican American Cultural Center (1971) and the three National Encuentros of Catholic Latina/o leadership (1972, 1977, and 1985). The National Encuentro process, along with other Catholic Church movements among Latina/os, furthered the leadership skills of thousands, if not tens of thousands, of Latina/o Catholics.

The early 1980s likewise marked a significant time for the development of Protestant theology with the inauguration of the journal *Apuntes*, which became one of the first journals where Protestant Latinas published their work. The *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology*, which has published most of the Latinas discussed in this article, did not begin publication until 1993.

The 1980s was a heady time; it ushered in the formative and first phase of Latina theology. While working as a lay parish minister, Ada María Isasi-Díaz (born in Cuba, Catholic), attended the 1975 Women's Ordination Conference, where her eyes were opened to the reality of sexism in the Catholic Church. In reflecting on this experience, she observed:

The Womanchurch movement . . . became my home . . . however, [this] brought me into conflict with the sisterhood. As long as I toiled in the garden of Euro-American feminism, I was welcomed. But as I started to claim a space in the garden to plant my own flowers, the ethnic/racist prejudice prevalent in society reared its head within the Womanchurch movement. . . . What took me totally by surprise was the inability or unwillingness of the Euro-American feminists to acknowledge their prejudice.³

Isasi-Díaz turned to her pen in an effort to resist the compounding forces—political, racial, cultural, religious, and economic—that silence Latinas, making them invisible. It was no fluke that Isasi-Díaz began one of her first articles, “Toward an Understanding of Feminismo Hispano in the U.S.A.” (1985) with the words, “How more invisible than invisible can you be? And yet there is a quality of invisible invisibility. . . . Invisible invisibility has to do with people not even knowing that they do not know you. . . . We are so irrelevant that the mind constructs needed to think about us do not exist. Society at large thinks of us as Hispanic and the majority of Hispanics think of us as women.”⁴ During the same time period, a gender analysis played no part in U.S. Latina/o theological discourse. Consequently, she began the process of inserting Latinas into feminist theology and privileging Latina experience in U.S. Latina/o theology.

Claiming the power that comes from naming oneself and acknowledging the influence of womanist theologians, Isasi-Díaz in collaboration with Yolanda Tarango coined the term and originated the concept “mujerista theology.” While others have contributed, Isasi-Díaz remains mujerista theology's persistent driving force. She contends that using the term “feministas hispanas” lacks a sense of Latina particularity and ignores at least two problems. First, this term conceals the consistent marginalization of Latinas within feminist circles; second, this term alienates some within the Latina/o community for whom sexism remains a central Latina/o concern but for whom the term “feminism” cannot signify more than a Euro-American response. In selecting the name “mujerista,” Isasi-Díaz endeavors to move beyond both these limitations. In brief, she defines mujeristas as Hispanic women who

“struggle to liberate (themselves) not as individuals but as members of a Hispanic community.”⁵

Mujerista theology assumes a preferential option for Latina women and thereby offers a response to the question, “What would theology look like if it was genuinely life-giving or liberating for Latinas?” To conceive a response, this discourse roots itself in liberative praxis, meaning “reflective action that has as its goal liberation.”⁶ Accordingly, mujerista theology encourages Latinas in their development of moral agency, in their desire to give public voice to their theological insights, and in their struggles not simply to survive but to flourish. This vision constitutes liberation. It furthers this vision by enabling Latinas in (1) the development of conscientization regarding deeply internalized oppressions, (2) the transformation of oppressive societal structures, and (3) the continuous conversion from sin. Her book *Mujerista Theology: A Theology for the Twenty-First Century* (1996) offers the most systematic treatment of this theology.

In the very early 1980s, while doing pastoral work and teaching in Mexico City, María Pilar Aquino (born in Mexico, Catholic) began publishing. The title of one of her first articles, “El culto a María y María en el culto” (“The Veneration of Mary and ‘Mary’ of the Veneration”),⁷ published in the widely touted Mexican feminist publication *FEM* in 1981, is suggestive of Aquino’s incisive, critical approach to theology. While both Aquino and Isasi-Díaz privilege a feminist hermeneutic, they frame their projects distinctly. A reader of their works quickly discovers a sharp distinction between mujerista theology and Latina feminist theology, the name used by Aquino and others. Neither of these two terms used alone accurately represents the writings of all Latina theologians committed to feminism.

Isasi-Díaz views the term “feminist” as alienating. Aquino, in contrast, points to critical feminist theories developed in Latin America and to the long history of feminist movements in various Latin American countries to argue that the term “feminist” must not be constructed as a concept transplanted from a white, feminist, first-world context. Aquino’s use of the term “Latina feminist theology” affirms the importance of the historical roots of Latina feminism. The difference here is more than semantic. For Aquino, the theological project necessitates a critical analysis of systems that impoverish and marginalize women (and men), which then informs the development of a liberative theological vision: in other words, an interpretation. For Isasi-Díaz, the theological project concerns giving increasing numbers of individual women public voice for the benefit of the whole community, an endeavor facilitated by the use of the sociological method of ethnography. She shies

away from interpretation for fear that it will objectify and essentialize women's voices and experience.

