

S O C I O L O G Y   O F   M O R M O N I S M

A Preliminary Analysis

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A NOTE TO THE READER --

The material presented here has been prepared primarily for use in a class in the Sociology of Mormonism which I am teaching during the Summer Quarter, 1975, at the University of Utah. Only a small number of copies have been prepared. This is a preliminary stage in a process which it is planned will lead to the professional publication of the material in the future. The presentation here draws heavily on a limited publication from an earlier stage of the project--Research on Mormonism, which I edited, which contains primarily reprinted material reporting research concerning Mormonism. The reader is requested to take into account the fact that this is, as the title page indicates, a preliminary analysis. It is not yet a finished polished product.

The material is not prepared as well as I would have liked. Time factors have imposed limitations. The integrating threads which run throughout the book and attempt to tie the components together are rather limited, and will hopefully be strengthened as work on the subsequent edition progresses. It is anticipated that the work yet to be done will be strengthened from having student input as we work thru the Sociology of Mormonism class together.

The index has not been prepared as yet. The Literature Cited section is not complete. Summaries are not provided for most chapters. This work will be completed for the next edition.

There may be value in emphasizing here that the material presented here is sociological in nature. The class for which the book has been prepared is a class in Sociology not in Religion.

Reactions to the material and suggestions for change will be very welcome.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

### Chapter

1	Sociology of Mormonism . . . . .	1
2	Aspects of Mormon Religiosity . . . . .	11
3	Mormon Symbols . . . . .	26
4	The Mormon Supernatural Realm . . . . .	47
5	Value Systems and Related Behavior . . . . .	55
6	Self Definitions, Conversion and De-Conversion . .	62
7	Sect to Denomination Transition . . . . .	76
8	Leadership . . . . .	82
9	Some Religious and Political Interrelationships .	93
10	Education . . . . .	101
11	Mormonism and Science . . . . .	112
12	Mental Health of Mormons . . . . .	119
13	Deviant Behavior Among Mormons . . . . .	122
14	Some Economic Aspects of Mormonism . . . . .	129
15	Social Stratification and Mormonism . . . . .	138
16	Minorities and Mormons . . . . .	144
17	Mormon Marriage Patterns . . . . .	163
18	Sexual Behavior and Mormonism . . . . .	178
19	Biology and Mormonism . . . . .	191
20	Health, Illness and Death . . . . .	197
21	Time Definitions . . . . .	207
22	Space Definitions . . . . .	211
23	Sociology of Familiar Mormonism . . . . .	215

## CHAPTER ONE

### SOCIOLOGY OF MORMONISM

A sociology of Mormonism involves two basic ingredients--Sociology and Mormonism. As is pointed out in the Sociology of Knowledge, there are many different and at times contradictory types of knowledge. Sociological knowledge is but one type of knowledge. It has distinctive strengths and weaknesses, with questions which it can answer and questions which it cannot answer. What is presented here is an analysis of Mormonism which utilizes the sociological method and perspective, and thus provides sociological knowledge about Mormonism. What is presented is a sociological analysis of one church or institutionalized religions, which has as a basic component, religious knowledge. Religious knowledge has quite a different origin and process of creation and development than sociological knowledge. Religious knowledge and sociological knowledge are somewhat different.

In no sense, then, is the sociological analysis of Mormonism productive of answers to all types of questions one might have about Mormonism. It is selective and limited. Hopefully for the reader it will also be found to be interesting and fascinating.

The decision to provide a sociological analysis means, among other things, that no attempt is to be made to evaluate basically religious "truths" concerning God, the supernatural and the Moral standards of the church. No effort is made to support or endorse such religious phenomena. Our concern is not whether such beliefs are true in a religious sense, but rather with the social consequences of believing or realizing these beliefs. Our concern is with the social characteristics of religious behavior. Our concern is with the human characteristics of Mormonism. We are concerned with the Mormon people. We are concerned with humans not God. We are concerned with beliefs about God, but not with God's beliefs about humans or any other characteristic of God per se. We are concerned with human beliefs about the hereafter and about human beliefs about goodness and justice. We are not attempting to determine whether something is good, just or beautiful. We are concerned with beliefs about the hereafter and the pre-existence, not about such thing per se.

This can be illustrated by considering a couple of statements frequently heard in Mormon meetings: "God told Joseph Smith..." "God wants us to..." Such statements are interpreted from a religious perspective as indicating what God did. God actually said such and such. These are statements about God. From the sociological perspective, however, a prefatory phrase is always included, "Mormons believe that God said..." "The speaker said that God wants us to..." The sociologist is talking about human behavior, whereas the religionist is talking about what he believes to be the behavior of God. These two perspectives are far from identical. The religionist may be unhappy or dissatisfied with the sociological interpretation, since he wants to learn about God not about man. However, since each is, in effect, talking about quite different (although overlapping) phenomenon, there is no necessary problems of interpretation if it is clear what each is doing.



Religious behavior is something people do and most if not all of it is behavior directed to a given audience(s). The audiences involved may be human or superhuman; one individual or a group; and may be the same individual who initiates the behavior. In the behavior of each individual, that individual is a part of the audience who receives and responds to the behavior.

Religious behavior involves religious beliefs (knowledge, doctrines, dogmas, taboos) all of which are composed of symbols. Religious behavior is in response to symbols.

In addition to concern with supernatural phenomena, religion considers the morality dimension. It is concerned with making moral pronouncements or in providing answers to questions about whether something is moral or not. As with the supernatural there is a sharp difference between sociological concern and religious concern. This difference is illustrated as follows:

Religious Concern: X is moral

Sociological Concern: Mormons (or others) believe X is moral.

The sociological concern, then, is with the human aspects of morality but not with morality per se, where morality is considered to encompass something other than or maybe in addition to, human decisions. "X is moral" grammatically locates the morality as a property of X. "Humans define X as good," locates the morality in the human definitions.

As practicing professionals, sociologists are concerned with the morality of "doing sociology" and with doing sociology in a moral manner. As citizens of a society they are concerned with the moral dimensions of that society. What is emphasized above is that in the study of any particular group, such as the Mormons, the sociologist does not attempt to tell that group what their moral standard should be, or what moral definitions that group should accept.

Use of the sociological method restricts attention to the human or empirical aspects of religion. By its very nature, then, the analysis turns out to be agnostic. A method restricted to the empirical or natural world cannot be used to secure answers about questions concerning the super-empirical or supernatural world. Thus we neither endorse nor reject material or definitions about the supernatural per se. The Mormon religion incorporates definitions of both humans and God. A religious interpretation of Mormonism frequently sees God influencing or relating to humans, with the emphasis upon God. These are God-human relationships. A sociological interpretation sees humans attempting to relate to God, with the emphasis upon humans. Conclusions and pronouncements are accordingly made about humans. These are people-God relationships. The differences in the perspectives are of great importance. A sociological interpretation leaves out or omits what is generally of greatest concern to the religious interpretation. It is problem creating to assume that the two methods should provide identical answers.

No attempt is made to challenge established religious authorities when their behavior and decisions are related to non-human, non-empirical phenomena. However, in the areas where the sociological method is applicable there may be an element of potential challenge. One such area, for instance, would be questions or decisions as to what happens to the social-human aspects of an individual as a result of participating and graduating from the church seminary program. Different methods of answering this question or of reaching the decision may produce conflicting answers. Each answer is always relative to the method used to secure it.

We are also not concerned with the morality or goodness of any of the findings of the social scientist. Church members may or may not be pleased with what a particular study finds. The finding per se and the evaluation thereof, however, are two different things, and should not be confused. A certain LDS divorce rate or delinquency rate remains the same whether it is evaluated as good or bad.

One way to indicate what our method of study will be is to first identify some of the basic questions which will have to be answered in any functioning society and then consider how such basic questions can be answered. At a very general level, the basic questions are as follows:

I. WHAT ARE the characteristics of the

- a. empirical world
- b. biological human beings
- c. behavior of human beings

II. HOW SHOULD humans

- a. relate to the physical world
- b. relate to their biology
- c. relate to each other
- d. pre-create their future

III. HOW SHOULD humans validate, justify or legitimate their decisions?

The first type questions can be answered by using the scientific method, the other two types cannot. "Should" questions are future oriented, and the future doesn't exist anywhere in the present. The future can, however, be symbolically pre-created and taken into account in the present. Answers to questions of the last two types are socially created by those involved without any necessary reference to the empirical characteristics of anything. They are symbolic in nature. Since behavior is in response to symbols, such symbols are of great importance in human interaction.

In our analysis of Mormonism, use will be made of scientific answers for #I type questions. Types II and III cannot be answered scientifically. Consequently we will be concerned with identification of the Mormon answers provided for such questions, without attempting any assessment of whether the "shoulds" they have created and accepted are anything more than human creations. When comparisons are made with the answers provided by other groups, no effort will be made to suggest or imply any superiority or inferiority of either.

The picture or analysis of Mormonism here presented draws mainly upon limited research which one way or another has incorporated a Mormon component. Available research is somewhat limited in quantity. It may be safe to say that as far as research is concerned there is more about Mormonism that we don't know than that we do. There are, then, limitations to the material presented.

The book is an effort to piece together a symbolic model of what it means, socially and humanly, to be Mormon. In a sense we are putting together a puzzle, a verbal jigsaw puzzle, with only part of the pieces available. The puzzle pieces are primarily those derived from research. There are enough findings available to construct a picture, but we will not be able to fill in all the blanks. Enough research to do so has not been accomplished. Being incomplete, the picture is in some respect most likely inaccurate. If we had the missing pieces we would be able to identify the inaccuracies in our partial picture. But then, if we had all the pieces, we wouldn't have to construct a partial composite in the first place. Those who look at the symbolic model here constructed would do well to remind themselves periodically that the model may not fit that which it is intended to re-present as accurately as it is desired.

The accumulated research does seem to have reached the stage where attempting a picture is possible. Mormon readers may be able to fill in some of the missing pieces from their own experience.

The presentation is made from a particular perspective. Any perspective is limited with strengths and weaknesses, highlighting certain aspects while backgrounding others. No claim is made that the portrayal is the one accurate picture, only that an effort has been made to present the perspective as accurately as possible.

The orientation was selected in part to provide suggestions as to ways in which Mormon beliefs and behavior can be researched, without being concerned in that research with the theological or religious components per se. Such research can be accomplished by Mormon as well as non-Mormon researchers. The religious convictions of the researcher are unimportant in this respect.

Focusing upon research means that attention will be given to differences as well as similarities. We consequently do not often talk about what "Mormons believe" or "Mormons do," with the implication that this is what all Mormons believe or do. More frequently we will utilize statements to the effect that a certain percentage or proportion of Mormons do such and such while another proportion do something else--maybe just the reverse. We may use statements as to how Mormons are distributed along some measurement continuum.

#### Conflict Potential

Since the method used to secure "truth" is different for the sociologist and the religionist, there is always a conflict potential between the two.

Some believe, for instance that the godhead consists of three separate and distinct beings, whereas others believe that in the godhead there are three and yet not three, but one. The conflict here is between different religious truths. The concerns involve supernatural phenomena. There is no conflict here with sociology, since sociology does not consider such matters.

However, in a question, say, of whether the earth is flat or round, the phenomenon of concern is the empirical world. Thus, if religion were to say, as does the Flat Earth Society, that the earth is flat, and the scientific answer is that the earth is round, there is a conflict between the religious answer and the scientific answer. The conflict concerns the nature of non-human, empirical phenomenon.

When a religious leader predicts that there will never be a man on the moon and subsequently humans do walk on the moon, there is a conflict.

When religious leaders indicate that mothers working out of the home generally have one consequence in the family, and the social scientific research fails to support this conclusion there is another type of conflict.

Questions concerning the shape of the earth concern only non-human phenomenon. The man-on-the-moon question concerns human achievement. The consequences of working mothers moves to the area of concern for the behavioral sciences. The earth-shape questions involves a conflict between natural science and religion. The other two involve a conflict between social science and religion.

There are different ways of resolving or at least living with such conflict:

1. Accept one and reject the other.
2. Make no decision, maybe emphasizing that the final data isn't "in" yet.
3. Recognize the differences but maintain that such differences are not important.
4. Recognize that each answer is secured through a different method and that each is true according to its own method. This leads to potential questioning of the unaccepted method which may then serve to weaken acceptance of the broad perspective with its method. One may, accordingly, reject religion, or reject science.

A sociological study of Mormonism does have implications for the Mormon and his acceptance of and involvement in his church. In some respects sociology provides answers which may contribute to a re-interpretation of religion. Sociology provides a different perspective on Mormonism. It involves a different way of looking at the church. The sociology student then may become aware of things in his religion which he was unaware of before. With new knowledge, new concepts and new perspectives it may become impossible to "Put your foot in the same river twice" or to "return to your same home town,

i.e., 'religious home town'. This is not to say that new perspectives are necessarily either positive or negative. One's commitment to Mormonism may increase as well as decrease as a result. With new information and data one may be able to decide which religious aspects are of greatest value to him. A new ordering of priorities may be involved.

In any event sociology is not a competing religion.

### Macro Mormonism

In our study of Mormonism we are concerned with both micro-level and macro-level phenomenon. Thus we will consider what happens when a wife and husband introduce Mormon components into their marital interaction. We will also be concerned with characteristics of the Mormon Church as an entity. As is obvious, there are big differences between a married couple and an organization of more than 3 million members. Attention will, however, be given to each type of phenomenon.

We will, accordingly, make an effort to look at and analyze aspects of the church as a whole. We will do this only in a limited sense, and from a particular perspective. We are, for instance, more concerned with those who officially speak for and make decisions for the church than with what the entire membership of the church does. We will be concerned with demographic characteristics of church members.

We emphasize that when the entire church membership is considered we have an entity which wears a coat of many colors. One consequence of a sociological analysis is the fact that one becomes aware of the tremendous diversity within the church. With reference to certain variables, there is more within group variation than between group variation. Even on such a basic matter as belief in God, for instance, there are a few when contacted in a research effort, who identify themselves as being Mormon, and also indicate that they do not believe in God. There are many types of Mormons.

Listening to some analyses of Mormonism, it is easy to assume a monolithic solidarity of beliefs and behavior which just isn't there when you start to look for it.

### Speaking In the Name of the Church

Mormonism is somewhat unique when compared to many other religious groups, although not exclusively so, in that there are many who speak for the church on certain matters. There are many Mormon voices. In the Mormon church the priesthood is shared by most males above age 12. The significance of this characteristics will be discussed throughout the book. One thing that happens is that many members will have the opportunity or will be placed in a role where they will make statements and pronouncements in the name of some church unit such as a ward, stake, mission, a Sunday School, a Relief Society and etc. Some speak as a general authority of the church.

Much of this "speaking" will be bureaucratic pronouncements of decisions associated with the running of their particular organization for which they "hold the keys" or have been granted official authority to make certain decisions or engage in certain behavior. An individual father for instance, is defined as having the privilege of receiving inspiration in his decisions about family affairs as is the bishop for his ward, the relief society president for her organization, and the president of the church for the entire church.

On doctrinal matters, as contrasted with bureaucratic or "church-office" matters, the situation is in some respects very rigid and very flexible. Without the typical pattern of paid clergy, individual members typically have many opportunities to speak in official meetings, as well as in family meetings. While extreme divergences from high-level (official) doctrinal statements will most likely be corrected by someone "in authority," it is not uncommon that from one Sunday to the next differences in doctrines are presented. Even within one meeting, different speakers are at times not in complete agreement.

This may be evaluated as positive or negative depending upon which goals or to which high-level points the matter is related.

In our study we will be concerned with identification and analysis of those points of harmony and equilibrium or consensus, as well as those stress points, conflict, dissensus and disequilibrium. As sociologists we start with the assumption that both components of behavior will be found in any extensive human interaction.

### Structure of Church

One of the macro-level characteristics to which considerable attention will be given is the organization of the church. A basic characteristic is that there is a professional clergy at the highest echelon or levels, i.e., the General Authorities, and including these who teach religion in the church-sponsored schools or programs, who get paid for "doing religion." However below these levels, are the great majority of church members who hold one or more positions in some church organization or organizations. Voluntary involvement then is extensive. Church work is something done in addition to the usual economic activities, civic activities, etc.

Being involved in this voluntary manner, appears to be one of the variables of Mormonism which influences the patterns of behavior which we will be discussing throughout the book.

A major aspect of this extensive lay involvement is that the great majority of Mormon males "hold the priesthood," and are given opportunities to function in various capacities in which this priesthood is considered to be an essential qualification. Mormons define priesthood as the "authority to speak or function in the name of God." Mormons are well aware that this authority is widely shared, although limitations are imposed in any organizational structure, in which only designated individuals have the "keys" or can speak with authority in that position, or role.

The "keys" about which Mormons talk are symbolic keys not physical keys. The symbols which humans use permit them to function as humans or in a human manner. Symbols are systematized in many complex ways. Some symbols, then serve as locks, gatekeepers, inhibitors, prohibitors, etc. which serve to keep outsiders out and insiders in. Some symbols also serve as keys, gate openers, facilitators, in that those who have received or know them are interpreted as being able to officially do certain things which others cannot officially do.

The Mormon "keys of the priesthood" are one illustration of a universal human phenomenon--i.e. utilizing specific types of symbols to organize, channel and restrict behavior.

Situational Setting. Behavior is always relative to the situation in which it takes place. The Mormon Church as an entity exists in a given setting or upon an environmental-spatial stage. The Mormon Church was created within the American society, from individuals who had been taught the American culture. In its initial stages it flourished within the American society. As an international church in the 1970s the stage upon which Mormonism is enacted has expanded, with consequent changes being introduced into the practice of Mormonism. Behavior in the name of the Mormon Church is in response to symbols-meaning, relative to the audience and relative to the situation.

Proper Name. The proper name of the Mormon Church is the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. This is at times shortened to LDS. Throughout the book, the short titles "Mormon" or "LDS" will be used.

Religion Defined. Religion is defined as beliefs or definitions of the supernatural and/or high intensity value or moral definitions (HIVD) and behavior related thereto. By high intensity or high saliency value definitions is meant the evaluations which are considered to be of greatest importance. Determination of high intensity evaluations involves evaluating evaluations. With reference to such evaluations terms such as ultimate, eternal, sacred or "natural" in the sense of being inherent or somehow built in to the universe or being. With reference to the supernatural terms such as sacred or holy are frequently used.

A distinction is made between the following four types of religion, or four combinations of high intensity value definitions and definitions of the supernatural and related behavior. (1) Church religion is the configuration of these elements associated with an identifiable church group, such as the Mormon Church, the Baptist Church or the Lutheran Church, with a given society usually containing several different such groups and hence a plurality of church religions. (2) Societal Religion is the configuration of religious elements existing at the societal level or related to societal-level phenomena, with such elements being involved in holding the society together or integrating the behavior and beliefs of societal members. Societal religion exists without being directly related to an identifiable church group. It is consequently less visible than church religion. (3) Unaffiliated or Independent religion is the configuration of these elements found among individuals who do not affiliate with a formal church group. These individuals are religiously independent in the same way that in the political realm there are political independents. (4) Cosmic or Universal religion is identified as a possible type of religion transcending any societal boundaries. Today cosmic religion is a possible type not an actual type of religion.

### Symbolic Interactionism

Our analysis of Mormonism will utilize the Symbolic Interactionist (SI) Theory of human behavior. The nucleus of this approach is contained in the paradigm statement that the behavior of the Individual is in response to Symbols

is relative to the Audience and relative to the Situation. ISAS is a shorthand paradigm form.

Humans create definitions of whatever they decide to take into account and socially construct (1) plans of action (script, blueprint, recipe, model) and (2) evaluations (validation, legitimation, motivation) justifying the script and the script-related behavior. High Intensity value definitions are a major component of religion.

Basic premises of Symbolic Interactionism are as follows:

1. The behavior of concern is interaction (social or group behavior) not internal biological or sub-individual behavior.
2. The behavior of interacting individuals is in response to symbols (meaning or cognition) and is not determined biologically. The biological processes involved in living (and dying) do not determine what individuals do. Individuals respond to the labels or names they use to identify whatever is being taken into account. Efforts to achieve meaning consensus are constantly underway and most likely never completely successful.
3. Humans take into account two types of symbols (1) symbols which have an empirical referent and which are used to identify selected aspects of the empirical world such as the biological parts of the human body, the body as a biological entity and the non-human physical world. (2) non-referented symbols which have no referent. They do not re-present anything else. They present themselves. In the absence of biologically provided motivators or drives, non-referented symbols have as one major function the justification (motivation, legitimation) of behavior.
4. Humans can see and experience what a label calls for even though the referent may not be empirically present. People can symbolically provide elements missing in some configuration or system and take into account the whole configuration. One can respond to what he believes or real-izes is there rather than just what is there.
5. There is no inherent relationship between symbol and referent (that to which an empirically referented symbol refers) except the human one. Humans decide which symbol will identify a particular referent. Such relationships are subject to change. The same symbols may be used to identify two or more different phenomena and the same phenomenon can be labeled with two or more different symbols.
6. Ignorance of certain aspects may be functional in the accomplishment of certain goals.
7. Perception is always selective. The symbols used identify the aspect of behavior to which attention is being given. Selectively paying attention to one configuration, involves selectively ignoring or "backgrounding" other phenomena.
8. The behavior of the individual in response to any internal biological factor or to the body as an entity, is in response to the labels used to identify it, rather than in direct response to the biological factor per se.
9. Decisions are emergent. They have no prior existence "out there" or "in there." They can, however, achieve an existence independent of the individuals who make or create the decisions, in the forms of laws, mores, and folkways or any other recorded symbols. Such symbolic preservation is, in



fact necessary if human societies are to function.

10. Humans can symbolically re-create or re-member the past and pre-create or pre-member the future and take these symbolic phenomena into account in the present. Doing so is necessary if society is to function and persist.

11. There is a meaningful distinction between (a) the decision (b) the decided about and (c) the deciders. With reference to values this is the distinction between (a) evaluations (b) evaluated and (c) evaluator.

Validation. There are no inherent limitations as to how doing a given act (or not doing it) can be symbolically legitimated. Legitimation concepts and procedures are socially constructed. Any act can be done or not done for many different reasons, or justified by many different justifications. Two broad questions of validation are whether something is moral and whether it is legal. Legality stems from decisions made according to some approved legal procedure and thus incorporated within the legal structure of a society. Morality is not formally or legally created, but stems more from informal consensus. However, when compared with laws, the manner of creation in no way reduces the strength or importance thereof. Indeed, when laws are defined as immoral they are difficult to enforce.

Morality definitions are frequently reinforced by religious definitions. An act is both good and of God. High intensity moral definitions can, in fact, be interpreted as being the major ingredient of religion, as has been suggested. The second component is the configuration of definitions about the supernatural.

#### Summary

The Sociology of Mormonism applies to Mormonism the basic concepts, perspectives and methodology of the Sociology of Religion, focusing attention upon the human and natural aspects as contrasted with the supernatural and superhuman aspects which concern the religionist. Being sociological and thus social scientific (and agnostic) in nature the study considers Mormon religious definitions, especially definitions of the supernatural and high intensity value definitions (HIVD) and related behavior. The content is sociological not religious.

Attention is given primarily to accumulated research which is not yet extensive enough to provide a completely adequate sociological picture--it is a preliminary analysis. Attention is given to both macro-level and micro-level Mormonism, including analysis of the formal church structure and the broad social-physical setting or situation in which the church functions as well as the interaction of those who function within that structure, including speaking in the name of some church unit, and whose behavior outside of the formal church activities evidences influences of being Mormon.

Study utilizes the Symbolic Interaction Theory as an organizing and analyzing perspective. The basic components of this complex theory are contained in the paradigm statement that the behavior of the individual is in response to Symbols, relative to the Audience and relative to the Situation. ISAS is a shorthand statement thereof.

## CHAPTER TWO

### ASPECTS OF MORMON RELIGIOSITY

#### The Religiosity Concept

Of concern to any religious group are questions such as "What does it mean to be a member of our church?" How does one distinguish between members and non-members. What types of members are there, and how does one recognize different types. Such questions call for criteria of categorization. Religiosity is a concept which social scientists frequently use in an effort to make such distinctions. The members defined in the most positive terms are considered to have high religiosity or to be high on a religiosity scale, while those with lesser degrees of this phenomenon are located somewhere lower on the scale.

The concept, however, is a difficult one. It is certainly one for which there is no widely accepted meaning among social scientists. Not only is there lack of consensus on the component elements which together make up or constitute religiosity, but there is also lack of consensus on how these components are related to each other. Are they all part of one undimensional continuum, with known additive relationships between the various components, or are they discrete but relatively unconnected components, from which some type of representative or synthesized (summed) measure is secured?

Further, what are the non-religiosity correlates of scale position? In terms of behavior and beliefs, what can one generally conclude from his awareness that individual X is high on a religiosity scale and individual Y is lower on that scale? What does knowing scale positions permit one to predict?

Such meaning is further confused by a growing indication from research that some members of a given church group are more like certain members of other groups than they are like the other members of their own affiliated group. There is on many measures, for instance greater differences between individual Catholics, as individuals, than there is between group measures of Catholics and group measures of Protestants.

A question of interest in our area is which other religious groups are Mormons most like and most unlike?

Labeling. The naming or labeling process utilized by humans involves some intricate processes. Since social reality is constructed or real-ized jointly by those involved, the application of a name to an individual which is accepted by the one named and by those who relate to him frequently requires constant reinforcement, constant reassurance that the name is an appropriate one. When I say, "I am a Mormon," the verb "am" means that the symbolic model which has been constructed for "Mormon" has been applied to me and found to fit. The statement that I am an orthodox Mormon,

a liberal Mormon, or a Jack Mormon requires further delineation. In order to distinguish between orthodox and unorthodox Mormons symbolic models or criteria of orthodoxy have to be constructed and then tried on or applied for goodness of fit.

Religiosity is a concept which is used to identify such models or blueprints. It is a constructed type, used for comparison purposes. Most likely there is no individual who completely corresponds to the model.

To make such a label "stick" or be accepted by those involved requires input from the one labeled and from those who relate to him. Relative consensus as to the content of the model and the goodness of fit must be obtained. If the one thus labeled accepts the label he is likely to conclude "I am an orthodox Mormon." If the behavior incorporated in the input and back put (feedback) of others validates that definition he is likely to conclude "I really am a righteous Mormon." Lack of consensus moderates the conclusion. It is difficult to continue to believe that you really are something if the behavior of significant others does not support or validate that conclusion.

Religiosity is a very broad, all encompassing concept. Many who use it, use it as a summarizing measure or as a synthesizing measure, which it is believed reflects all or most significant aspects of the religious aspects of the individual being evaluated. Such a broad concept inevitably omits, leaves unsaid, or ignores more than it says or identifies. Caution should, accordingly, be used in interpreting discussions of religiosity. One should certainly want to know just how the concept is defined if he is going to arrive at anywhere near an accurate interpretation thereof.

Making distinctions between high religiosity and low religiosity makes distinctions with but limited meaning. The same is true of distinguishing between saints and sinners.

Self Definitions. Having religiosity criteria available permits the one being labeled to reach decisions about how well he conforms to that model. He learns about himself in any attempt to see if the label is one which "fits" him. It also permits his audience or others to reach such conclusions. Further, however, it permits the one labeled to know that others are assessing him in this manner and to reach decisions by some role-taking process as to just what such assessments are. He knows that they know him, and he knows that they know he knows they know him.

Use of such labels may have a tremendous impact upon those to whom they are applied. Since religion typically incorporated high-intensity value definitions (HIVD) or is concerned with what is considered to be ultimate, high intensity components of living, we would be surprised if acceptance or rejection of a given religiosity label did not have significant impact upon those involved. It is significant for me to decide how religious I am, and also to decide how religious my significant others are and how religious I think they have decided I am.

To want to be defined by significant others as a righteous person and to have them refuse to confirm such a label can be very destructive to the one desiring the label.

## Mormon Religiosity

What does it mean to be a Mormon? What does being Mormon mean to a given church member? To the non-member? These are affiliation questions. Once a distinction is made between Mormons and non-Mormons a second question arises as to distinctions between Mormons. Affiliation questions make distinctions between the in group and the out group, between member and non-member, between (in Mormon language) Mormon and Gentile. Religiosity questions make distinctions between Mormons and Mormons. It is highly unlikely that any religious group would fail to make such distinctions between members. Differentiation is a basic aspect of group formation, group maintenance, and goal achievement,

Making within-group distinctions is frequently done for various reasons. Within the Mormon Church distinctions can be made between orthodox and unorthodox Mormons, worthy and unworthy members, saints and sinners, religious and less-religious Mormons. Concern is frequently given to distinctions between what we might call the 100% members, the 70% members and the 20% members, using criteria taken from the extensive records maintained in the various organizations.

Recommend holders. In some cases, formal criteria are established in order to categorize members in different ways. A widely used set of such criteria are those utilized to determine who qualifies for a temple recommend and who does not? "Recommend holder," is a label which has received increased use in recent years. The typical pattern is to dichotomize and divide everyone into but two categories--recommend holder and (and we don't have a label which has been established through usage) non-recommend holders. This classification most likely incorporates the belief that everyone who technically qualifies for a temple recommend will have secured one, and thus those who do not actually have the appropriate symbols (i.e. the recommend) can easily be classified (maybe informally) as unworthy to receive one. The category of "worthy non-recommend holder" is most likely not even considered to be a viable label by most Mormons.

Jack Mormons. Mormons have an expression which incorporates a religiosity component, i.e. "Jack Mormon." The label identifies someone who is not clearly within the fold or clearly acceptable to the most orthodox members, but who none-the-less seems to merit the "Mormon" label. No clear-cut definition, however, has been provided as to just how one distinguishes the Jack Mormon from the "Non-Jack-Mormon." The label is used for informal, not formal church purposes. This ambiguity then permits the user to supply whatever meaning he decides is appropriate for a given audience in a given situation.

Mormons are usually not willing to accept every church member as being equally Mormon. This not only applies to others, but also to self. When I try to decide what kind of a Mormon I am, what criteria do I use? Mormonism provides some criteria. There is the priesthood, in a highly organized and thus highly "officered" and "teachered" organization, with extensive record keeping. The question concerning what type of Mormon a male individual is, can be answered in part by indicating his position in

the priesthood. By using priesthood criteria, the church provides many self-appraisal experience utilizing public criteria--well known to everyone.

As far as more personal, non-public appraisals are concerned it is an open question as to whether all the church work hinders or helps maximizing these definitions. Are Mormons so busy doing their public church work that they fail to "do their religion?"

Does the church work become an end in itself, or a means to an end. Does attending church, etc. help one love his neighbor more or less. Which neighbor? Does being "anxiously engaged" in church work per se, decrease the likelihood of being anxiously engaged in non-church work--recognizing that being concerned with societal problems can be defined as a part of "church work." Is such concern found equally among those who are highly religious and those lower on the religiosity scale?

