

The Browning of American Adventism

How will 150,00 Latino members—by the year 2000—affect the North American Division?

by Edwin I. Hernández

BY THE YEAR 1998, WHITE MEMBERSHIP IN THE North American Division will lose its majority status.¹ Undoubtedly the African-American, Asian-American, and other minority groups have their own contributions and ways of shaping the future of Adventism in North America. However, our major focus is on illuminating the nature, current trends, perspectives, and trends within the Adventist Latino community.

Latinos have been experiencing dramatic growth in the North American Division. In 1980, the Latino membership was 28,400. A decade later, the membership grew to 64,502—a spectacular growth rate of 127 percent. The latest growth figure estimates that the Latino membership in the North American Division is more than 80,000.² If current growth rates are maintained (estimated to be 10 percent a

year), Latino membership will reach 150,367 by the year 2000,³ meeting in 516 Latino congregations, with 354 pastors, 291 colporteurs, and close to \$30 million in tithes.⁴

In what ways will the “browning” of Adventism affect impact the North American Division? How is the Latino church already shaping the life of the Adventist Church in the North American Division? How and who are the people being won to the church? Is the growth of the Latino church primarily due to immigration of Adventists from the South to the North? How effective is the evangelism effort among second- and third-generation Latinos living in North America? What is the impact of acculturation on religious beliefs, family relations, and internalization of religious values?

These are some of the many questions that can begin to be answered, thanks to a recently completed, unprecedented study. AVANCE (in English meaning *advance*), conducted as a follow-up study to Valuegenesis, focused specifically on the unique needs and challenges facing the Latino Adventist community in the North American Division. A research

Edwin I. Hernández is associate professor of sociology, Andrews University. His co-investigators in the AVANCE study were Sergio Hernández, Mario Negrete, Ramona Perez-Greek, Johnny Ramirez, Caleb Rosado, Saul Torres, and Alfonso Valenzuela. Support for AVANCE came from the North American Division, Andrews and La Sierra universities, and Atlantic Union, Pacific Union, and Walla Walla colleges.

committee was organized and given the responsibility to accomplish the project,⁵ made possible by a major grant from the North American Division and additional support from Adventist educational institutions.⁶ The sample, including a total of 3,306 members from 77 congregations randomly selected and stratified by church size and by union, represents the largest and most extensive study of Latinos within any denomination in the United States.⁷ AVANCE, administered within the setting of the congregation, provides a unique glimpse into the impact of congregational life. Moreover, a church-based sample enabled researchers to reach the youth population attending public school.

This article, then, provides a profile of the Latino Adventist church in North America. To understand these Adventists requires a glance at the wider Latino American community within which they live.

The Larger Context

If present trends continue, the Latino population will become the largest minority group in the United States by the year 2015.⁸ It is not only the fastest growing, but the youngest, the poorest, and the least educated of all minority groups. Minority populations are assumed to be homogenous, sharing a common history and adjustment struggles. But the Latino population represents a diverse collection of national groups fragmented by class, political ideology, and generation. It has no independent life of its own; indeed, Latinos do not exist apart from the classificatory category created by federal statisticians to provide data on people of Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and other Latino origins in the United States. Latinos include all those who trace their origins to a region originally colonized by Spain: Argentines, whose grandparents migrated from Europe to Buenos

Aires at the turn of the century; Chinese, whose forebears were brought to Cuba as contract laborers; Amerindians, whose ancestors entered the Amazon thousands of years ago; Africans, whose ancestors were imported to work as slaves on the sugar plantations of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean; Spaniards, whose families colonized Mexico; and *mestizos* and *mulattos*, who trace their lineage to the coerced union of the Amerindians, Africans, and Europeans.

Latino cultural origins are diverse, including their arrival in the United States. A group was forcibly annexed into the United States in 1848; another has been migrating continuously since around 1890; another obtained citizenship through colonial conquest in 1898; one group arrived largely in the period between 1960 and 1980; and several groups have just begun migrating to the United States within the past few years.⁹ As a result of these varied histories, Latinos find themselves in a variety of legal statuses: as fifth-generation Americans descended from Spanish colonists, new immigrants just stepping off the jetway, native-born children of immigrant parents or naturalized citizens, refugees fleeing left- or right-wing regimes, legal aliens driving across the international bridge into McAllen, Texas, or undocumented migrants still wet from swimming the river below.

Depending on when and how they arrive in the United States, Latinos may know a long history of discrimination and repression, or they may see the United States as a land of opportunity. They may be affluent and well-educated, or poor and unschooled; they may have no personal experience of ethnic discrimination, or they may harbor deep resentment at being called "greaser" or "spic," and being discriminated against on the job because of their accent or skin color.¹⁰

In summary, there is no Latino population in the sense that there is a black population. Latinos share no common historical memory;

they do not comprise a single, coherent community.

One of the few things Latinos share is a deep cultural respect of the sacred. Consequently, the church is one of the most important mediating institutions for the Latino.¹¹ In most neighborhoods, the church represents the only institution owned and operated by Latinos. The church functions as a community memory, where the moral and cultural values of the Latino heritage and traditions are maintained and transferred to new generations. Moreover, churches function as communities of resistance—vehicles for social protest, mobilization, and resistance to larger, threatening forces.¹²

Congregations are citadels for enhancing and maintaining hope, community, and belief, within an increasingly alienating urban environment. Among the Protestant families of the Latino community, Adventism plays a major role.

Social, Economic, and Educational Status of Latino Adventists

Mexican-Americans comprise the largest sub-group of the Latino Adventist church (42 percent), followed by Central Americans (20 percent), Puerto Ricans (15 percent), South Americans (8 percent), Cubans (6 percent), and Dominicans (6 percent). Any visitor to a Latino church is soon struck by the large number of women, youth, and young adults in attendance. AVANCE supports this observation: across the North American Division, a total of 76 percent of the Latino church is 41 years old or younger (30 percent of the sample are youth between the ages of 13 and 21; 46 percent are between the ages of 22 to 41 years old). Fifty-five percent of the members are women.

With respect to the socio-economic status of Latino adult Adventists, 41 percent suffer from high levels of poverty (earnings of \$0 to

\$14,999 a year), according to individual self-reported income. A total of 23 percent earn between \$15,000 to \$24,999, 27 percent earn between \$25,000 to \$49,999, and only 7 percent having earnings above \$50,000 or more. In terms of educational attainment, 20 percent have only a grade school-level education, 31 percent a high school diploma. Twenty-four percent have had some college, 15 percent have completed a college degree, and 6 percent have a postgraduate degree. Undoubtedly, the fact that more than half of the sample has a high school education or less contributes to higher rates of poverty. Adventists are more likely than other Latinos to be found in the higher-income brackets (see Table 1).

TABLE 1

Family Income Distribution by Ethnic Group (in Percentages)

Income Group	Latino Population*	Latino Adventist
Less than \$15,000	57%	41%
\$15,000 to \$24,999	26%	23%
\$25,000 to \$49,999	14%	27%
\$50,000 and above	2%	7%

* Source: Tabulations of U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census (1989)

What impact does becoming an Adventist have on the social economic status of Latinos? There is clear evidence that the Adventist subculture reinforces a series of mores, values, and educational aspirations that greatly enhance the socioeconomic level of Latino Adventists. For example, 61 percent of the adults in the highest income brackets (\$75,000 or above) have been Adventists since their childhood (baptized at 13 years of age or younger). Only 16 percent of the highest income earners were baptized in their twenties.