Aquino's theological writings offer a critical analysis of sociopolitical and economic injustices with the intention of transforming relations of domination and the structures that sustain domination, be they social or religious. Gender oppression, consequently, is analyzed in an extended and in-depth fashion that theorizes racial, class, cultural, ecological, and religious hegemonies. Her work foregrounds a serious critique of the imperialistic, globalized economy that destroys the lives of poor women (and men) and of marginalized people in the geopolitical South. Yet her analytical commitment extends beyond socioeconomic and historical forces to include ideological worldviews. In her 1992 book, *Nuestro clamor por la vida (Our Cry for Life)*, Aquino mapped the contours of her feminist liberation theology. Here she followed a liberation theology method and considered Latin American women's experience of oppression as the point of departure for the question of liberation, conceived as both historical and theological. She posits:

Theological work by women is interested in gathering the historical and spiritual experiences of oppressed women, looking at them, and interpreting them in the light of faith in order to contribute to their own liberation and the liberation of all humanity. Therefore everything that has to do with the creation, re-creation, and defense of life for the poor and for women's work of solidarity has theological significance for their particular way of understanding the faith.⁸

Actual human experience as the point of departure has enormous implications for Latinas, both in the United States and throughout Latin America. The daily lives of Latinas are often marked by immense suffering and, until recently, have been largely invisible. The near absence of women's experience in Latin American liberation theology and U.S. Latino theologies is a glaring omission. If, as has happened in these theologies, women's voices are collapsed into the voice or the experience of the community as a whole, then women's liberation becomes overlooked and subsumed, hence negated. But Aquino interprets this historical moment as the moment of the "eruption of the poor," particularly women, onto the stage of history. The poor are no longer objects of concern but are subjects and agents who shape their own history.

Throughout her work, Aquino not only identifies and examines Latinas' particular ways of knowing but also makes clear their resulting contribution

to Latina feminist theology. When women's "vision and speech" stretch the otherwise narrower outlook of liberation theology, Latinas inevitably criticize this theology's androcentric predisposition as they offer a corrective by transfiguring the meaning and force of liberation. Thus, the inclusion of Latinas's vision and speech must not be interpreted as exclusively a matter of language. Fundamentally, the inclusion of Latinas' vision and speech concerns the expansion of "liberation theology's *epistemological horizon*."⁹ How we come to know, and what can be known, changes.

Aquino and Isasi-Díaz are not the only theologians employing a feminist hermeneutic. During this early phase of Latina theological writings, Jeanette Rodríguez-Holguin (Ecuadorian American, Catholic) extended this discourse with an original approach. She turned to psychological theory to frame human experience. A great part of Rodríguez-Holguin's early research was devoted to examining the influence and significance of the symbol of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the lives of Mexican American women that resulted in her book, *Our Lady of Guadalupe: Faith and Empowerment among Mexican-American Women* (1994). This research led Rodríguez-Holguin to develop the category of "cultural memory." Cultural memory includes elements of tradition, worldview, historical memory, and myth, each in their own way responding to the human need for "identity, salvation, hope and resistance to annihilation."¹⁰

In this initial and formative phase of Latina theology, while some Latina theologians employed a feminist hermeneutic, others published in the field of pastoral theology. This second group of Latina theologians focused their attention on making theological sense of the various ministerial needs of the Latina/o community. So they discussed, among other ministerial foci, questions of religious education, spiritual growth, liturgical practice, and youth ministry. While these Latina theologians expressed interest in both how the faith has been understood throughout history (historical theology) and how the coherency and significance of revelation are interrelated (systematic theology), their overriding concern remains how to respond to the pastoral needs of individual Latina/os and their communities.

Latina pastoral theologians have a long and rich history of publications dating from Marina Herrera's (Dominican-born, Catholic) first article, "La teología en el mundo de hoy" (Theology in Today's World), published in 1974. Since then, Herrera has authored numerous articles primarily in the field of multicultural catechesis and ministry and has reflected on the role of women in the church.

Ana María Pineda (born in El Salvador, Catholic) has published several articles and essays since the late 1980s. For her, the distinctiveness of and,

accordingly, the contemporary ministerial concerns of the U.S. Latina/o faith community can only be understood in light of their historical experience. Her research, therefore, sheds much needed light on the Mesoamerican oral tradition, clarifying how this tradition can be revelatory of the sacred for U. S. Latina/os today.

Latinas *evangélicas* and Latinas *protestantes* make up a third group of Latina theologians. They began publishing in the mid-1990s, roughly more than a decade after their Catholic colleagues. These Latina theologians operate at the margins of three realities. They are Protestants in the midst of a Latina/o culture that is predominantly Catholic; they are Latinas in the midst of Protestant denominations that are basically Anglo; they are Latina theologians working in universities, seminaries, and churches deeply imbued with a patriarchal worldview. Most of them are ordained and have many years of experience as ministers and pastors. Their theological work vividly reflects these realities.

In this initial phase, as well as the next, these theologians have made contributions in diverse theological areas. Daisy Machado (born in Cuba, ordained minister of the Disciples of Christ) has written on church history in the southwestern borderlands, Latina/o Protestantism, ecumenism, justice, and historical imagination. In her writings, Elizabeth Conde-Frazier (Puerto Rican, ordained minister of the American Baptists) has addressed questions of spiritual formation, practical theology, and religious education. Teresa Chavez Saucedo (Chicana Mexican American, ordained pastor of the Presbyterians) has written on racial and gender justice, the doctrine of God, and social ethics. Arlene Sánchez Walsh (Mexican American, Latina Pentecostal) writes on Pentecostal history, Pentecostal identity, Latina/o evangelical youth culture, Protestant ministry, and evangelicalism. Loida Martell-Otero (Puerto Rican, ordained minister of the American Baptists) has published on Latinas *evangélicas*, ministry, and soteriology.