One concern of a sociological analysis of Mormonism, then, is to find out how much difference exists between Mormons on any given behavior/belief item. Some may start with a premise that there should be harmony and unanimity within the church. Thus, even if there are some differences these shouldn't be emphasized or maybe even identified. A sociological analysis however attempts to find out what differences do exist and then to see if a given difference is related to other social differences.

The Mormon Church does not have a professional clergy except at the highest echelons and possibly in the Church schools where individuals are paid specifically and exclusively to teach religious subjects. Thus most active Mormons play a variety of roles during their years as a Mormon. Most likely most Mormons have the experience of evaluating other Mormons to decide who should teach which class and who should "be called" to preside over which organization, etc. It is likely then that many members have some sort of rough evaluation scheme which is used to classify other members. The fact that counselors are widely used and that recommendations for officering and teaching any given organization need to be approved by higher echelon officers means that some sort of official or unofficial evaluation scheme will be utilized by most members. Most Mormons are accustomed to making distinctions like the ones to be discussed, but the criteria used are most likely quite different from those identified in the research.

The number of labels or names used to classify individuals influences how these individuals will be classified. The number of categories available for use influences the flexibility and complexity of classifying. The more classification categories available the greater the likelihood of making numerous distinctions or the greater the amount of difference one is likely to perceive and take into account when decisions are made.

With all of these limitations, the religiosity concept has utility (if for no other purpose than that it is available and has been used in past research) for providing beginning or initial insights into aspects of Mormonism. We will, accordingly, look at some of the available

research in this area and will provide tentative interpretations thereof.

### Research Evidence

In one of the early studies of Mormon Religiosity, Hardy (1949) studied 162 adult Mormons from 101 households in seven Salt Lake City areas, using an attitude scale which he developed. He found that, according to his measure, the evaluations of the church were generally MORE favorable

1. for males holding the Melchizedek Priesthood than for those holding the Aaronic priesthood
2. for former missionaries than for non-missionaries
3. for non-users of cola drinks than for users
4. for those regularly participating in family prayer than for those who were irregular or non participating.

Little or no relationship was found between attitudes toward the church and the use of cocoa. Also, little or no relationship was found between age and church evaluations.

When Hardy compared male and female Mormons he found little or no differences. The males on the average scored less favorable than the females, but the difference was not statistically significant. This finding contrasts with male-female patterns in most other church groups in which males are typically found to be significantly less favorable toward church religion than are the females. (See Vernon & Cardwell)

Photiadis (1965) collected data from a Mormon trade area of about 10,000 population, studying via anonymous questionnaires, 553 male adults drawn from the entire congregations of 15 wards. All persons were invited to the ward chapel to complete the study, with 56% responding. Questionnaires from the remaining respondents were secured thru personal contact. He reached the following conclusions:

1. There was a positive and significant relationship between belief and overt conformity to church teachings.
2. The relationship between church participation and overt conformity is much higher than the relationship between belief and overt conformity.
3. Church participation is related to overt conformity independent of the degree of belief.

Cline and Richards (1965) were among the first to utilize the religiosity concept in research. They used the name "Beliefs and Behavior" rather than "Religiosity." Their investigation involved 155 adult males and females drawn from the Salt Lake City directory. A trained interviewer collected the material using three research instruments: (1) a modified TAT type test, (2) a depth interview and (3) a 67-item religious belief-behavior questionnaire. A method of analysis known as factor analysis was used. This procedure permits the researcher to identify factors which cluster together or which evidence sufficient inter-relationships that

the group of factors can be considered as being a larger, more inclusive entity or variable. Respondents are not asked to create the aggregates which are composed of inter-related variables. The research asks specific individual questions and then examines the interrelationships between the answers provided. One has to be cautious in how findings such as these are interpreted.

The findings of the Cline-Richards study reveal considerable complexity within the religiosity domain. The findings contrast with interpretations which view religiosity as a single global factor or at most two or three factors. This study found twelve factors for men and eleven factors for women. Male religiosity and female religiosity are not exact equivalences. The saliency sequence of items is different in each case. Being religious does not mean the same thing to Mormon males and females. There was, however, high intercorrelations among the total religiosity measures from the three separate experimental procedures, with correlation values ranging from 56 to 81. The factors obtained are as follows:

#### FEMALE RELIGIOSITY FACTORS

##### Factor

1. Religious Belief and Behavior
2. Having Spouse who had good relations with religious parents
3. Compassionate Samaritan Factor
4. Projected Guilt
5. Having good relations with a religious father
6. Projective Test Religiosity
7. Involves tragedy and suffering in later life
8. Having good relations with a religious mother
9. Religious Hypocrisy
10. Political Preference
11. Dogmatic Authoritarianism

#### MALE RELIGIOSITY FACTORS

1. Religious Behavior
2. Compassionate Samaritan Factor
3. Dogmatic Authoritarianism
4. Having a spouse who had good relations with religious parents
5. Having good relations with a spouse who is herself religious
6. Projective Test Religiosity
7. Men who had good relations with their own religious parents
8. Tragedy and Suffering in later life
9. Loss of Faith
10. Religious Belief
11. Neuroticism
12. Projective Test Religious Conflicts

The meaning of each of these items is only as defined in the research. The reader should accordingly be cautious about reading into these findings meanings which he may have, but which may in fact be quite different from that identified by the names used above.

There is then considerable evidence of sex differences in the patterns of Mormon religiosity. One important finding is that for males and females, but especially for the male, being a "good Samaritan" and being loving and compassionate toward one's fellow persons, was largely independent of other aspects of religious beliefs and behavior. The study suggests, then, that religiosity or religious commitment is not a simple unidimensional dimension. It is factorially extremely complex or put more simply, there are many ways to be religious and many ways to express this religiosity behaviorally.

Cardwell (1972) studied 1,000 students from the University of Utah, using a Likert-type summated rating scale. His study included in addition to LDS students, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Presbyterian and Independent students. Using a factor analytic technique (the same as Cline and Richards) factor matrices or clusters for each group were obtained. Dimensions identified as (1) religious belief, (2) religious ritualism, youth; (3) religious ritualism, adult and (4) religious effects were obtained for each of the religious groups. However, many dissimilarities were found.

Religious commitment was found to be five dimensional for Mormons, and Catholics, but only four dimensional for Presbyterians and Independents. Religiosity was three dimensional for Baptists. Catholics appeared to respond from more of what Cardwell called an adult perspective than did members of the other groups. The ritualism cluster was confounded with items from the belief cluster for the Mormons. The Ritualism dimension relates to formal organizational behavior and appeared to be the most salient dimension for Mormons while religious belief was most important for the others. Finally, a unique factor was found for the Mormons, which Cardwell called "Ethnic Fellowship-Extrinsic Orientation." This dimension was characteristic of the small percent of Mormons who attend church regularly but do not "believe" "experience" or "know" their religion in the usual orthodox manner.

Cardwell also found that the items generally used to measure religious belief, religious ritualism, and religious effects were sufficiently accepted by all group studied to suggest that these questions were tapping "societal religion." The utilization of such items provides information as to those high-intensity value definitions upon which most Americans agree, rather than assessing denominational-specific religious commitment. It is on these items then that Mormons are most like the other groups studied. Given that significant dissimilarities were found between groups Cardwell indicated that the comparability of the structure of multidimensional religious commitment among denominations is problematic and should well be demonstrated empirically in lieu of being assumed. It may, in fact, be difficult if not impossible to create a measuring tool which would apply to all major groups. To say this differently, Mormons are sufficiently



different from Catholics, Baptists and Presbyterians (and presumably other major groups) that in research each requires its own measure of church religiosity.

Religious or any other items which are found to scale using the Guttman technique, have the characteristic that if you know an individuals scale position you can predict with 90% accuracy what his answers are on all scale items. Using this technique, Vernon (1955) constructed a scale involving the twelve items shown in Figure 1.

The 1952 membership of one ward in Lewiston, Idaho was studied. This group is obviously not representative of the whole church. For this group the following patterns were found.

Sex: males more than females tended to fall at the two extremes.

Age: Religiosity evidenced a high level at ages 18-19, decrease up to about age 30, increase to about age 60, followed by decrease.

Income: High religiosity was found in the \$2,000 and under category, with a religiosity decline to \$5,000 with subsequent increase to \$8,000, then decline.

Occupation: no consistent pattern

Marital status: only slight differences between single and married participants. Divorced Mormons, however, tended to be located at either the high or low extreme.

Missionary activity: Those with missionary experience tended to have higher orthodoxy than those without.

Converts: Converts evidenced higher orthodoxy than non-converts or those who were born-and-converted "in" the church.

#### Figure One

##### THE VERNON MORMON CHURCH ORTHODOXY SCALE

Following are twelve statements or questions about the Church. Please check the statement following each of these which most closely approximates your personal reaction to that item.

1. Do you usually attend Sacrament meeting?

   1. Weekly,    2. Every 2 weeks,    3. Monthly,    4. On special occasions,  
   5. Never

2. If you live with your family, do you participate in family prayer? (Do not confuse with a blessing of the food).

   1. Daily,    2. Weekly,    3. Monthly,    4. Irregularly,    5. Never,  
   6. Do not live with family

3. Do you break the Word of Wisdom with reference to coffee or tea, beer or stronger alcoholic beverages, or tabacco?

   1. Regularly,    2. Occasionally,    3. Rarely,    4. Never

4. Testimony meetings are enjoyable meetings to attend.  
 \_\_\_1. Strongly agree, \_\_\_2. Agree, \_\_\_3. Undecided, \_\_\_4. Disagree, \_\_\_5. Strongly disagree
5. Following the teachings of the church will help one get ahead financially.  
 \_\_\_1. Strongly agree, \_\_\_2. Agree, \_\_\_3. Undecided, \_\_\_4. Disagree, \_\_\_5. Strongly disagree
6. During the past year did you  
 \_\_\_1. Pay a full tithe? \_\_\_2. Pay a part tithe? \_\_\_3. Pay no tithing?
7. The church possesses divine authority.  
 \_\_\_1. Strongly agree, \_\_\_2. Agree, \_\_\_3. Undecided, \_\_\_4. Disagree, \_\_\_5. Strongly disagree
8. The financial contributions asked by the church are too high.  
 \_\_\_1. Strongly agree, \_\_\_2. Agree, \_\_\_3. Undecided, \_\_\_4. Disagree, \_\_\_5. Strongly disagree
9. It would be desirable if the Bishops could receive a salary for their church work and therefore devote full time to church activities.  
 \_\_\_1. Strongly agree, \_\_\_2. Agree, \_\_\_3. Undecided, \_\_\_4. Disagree, \_\_\_5. Strongly disagree
10. Do you agree with the present stand of the church on the Word of Wisdom?  
 \_\_\_1. Yes, \_\_\_2. Undecided, \_\_\_3. No
11. Do you agree with the present stand of the church on the youth program?  
 \_\_\_1. Yes, \_\_\_2. Undecided, \_\_\_3. No
12. The present General Authorities are inspired in their decisions with reference to church matters.  
 \_\_\_1. Strongly agree, \_\_\_2. Agree, \_\_\_3. Undecided, \_\_\_4. Disagree, \_\_\_5. Strongly disagree.

Mauss (19\_\_ ) suggests that in our use of the religiosity or orthodoxy concept, conceptual clarity is needed. Orthodoxy or religiosity, he suggests, can be subdivided into two categories: ethicalism and pietism. Ethicalism is human or social oriented being concerning with person-person relationships. It is an important component of the social gospel outlook. Ethicalism involves a belief that loving one's neighbor and doing good for others are requisites for salvation.

Pietism by way of contrast is supernatural or God-oriented. It is concerned with human-God relationships and is expressed in an evangelical outlook. Pietism is operationally defined as belief in conformity to certain practices believed to be divinely provided such as tithing, sabbath observances, etc. and belief in abstention from certain prohibited practices such as drinking, swearing, etc.

Glock conceptualized ethicalism as being the reverse of orthodoxy. Mauss, however, conceptualized both pietism and ethicalism as components of religiosity which from his perspective can be expressed through either an ethical or a pietistic style, but rarely both.

Mauss used Salt Lake City data and found that his hypothesis was generally but only modestly confirmed. His theorizing and research do suggest the value of distinguishing two broad types of Mormons.

Allen (1955) studied a group of Mormon college students enrolled in introductory psychology classes which he compared with five other groups of students from various parts of the country. He checked to see if the Mormons tended to be more authoritarian than the others on the basis of scores on the F scale. In four of the five comparisons he found that the Mormons were significantly more authoritarian than non-Mormons. Although his research does not permit us to make such a conclusion, it may be that those high in authoritarianism are those we have called ritualistic in nature. If so, the non-authoritarian students would be more humanistic in nature. His research does underscore the existence of different types of Mormons and the fact that Mormons tend to be different from non-Mormons.

In a 1974 analysis of the Mormon Church, Arrington discusses problems experienced by the church, indicating that "...one of these relates to a continuing, through healthy, tension between what might be called conservatives and liberals within the church." Both types he points out are converted to the church and remain loyal and active, and can be seen as evidence of the vitality and vigor of the church. He roughly equates those in these two categories to the categorization provided by Poll (1967) of "Iron Rod Saints" and "Liahona Saints" which terms come from the Book of Mormon. The "iron rod" was the word of God and by holding on to this rod individuals believed they could follow the straight and narrow path to salvation. The Liahona was the compass which those in the early book of Mormon story used as a guide, which provided broad guidelines, leaving it up to the user to apply them to specific situations. The "iron rod" Mormons attempt to find answers to all magnitude of questions from the scriptures and the words of their prophets. The Liahona Mormons question whether any instrument is capable of providing such specific answers, believing that the individual is required to provide specific answers to many questions using the broad guidelines available.

In the following statement, Brigham Young seems to have, at least in broad outline, anticipated the types which have here been abstracted largely from available research,:

"I am more afraid that this people have so much confidence in in their leaders that they will not inquire for themselves of God, whether they are led by Him. I am fearful that they settle down in a state of blind self-security...Let every man and woman know, by the whispering of the Spirit of God to themselves, whether their leaders are walking in the Path the Lord dictates or not." (Journal of Discourses 9: 150)

A person-church emphasis is evidenced in the conceptual part of the Dunford and Kunz research report concerning Mormons who shopped on Sunday. In their effort to include in their study only those individuals evidencing "strong orthodoxy or commitment" they indicated that if an individual reported that religion was important to him, but he did not attend weekly, he was not included in the study.

The Cardwell, and the Cline and Richards research seems to have identified through a somewhat sophisticated method somewhat the same differences which one prominent Mormon discovered through his participation in the church organizations. Bennion (1959) reports saying to members of a fireside group he was addressing, "I would like each one of you in turn to tell us one thing you do not do because you are a Latter-day Saint."

The first person said, "I don't smoke."  
The second one said, "I don't drink."  
The third one said, "I don't drink coffee."  
The fourth one said, "I don't drink tea."  
And then there was a long pause before the fifth one thought of something. He said finally, "I don't go to shows on Sunday."  
And the sixth one said, "I don't swear."  
And then there was still a longer pause. He then turned to the other end of the circle and said, "Please tell us each in turn what you do do because you are a Latter-day Saint."  
The first one said, "I go to church."  
The second one said, "I go to Priesthood meeting."  
The third one said, "I go to Sunday School."  
The fourth one said, "I go to choir practice."  
There was a long pause before the fifth one could say, "I pay tithing."

Bennion (p. 281) also provided the following account:

I was in a stake officers' meeting one evening when we were replacing stake board members. A certain person was nominated for a position and the presiding officer turned to me because I knew this person and said, "Is he a good Latter-day Saint?" A lot of ideas flashed through my mind and I said to him, "He is a good neighbor. He is honest. He is hospitable. He is merciful." and I named other Christian virtues.

The presiding officer said quickly, "That isn't what I want to know. Anybody can be a good Christian. I want to know if he is a good Latter-day Saint."

I knew what he meant and I quite agreed with him in part. He wanted to know if the candidate for office paid his tithing, and if he were orthodox in his faith. And these things a person ought to do to be a good Latter-day Saint. The thing that hurt me was his remark that anybody can be honest and loving as though the emphasis were only on the peculiar things in our faith and not also the fundamental aspects of our religion.

What has been called the person-church or ritualistic emphasis seems to be well illustrated. The person-person emphasis, is captured in the following statement by Bennion (p. 282).

But I would also like to hear the circle continue by saying, "Because I am a Latter-day Saint I don't cheat. I don't plagiarize. I don't think of a girl as a means to my own selfish gratification. I don't hurt, if I can, and any human being,"... I am kind to my neighbor. I am patient with my husband. I pay my bills. I speak the truth. I hunger and thirst after knowledge. I am going to learn something about the laws of the universe and the nature of human nature and I might help God bring to pass the immortality and god-like life of man."...

The Mormon Church, however, does not officially make or recognize these distinctions. Everyone is apparently judged by one standard. Conformity of religiosity is encouraged. In official or informal behavior it is likely, however, that different configurations of variables are taken into account with some sort of balancing or synthesizing evaluations being made when some generalized, total-person evaluation seems to be called for.

The differences we have been discussing are not an either-or combination, but rather a matter of emphasis or concentration along a difference continuum. The two polar types are symbolically constructed, and are most likely not applicable to any given individuals. Being religious does not have the same meaning for all Mormons.

On the basis of the limited research just analyzed, it seems appropriate to distinguish the following two abstract polar types of Mormons. These are constructed types, which means that most likely no one person is of either pure type, but would rather be some combination of both. However, it is possible to identify the major emphasis of their religiosity or their primary emphasis when they are "doing religion." These types then can be summarized as follows:

#### TYPES OF MORMONS

<u>Person-Church Ritualistic Emphasis</u>	<u>Person-Person humanistic emphasis</u>
Ritualistic Rules-Regulations Oriented	non-ritualistic or humanistic doing good to others, ethical, humanistic
"A Good Latter-Day Saint" (Bennion)	Good Samaritan (Cline)
visible, countable	Integrity and Christian love (Bennion)
"Iron Rod" (Poll)	relatively nonvisible, noncountable
Ritualistic, adult emphasis (Cardwell)	Liahona orientation (Poll)
Peitism, God-oriented, evangel- ical. Conformity to practices, tithing, sabbath, abstention (Mauss)	Beliefs emphasis (Cardwell)
"Organization person"	Ethicalism, social gospel, concern with others, Loving neighbor, doing good to others. (Mauss)

Which style of Mormonism is easier to live? Neither. One style is easier for one type of individual whereas the other is easier for the other type. Behavior of either is in response to symbols, including the symbols he uses to identify himself, relative to the audience and the situation.

A question with reference to the ritualistic Mormons, particularly, is whether (1) they adopt their view of obedience-authoritarianism plus the other components we have discussed because the leaders endorse that approach or (2) whether the leaders tend to endorse such a view because they perceive that the members want them to, expect them to, and in some respect almost demand that they provide authoritarian answers. The causal connection most likely moves in both directions.

#### MACRO OR CHURCH RELIGIOSITY

The human ability to synthesize, or otherwise manipulate the symbols which re-present individual members permits reaching decisions about the church as a whole, or the entire membership as an entity. Thus in size the Mormon Church can be compared with the Presbyterian Church or any other group. The average financial contribution of the Mormon members can be compared and compared with others, etc. Church comparisons can be made on characteristics such as the following:

1. drug use and abuse
2. birth date
3. death rate
4. education level (average)
5. Theological beliefs
6. secular beliefs

Making such comparisons permits one to answer questions such as "How are we doing?"

#### Passing

In the area of race relations a type of behavior to which attention is given is "passing," with the label identifying the process of permitting others to define you and relate to you in terms of an inaccurate label. The individual who is black, for instance, may pass for white, or vice versa. In so doing, he permits others to identify him as white, even though he "knows" he is really black. Problems associated with racial passing have been identified and analyzed in the literature. There are definitional problems involved in this whole process as well as an analysis thereof. In order for a white to pass as a black, we have to know what being "white" means, as well as what being black means. One approach is biological in nature, with the critical determiners of racial identification being defined as biological in nature. Passing then involves an individual who is biologically black who passes for white. Problems also arise, however, from the fact that there is little consensus as to just what biological factors determine blackness, as well as from awareness that these biological factors themselves do not determine any type of behavior. Behavior is in response to symbols (ISAS) not biological factors. It is the meaning which one real-izes or makes real which influences interaction.

The concept of passing seems to be an appropriate one to use in the realm of religious behavior. Here we are dealing primarily with social-symbolic factors rather than biological factors. Mormon religious passing involves an individual who permits others to identify him as Mormon when he does not consider himself to be Mormon. Betty Ackerlind in her research on creative artists in Utah found that two of her respondents indicated that they were LDS in name only. They were on the records of the Mormon Church as being Mormons, but they did not classify themselves in this way. Presumably "passing Mormons" would account for some of the difference between affiliation or membership identification and preference identification.

It may be that in Utah or other areas where Mormons are a strong majority group that there may be certain social advantages for one to pass as a Mormon. Interesting research could be done in which non-Mormons were asked to identify situations in which they had passed for Mormons.

Passing for a Mormon may be a preliminary step for some individuals in the conversion process. Having others treat you as though you were a Mormon may facilitate your accepting the definition for yourself.

In some of my classes, when the question has been raised as to whether religious passing does occur today, the response has been a strong affirmative one. Many students indicated that they know of some who have passed or that they themselves have passed. In the Salt Lake Valley or "Mormon Country" from which most of my current students come, it seems logical to assume that there may be more in-Mormon passing than out-Mormon passing. In-Mormon passing involved non-Mormons passing for Mormons, and was the most frequently provided illustration. Illustrations such as the following were provided.

"I am currently working as a life insurance salesman for XXX in Salt Lake. I have found myself when dealing with Mormons, name dropping some prominent Mormon names, trying to get closer to a buyer.

A female non-Mormon student reported that she went to work for a church-owned radio station, where most of the employees were Mormon. During her first few hours on the job she was not directly asked whether she was a Mormon. The question which provided the answer to the identity question was some variation of "In which ward do you live?" She indicated that she had adopted the technic of responding, "The Bountiful Ward" and then just dropping the topic. Had she indicated that she was a non-Mormon she would have opened a "Floodgate" of conversion-oriented behavior on the part of her Mormon co-workers. Many Mormons define conversion of non-Mormons as a major goal or as a major way of "doing Mormonism." By implying membership, even though she technically merely identified a geographical area of residence, she avoided being exposed to these conversion tactics.

"On two occasions I have had two salesmen drop names and say they were Mormons...My wife and I were "turned off" by the one especially because it was obvious he was not "active" L.D.S. The other may have been a Mormon but I doubt it. We realized we were being "used"...and this turned us off.

In Mormon Country a Mormon identification is frequently implied from observation of (1) whether an individual smokes or does not smoke--Mormons have a prohibition against smoking, and (2) whether one drinks coffee or liquor--Mormons have a prohibition against use of both of these. The Mormon businessman who orders coffee while in the company of non-Mormons may be saying or implying that he is a non-Mormon. Unless he himself provides input, his associates are likely to initially conclude that he is not a Mormon. For some people the "coffee issue" is of little importance.

I was made aware of an interesting case involving a young lady who had been raised in the Mormon Church and had accepted the Mormon culture but had subsequently left the church and identified herself as an atheist. Thru friends she was able to secure a position as companion and helper for the sick wife of a church leader. In hiring her, it was assumed that she was a Mormon, although the question was never directly asked. She was, however, able to talk the Mormon language and knew what the expected Mormon input was as far as conversations were concerned. She accordingly was able to maintain the position and the Mormon identification by letting others believe she was a Mormon while identifying herself personally otherwise.

Students who have taught in the public schools in Utah have also reported non-Mormon administrators who never smoke or drink in public, thus possibly passing for Mormon, or at least not creating a non-Mormon impression.

#### Summary

For sociological as well as for some church purposes, it is frequently useful to make distinctions between individuals all of whom are Mormons. Mormon use of concepts such as "recommend holder" "Jack Mormon," orthodox and unorthodox Mormons make such distinctions. Study of research findings identified "religiosity differences" associated with the following: priesthood level, dietary behavior, prayer, church attendance, sex differences, various beliefs, being a "good Samaritan (loving others), ritualistic behavior, missionary experiences, being a convert, being authoritarian. Mormon and non-Mormon differences were found.

From this analysis the following two-type classification scheme for Mormons was created: (1) ritualistic or person-church and (2) humanistic or person-person. Individual church members evidence more or less of the characteristics incorporated in each of these constructed or polar types, and can be located along a continuum from one pole to the other.

Some Mormons when relating to some audiences in some situations pass as non-Mormons, while given the right ISAS configuration, some non-Mormons pass for Mormons. This is a type of behavior which merits further study.



## CHAPTER THREE

### MORMON SYMBOLS: VERBAL AND RITUALISTIC

In Mormon theology the Holy Trinity consists of God, the Father; Jesus Christ, the son; and the Holy Ghost. God the Father represents the supernatural or superhuman realm in which Mormons believe. Jesus Christ represents the human component, with emphasis upon the ideal components-- **humanness at its best**. Presumably in the supernatural realm there is no "best" and "non-best." Everything supernatural is maximized. The third member of the Godhead, the Holy Ghost, in effect, is the connecting mechanism or "connecting tissue" between these two different realms. To the Mormon, the Holy Ghost is a supernatural, spiritual entity. The basic function of the Holy Ghost is communication or to facilitate communication. The term "Holy Communicator" or "Holy Symbolizer" from a sociological perspective might be appropriate. In any event, communication involves symbols, and in terms of function the "Holy Ghost" could be termed "Holy Symbols." It is with some aspects of this symbolic component that we are most concerned here.

Attention will be given to commonly used symbols which have a distinctive Mormon component, and to ritual symbols involved in the more sacred aspects of practicing or living Mormonism. Both types of symbols may involve spoken, verbal or heard symbols and biological, silent, unheard symbols. Typically one does something as well as says something. Symbols involved in the most sacred Mormon rituals or rites in their temples are also considered to be a secret or carry with them the restriction of in-temple use, with no approved out-of-temple use.

Those authorized to use the sacred in-temple symbols generally consider this to be a distinctive, highly approved behavior. Some of the sacredness of the symbols in effect rubs off onto those involved in the ritualistic behavior.

Mormons indicate in their "Articles of Faith" that they believe in the "gift of tongues, phophecy, revelation, visions, healing, and interpretation of tongues." All of the identified items except healing are symbolic in nature. While the healing per se may be biological, the ritual involved in effort to achieve the healing is likewise symbolic. Healings may, of course, incorporate a psychosomatic or symbolic component.

#### Mormon Language

Is there a Mormon language which expresses distinctly Mormon experiences? Is there a distinctive Mormon language which permits its users to have experiences which they would not be able to do otherwise? The answer seems to be "somewhat."

A ritualistically used phrase, "We do this in the name of Jesus Christ," is a part of such a language. In many respects this verbal symbol set is the equivalent of the Roman Catholic crossing behavior. As such it serves a self identification or identification-reminder purpose. It serves to reinforce a Mormon's "Mormonness". Mormons in an unfamiliar setting hearing the phrase spoken would likely conclude that the speaker was a fellow-Mormon.

"Gentile" is a term used by Mormons to identify all non-Mormons. The Jews also use the term to identify all non-Jews.

Labels of brother and sister are used to identify church members, and by some to apply to non-members as well. This pattern is used by many non-Mormons groups, but the labels especially in "Mormon Country" serves an LDS identification purpose, especially in a non-religious or secular setting. As such it may set into motion a whole series of definitions with related behavior in which the LDS identification is taken into account. One such consequence may be preferential treatment by other Mormons.

Use of the name "Lamanite" to identify the American Indian is likewise Mormon in nature. The name comes from the Book of Mormon.

"Living prophet" is another Mormon-identifier. The president of the church is frequently identified with this name.

The formal offices in the Priesthood are also somewhat distinctive. These are Deacon, Teacher, Priest, Elder, Seventy and High Priest. Aaronic Priesthood and Melchizedek Priesthood are in this category.

"Patriarchial blessing" is also a part of "Mormon language." "Returned Missionary" is another "Mormon identifier".

#### MORMON "IN THE NAME OF" BEHAVIOR

In some religious behavior, especially ritual behavior, individual Mormons or the congregation as a whole, move thru symbolic space into a sacred name or acquire a sacred identification. As has been indicated it is frequently the name of Jesus Christ which is involved. In some rituals such as the baptism prayer, the ritual is done "in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Such "in the name of" behavior functions to make the event sacred in nature. Mormons believe they should not take the name of God in vain.

Those in certain positions are permitted to speak in the name of the church, or of some unit within the church such as a stake, a ward, a branch, or other organization. This is similar to secular role-playing, bureaucratic "speaking". The church offices are highly structured or bureaucratized. In the process of being involved in church work, the typical Mormon has considerable experience in presenting himself in the name (role) of some organization, and of interpreting the behavior of others in terms of the role or in name in which their behavior is being done. Considerable time is spent planning meetings, and subdividing assignments so that a larger event can occur.

The father often speaks in the name of his family. The mother may do also, but in the more orthodox family she may view herself as doing so under the supervision of her priesthood-holding husband.

## Macro Mormon Symbols

The Mormon church has not established a distinctive churchwide symbol representing or re-presenting Mormonism which would be the Mormon equivalent of the Christian Cross or the Jewish Star of David. In a limited sense the statue of the Angel Moroni which caps the Salt Lake Temple, and/or pictures thereof suggests "Mormonism" to many familiar with it. Possibly the Tabernacle Choir in its "Presentation of self" on the weekly radio-TV presentations, comes as close as anything to being a recognized symbol of Mormonism. If this is true then Richard L. Evans, while living would have been the LDS figure or individual most known through the world. Pictures of the Tabernacle Organ for some would serve as an identification symbols.

Symbols considered by Mormons to be sacred are utilized in ritualistic work done in their temples which are also considered to be sacred. These are recognized by Mormons as being distinctively Mormon, although not distinctively contemporary, since they are believed to be ancient in origin. The sacred nature of these symbols, however, precludes public use and public awareness thereof and consequently they do not serve any general public identification purpose.

During the period of long hair for males, Utahans occasionally heard the non-long-haired individuals categorized as having that "BYU look."

## Ritualism of Mormonism

Spoken and/or written symbols are familiar to all. In addition to these, ritual symbols are frequently used by humans in certain types of behavior with the intention of achieving certain goals--frequently other-worldly goals. A major function of such symbols is to aid humans at those points where important transitions or changes occur. The use of such symbols involves acceptance of the belief that the individual benefits therefrom. "Rites of passage" or "rituals of transition" are labels used for the behavior involving use of such symbols. Once rituals are established, it is possible that the ritual will become somewhat of an end in itself rather than a means to an end. Completing the ritual, or doing the required behavior becomes the important thing. Little (or less) concern may be evidenced, by some at least, with whether what they think is being accomplished is in fact being accomplished. The goal then changes to one of "peace of mind" or "routine gratification from routines" rather than the ease of transition or change.