The effect of Christian education on educational achievement is truly remarkable. The important conclusion in this initial report is that there is overwhelming support for Adventist education among Latino Adventists.

Those with some Adventist education are six times more likely to have a graduate degree than those who never attended an Adventist school. The educational achievement is also related to the amount of time people have been Adventists. More than half (52 percent) of those with graduate degrees have been Adventists since their childhood (13 years old or less). The majority (63 percent) of recent converts (those baptized within the past five years) perceive their present social economic situation as better than before becoming Adventists. The longer Latinos have been Adventist, the more likely they are to attend an Adventist school, which, in turn, reinforces Adventism's culture of learning. Adventism thus creates conditions for upward social mobility. All of us involved in this research project have experienced this pattern in our own lives.

In this article we won't explore the full effect of Christian education on religious belief and values transmission, but rather how Latino children and their parents perceive Christian education. A common stereotype that each of us often hears about the Latino community is that "they are not interested in Christian education," or that "parents don't push their children to get an education." However, the reality is very different.

Despite this fundamental barrier, AVANCE results show strong interest and support for Adventist schools. A majority (68 percent) of both youth and adults believe that Adventist schools provide a better education than public schools. If given a choice, 61 percent of the Adventist youth would select an Adventist school over a public school. When asked whether the spiritual value of an Adventist school justifies the cost, a total of 43 percent agreed, 30 percent were not sure, and 27 percent disagreed.

However, our findings point to economics as an immediate barrier: Christian education is simply out of range for the typical Latino

Adventist family rearing an average of 3.1 children. It is no wonder that 72 percent indicated that sending children to an Adventist school was simply too expensive. Our congregation-based sample revealed that 58 percent had never attended an Adventist school, while 42 percent had had some Adventist education (one to four years). Of those surveyed who were presently in school at any level (N=1,190), only 22 percent indicated attending an Adventist school. A total of 457 parents (which could include fathers and mothers of the same household) indicated having at least one of their children in an Adventist school (for a total of 870 children). By contrast, 850 parents indicated having at least one child in a public school (for a total of 1,862 children).

Adventist Latino youth have high educational aspirations. A total of 72 percent indicated wanting at least a four-year college education. When asked how far they thought their parents wanted them to go, 83 percent indicated at least a college education; 37 percent a postgraduate degree. Parents mirrored the perception of their children: 77 percent wanted their children to get at least a four-year college education, 36 percent a postgraduate degree.

Adventist education is an important Latino family goal. Eighty-four percent of adults who have or will have college-age children think that it is quite important that their children attend an Adventist college or university. What is the likelihood of this happening? Thirty-one percent of Latino parents believe that there is a fair chance of achieving this goal, 12 percent said a good chance, and 21 percent indicated an excellent chance.

Our survey revealed a large population ready to be recruited to increase enrollment at all levels of the Adventist educational system. These findings will hopefully challenge Adventist educators and administrators, who assume Latino students and families are unmotivated, to think more seriously about fund-

ing greater participation of Latinos in the Adventist educational system.

Family Structure: Strengths and Abuses

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the Latino family is a strong commitment to family values and attachments, or "familism."¹³ AVANCE data showed Adventist Latino families to be very strong, but experiencing dramatic change and turmoil. Sixty-six percent of the adult sample were married, 10 percent were divorced and remarried, 9 percent single, 4 percent separated, and 5 percent divorced. The overwhelming majority of youth (89 percent) reported having happy families, experiencing love, understanding, support, and unity. Most families (66 percent) were characterized as being non-authoritarian, and 71 percent of Latino youth felt their parents were good Christian role models. These are clear signs of family strengths.

However, there are indications of difficulties and volatility. While there were overall low rates of family separation and divorce, 52 percent of the youth surveyed said they were worried their parents would divorce. Perhaps most seriously, 39 percent of the Latino youth in our survey worried they would be physically beaten by their parents to the point where they would be badly hurt. Does this suggest actual abuse within the Adventist Latino family?

Indeed, one of the objectives of our research was to examine the degree of abuse experienced in the family—verbal/emotional, physical, and sexual.¹⁴ Seventy percent of those surveyed had experienced one or more of the above abuses (64 percent having experience verbal abuse, 34 percent physical, and 20 percent sexual abuse). This corroborates recent research revealing high degrees of abuse in Adventist families generally.¹⁵ Women en-

dured the highest suffering at the hands of those they were closest to. For example, verbal abuse was most often suffered by children (22 percent), followed by the spouse (21 percent). The abused spouse was three times more likely to be female than male. Physical abuse was more likely to be suffered from the hands of parents (40 percent), followed by a spouse (19 percent). Again, the abused spouse was nine times more likely to be a woman than a man. Sexual abuse was most likely to be inflicted by friends and/or neighbors (23 percent) and close relatives (23 percent). Most distressing, women suffered more frequent abuse than men.

The cost of abuse includes decline of religious commitment and increased at-risk activity, such as alcohol consumption, smoking, sexual activity, and attempted suicide. To what extent are these findings related to the stress of low socio-economic status and cultural adaptation? Are members who have been Adventist longer less likely to experience abuse? Are these findings influenced by the strong male-dominance tendencies of Latino culture?

Results show that abuse is not related to class differences. All income levels are equally likely to experience verbal/emotional and sexual abuse. Soberingly, the highest income level shows the greatest experience of physical abuse. In terms of whether long-time Adventists are less likely than recent converts to experience abuse, the evidence shows that the reported rate of physical abuse indeed decreased from 38 percent for recent converts (first five years) to 24 percent for those with a 21-year-plus history of Adventism. However, emotional and sexual abuse rates did not change significantly over the Adventist timeline. Abusive relationships persist throughout the life of membership in the church.

Further research is needed on the complex issue of abuse. Neither social class nor length of time of being an Adventist significantly

impacts rates of abuse. This finding collaborates other recent research¹⁶ and demands immediate attention by the church.

There is undoubtedly an elusive relationship between male dominance ideology and abuse. Our survey identified several issues that indirectly measure the degree of male dominance. These include assessment of the male/female role in the home and at church, including views on the role of women in church leadership positions. The majority (55 percent) of adults believed more should be done to include women in leadership positions in the church structure. A total of 91 percent believed men should have equal responsibility for taking care of domestic responsibilities. Moreover, the majority (55 percent) believe men and women are equal and should share equally in all decision making (45 percent believed that men were the “head” of the home, with women being entitled to varying degrees of input in decision making).

On the basis of the above evidence, we might conclude that while a male dominance view exists among Latino Adventists, it is clearly not a majority view. However, when we examined the role that women should have in the church, it became clear that, Adventist Latinos believed males should dominate. Sixty-four percent of adults believe that women can serve only in non-ordained leadership positions in the church. There was strong opposition to the ordination of women as either elders (73 percent) or as pastors (78 percent). A strong majority opposed even non-ordained women pastors (85 percent).

Will future generations of Latino Adventists remain strongly opposed to the ordination of women? Younger people, and those who have experienced greater levels of acculturation, were more likely than older and less-acculturated persons to favor the ordination of women to the ministry. In our study, 22 percent of those who were less acculturated believed that women should be ordained as

ministers, in contrast to 35 percent of those who were more acculturated. Among the youth 13 to 21 years of age, 37 percent favored ordination of women, significantly more than the 22 percent of young adults and 21 percent of adults.