While not theologians, another group of Latina scholars deserves mention because they have made such a significant contribution to the development of Latina theology. Since the early 1990s, sociologists of religion Ana María Díaz-Stevens and Milagros Peña have both studied and analyzed the role of Latinas in religious institutions, in social movements, and as practitioners of popular religious practices. Much of Díaz-Stevens's work has focused on detailed historical and social portraits of the Latina Puerto Rican Catholic experience. Peña, alternatively, has attended to a wide range of concerns related to Latinas, activism, religious practices, and the challenges of living along the U.S.-Mexico border.

By 2001 a subtle shift began to occur, and it accelerated over the course of the following years. Before 2001, fewer than ten monographs (in addition to a number of essays and articles) delineated the Latina theological conversation. All the monographs before 2001 were written by a few Catholic theologians. Since 2001, Latina theologians have contributed to published conversations with African American and womanist theologians, and with Latin American and Caribbean feminist theologians. With increasing frequency, Latina Protestant and Latina Catholic theologians have published their work together. A number of Latina Protestant theologians have published monographs. A couple of Latina Catholic theologians have published their first monographs. An even larger new group of Latina theologians, Catholic and Protestant, have begun publishing their work, bringing a wide array of critical tools of analysis to Latina theology. Many of these theoretical and methodological tools were not in use in Latina theological discourse before 2001. All of this is to say that the parameters of the Latina theological conversation have been substantially redefined, inaugurating the second phase of Latina theology. This growth and deepening phase began in 2001 and takes us up to the present.

The nature of edited collections played a role in the transition to the second phase. *The Ties That Bind: African American and Hispanic American/Latino/a Theologies in Dialogue* (2001)¹¹ signaled the coming change when Latina/o theologians and African American theologians, women and men, each contributed articles on a given theme and entered into dialogue. Latino/a theological writing had now bridged a racial divide. Furthermore, *Religion, Feminism and Justice: A Reader in Latina Feminist Theology* (2002)¹² represented several “firsts”: not only is it the first collection focused exclusively on Latinas and theology, but also only Latina theologians made contributions. This volume contains the writings of many emerging Protestant and Catholic Latina theologians, so it furthered the ecumenical conversation and introduced readers to the coming generation of Latina theologians. Only Latina theologians served as editors: two Catholics (María Pilar Aquino and Jeanette Rodríguez-Holguin) and one Protestant (Daisy Machado). In 2004, a team of four scholars convened the first symposium of Latina feminist theologians from the United States, Latin America, and the Caribbean, which eventually led to *Feminist Intercultural Theology: Latina Explorations for a Just World* (2007).¹³ It is the first edited collection that includes Latina theologians from throughout the Americas: north, central, and south. María Pilar Aquino was the driving force behind both of these collections.

During these same years, the nature of monographs shifted dramatically. Beginning in 2003 and over the next several years, a number of Latina Prot-

estant theologians published monographs for the first time (Daisy Machado, Arlene Sánchez Walsh, Elizabeth Conde-Frazier, and Mayra Rivera Rivera). During this same time period, two Latina Catholics likewise published their first monographs (Michelle González and Anita de Luna). González then proceeded to publish two additional books over the following four years. As a result of all of these developments, the Latina theological conversation has stepped into an even brighter spotlight: it has moved beyond its initial boundaries along several distinct fronts, and it has deepened significantly through a rich infusion of substantive monographs. In the process, the conversation has been transformed.

In a brief period of time, Michelle A. González Maldonado (Cuban American, Catholic) has emerged as one of the most productive scholars among Latina theologians. In a span of fewer than four years, she published three books and has many articles to her credit, which, taken together, reveal her wide-ranging theological interests. Indignant with Octavio Paz's observation that Latin America has "no Kant, no Robespierre, no Hume, no Jefferson,"¹⁴ González wrote *Sor Juana: Beauty and Justice in the Americas* (2003) in which she excavated Sor Juana's theological, scholarly contribution in the areas of aesthetics, ethics, and epistemology. She concludes with an examination of the connections between ethics and aesthetics in contemporary theology and the ways this connection could prove fecund for liberation theologies. Long concerned with the absence of a theological examination of the Afro-Cuban or Cuban American experience, González wrote a second book in which she examines questions of identity construction and religiosity that emerge at the intersection of Blacks and Latina/os. She concludes by raising some questions for a future Cuban American anthropology.¹⁵ For her third book, González wrote an introductory text for feminist theological anthropology, mapping the questions that orient feminist theology today and into the future.¹⁶

In many respects, it is appropriate to begin a discussion of the second phase of Latina theology with the work of Daisy Machado. She is the first Latina *protestante* to earn a Ph.D. in a theological field, and she is among the first to publish a monograph, *Of Borders and Margins: Hispanic Disciples in Texas: 1888-1945* (2003).¹⁷ In this work, Machado examines the limited success of the Christian church (Disciples of Christ) in attracting Mexican coreligionists when compared with the success of other Protestant denominations during the same time period in Texas. Further, she considers the dissonance created by the theological vision of the Disciples, on the one hand, and their uncritical, perhaps even tacit, acceptance of the ideology of manifest destiny, on the other. Machado calls on her fellow Disciples, and all of us, to think

long and hard about the relationship between Christianity and nationalism and about the ways in which racist convictions often play a role.