Such rituals in Mormonism frequently involve physical contact, or the "laying on of hands." Establishing physical contact facilitates the feeling and/or belief that something is exchanged or transferred from one to the other. The something exchanged may be interpreted as being supernatural or spiritual in origin since the male officiating (plus the males participating) all hold the priesthood, and are accordingly believed to be instruments thru which God's power is channeled.

To be accepted as valid all rituals require that the ritualistic words and behavior be done "in the name of Jesus Christ". Prayers are addressed to God the Father, as has been indicated. Most involve the "laying on of hands" in which those officiating physically place their hands upon the head or body as in case of blessing a baby, or the one being blessed. Physical contact is required. Most are performed under the direction of and thus at the discretion

of the Bishop or other designaged office holder. In his home, the father, or other priesthood holder may give family blessings. The blessing on the food may be said by any member of the family. There are no age or sex limitations. Family prayers are under the direction of the father if he is present, or of the mother in father's absence. In the absence of father and mother an other leader may so function. Individual praying is encouraged and expected and is an individual prerogative.

Most rituals are viewed by others, thus making them public events. The audience involved may be limited to other "worthy" church members as in the temple marriage ceremony. The rituals may accordingly receive increased strength from the knowledge that the receiver has of the fact that others know what has taken place. This includes awareness that they share with him a set of expectations as to how he should behave once the ritual has been completed. To those who thus real-ize the validity of the ritual, such public component can be important. Records are also maintained which may have a related consequence. Reinforcement and encouragement to conform to expectations is involved.

Use of full name. In many rituals, the one officiating uses the full name of the other involved. To do so makes the event different from common secular events. Those involved are made aware that something special and spiritual is taking place.

For many involved, an effort is made to speak in what is considered to be a special, reverent, tone of voice. This likewise serves to set the event apart from secular events.

Behavior is in response to symbols. Changes in behavior are in response to symbols. Humans create ritualistic or symbolic teachnics of introducing changes, with starting and terminating behavior. Behavior is relative to the audience(s). Interaction or harmoniously interrelated behaviors need some mechanisms of orderly transition, so that those involved in effect change together. Rites of transition serve such functions.

Naming. When a child (or older person if the conditions merit) is given a name, the ritual involves members of the Melchizedek Priesthood holding the child in their hands and in prayer addressed to God the Father giving the child a name and usually a blessing. It is usually the father who speaks the prayer, in which case it is a "father's blessing" which is given. Another priesthood holder can be selected to perform the ritual, which is done under the supervision of the Bishop or other in-charge leader. The ritual usually takes place in a public meeting, usually the sacrament meeting or the fast meeting.

Baptism. After a child has reached the age of eight, and has been determined by the Bishop to meet "worthiness criteria" he is baptized by emersion in water.

A set prayer is used. The ritual is performed by either a member of the Melchizedek priesthood or a priest in the Aaronic Priesthood. Baptism is done "in the name of the father, the son and the holy ghost." This is a public event. A forgiveness of any previous sins is incorporated as a part of the consequences of being baptised.

Confirmation. Following baptism the individual is "confirmed" a member of the church and instructed to receive the holy ghost. Again selected members of the Melchezedek Priesthood perform the rite, with the father typically but not necessarily, speaking the words involved. The location for confirmation is typically the Fast Meeting.

Priesthood Ordinations. A male member who has reached age 12 and meets the "worthiness" requirements as determined by the Bishop or other members of the bishopric when the conditions warrant it, may be ordained to the lesser or Aaronic Priesthood. The ritual involves a "laying on of hands" by selected Melchizedek Priesthood holders. The individual is "given" or ordained to the Aaronic Priesthood and to the office of Deacon within the Aaronic Priesthood, which incorporates in addition, the offices of Teacher and Priest. Those found to meet worthiness criteria are typically ordained to the office of teacher soon after reaching age 14 and to the office of Priest after age 16.

Those doing the ritual typically are members of the Melchizedek Priesthood but under the direction of the bishop or other appropriate leaders. Teachers may ordain Deacons, the Priests may ordain teachers or Deacons. A blessing deemed to be appropriate for the individual being ordained is usually also provided, with the belief that it is given "under inspiration or revelation." In all cases the ritual is terminated and accomplished in the name of Jesus Christ. Prayers are addressed to God the Father.

Melchizedek Priesthood. Within the higher or Melchizedek Priesthood are three offices--Elder, Seventy and High Priest. An individual meeting worthiness criteria again, is ordained once to the Melchizedek Priesthood and as required to the office of Elder, Seventy and High Priest. There are no age specifications except for Elder which requires an age of at least 19. In general, Seventies are supposed to be related to missionary work, and High Priests are involved in administrative work. The official church interpretation indicates that there is no prestige hierarchy involved. Each of the three offices is seen as being equal to the others. Common Mormon "folklore" or "folkways" however, frequently consider the movement from Elder to High Priest to an "advancement."

Marriage. Different types of marriage rituals are "available." Mormons may be married by civil authorities. Such ceremonies are acceptable but viewed as not as desirable as the other two. The ceremony may be performed by a religious leader in a religious setting, possibly the home, but outside of the temple. Such rituals grant married status to the couple involved "until death do you part." The ritual in the temple is performed by specially designated authorities with the marriage being viewed as "for time and all eternity." Worthiness criteria are associated with such a marriage, including qualifying for a Temple Recommend by meeting the requirements (or "passing an interview") with both the Bishop (or equivalent--branch president) and the next higher echelon authority, usually the stake or mission president or appropriate equivalent.

Such marriage rites can be vicariously performed for individuals dead, and are a part of the more extensive "genealogy work" and "Temple work" in which Mormons engage. Although not a strict requirement, it is encouraged that such temple work be physically accomplished by descendants of those for whom the work is being accomplished.

Again, the ritual is performed in the name of Jesus Christ. Children born to couples who have been married in the temple are defined as being born "under the covenant" and thus as a part of an eternal family unit which was created by that ritual. Vicarious "sealing" can be performed for the dead. Vicarious work is not interpreted as binding upon the dead, but only as ritualistically "opening the way" whereby the dead can meet the earthly requirements, while still being

held responsible for spiritual requirements associated therewith, with determination of worthiness being done by authorities in the post-earth existence.

Blessing of the Sick. Usually upon the request of the sick person, or a concerned family member or relative, a blessing may be given for the purpose of helping a sick or injured person adapt to his situation and hopefully get better. This involves the use of "consecrated oil" (which has been previously blessed or consecrated thru the specified ritual) and the pronouncing of what is considered to be an appropriate blessing. The blessing frequently includes a statement to the effect that the Lord's will is recognized as being of overriding importance. This, then, permits and may facilitate those involved who accept the belief, to live with either the recovery or the death if that is the actual outcome.

The blessing or the ritual involves laying on of hands and is done in the name of Jesus Christ.

Other rituals include a blessing on food (saying Grace in non-Mormon terms), funerals, patriarchal blessings, fathers blessings, special blessings, temple endowments, setting persons apart to play certain roles -- initiatory rites, graduation ceremonies from Primary and Seminary.

#### Mormon and Symbolic Interactionist Interpretations of Human Behavior

All behavior of humans is in response to symbols. Ritual symbols then are only one aspect of the use of symbols in Mormonism. This part of the chapter discusses the general all-pervasive use of symbols.

As has been indicated, the analysis of Mormonism which is utilized in this book makes use of the Symbolic Interactionist (SI) approach to Sociology. The following discussion presents some of the basic components of the Symbolic Interaction approach, which helps one understand why humans in general behave as they do. Also presented are aspects of or selections from Mormon theology which from a theological perspective seem to be emphasizing the same human characteristics as contained in the SI interpretation. Sociological-theological parallels are shown.

This is a selective procedure. The parallels are interesting but unwarranted conclusions should not be drawn. The existence of this parallelism does not provide any religious sanctification for the sociological approach. This comparison is in no sense an effort to validate or invalidate either interpretation. Neither is this an effort to establish any rapprochement between the two systems, although the implications are obvious.

The methods used to secure theological answers and scientific answers are quite different. The answers sought and secured may be used in each case in the accomplishment of quite different goals. However, it is apparent that both approaches have some common threads or core aspects. In order to emphasize the parallel premises, a basic Symbolic Interactionist premise will be presented first, followed by the theological parallel.

### Learning to Use Symbols Marked the Genesis of Man's Humanness

Sociological: The symbolic interactionist interpretation, emphasizes (to use White's paraphrase of the biblical statement) that "in the word was the beginning"--the beginning of man's humanness. Man became man (different from other creatures) at the point where he was able to respond to symbols which arbitrarily stand for a referent or which have arbitrary meaning. Symbol-using man does not respond to the referent per se. Lower animals presumably respond to the raw (unsymbolized) world directly. Human beings always confront the raw world through a "screen" of symbols. Thus, as Stern (1956:291) has indicated, "Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and Kant made us understand what the Greek atomists already knew: that sense experience is not the bridge which connects us with, but the abyss which separates us from, absolute reality." (Actually the symbolic screen does both.) Cassirer (1946:7) points out that "all symbolism harbors the curse of mediacy; it is bound to obscure what it seeks to reveal." Man, however, is not restricted to symbols which have some aspect of empirical or "absolute" reality as a referent. He can create symbolic phenomena which have no empirical referent such as a poem, a myth, a mathematical system, an economic value system and a moral or value system. Such symbols have been called NER symbols (or symbols which have no empirical referent) to distinguish them from ER symbols which do have an empirical referent.<sup>1</sup> Other labels used to identify what is here called NER symbols are "rational thought" (Willer, 1971:23), "theoretic" (Northrop, 1953:294-95), and "social knowledge" as contrasted with "material knowledge" (Cooley, 1926:59-70).

Definitions or knowledge of good and evil (value definitions) have no empirical referent (are NER or "theoretic" symbols). They represent the effort or behavior of man in which he is able to transcend his empirical world (but not his social world), and to collectively construct or symbolically create standards, models, or "constructs" which he then uses among other things to validate or legitimate his behavior. This is man's most distinctive human (as contrasted with subhuman or lower animal) behavior. How man acquired this ability is not specified by the Symbolic Interactionist.

Religious: The biblical story of the Eden experience reports that it was from partaking of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil that man became human. For the current analysis, the significant aspect is "knowledge of good and evil." The biblical story which relates the acquisition of this ability to eating the fruit of a tree indicates that:

And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food:

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<sup>1</sup>For further discussion of NER (and ER) type symbols see Glenn M. Vernon, Human Interaction, Second Ed. New York: Ronald Press, 1972, Chpt. 3.

The Tree of Life, also in the midst of the garden, and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, thou shalt not eat of it, for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.

Eve and then Adam (and the serpent), however did eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Then:

. . .the eyes of both were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons.

For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil. (Genesis 3:5).

And the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever; Therefore, the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden to till the ground from whence he was taken. (Genesis 3:22-23).

The Genesis account mentions two trees: The Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life. It was for eating the forbidden fruit of the Tree of Knowledge that they were punished. Apparently the consequences of the act, whatever it was, was that they acquired the ability to make moral evaluations. They then apparently evaluated their nakedness as wrong. They used their knowledge of good and evil. Just how the evaluation was created is not specified. It was, then, in somehow learning to transcend his empirical world and to respond to strictly symbolic phenomenon that man became distinctly human and incidentally according to the Genesis account, as one of the gods. Eating or, partaking of, or learning how to consume or utilize NER symbols was the turning point. Susanne Langer (1963) reaches this same conclusion when she states that the discovery or invention of language marked "a whole day of creation" between men and lower animals, and was "the real beginning of mentality."

If the acquisition of the ability to respond to symbols was a necessary aspect of becoming human, humans, who presumably approve of being human, may question whether this was a "fall" downward or upward, as Barron (1967: 342-43) does:

His dilemma has its origins in one of the uniquely human achievements--the moral valuation of things. In the Bible, the Fall of Man (into his present human condition) is ascribed



to the act of our first parents in eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. The psychological experience thus symbolized is at the heart of the human achievement in a material universe, for the fall from innocence might better be called the accession to conscience and the beginning of civilization.

It is also interesting that becoming human (from both perspectives) required at least two people, not just one. Adam and Eve became human together. The developmental sequence moves from an Adam-God story to an Adam-Eve story. It was never just an Adam or just an Eve story.

The use and development of symbols is a social phenomenon. Meaning is consensual. It requires at least two people to develop a language, etc. You cannot behave in a human way all by yourself.

### Creation of New Phenomena

Sociological: The symbolic interactionist points out that in the creation of social phenomenon a symbolic creation precedes the behavioral creation. This is true of the creation of groups, of behavior, and man-made objects, except those developed through serendipity. The plans of action (the blue prints, the script, the recipe knowledge, the patterns) incorporated in norm definitions and role definitions are created first, and then people actualize or enact them. Rules, regulations, standards, or models, are symbolically created, after which behavior is created in the image thereof.

An organization, a new business enterprise, an European common market or a United Nations, is created symbolically (planned) and then flesh and blood people move in to fill the positions and enact the plans of action. They possess or hold the positions while they in turn are possessed by or belong to the position. There is a dual relationship.

Religious: In the bible there are two different accounts of the creation of the world. One way to interpret this so as to avoid seeing the second account as merely repetitious or as duplicating the first is to interpret the first as a spiritual creation and the second as a material or physical creation. Cassirer (1946:45-46) points out that "In the creation accounts of almost all great cultural religions the Word appears in league with the highest Lord of creation; either as the tool which he employs or actually as the primary source from which he, like all other Being and order or Being, is derived. Thought and its verbal utterance are usually taken directly as one; for the mind that thinks and the tongue that speaks belong essentially together." He goes on to indicate that in one of the earliest records of Egyptian theology, God is conceived as a spiritual Being who thought the world before he created it, and who used the Word as a means of expression and an instrument of creation.

In order to call attention to the parallel premises, a basic Symbolic Interactionist premise will be presented first, followed by the theological parallel.

### Human Use of Symbols

Sociological: The Symbolic Interactionist emphasizes that man is a symbol-using being. Since he attempts to be scientific he, however, provides no interpretation of supernatural phenomena, and is not concerned with whether God or the Gods are also symbol-using beings. The manner in which symbols are involved in human interaction is suggested by the interaction paradigm: The behavior of the individual is in response to symbols and is relative to the audience and to the situation (ISAS). Man's behavior is in response to the labels (symbols, meaning) which he attributes to objects, not the objects per se.

Religious: The theologian likewise sees man as a symbol-using being, although he frequently does not attach much significance to this fact. The theologian frequently believes that man shares with God the ability to use symbols, accepting the premise that God is a symbol-using being, or that God speaks or at least understands man's language (symbols). He assumes that God responds to man's symbols such as those involved in his rituals. If God is viewed as being non-anthropomorphic, the belief is usually accepted that man can somehow influence the supernatural, and the most usual manner of attempting to do so is through the use of certain symbols, such as are involved in praying, or other ritualistic behavior such as crossing oneself. Speaking to God is of course a symbolic act, as is thinking about God.

The symbolic nature of religious behavior is suggested by statements such as the following:

Christians take upon themselves the name of Christ.

Rituals are done in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

God is believed to have referred to his son, "in whom I have glorified my name."

"Our Father which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name. . . ."

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.

Some theologians view man's ability to use symbols (to speak, to see, and to hear) as being essentially religious phenomenon. (See Harold Stahmer, 1968).

Mormon scriptures indicate:

For I, the Lord, created all things, of which I have spoken, spiritually before they were naturally upon the face of the earth . . . All things were before created and made according to my word. (Moses: 3:5-7)

This raises an interesting larger question as to how much overlap there is between that which the religionist refers to as "spiritual" and that which the social scientist refers to as "symbolic." Could it be that they are both talking about essentially the same thing? We will return to this point later.

#### Symbolic-Spiritual Phenomenon has Extensive Change Potential

**Sociological:** A symbolic interactionist interpretation emphasizes that the manner in which the world can be symbolically subdivided and labeled, is almost unlimited. Since behavior is in response to symbols, it follows that the behavior which is related to the symbols can likewise be categorized or typified in an almost unlimited manner. The number of possible groupings is almost unlimited, as is the number and configuration of episodes of behavior. The configuration of potential role definitions which could be incorporated in some system is almost unlimited. NER-type symbols such as those involved in moral or value definitions have no empirical referent, they can be created in a potentially unlimited manner. Thus poetry, art, humor, and play behavior can be created in ways limited only by man himself. The potential experiences in which man relates himself to these symbols then is likewise almost unlimited. The creative potential and consequently the change potential of mortal man is tremendous. It is true, however, that most systems have built-in factors such as value definitions believed to be absolute, eternal or unchanging, which inhibit change.

**Religious:** Some religious interpretations maintain that resurrected individuals are capable of learning and of changing with such change usually defined as "progression." Such beliefs are frequently coupled with the belief that the resurrected body does not change. It would follow then that the progression or change involved in an afterlife would be social and symbolic rather than biological or physical. It is then the same type of change as that found in mortal life and which is identified in the symbolic interactionist interpretation of behavior.

#### Becoming Human Through Confronting the World

**Sociological:** The Symbolic Interactionist emphasizes that the newborn child must confront the world in order to become human. He becomes human through experiences with the empirical world and in interacting with others. Without such experience the individual would be as the feral children, or extremely isolated individuals such as Anna and Isabell.

Religious: Theologians who endorse the premise that man has a pre-earth existence of some kind frequently incorporate within this belief the premise that the pre-existing individual has to confront the world (come to earth) in order to become human. He has to learn about the empirical world and acquire knowledge about it to become human.

#### Society Exists in Communication--The Tower of Babel

Sociological: A basic premise of the symbolic interactionist is that the behavior of the individual is in response to symbols and is relative to the audience and to the situation (ISAS). It follows, then, that an aggregate of individuals must have a common language (culture) if they are to function as a group. Individuals with different languages, to a degree at least, experience their world differently making harmonious interaction between such groups difficult. Even with mutual understanding of a language, cooperation in joint efforts may be difficult.

Religious: The well-known biblical story of the Tower of Babel emphasizes the fact that a group must have a common language if they are to function as a group. Society exists in communication involving a common language. The babbling which would take place without a common language is not sufficient to maintain a society.

#### Socially Constructed Nature of Names or Labels

Sociological: The Symbolic Interactionist emphasizes that all names are socially constructed, arbitrary, synthetic, etc. Anything can be called anything we collectively want to. The connection between the symbol (name or label) and the referent (that to which it refers) is socially constructed. Language is a human creation. It exists nowhere until man creates it.

Religious: The first human act accounted in Genesis is that of providing names for various phenomena. The account indicates that Adam created the names for the various animals. "And out of the ground the Lord formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them: And whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field; . . ." (Genesis 2:19-20)

#### Value Definitions are Symbolic in Nature

Sociological: The symbolic interactionist points out that goodness or badness is not in any object (the evaluated) but rather is "in" the eyes (the evaluation) of the evaluators. Value or moral definitions are

socially constructed by man. Man does not discover already existing values but rather constructs them from his social experiences and preserves them symbolically for future consultation. Such symbolically preserved standards may be "discovered" or used by other individuals, possibly subsequent generations. Beauty and goodness lie in the eyes of the beholder. This remains true despite the fact that we may develop grammatical patterns of speech which deny it, as in the statement "the picture is beautiful."

Religious: The New Testament indicates that nothing is pure or impure by itself, but rather that man makes it so by "real-izing" it:

I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus that there is nothing unclean of itself; but to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean. (Romans 14:14).

Unto the pure all things are pure: but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled. (Titus 1:15).

### Self Definitions and the Spirit or Soul

Sociological: (1) Self Definitions. The symbolic interactionist points out that in addition to man's biological being or characteristics, he acquires through a looking-glass process (role taking or empathetic process) a set of self definitions or an identity. Some refer to this as his ego, his identity, image, or just his "self." We will use "self definition." The self definition is a symbolic creation. It is a symbolic counterpart to the individual. It is whatever he knows about himself. There is a distinction between the "knower" and the "known." The knower is a biological being, the known is a symbolic creation.

As a part of his self conception (identity) the individual may know that he IS an engineer, or a school teacher, or a criminal. Such knowing about oneself involves first knowing what an engineer is. The "engineer" involved in such knowledge is a symbolic creation. It is basically a role (office or position) plus the role definition or the plans of action (job description) which has been developed to go with the position. When an individual knows that he IS a school teacher, he knows that his behavior conforms to this symbolic model and that this has been socially validated. He knows that there is unity between his behavior and this symbolic model. In effect then he possesses the name or label of "teacher" while at the same time the name "possesses" him. They are "one;" but one with dual aspects.

(2) Ideal Self Definitions. The future, of course, has no empirical existence anywhere. It can, however, be made symbolically present and taken

into account. Individuals may symbolically create a model of what they hope to be in the future. They may create what to them is an ideal self image. They may then set about to develop their behavior in the image of the "spiritual-symbolic" creation.

Both the self definitions and the ideal self definitions are symbolically created phenomenon.

Religious: The theologian frequently specifies that man has a dual nature. There is, of course, the biological body and its characteristics. In addition to this, and paralleling it in certain respects at least, there is a spiritual counterpart--i.e., a spirit or a soul. It may be believed that his spirit or soul looks like the individual or maybe just that it may represent him. At times, it is seen as ante-dating him (having a pre-earth existence) and post-dating him (continuing to exist after his biological death). It is considered to be immortal.

Jourard (1964) calls attention to the similarity with which we are concerned when he indicates that when the religionist talks about the soul or spirit he is talking about the same thing as the social scientist who talks about the self.

George Herbert Mead gets at this dual nature when he distinguishes between the "I" and the "me."

Individuals participate in conversion rituals such as baptismal rites of passage. Religious interpretations of such experiences frequently emphasize the "rebirth of the soul or spirit." Symbolic interactionist interpretations emphasize the "rebirth of self definitions."

It has been suggested that the Christian concept of a second coming of Christ is a symbolic phenomenon rather than an actual biological (spiritual or supernatural) phenomenon. This interpretation indicates that Christ would come again through the scriptures. He would speak again through the written symbol. In this sense his "spirit" or his symbols remind his disciples of what he had previously said.

Warriner (1970:9-10) indicates that:

George Herbert Mead, W.I. Thomas, and Max Weber were notable early exponents of the view that there were human functions which could not be accounted for by a purely physicalist view of reality. They recognized that the older terminology of "soul" and "spirit" did refer to a kind of reality not based on physical substance. They attempted to bring meaning back into our study of social life and the nature of man, though they were not always successful in their solutions of the epistemological problems.

Today we locate these realities in the symbolizing process, in the capacity of man to see things not as they are but as they have been or might be in the future, in the capacity of man to use sound and marks on paper as conventional signs and thus to communicate with others, in the capacity of man through these functions to create worlds that never existed in physical reality.

### Free Will

Sociological: The sociologist views human behavior as incorporating certain types of freedom. He rejects biological determinism with its basic premise that behavior is determined by biologically given factors, recognizing that biological factors influence (while they do not determine) behavior. Much of the early development of sociology involved an effort to counter such an interpretation. Some "internalists,"<sup>2</sup> however, still utilize concepts such as drive, need, instinct, etc. which are biological deterministic in nature.

With his scientific limitations, the sociologist cannot either endorse or reject supernatural determinism. His explanations of behavior then do not include such factors, and are devoid of supernatural factors.

The sociological interpretation of behavior then incorporates neither biological nor supernatural deterministic factors. Man has FREEDOM FROM such factors and corresponding FREEDOM TO construct his social world. This "freedom to" however is not an individualistic phenomenon but is rather a social, collective, interactive phenomenon, as is suggested in the title of a recent book "The Social Construction of Reality," (Berger and Luckmann, 1967) or the statement "you can't behave in a human way all by yourself." If behavior is not biologically determined or coerced it must be socially created. It is an emergent phenomenon. The individual has to make decisions. He has to choose, as the ISAS paradigm indicates. His choices are, however, never unlimited. They are always relative to the social system of which he is but one part.

Religious: The religious doctrine of predestination seems to incorporate elements of both biological determinism and supernatural determinism, i.e., that God coerces or forces human behavior. To the extent that predestination is endorsed, the religious premise is contrary to the sociological

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<sup>2</sup>"Internalist" is a label used to identify those who explain human behavior by taking into account biological or metaphysical "entities" believed to exist somewhere inside the individual. Such interpretations are utilized by many individuals in the various social sciences, only a few of whom seem to question the utility of the metaphysical concepts.

premise just discussed. To the extent that predestination is rejected, the religious and sociological premises tend to harmonize or to be parallel, i.e., FREEDOM FROM biological and supernatural forces and FREEDOM TO socially construct their world. Religious interpretations of this "Freedom to" however have at times taken on strong individualistic interpretation, incorporating the perspective that the individual (not individuals in interaction) is free to determine his behavior. Such an interpretation incorporates internalist components. The variables used to explain behavioral differences are presumably located somewhere inside the individual. If behavior is believed to be caused internally, one doesn't even consider looking for external causative factors.

If those who endorse the position really believed what they say (and it is possible for an individual to sincerely believe something which is quite contrary to the empirical evidence as well as other beliefs) they would not be involved in any church organization, church programs, preaching, etc., in which a definite effort is made to influence other individuals in a particular way. An organized church group or program presumably rests upon the premise that individuals can do things collectively which they cannot (or at least do not) do individually. Church rituals are usually social in nature, requiring the involvement of more than one individual. The scriptures in fact suggest that it is not good for man to be alone. (Genesis 2:18).

#### Potential Immortality Exists for Man

Sociological: Trying to achieve immortality of one type or another seems to have been a perennial concern of man. Two types of potential "sociological" immortality can be identified. These are not as well understood as the traditional religious concept, in part because there are no vested-interest groups propounding and supporting them.

(1) Symbolic Immortality. One such type of immortality is symbolic immortality, achieved through the preservation not of the individual per se, but of the symbols created by the individual or group. Shakespear can be taken as a prime example. Symbols created by him have been preserved and given deference and even reverence for generations. The name of Shakespear and indirectly the individual so named have become immortal in the process. Plato recognized the point when he indicated that "the book is the immortal child of man, forever challenging its sire." Paintings created by Michaelangelo have provided immortality for the name and indirectly for the individual.



Individuals who respond to the name "Shakespear" today respond to symbols. Individuals who responded to the individual when he was live also responded directly to the labels (symbols or meaning) which they had of the individual and only indirectly to the individual per se. In one case the referent for the name was available, in the other it was not. The response of the individual involved, however, is equally symbolic in both cases.

A name is an important aspect of self-definitions which have already been discussed.

The individual is only a transient "holder" of his family name. The family name is in a sense more immortal than the individual. It existed before he did and will most likely continue to exist after he is dead. The "life time" of his name is much longer than his own. His name, the name he shares with many others, is immortal. It has an existence independent of any one member of the group. The immortality is contingent, however, upon there being some individuals to preserve not only the symbol per se, but the meaning thereof as well. And even though all members of the group die, the name can be "kept alive" by others who remember it and take it into account.

Since the behavior of human beings is always in response to symbols, the meaning of symbolic immortality is great to the individual who real-izes it.

Symbolic immortality is related to the fact that honor and glory and conversely dishonor, shame or guilt may be acquired symbolically from the groups to which an individual belongs. They are, in a figurative sense, contagious.

Most likely one of the reasons why individuals desire to have children is that something important to them can be preserved. Edward Gibbon (1966), a historian, describes how his father kept naming successive children Edward so that at least one child would survive to perpetuate this name in the family. Particularly in societies which provide certain types of religious interpretations, the living individual may accept some type of obligation to transmit to subsequent generations a respectable name or reputation. Such reputations are, of course, socially and symbolically created, transmitted and preserved.

(2) Immortality Through Belonging to a Group. The individual also has available to him another type of immortality, i.e., immortality achieved through identification with or belonging to a group, the name and program of which becomes perpetuated. The social consequences of the group continue, of course, as long as the group exists, actually or symbolically.

Awareness on the part of the individual of his basic socialness makes him aware that there are groups with an identity to which he is intimately related (his family, his society, etc.) which have an existence independent of him. They existed before he was born, and will most likely continue to exist after he has died. He learns that through identification with these groups, or by letting these groups "possess" him or by belonging to the group he can gain a type of immortality. Striving to gain such immortality is commonplace, although not often identified in the literature. This type of immortality, then, is a social phenomenon. It is not something that an individual can do all by himself. Family immortality requires the continued efforts and involvements of an everchanging family membership. The same is true of the community, the work association, and the society.

Whether or not symbolic immortality is provided for any living individual is a matter to be decided (not necessarily rationally) by future generations. It is a type of immortality within the power of any group to bestow. The fact that an individual believes that such immortality is possible and that he will achieve it or is worthy of it influences his life. Behavior is in response to symbols.

The group most frequently involved in such immortality is the family. Through the family name which he shares with others he may see something about himself (his name) extending far back into the past and projecting far into the future.

Religious: A traditional well-known concern of religion has been the immortality of the individual as an entity of some kind which one way or another continues to exist after his earthly death. It is posited that such immortality is attainable by association with God in God's way, or the approved way. Frequently it is seen as a "gift of God." The appeal of such beliefs has been strong, with some such belief being incorporated in most but not all major religions. It is this type of phenomenon about which most people think when they hear the word "immortality." It would be interesting to find out how awareness of a belief in each type of immortality is related to the other.

The similarity between symbolic immortality secured by belonging to a group, and to a "name," and personal immortality secured by "belonging to God," is indicated by the fact that the God concept and the society concept (or other group concepts such as the family) share the following characteristics:

1. Something other than one biological being is involved, with this something having an existence independent of, although related to the individual. In each case it is believed that this entity. . .
  - a. has a pre-existence.
  - b. has a post-existence.

- c. has an interest and a concern with the individual.
  - d. provides both positive and negative sanctions for the behavior of the individual.
  - e. is a necessary factor in the accomplishment of certain goals.
  - f. provides certain things for the individual while the individual gives or provides certain things for this "other."
  - g. has characteristics which provide a mystical, apparently metaphysical dimension to the definitions (and understanding) thereof.
1. God is believed to be supernatural, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, etc. It is believed that God cannot be "seen" with one's "natural" eyes, etc.
  2. Society is omnipotent (to society is granted the power to take life, for instance) omniscient (society knows more than the individual and makes decisions for the individual), is omnipresent (society is everywhere within the societal boundary lines. No matter where the individual goes within his society the society or at least representatives thereof are there).
  3. The characteristics of society are difficult to understand, especially the symbolic nature thereof, or the manner in which, say, 3 million individuals with no direct inter-connecting biological bonds can BE a society, or an entity.