Is this entrenchment of negative attitudes toward women in ministry a phenomenon only among the Latino Adventist community? Evidence from the Valuegenesis study provides some interesting answers from youth in grades six to 12. For example, 46 percent of African-Americans, 42 percent of Asian-Americans, 41 percent of Anglos, and 37 percent of Latinos favored women as ordained ministers. These findings suggest that the younger the Adventist, the lower the opposition to women's ordination and that there are few significant differences across ethnic groups.

Examination of the AVANCE data reveals that women are more likely than men to oppose an increased role of women in the church, particularly ordination of women as pastors.

For those of us who care deeply about the moral right of women to exercise their gifts according to God's calling, and for the church to recognize it through the laying on of hands through ordination, the findings are cautiously optimistic. While the “browning of Adventism” may bring increased opposition, in time that opposition will diminish somewhat. The fact that it may not decline as dramatically as one would like suggests the pervasiveness of cultural perspectives and ideas. To change attitudes, more will have to be done to nurture a more-inclusive view of ministry.

Commitment to Adventist Beliefs

The Latino church is vibrant in its faith and commitment to the Adventist faith. Our data showed remarkable levels of agreement

with statements of orthodox faith, with 95 percent of both youth and adults agreeing with the orthodox statements. People are attracted to communities of faith that hold to literalistic understandings of faith that bring certainty and assurance.¹⁷ However, what first attracted Latinos to the church were family and friends. This finding corroborates a long-standing tenet in the sociology of religion: Social attachments are at the very root of conversion and religious commitment. Beyond the importance of the abstract propositional understanding of faith stands the community of believers who have bonded together by virtue of their shared cultural experience, common search for meaning, and belonging.¹⁸

In the AVANCE survey, the majority of Latino Adventist members converted from other Christian denominations came from the Catholic Church (63 percent). Interestingly enough, the second-largest group (20 percent) reported that they had not previously belonged to any church or faith. Protestant denominations were not significantly represented: 3 percent from Baptist denominations, 4 percent Pentecostal, and 2 percent from other mainline denominations. The large Catholic influence is to be expected, given that 75 percent of all Latinos living in the United States identify themselves as Catholic.¹⁹ While further analysis is needed, we suspect that the overwhelming influence of the Catholic Church on Latino culture and thinking also influence present attitudes of Latino Adventists toward salvation and the role of women in the church.

The Latino Adventist church is primarily a first generation community (76 percent), composed of people who were born outside of the United States (only 24 percent non-first generation). Analysis of recent converts to Adventism (those baptized within the past five years) shows that 77 percent of them are first generation immigrants with only 7 percent coming from second or subsequent generations. It is clear that the bulk of evan-

gelism effort among the Latino population is geared toward attracting first-generation immigrants (for a whole series of factors that go beyond the scope of our presentation at this point).

Given the current reactionary stance of the American public and politicians toward recent immigrants, can the current growth of the Latino church be sustained? Hypothetically speaking, if more aggressive legislation were passed, or a long and tall fence were erected across U.S. borders, or if Puerto Ricans and others were stripped of their citizenship to curb the flow of first-generation immigrants, would the Latino church continue to grow at its current rate? The answer would seem to be No—unless evangelistic efforts were redirected to reach the second and subsequent generations. At risk are our own children, whom we have so diligently educated in our educational institutions. How will the North American church deal with the spiritual needs of second- and third-generation Latino Adventists? For example, will leaders move from hiring first-generation pastors to the longer-term process of identifying, training, nurturing, and sustaining second- and third-generation Adventist candidates for ministry?

Interestingly, our data suggests that the growth of the Latino church is due less to the migration of Adventists from other countries to North America than to baptisms in the United States. The strong majority (63 percent) of members were baptized in the United States (75 percent of the first generation and 56 percent of second-generation Adventists).

What explains the growth of the Latino Adventist church in North America? For communities that are marginalized from the larger culture, the Adventist experience provides Latinos with powerfully appealing spiritual compensators (salvation and the imminent hope of Christ's return), material rewards (education and healthful living), and a life-

style that creates visible boundaries of separation from the larger culture. The growth of the Latino church is in direct proportion to its ability to provide sufficient tangible and present rewards.

In addition, group membership demands the full commitment of adherents with demonstrable evidence in "traits of strictness."²⁰ In the Latino community, the church is the center of one's group solidarity. A sense of belonging is reinforced when the church becomes the center of communal life, providing an environment of safety, security, and cultural affirmation from the threatening forces of the larger community: discrimination, unemployment, violence, and the vicissitudes of the immigrant experience. The strength of the community is maintained when churches protect the boundaries of their belief system and communal identity by removing or purging the "free riders" (those who enjoy the church's benefits without contributing) from its ranks.²¹

Acculturation of Adventist Latinos

The amount of time that Latino Adventists have lived in the United States varies significantly. Twenty-six percent have lived here five years or less, 17 percent between 6 to 10 years, and 40 percent 11 or more years. The impact and sometimes confrontation between two cultures will inevitably bring changes in both cultures, but particularly to the Latino community, with its lesser social power and dominance.²²

Overall, 71 percent of the Latino Adventists surveyed can be considered low in the acculturation process, with only 29 percent indicating high levels of acculturation. The highly acculturated are more likely to be represented in higher income and education categories, and, as expected, they are the ones who have been in the United States the longest. How-

ever, the acculturation process is not limited to the second generation (80 percent highly acculturated). First-generation immigrants include 45 percent who are highly acculturated. The higher acculturated tend to be younger and are most likely to have been raised Adventist.

Strength of Religious Experience

The religious experience of Latino Adventists can be characterized as extremely committed, passionate, and energetic about the Adventist message and mission. Any visit to a Latino church will impress the visitor with the degree of activity and meetings occurring over the course of a week. To an immigrant community, the church represents a refuge reinforcing cultural identity in an environment hostile to cultural diversity. It is no wonder that 95 percent of the AVANCE sample attend church at least one or more times a week. We expected a high degree of religious attendance by virtue of the data-collection process, but these high numbers are indeed remarkable. Moreover, 94 percent of those with higher levels of acculturation attended church at least once or more a week.

There was a very high degree (95 percent) of fidelity to the orthodox teachings of the church. The authority of Ellen G. White was viewed by the majority of the sample (64 percent) as being equal in value but subordinate to the Scriptures; 19 percent affirmed the view that her writings are equal to the Scriptures. There is confidence and certainty in the Adventist message that imbues the Latino believer with a strong evangelistic fervor that accounts in large measure for the exceptional growth currently being experienced. Ninety-two percent of the total sample reported that within the past year they tried to directly encourage someone to believe in Jesus Christ.

Seventy-four percent had directly sought to encourage someone to join the Adventist Church.

Religious commitment is more than mere attendance or assent to doctrinal statements. It involves multiple elements that, taken together, enhance Christian growth and maturity. The concept of faith maturity was an important religious commitment indicator in the Valuegenesis study.²³ In our study, we used a smaller-scale version that identified the level of faith maturity among both youth and adults. For the youth, the faith maturity level was 31 percent, for the adults 65 percent. The overall faith maturity level for both youth and adults was 52 percent.

Latino members have a strong degree of loyalty to the Adventist Church, both in terms of wanting to live their lives according to Adventist standards, and in desiring to be active members of the church. A total of 75 percent of the youth and 93 percent of the adults indicated strong loyalty to the church. A related question asked the youth whether they would continue to be active in the Adventist Church once they become financially independent. Sixty-five percent indicated that there was a good-to-excellent chance of their remaining Adventists, comparable with other ethnic Adventist groups surveyed by Valuegenesis: 69 percent of Anglos, 63 percent of African-Americans, and 60 percent of Asian-Americans.