At roughly the same time, Elizabeth Conde-Frazier and Arlene Sánchez Walsh each articulated a vision of theology that responded to the queries of Pentecostals and Evangelicals. Conde-Frazier, in her two monographs, addressed the educational and theological challenges of particular local churches from the perspective of Hispanic Protestant missiology. She offered a serious examination of how to focus local churches ever more clearly on the “kingdom of God” in the midst of American biases and ideologies shaping perceptions of race, ethnicity, gender, class, nationalism, and sexuality. Sánchez Walsh focused on the ambivalent relationship that Mexican American Pentecostals have with their ethnic identity as it relates to their religious identity. Her study was localized in southern California and traced a history of the troubled race relations in the wake of the Azusa Street Pentecostalism of the early 20th century. These authors directed our attention to the church’s understanding of its mission and the ways in which ethnic and racial identity functions in churches.¹⁸

In addition to these Latina Protestants, there are two other theologians whose work belongs in this second phase. Mayra Rivera Rivera (Puerto Rican, Methodist), well versed in postcolonial theory, “radical orthodoxy,” and liberation theologies, developed the first sustained constructive work on the doctrine of God by any Latina theologian. In her first monograph, she offers a reformulation of divine transcendence in which relationality and intimacy play a preeminent role. She wants us to understand how human creatures encounter divine transcendence and the necessity of this encounter for the purpose of imagining and creating ethical human relationships.¹⁹ Nancy Elizabeth Bedford (Argentinean, Mennonite), a recent transplant to the United States (2003) from a university in Buenos Aires, has, since 1996, published numerous articles and three books, primarily in the field of systematic theology. In her recent work she examines the intersections between economy, theology, and feminist theory.²⁰

Since 2001, some of the Latina theologians mentioned in the first phase have published additional books. Besides the two edited collections already mentioned, María Pilar Aquino coedited two additional volumes addressing questions of large-scale conflicts, reconciliation processes, and the just war doctrine.²¹ Jeanette Rodríguez-Holguin coauthored a book on the religious, cultural, and social aspects of cultural memory.²² Ada María Isasi-Díaz published a book that explores further some of the fundamental themes of *mujerista* theology (i.e., *mestizaje-mulatez*, *lo cotidiano*, justice, and reconciliation,

among others),²³ and she coedited a volume on Jesus and ministry. For Nancy Pineda-Madrid (Mexican American, Catholic) theological construction necessarily strives for a critical interpretation of historical experience in light of gospel faith for the historical and spiritual liberation of all. Currently she is working on a book that argues for a social doctrine of salvation in light of the suffering of Latinas. Her research focuses on feminist soteriologies.²⁴

The field of pastoral theology, too, continued to unfold during the second phase, largely due to the innovative contributions of Carmen Nanko-Fernández (Spanish-Czech, Catholic) and Anita de Luna (Mexican American, Catholic). Even though Nanko-Fernández published a short volume on ministry with Catholic college students in 1997,²⁵ she rightly belongs in this second phase. Since 2001 Nanko-Fernández has published articles on the church, theological reflection, immigration, justice, youth ministry, Catholic social teaching, and popular culture. In 2002, de Luna (now deceased) published her first monograph in which she offered an in-depth analysis of several catechisms, with particular attention to the Hispano catechisms used at different points in Texas history. She then shows how these catechisms can serve as an entry point into the spiritual life of Tejanos.²⁶

Sources

The move beyond preliminary theological boundaries serves as the hallmark of this second phase of Latina theology. Indeed, at the dawn of the 21st century, Latina theologians have begun to address an expanding horizon of questions and interests.

Latina theologies obviously draw on sources common to all Christian theologies (i.e., human experience, scriptures, and tradition). Even so, every expression of Latina theology emerges out of a distinctive cultural milieu that is, an interrelated network of symbols, semantic fields, attitudes toward life, shared core myths, and tacit political and social relationships. A cultural milieu consists of all the ways a given group understands and expresses its identity. Latina theological discourse, likewise, contends with larger forces: the operative political, economic, gendered, class, and sexual realities that define the world of its social location. Indeed, Latina theologians invariably approach the sources they select (whether those common to all Christian theologies or those that provide access to some dimension of Latina experience) from within some concrete given: namely, some tangible sociocultural and political world.

While Latina theology grows out of a concrete given world, this does not mean that the term “Latina” stands for an essentialized experience supposedly common to every female human being of Latin American background. Rather, “Latina” represents a group of women who for politically strategic purposes use this term to stand for a culturally, racially, economically, and socially diverse set of experiences and histories. While a Mexican American, a Salvadorian, and a Cuban American will all use the term “Latina” to identify their work, the concrete given worlds *from which* and *for which* they write typically differ significantly. Consequently, the sources, as well as the theological questions considered, reveal the enormous differences among “Latinas.” Latina theologians also draw on a wide range of sources for the purpose of developing theology. These sources are grouped under (1) experience, history, and cultural material; (2) Hebrew and Christian scriptures; and (3) tradition.

Experience, History, and Cultural Material

Latina theologians often take the “lived experience of Latinas” as a point of departure for developing theology. Yet, this notion is in quotation marks because it stands for the diverse nature of Latina experience. Moreover, the “lived experience of Latinas” does not come in some transparent given form, but, like all human experience, it is invariably mediated through culture and language. All human experience is interpreted experience.