Durkheim has suggested that there is a high correlation between the two concepts. His statement that "God is society personified" reflects this. Whether some supernatural phenomenon exists independent of society is a question which is of no concern here. However, it seems clear that there is a close relationship between one's definition of God, and the individual's positive definitions of his society. If you know of the aspects of this society of which he provides high positive evaluation, you know much about the God or supernatural phenomenon he endorses or worships.

It may be that for either type of knowledge there is an anticipatory socialization dimension involved in learning about the other type of phenomenon.

We can also distinguish between the Ideal Society which (like the ideal self) is symbolically created and the actual society. The existence of an Ideal Society Concept permits religious leaders to engage in a "prophetic role" in which the actual society is criticized in the name of God

or of the Ideal Society. A society can also strive to create an actual society which corresponds to the "spiritual-symbolic" ideal society it has created.

### Conclusion and Discussion

Parallels between some theological interpretations of behavior and symbolic interactionist interpretation of behavior have been identified. What is the significance of this parallelism? The answer is unknown at the moment. It does appear that each of these two approaches is paying attention to somewhat the same thing, even though each perspective is presented in a different language each of which involves distinctive concepts.

Man's collective experience of his social nature is the existential foundation from which he acquires his religious awareness. It is the social ground from which he acquires the meaning for the abstract religious concepts which he has been taught. His NER or "theoretic" concepts reflect his social experiences. Such experiences are directly or indirectly "trapped" or reflected in his religious symbols.

As socialization occurs, man becomes aware of his social nature or of the manner in which his behavior is caught up in, is a part of, or is related to the behavior of others. When a close friend dies, for instance, part of an individual's behavior (not his biological being, but his behavior) actually and literally dies. He can no longer do things he used to do. An individual can behave just by himself; but he, when he does so, usually symbolically creates the other who is needed for that interaction. Most interaction involves relating to others. The other is an essential part of the behavior. When the other is interacting with you, you can do things you cannot otherwise do. With the absence or death of a partner, you are no longer able to behave as you used to. Human behavior is basically social in nature.

As he is socialized he also becomes aware, maybe but vaguely at first, of the symbolic nature of his behavior. It appears that man has been impressed with his ability to collectively create symbolic phenomena, such as moral standards (which involve NER symbols) plus his ability to transmit these to others and to live by or, for that matter to die for, such symbolically created phenomena. He, in fact, has tended to deify the word" as Lifton has pointed out. He has been awed by his ability to respond to symbols (to mind symbols or to have a "mind".) To the extent that he minimizes or maybe fails to understand the social, human nature of symboling, he provides nonhuman or superhuman interpretations thereof. He projects his explanation of such phenomenon either to inner space or to outer space. He appears to be so awed and impressed with this symbolic ability that he is reluctant to even say it is man doing it. Rather it is man responding to something supernatural.

A parallel interpretation which can be drawn from either orientation is that man is a symbolic-spiritual, social being.

A basic component or perspective of both sociology and religion is that the individual is a part of something which is larger, more inclusive, more powerful and more enduring (immortal) than just himself. Such belongingness is related to the fact that man is a symbol user. Without symbols neither his human groupness, nor his supernatural "groupness" would be possible.

Awareness of his social and symbolic nature can be expressed in many different ways, any or each of which can be included or incorporated into a larger configuration of elements, both giving and receiving meaning from this larger entity. Being a symbol user man can also symbolically create phenomena which may not exist in reality to round out or complete his explanations of behavior. The history of science illustrates such ability. As the ISAS paradigm indicates, behavior is in response to symbols, not to any empirical referent per se. If phenomena are realized symbolically, they become real in their consequences.

It is hypothesized then that the social-symbolic experiences of man are incorporated into the religion of the group in such a way that they are interpreted as non-human or superhuman phenomena.

### Summary

Using symbols is apparently important at the human and the superhuman level, with the function of the Holy Ghost in Mormon theology being related to communication. The speech of Mormons serves to identify them as Mormons thru use of concepts such as Lamanite, living prophet, Deseret, etc. A Mormon equivalent of the Christian cross has not yet emerged, but pictures of the Angel Maroni, the temple or the choir serve a limited identification function.

Mormon rituals include verbal prayers to God, in the name of Jesus Christ, a laying on of hands, use of full names, and are typically viewed by other Mormons with non-Mormons being welcome at all save Temple rituals. Use of prescribed prayers is limited in Mormonism; most include a spontaneous component. Mormon rituals include naming, baptism, confirmation, priesthood ordinations, marriage ceremonies, blessing of sick and others.

Parallels between the SI interpretation of behavior and the Mormon interpretation thereof exist, with reference to aspects such as the importance of symbol use in human behavior, creating blue-prints of objects and actions, extensive change potential, acquisition of humanness from "coming to" earth, necessity for societal functioning, human creation of evaluations, spirit-self similarities, freedom from biological determiners with freedom to respond to symbols, and providing for some type of immortality.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE MORMON SUPERNATURAL REALM

#### Concept of God

To the Mormon, God is an anthropomorphic being having, "body, parts and passions." The human with a human body, parts, and passions is then "in the image of God." Conversely, God is conceptualized as in the image of man. Each re-presents the other. Concepts useful in understanding humans can be generalized to the understanding of deity. The same set of symbols can be used for both understandings.

God is believed to have a body, which exists somewhere in some space, and likewise exists in some time. God has substances, and the environment in which he exists has substance; neither is "nothing." Such an environment then is believed to have an influence upon the behavior of God. It is the supernatural "stage" upon which His behavior takes place. The behavior of God is relative to the situation or the environment in which he exists. "The Ultimate Ground of all being" is not an accurate statement of the Mormon God Concept. God is very real to the Mormon, but there is something in addition to God.

A human being is empirical or natural, God is super natural or super empirical. There is a significant difference between the natural and the supernatural, but the difference is more one of degree rather than kind. The similarities are significant. Supernatural reality is a reality. It exists. This orientation contrasts sharply with theologies which encompass immaterial Gods which are believed to exist nowhere and yet everywhere. The Mormon God is not immaterial, but rather supermaterial. Starting with their perspective (or in harmony therewith) Mormons do not define God in negative terms or in terms of what he is not. The typical Mormon is convinced that he knows what God is.

The two types of reality are linked together or inter-related in the Mormon belief that godhood is a state which humans are capable of obtaining and conversely humanhood is a condition in which God previously existed. God is as real as man. As man is, God once was and as God is man may become. From the ISAS paradigm perspective, God becomes a significant audience (significant other or reference other) for humans. Whether or not in some ultimate or absolute sense God actually exists in this manner, the symbolically real-ized God gets taken into account in many meaningful ways.

Similarly, the human spirit or soul is believed to be real and thus to occupy time and space, and is perfectable or subject to change. This real spirit is capable of separation from the real human body at death and likewise capable of reunion at a later stage. The reality of the spirit before the human is born into this world is a part of this "reality package."

This "in the image of" interpretation facilitates the belief that

the human body is a positive, wholesome, moral entity. A positive evaluation is provided of sex, of human accomplishments, and contributes to an intimate involvement of religion with the daily worldly undertakings. Mormonism has a strong this-worldly orientation.

### Becoming God

"In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God and the word was God." The symbolic interactionist can interpret this statement at "face value" so to speak. Official Mormon theology provides a different interpretation which equates "the word" with Jesus Christ. From the SI perspective, however, this can be interpreted as indicating that in the beginning of godhood ~~was~~ the word "God." This was the name of the role or the position. Associated with the label was a blueprint or plan of action specifying how a God was expected to behave. The label then was "with God," or was given to God, or was applied to Him, and when the goodness of fit was ascertained, it was literally with Him. In other words, the non-God entity, who according to Mormon theology was like man in the pre-God state, was made God. It was somehow determined that he qualified for the role of God. He went thru a transition from non-God to Godhood. The position-role-status was created symbolically and then was given to Him, or He was given to the role.

After this had taken place He could accurately say "I AM God." From the SI perspective, he could not be God without the words or symbols. He would not know what he was, without a name-label with which to identify himself. Neither would others know that He was God without the "God word." He would not know how to behave and others would not know how to expect Him to behave, without the accompanying plans of action or script.

This interpretation is not presented to claim any theological validity for it. It is presented to provide a SI interpretation thereof.

### The Godhead

The Godhead concept of the Mormons incorporates the three basic Christian components--God, the Father; Jesus Christ, the Son; and the Holy Ghost. Many of the characteristics of God just outlined, basically apply to the other two members of the Godhead. All three are separate and distinct beings, existing in space and time. Jesus Christ is now a resurrected being, who functions as a member of the Godhead, and did likewise before his earthly existence. The Holy Ghost is also a separate being, but not identical to the other two.

A "three-in-one" Godhead concept which visualized the Trinity consisting of three "not separate" and "not distinct" beings or entities, is quite foreign to Mormonism. The Mormon ~~concept~~ does not merge, integrate or synthesize the three component beings. In Mormon theology, they remain separate. The symbols re-presenting these three, however, are combined into an entity known as the Godhead. The three members of the Godhead are like the three members of the First Presidency. They are separate and distinct beings, with but one purpose, or working jointly to accomplish their

goals. To use a phrase from the contemporary business world, the job descriptions of the three separate members are integrated into a whole. The script or the blueprint for each position are harmonized and integrated. The behavior of the three separate beings thus is intergated and the integration, harmony, consensus is seen as being sufficiently complete that one can conclude that "If you have seen one, you have "seen" the other." From the SI perspective it is more accurate to say "if you symbol or understand one, you understand the other."

Polytheism. Mormons talk and conceptualize with ease about "God the Father," "God the Son" and "God the Holy Ghost" (although the third expression is not heard as often as the other two.) As has been suggested, Mormon theology incorporates the premise of potential Godhood for humans. At some future time then there may be many who complete the transition from humanhood to Godhood. Thus, while God the Father is seen as being at the head of His church, God the Son is co-equal with him, as is the Holy Ghost, and humans may subsequently also achieve Godhood. In this sense then Mormon theology incorporates a belief in an expansive polytheism rather than a rigid monotheism.

### Sociological Concern

The sociologist is interested in finding out how the god concept influences the behavior of those who accept it. Little direct research has been done on this relationship. Our interest, here is not with what the God concept contributes to theology, but rather with what impact it has upon daily decision and upon daily behavior. Some of these consequences or functions will be briefly discussed.

The diversity found among Mormons as to beliefs and behavior suggests that the Mormon belief in God can be related to many different types of behavior. There is no one-to-one relationship between that one believes God to be and how one behaves. In the name of God, various Mormons do many different things. Taking a broad historical perspective, Mormon behavior is but one illustaration of the broad generalization, that humans have engaged in extremely diverse behavior in the name of God.

Most, but not all, Mormons believe in God. God is very real. However, knowing this one fact alone does not provide much insight into the behavior of Mormons. Knowing this one fact does not permit one to predict much about the behavior of Mormons. Of much greater explanatory worth would be information about the type of God in which individual Mormons believe, but especially knowing of the way in which God is seen as being related to or involved in the behavior of humans.

Our goal here of understanding behavior, is quite foreign to the goal of the believer who accepts the premise that to bring even one person (soul) to believe in God is a worthwhile lifetime objective. Our statement about the predictability potential of knowing whether one believes in God or not, does nothing to belittle the importance of such a conversion goal.



## Natural-Supernatural Continuity

While recognizing a significant difference between the natural and the supernatural realm, Mormons conceive of (symbol) sufficient similarity to combine the two as one larger entity rather than two separate and distinct phenomena. The conception of God as "totally other" is foreign to Mormonism.

There are important consequences of this. It is recognized that the supernatural realm cannot be studied in the same way that the natural realm can, or that decision making about each type of phenomenon is different, in that one requires a faith-type methods and the other requires the scientific method which requires manipulation of or doing something with some aspect of the empirical world. However, the same type of concepts and the same type of thinking process, conceptualizing process, symbolic neutralizing, symbol combining, etc. can be used in religious thinking, scientific thinking, and everyday common-sense thinking. Symbolically or intellectually one can be equally at home in either realm.

Since one set of concepts can be generalized, with appropriate disclaimers, to the supernatural realm, the process of conceptualizing and realizing the supernatural is not difficult. This may be one of the facts which helps explain the high percentage of Mormons who report they believe in God. The Mormon does not have to try to understand a different possibly difficult mystical theology. In his thinking about God and other supernatural beings, he can move with but little difficulty from human behavior, beliefs, likes, dislikes, passions, etc. to the supernatural counterpart. In his sermonizing, speaking and thinking the Mormon typically talks about and thinks about God in the same manner as he talks about humans. The same sorts of things can be said about either God or humans. Mormons are able to establish what they believe to be a very intimate relationship with God.

From such a relationship, a belief in supernatural intervention at the natural level, or a belief in miracles, easily follows. Supernatural reality and natural reality are believed to be able to influence each other.

Although the scientific method restricted to the empirical world cannot be used to reach religious answers, the scientifically useful concept can be used. This may facilitate Mormon involvement in and development of science.

Time Systems. The natural-supernatural continuity is related to the time definitions accepted by Mormons. O'Dea has discussed the system, pointing out its distinctive characteristics. This is discussed in detail in a subsequent chapter.

## Generalizing From Natural to Supernatural

While there is much more involved than just the relationships we have been discussing here, the perceived close correspondence between the human and the superhuman realm, facilitates attributing to God or the Supernatural any high intensity conclusions arrived at by humans, or from human interaction. Whatever I am most concerned with easily becomes the concern of God. If economic success is an overriding goal, for me it is easy to

utilize a God concept which incorporates high economic success concerns. There is of course a two-way potential involved here.

Many years ago Durkheim suggested that God is society personified. What has just been suggested here is that Mormons find comfort validation, legitimation, etc. from conclusions that God shares their HIVD, or that their high intensity concerns are more than just human concerns. There is supernatural validation for them.

Likewise it is easy to conclude that high intensity experiences involving ones "body, parts and passions" are also superhuman, and involve at least some superhuman or supernatural input. Bodily, biological reactions are at times interpreted as God's communication to the individual.

Modeling Function. With these close conceptualized parallels between the human and the superhuman levels, the God concept serves what we might call a modeling function. God is an idol, or an ideal being to be watched and copied.

Likewise, humans at what is considered to be their best, serve a modeling function for their concept of deity. That which man is most proud of or most approves of in human behavior or in the city of man, tends to be interpreted as a characteristic of deity and of the city of God.

Explaining the unknown. Mormons frequently use the God concept as an explanation of what ever they do not understand. In testimony bearing God is thanked for whatever positive experiences the one involved appreciates, but for which an adequate human explanation is not available. To oversimplify, one typically does not thank God for the "health of his car" or for the fact that his car has been functioning effectively, but one frequently thanks God for the health of his body.

Preliminary research by Spilka and colleagues, suggests that how one conceives of God is related to how he conceives of himself. Individuals who conceive of themselves in a warm accepting manner tend to view God as sharing this basic characteristic. Those who are unable to positively accept themselves tend to view God as punitive, harsh, and punishing. Jerry Jolley (1975) in a study of Utah prisoners found that this is less true of prisoners.

Variability among Mormons and Mormon-non-Mormon differences are shown in the following tabulations taken from the research of Vernon (1968) involving primarily college-age respondents from various parts of the U.S. Those studied are not representative of any larger group, making generalizations from this data inadvisable.

TABLE 1

Answers to Question, "Which of the Following statements comes closest to what you believe about God?"

<u>Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>No Doubt</u>	<u>Some Doubt</u>	<u>Believe Some Time</u>	<u>Don't Believe in Personal God</u>	<u>Don't know if There Is A God</u>	<u>Don't Believe In God</u>
Independent	7.1	10.6	8.2	18.8	27.1	23.5
Catholic	53.2	30.7	5.4	5.6	3.6	.6
Methodist	34.6	40.9	8.6	7.1	5.9	1.5
Presbyterian	28.6	40.0	2.9	11.4	14.3	2.9
Episcopalian	26.0	42.5	15.1	6.8	6.8	--
Congregational	24.5	35.6	13.0	13.5	8.2	2.9
Lutheran	46.6	36.2	8.6	5.2	3.4	--
Baptist	50.8	35.9	5.5	2.8	2.8	.6
Mormon	81.5	13.1	1.5	.7	2.5	.4
"Protestant"	44.2	27.9	2.3	7.0	4.7	9.3
Total Non-Jewish	45.7	30.2	7.3	7.4	5.5	1.9
Jewish	57.3	24.0	6.7	5.3	2.7	--

\* \* \* \* \*

TABLE 2

Answers to Question "Which of the following best describes your general reaction when you think most seriously about God?"

<u>Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Strong Fear</u>	<u>Moderate Fear</u>	<u>Slight Fear</u>	<u>No Fear</u>	<u>NA</u>
Independent	2.4	9.4	21.2	61.2	5.9
Catholic	11.8	25.5	22.7	38.2	1.7
Methodist	6.1	16.7	21.6	53.2	1.1
Presbyterian	8.6	11.4	17.1	62.9	--
Episcopalian	2.7	12.3	26.0	57.5	1.4
Congregational	3.8	15.4	22.6	56.7	1.0
Lutheran	31.0	19.0	22.4	27.6	--
Baptist	29.3	21.5	21.0	28.2	
Mormon	6.2	16.0	24.7	52.4	.7
"Protestant"	7.0	11.6	16.3	65.1	--
Total Non-Jewish	10.5	18.8	22.0	47.1	1.3
Jewish	28.0	30.0	19.3	18.7	4.0

TABLE 3

Answers to Question, "Have you ever had a feeling that  
you were somehow in the presence of God?"

<u>Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Yes I'm Sure I Have</u>	<u>Yes, I Think I Have</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Independent	5.9	20.0	70.6	3.5
Catholic	40.8	39.7	17.4	1.9
Methodist	31.6	46.5	20.8	.7
Presbyterian	28.6	42.9	28.6	--
Episcopalian	27.4	53.4	17.8	1.8
Congregational	27.4	44.2	26.9	1.4
Lutheran	41.4	39.7	19.0	--
Baptist	37.6	45.9	15.5	1.1
Mormon	47.3	28.4	22.9	1.5
"Protestant"	41.9	23.3	32.6	2.3
Total Non-Jewish	35.2	39.6	23.2	1.8
Jewish	40.0	42.7	14.7	2.7

\* \* \* \* \*

TABLE 4

Answers to Question, "Have you ever had a feeling of being  
punished by God for something you have done?"

<u>Religious Affiliation</u>	<u>Yes I'm Sure I Have</u>	<u>Yes, I Think I Have</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No Answer</u>
Independent	7.1	16.5	72.9	3.5
Catholic	30.7	42.1	26.0	.9
Methodist	18.6	43.5	36.1	1.5
Presbyterian	22.9	40.0	37.1	--
Episcopalian	11.0	42.5	45.2	1.4
Congregational	15.9	42.8	40.4	1.0
Lutheran	29.3	46.6	24.1	--
Baptist	33.7	39.8	26.0	.6
Mormon	31.3	30.5	37.8	.4
"Protestant"	30.2	20.9	46.5	2.3
Total Non-Jewish	24.2	38.7	35.3	1.3
Jewish	38.7	41.3	17.3	2.0

## The Devil

To most Mormons the devil is real. Whereas many Christian groups have de-emphasized the devil as an influencing factors in human behavior, the Mormons place a strong emphasis thereupon. When Vernon (1968) asked college students about their belief as to the existence of the devil he found the responses presented in Table 5. Exactly what the consequences of such beliefs are is not known.

TABLE 5

Answers to question, "What is your evaluation of the statement that the devil actually exists?"

Religious Affiliation	N	Completely True	Probably True	Probably not true	Definitely not true
Independents	85	4.7	12.9	24.7	51.8
Catholics	466	37.1	35.0	17.2	21.2
Methodist	269	16.7	25.3	34.2	21.2
Presbyterian	35	11.4	28.6	25.7	31.4
Episcopalian	73	4.1	17.8	41.1	30.1
Congregational	208	3.8	15.4	41.3	35.6
Lutheran	58	27.6	36.2	17.2	17.2
Baptist	181	31.5	39.8	14.9	10.5
Mormon	275	84.4	9.8	3.6	1.8
"Protestant"	43	27.9	7.0	41.9	18.6
Total Non-Jewish		32.5	23.0	22.2	18.6
Jewish		9.3	11.3	31.3	40.0

## Summary

There are close parallels between the Mormon conception of the human-natural realm and the superhuman-natural realm. The same concepts can be used in an analysis of either realm. The Mormon concept of the Godhead includes three separate beings who share common meaning (symbols). Mormon conception of eternal progression incorporates potential Godhood for qualified humans at some time in that eternity. Mormonism accepts this type of polytheistic orientation.

Most Mormons believe in God and the devil. The ease of believing may be related to the generalizability from human to superhuman level. The Mormon God concepts serves a modeling function. Supernatural concepts are used by Mormons to explain what would be, to them, otherwise unexplainable. In comparison to other religious groups Mormons are somewhat distinctive in the high percent who believe in God and the devil, who do not report fear of God, and believe they have had contact with God.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### VALUE SYSTEMS AND RELATED BEHAVIOR

As is true of all religions, Mormonism incorporates within its theology, value or moral statements which if accepted or realized influence behavior. The influence is, however, not necessarily in any particular direction. A given evaluation is not always a part of an identical larger configuration of elements every time it is applied. Value definitions or evaluations are one of the crucial aspects of being human and of being Mormon. The study of such phenomenon and the involvement of evaluations in human behavior is a fascinating and complex process. As a general overriding perspective it is recognized that a given aspect of behavior may or may not correspond with particular evaluations. Multiple factors involved in on-going decision making make the difference.

Conceptual clarity results if a clear distinction is made between (1) the evaluated (2) the evaluator and (3) the evaluation. Human beings are evaluators. Anything can be evaluated, including value definitions themselves. Evaluations or value definitions are symbolic models involving non-referented symbols. They are "pure ideas." Evaluations are used by humans to categorize whatever is being taken into account on some moral dimension.

Human behavior is much too complex to expect that any one given evaluation will be applied in exactly the same way in every situation relative to every audience. The Mormon statement that the glory of God is intelligence might be expanded to include humans--i.e. the glory of humans is intelligence. Since presumably it is the use of intelligence rather than just having it which is important, this might be interpreted as meaning the glory of humans or the most glorious thing humans can accomplish is to make intelligent decisions. The "glory of" or the distinctive characteristic of man then is the ability to synthesize and evaluate a whole host of related factors or variables and make an intelligent decision as to what takes precedence in one situation and what takes precedence in another. Thus, he may decide that getting his son to the hospital is of greater importance than stopping for a given stop sign. And even though in the abstract he believes that "thou shalt not kill" he may also believe that given the right situation and the right audience, "it is better that one man die than a whole nation dwindle in unbelief." He, likewise, understands the story of an Abraham being asked by his God to sacrifice the life of his own son, and the willingness of Abraham in that situation and with that particular audience (i.e., God) to start to do that very thing. He may wonder if he would be able to do the same thing.

#### Abstract and Applied Evaluations

The evaluations made by humans are a very distinctive type of phenomenon. Value definitions involve concepts of the type called non-referented, "pure idea" or strictly symbolic. The beauty (or any other evaluation) does not lie in the object evaluated but rather in the eyes (symbols) of the evaluators. The evaluation is

created by the evaluator. It is not an inherent component of that which is evaluated. This point is emphasized in the following:

I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus that there is nothing unclean of itself; but to him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean. (Romans 14:14)

Unto the pure all things are pure: but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure; but even their mind and conscience is defiled. (Titus 1:15)

The ISAS orientation, then, leads to the following conclusion concerning evaluations. The evaluative behavior of the individual is in response to symbols (value definitions and other definitions) and is relative to the audience and the situation. The value definitions are a part of the first paradigm "S". When evaluations are considered to be absolute, eternal, unchanging, or irreformable one apparently abstracts the value definition from the larger ISAS configuration and considers or treats it as though it exists without any paradigm qualifiers or "relatives." When viewed in this way value definitions have no non-symbolic restrictions or qualifiers. One is concerned strictly with symbol systems, not with human behavior. Theologians, moralists, and others may spend time analyzing value systems (symbol systems) to attempt to make the units in the abstract system as harmonious as possible--in the abstract.

Abstract value definitions, however, take on considerably more complexity when they move from the abstract to the applied level. Ideals or abstractions always lose something when applied to specific human situations. When applying a given evaluation to a given phenomenon while relating to a given audience(s) in a given situation, decisions have to be made as to which are the important variables involved in that episode and which is accordingly to be given greatest saliency. In effect, a series of abstract evaluations themselves have to be evaluated and a decision made as to which evaluation in that episode turns out to be the top-priority, overriding or neutralizing evaluation. Change any of the paradigm components and the decision about the high intensity value definition may also be changed.

Abstract evaluations can be viewed as eternal. Applied evaluations, however, would seem to always have a "relativistic" component. Humans are not robots with behavior completely pro-programmed. They rather have the capacity (and necessity) of making decisions about their behavior and about their symbols. Making intelligent decisions about their behavior and about the meaning of such behavior is certainly one of the most influential behaviors in which humans engage.

The relativity of applied values is illustrated in the following account reported in the Mormon publication, The New Era (March 1975:38)

I found myself in basically the same situation a year ago after I joined the Church. I had quite a time convincing my family that I was still interested in them. When I came home from school, they too wanted me to do things with them on Sundays. They wanted me, for instance, to attend their church. I went to my bishop for advice. He stressed the importance of the family and said that I might want to sacrifice some for their sakes.

I did just that. I attended whatever meeting I could, whether it was priesthood, Sunday School, or sacrament meeting, and I attended their meeting also, which meant I missed some of mine.

It was finally my father who told me it wasn't necessary to attend their meetings any longer. Missing a few meetings didn't hinder my testimony or give me guilt feelings. My situation at home is a lot better because of my going their way.

In the same issue it is reported (p. 37) that President Harold B. Lee counselled a woman who talked to him concerning her non-Mormon husband who wanted her to attend parties in which the behavior was not in harmony with Mormon standards. President Lee advised her that whereas a woman should follow her husband, "she need not follow him to hell."

The conflict potential of absolute values in Mormonism is suggested in the following.

#### Conflict Potential of Abstract Values

<u>Change-Oriented Values</u>	<u>Non-Change, Status Quo Values</u>
o Eternal Progression (change)	o Irrevokable rules-regulations
o Seek knowledge from best books	o Defend established "truths"
o Continuous revelation from God	o Irrevokable, unchanging knowledge
o Secular education is good	o anti-intellectualism - doubts about the "evil" world
o Potential Godhood for humans	o
o Glory of God (and by implication of humans) is making intelligent decisions	o Glory of humans in obedience to those in authority
o Youthfulness of initial leaders	o church structure which places emphasis upon older leaders
o Administrative decisions recognized as subject to change	o Administrative decisions accepted (maybe informally at first) as not subject to change



### Oxen and Mires

As has been indicated, some view or conceive of evaluation in the abstract as though values are uninfluenced by all that is involved in making evaluations or in applying accepted abstract evaluations to rough and tumble living experiences. Most studies of attitudes turn out to be studies of abstract evaluations, in which people are asked to indicate whether they approve or disapprove of something. "Should parents spank their children?" Yes or No. Nothing is specified as to which parents, which children, or in which situations. The "should-ness" is abstracted from real life and responded to accordingly. Knowing the answers given to such questions does not permit one to predict actual behavior with a very high degree of accuracy.

One such study involving Mormon respondents was reported by Dunford and Kunz (1973). They secured answers to questions about Sunday shopping and included in their study respondents from two wards as well as a cluster sample of members of some predominantly Mormon communities. Information was obtained and relationship were traced between (1) Church commitment (2) understanding of the Mormon position on such shopping (3) personal definitions about such shopping (4) reported frequency of Sunday shopping by respondents and (5) reported reasons or justifications for same. The main study focused attention upon what the researchers defined as active members, and found that 78% of them reported that they had shopped on Sunday. Reported Sunday shopping took place on the average of eleven Sundays yearly. Recognition that the Church had taken an anti-Sunday shopping stance was reported by 99.6% of the participants. That they considered the church position to be important and that they accordingly evaluated Sunday shopping as wrong was indicated. However, sincerely evaluating something as wrong in the abstract does not necessarily mean that behavior will always correspond thereto in a given actual situation.

Symbolic validation or justification of shopping behavior utilized by those involved in the study, incorporated some variation of "denial of responsibility" and "appeal to higher loyalties" and was provided by 63% of the respondents, with 96% including at least one of these legitimating definitions among their justifications.

Such research illustrates the basic premise that actual behavior is relative to the audience and the situation. Beliefs may be accepted in the abstract, but cannot be applied in the abstract. People live and make decisions in real-life situations not in the abstract. Audience-situational factors considered to be of neutralizing strength were accordingly identified by most respondents. This is not a wishy-washy sort of behavior, but emphasizes that making intelligent decisions is the core dimension of being human. With reference to this studied behavior, and most likely any behavior involved in the daily decisions of most people, there are audience-situation components which are of sufficient strength that practically any strongly endorsed abstract value position could be neutralized. In some such situations, NOT to violate the given principle would be unacceptable to those involved.

From the Symbolic Interactionist perspective which is being utilized here, it is clearly recognized that established abstract value definitions will inevitably be both accepted and rejected. Both laws and evaluations are designed to be rejected in some situations.

The saliency of the point being made is captured in the question to a hypothetical believer in God, "Is there anything you wouldn't do if you were convinced that God had commanded you to do so?"--i.e. if the meaning and the audience and the situation were appropriate.

#### Word of Wisdom Items

W. Smith (1959) studied rural and urban Mormons in Phoenix, Los Angeles and Salt Lake City. Using the judgments of Mormon Bishops as to the orthodoxy of church members and statements from the members concerning abstinence in their home from tea, coffee, tobacco, liquor and beer, all of which are taboo items for Mormons, it was found that rural families were significantly more orthodox than urban families. Urban non-Mormon families sampled did not differ significantly from rural non-Mormon families except in claimed possession of liquor and beer in their homes. Rural families claimed greater abstinence.

Responses from rural respondents provided fewer scale types than did urban respondents, suggesting that rural Mormons in comparison with urban Mormons were less heterogeneous as well as more orthodox. Smith suggests from his analysis that as Mormons become more urbanized, they may differ less and less from their non-Mormon neighbors.

While this research provides data on rural-urban differences it also illustrates the basic point being emphasized about applied values. Where one lives influences his proneness to conformity to Word of Wisdom items. The likelihood of neutralizing Word of Wisdom values varies with the situation.

#### American Societal Religion

Societal religion is contrasted with church religion, independent religion and cosmic religion. Societal religion consists of the definitions (beliefs) and related behavior which serve to hold the society together. In the U.S. this is popularly called Americanism or possibly nationalism.

Mormonism incorporates, formally and informally, a considerable portion of the American societal religion. O'Dea, for instance, has suggested that for all of the distinctiveness of Mormonism, it is in many respects a miniature Americanism within Americanism. Arrington in his Great Basin Kingdom makes the same point.