Grace Orientation

A fundamental dimension of religious commitment is a person's view of the gospel—in particular the relation between faith and works. AVANCE methods elicited elusive and confusing results. For example, the following responses indicated that, for the most part, people understood the unconditional grace of God:

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| 85% | 1. I know that God loves me no matter what I do. |
| 94% | 2. I am loved by God even when I sin. |
| 38% | 3. There is nothing I can do to earn salvation. |
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On the other hand, questions describing a more legalistic orientation also received high percentages of agreement.

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| 92% | 1. I know that to be saved I have to live by God's rules. |
| 77% | 2. The way to be accepted by God is to try sincerely to live a good life. |
| 77% | 3. The main emphasis of the gospel is on God's rules for right living. |
| 69% | 4. The more I follow Adventist standards and practices, the more likely it is that I will be saved. |
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In order to gain greater clarity, we used another method of measuring the concept of grace. We provided four statements describing the relation between faith and works, and asked people to choose the most adequate.

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| 24% | 1. God's gift of salvation is free, yet I must keep the law to be worthy to receive it. |
| 1% | 2. Since keeping the law has no merit with God, salvation means I no longer need to obey the law. |
| 67% | 3. By faith I accept God's free gift of salvation, and as a result God gives me the power to keep His law. |
| 8% | 4. My salvation depends on whether I keep the law perfectly. |
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Using the latter measurement, one can conclude that the majority (67 percent) of Latino Adventists hold a Reformation understanding of the gospel, while a quarter hold a more legalistic view. In reality, the picture is not very clear or consistent. When we examined further the 67 percent who selected the Reformation view, we found that 90 percent agreed that to be saved they had to live by God's rules, 65 percent agreed that following Adventist standards will assure being saved, 71 percent agreed that the way to be accepted by God is to try sincerely to live a good life, and 73 percent agreed that the main emphasis of the

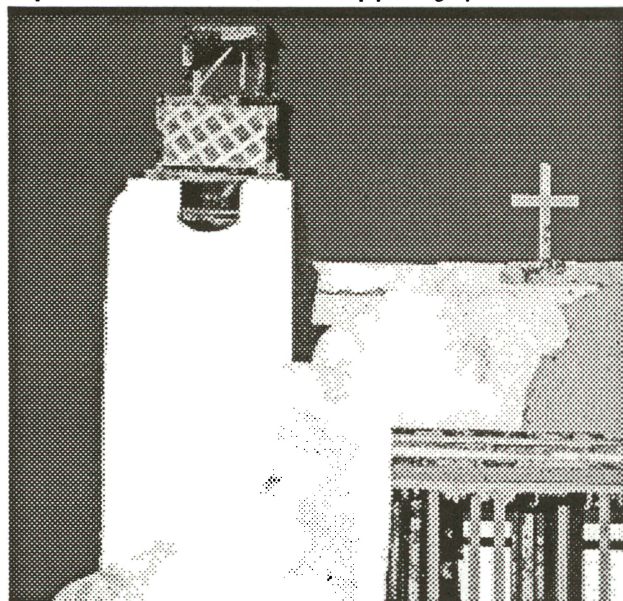
gospel is on God's rules for right living.

In other words, the same people who selected the Reformation statement on the relationship between faith and works also overwhelmingly agreed with legalistic statements. While these results might be attributable to measurement peculiarities, we think they demonstrate a lack of clear and consistent thinking in the Latino church concerning grace. Particularly when we found that youth overwhelmingly feel that they worry quite a bit to very much about not being ready for Christ's return (78 percent), and about not being faithful during the time of trouble (65 percent). The assurance of salvation and the unconditional love of God needs greater emphasis in the preaching and educational ministry of the Latino Adventist church.

The Politics of Latino Adventists

Despite the Latino community being a subculture within the larger American culture, Latinos nevertheless participate in its life, institutions, and political structure. We found that is also true of Latino Adventists. They

Adapted from "New Mexico Mission," a handmade paper collage by Michael David Brown



demonstrated a very clear interest in seeing their church involved in their community.

In fact, 76 percent reported that their local church is involved in some way with the local community, and 78 percent of Latino Adventists believed that individual members should be encouraged to support local social reform efforts to relieve poverty and hunger. A total of 72 percent both favored living in an integrated community and opposed separating groups of people by neighborhood. A total of 81 percent were against a company paying women employees less than men for similar work (66 percent said that it is *always* wrong, 15 percent that it is *often* wrong). Among adults, almost half (46 percent) perceived that Adventist sermons tie the teachings of faith to social problems and concerns in the neighborhood. Whether these concerns translate into actual actions, such as community organizing, participating in voting registration drives, and actual voting, is another matter.

At the present time, a defining issue for the American electorate is abortion. We provided a series of four statements describing abortion—from the most liberal position to the most conservative.

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| 0.3% | 1. Abortion is always acceptable. |
| 2.3% | 2. Abortion is acceptable under most circumstances. |
| 59.1% | 3. Abortion is acceptable only under certain extreme circumstances (threat to the mother's life, rape, or incest). |
| 38.3% | 4. Abortion is never acceptable. |
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Obviously, Latino Adventists reveal a strong pro-life position, with more than one-third saying that abortion is never acceptable.

Among those eligible to vote, 20 percent identified themselves with the Republican party, 39 percent with the Democratic party, and four percent identified themselves as independent. During the past presidential election, the largest group of eligible voters (45 percent) did not vote. However, a total of

34 percent voted to elect the Democratic candidate into office, and only 17 percent voted for the Republican candidate (4 percent selected the independent candidate). The data in Table 2 shows that a large proportion do not identify with any political party. All groups that identified with a political party—with the exception of the Cubans—affiliated themselves with the Democratic party.

TABLE 2

Political Affiliation of Adventist Latino Subgroups

	Republican	Democrat	Independent	No affiliation
Mexican-American	21%	43%	3%	33%
Puerto Rican	17%	39%	3%	40%
Cuban	40%	18%	13%	29%
Dominican	20%	35%	6%	39%
Central American	20%	37%	2%	41%
South American	15%	23%	7%	55%

On the whole, Latino Adventists eligible to vote did not (see Table 3). We suspect that a main reason is the fact that many are not registered. Of those who voted, most of the groups, with the exception of Cubans, voted for Clinton, demonstrating consistent party loyalty. An interesting fact is how the group variances mirror very closely those of Latinos in the larger society.²⁴ In other words, being Adventist did not significantly alter party affiliation and voting behavior. In contrast to others in the Adventist community, Latinos are not as fidgety about identifying themselves with the more-liberal party or candidate.²⁵

TABLE 3

Voting Behavior of Adventist Latino Subgroups in the 1992 Election

	Didn't Vote	Bush	Clinton	Perot
Mexican-American	44%	15%	35%	6%
Puerto Rican	48%	16%	34%	2%
Cuban	36%	49%	13%	2%
Dominican	37%	18%	43%	2%
Central American	41%	23%	34%	2%
South American	47%	17%	33%	3%

How well do Latino Adventists integrate their religious beliefs with their public concerns? A majority (60 percent of those eligible to vote) of respondents indicated that their voting decisions were *largely* to *totally* influenced by their religious beliefs and values. This certainly suggests that there is some dialogue going on in people's minds seeking to link religious values with public concerns and actions. However, this level of discourse may not necessarily be inspired or motivated by the church. In fact, 60 percent of the complete adult sample indicated seldom to never hearing their pastor say that being involved in social outreach can deepen one's faith.