Latina theologians have interpreted this experience through categories like *mestizaje* and *mulatez*. *Mestizaje* references the racial and cultural mixing of Spanish and Amerindian peoples and *mulatez* the mixing of Spanish and Black African peoples. *Mestizaje* and *mulatez* are primal and pervasive inasmuch as Latinas (and Latinos) have survived precisely through this mixing. From the perspective of the Protestant faith experience and ecclesiastical practice, Latina theologians consider their experience as *evangélicas* and provide a new interpretation of the experience of *mestizaje* (mixing of two realities): namely, the experience of being both “Hispanic” and “Protestant.”

The lived experience of Latinas has also been interpreted through the category of *lo cotidiano* (the daily experience of living). The stories and narratives that Latinas tell of their lives are part of *lo cotidiano*. This category has been used by Latina theologians to call attention to the transitory and incomplete nature of the struggle of daily life; to make explicit the social location of all knowledge; to highlight the experiences of Latinas that resonate among them— injustices in terms of race and class, as well as gender; and to signal that in the

daily experience of living we come to know grace and sin. *Lo cotidiano* emerges in the dynamic web of *la familia*, of *la comunidad*; it belongs neither to the strictly private nor the strictly public spheres of life but pertains to both. Latina theologians use other sources as well to read the lived experience of Latinas. Some have noted the way in which the Spanish language both reflects and shapes Latinas' experience. Others privilege sociological and anthropological portraits of Latinas' experience.

For Latina theologians, the histories of Latina/o communities both in the United States and in their Latin American countries of origin have served as a significant theological resource on many levels. Some theologians have focused on the historically decisive events (e.g., the occupation of Puerto Rico [1898], the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo [1848], the communist revolution in Cuba [1959]) that shaped their community's identity and stirred Latina/os to look to their faith for a way to make sense of their experience. Others have re-read historical accounts, attempting to uncover and piece together the myriad ways that Latina/os have acted on behalf of their communities. Still others have followed a similar line of thought, one focused more specifically on the ways Latinas have asserted themselves. The importance of history as a source for Latina theology has been affirmed through the development of ideas like *the irruption of history* (historical consciousness in the lives of women)²⁷ and the category of *proyecto histórico* (the hoped-for future in the lives of women).²⁸

Yet another important and emerging source is cultural material. Many Latina theologians have mined the rich vein of literary works written by Latinas, both contemporary and historical. Latina literature has been used to explore themes of voice, authority, grace, spirit, salvation, loss, and suffering, to name a few. The visual arts have also played a large role. Latina theologians have deliberated on the symbolism found in public murals in many cities in the United States and that found in the paintings of contemporary Latina artists. Similarly, religious iconography and art have also served as a source (e.g., *retablos*, *milagritos*, Caridad del Cobre, Guadalupe).

Hebrew and Christian Scriptures

The scriptures play a preeminent role in Latina theological discourse, as the primary resource for mediating an understanding of the mystery and workings of God. Latina theologians look to scripture to break open the lives of Latinas: that is, their struggle for liberation in the face of oppression, their desire to survive when survival is in question, and their hope for the coming kingdom of God in the midst of crushing poverty. As such, Latina theo-

gians turn to particular passages that resonate with the existential reality of Latinas' lives. The first chapters of Genesis, the Exodus event, the concubine in Judges 19, the prophetic books, the stories of Jesus' healings, the accounts of Pentecost and the early church in Acts, among other passages, have all been used by Latina theologians to reflect on the meaning of grace, liberation, suffering, social sin, conversion, and other theological concerns.

By and large, Latina theologians understand the scriptures to be the "word of God," not in a literal sense but in the sense that, for believers, the scriptures can mediate an experience of the living God so powerful that it transforms lives. For Latina theologians, the "word of God" is that which brings life; that which nourishes the lives of Latinas, of all humanity and of creation; and that which continually summons believers, through the work of the Spirit, to ever-greater intimacy with God and to ever-greater love for one another.

Tradition

Latina theologies also draw from the wisdom expressed in the writings of a long line of outstanding Christian believers and from the practices of individuals who, and communities which, have sought to live lives as Christian disciples ever more deeply committed to gospel faith. This tradition of two thousand years carries rich insights as the experience of being Christian has been clarified and reclarified many times in widely diverse circumstances and during radically distinct historical periods. Latina theologies have turned to prominent Christian thinkers such as Augustine, Irenaeus, Anselm, Aquinas, and Sor Juana to inform their writings. Official church teachings and documents have likewise been used frame theological concerns. Given the liberationist orientation of much of Latina theology, many contemporary works in Latin American liberation theology, feminist theologies, womanist theology, Black theology, and moral theology, among others, have been used to stretch and deepen Latina theological discourse.

Popular religious practices—meaning religious practices created by the people for the purpose of their spiritual growth and their appropriation of the Christian faith—have been a rich tradition since the dawn of Christianity in the Americas. These practices have taken scriptural stories and insights and brought them to life through theological dramas, through the use of images and iconography, and through short ritual celebrations. Reflection on this rich dimension of the Christian tradition has enlivened Latina theologies.

In addition, many Protestant Latina theologians bring the added dimension of their experience as ordained leaders of faith communities to bear on

their theological writings. By way of contrast, Latina Catholic theologians do not have experience as ordained leaders.

Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

Latina theologians make decisions not only about the sources they will employ but also about what they understand the theological task to be. Simply put, what are they doing when they write theology? A theologian's understanding of the theological task will inform her selection of sources. In other words, a theologian assumes a theory in the writing of theology, selects particular sources to use, and then makes decisions about how she will engage the sources she selected. What will be considered important from a given source? How will the sources be used in relation to each other? What is the best way to use the selected sources to accomplish the task of theology?

Latina theologians assume that the theological task is to reflect critically on the experience of Christian faith for the sake of liberation. Latina theology assumes that this reflection is *from within* and *for* the liberation of the Latina/o community so that the community may realize a world more free of all that is dehumanizing and unjust, which necessarily means a world more in harmony with God's love. Furthermore, such a theological assumption presumes a preferential option for poor and oppressed people, meaning that the injustices of the world are to be understood first from the vantage point of the most vulnerable among us. The theological task is an intellectual endeavor in service of bringing about a more just, transformed, God-filled world—not simply for Latina/os but for all humanity and creation. While Latina theologians generally agree on this basic orientation, there remain significant methodological differences. The differences stem from more subtle understandings of the theological task and from a difference in strategy for realizing that task (method).

By and large, Latina theologians using a feminist hermeneutic agree that the diversity of Latinas lived experience must be taken seriously and that it is necessary to examine and critique the ways in which social and discursive systems foster an interlocking web of oppression. This web of oppression consists of inequities of gender, race, class, sexual orientation, and colonialism. Yet this same group of Latina theologians disagree on how “feminism” is to be regarded and, therefore, on which methodological tools to use. For some theologians, the term “feminist” is useful and historical. Feminist theories from Latin America, the United States, and elsewhere offer the best range of approaches for engaging sources and theorizing the diversity of Latinas’

lived experience. When theologians theorize this lived experience well, then the possibility of liberation is advanced. For other Latina theologians, ethnography and metaethnography, which are socioanthropological resources, offer the most useful method for realizing the liberative desires of Latinas. Liberation is realized by encouraging Latinas to act in the world with greater moral agency and to give public voice to their theological insights. For these theologians the term "feminist" carries problematic baggage. Mujerista theology employs this latter method.

Any methodological approach that does not make clear from the onset that "scripture is authoritative for faith and practice" would be regarded as suspicious by many of the Latina theologians who identify as *evangélicas* or *protestantes*. For this second group of Latina theologians, scripture "needs to be reread with the guidance of the Holy Spirit in order to rediscover God's Word of affirmation and liberation for all people, especially the marginalized and oppressed. Together with liberation theologies, [these Latina theologians] critique the excessive privatism, individualism, and false spiritualization of the gospel that has traditionally been sustained by Protestant thought and belief."²⁹ They claim that the gospel understands salvation to be both God's promise of a future life in the fullness of time and what we experience in our lives here on Earth. Among these theologians, methods of exegesis and methods for the discernment of the Holy Spirit play a paramount role.

A third group of Latina theologians, while in agreement with the liberative task of Latina theology, consider the immediate pastoral needs of the Latina/o, believing community to be central. They concern themselves with how to witness to, and communicate the faith to, Latina/os in this historical moment. These theologians gravitate toward a methodological approach that enhances religious education, spiritual growth, liturgical practice, youth ministry, and the practice of the church.

Yet, even though several distinctions in methodological approaches can be made, the writings of many Latina theologians straddle more than one of these approaches. The distinctions in approaches serve simply as a guide to the range of methodological commitments in Latina theology. As Latina theological discourse has matured over the past two decades plus of its existence, the discourse has clearly expanded and deepened. One reflection of that growth can be found in the increasing and sophisticated use of a wide range of methodological resources. Latina theologians today use postcolonial theory, postmodern theory, critical theory, critical race theory, feminist theory, economic theory, intercultural philosophy, U.S. pragmatism, and Latin American philosophy, to name only some of an expanding list of resources employed.

Ongoing Issues

Of late, Latina theology has expanded and deepened in ways not imagined even a short decade ago. Historical circumstances have created new opportunities and challenges that have propelled this discourse to a new level. The following areas represent merely a few of the many theological issues that Latina theology will continue to face in the coming decades: (1) diversity of Latina/os communities, (2) the expanding conversation, and (3) operative gender ideologies.

Diversity of Latina/os Communities

We have already mentioned that the term “Latina” functions as an umbrella term to refer to women who reside in the United States yet trace their roots to the countries of Central America, the Caribbean, Latin America, or Mexico and that the term “Latina” continues to be adopted for politically strategic purposes. The name “Latina theology” garners more political weight in academia and in our churches than would designations such as Dominican American theology, Cuban American theology, and so forth. The term “Latina theology” suggests that those who write this are part of a larger discourse. Yet the term “Latina theology” presents problems because of the enormous differences in histories, cultures, religious beliefs and practices, racial and ethnic mixing, intellectual histories, economic circumstances, and so on. Some Latinas identify with the experience of exile, others with the experience of being a colonized people, and still others with being in the United States *sin papeles* (without papers).