Toth (1974) reflecting the earlier writings of O'Dea (1957) suggests that Mormonism incorporates a fervent American nationalism. Mormons view America as their promised land, the land of the second coming, the land which the Mormons were destined to settle. The Constitution of the United States is considered to be an inspired document. Throughout Mormon beliefs run affirmations of the following

"American" values: equalitarianism, democracy, utopianism, religious freedom, millennialism, and the toleration of force in the defense of righteousness. "Mormonism for all its peculiarity--even theological peculiarity, which has been its particular mark--presents a distillation of what is peculiarly American in America."

Given this strong positive endorsement of Americanism one might wonder which of the following labels is the most appropriate to apply to LDS Church members: Mormon Americans or American Mormons.

#### Internationalization Values

As Mormonism becomes increasingly internationalized, and the process is already well under way, some separation of basic Mormon religious components from the total configuration of Mormon-American components currently incorporated by many under just the "Mormonism" label will no doubt take place. Mormons in Japan and Israel may not be much interested in emphasizing as a part of their religion the divine origin of the U.S. constitution or singing "High on a Mountain Top."

#### Community Research

The following two research reports concern research which included a Mormon component.

Vogt and O'Dea studied two New Mexico farming communities. In one of the communities the Mormon Church was the center of the village organization. The organizational base for the farming was the family and family partnerships. Although private initiative was valued, there was a cooperative orientation in activities such as creating and maintaining the village irrigation system. The Texans on the other hand stressed individual independence. Both the Texans and the Mormons had similar problems, but each utilized a different method of solving that problem.

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck studied five small communities in the southwestern United States, and were able to identify the value orientations of Mormons, Ex-Texans, Spanish-Americans, Zuni and Navaho. They concluded that on what they called the "Man-Nature" dimension, the Texans showed greater preference for the belief that man was master over nature rather than subjected to it, whereas the value orientation of the Spanish-Americans incorporated more of the latter orientation. The Mormons, however, contrasted with the Texans, with a greater emphasis upon the "harmony-with-nature" orientation. Work, health, education and recreation were the value factors around which it was concluded the Mormon values centered.

#### Other Research

MacDougall (197 ) concluded in his study of abstract values, using responses from approximately 700 Mormons, that there was a sufficiently high level of consensus on these abstract values, that he could talk about an "identifiable and homogeneous value system which transcends differences in time, age, sex, marital status, political identification, region and ethnicity." As our previous discussions have suggested, it is highly likely that greater differences would be found in a study of applied values.

A relativistic or situational evaluation was incidentally reported by Smith (1959) in his research on Mormon norms. His interest was in checking to see whether his Mormon participants had in their home, items which were taboo by the Word of Wisdom standard. However, the research design called for him to approach the respondents as though he were conducting marketing research, and involved asking questions about a variety of other items as well as those in which he was concerned. In effect he deliberately deceived the respondents in order to achieve his research goal. This, of course, is a practice widely followed by many researchers in the social and behavioral sciences. It has, in fact, been reported that when contemporary students find themselves involved in psychological research they expect that they will be deceived. Smith also reports that he secured the cooperation of bishops and stake presidents who approved the study, and thus of the deception involved. Individuals who sincerely preach sermons on honesty (in the abstract) can approve of deception given the right configuration of ISAS factors.

Behavior is in response to symbols, relative to the audience and the situation. The researcher's deceptive behavior was evaluated as acceptable behavior on the basis of an overall evaluation. The point being made is not that such deception is wrong, but rather that most any behavior can be evaluated as morally acceptable if the paradigm variables harmonize with such an evaluation. This is a human characteristic. Mormons have no monopoly thereupon.

Consequences follow from conceptualizing value definitions as absolute or relative. Those who primarily seek security from their religion may increase their security by believing that church-given values are absolute-eternal. Their conflict potential is high, however, when forced into situations which call for a decision contrary to a given absolute value definition, or when they become aware of the relativistic behavior of others who are accepted as models for their own behavior.

Those who accept the relativistic interpretation are not upset when they or others make one evaluation in one situation and change the evaluation for another situation. Their conflict potential is high where relativistic decisions seem to be wishy-washy and thus may contribute to the conclusion that the individual doesn't really know what he wants nor how to get it.

It is likely that the "absolutists" (if we may use that label) tend to fall in the "person-church" or ritualistic Mormon category previously identified, while the relativists tend more to fall in the "person-person" or humanistic category. Research needs to be done to validate this speculative hypothesis.

## CHAPTER SIX

### SELF DEFINITIONS, CONVERSION AND DE-CONVERSION

#### Self Definitions

What does it mean to an individual to be a Mormon? What happens to an individual as a result of converting to the Mormon Church? What freedoms are acquired? What restrictions? How can the convert expect others to treat him? What can he accomplish for himself and maybe his family by being Mormon? Does being Mormon make one aware of limitations previously unknown. What input does the Mormon Church provide for questions as to what it means to be human? What success potential and what failure potential are acquired in being Mormon?

Every person relates himself to something more powerful, more individual-transcending, more enduring than himself. What happens to my self image when I establish the "Mormon connection" to such trans-individual phenomenon?

One way or another converts and potential converts seek answers to such questions. As a result of the answers realized, some securely anchor themselves in Mormonism, whereas others reject Mormonism.

This chapter provides some insights into such phenomenon.

The individual member of the Mormon Church is aware of the fact that he is a member. Many members came into the Church through a conversion experience which served to convince him/her that "Mormon" or "Latter-day Saint" was the appropriate name to apply to himself/herself at that time. Somewhere along the line, the individual became aware that he/she was a Mormon. At one time this was not so. The baptismal rite of passage may have been the formal method of validating such a label.

The meaning of membership, however, is another thing. Knowing that you are a Mormon is one thing; knowing what being a Mormon means is in some respects quite another thing. There are members and there are members. The Mormons, share with other religious groups the fact that there are significant differences between individuals who are officially members.

Research by Finner, dealing with non-Mormon individuals, has found that "church membership" and "church preference" are not the same thing. A small percentage of members belong to a church but indicate when asked in research that they prefer another church. That this is true of Mormons is suggested from the results of a study by Leming (1973) of 209 University of Utah staff members. Of the 209 respondents, 49.8% listed LDS as their preference, whereas 56.7% indicated membership in the LDS Church.

In the contemporary society, religious identification may serve as an important component of the identification package. It is a "social location" which has important significance for many. Greeley has called the American society a "denominational society" emphasizing this identification function of religion.

A question upon which there is limited data available is how salient or important for the Mormon is the church identification in the total configuration of things known about self. Every person who considers himself to be religious also considers himself to be many other things. The total configuration of self definitions cannot be introduced simultaneously into on-going interaction. Perception of this type is always selective. All perception is selective.

That being a Mormon is an important component of a person's total configuration of self definitions is suggested by the following tabulation which compares the number of Boy Scouts from various religious groups providing some type of religious self definition in completing the Twenty Statements Test, which asks for twenty answers to the question "Who am I?" The study was done by Vernon in 1958.

Table 1

Number and Per Cent of Boy Scouts from various  
Religious Groups making religious identifications  
on the TST, Summer 1958

Religious Affiliation	N	Number	Per cent
Mormon	44	21	47.7
Roman Catholic	258	119	46.1
Methodist	148	40	27.0
Baptist	49	12	24.5
Disciples of Christ	51	11	21.6
Congregational	58	12	20.7
Lutheran	93	19	20.4
Presbyterian	153	30	19.6
Episcopalian	36	6	16.7

A statistically significant larger percent of Mormon and Catholic Boy Scouts spontaneously provided on the TST, self identifications which were religious in content. The study does not provide any suggestion as to the related factors which would account for this high saliency among these two groups. The study does indicate that for boys of this age, the Mormon's religious identification is stronger than for many other groups. The high saliency may be related to factors such as minority status, belonging to a church-sponsored troupe, which makes Boy Scouting an important component of the broad church program. Involvement in the Boy Scouting program parallels somewhat involvement in the Priesthood program of the Church.

As has been indicated, Cardwell, using a factor-analysis method, identified a "ritualistic, youth" component of Mormon religiosity. This may be reflected here. Youth activities in the Church have an impact upon self conceptions of the youth involved.

In a study of 268 married women living in University of Utah housing Spicer (197 ) found a significant difference between Mormon and non-Mormon wives with regard to the importance they attached to their religion and the frequency with which they attended religious services. Nearly 80 per cent of the Mormons reported attending church at least weekly, whereas 31 per cent of the Catholics and 5.1 per cent of the Protestants did so.

## Missionary System

Since all labels have arbitrary, socially constructed meaning, individuals who define themselves as Mormon have to be convinced that Mormon is the appropriate label to apply to themselves. In what is called the conversion process the individual is converted or learns to accept two interrelated things. He is converted to the Mormon Church, and he is also converted to himself as a Mormon. He learns to accept himself as a Mormon.

The missionary program of the Mormon Church is obviously involved in the change of self definitions. An analysis of this program follows.

From its beginning, the Mormon Church has been a missionary church. The initial converts were members of Joseph Smith's family, a neighbor, a local school master (who had once boarded at the Smith home) and the school master's parents and brothers. Thru an extensive missionary program the membership had increased to more than 3 million members with around 18,000 missionaries in 1974, working in some 111 missions around the world, exclusive of the Communist block nations and many new African nations. (Tanner, 1974). It was also about this time that the church began to call missionaries from various professional fields to devote their professional skills in activities such as building meeting houses, teaching and providing medical help.

It was reported in 1975 (The Ensign, 5:70-71) that there were approximately 100 health services missionaries serving at that time. They came from 20 different countries and were serving in 25 missions, seeking to improve the health and well-being of Church members, helping to identify health problems, particularly those of concern to members and assisting in developing and implementing programs designed to solve these problems.

LDS-RLDS Comparison. Vallier (1962) compares the Mormon missionary system and that of the Reorganized LDS (RLDS) Church, emphasizing that the manner in which the missionary system is incorporated into the larger church structure influences the outcome of the missionary effort. He points out that while the Mormons and the RLDS accept similar value orientations and beliefs, due to historical developments, each group ended up with quite different socio-cultural systems and each established a different missionary program. The Mormon system incorporates within the church program an extensive institutionalized role of volunteer missionary. The RLDS, by way of contrast, created a limited system of non-volunteer missionaries.

In 1960, there were representing the Mormon Church, Vallier points out, around 7,000 full-time, self-supporting missionaries, compared with less than 100 RLDS, church-supported missionaries. This amounted for the RLDS Church to 1 missionary for every 1,750 members, and for the LDS Church 1 for every 200 members.

There are no RLDS age criteria for missionaries, only a worthiness criteria.

In 1959, Vallier points out, that to support 100 missionaries the RLDS Church spent \$600,000, which amounted to roughly 1/4 of their total annual income. The LDS Church to support 5,300 missionaries spent \$636,000 or slightly less than 1 per cent of the total annual income of more than 58 million.

To migrate to the Utah area and develop their own society, the Mormon Church required cooperative services which were essentially a complete dedication to the Church. Many unable or unwilling to make such a commitment were "lost" along the way. Once established in the West, they were and have remained the majority group. Historically the RLDS development did not require the total commitment to the group in order to migrate and establish a new society, and the RLDS membership has from the beginning been a minority group in their larger sociocultural environment, with membership widely dispersed throughout the Midwest.

Thus, Vallier is suggesting that being involved in a situation of near total commitment to the Church provided a base from which we would expect members to endorse and become involved in volunteer missionary efforts.

Research has found that on several dimensions, individuals who have had a mission experience tend to be more orthodox than those who did not. This is not surprising. Devoting two years of one's life doing missionary work for the church is likely to have a strong influence upon the self conception of the missionary. Without a doubt, one of the major consequences of the missionary program is that it has an impact upon the missionaries involved. Research by Sellars, to which attention will be given in a subsequent section, illustrates that the impact is contributory to mental health but also to poor mental health. The overall impact, however, seems to be one of growth and expanded self definitions.

It is significant that the missionary experience typically occurs during the late teens and early twenties. Being called as a missionary, however, has no age limitations, and in most mission fields will be found individuals from all along the age continuum. However, the fact that the mission typically takes place during the period of life when most individuals are experiencing their most critical and doubting religious awakenings is important. In a sense, the mission for those in this age group is somewhat at least the equivalent of a tour in the Peace Corps, or Vista. Those involved in such programs are provided with an altruistic experience which may have a lasting influence upon their subsequent behavior. Those involved learn much about themselves. Relatively permanent sustaining patterns of thinking and behaving may be created in the process.

Previous discussions have distinguished between different types of Mormon religiosity. A major distinction is that between what we have called a "person-church" or ritualistic emphasis and a "person-person" or humanistic emphasis. If there are different types of Mormons there are most likely different types of conversions to Mormonism. One conversion experience may emphasize one aspect, while another conversion involves a somewhat different configuration of HVIDs and related behavior. Common Mormon discussions distinguish between being converted to the missionaries and being converted to the church. It seems reasonable to distinguish further between being converted to the social program of the church and to the Gospel or the teachings of the church. Research concerning different types of conversions is limited although the research to which we turn our attention has implication along these lines.

#### Mission encouragement Factors

The youth, especially the male, involved in the Mormon Church will be subjected to many experiences which encourage the development of a pro-mission orientation. Many formal and informal pressures are brought to bear upon the youth. Class instructions and sermons emphasize the desirability



of going on a mission. Going on a mission is frequently interpreted as evidencing one's worthiness. Newspaper account identify where individuals served on their mission when reporting other achievement such as graduation from college. Church leaders are aware that the missionary experience prepares one for future church work. One mission president identified as one of his major goals to train missionaries to be future stake presidents. Significant others are known to expect it. Those who do not go are subjected to some stigma. Girls in the church exert pressures, subtle and not so subtle to go. At age 19, with high school behind him, with no strong commitments to a work field and unmarried the Mormon youth is in a highly mission-conducive situation.

Mental Health of Missionaries. Sellars (1971) interviewed returned missionaries, identifying aspects of the total missionary experience which were reported by the returned missionary as contributing to what she defined as a healthy mental attitude and an unhealthy mental attitude. Factors which were recalled during the in-depth interviews by at least one-third of the returned missionaries are presented below, being classified as either healthy or unhealthy by the researcher.

#### PRE-ENTRY PERIOD (MISSION HOME)

##### Healthy

1. Speeches by General Authorities (supportive)
2. Context of training in Mission Home (supportive/stressful)
3. Relationships to family (supportive/stressful)
4. Support of girl friend (supportive/stressful)
5. Financial help (supportive)
6. Encouragement of friends and church leaders (supportive)
7. Challenge of deciding to go on mission (stressful/supportive)

##### Unhealthy

1. Role description and concern about missionary work
2. Schedule in Mission Home (stressful)
3. Separating from girls (supportive/stressful)
4. Pressure to memorize lessons (stressful)
5. Talks about chastity (stressful)

#### MISSION EXPERIENCES

##### Healthy

1. Success, conversions, baptisms (supportive/stressful)
2. Holding positions of leadership (supportive/stressful)
3. Having a friendly and understanding mission president (supportive)
4. Receiving letters from home, friends, sweetheart (supportive)
5. Relating warmly to nonmembers, investigators, etc. (supportive)
6. Having a friendly first companion (supportive/stressful)
7. Being allowed diversionary activities (supportive)
8. Feeling accepted and sustained by other church members (supportive)

##### Unhealthy

1. Culture shock (stressful)
2. Sex frustrations and restrictive rules (stressful)
3. Lack of Success (stressful)
4. Rejection and hostility by people contacted (stressful)
5. Working with dictatorial or unfriendly companions (stressful)
6. Having an arbitrary and authoritarian mission president (stressful)
7. Quota system on converts and intractable memorized lessons (stressful)
8. Leaving mission field (supportive/stressful)

## RETURN HOME

### Healthy

1. Continuing education (supportive/stressful)
2. Finding employment (supportive)
3. Joining returned missionary fraternity (supportive)
4. Acceptance of family and friends (supportive)

### Unhealthy

1. Education--as critical thinking, not memorization (stressful/supportive).  
This was clearly a difficult problem though it was not a modal factor.
2. Dating--feelings of awkwardness and unsureness (stressful)

Sellars summary evaluation was as follows:

Pre-entry period -- healthy predominant with ratio of 2.3 to 1

Mission period - healthy but lower ratio of 1.2 to 1

Returning Home - healthy predominant with ratio of 1.42 to 1

"Returned Missionary" is a label widely used in the Mormon Church. The label identifies the person in terms of what he is not. It is a symbolic negative, focusing attention upon a role which is no longer an activated role. It is past oriented rather than present or future oriented. The extensive use of the name, however, suggests that having played the role is a matter of self identification which retains saliency long after the actual experience is formally completed. The consequences of having had the missionary experience are extensive as is suggested in some of the research yet to be analyzed.

The mission impact may be related to the fact that the missionary believes that while on a mission he has been involved in an experience which has ultimate significance. The experience acquires value considered to be ultimate, supernatural, eternity-related rather than just human, "now" related. It may be related to what the missionary considers to be his most important self component, his most intense definitions of uniqueness, his maybe secret yearnings to do something significant, something related to the highest-ultimate things of which he can conceive. Being convinced that one has, in fact, had such experiences has great carry-over potential.

### Church Structure and the Missionary Component Thereof

The organization or the structure of a group in which an individual has membership and in which he plays one or more roles has an influence upon how the individual behaves. From the ISAS perspective, the audience for one individual may be an entire group which is always organized to some degree, or the audience may be one individual functioning in the name of the group. I-A behavior is structured behavior, with the blueprint or script which influences that behavior being a part of the structured symbolic-culture component of the paradigm. This basic perspective is contained in the statement that the behavior of the individual Mormon as he relates to any given audience is essentially structured or orderly. The structure or organization of the behavior is related to the structure or organization of the symbols used to script that behavior. The non-human factors included in the situation component are also structured or organized. There is, of course, always an unstructured or emergent component at all levels. Behavior is never completely organized or harmonious.

The structure of the Mormon Church, then, influences the behavior of Mormons. One part of the larger system is the missionary system. Attention is now given to this organizational component.

The impact of having a "lay priesthood" is extensive. One component of this impact is in the missionary system. Many members have an opportunity to go on a mission, with males being more likely than females to do so. Professional missionaries are not used. One thing which frequently happens as a result of involvement in that system or of serving on a mission is that the Mormon label tends to become firmly "cemented" to the individual. A solidifying impact upon the Mormon identification results from having the non-Mormon public define one as a Mormon Clergyman and having the family at home treat one as a missionary. "Missionary" not "clergyman" is the term used by Mormons--few would write to their son or daughter and talk about that individual being a clergyman.

Serving as a missionary also functions to convince the missionary of the reality of the authority which he believes he holds as a result of his office in the priesthood. He makes statements, and engages in rituals in the name of the church, or in the name of Jesus Christ. His evaluations of his own self worth can be enhanced accordingly. Self evaluations can, of course be diminished from negative experiences. If playing the role enhances his self esteem, the role itself and his identification with that role acquires saliency.

The missionary is frequently called upon to defend the Church. He expects that he will have such experiences. After preaching Mormonism and defending Mormonism for two years, an individual typically develops a lot of commitment to the Church. To reject the Church or maybe for some to even question the Church, in part becomes a rejection of self and of significant others. A parallel experience is found in the area of work. When one accepts a job, and starts to work for a particular company, the likelihood of his defending that company or of maybe being protective toward it, increases. Research indicates that making public statements about what one believes increases the saliency of such beliefs for the public "pronouncer." This contrasts with private, personal, non-public acceptance and statements of of such beliefs. Publicly committing oneself has consequences.

Procedures by which the missionary role is given importance include the following. First, there is a reduction or elimination of prior or pre-missionary statuses, which permits the missionary role, in effect, to rise to the top of one's role hierarchy. Being a missionary is a full-time job. The missionary is physically removed from extensive direct contact with and interaction with peers, family, and other non-missionaries. Letter contacts are permitted and encouraged. Informal expectations exist, however, that the letters from home should contain a positive, missionary-reinforcing content. The elimination of personal, face-to-face contacts with those involved in pre-missionary activities is accompanied with intimate contact with others in a similar status. Old identities are diminished in importance and "physical distanced" so that the potential impact is reduced. New missionaries are involved in the creation of new role replacements. Each of the new missionaries then is involved in a search for a new identity and for anchor points upon which to create that new identity. Each most likely is uncertain as to what type of a missionary he will be and looks to the other missionaries for input. Desiring positive evaluative input from others may increase the

likelihood of "giving off" the most positive cues one can at that stage of his missionary experience. It is important to convince oneself as well as others of one's worthiness to be where he is constantly reminded that he is.

Each is searching for relationships to replace those at home which have been eliminated.

The mission experience also involves an essential or at least partial rejection of worldly things. Economic needs are provided by those at home, and usually at a minimal (or at least not a maximum) level. Limited financial resources do not permit extensive concern with "things of the flesh" or "of the world". Spiritual concerns, then, are a likely substitute. "Spiritual" is of course "Mormon Spiritual." The missionary learns to do and think in the approved Mormon manner.

Modeling Components. Serving as a missionary or playing the role of missionary involves extensive modeling components. The missionary is involved in full-time church work, which provides tunnel vision for church behavior. He is aware of those who hold power positions (although they are not typically defined in power terms) above him, and has an opportunity to observe their behavior and to reach decisions as to what types of behavior brings what types of rewards or punishments, or sanctions. The "greenie" observes the behavior of his companion, his district leader, zone leader, mission assistants, or other mission officers, his mission president, regional representative, general authorities including the Church President. The entire situation in which he is living serves to focus attention upon such individuals and to move them into a category of significant others. Their behavior (at least of the most successful ones) serves as a model to which his own behavior can be compared as he makes decisions about himself.

A clear-cut role hierarchy exists. The new missionary moves into the system, he does not create it. Although he is not officially encouraged to seek for "promotion" or upward mobility, many unofficial factors focus attention upon the mobility or the changes of others, especially those who arrived in the missionfield in the same cohort. Comparisons are made as to when junior companions become senior companions, and which senior companions become district leaders, and which district leaders become zone leaders and who is called to serve in the mission home. For a given individual to be one of the last of his cohort to remain a junior companion may lead to personal questioning and doubt. Those who have their status changed receive congratulations from fellow missionaries as well as from the folks at home. Those who don't change know what happens to those who do.

Playing the Role. The individual missionary, then, usually has a strong desire to play his role effectively (there are exceptions) and he is also provided with written specifications as well as role models to decide just what "effective role playing" involves. He learns the system and how to function within that system. Frequent meetings, formal and informal, are held, in which he has many opportunities to observe at first hand those who have "made the grade" or who have worked effectively within the system. Those who have not done as well are also available for observation. When missionaries talk among themselves they frequently talk about what has been happening to other missionaries they know. They typically manage to keep track of the group who entered the mission home and the mission field together.

The missionary identity is also constantly re-inforced by the dress and grooming requirements. These aspects of missionary impression management communicate to the individual missionary and to non-Mormons that the individual is a Mormon missionary. Not exactly in the clear-cut way the statement implies, but rather in many subtle ways, the missionary concludes, "I must be a Mormon and a Mormon missionary since I look like, dress like, and behave like one."

Missionaries who "move up" in the system have many opportunities to evaluate those under them or those they are expected to supervise. Doing so makes one well aware that others are making similar evaluations of him. Further, district leaders, zone leaders and mission presidents are compared with one another. It is possible to distill from such comparisons a symbolic model of what one considers to be ideal behavior for missionaries in certain categories.

Missionaries contact mostly those with strong commitment and those with no commitment and frequently with no familiarity with Mormonism. Interaction with other missionaries involves interaction with the "cream of the crop," according to Mormon standards. This also encourages conformity to the requirements of the system.

An impact upon self definitions and decisions about behavior is also derived from contact with potential converts and actual converts. Knowing that these others expect the missionary to be an example of ideal Mormon behavior encourages the missionary to make an effort to conform to the expectations. The expectation is, then, somewhat of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Being treated like one is a "saint" facilitates behaving as though the label is accurate. In some respects, it is frightening to the missionary to realize what the new converts expect of him.

A system which provides for the extensive positive modeling which we have been discussing, by its very nature incorporates chances for failure, or at least for not achieving in the same way some other missionaries achieve. Neutralizing definitions, such as just being concerned with doing one's best, rather than comparing oneself with others are utilized to minimize the differences. However, failure in such a success-oriented, and success "pushing" organization can be difficult and at times traumatic to live with. Many types of personal problems can arise from such experiences. The mental health level of given missionaries is obviously influenced by such experiences.

Research potential. Research could be done upon questions such as the following.

1. What types of individuals have what kinds of experiences with what kinds of audience(s).
2. What situational components are most conducive to the "giving off" of certain types of missionary behavior?
3. What types of presentations-proselytizing, has what type of consequences upon which types of potential converts.
4. What combinations of missionary companions are most likely to have what types of experiences?

5. What is the relationship between length of time spent on one assignment and the successes experienced?
  - a. length of time with one companion?
  - b. length of time at one level such as junior companion?

### Conversion Research

A theoretical conversion model developed by Lofland and Stark (1965) and Toch (1965) was utilized in a study of converts to Mormonism to see how well the conversion experiences corresponded to that abstract model. In the model, conversion was conceptualized as a problem-solving process which involved the following stages:

1. The occurrence of particular events often creates situations or raises questions that may be defined as problematical.
2. Mildly or acutely felt tensions have differential impacts on persons experiencing problematic life situations.
3. The definitions of causes for these tensions is described in sacred and/or secular terms.
4. Encountering an organization offering acceptable solutions to problematic situations leads to the establishment of affective relationships with its members and to a membership transaction.

Using data secured in personal interviews with 77 persons who as a result of contact with missionaries, joined the Mormon Church in an urban area in Kentucky, Seggar and Kunz (1972) found that the Mormon conversions did not very closely follow the suggested paths. In fact only one conversion out of the 77 could be explained by the model. All the rest evidenced deviation from that model in some respects. It was found that for the Mormon converts, the converts were sought; they were not seekers. Secondly, the assumption that the problems most recently experienced were the most important ones in precipitating conversion does not hold up for this group. Of the group, 40.3% indicated that they had not had such problems during the period prior to conversion. Also prior to joining, the converts did not experience much informal association with Mormons, as was expected from the model.

On the basis of this study it appears that conversion is more complex than the model suggests, and apparently involved components other than the problem-solving one identified in the study.

Using data secured from this same study, Seggar and Blake (1970) report findings concerning what they call convert inactivity by which they meant the nonparticipation of recent converts. They concluded that such converts were likely to become either disaffected from or nonparticipants if they (1) no longer perceived the doctrine, worship services and organizational structure of the church as being as they formerly did (2) had difficulty in adhering to the financial and dietary requirements, (3) possessed dissimilar beliefs about central doctrinal tenets and (4) had experienced economic problems since joining.

Three of the 29 nonparticipants had turned to other religious organizations at the data-collection time and the researchers expected that others would also defect in the future.

Payne (1972) conducted research to identify factors related to the likelihood that a given missionary would be given a leadership role in his missionary activity. He started with the premise that how the mission president and the potential leader "come together" or "match up" influences the likelihood of being selected to be a leader. Data was secured via questionnaires given to students in a number of introductory classes at BYU, University of Utah and the Central Utah Vocational School, representing a variety of academic fields. Respondents were 278 individuals who had completed missions for the Church within the two years prior to the research. Interest focused upon the following hypotheses:

1. Selection to leadership will be directly related to the socioeconomic status of the selectee.
2. The number of leadership positions held by Mormon missionaries will vary directly with the similarity between their socioeconomic backgrounds and the socioeconomic backgrounds of their mission presidents.

A statistically significant relationship was found between a missionary's educational and financial background and the probability of his being selected to a leadership position. Occupational background was not related independently to leadership selection. Payne emphasized that while these findings technically lend some support to the first hypothesis, the consistently low levels of association suggest that substantively these variables would be of little use in predicting leadership selection for this type of group.

It was also found that each indicator of status similarity used to test hypothesis 2 was related to leadership selection with the relationship being statistically significant. Again, however, rather low levels of association on all measures indicate the low prediction value thereof.

However, in all cases, similarity of status between selector and selectee proved to be a better predictor of leadership selection than simple measures of a selectee's status. This suggests that other areas of similarity between mission president and missionary might be profitably explored in future research.

#### Defection or De-conversion

Being converted is typically viewed as a terminal status. From the perspective of the church group there is no such thing as graduation from the group. Potential deconversion, however, is an aspect of conversion. Little is known about the process of Mormon de-conversion nor the extent thereof. Mauss (1969) provides one of the few analyses of the process, and provides a model for interpretation thereof. He also relates the findings of a small study to the theoretical model. He indicates that his primary theoretical work has been developed with the hope that it would be heuristically suggestive. The work draws upon several years of "participant observation" in religious reactivation programs at the ward level. He uses the term "defector" to identify those who have withdrawn from fellowship or activity after having some history of regular attendance and involvement in the Church, not merely affiliation. His three dimensions are identified and discussed below.

Intellectual dimension. This is the negative counterpart of Glock's "ideological dimension" of involvement. It refers to the kind of disinvolvement that is based on disbelief of certain central beliefs of a religion, accompanied, presumably, by a belief in a rival secular doctrine. Atheism and

agnosticism are common expressions of this dimension of disinvolvement, although there are many possible indicators, some of which would be unique to certain denominations. Indicators that might be used for this dimension with some degree of success in a survey instrument include: expression of disbelief in any kind of God, or in the literal divinity of Jesus; a belief in evolution of the species; a belief in the merely palliative function of religion, etc.

Social dimension. If social ties and social integration of the individual are important in producing religious involvement, we might plausibly infer that disinvolvement or defection can occur as a consequence either of the disintegration of social bonds, or of unsatisfying social experience or of the formation of strong social ties outside the church. Empirical indicators of disinvolvement might be: loss (or lack) of close friends in the church; relatively low social status compared to the congregation generally; personal acquaintance with few, if any, church workers, lay leaders or clergy; little or no participation in church auxiliary or social activities; marriage to devout members of other faiths; and perceptions of coolness or cliques among members of the congregation.

Emotional dimension. This dimension might be called the "spiritual dimension" and is perhaps the most elusive of the three, in the sense that objective empirical indicators of it are much harder to identify than is the case with the other dimensions. There are many emotional conditions and symptoms that are related to the emotional dimension of defection and it would be premature to attempt a comprehensive catalogue of these, Mauss indicated.

Typology derived from the three dimensions. Not all defection is purely of one type or another. These three dimensions can be combined in a hypothetical typology which will reflect the various combinations of defection. The result is an 8-celled typology represented in Table 1.