Latino Adventists see their church involved in their community. Along with conservative social attitudes, they hold progressive political views. They are more likely to vote for progressive and liberal candidates. In this sense, Latino Adventism may be reflecting the politics of ethnic solidarity from "*el barrio*," as well as the search for greater justice in our society. Further analysis is necessary to elaborate on these interesting findings. It already seems clear that conservative religious attitudes and behaviors do not necessarily lead to conservative politics.²⁶

Sustaining Communal Boundaries

How well do Latino Adventist adhere to the life-style standards of the church? Overall, 61 percent of youth abstain from drinking, smoking, drugs, binge drinking, or sex. However, 31 percent are involved in at least one of these activities. Table 4 summarizes the findings. There is strong adherence to Adventist life-style expectations. The three areas with the highest degree of agreement were the prohibitions against drug use, smoking, and drinking of alcohol. The three areas

with the lowest percentage of agreement with the Adventist life-style, were attending movies, consuming caffeine, and vegetarianism. Norms not adhered to by the majority are vegetarianism and the consumption of caffeine. Going to the theater and breaking the Sabbath involved a large number of Latino Adventists, despite the fact that respondents were demonstrably committed to the church.

TABLE 4

Attitudes and Behaviors Relating to At-Risk Activities and Lifestyle Issues

	Agree with the norm	Violate the norm*
No smoking	93%	5%
No drinking	92%	13%
No drugs	94%	3%
No extramarital sex	79%	11%
No caffeine	70%	62%
No meat eating	73%	86%
Sabbath observance	89%	30%
No jewelry	82%	19%
No dancing	78%	22%
No movie attendance	68%	30%

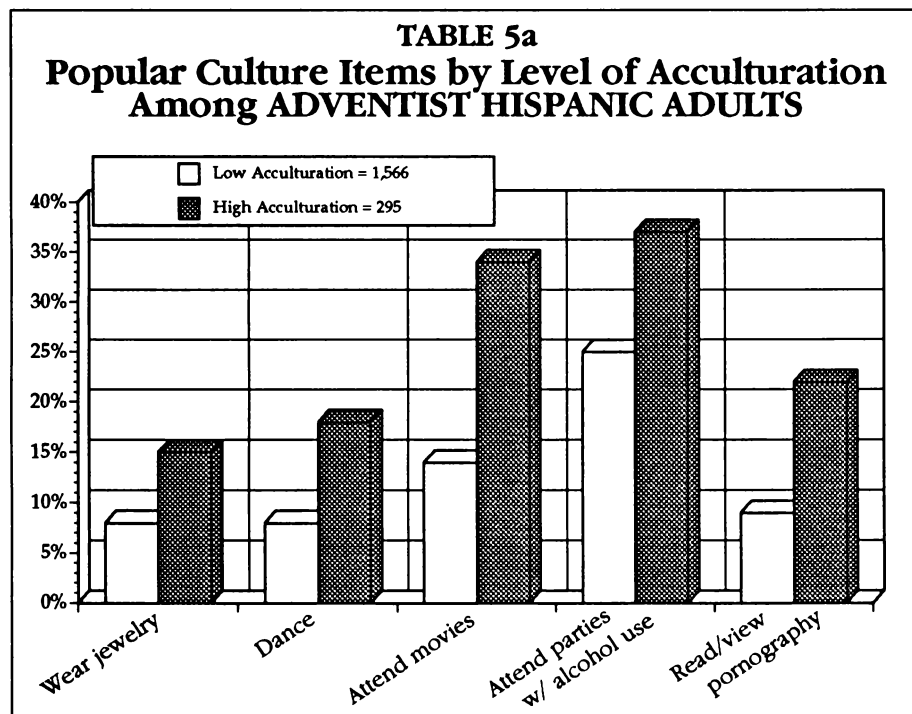
* From less than once a month to more than once a day

Does life-style differ between youth and adults? Table 5 shows that youth were at least twice as likely as adults to engage in at-risk behaviors. How do Latino Adventist young people compare with other young people of the church? Using data from the Valuegenesis study, we found that Latino youth are more likely to be engaged in at-risk activities (particularly drinking and sex), as well as use of jewelry and theater attendance.

TABLE 5

Comparison Between Youth and Adults on At-Risk and Lifestyle Behaviors

	Adults (26 years and up)	Youth (13 to 25 years)
Attend movies	17%	52%
Dance	9%	45%
Wear jewelry	9%	35%
Break the Sabbath	19%	48%
Eat meat	81%	87%
Use caffeinated beverages	56%	69%
Engage in extramarital sex	7%	17%
Use drugs	1%	5%
Use alcoholic beverages	8%	19%
Smoke	2%	9%



Highly acculturated Latino adults and youth are more likely to question and behaviorally challenge prohibitions that Adventists have traditionally espoused (see Tables 5a and 5b). This challenge extends to at-risk behaviors that are life-threatening (see Tables 6a and 6b, following pages). Acculturation within the Latino community threatens the viability of maintaining the strong boundaries that define the identity of a community of faith. The highly acculturated group, both among youth and

adults, scored significantly lower (or assessed more negatively) in the following measures of religious experience: maturity, orthodoxy, devotion, church loyalty, thinking church climate, warm church climate, altruism, worship experience, sermons, and pastoral relations.

The good news is that the highly acculturated attend church just as often as the less acculturated. For how long, we don't know. We do know that the majority (65 percent) of the highly acculturated youth, even after they become independent, want to remain Adventists.

The Latino community finds itself in a quandary. On one hand, Adventism brings innumerable blessings that dramatically impact a person's total life. By imbuing aspirations for higher levels of education, Adventism also functions as a mechanism for upward mobility. Upward socioeconomic mobility potentially brings with it the seeds of dissatisfaction and disaffection. Can Adventists continue to retain the children we produce? The evidence presented here suggests that among the Latino Adventist community, the answer is still Yes.

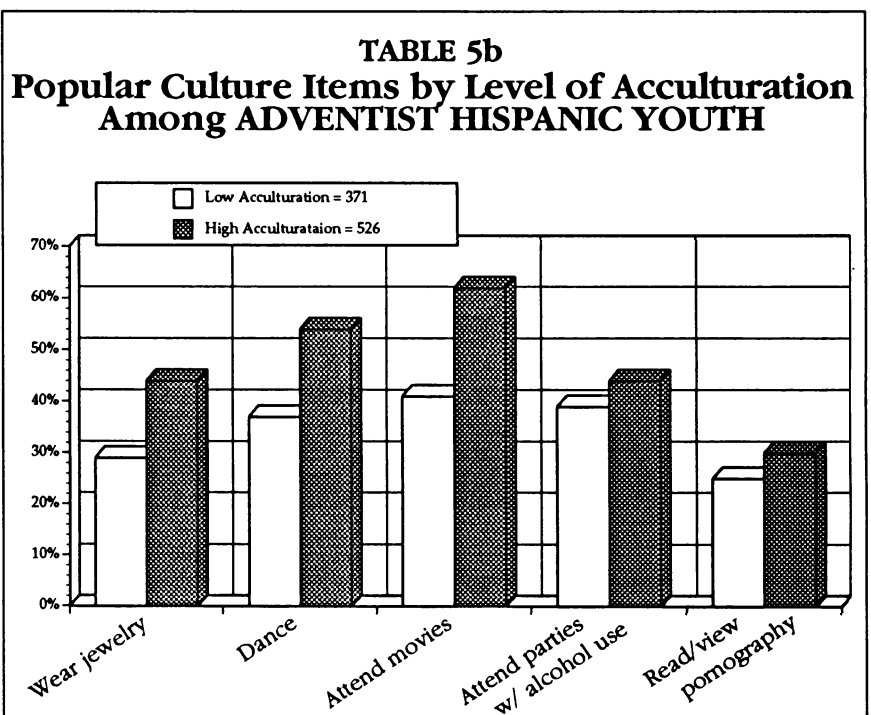
John Wesley stated that religion brings with it increased industry and frugality, which produces riches. At the same time, the increased resources can bring with it the dissolution if not the total destruction of one's belief system.²⁷ It may be that, for Adventism to win over the type of people that Adventism produces it might have to shed its sectarian garb and seek the mantle of not only a "liberalizing sect" but also of an accommodated American denomination.²⁸ It is no coincidence that American denominationalism is stratified by the social economic status of its adherents.²⁹