A brief current statistical portrait of U.S. Latina/os will provide a further context. In 2005, the Pew Hispanic Center reported that of the 296 million people who make up the population of the United States, Hispanics or Latina/os comprise 14%, or 41 million. By 2050, the Pew projects that Hispanics or Latina/os will make up 29% of the U.S. population. Also for 2005, of all Hispanics or Latina/os living in the United States, 63.9% are of Mexican origin, 9.1% are Puerto Rican, 3.5% are of Cuban origin, 3.0% are of Salvadorian origin, 2.7% are of Dominican origin, and all other Hispanic/Latina/o groups make up less than 2.0% of the U.S. Hispanic or Latina/o population. In 2006 Pew conducted a survey and determined that of all Hispanics or Latina/os living in the United States, 68% are Roman Catholic, 15% are Evangelical Protestant, and 8% (the third largest group) includes those who identify with either “no affiliation” or as agnostic or atheist.³⁰

Given this diversity, Latina theologians need to sort out how Latina theology may be constructed such that it respects the multiplicity of Latinas' experience yet does not empty the umbrella term "Latina" of meaning, thereby compromising the vital political, strategic purpose that a term like "Latina" affords this theological discourse. Short of addressing this challenge directly, Latina theologies run the risk of falling into new internal hegemonies based perhaps on racial privilege, religious dominance, class influence and privilege, demographic dominance, or some other distinction of power. Internal hegemonies would, in time, undermine the liberation that Latina theologies profess to seek. Recently Latina theologians have begun addressing this challenge, the importance of which will only grow with time.

The Expanding Conversation

Latina theologians have now begun to engage in conversations with other theologians committed to liberationist discourse. As might be anticipated, initial exchanges with African American and womanist theologians revealed several overlapping areas of interest and similar historical concerns. These exchanges have prodded Latina theologians to rethink the boundaries of their writings. For example, where do the theological concerns of Latina feminist theologies and womanist theologies converge? diverge? How would Asian American feminist theologies contribute to, challenge, or affirm these concerns? How might Latina theologians understand differently what it means to write theology if this work is intentionally linked to the projects of African American and Asian American theologians? In 2004 and again in 2008, some Latina feminist theologians from the United States engaged in a dialogue with feminist theologians from Latin America and the Caribbean. This dialogue pushed participants to reimagine what it means to write Latina feminist theology. Questions of globalization, economic power, and imperialism moved to the fore, recontextualizing how Latina theologians perceive the social location of their work. No doubt, the frame of reference for Latina theology is shifting; the overarching goal of liberation is taking on new meaning.

Operative Gender Ideologies

Latina theologians writing feminist theology have already analyzed the dynamic way that the patriarchal world in which Latina/os live and its attendant sexist practices subordinate Latina females, rendering them of a lesser

humanity. These same feminist theologians named this reality “social sin” and called for a world that genuinely supports the full humanity of Latinas, as well as that of all human beings. Yet, by and large, the theological discourse of Latina/os reflects a lack of critical consciousness of the extant gender ideologies which this same discourse discloses. It is true that many Latino theologians will occasionally cite the work of Latina theologians in their theological writings and will note the importance of women and women’s contributions. In fact, in the edited collection *Protestantes/Protestants*, four different Latino theologians call specific attention to Latinas’ experience; some even voice concern that Latinas have been systematically excluded from public roles and denied recognition for the leadership they offer.³¹

Notwithstanding all of this evidence and more that could be brought to bear, there is still a problem. Orlando Espín got it right when he observed that “much Latina/o theology pays lip service to feminism, while ignoring it methodologically.”³² Latinas who employ a feminist hermeneutic would be well served to take the next step and use the feminist theoretical tools with which they are well acquainted to make clear the ways that gender ideologies function throughout Latina/o theological discourse and the ways in which these operative ideologies ultimately impoverish the humanity of women and men alike.

On a related note, Latina theologians need to dig deeper into the roots, nature, and character of Latina/o patriarchy and sexism. This particular form of patriarchy bears its own unique marks. Even though Latina theologians have put forward an in-depth analysis of the ways in which patriarchy and sexism have been detrimental to Latinas, much more work needs to be done on clarifying the Latina/o form(s) of patriarchy. We do not yet have a clear picture of the Latina/o version of this social sin.

NOTES

Brief portions of the sections titled “Historical Backdrop” and “Description” are taken from Nancy Pineda-Madrid, “Latina Roman Catholic Theologies,” in *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America*, ed. Rosemary Skinner Keller and Rosemary Radford Ruether (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2006), 1193–1200.

1. Before proceeding, it is necessary to clarify the meaning of certain terms. For example, a number of different terms are used to designate Latin American or Hispanic ancestry. The majority of theologians represented in this article prefer the term *Latina* because it highlights the communities’ Latin American roots. It recognizes the Spanish, Amerindian, African, and Portuguese origins of contemporary Latina/o communities, and it is a self-selected term. Other terms frequently used are *Hispanic*, *chicana*, *mestiza*,

and *mulatta*. A number of Latina/o theologians do not use the term "Hispanic" because the U.S. government designated this term for Spanish-speaking and Spanish-surnamed people and intended, by its use, to elevate the Spanish ancestral roots and dismiss the Amerindian and African roots. For many, "Hispanic" is not a self-selected identifier. "Chicana" designates not just a woman born in the United States of Mexican or Mexican American heritage but also a woman who critically assumes a political consciousness of class, race, and gender as framing the way she views the world. "Mestiza" means a woman whose identity emerges from the biological, cultural, and religious mixing of the Spanish and the Amerindian; and "mulatta" arises from the mixing of the Spanish and the African. Neither term is inclusive of all women of Latin American heritage.