Table 1. A Hypothetical Typology Derived from the Three Dimensions

		High on Emotional and Social Dimension		Not High on Emotional and Social Dimension	
		Not		Not	
		Hi	Hi	Hi	Hi
Intellectual Dimension	Hi	1	2	Hi	5
	Not Hi	3	4	Not Hi	7
1 - Total defectors		5 - Cultural (Soc. and Int.)			
2 - Psychological (Int. & Em.)		6 - Intellectual			
3 - Alienated (Soc. & Em.)		7 - Social			
4 - Emotional		8 - Circumstantial			

In the Mauss typology, cell 1 would contain the "total defectors," those who are high on all three dimensions of defection. Those in cell 2 might be called "psychological defectors," since their defection is both intellectual and emotional, but not social. In cell 3 we have the "alienated defectors," who may not have intellectual problems, but they are both socially unintegrated and emotionally distressed. Cell 4 would contain the purely "emotional defectors." Turning to the half of the typology that is without the emotional dimension, we have the "cultural defectors" in cell 5, so called because they are high on both the social and intellectual dimensions. Cell 6 has the purely "intellectual defectors" and cell 7 the purely "social defectors." Cell 8 is a residual category representing those who have become



disinvolved in the church, but not for generic reasons. Such people are not offended or disaffected about anything; they are simply taken away from the Church activities by such circumstances as going away to military service, and have not yet overcome the inertia in order to become reinvolved. These Mauss calls "circumstantial defectors." These eight types are logically derivable from the three dimensions, and they comprise a taxonomy that is heuristic and useful, if not exhaustive.

A small pilot study by Mauss of a small group of Mormon defectors in the East Bay Area of California provided some empirical support for the typology. Questionnaires were mailed to all the Aaronic Priesthood Adults in the several ward areas. A return rate of about 50% was obtained from 60 returned questionnaires. The sample did constitute an aggregate of defectors both by definition and by reference to present church attendance habits.

In Cell 1, where all three dimensions of defection are present, 100% of the subsample are total non-attenders, while in cell 8 where none of the three dimensions are present, the non-attenders rate is only 11.0%. Furthermore in cells 2, 3, and 5 each of which involves two of the three dimensions, the total non-attendance rate ranges from 60% to 80% whereas in cells 4, 6, and 7, involving only one dimension each, the rate stays at around 50%. The likelihood of total non-attendance at church clearly indicates an increase with each additional dimension of defection.

#### Church Attendance and Perceived Powerlessness

Cardwell (1974) reports research relating perceived powerlessness and church attendance among 320 Mormon University of Utah students. All of his participants classified themselves as "very religious." He hypothesized that participation in traditional church religion would decline as perceived powerlessness on the part of church members increased. Perceived powerlessness is characteristic of many individuals in many non-religious aspects of contemporary living. He measured powerlessness relative to the individual's perceived ability to influence three different audiences, i.e. "other," "lay leaders" and the "minister" to make decisions about "issues" "social issues" and "religious issues" that were of concern to the respondent. For example, a typical religious issues question was "Do you think you can influence the minister of your church to take a stand on religious issues (such as prayer in the school) that concern you?"

His hypothesis was supported on each of the nine powerlessness items he used. He points out that if one assumes that the attendance variable is antecedent to the perception of powerlessness, one explanation of these general findings is that perception of powerlessness initiates the process of withdrawal from the church.

When he checked to see whether sex made any difference, he found that it did not when the perceived powerlessness was relative to the general category of "issues" or the more specific category of "social issues." However, sex did influence the relationship between perceived powerlessness and church attendance when the perceived powerlessness is relative to "religious issues." On such issues when the source of the perceived powerlessness is undefined, the perception of powerlessness has a far greater impact on female attendance than on male attendance. However, when the source of the powerlessness is defined, the impact on attendance is greater for males than females. Cardwell sees this finding being related to the extensive male involvement in the bureaucratic structure of the Church. Perceived powerlessness in the area where the male is most involved then is the type of powerlessness which is likely to have a significant influence upon his religious behavior.

## Fellowshipping

Behavior is relative to the audience. Behavior incorporates a social dimension in which you and I are each component parts of "what is going on." Each of us requires the other in order to accomplish the goals.

Experiencing Mormonism, then, involves relating to a set of beliefs about the world, but it also typically involves relating to others in particular ways. How Mormon relates to Mormon then influences the experience of Mormonism which each has. If I am accepted by others and treated as though we are equals or as brothers and sisters, I have quite a different experience than I do when I am treated essentially as a stranger, as an alien (experience alienation) or as unequal, and thus am not given or do not receive the same treatment accorded others classified differently.

How the individual and his audience come together is bound to influence how each of them experiences his Mormonism. Such experiences may in effect help to push an individual out of the Church or help to tie him securely in. Little research has been done on the fellowshipping dimension. One small study is the research by Mauss to which we have referred concerning defectors. His "social dimension" might also be called a "fellowshipping dimension."

### Those with no "Conversion Potential"

Seeking converts is a major activity of Mormons. What happens when the label of "potential convert" for the non-Mormon neighbor is exchanged for the one of "no conversion potential?" It is easy for members of a missionary oriented church to lose interest in the potential convert as a person when the "potential convert" label is believed to be no longer applicable. Neighborhood interaction is influenced. Informal evidence suggests that some Mormons seem to operate from the premise that "if there is no chance of you joining my Church, I find it difficult to relate to you as just a friend."

### Conversion and De-Conversion

It may be that the configuration of factors which contribute to conversion are not the exact reverse of those which lead to leaving the church. Possibly, rather than one conversion-deconversion continuum being involved, there may be two somewhat overlapping but nonetheless distinct processes. If joining and leaving a church is much the same as joining and leaving a work organization, conversion may stem largely from content items, whereas deconversion may stem primarily from context factors.

### Re-Conversion

Mormon history includes accounts of individuals, some in high positions, who for one reason or another left the church and subsequently returned "to the fold." There seems to be no information available about the extent of re-conversion. The following account provided by a college student suggests some aspects of the process and the strength of the "return pull."

I move in environments far removed from youth and the church and it is right for me. Yet I meet people who move from one realm to another. There are many members of the church which fall away yet fail to repudiate it very emphatically. It is as if there is some fear of saying anything too harsh about the "former life." I cannot understand this and no study has, for me, attempted to explain why people into "counter-cultures" etc. hold the church in reserve. Many admit they will "probably get into it when they get too old to boogie." (Student Report, Univ. of Utah 1974)

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SECT TO DENOMINATION TRANSITION

Studies of religious groups have made use of a sect-denomination (sect-church) classification, which permits the categorization of different groups somewhere along the continuum from the sect pole to the denomination pole. The sect type and the denomination type are each a symbolic model, to which actual groups may be compared. They are sometimes called an "ideal type" or a "constructed type." The characteristics generally attributed to the sect are given in Figure 1. Denominational characteristics are the reverse of those of the sect. The sect-denomination typology is a heuristic device which may not apply completely to any specific group. It is however useful for our purposes to highlight changes which have taken place.

FIGURE ONE

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Size  | 1. Small  |
| 2. Relationships with other religious groups                               | 2. Rejects--believes that the sect alone has the truth  |
| 3. Wealth (church property buildings, salary of clergy, income of members) | 3. Limited  |
| 4. Religious services  | 4. Emotional emphasis - try to recapture conversion thrill: informal, extensive congregational participation. |
| 5. Clergy  | 5. Unspecialized: little if any professional training, frequently part time.                                  |
| 6. Doctrines   | 6. Literal interpretation of scriptures emphasis upon other-worldly rewards                                   |
| 7. Membership requirements   | 7. Conversion experience; emotional commitment.   |
| 8. Relationship with secular world   | 8. "atwar" with the secular world which is defined as being "evil."   |
| 9. Social class of members   | 9. Mainly lower class   |

The characteristics of the Mormon church at its inception provide a high goodness of fit for the symbolic sect model. Those familiar with church history can supply many characteristics illustrative of this fit. William E. Barrett, for instance, has indicated in a widely used church history book that the church did not attract great men, it produced great men.

Many sect groups go through a transition from a sect to a denomination. The growth and development of the Mormon church illustrates this transition in many ways. O'Dea suggests, however, that the transition is not complete, indicating that "established sect" may be the appropriate label for the contemporary group.

## Size

From its beginnings the Mormon Church has been a growing, developing church. Using percentage increase as our measure of growth, the Mormon Church was the third fastest growing church in the U.S. from 1906 to 1956. (Seggar) The Church experienced a reported increase of 430.9% increasing from 256,647 to 1,372,640 (Rosten, 227-72). Since January 1, 1957, the membership increased from 1,416,731 to 2,480,899 making an increase of 75.1%. Approximately two-thirds (65-75%) of this increase was from convert baptisms.

Using the Vital Statistics presented at the Annual Conference of the Church in 1967, Seggar calculated the following figures. This was the six-year period that the "Every Member a Missionary" program was initiated.

### Increased Membership Through Conversion for the Decade 1957 - 1966

1957	30,129
1958	33,330
1959	33,060
1960	48,586
1961	88,807
1962	115,834
1963	105,210
1964	93,483
1965	82,455
1966	68,843

The rapid growth patterns of the Church are evident when one looks at the following statistics provided by Arrington (1973):

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
Membership	1.6 million	3 million - 8% yearly increase
Organized stakes outside U.S.	1	50
Total stakes	290	500
Total wards	2,600	5,000
Number of missionaries	5,500	12,000
Average attendance at Sunday Worship services	35%	42%

During this ten year period, the Church constructed 2,158 chapels, geographically distributed as follows:

U.S. & Canada	1,558
Europe	214
Mexico & Latin America	204
South Pacific	133
Asia	28

The label "dying church" is hardly an appropriate one for the Mormons. If increase in size is indicative of change toward the denomination pole of the continuum, the Mormon Church has clearly been moving in that direction.

The first general conference of the Church outside the U.S. was held in England in 1971, initiating a procedure which will be used to meet the desires of a world-wide membership. At the Salt Lake City general conferences simultaneous translations in 9 languages are provided.

The April General Conference in 1974 was transmitted by oceanic cable to Europe and was received in 105 chapels in England, France, Germany, Austria, Holland, Switzerland and Belgium. Over 80 radio stations in the cities of Mexico and Central and South America broadcast these services in Spanish and Portuguese. There were 240 TV stations which carried the conference in the U.S. and Canada and one in Japan. (Tanner 1974)

In his April Conference address, President Lee said, "No longer might this Church be thought of as the 'Utah Church,' or as an 'American Church.' but the membership of the Church is now distributed over the earth in 78 countries, teaching the gospel in 17 different languages at the present time." (Tanner 1974)

#### "Gathering" and Non-gathering

Douglas J. Davies, writing in a British journal provides an analysis of changes in the orientation of the Church toward converts and other non-U.S. members. These changes can be seen as one part of the transition from a sect to a near-denomination. The stages which Davies identified and analyzed are as follows:

Stage 1. From 1830 to 1900, the church emphasized the second coming of Jesus and the development of a holy society, of chosen people in an American Zion which was to be ready for the anticipated second coming.

Stage 2. From 1900 to 1950, with changing definitions which one way or another took into account a belief that the second coming was not going to occur as previously indicated, a change in the "gathering" encouragement took place. Where as in the past the Saints were encouraged to migrate to Zion in Utah, they were now encouraged to stay where they were and create their own Zion. Validation for non-migration was provided.

Stage 3. From 1950 on, the Church has been in the process of establishing a world-wide Mormon community. This has involved a change in emphasis of doctrines, and programs. Rather than encouraging everyone to come to Salt Lake City for conferences and "being fed" the conferences and the "food for thought" is now being taken to "the world." The current program, Davies indicates, involves affluent Europeans, whereas the first stages involved largely non-affluent Europeans. This is indicative of the changing class composition of the group which moves from sect to denomination.

### Urbanization of Church

Arrington (1973) indicates that over half of the members of the Mormon Church live outside the Mountain West and that the percent of church members living in urban areas is most likely between 70 and 80. Those living in the large urban areas constitute a small minority of the population of those cities. During the life-time of the Church a steady urbanization process has been underway. A religious message presented in a "rural perspective" may not find a receptive audience in a church now predominantly urban.

### Publication Activities

The Mormon Church is extensively involved in "dispensing 'the word'" or in somewhat at least "Deifying the word." Words are spoken from the pulpit and in the classroom. Words are printed and distributed to church members throughout the world. The bureaucracy of the church increases accordingly. A review of the extensive publication activities of the church, then, documents a denomination-ward movement, including a bureaucratization component.

Arrington (1973) provides the following indicators. The church owns and distributes the Deseret News, including a Saturday supplement, "The Church News" to around 100,000 families, not all of whom are LDS. Separate magazines for adults, youth and children are also published with a combined circulation of approximately 350,000. Manuals and various lesson materials are published for all of the auxiliaries. Many of these are translated into other non-English languages and distributed throughout the world. Lesson manuals are published in 21 languages. There are translation and distribution centers in Salt Lake City, Mexico City, Sao Paulo, Frankfurt, Copenhagen, Liege, Hong Kong, Seoul, Tikyo and Auckland. Further a unified church magazine is published in 17 languages.

The church-owned Deseret Book Store, sells books of church interest.

### Upward Mobility Facilitation Factors

Sect groups, tend to discredit the secular world as evil, yet they frequently encourage behavior on the part of sect members which facilitates upward mobility within the society. It is difficult to maintain a definition of societal evilness and at the same time enjoy the fruits of citizenship in that society. The Mormon Church provides illustrations of this more general phenomenon.

Factors such as the following have encouraged economic success with attendant upward mobility within the society:

1. hard work
2. strong Americanism
3. No drink
4. Stable family
5. Being "honest, true, chaste, benovelent and in doing good to all men"

### Harmonizing with the Society

The sect group is "at war" with society and with societal religion. The denomination is essentially at peace with its larger society. What might be called the accommodation process of the Mormon Church has included changes in plural marriage patterns, in political activities with the creation of rival political parties upon the dissolution of the People's Party, in the support of public school systems, and in joint business ventures with non-Mormons. These changes were a part of the process by which statehood was eventually achieved.

With the migration west, the church was able to establish itself as essentially a separate, isolated, society, with its theocratic type of government. Geographic and cultural isolation was gradually changed to geographic and cultural integration. The group which was outside the society moved into the society, with each influencing the other. Accommodation was not completely one-sided.

The extent of societal accommodation including societal acceptance is suggested by the fact that George Romney was seen as a serious contender for the U.S. presidency, J. Willard Marriott was the Chairman of the Inaugural activities of Richard Nixon, and in the political realm the fact that a visit to SLC and an "audience" with LDS Church officials seems to be an expected procedure for any major candidate for national political office.

Accommodation to the larger society is also evidenced in the creation of the Social Services program in the Church. In this program experts who frequently acquired their expertise in non-church schools and programs are involved in activities designed to make use of these non-theological skills. This includes, psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, social workers, health professionals, lawyers, and etc.

### Within-Group Distinctions

Part of the growing pains for the Church has involved an increased awareness and public recognition of the existence of conservative and liberals within the church. Not much attention is publically given to these differences, however, Arrington (1973) as one exception, discussed what he terms a "healthy tension" which exists between these two factions. The publication of Dialogue as a journal of Mormon thought which is completely separate from the official church organization, is also indicative of a growing awareness that a distinction meaningful to many if not all church members is evident.

O'Dea provides an explanation for the growth of the Mormon Church beyond that of many other groups which have experienced what he labels "sectarian stagnation." Instead of stagnation, he points out, there emerged a large ecclesiastical organization which is the organized core of the Mormon People, who have evolved a subculture and homeland and for whom religious fellowship is impenetrated by the total bonds of community and family. The study illustrates both the relationship of religious fellowship to incipient nationality and the importance of a unique combination of events in social causation. He identifies the following as factors facilitating the avoidance of "sectarian stagnation."

1. The nonsectarian possibilities of building the Kingdom which could require so much subtle accommodation.
2. The doctrine of natural goodness, by way of which 19th century American optimism entered Mormon religious consciousness to blend there with the chiliastic expectations of a restorationist movement.
3. Universal missionary understanding of a notion of "Gathering of the Elect."
4. Temporal appropriateness of the doctrine in the late 1830's.
5. The success of missionary work.
6. The withdrawal of the Law of Consecration.
7. The failures and consequent necessity of starting again.
8. The expulsion from the Middle West.
9. The choice and the existence of a large, unattractive expanse of land in the West.
10. The authoritarian structure of the church and the central government which it made possible.

The success of Mormonism is related to the fact that there were persecutions sufficient to cause them to migrate to a desolate area and there engage in collective hard work to make the "desert blossom as a rose." In their Utah home they were able to create for themselves a somewhat distinctive culture including a distinctive religious component.



## CHAPTER EIGHT

### LEADERSHIP

Leaders relate to followers. Followers relate to leaders. Leader-follower interaction always occurs in a social and a physical situation, and is influenced by the larger stage upon which that behavior takes place. Change introduced in any component of the ISAS variables influences the others. The multitude of changes which accompanied the transition of the Mormon Church from a small newly-organized group in a small geographic area to a world-wide, high complex and highly organized group all relate directly or indirectly to the leadership involved in this change. Leaders initiate change but also react to change, being sensitive to what is happening to the church members and the societies in which the church exists.

The large complex picture cannot be adequately presented. We will focus initially upon some characteristics of the early church leaders which will be contrasted with contemporary leader variables.

#### INITIAL CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP

To the Mormons, Joseph Smith is a prophet of God and Jesus Christ is the Messiah of the world. While not concerned here with the question of whether either was by some religious criteria what it is claimed they were, the sociologist is concerned with studying what he calls different types of leadership. Two major types are the prophet type and the messiah type. These, of course, are the social aspects of the roles. With reference to such types of leadership, a pattern of behavioral characteristics and transitional behavior has been given some sociological attention. The successful religious innovator, or a prophet type individual, is typically a charismatic leader. Since he is innovating, or he has visions of something new, he does not have access to established authority. He does not have the force of an established group with established sanctions and established resources to support his position and his proposed actions. He is anti-establishment. One way or another he proclaims "It is written, but I say unto you..." What he says is opposed to what has been written by the group. As was pointed out in a previous chapter, he is a deviant individual.

His success is directly related to his ability to get potential followers to also reject that which is written or the established rules and regulations and to follow him. He must have what is popularly called a "magnetic personality". Charisma is the term used in the sociological literature to identify this configuration of behavior.

In his analysis of the creation of new groups, Toth (1973) has concerned himself with identifying the characteristics of charismatic leadership of the original innovator, which he contrasts with the characteristics of the second leader who assumes his leader role following the death or removal of the initial leader. Toth uses the expression of the "two charismas". In the Mormon experiences, the two leaders involved are, of course, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. Joseph Smith was the visionary who declared to the world the religious error which he perceived and proclaimed that he was the instrument thru which change, in this case, restoration, would be initiated.

Brigham Young was the leader who defended the vision and insight of Joseph Smith and created a bureaucratic structure to engage in what he considered to be the appropriate behavior for the new church. Joseph Smith provided religious, sacred visions including new knowledge or new configurations of knowledge. He worked largely with ideas. Brigham Young worked with people and created new social systems to protect the new message provided by Joseph Smith. Joseph Smith innovated, Brigham Young standardized and defended.

Gary Shepherd (1972) has provided a comparison of the leadership characteristics of these two leaders focusing upon the charismatic components. He categorizes Joseph Smith as a strong charismatic leader, who made prophetic writings and commandments. Brigham Young served as a catalyzing agent in transforming the dominance of personal charisma into the more routine concerns of everyday behavior.

With the death of Joseph Smith, a classic illustration of what Max Weber termed the "crisis of succession" and the "routinization of charisma" took place. Weber points out that it is impossible for the original "divinely" granted power to be passed on, in the sense that charismatic leadership approximates its "pure type" only at the time of its origin. Suddenly deprived of their charismatic leader, the followers typically seek to preserve and institutionalize their beliefs and experiences which were related to the initial leader. Initial changes are transformed into permanent patterns. Establishing change and preserving established change are two different things. One requires an innovator the other a defender of the faith or a preserver.

The process of "routinizing charisma" is first made manifest in the efforts to select a successor to the leader. In general, three methods may be employed: (1) a new leader is chosen on the basis of his qualities that seem similar to the charismatic qualities of the leader (2) the leader designates his own successor (3) the body of disciples choose the successor themselves by popular acclaim. All three of these methods move away from the "personal call" concept of pure charisma. Leaders are selected or come from the group of followers. The leader does not proclaim his divinely commissioned role.

Joseph Smith evidenced his charisma from the beginning. It was an essential component in the conception, formation, and initial maintenance of the LDS Church. Brigham Young became a legend in his own time among both Mormons and non-Mormons, largely through his abilities and prodigious achievements, but not primarily thru the prophetic, charismatic appeal by which Joseph Smith attracted his disciples.

Once a church is established, the aura of charisma tends to be associated with the office rather than the individual. The office holder (the role player) however also acquires some of the charisma of office. Personal charisma becomes charisma of office. Thus, Shepherd points out, with the ascendancy of Brigham Young to power in Nauvoo, Charisma was "successfully contained within the organizational structure of the church... To some extent, routinized and organization procedures under the direction of a strong authoritarian leader largely replaced visions and revelations."

The concept of "revelation" also took on different emphasis and/or orientation. Joseph Smith's revelations concerned largely religious truths or what might be called theological matters. Subsequent revelations have been largely what could be called "bureaucratic revelations" or revelations concerning the organization of the church, the establishment of some new program such as the Church Welfare Program or the selection of new officers. Potential programs are likely to be discussed in the church counsels before they are presented to the church as a whole to be incorporated into the programs of the church.

### Bureaucratization of the Church

The high and very visible church office building in Salt Lake City, stands as a monumental reminder of the number of offices it takes to run the church and the number of office holders who must interrelate their behavior in order to make that interaction at least somewhat "hang together" in a harmonious organization. The office building is visibly taller than the temple. The office workers keep the church functioning. It could not function as it does without them.

### Volunteer, Lay Leadership

Not having a professional clergy, except at the very top echelons, appears to be a major factor which serves to produce distinctive characteristics for Mormons. It is likely, for instance that this contributes to an involvement which is higher for male Mormons than for males from most other religious groups. This aspects of Mormonism needs to be further studied.

Writing in 1925, Harris and Butts (p. 42) indicated that at that time Mormonism has produced prominent men in nearly every line of endeavor. Utah exceeded all states, except those in New England in proportion of men who had attained distinction as indicated by having their names listed in Who's Who in America, and in Utah the part of the population which had the highest proportion of Mormons was higher than those with lower percentages. Harris and Butts suggest that this may be a result of church teaching but also may be influenced by the fact that individual were provided with many in-church opportunities to functions in leadership roles.

### VOLUNTEER, LAY LEADERSHIP

The potential impact upon the behavior of individuals members is suggested by an analysis by Reeder ( ). He considered the extent to which active, willing adults were involved in church activities. He studied the Box Elder area in northern Utah in 1954-55. He found from the data he secured that an active male member who is not an officer or teacher has approximately four regulary scheduled church meetings per week, two hundred per year to which he is invited or encouraged to attend. An individual who was an officer in one organization and a teacher in another, which would be common for many officers, would have approximately six meetings per week or approximately three hundred per year. Two-thirds or three-fourths of these meetings occur on Sunday, and other third or fourth on a weekday evening. The meetings include large congregational meetings, class meetings, and executive committee or presidency meetings.

An average ward of 625 persons would have approximately 200 regular church offices and positions to fill or approximately 30,000 regular church offices and positions for the community. This does not include the home teachers of whom there are approximately 80 in the average ward or 1,200 in the community, nor does it include the committees for special purposes of which there are several.

At least three-fourths of all persons over 20 years of age could hold one office or teaching position if they were distributed one per person.

Leadership functions such as talks, prayers, administration, and passing of the sacrament, participation in musical groups and such activities are distributed widely among the members irrespective of whether they hold an office or not. Conducting meetings and teaching classes are functions of officers and teachers. An estimate of the number of opportunities for individuals to take part in common leadership roles before an audience or group indicates approximately 11,500 for a ward per year or approximately 173,000 for the community. There are an additional 5,000 opportunities for home teachings calls or 75,000 for the community.

Three-fifths of officers and teachers attend two hundred or more church meetings per year; approximately half estimate that they have participated in leadership functions 600 or more times in their lifetime under church sponsorship. Three-fifths have accumulated 20 or more years of experience as an officer or teacher; approximately two-fifths have filled one or more missions for the church. Inactive members and low attenders have had fewer experiences.

Information for the secular organizations of the area indicates that the church provides at least ten times as many leadership experiences for community members as all secular organizations combined. Church offices and teachers participate more in secular organizations than inactive members or low attenders but the differences are not nearly as large as are the differences in their church participation.

Reeder then concludes that it appears that one of the main factors in leadership development in a Mormon community is the many opportunities in the social structure for leadership experiences.

The existence of a lay leadership most likely facilitates a commitment to the church different in some respects from other religious groups with differing leadership patterns. If I have taught and "officered" in the church, I am likely to be committed to the program and to myself as a member of the group. To reject the church would be to reject my previous self.

In the Mormon organizations, everyone has an opportunity to serve and to in effect give gifts to others. Everyone has an opportunity to be involved meaningfully in something viewed as bigger than the self and family.

Knowing that others are doing volunteer activities may increase my willingness to support them in their position. This seems to carry with it the implicit assumption that when I become the leader or teacher you will support me and thus make my job easier.

The Mormon Church then provides a well-established altruistic behavior outlet. Individuals are expected to contribute their time and talents to the Church, knowing that others will know that they are engaged in this altruistic behavior. Concern for others may be developed and expanded in the process. It is also possible, however, that the concern focuses upon the organization rather than the people involved. Church "organizational men" are created. The church program which was designed as a means to an end, may become in effect an end in itself. Once one is caught up in such a process it is easy to never ask whether the program is accomplishing what it was designed to accomplish. Keeping the program "programing" is the major goal.

The typical church experience, then, facilitates the development of a volunteer missionary system, which is discussed elsewhere.

Having roles which individuals can play also provides a visible legitimation of the "religious self definitions." If I am playing the role of Bishop, I must be worthy of doing so.

The process of sustaining each other in public also may serve a program facilitating function. I will sustain you expecting that you in turn will sustain me. Doing the sustaining in public adds to the likelihood that the "sustaining vote" will be translated into sustaining behavior. Others know that I have agreed to sustain Bishop X, and my knowing that they know I did, increases the likelihood that I will in fact follow through.

Nearly everyone has a role to play, in which he administers, correlates, directs singing, keeps records, teaches lessons, etc. Not everyone is equally prepared or adept in such things. This procedure then enhances dependence upon authorities which in turn fosters obedience. If you don't know how to do you assigned task, or you experience failure in attempting to do it, you seek help from the expert and the individual has been told who that expert is.

Those who they are administering also know that maybe in the future (or in the past) they will be called upon to do such things or to play such a role. This reduces the likelihood of criticism, especially if criticism is viewed as immoral or against God's wishes.

Follower "gifts" to leaders. Part of the strength and power of the leader comes from the group he leads. LDS leaders in effect are constantly engaged in a request for congregational support. They are formally-officially and informally-unofficially given sustaining behavior, including the staitaining vote. Such votes do in fact sustain them in somewhat the same manner as food sustains the body.

Talk. If they are active, Mormons are forced to talk to other Mormons about Mormonism. Ignoring for the moment the content of what is said, the fact of talking and talking tends to foster commitment to what is considered to be basic. Effective talkers are rewarded. Non-effective talkers are taught in teacher-training classes, preparation meetings, etc., to be more effective. Thru such talking those involved real-ize a religious reality. They are socially constructing a reality base. Understanding the symbolic nature thereof, then, helps understand why constant re-talking is necessary. Each new group needs to be retaught and re-committed. There is not much time for theorizing. Re-teaching, re-talking the basics keeps them busy.

The Mormon Church has an accepted, established world view including a life view. New members coming into the church thru birth or missionary activity have to be "sold" on that view. Part of the conversion process, including the continuing conversion-validation process is to have the members frequently talk to each other about that view. Any socially constructed symbolic world view must be constantly reaffirmed or validated if it is to continue to influence people. Such views are made and then remade.

Since the ward and the stake are run by the members thereof, the individual members may develop a strong commitment to the success of the organization. They may be anxiously engaged in the work of organizational immortality. They want their organization to succeed. In the Mormon Church there are many organizations with which one can identify and in identifying contribute to the success thereof.

Members of the church in effect engage in an on-going conversation with their church. This serves an important validating function. Their world taken-for-granted receives repeated validation thereby.

In the bureaucratic processes, it is also possible to tranquilize oneself with the trivia of the job. The church job may serve as an escape mechanism. Being concerned with the broad picture may be a defense against getting involved with the smaller segments.

Extensive individual involvement in officering and running the church at the local levels, which Mormons do in addition to their jobs and other civic responsibilities, means, in effect, that there will be little time left for abstract theological development or highly sophisticated theologizing. This makes sure that the general authorities will be the authorities. Higher education in which individuals do have time to speculate on non-pragmatic phenomenon may lead to questioning of established dogmas, and is discussed in greater detail in the chapter on education.

The point here is that the arrangement reinforces the authoritiness of the general authorities. When much of the time I have available is taken upon with procedural, organizational matters, I am willing to leave to others, the creation of the theology.

However, the teaching patterns counteracts this tendency somewhat since it assures that many members will have contact with theology, and further will be involved in defending it and thereby increasing their acceptance thereof.

#### Calling to office

From the top down, Mormons are told that one is called of God to play a particular role. The President of the Church is believed to be God mouth-piece or to speak in the name of God to the entire church and to the world as well. In this role the decision-making power of the President of the Church is tremendous. Belief in modern revelation incorporates the possibility that any established belief or behavior expectation could be changed. It was with reference to this change potential that Snook (1973:65) concluded that the power of the Mormon general authorities in some respects is greater than that of the Pope, "who may speak authoritatively for the Catholic Church only under highly restrictive conditions of canon law."

Being Called to an Office. Mormons are encouraged to define the invitation to serve in a given office or to play a particular role as being called by God to do so. God is believed to speak thru those who speak in his name. Revelation comes from those or thru those who have been officially called to do so. As has been indicated at this stage of church development, revelation takes on bureaucratic characteristics. There are many consequences of realizing this or of accepting this definitions or interpretations.

One consequences is that the decisions of those in a position to call others to function within church organizations acquire an aura of sacredness and hence become change resistant. This interpretation is helpful in the accomplishment of certain goals and a hinderance in the accomplishment of other goals. For one thing, this introduces into consideration an element of honoring obeying and protecting the word of God or the choice of God. This, of course, facilitates control on the part of the leaders and obedience on the part of the followers.

There is a responsibility evading component in that those involved can directly or indirectly put the responsibility for either successes or failures upon supernatural entities. Mormons would be more inclined to do this for successes than for failures.