The question for church leaders is, Are they able to look beyond aggressive soul winning to recognize the challenges that rapid growth brings to ministry, education, and even theological discourse within the Latino Adventist church?

The Local Church as Cultural Reservoir

If highly acculturated youth and adults find themselves at church at least once a week, how do they perceive and experience the life of the church community? What motivates them to continue to return on a weekly basis and remain members? As we have already alluded, the Latino church in its mission outreach and character is predominantly a first-generation church. The majority of members (72 percent) believed that an important part of the mission of the church was to preserve and promote Latino language and culture. Latino youth agreed.

Among the youth, 67 percent viewed their



attending the Latino church as an opportunity to affirm and strengthen their ethnic identity. Moreover, a majority (74 percent) enjoyed worshipping with people of their own ethnic background.

However, highly acculturated individuals (N=484) were consistently less likely to view the Latino church as a place to affirm ethnic ties, as compared to less-acculturated individuals (N=336). Perhaps most importantly, the highly acculturated were more critical in their assessment of the programming and ministry of the church. They were more likely to say that the church does not challenge their thinking and that a thinking environment is not promoted. The sermons were seen by this group as being not as relevant to their lives and less Christ centered; they enjoyed listening to their pastor less than less-acculturated individuals. In fact, enjoyment of listening to their pastor differed by 30 percent between the highly acculturated (59 percent) and the less acculturated (88 percent).

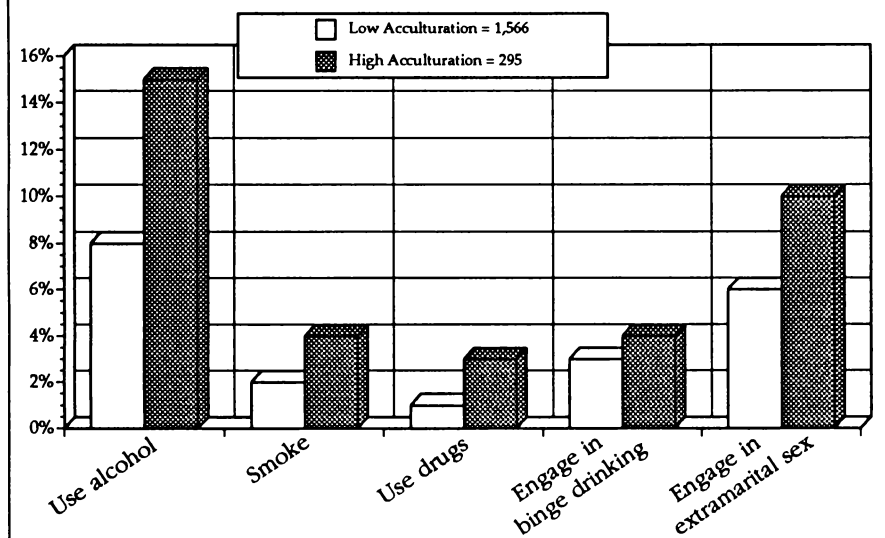
On a series of questions designed to assess the relationship between youth and pastors, the highly acculturated group consistently

judged their pastors more negatively. They regarded their pastors as less sensitive to youth needs, less likely to participate in youth activities, and less likely to be perceived as a friend. They simply did not feel comfortable speaking with their pastor. The overwhelming evidence suggests an apparent absence or declining influence of pastors' leadership and ministry in their lives. We suspect that these negative perceptions toward pastoral leadership result primarily from the cultural barrier of a predominantly first-generation pastoral work force and their inability to "talk the talk" and "walk the walk" of a more complex, bicultural urban context. Moreover, the highly acculturated judge the major youth programs in the Latino church, the *sociedad de jóvenes* (comparable to the old MV society), to be less creative, inspirational, intellectually challenging, and relevant than do the less acculturated. They are more likely to say that dramatic change is needed, and they are more likely to be absent.

This situation requires immediate attention by church leadership. Careful and thoughtful deliberation is required to understand the

differences between these two groups of people—both young and old—who happen to both be in attendance at the same church, but perceive the purpose of the church, its programming, and leadership in such dramatically different ways. In this sense, there are two cultures operating in the local church, demarcated by level of acculturation, in addition to the multiple national identities. There is evidence of difficulties. A total of 45 percent of the adults, who are more likely to be the church leaders,

TABLE 6a
At-Risk Behaviors by Level of Acculturation
Among ADVENTIST HISPANIC ADULTS



said that in their congregations, having bilingual Sabbath school classes and sermons was not acceptable. Change is slow and difficult, particularly on the question of language. More than anything else, language symbolizes and is the conduit for the maintenance of culture. In fact, when we asked the youth whether they would rather attend a Latino church than an English-speaking church, even if they didn't understand Spanish well, 43 percent agreed, 30 percent were not sure, and 26 percent disagreed. If the North American Division fails to adapt and create programs and curriculums to meet the need of bilingualism, it will permit future generations to slowly bleed to death.

This situation requires congregations to be adaptive and open to difficult change. This is particularly true for an immigrant congregation, whose very purpose for existence is that of reproducing previous patterns of believing and behaving. Acculturation at its very best represents advancement, progress, adaptability, increased status, and attainment. At its very worst, it represents the distancing and negation of cultural values, ideas, and traditions. It is totally misguided to accept that greater acculturation brings economic success and educational achievement in direct proportion to the degree that one washes away all vestiges of one's traditional culture.³⁰ In fact, acculturation threatens and undermines traditional strengths, such as notions of *respeto* (respect), high levels of motivation and idealism, family support, and the central role of the sacred, leaving few alternatives in their place.