2. Bernardo Vega and César Andreu Iglesias, *Memoirs of Bernardo Vega: A Contribution to the History of the Puerto Rican Community in New York* (New York: Monthly Review, 1984), xiv.

3. Ada María Isasi-Díaz, *Mujerista Theology: A Theology for the Twenty-First Century* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1996), 18.

4. Ada María Isasi-Díaz, "Toward an Understanding of Feminismo Hispano in the U.S.A.," in *Women's Consciousness, Women's Conscience: A Reader in Feminist Ethics*, ed. Barbara Hilkert Andolsen, Christine E. Gudorf, and Mary D. Pellauer (Minneapolis: Winston, 1985), 51.

5. Isasi-Díaz, *Mujerista Theology*, 61.

6. *Ibid.*, 62.

7. María Pilar Aquino, "El Culto a María y María en el Culto," *FEM Publicación Feminista* 5, no. 20 [Mexico City] (1981-1982): 41-46. Aquino's title does not translate easily into English. The second half of her title suggests that she will address the social construction of "Mary" through the practice of her veneration.

8. María Pilar Aquino, *Our Cry for Life: Feminist Theology from Latin America* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1993), 117.

9. *Ibid.*, 109.

10. Jeanette Rodríguez[-Holguin], *Stories We Live: Cuentos Que Vivimos* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist, 1996), 13.

11. Anthony Pinn and Benjamín Valentín, eds., *The Ties That Bind: African-American and Hispanic American/Latino/a Theologies in Dialogue* (New York: Continuum, 2001).

12. María Pilar Aquino, Daisy L. Machado, and Jeanette Rodríguez, eds., *Religion, Feminism and Justice: A Reader in Latina Feminist Theology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002).

13. María Pilar Aquino and María José Rosado-Nunes, eds., *Feminist Intercultural Theology: Latina Explorations for a Just World* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2007).

14. Michelle A. González, *Sor Juana: Beauty and Justice in the Americas* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2003), xi.

15. Michelle A. González, *Afro-Cuban Theology: Religion, Race, Culture, and Identity* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006).

16. Michelle A. González, *Created in God's Image: An Introduction to Feminist Theological Anthropology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2007).

17. Daisy L. Machado, *Of Borders and Margins: Hispanic Disciples in Texas, 1888-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

18. Elizabeth Conde-Frazier, *Hispanic Bible Institutes: A Community of Theological Construction* (Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press, 2004); Elizabeth Conde-Frazier, S. Steve Kang, and Gary A. Parret, *A Many Colored Kingdom: Multicultural Dynamics for Spiritual Formation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2004); and Arlene M. Sánchez Walsh, *Latino Pentecostal Identity: Evangelical Faith, Self, and Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003).
19. Mayra Rivera Rivera, *The Touch of Transcendence: A Postcolonial Theology of God* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2007).
20. Nancy Elizabeth Bedford's books include *Puntos de Encuentro* (Buenos Aires: ISEDET, 2005).
21. María Pilar Aquino's publications include María Pilar Aquino, Daisy L. Machado, and Jeanette Rodriguez[-Holguin], eds., *A Reader in Latina Feminist Theology* (Austin: University of Texas, 2002).
22. Jeanette Rodriguez[-Holguin] and Ted Fortier, *Cultural Memory: Resistance, Faith, and Identity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).
23. Ada María Isasi-Díaz, *La Lucha Continues: Mujerista Theology* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2004).
24. Nancy Pineda-Madrid's publications include numerous articles such as "Traditioning: The Formation of Community, the Transmission of Faith," in *In Futuring Our Past: Explorations in the Theology of Tradition*, ed. Orlando Espín and Gary Macy (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2006), 204–226.
25. Carmen Nanko, *Campus Ministry: Identity, Mission and Praxis* (Washington, DC: National Catholic Education Association, 1997).
26. Anita de Luna, *Faith Formation and Popular Religion: Lessons from the Tejano Experience* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002).
27. Aquino, *Our Cry for Life*, 9–25.
28. Isasi-Díaz, *Mujerista Theology*, 153–158.
29. Elizabeth Conde-Frazier and Loida I. Martell Otero, "U.S. Latina Evangélicas," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Religion in North America*, ed. Rosemary Skinner Keller and Rosemary Radford Ruether (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2006), 1:479.
30. This section is based on Pew Hispanic Center, *U.S. Population Projections: 2005–2050*, report dated February 11, 2008, available at <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=85>; Pew Hispanic Center, "A Statistical Portrait of Hispanics at Mid-Decade, Table 3: Detailed Hispanic Origin: 2005," report dated August 29, 2006, available at <http://pewhispanic.org/files/other/middecade/Table-3.pdf>; and Pew Hispanic Center, *Changing Faiths: Latinos and the Transformation of American Religion*, chap. 1: "Religion and Demography," page 7, report dated April 25, 2007, available at <http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/75.1.pdf>.
31. David Maldonado Jr., ed., *Protestantes/Protestants: Hispanic Christianity within Mainline Traditions* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 1999), 116, 156, 258–259, 287.
32. Orlando O. Espín, "The State of U.S. Latina/o Theology: An Understanding," in *Hispanic Christian Thought at the Dawn of the 21st Century: Apuntes in Honor of Justo L. González*, ed. Alvin Padilla, Roberto Goizueta, and Eldin Villafañe (Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2005), 104.

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