As has been indicated, the Mormon Church is highly bureaucratized. When those at a lower level, say the ward level, affirm or testify to the divine call of those above them, they are indirectly also validating their own position by providing a divine-call interpretation of their own call. This provides an indication of their own self worth. If the stake president is inspired or is called as a result of divine revelation, then my calling by him must also be of the same nature. I must be worthy of that call. An affirmation of self worth is made, but in a "humble" indirect way. It is likely that some of those making such affirmations are unaware of what is being said about themselves when they confirm the call of those above them.

The belief that one's holding a given position has supernatural approval may facilitate adequately playing that role. If one doesn't do his job well, then the failure shock may be great.

Role failure or inadequacy may become doubly traumatic. The one failing may see himself not only as being a poor leader, but an unworthy person. After all he didn't fulfill God's expectations.

It is easy to generalize the belief that the leader deserves his position to the premise that the non-leader also deserves his lack of a leader role. Definitions of personal inadequacy may result. The individual who is not called to be the bishop may engage in self examination to see where he was unworthy. Potential negative impact of such awareness however is meditated by awareness of the rotation patterns involved.

Those who want strong leaders to tell them authoritatively what to think and what to do, easily give their loyalty to such leaders. They may project their problems upon their leaders and the leaders receive increased power as a result thereof.

Follower peace of mind may stem from beliefs that the leader does not have the types of conflicts and conflict experiences the followers have,

They admire their self assured behavior which may contrast with their own self depreciatory anxious behavior.

Leaders engage in important rituals in the name of God and they must therefore be worthy to do so.

Belief in divine involvement and in leaders who it is believed have been called to their positions, facilitates avoiding doing too little, which could be as defeating as wanted to do too much. Belief in divine inspiration and revelation may serve to expand expectations. This in turn facilitates giving one's best for the position.

There is also a conflict potential in that, as in any bureaucracy, those in leadership positions may be so concerned with their authority and with the desire that those under them recognize that authority and be obedient to it that the overall love-goals of the church may be subverted or may lose something in the obedience-goals of the leaders. Obedience become of greater importance than free agency. Knowing the proper organizational procedures becomes of greater importance than learning correct principles by which people can govern themselves.

#### Conflict Potential of "Calling"

Those working under or being under a "called" leader may experience problems depending upon how closely what they consider to be appropriate behavior for such leaders (the set of expectations they utilize) corresponds to the actual behavior of their leaders. Those who expect "god-like" or at least "saint-like" behavior and decisions may have problems when "human-like" behavior and decisions are perceived. The followers may feel let down, empty, shortchanged by such behavior, or at least their interpretation thereof. Hostility may be displaced upon others since to doubt, question or openly challenge or reject one "called of God" can be unacceptable.

The fact that leaders typically have counselors who they are expected to consult no doubt serve to reduce the likelihood of the leader deviating very far from the expectations of those followers.

There is also a conflict potential in the fact that members may see so much of the human side of "calling" that they question the superhuman component. They tend to see the church as an organization of humans managing humans rather than an organization under the direction of God. This is particular true at the lower-level organizations.

Also there is a potential shock of release from office, especially if there is little or no advance notice. If one is a bishop because he is worthy to be, then there may be an elements of worthiness lack when one is released, especially for those for whom a new role is not provided. Those who are made a stake president have no problems, those who now become "one of the boys" may have problems.

Identity clash of Mormon Bishops. The literature concerning Protestant and Jewish clergy identifies as a major problem for seminary trained clergyman, the fact that he is typically more liberal than his followers and thus has to work out some compromise between what he personally believes and would like to preach about and what he thinks his parishioners believe and what they want him to preach about. It seems likely that the Mormon



Bishop who has not had specialized theological-seminary training for his position does not have the problem to the same degree. However, the fact that those selected to be Mormon leaders do tend to be different from church membership as a whole on variables such as education, occupation, social class, etc., suggests that aspects of the problem most likely do exist. There is no research on the matter.

### Research

Dyer and Quinn (1975) studied a sample of bishops and stake presidents, securing data on their behavior at church, at work and at home, and were able to compare their "leadership styles" in these three different situations. From a random sample of 130 invited to participate, 42 of the 52 who responded qualified to participate. Of the 42 leaders only two were non-professional in occupation. Perceptions of work style were secured from the leaders, from their subordinates at church, their nonsecretarial subordinates at work and from their wives and teenage children. Distinctions were made between participative and non-participative leadership. Participative leadership was determined or measured by data as to extent of feedback from subordinates and the extent to which the leader communicates with them, the involvement and influence of subordinates in the endeavors, and the degree to which subordinates indicated they shared feelings, ideas and opinions with the leader in friendly cooperation.

Leaders were found on basis of reports of subordinates to be most participative in their church leadership role, less so at home and least at work, with the differences being significant at the .01 level.

The leaders perceived themselves as being different in the three systems, and leader perception was accurate (harmonized with the perceptions of subordinates) at work and at church, but not at home. At home the leaders saw themselves at least participative, but the spouse and teenage children reported experiencing the leader as more participative than he saw himself to be. As is indicated elsewhere, the leader may want to see himself as behaving in a patriarchal manner at home since this harmonizes with teachings of the church. His actual behavior however seems to reflect the societal ideals of democratic family interaction, rather than such "idealized" church ideals.

Kunz and Brinkerhoff (1970) provide a comparison of the differential growth rates of the Mormon Church and 27 Baptist denominations of the American Baptist Convention. They were concerned with identifying factors which might account for the differences. The Mormon Church has been increasing in membership while the American Baptist Convention has been decreasing. Their analysis focused upon recruitment of members. They identified three recruitment types as follows: (1) being born into the group (2) migrating from another like unit and (3) conversion. They related growth patterns to religious ideology and organizational structure, concluding that the Mormon Church, as a much tighter organization, is able to utilize these growth mechanisms more effectively than the American Baptist Convention does with its rather "loose" organizational structure. Kunz and Brinkerhoff conclude that organization growth and membership problems cannot be understood without also understanding ideology and organizational structure.

Societal Status of General Authorities. Using membership lists from the Church Historians Office and the appropriate editions of Who's Who in America, John Clark (1973) checked to see whether the secular or non-

religious status of the LDS general authorities and by implication the church they represent, has risen over time. Using being listed in Who's Who as the criteria of high secular status, he concluded that it had. He checked to see if the percentage of general authorities listed was greater in the later years than the earlier years of this century. It was not. He also checked whether the status of the general authorities (First Presidency, Quorum of the 12, Seventies and Quorum Assistants) was reflected in the secular status--i.e., were those higher in the church hierarchy more likely to be high in non-church status. They were.

However, over the years the number of general authorities has increased with an increase in Quorum Assistants, and the number of listings in Who's Who has also increased. The increase from 26 to 44 general authorities had been exclusively within the position of Assistants to the 12. Of those who were named general authorities and then listed in Who's Who, none occupied a position of Assistant at the time of being listed.

Clark also found that contrary to his expectation, the birth location of general authorities during the entire period studied was predominantly Utah. Further 56.7% of the 118, were between ages 40 and 59 at the time of first appointment, with the average age of appointment being higher in the 20th than the 19th century.

An interesting finding suggests that the perceived secular significance of being a general authority had increased among the general authorities themselves. Biographical data for Who's Who listings are provided by the person listed, thus reflecting what the one listed considered to be appropriate for such listing. Before 1940, 38.9% of those listed (N=18) identified themselves as LDS Church Officials. In the 30 year period from 1940 to 1969, 71.1% included a church authority identification in the material provided.

The self-identified non-church profession of those listed in Who's Who is shown in the following Table (Clark:57):

Table 1: L.D.S. General Authorities Listed in Who's Who by Profession

<u>Profession</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Academia	12	21.4
Agriculture	4	7.1
Banking & Accounting	4	7.1
Engineering	2	3.6
General Business	9	16.1
Government	2	3.6
Law*	9	16.1
Media	5	8.9
No listing	9	16.1
	<u>56</u>	<u>100.0</u>

\*Includes print (newspaper), radio/TV broadcasting and advertising

Clark (p. 62) also reported that Lake (1961) found that of the total number of General Authorities in his study (N=162), 48.1% were a part of an elaborate kinship structure which, in some cases, dated back to the early days of the church.

## Internationalization

As the membership of the church has grown, and as a policy has developed which encourages non-U.S. church members to remain in their home society (see Davies, 1973) a process of internationalization has taken place. More is involved in this process than just the belief, or decision that the message of the church should be given to everyone. Such a view can be related to a "Gathering to Zion" orientation which facilitates keeping the church beliefs and behavior "Zion oriented." In such a situation those moving to the church center are typically expected to modify and change their church-related behavior to harmonize with established practices in their new home land. The expectations, however, go far beyond the basic religious component. Those coming to the new country are also expected to adjust their secular behavior/beliefs to those of their new home society. In the case of Mormonism they are expected to Americanize themselves.

Living in the Utah society, for instance, incorporated a complex mixture of Americanism and Mormonism, with but little if any effort being made by Utah Mormons to separate the two. In fact in many respects, one's score on a "Mormonism Index" rested in part upon one's score on an "Americanism Index."

The internationalization of the Mormon Church, however, involves the reverse pattern. The Mormon leaders from Utah, the church headquarters, have started to take the church leaders to the non-U.S. Mormons, rather than encourage them to come to the Church. This has involved such procedures as holding General Conferences in England, Mexico and Germany. At such meetings, speeches given in English have been translated into the native language. Those involved in such processes are likely to begin to distinguish between the "Utah-American" component of the secular-sacred configuration of Mormonism as experienced in Utah and the basic sacred-religious components. Drawing such boundary lines, however, is not necessarily easy.

The internationalization process will most likely also be evidenced in the future selection of high echelon leaders, as happened in 1975 with the call of a Japanese-American to the rank of Assistant to the Twelve.

The process is also involved in the preparation of lesson materials, as those doing the preparing become aware that lessons oriented to preparing church members to live in what is considered to be an effective manner in Utah is not the same as preparing them to live effectively in Japan or Denmark. Lessons designed to call attention to what is believed to be the strong points of non-American societies are then included in the official program.

## CHAPTER NINE

### SOME RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL INTERRELATIONSHIPS

It is possible for formal societal rules to specify that certain decisions be made by the state and other decisions not be made by the state and thus possibly be made by the church. It is however impossible to legislate that the church has no influence upon the state or that the state have no influence upon the church. In any given society patterns of reciprocal influence will always exist. Thus at the local, state and societal level, Mormonism has influenced the government and has in turn been influenced by political factors. Two primary influence avenues are involved. The Church as a formal organization may exert official and unofficial influence upon the state. This involves individuals behaving in the name of each organization interacting with each other. The second avenue involves individual Mormons acting in their own name, and thus not officially representing or speaking in the name of the Church. It is likely that a Mormon influence would be evidenced in the behavior of individuals who are Mormons. In the early Utah period as well as the Nauvoo period, a theocracy existed. Under such conditions it is next to impossible to distinguish religious from political behavior, since most decisions turn out to be religio-political decisions. As the theocracy diminished, making distinctions between the two areas became easier for the Mormon participants as well as "Mormon watchers."

Williams (1966) in his analysis of the religious-political interrelationships identifies what he considers to be four religious factors which influence the political position of the church:

1. Concept of continuing, modern-day revelation.
2. Strong hierarchial lines from General Authorities thru regional leaders.
3. Strong organization at the neighborhood level, involving the home-teaching system.
4. Ambivalence in Mormon theory and practice. In the Book of Mormon the same individual is at times both a High Priest and a secular leader; Joseph Smith held three positions in Nauvoo: Head of the Church, Mayor of Nauvoo and General of the Nauvoo Legion; Brigham Young was both president of the Church and territorial Governor of Utah; Mormons anticipate the establishment of a religious monarchy upon the second coming of Christ.

Harris & Butts writing in 1925 points out (p. 63-64) that Mormons are encouraged to sustain the law of whatever government they are living under. D & C 58: 21 indicates that "He that keepeth the laws of God hath no need to break the laws of the land."

Williams indicates that while Utah was in the process of being granted statehood, the problems confronted by the church, influenced the

statehood process. He identifies the following three contributing factors to congressional hostility, the Mormons experienced:

1. Polygamy
2. Early Theocracy
3. Absence of a two-party system. Initially the "People's Party" was the only party in Utah. When the "Liberal Party" was formed, both parties were considered to be a "Church Party" contributing to questions as to whether a two-party system actually existed.

The problems and difficulties associated with being granted statehood exerted a continuing influence upon the political behavior of Mormons. Williams identifies the following issues upon which political advice has been provided by the church frequently thru the church owned newspaper, the Deseret News:

- Against the repeal of prohibition, 1933
- Against communism 1936 (reiterated many times since)
- Against a peacetime draft, 1946
- Against tactics of the John Birch Society, 1963
- For civil rights for all people, 1963
- Against the repeal of the "right-to-work" laws, 1965
- For tight controls of pornography, 1966
- Against political extremists, 1966

Involvements of this type according to Williams lead to issues and potential dilemmas such as the following:

1. Must not the church be in the world to change the world?
2. The right of the Church to protect itself from hostile state action
3. Do Church leaders abdicate their rights as citizens in assuming church office?
4. Schism within the Church
5. Threat to democracy from Church interference
6. Doctrinal restraint of Church interference in politics
7. The constitutional prohibition in Utah.

Williams summarized his analysis by indicating that the Mormon Church leaders, to use his terms, have never been able to ignore Caesar's world for very long. Caesar has not always been kind to the Mormons and Mormons have consequently sought to have Caesar with them rather than against them. In taking political positions the Church has reflected the freedom and the pluralism of America: the right to organize and assemble, to speak and publish and to petition the government.

Some of the ways in which church influence has been introduced into the political process are discussed by Williams. In the first place, the fact that the majority of the citizens of the state are Mormons influences the political process. However, this is the influence of Mormons, not the direct influence of the Mormon Church per se. Consistent with

earlier practices, Mormon leaders have run for political office and have been successful in such efforts. Endorsement of political candidates by church leaders, and both overt and covert efforts to influence the electorate have been experienced.

### Territorial Utah

Given the theocratic organization of the early Mormon colonies it is not surprising that the church had a strong influence upon political matters when the Territory of Utah was formed. Allen (1966) in his analysis of the interrelationships points out that the Stake President's influence in political matters was related to the fact that he was the most influential ecclesiastical person in the stake and that the stake boundaries and the country boundaries usually coincided. Similarly the Bishop was the leading religious authority within the local community. County probate judges were elected by the territorial legislature which was predominately Mormon. At the territorial level Brigham Young occupied the dual positions of authority.

Allen points out that it was not uncommon for political decisions to be made during the general conference of the church, by means of a church vote rather than a political vote. Bishops were at times asked to sit with the court and discuss county problems such as liquor control and cattle laws in 1863 and 1865 respectively. President Young was asked to make input on the location of a county road south of Bountiful, and after he indicated that he thought the road "would be best at right angles," the court appointed a Bishop to assist in the relocation planning.

In 1890 President Woodruff issued the manifesto which placed plural marriage in a forbidden category. At about the same time the church political party (Peoples Party) was dissolved, and the Mormons were literally divided into Republican and Democratic parties. Statehood was subsequently granted, with a sharing of political offices by Mormons and non-Mormons. In 1899 Brigham H. Roberts was elected to Congress. He was at the time also a member of the First Council of Seventy in the Church hierarchy. He also had two wives having married both of them before 1880. By a vote of 268 to 50 Congress refused to accept him into the Senate.

Another General Authority of the Church, Reed Smoot, was subsequently elected to the Senate. Smoot was monogamous. A three-year congressional investigation of not only Smoot, but the Mormon Church and church leaders followed. The Senatorial committee voted in favor of expulsion. However, with the active support of President T. Roosevelt and other prominent Republicans, the Senate voted to override the committee recommendation. Smoot continued in his office for the next 30 years.

In Salt Lake City, what amounted to an anti-Mormon political party was organized--the American Party. The Salt Lake Tribune supported the anti-Mormon candidates and a mayor and other city officials were elected.

Arrington indicates that despite continuing predominance of Mormons in Utah three non-Mormons have been elected governor: Simon Bamberger (1916-1920), George H. Derne (1924-1932), and J. Bracken Lee (1952-1960).

Every election has produced charges that the Mormon Church was attempting to influence the outcome, but most of these seem traceable to particular interested parties who seek to use the church, or motivate the electorate, for their own purposes. The President of the Church publicly advocated a vote for Taft in 1912 (Taft did receive a plurality in Utah), a vote for Hoover in 1932 (Utah voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt) and a vote for Landon in 1936 (Utah again voted overwhelmingly for Roosevelt). But other than these instances, the church's influence has been directed toward issues and politics rather than toward personalities and parties.

Today, the church is one of many interest groups such as business corporations, labor unions, the medical profession, and teachers, who are involved in the political process.

### Contemporary Relationships

The political influence of the Mormon Church varies according to the larger situation, including the nature of the community involved. In a study of Bountiful, Utah (identified as "Northville" in the study) Ted C. Smith (1960) found that this community is mostly Mormon and that Mormon religious sentiment is still relatively strong there. However, as a result, partly of increasing involvement of the community residents in activities outside of their local community, there has been a decrease in the commitment to the community as a part of an ecclesiastical order. There is a high commitment to the community and a general structuring of power into a single hierarchy, which includes the religious components.

Bountiful, then is politically more religious-oriented than, say, Salt Lake City. It can be categorized as falling somewhere in between Salt Lake City and the Uintah Basin area which was studied by Collins (1971). In the Uintah Basin, most of the people live in tightly structured hamlets or villages, which are organized around the local Mormon churches. Community leadership is incorporated in the complex church hierarchical structure. Of the active Mormons questioned, 78 percent offered their ward Bishop or former Bishop as the man best suited to represent their community. Community activities generally were found to revolve about one or more of the Mormon auxiliary organizations. All community activities, including secular events such as dances or meetings, are held in the local church buildings.

Liquor by the drink. In his analysis of the 1968 election in Utah, Emenhiser (1969) indicated that on the question of liquor by the drink, the Mormons who were opposed to the proposition, through a grass-roots organization and a program paralleling the LDS home teaching program, reached every ward in the state, and were able to defeat the proposition. Non-Mormons were, of course, also involved especially in the high-level committee structure, thus achieving visibility thereby.

Abortion Issue. Richardson and Fox (1972) from their research on abortion reform legislation in Nevada provide information concerning the relationship between religious affiliation and voting behavior on this issue. Catholic, Mormon, and Protestant legislators were studied. It was found that knowledge of religious affiliation of the legislators provided greater

prediction than knowledge of constituency, party, or age, and controlling for these three variables affected the size of associations only slightly. This relationship was particularly dramatized in the shift of Mormon lower house member's votes from 1967 to 1969, during which time the Mormon church made official statements in opposition to such legislation.

Richardson and Fox point out however that the relationship found in their research may be interpreted in different ways. The legislator may be voting for whatever he believes his constituency wants, and thus if they belong to the Mormon Church he may vote as he believes they desire him to. However, it is possible that what is identified is a relationship between authority and voting behavior rather than between theological beliefs and such voting behavior. It may be that it is not the theological beliefs per se but the fact that the general authorities of the church have made an authoritative statement on one side.

Obedience to authorities, of course, is justified or validated on theological grounds.

Equal Rights Amendment. The Mormon Church is a family oriented church. It is not surprising that many Mormons then related the Equal Rights Amendment which would influence the role of females (and males) in the American society to what they believed to be potential influence upon the family. Miller and Linker (1974) provide the following analysis of the Mormon influence in the initial legislative consideration of ERA:

Officially, the Mormon Church took no position on the Equal Rights Amendment, but church members spoke against the amendment not "as representatives of the church, but as individual citizens," and the Deseret News, a church-owned Salt Lake paper, editorialized against the amendment. Moreover, against the background of church teachings on the role of woman and the sacred quality of the patriarchal family structure, the HOTDOGS' warning about the dire effects of the amendment on family life must have alarmed many devout church members. Responding to a question of the effects of the amendment on the home, for example, Belle Spafford, the President of the Mormon Woman's Relief Society, said, "We're all concerned about the impact of change in the status of women on the home and the solidarity of the home and family. Of course, as a Latter-Day Saint and as a woman, I think we must remember that our primary role is in the home and family life."

The amendment failed to gain approval.

Political Affiliation. Davies (1963), drawing from the total number of stakes within the continental U.S., secured information from the general membership, from Bishops and from Stake Presidents. Utilizing a measure of religiosity which included seven basic items, he was able to relate degree of religiosity to political affiliation. He found that for the church as a whole the percent reporting political affiliation in the Democratic and the Republican parties was about equal. However the likelihood of being Republican increased as religiosity increased and as level of



involvement (holding office) in the bureaucracy increased. Of those in the highest religiosity category, 58.4% were Republican. Of the bishops 55.6% and of the stake presidents 89.3% were Republican.

The political power of Mormons in the state of Utah is suggested by the fact that in 1954, 95% of all elected public office holders were Mormon. In 1956, 94% of all the candidates on the ballot were Mormon.

A publication providing religious identification for congressmen and senators, "Register Citizen Opinion 1973" identifies the following members of the first session of the 93rd Congress as Mormons:

ARIZONA: Rep. Moris K. Udall  
CALIFORNIA: Rep. Del Clawson  
Rep. Clair W. Burgener  
Rep. Richard T. Hanna  
IDAHO: Rep. Orval Hansen  
NEVADA: Senator Howard W. Cannon  
NORTH DAKOTA: Senator Milton R. Young  
UTAH: Senator Wallace F. Bennet  
Senator Frank E. Moss  
Rep. K. Gunn McKay  
Rep. Wayne Owens  
House: 7      Senate: 4      Total: 11

#### Informal Relationships

In early 1970 the mass media focused attention upon the activities of an organization which came to be known as the Neighborhood Emergency Teams, or N.E.T. The group was known variously as a vigilante group, a protection group, a patriotic group and a preparedness group. This development occurred at a time when there was considerable public concern with the relationships between the Mormon Church and the Blacks. The leader of the program was himself a Mormon but the problem had no official connection with the Church. Some publicity was given to what was purported to be a prophecy of the third president of the Mormon Church, John Taylor.

The N.E.T. program focused upon five areas:

1. A communication team
2. An Emergency Medical Team
3. A security team
4. A food storage and survival team
5. A countermeasure team.

Thru the program the group hoped to head off the "imminent destruction of the United States by forces opposed to our government."

The Mormon Church publically disclaimed any involvement in the program, and indicated that it did not approve of its members being active in such groups.

### Evaluation of Political Involvement

Being an active Mormon is frequently viewed as being pretty much a full-time endeavor. The charge has been leveled against Mormons in fact, that they are frequently so busy in church activities that they have (or make) no time for community activities. Church efforts to change this image have been underway. The orientation is reflected in the following 1968 quotation:

The growing world-wide responsibilities of the Church make it inadvisable for the Church to seek to respond to all the various and complex issues involved in the mounting problems of the many cities and communities in which members live. But this complexity does not absolve members as individuals from filling their responsibilities as citizens in their own communities.

We urge our members to do their civic duty and to assume their responsibilities as individual citizens in seeking solutions to the problems which beset our cities and communities.

With our wide ranging mission, so far as mankind is concerned, Church members cannot ignore the many practical problems that require solution if our families are to live in an environment conducive to spirituality.

Where solutions to these practical problems require cooperative action with those not of our faith, members should not be reticent in doing their part in joining and leading in those efforts where they can make an individual contribution to those causes which are consistent with the standards of the Church.

Individual Church members cannot, of course, represent or commit the Church, but should, nevertheless, be "anxiously engaged" in good causes, using the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ as their constant guide. (Published in the California Intermountain News Sept. 19, 1968)

### War Related Behavior

Writing on the fruits of Mormonism in 1925, Harris and Butts included a chapter on patriotism of Mormons, indicating that in the following activities early Mormons demonstrated their commitment to their society in that their record exceeded that of most others in these war-related activities:

Volunteers for military service  
Oversubscription in money drives  
Conservation of Food  
Loan drives

President Joseph F. Smith is quoted as pointing out in 1914 that while the Church sincerely believed in peace on earth and good will to men, this was tempered as follows:

"...I believe it is righteous and just for every people to defend their own lives and their own liberties, and their own homes, with the last drop of their blood. I believe this is right and I believe that the Lord will sustain any people in defending their own liberty to worship according to the dictates of their conscience and people trying to preserve their wives and their children from the ravages of war."

War behavior is in response to favorable definitions, relative to the audience and to the situation.

Little information is available concerning contemporary relationships between Mormonism and War activities. In a study done with students from Arizona State University, (Sebald and Gallegos 1971), the group studied included 8 Mormons. Such a small "N" suggests that caution is required in interpreting the findings.

The study explored the relationship between religious affiliation, and justification of the war in Southeast Asia. They found that the largest proportion of students with anti-war sentiments was the Jewish group with 92% of them opposed to the war. Then came in descending order, the Agnostic-Atheists with 88% opposed, the Independents with 78%, Catholics with 64% and Protestants and Mormons each with 44%. Conversely then the group expressing the most favorable evaluation was the Mormons with 56% followed by the Protestants with 41%.

Students were also asked to select a hypothetical response to being drafted to go to Vietnam. The Mormon students were the most willing to fight with 56% in this category. In descending order were Protestants, 45%; Catholics, 37%; and Jews, 8%. Those reporting no affiliation had 25%.

The favorability of Mormons to the war may be related to previously identified characteristics such as:

1. Authoritarianism of many (but not all)
2. Positive definition of the U.S. reflected in the belief that the constitution is divinely inspired, etc.
3. Folklore - such as the belief that early leaders are reputed to have predicted that the nation would eventually "hang by a thread" and would be "saved" by the church or at least by "elders of the church."
4. Extensive involvement in Boy Scout program with its "societal" emphasis.
5. Overall organizational orientation.

A war-related question is what happens to the religious beliefs and behavior of veterans. Does having had a war experience tend to increase or decrease religious behavior? In one study, Hardy (1949) found that among the 162 adult Salt Lake City, Mormons he studied, that the male war veterans were as a group less favorable to the Church than the male non-veterans, who in turn were more favorable than the sample of females.

## CHAPTER TEN

### EDUCATION

Three months after they arrived in the Salt Lake Valley the Mormons had established schools for their children. When the territorial legislature was established, one of the first acts after providing for roads was the chartering in 1850 of a university--the first west of the Missouri River. That the Mormons took their education seriously is suggested by the results of the U.S. Census in 1850 which found that the Utah illiteracy rate of .25 was one of the lowest in all the states and territories. The U.S. illiteracy rate was 4.92. In the 1970's Utah was maintaining the position it has held for many years of ranking first among the states in median school years completed by persons 25 or older.

Harris and Butt (1925) described the early Utah situation as including high literacy for the state, with the rate being higher for counties with large Mormon proportions and lower for **those in which the non-Mormon** percentages increased. Utah was 6th in the proportion of children attending school beyond the elementary grades. The proportion of state funds spent for educational purposes in 1919 was higher than in any other state. While the percent of total income for education was high, because of the relative number of children the expenditure per child of school age was not as high as in several other states. In the school year ending 1921 only two states reported a larger proportion of their residents attending colleges and universities than did Utah. In 1923 Utah had the largest proportion.

Such behavior in Utah was following the pattern to which the Mormons had become accustomed in their pre-Utah period. The Church was formally organized in 1830. In June, 1831 William Phelps and Oliver Cowdery were ordained to write books for the schools of the church (D&C 55:4). The School of the Prophets was established in Kirtland, Ohio in 1830, and had an initial enrollment of 60 male students studying theology, political science, literature, geography and Hebrew. (Journal of History, published by the Reorganized Church XV. 267). Other Schools of the Prophets were established in Independence, and in Jackson County, Missouri, and in St. George and Salt Lake City.

In 1840 the Illinois State legislature passed an act establishing the first municipal university in America--the University of the City of Nauvoo. In 1841 and 1842 the three instructors were Orson Pratt, in Mathematics and English, Orson Spencer in Languages and Sidney Rigdon in Rhetoric and Belles Lettres.

The first schools in Utah were apart of their theocratic social system. These church-controlled schools were eventually discontinued in favor of state-controlled schools. Classes in religious education were established to supplement the secular state schools. Classes in theology were incorporated into the programs at the church colleges. In the early 1920's religious classes for grade school students were discontinued. Starting in 1912 at Granite High School, a system of seminaries was established with full time teachers. In 1926 an Institute program associated with established colleges and universities was initiated.

Positive definitions of knowledge per se and the acquisition thereof are implicit in the fact that the Church maintains an extensive formal education system. This involves Brigham Young University, including the Hawaii campus, Ricks College, the Church College of New Zealand, L.D.S. Business College, plus high schools in Tonga, Western Samoa, Tahiti, Mexico, Chile and Bolivia.

The most extensive system outside the U.S. is that in Mexico where there are some 7,600 students enrolled in the LDS schools. Because of Mexican law, these schools are incorporated under the name of Sociedad Educativa Cultural, S.C. Between 1960 and 1973 the church opened 31 primary schools, and one secondary school, with others being planned. They also have a center in Mexico City for teaching teachers. (Arrington 1973).

As has been indicated the Church maintains at the high school level a series of seminaries and at the college level a series of Institutes. Arrington (1973) indicates that in 1973 some 60,000 young Mormons were enrolled in full-time instruction. There were 200 released-time or early morning-seminaries in all states of the Union and in 7 foreign countries, at which more than 140,000 junior high and high school students receive instruction. The Institutes of Religion located near to the campuses of about 250 universities in the U.S. and five foreign countries, serve approximately 40,000 college-age students.

Approximately 220,000 students are enrolled in the church school system.

For students living away from home, the church has created student wards, branches and stakes, Arrington (1973) indicated that there are approximately 300 such wards. The L.D.S. Student Association or LDSSA is also located on university campuses to provide church sponsored and oriented educational and social programs.

Both Mormons leaders and Mormon sacred books provide endorsement for seeking knowledge, and define knowledge per se in positive terms. Both religious or sacred knowledge and secular knowledge are included. Hugh B. Brown, as a member of the First Presidency, in an address to BYU faculty, labeled the acquisition of new knowledge in any area as "revelation." From Brown's perspective, the chemist in his laboratory is engaged in "revealing" the truths of the universe as much as is a prophet. John Taylor emphasized the same point when he said "Our religion... embraces every principle of truth and intelligence... We are open to truth of every kind, no matter whence it comes, where it originates or who believes it."

A positive evaluation of knowledge is derived from the following Mormon scriptures:

- o The Glory of God is Intelligence. D&C 93:36
- o Seek ye diligently and teach one another words of wisdom, yea, seek out of the best books, words of wisdom, seek learning, even by study and also by faith. D&C 88:118
- o It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance. D&C 131:6

- o Whatever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life, it will rise with us in the resurrection. And if a person gains more knowledge and intelligence in this life than another, he will have so much the advantage in the worlds to come. D&C 130:18-19.