Traditional culture insulates first- and second-generation Latinos from the vicissitudes of minority status,³¹ including higher levels of deviant behav-

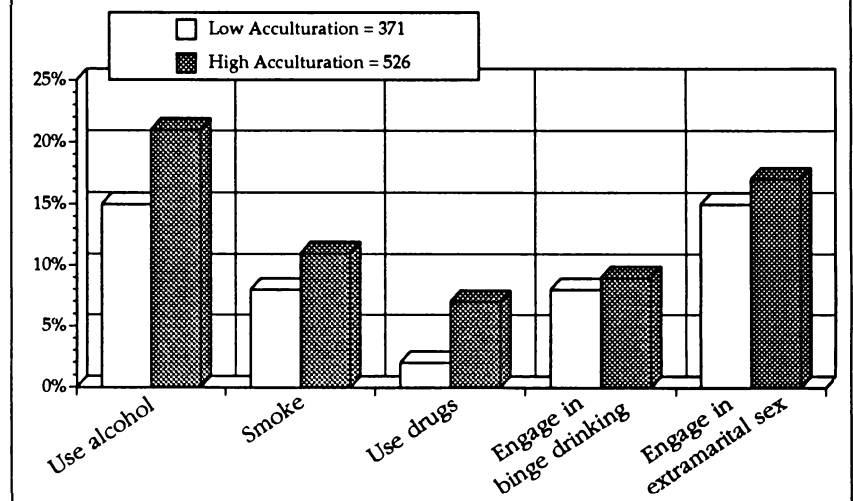
ior and consumerism.³² Those who maintain high levels of traditional cultural values bring assets that the more highly acculturated need to protect from the threatening forces that objectify human life, homogenize cultures, reduce religion to the private, and justify economic inequality. This is perhaps why, despite their differences, those exposed most often to these threatening forces are sitting and kneeling in the pew next to *la hermana y el hermano* worshipping, and enacting hope.

The Future Shape of Latino Adventism

Our analysis has brought to the surface many new questions, but the main implications of our research are already clear for the present and immediate future of Latino Adventism in North America.

We expect that the Latino church will continue to grow, not as a result of immigration, but because of church growth rooted in the North American Division. The church will continue to function as a community of

TABLE 6b
At-Risk Behaviors by Level of Acculturation
Among ADVENTIST HISPANIC YOUTH



memory, recreating the past, affirming identity, sustaining meaning, and advancing the mission of the church. Because Latinos tend to be more conservative in doctrine and life-style (due to their Catholic heritage and low socio-economic status), there will be a gradual shift toward the sectarian spirit of the church. This means a continuing theologically conservative Latino church in North America, including a highly apocalyptic spirit, and increased desire to maintain the boundaries necessary to distinguish a "remnant" people. Since it exhibits the classic characteristics of strict churches that grow rapidly, the Latino Adventist church will continue to expand.³³ Though the second and third generation may drop out, if they do stay in the Latino church, they may counter-balance the forces of conservatism.

The youthfulness of the church will bring intergenerational challenges. The Latino Adventist youth who are born and raised in the United States will clash with their parents and church over traditional values, language issues, and the relevancy of church life. More members will suffer the strain of holding to the ideal of sending their children to Adventist schools, but not being able to because of economic reasons. Higher unemployment rates increase stress on the family relations. Limited housing options expose the poor to higher concentrations of at-risk behaviors. Adventism will continue to be an avenue for upward social mobility. However, as the cost of Christian education continues to rise, fewer Latinos will be able to enjoy its benefits.

Latino families will continue to be strong, particularly among Latino members who maintain strong communal ties. We suspect that hierarchical and male-dominant attitudes will continue. This could lead toward greater incidence of abusive treatment, particularly against women, and limiting the involvement of women in ministry. The majority of members will oppose the ordination of women in ministry, but as it comes to pass, ordination of

women to gospel ministry will not be cause for schism and division in the North American Division.

The Latino Adventist church will continue to struggle with the relationship between the gospel and behavioral prescriptions of Christian life. Many Latinos suffer from insecurity and heightened feelings of guilt. Undoubtedly, the strong Catholic background of most members contributes to this situation.

A cultural divide will continue to exist between the less-aculturated individuals and the highly acculturated. The cultural divide expresses itself in differences between life-style practices, intensity of belief, and evangelistic fervor. We expect tensions between these groups to continue. For example, some will seek more relevant, more "Anglo" worship services. Others will prefer more traditional worship experiences, using only Spanish. The future of Latino Adventism in North America particularly depends on how it addresses the needs of the highly acculturated.

Effect of the Browning of Adventism on North America

What effect will the browning of Adventism have on North American Adventism at large? Here are some preliminary answers.

The browning of Adventism within the North American context means wider opportunities for leadership. Given the dramatic changes in the ethnic composition of the church, greater effort needs to be made to identify, nurture, train, and open opportunities for under-represented groups to lead the church. This is particularly true within the educational system, where currently few Latinos serve as teachers and principals/administrators from elementary through college/university level.

The browning of North American Adventism means, first of all, that the church is more than black and white. Latinos cannot be subsumed

under other minority experiences. The vision for the future of Adventism needs to be multicultural, with equitable time, attention, and resources for all members. Discussions of predominantly Anglo versus black conferences miss the mark entirely regarding the needs of a multicultural church. Due to the language barrier, some can make a strong and persuasive case in favor of increased race/culture-based church organizations.³⁴ However, shouldn't we allow our theology to dictate our social reality? The ends of increased church growth do not justify the means of exclusion, isolation, and race-based reasoning.³⁵

The browning of Adventism will also mean a North American church that is more socially engaged with the life of the community and more concerned about issues of justice. Since the browning of Adventism means the future church will continue to be poor, questions of social ethics and justice will inevitably continue to play an important role. The poverty and marginalization experienced by the most recent converts challenge cherished programs of the church that assume a membership in the middle to upper position in the social economic scale. Latino members have a high interest in Adventist education, which suggests there could be a boom in enrollment for all levels of Adventist schools. However, the low socioeconomic conditions of most Latino members may mean that North America's Adventist schools will remain relatively unsupported.

The browning of Adventism will help the church recover from its individualism. Latinos

have a strong commitment to the church as the body of Christ. For them, spirituality is always defined within the context of community. In contemporary society, the community is a key to the recovery of faith.³⁶ Invigorating the communal dimension and expression of Christian commitment is a major Latino resource that will enliven and enhance the North American Adventist church.

The browning of Adventism will force the European-American world view to face increasingly diverse thinking. Typically, Euro-

pean and American traditions have dominated Adventism's theological reflection. This has led many to view North American Adventism as monocultural. Many members of minority groups who have received theological education within Adventist schools have experienced alienation and marginalization.³⁷ The experience and cultural reality of the dominant Anglo culture is passed on as being norma-

tive.³⁸ Many would have seriously quarreled with the suggestion that Adventism can find creative expression through the experiences of Latinos, African-Americans, women, Asian-Americans, and other groups. Concerns relating to a particular cultural context are dealt with at the margins, under the headings of "Spanish Preaching," "Church Administration for the Hispanic Church," "Black Preaching," "Women's Ministries," and so on. The browning of Adventism will make marginal voices an integral part of theological discourse.

The browning of Adventism will strengthen the strains of conservatism in North America. A major reason why Latino converts join

The browning of Adventism will strengthen the strains of conservatism in North America. A major reason Latino converts join Adventism is because they have found the "truth." Latinos sometimes think Adventists are not maintaining distinctive Adventist beliefs and life-styles.

Adventism is because they have found the "truth." They believe they have joined a remnant distinct from the world. Latinos sometimes think Adventists are not maintaining distinctive Adventist beliefs and life-styles. For example, recent commentary on the outcome of the Utrecht decision related to women's ordination appealed to the unique cultural situation of the North American Division, claiming that it "must sing its own tune in its own cultural setting."³⁹ However, the Latino community is, by and large, playing a different tune on this important issue. Latino Adventists in the North American Division are much closer in doctrinal belief and worldview to the Inter-American and South American Divisions. The browning of Adventism will, for an extended period, mean a traditionalizing of North American Adventism.

The browning of Adventism will necessarily require a pastoral force that is truly sensitive, knowledgeable, and experienced about the multicultural reality of contemporary America. Most of the ministerial training currently being conducted reflects a predominantly middle-class, white reality. In the midst of an age of multiculturalism, present ministerial training resembles the 1940s' and 1950s' assumptions of homogeneity. More "crossover ministers" need to be trained—women and men who can serve in multiple contexts. How can one pastor fulfill the pastoral role in the major urban centers of the country without adequate understanding of the histories, experiences, and challenges that face other Adventist ethnic communities in the same metropolitan area?⁴⁰ Widespread igno-

rance among pastors about diverse cultures in America perpetuates misunderstandings. Too few Latinos and blacks serve in predominantly Anglo congregations. Too few Anglos serve in Latino or African-American churches.

Consequences for Latino Adventists in North America

The browning of North American Adventism will deeply affect Latino church members and leaders. One of the challenges that faces the Latino church is training its ministers

within the North American context. Now, the typical profile of the local Latino church pastor is someone born, trained, and brought into ministry outside of the United States. They would be the first to recognize that there is a world of difference between rural Mexico and Little Village in Chicago. The church in North America, rather than recognizing the vast differences be-

tween the different social contexts, assumes that the same ministry that worked in Bogota can work in New York. The new context presents enormous personal as well as professional challenges to the ministry. To this day, first-generation pastors receive no training in how to deal with the new social realities, languages, traditions, and cultures of urban American life.

Many second- and third-generation Adventist Latino youth aspire to become ministers, but many times find doors to denominational employment closed to them. Yet they are the pastors who would best understand

Latinos are a pueblo puente, a bridge people, who experience multiculturalism at the very core of their being. We are Indian, black, European, but above all mestizo. The Latino reality is the reality of the old and new worlds forging a new reality of hope and transformation.

the challenges that Latinos face in the context of the United States, and be able to reach the second and subsequent generations. The phenomena of the “glass ceiling” is maintained by several factors. One is the large influx of pastors from Latin America, who immigrate and stand by the sidelines until an opening is available. These experienced pastors can provide immediate productivity and return on investment (increased soul winning) without having to “send them to the seminary.” Secondly, Latino coordinators, many of whom are first-generation, have networks of former colleagues. Consequently, coordinators provide opportunities to those they know best. Thirdly, some in the Latino leadership establishment are suspicious of the theological training provided in North American Adventist colleges and universities. They also feel that second- and third-generation Latinos do not speak “good enough” Spanish to pastor effectively.

The browning of Adventism should mean more opportunities for educational leadership, both as administrators and as scholars. More visible Latinos will inspire younger Latinos to choose academic careers.

Another challenge facing Latino Adventists is the role of women. Perpetuating a male-dominant perspective can lead to oppressive, demeaning, even violent treatment of women. Some Adventists in the Latino community regard male dominance as part of the very fiber of what it means to be Latino. However, such thinking contradicts our commitment to equality and mutual respect. It moreover limits the power of God to anoint, call, and involve any member in ministry. No justification can be given for cultural practices and values that dehumanize a human being. The gospel is the standard by which all practices, ideas, attitudes, and ingrained patterns of behavior are judged and redeemed.

Some Latino Adventists argue in favor of

Latinos creating their own institutions. Latino conferences, it is said, could address Latino needs more directly and quickly, and foster even more rapid membership growth. Latino schools at the elementary and high school level could develop curriculums addressing multicultural issues, such as second-language learning.

However, Latino leaders have, for the most part, hesitated to move in this direction, recognizing that collaboration within existing institutions is more viable and pragmatic, and that integration is more truly inclusive. At the present time, the Latino church is more interested in affirming the need to maintain organizational unity, even if it means suffering setbacks.

The Challenge and the Glory

Rather than seeking separate, culturally defined institutions, Latino Adventists in North America remain committed to the “browning of Adventism,” and to the struggle for justice, affirmation, and representation. The Latino Adventist church—youthful, committed, enthusiastic—can renew the life of the North American church.

Latino Adventism, if it is truly Latino and truly Adventist, will seek reconciliation and unity across racial and cultural divides.

The browning of Adventism will bring resources to deal with North America’s increasing cultural plurality. Latinos are a *pueblo puente*, a bridge people, who experience multiculturalism at the very core of their being.⁴¹ North American Latinos can provide leadership for confronting the central contemporary issue in the church and in society—that of dealing with the Other. We are Indian, black, European, but above all *mestizo*. The Latino reality is the reality of the old and new worlds forging a new reality of hope and transformation.

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5. The AVANCE research team included the following people: Edwin I. Hernandez, Ph.D., principal investigator and associate professor of sociology at Andrews University; Sergio Hernandez, Ph.D., director of bilingual education, Walla Walla public school system; Mario N. Negrete, Ph.D., associate director of education, Southern California Conference; Ramona Perez-Greek, Ph.D., associate director of women's ministries for NAD; Johnny Ramirez, Ed.D., associate professor of religion, Loma Linda University; Caleb Rosado, Ph.D., professor of sociology, Humboldt State University; Saul Torres, Ed.D., professor of psychology, Atlantic Union College; Alfonso Valenzuela, Ph.D., associate director of the Institute for Hispanic Ministry, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University.

6. We are grateful for the support and encouragement received from V. Bailey Gillespie, director of the Valuegenesis Project and executive director of the Hancock Center at La Sierra University and Gordon Madgwick, then executive secretary of the North American Division Board of Higher Education, whose ongoing support and interest in accessing Christian education to Hispanics we deeply appreciate. We are also thankful to the NAD administration for providing a grant to support this research and to the partnership as co-sponsors of the following educational institutions: Andrews University, Atlantic Union College, La Sierra University, Loma Linda University, Pacific Union College, and Walla Walla College.

7. We want to thank each pastor who participated in the study. The success of this study is owed to those pastors from the selected churches who committed significant effort and time to coordinating the project in their congregations. A total of 80 congregations were initially selected from across the North American Division, stratified by region and size of congregation. A total of 77 congregations actually participated. This represents an unprecedented participation rate of 96 percent with a total sample size of 3,306 respondents divided between adults (N=1,998) and youth (N=1,308). Following the design of Valuegenesis, the AVANCE project surveys included a set of common core ques-

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we asked by whom had they experienced the particular abuse, with these options provided: parents, spouse, close relative, friend or neighbor, other.

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36. Caleb Rosado, "The Quest for Spirituality: The Recovery of the Divine in Human Experience," *Ministry* 69 (January 1996).

37. For a recent discussion of the experience and needs of Latinos in theological education in the United States and Puerto Rico across denominations, see Edwin I. Hernández, *The Future of Hispanic Graduate Theological Education* (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, forthcoming).

38. For a similar assessment from a broader theological perspective, see Fernando Segovia, "Theological Education and Scholarship as Struggle: The Life of Racial/Ethnic Minorities in the Profession," *Journal of Hispanic/Latino Theology* 2:2 (November 1994), pp. 5-25.

39. *Adventist Today* (September/October 1995), p. 1.

40. For a greater understanding of the challenges of multicultural ministry and the "how to" of carrying out such a ministry, see the forthcoming articles by Caleb Rosado, "Multicultural Ministry: The Frontier of Mission for the 21st Century" and "The Practice of Multicultural Ministry" in *Ministry* (May 1996).

41. See Caleb Rosado, "The Concept of *Pueblo* as a Paradigm for Explaining the Religious Experience of Latinos," *Old Masks, New Faces: Religion and Latino Identities* (New York: City University of New York, Bildner Center for Western Hemisphere Studies, 1995).