Holy Ghost. The importance of knowledge in Mormonism is suggested by the fact that the Holy Ghost is considered to be a part of the Godhead, with the major function thereof being related to communication between the supernatural realm and the natural realm. The importance of knowledge in the Mormon conception of man is also related to their doctrine about human free agency. Free agency can be interpreted as freedom from biological and supernatural determinism (determining or forcing factors) and freedom to engage in symbolic decision making.

### Types of Knowledge

Mormon interpretations of knowledge are generally the one-true-type variety. All truth should be harmonious. The contrasting perspective which emphasizes that any truth is secured by some method and is true only with reference to that method is only rarely presented. Many find the idea of relative truth unacceptable. The idea of contradictory truths is unacceptable to most Mormons.

Whether truth is viewed as relative or absolute has no necessary relationship to behavior.

Those who accept the one-truth interpretation, consider themselves to be talking about or concerned with the world independent of the labels (names, symbols) which are used to talk about or in other ways re-present that world. They assume usually without question or without even considering any alternative interpretation, that the names or labels (man's knowledge) merely identifies the aspect of the world about which they are concerned. Their words accurately "map" the empirical world. If one accepts the initial assumption the one truth conclusion follows easily.

Those who endorse the more-than-one-type of truth orientation are concerned not with the empirical world sans labeling, but rather with the names, labels or knowledge which man uses to identify aspects of that world. They are talking about man not about the world independent of man. Knowledge (truths, answers) are the creation of man and do much more than merely identify some aspect of the non-human world. The symbols used in identification procedures are seen as in fact influencing the perception of the world (but not the world per se.) We see with the concepts we have at our disposal. Eyes alone do not see-they function as a camera to transform images from "out there" to "in there." In religious terms knowledge involves man's revelations about the non-human world, and revelations are always selective. You simply can't talk, think, or in any way, perceive everything at once.

The concept of continued revelation can be harmonized with the second interpretation. From this perspective man could spend eternity experiencing his world or his universe and never exhaust the potential ways of doing so. Different concepts and different languages permit him to do things and have

experiences which he could not have without them. This orientation seems to be reflected in the following statement by Wilford Woodruff (Journal, Vol 6, p. 120; Discourses, p. 5)

If there was a point where man in his progression could not proceed any further, the very idea would throw gloom over every intelligent and reflecting mind. God himself is increasing and progressing in knowledge, power and dominion, and will do so, worlds without end. It is just so with us.

The one-truth orientation, implies that knowing the non-human world as it is, is the major goal of knowledge. Life can be experiences at its maximum (or super) level only when this goal is achieved. Science is seen as a major method of achieving this goal. The multi-truth orientation emphasizes the importance of knowing the human world as it is experienced, with the assumption (most often not stated) that it is not really necessary to know the non-human world--indeed it is impossible, in some absolute sense, to know that world. Humans create their symbolic world and it is "in" that world (or with that symbolic world) that they make decisions and create the meaning of their experiences. They have the experiences. Not knowing in some absolute way the non-human world is not of major consequence. In fact to know in some absolute sense might detract from the richness, complexity, and diversity of human experiences.

The second orientation emphasizes the spiritual or symbolic nature of humanness, with humans having dominion over the world. The first implies at least that the spiritualness (symbolness) of humans is of secondary importance to the empirical world, which in effect has dominion over humans.

The one-truth interpretation also ignores what we have called non-referented concepts, or what Plato called "pure idea." For concepts such as goodness and justice, there is nothing in the empirical world to which the symbols refer or which they re-present. Humans accustomed to using symbols to re-present aspects of the empirical world, and responding to the symbols not the referent, can in effect short-circuit the more extended process and stop at the symbolic level. Non-referented symbols can be created for the development of mathematics systems, various types of works of art, games, humor, and morality.

The creative potential associated with such a perspective harmonizes with the multiple-type truth orientation, and is quite foreign to the one-type-truth orientation.

Although not many would accept all of the implications involved in the following equivalency statement, it may be that what we have called non-referented concepts are closely akin to what the religionist calls spiritual concepts, or spiritual phenomenon.

Those who accept the preliminary assumption that all symbols have referents can maintain their belief with reference by non-referented concepts by symbolically creating, symbolic or supernatural referents. Thus, a given moral standard can be viewed as representing some supernatural entity. It is super-natural in origin, and man's symbols are just a reflection of this eternal, absolute phenomenon.

### "In the Name of the Church" Decisions

The Contemporary Mormon church is highly bureaucratized. Many individuals make decisions and pronouncements "in the name of the Church." The president is the one most likely to make official statements. However, the president consults regularly with the Quorum of the 12, and other leaders. It is logical to assume that the educational characteristics of those in a General Authority category would influence the type of decisions made. If all of the general authorities were lawyers, for instance, we would expect them to think differently than if they were all Psychologists, or chemists, or artists. Interesting research could be done to chart the changing "education characteristics" of the General authorities over the years. These could possibly be related to the types of decisions made during those same years.

### Inter-relationships with Other Variables

It would be sociologically naive to assume that differences in secular education among Mormons would not be related to differences of a religious nature. It is unlikely that an individual could go thru the education process necessary to acquire, say, a PhD degree or a Masters degree without such experience being related one way or another to interpretations and experiences of religion.

Based on studies involving non-Mormons, one could hypothesize that as secular education increases, the degree of religious liberalness would increase. Further the extent of religious change would be related to the area in which the formal education was secured. Using as a generalizing base the work done by Lehman, those who in their educational experiences were called upon to analyze religious objectively, regardless of whether their discipline was considered scientific, non-scientific or humanistic, would tend to be more liberal religiously, than those having the reverse educational experience.

### Research

Seminary-Institute experiences. In a study designed to measure some aspects of the seminary-institute educational program, Mauss (1969) tested the following hypothesis:

Mormon adults, who as youth, received instruction in high school seminaries and/or institutes, will be more likely than Mormon adults without such instruction to be orthodox believers, regular church attenders, and knowledgeable about scriptures, and the degree of their orthodoxy, attendance, and scripture knowledge will increase with the degree of their youthful exposure to seminary/institute.

His study involved questionnaires mailed during 1967-68 to all homes in each of ten randomly selected Mormon wards in S.L.C. The questionnaire went alternatively to the husband and the wife at successive addresses, as well as to all unmarried heads of households. 960 out of between 1600-1700 questionnaires were returned, for a return-rate of about 60%. His dependent variables consisted of three indicators of "religiosity": orthodoxy, attendance at Sacrament meeting, and knowledge of Christian and Mormon scriptures.



Findings of the study are as follows:

1. The relationship between seminary attendance and the three religious variables is not strong; as much as a 10-percentage-point difference is found between the extremes only in scriptural knowledge (45% - 55%).
2. Women generally are somewhat higher than men in "orthodoxy" rate and in church attendance rate.
3. For women, attendance at seminary makes no appreciable difference in orthodoxy, church attendance, or in scripture knowledge.
4. For men, maximum seminary attendance (3-4 years) seems somewhat important for church attendance and very important for scripture knowledge.
5. Seminary attendance has little, if any, effect on any of the three religious variables for Mormons reared in either highly active or totally inactive homes, but for those reared in homes "low" or "medium" in religious activity, there is some evidence that youthful seminary attendance makes a modest contribution to orthodoxy rate, although not much, if any, to attendance rate or scripture knowledge.
6. The percentage point difference between extremes of "parental religious activity" are far greater than any of the percentage-point differences between extremes of seminary attendance, suggesting that the home has a far stronger independent influence than the seminary. (This finding closely resembles those of Greeley, Rossi, and Johnstone for Catholics and Lutherans).
7. Missionary experience has a far stronger independent influence on adult religious behavior/belief than seminary attendance does.
8. a. Some of the N's are quite small here, and so interpretations must be cautious, but it appears that seminary attendance has a noticeable impact on orthodoxy among those with no mission and on scripture knowledge for those with one mission. Otherwise, apparent effect of seminary attendance is nil or negligible.  
b. When combined effects of seminary or institute instruction are explored, there is little evidence of independent influence from seminary attendance.
9. Even with controls for the religious activity of the home, for sex, and for amount of missionary experience, the combined religious instruction of seminary and institute (mainly the latter) has a strong independent effect upon the rates of orthodoxy, church attendance and scripture knowledge. (Not as true for those high in home religious activity or for those with much missionary experience, but still true.)

College impact. Gary Madsen (1972) studied changes in religious commitment of college students and non-students during the year following graduation from high school. His samples included 82 Mormon students who graduated from high school in 1970, all of whom attended at least three quarters at the University of Utah. The sample involved 56 (67%) females and 25 (33%)

males. The pre-test was given shortly after they graduated from high school in the summer of 1970 and the same students were tested again approximately 15 months later. Some of the original sample who attended college the freshman year became missionaries and are not included in the study.

The following are the findings of his study.

1. For the group as a whole, there was a statistically significant decrease in religious commitment.
2. Males generally changed less in the direction of decreased religious commitment than females, but the difference was not statistically significant.
3. Overall changes for the participants in the Mormon campus religious organization (Institute) were slightly in the direction of increased religious commitment whereas overall changes for those who did not participate were in the decreased direction. This difference was also statistically significant. In addition it was found that campus religious group participants were significantly higher in overall religious commitment upon entering college than the non-participants.
4. Of the five religious dimensions measured, a statistically significant change was found only in the ideological dimension for the sample as a whole. However, when campus religious group participation was controlled for, the difference between participants and non-participants was statistically significant only for the experiential dimension.
5. Respondents high in dogmatism changed less in the direction of decreased commitment than those low in dogmatism. However, the difference was not statistically significant.
6. Dogmatism was related to campus religious group participation. The religious group participants were significantly higher in dogmatism than the non-participants.
7. Combining campus religious group participation with dogmatism resulted in a greater difference with respect to religious changes than looking at either variable alone.

Madsen indicates that his findings support previous research which found that the general direction of religious changes in college is toward decreased commitment. This suggests that college students in general share similar experiences which are related to similar overall changes. However, Madsen's study as well as most other research indicates that the changes are usually small modifications rather than pronounced changes.

The fact that Madsen found religious group participation and dogmatism to be related to changes in religious commitment, suggests that it is important not to lump all Mormon students into one category. Some increased in commitment while others decreased.

Madsen utilized five dimensions of religiosity: Ideological, intellectual,

ritualistic, experiential and consequential. Changes were most pronounced in the Ideological dimension for the sample as a whole and the experiential dimension when campus religious group participants were compared with non-participants.

Entering College. Christiansen, et. al. (1963) studied boys and girls living in three central Utah counties, and concluded that their findings supported the hypothesis that attendance at Mormon religious organizations by rural boys and girls of high school age was positively associated with their desires to attend college. They also concluded that their study provided limited support to the general hypothesis that Mormon religious values are positively associated with educational achievement. Desire to attend college was found to be related to a configuration of other variables as well, with the religious factor being just one of many involved variables.

Religiosity of Academics. Anderson (1968) tested the hypothesis that college professors or what he called "academics" are not oriented toward religious groups in terms of behavior and/or self identification, as much as non-academics. In other words, for those who teach at a University, the academic identification and behavior are more salient than religious identification and behavior. His study involved faculty members from a state college in Minnesota and a state university in Utah. These were compared with a random sample of residents from each school's community. The sample included 26 Mormon academics. Among these Mormons, the academic group was definitely more marginal to the religious community than was true for the non-academic group. However, the saliency of the religious identification/behavior was stronger for the Mormons than for the Protestants. The Mormon religious saliency was also stronger than that of Protestants and Jewish academics involved in a prior study by Anderson.

From this limited evidence, it appears that the Mormon academic is different from his non-Mormon colleagues in the relationship of his religious and academic lives in that he apparently has less problem inter-relating the two elements. His academic experience does not influence his religious experience as much as is true for the non-Mormons studied.

In a limited study of Mormon Ph.D.'s at BYU (N=48) and the University of Utah, (N=18) Peck (1973) found that as a group the BYU respondents evidenced greater orthodoxy than the University of Utah respondents. Peck also points out that the Mormon Church does not have an official system of keeping track of the educational achievements of its members. There is, however, a "Directory of Mormons in Higher Education" -- a publication produced in 1967 at Brigham Young University. The directory lists 4,758 Mormons holding higher degrees, 2,652 of which reside in the state of Utah (55% of world total), and 1,485 of which are affiliated with the Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah (31% of world total). Roughly, half of the Mormons in higher education reside in Utah and roughly half of those are at B.Y.U. Hardy (1949) found that for the 162 adult Salt Lake City Mormons he studied that there was little or no relationship between attitudes toward the Church and amount of formal education.

Individuals who are involved in higher education play an academic role plus a religious role. Each role involves familiarity with and commitment to a distinctive role-related type of knowledge and/or behavior. The college chemist then is concerned with truths about things chemical, and in a non-chemist

role which may be a church role, is concerned with religious truths. If his religious groups makes no formal pronouncements about chemical phenomena, he may be able to actively engage in both roles without much conflict. The social scientist, however, is caught up in a role set with much greater conflict potential. The area of his expertise, i.e., human behavior, is also frequently considered by his religious others (audiences) to be their areas of expertise. The academic marriage counselor, is in many respects in competition with the religious marriage counselor. The social scientist who makes statements about the "natural man" may find that his statement conflicts with statement such as "the natural man is an enemy of God".

The social scientist generally confronts different problems that does the physical scientist in his efforts to adequately play two potentially conflicting roles. He is involved in the early efforts to create some workable boundary lines between religion and science, and is now experiencing what the chemist and the physicist went thru at an earlier stage. Not many today would turn to the religious leader to obtain expert advise on matters dealing with chemistry, physics, geography, biology, etc. The boundary lines are widely accepted and fairly well marked. Grey areas between the white and black areas however continue to exist, as in concern with evolutionary interpretations of human development.

#### Education Related Conflicts Potential

An important conflict potential of educational level is identified in O'Dea's (p. 224) comment

A Salt Lake City Mormon intellectual once remarked to me that the Mormon religion has provided the basis for a satisfying life to the great majority of its followers. He added: "Only the questioning intellectual is unhappy."

O'Dea further points out that (p. 232)

Unquestioningly, there is a tendency privately to accept more liberal views or something several degrees more liberal than the old conservative and literalist Mormonism--on the part of many who support and sustain the General Authorities and defend the Mormon tradition. It is difficult to gauge such a trend, which, together with the more out-spoken liberalism, may contribute an important element to the present and future composition of the Mormon picture and may present a subtle subculture and secularization within the ranks. The structure of the Church is such that is difficult to meet the problems posed by apostasy in any way except in terms of suffering slowly festering slowly discontent, or a slow drift to liberalism under the cover of orthodox phrases and genuine loyalty to the organization, or some combination of the two.

Part of the problem of attempting to harmonize religious type answers with scientific-academic type answers is evident in the following quotation from Riddle (1960) a BYU professor in the College of Religious Instruction.

Contrasted with the academic frame of mind is a Gospel frame which is in approach antithetical to the academic in almost every respect. The Gospel frame begins with the premise

that we are engaged in the work of the Lord, which work has come by personal revelation from the Lord; of we have that testimony, then we know that we are not here concerned with criticism of the projects of man. The man or men who present ideas and projects to us are the Lord's chosen stewards, the prophets and presiding authorities. The task is not to oppose and criticise what they say, but rather to strive mightly to comprehend and implement what they way. What they say may appear to our critic minds to be irrational, short-sighted; but if we have the personal testimony that the Lord has appointed them as His stewards, to criticise them is to set ourselves up as the Judge of the Lord.

The suggested obedience-non-questioning approach is quite foreign to the critical/doubting, questioning approach involved in the scientific investigation.

### Religious Defection

A relevant question arises at this point. Is there a point at which an increase in formal secular education essentially leads the Mormon intellectual out of the church? Is the defection rate higher among the better educated Mormons than among those with low education?

From his own research, Armand L. Mauss indicates that:

"... My data does indicate, however, that defection from the Church is more common among the less educated, and that apostasy for intellectual reasons is by no means the most common kind of apostasy. While I cannot know really how many ex-Mormons have been lost from Church records and are "out there" in the population, my sample did include large numbers of respondents of both the active and inactive types. The difference between them in belief (orthodoxy) are really not very great. Most people who leave the Church apparently do so for other reasons. Among the respondents in my samples, the level of orthodoxy (e.g., belief in the literal divinity of Jesus) have been running at about 75% of the college graduates and even higher among the sample in general." (Mauss 1972)

It may be that the highly educated Mormon is more likely in the process of securing his education, to become a more liberal Mormon than to become an Ex-Mormon as is suggested by the research of Madsen (1972). Defection however occurs at all levels.

### State "Defections"

In comparison with the other states, Utah spends one of the highest percentages of its income for education. However, since Utah is not a wealthy state the actual amount of money spent for education is lower than many other states. However it would appear that they get "lots of mileage" from their education dollars.

A study of Utah's "Brain Drain" (Canning & Lothrop) indicates that Utah exports more "brains" than it imports in all of the areas used in the study except religion. The other areas are art, business, education, government, law, medicine and science. The findings are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: An Index of Utah's Brain Drain--Gains and Losses of Utah's Notables\* According to Occupational Specialties

<u>Occupational Specialty</u>	<u>Born in Utah</u>	<u>Left State</u>	<u>Moved into Utah</u>	<u>Net Effect</u>	<u>Percentage Gain or Loss</u>
Art	19	13	5	-8	-62%
Business	130	92	20	-72	-55%
Education	156	92	48	-44	-28%
Government	64	50	6	-44	-69%
Law	54	34	9	-25	-46%
Medicine	15	10	4	-6	-40%
Religion	15	1	7	+6	+40%
Science	11	10	0	-10	-91%

\*Men and Women Listed in Who's Who in America, vol. 33, 1964-65.

#### Study Groups

Among Mormons there is extensive involvement in what are typically called "study groups." These are informal groups formed to accomplish goals set by the members themselves. Study of various aspects of the Gospel or of gospel-related topics is usually involved, coupled with socializing, refreshments and other social activities. As far as is known, there has been no study of these study groups.

Relationships between Mormonism and education no doubt generate influence in Mormon involvement in science as well as in the liberal arts. The interrelationships between Mormonism and Science are discussed in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### MORMONISM AND SCIENCE

In a theocracy, as in a sacred society, the church is related to everything which happens in the society. Societal religion and church religion are essentially the same. It is easy then to define everything as being religious in nature and hence to see no clear cut distinction between, say, religious knowledge and secular or scientific knowledge, or between religious behavior and secular-scientific behavior. Such a situation existed during the initial years in Utah. For instance, irrigation was necessary for the functioning of the society and the early Mormon pioneers became very proficient in irrigation. John A. Widstoe acquired considerable fame among secular scientists for his expertise in irrigation matters. At that time, to those people, irrigation was both a religious and a secular phenomenon. Everything was religious or sacred.

A separation of church and state, somewhat at least, incorporates a separation of religion and science. It is not that the method of each approach takes on any different components, but rather that those involved learn how to see (define) differences which were not previously so apparent. What was previously, in effect, all mixed up together in one package, becomes separated. Drawing clearly marked boundary lines between the two areas, however, is not always easy. One such problem area for some Mormons is archeology. With the Book of Mormon story as a stimulator to interest and activity, concern with archaeological matters was generated among Mormons at all levels. With the appearance of professionally trained archeologists among the ranks of academic Mormons, conflicting orientations and interpretations developed. John Sorensen and others have documented the conflict and some of the consequences thereof. Archeology is one of the high conflict potential areas of contemporary Mormonism, at least for some of the better educated Mormons. It is difficult for them to completely accept both sides of the issues involved. Different methods of attempting to reconcile these differences are used by different people.

When religion and science are combined in one endeavor, it is easy for some to conclude that religious expertise leads to or contributes to scientific expertise. Some then may attempt to use the method by which religious truths are acquired in an effort to acquire scientific truths. When others using a different (scientific) method come up with conflicting answers, the dissonance component is obvious. Individuals accustomed to accept a strong personal conviction as proof of a religious truth, may easily assume that if they strongly believe something about the empirical world that this conviction or "testimony" is an equally valid method of proving scientific facts or truths. The history of science, however, includes many illustrations of strongly believed-in "truths" which have been found not to be true when compared with the scientific evidence.

## Mormon Scientists

It is easy for the non-scientist to conclude that since a prominent scientist has a strong belief in religion, or a testimony of the truthfulness of the gospel that the religious aspect must have been secured thru the scientific method. From the view of the non-scientist, the individual (the whole individual) is a scientist. Therefore, there must be scientific evidence sufficient to convince the critical scientist that God lives. And, if scientist X believes in God, that's good enough for me. With that type of scientific support, why should I listen to those who would maybe cause me to loose my testimony that science supports religion.

Actually, the picture is more complex than this. The very language which we use, including the language use patterns, encourages us to talk about and think about "the scientist" rather than about one type of behavior or one type of decision made by an individual who makes many different types of decisions. The whole individual is not a scientist. All of the behavior of an individual is not scientific. We think more clearly if we talk not about "individual" but about "behavior." All of the behavior of the individual is not scientific. Actually for even the most prominent and dedicated scientists, the majority of their behavior throughout the typical day is non-scientific. The majority of their decisions throughout the day are made by some method other than the scientific method. Decisions about HIVD and the supernatural are made by non-scientific methods. There is no choice involved.

It would be as accurate to conclude that every decision, including scientific decisions, made by a Catholic, a Jew or a Mormon was a religious decision. The Mormon scientist who reaches the same decision as a Catholic scientist or a Jewish scientist would most likely have difficulty labeling that decision a Catholic decision or a Jewish decision. There is less likelihood of dissonance and related conflict if a distinction is made between the two types of answers or decisions. As religionists frequently point out, religious-type decisions are faith-type decisions. Faith is an essential ingredient in religion which involves non-referented concepts as the core component. Scientific answers are not faith-type answers.

## Research

Lehman (19 ) in a study of university faculty concluded that whether or not an individual faculty member was a scientist was not related to his religious profile. However, whether or not in his academic role he was called upon to view religion from an objective perspective was found to be related. This is probably applicable to Mormon faculty members. If in his academic role the Mormon scientist-professor is not called upon to objectively analyze religion, he will most likely experience little conflict or dissonance between the two areas of his life. One can easily study chemicals or other empirical elements without introducing many potentially conflicting religious elements into his study. The Mormon faculty member, whether in English, Anthropology, or History who is expected



to provide students with an objective analysis of religion is much more likely than those who do not need to do so to identify differences and potential conflict between religious and scientific interpretations and answers.

To say that an objective analysis of religion as a part of an academic role has an influence upon one's religious beliefs and practices is not to say that the influence is one which causes the scientist to leave his religion. It is typically related to a change in religion rather than a rejection of religion. There is no reason why the same individual cannot be both a good scientist and an effective religionist.

Hardy (1974) provides insights as to the relationships between Mormonism and scientific and scholarly achievement in his study of the social origins of American scientists and scholars. He indicates that previous studies have shown that Mormonism has been related to high productivity of such professionals, citing a 1940 study by Thorndike which identified the geographical birthplaces of scientists listed in the 1938 edition of American Men of Science (most of whom were born between 1885 and 1909). He computed an index of the number of scientists born in a given state in proportion to the total population of that state and found that

...Most productive were Rocky Mountain (Utah, Colorado, Idaho and Montana) and New England (Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Maine) states with the northern farm belt and the far west next. Utah, with an overwhelmingly Mormon (Latter Day Saints) population during these years was easily the most productive of all ....

In a later study (1943) Thorndike added persons listed in the current editions of Who's Who in America and Leaders in Education to his earlier work, and obtained similar geographical results.... He also found a remarkably high correlation of 0.87 between the productivity index and a composite measure of the "goodness" of a state. Goodness was determined from measures (as of 1930) of the degree of literacy, proportion of high school graduates, public money spent on libraries in comparison with roads and sewers, degree of home ownership, proportion of professional persons and telephones, and low rates of homicide and syphilis. (p. )

These results were generally supported by other research.

Hardy created a productivity index for the various states in which doctorates scholars secured their baccalaureate degrees, from 1920 to 1961, finding that

...The most productive state is Utah, which is first in productivity for all fields combined in all time periods. It is first in biological and social sciences, second in education, third in physical sciences and sixth in the arts and professions. Compared to other states in its region, it is deviantly productive. This result seems clearly to be due to the influence of Mormon values, because Mormon youth

predominate in the colleges of the state, and because of the variables, such as climate, geography, natural resources and social class do not appear to explain the exceptional record of this state.

In an analysis of just denominational schools, Hardy found that

...Brigham Young University has a comparatively high output in the early period, easing off to a more moderate output during 1950 to 1961. The other two schools of largely Mormon student body, Utah State University and the University of Utah, not included here because they are not under denominational control, show similar total levels and time patterns of productivity.

### Metascience

Any type of truth system, if it is to be accepted and thus realized requires some type of validation or legitimation. Without such, it remains an untruth. Scientific truth is no exception. Those who engage in scientific work especially those who devote their entire lifetime to such endeavors, do so because they have been able to provide for themselves sufficient reasons or justification for doing so. Such justification is not a part of the method of securing answers about the empirical world. It requires a different type of symbol and different concepts which can be used to motivate or legitimate such work with the empirical world. Such validations are a part of metascience. Religion of one type or another (church religion, societal religion, independent religion) will be involved in important (high intensity) validations.

As the previous chapter on education has indicated, components of Mormonism have been used to both support and reject scientific work. By selectively perceiving, one can build a case in either direction.

The following statements by John Taylor and Ezra Taft Benson are suggestive of the conflict potential involved in this area.

John Taylor: "Our religion.... embraces every principle of truth and intelligence pertaining to us as moral, intellectual, mortal and immortal beings, pertaining to this world and the world that is to come. We are open to truth of every kind, no matter whence it comes, where it originates or who believes it.

Ezra Taft Benson (1969): The world worships the learning of man, they trust in the arm of the flesh. To them man's reasoning is greater than God's revelations. The precepts of man have gone so far in subverting our educational system, that in many cases a higher degree today in the so-called Social Sciences can be tantamount to a major investment in error. Very few men build firmly enough on the rock of revelation to go through this kind of an indoctrination and come out untainted. Unfortunately of those who succumb, some use their higher degree to get teaching position even in our church educational system where they spread the falsehood they have been taught.

In many respects, "doing Mormonism" involves "doing science." McMurrin (1959) and others have emphasized that Mormon theology can be harmonized well with science. Jeffrey ( ) points out that in the 19th century, Mormonism had a much broader ground of agreement with science on evolution than did most other religions. When that ground was narrowed thru mistrust and misunderstanding it led to an attack on and distrust of science that still has deep roots in Mormonism.

As was suggested in the chapter on the supernatural, Mormons tend to see the spiritual or the supernatural phenomena as refined matter, and thus capable of being conceptualized in the same way as the earthly natural phenomenon of science. Conceptualizing of God as an exalted man, likewise ties the scientific work of man to the "scientific work" of God who is believed to know all laws of the universe and to use this knowledge in the achievement of His goals. God is conceptualized as once being like man, presumably with limited scientific and religious knowledge.

Encouragement to engage in scientific work is provided by statements such as the following:

- o He that keepeth His commandments receiveth truth and light, until he is glorified in truth and knoweth all things (D&C 93:28)
- o The real test of human lives is to see whether we will learn to use knowledge and power as God does.
- o "Religion which cannot save a people temporally cannot hope to save them spiritually." (quotations from editorial in Dialogue by Rees)

The dedication to searching for truth in science as well as religion was discussed in the previous chapter on education. The following quotation by a scientist who had been subjected to questions about his religiosity for declining to accept a position in the church on the grounds that his scientific work was equally important and was in fact as much a part of "God's work" as a church assignment, emphasizes this point. When he talked with George Albert Smith who subsequently became president of the Church, he reports that his instructions were as follows:

You can tell any district president, any branch president who asks you to serve in a Church capacity to go back and pray again. Tell them that you have a mission, that your mission is as important as far as the Church is concerned as anything that you could do within the Church itself. Your mission is to discover, if you can, the secrets of your particular field. And that is a lifetime mission, not a mission that you can take on for two years and then be released.... the church is interested in the development of that particular field, and you want to do your very best. You do not have to be apologetic about it; you can be assertive about it.

## Societal and Independent Religion

Our understanding of religion and science is expanded if we distinguish between church religion (in this case, Mormon religion) and societal and independent religion. Doing so makes us aware that the church does not have a monopoly upon religion. There are society-wide values which while they typically harmonize with the major church religions in that society, may differ and even contradict an established church religion. Thus, when scientific endeavors and findings cannot be validated or sanctified by the established church--i.e. the Mormon Church, the scientists can turn to the larger societal religion for justification. In the U.S. societal religion, science has been given a high evaluation. This may be changing somewhat. However, when the established church does not justify scientific commitment and experimentation, there is usually sufficient input from the societal religion that the scientist continues his scientific work, and lives comfortably or uncomfortably with the Mormon-societal dissonance. Accepting a tentative truth orientation, as contrasted with an absolute truth orientation, may facilitate living with the dissonance involved.

### Conflict Potential

An area of conflict potential is the causal interpretations provided for societal change. Some may see the "hand of the Lord" back of whatever happens. Others may see a complex set of societal factors causing the changes which are experienced. So some these may seem contradictory. There is, however, no necessary conflict since there is no scientific way in which one can disprove the premise that God is back of whatever happens in the society.

Mormon Church-supported colleges include within the curriculum science courses. Science is acceptable, and recognition is provided for scientific achievement. This seems to be more likely in the physical sciences than the social-behavioral sciences.

Mormon leaders are willing to quote scientific findings in defense of a religious position when the scientific findings support conclusions already established religiously. When scientific findings serve to contradict established beliefs, they tend to be discredited as the work of men. Interesting research could be done using a content analysis of past writings, to identify the areas in which scientific support has in fact been invoked and maybe the frequency of such use. Changes over time could be identified as well as distinguishing between those who use scientific findings and those who do not.

General authorities are more likely to quote from the poet, than the scientist. In their work both the poet (and other artists) and the religionist transcend the empirical world and function with non-referenced symbols. It is likely that there is a felt bond between them. In this area also the religionists are selective in using poetry which supports an already accepted premise.

It is likely that the youth of the church are more familiar with "church athletes" and "Mormon entertainers" than with "Mormon scientists." Research on this would be of interest.

### Knowledge Generating in Mormonism

The Mormon Church is a record-keeping church, and a record-preserving church. As such they are a knowledge-generating church. Tons of paper containing many different types of information are accumulated every year. Considerable information is maintained on computer tapes. There are many books out of which Mormons can be judged.

Genealogical records accumulated over the years are preserved on tape, and these records are starting to be used for purposes such as scientific research. The official church historical documents are likewise a knowledge-producing resource. Generally the Church appears to have been reluctant to make these records available for many types of research. This hesitation may, however, be changing.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### MENTAL HEALTH OF MORMONS

One of the problems in the area of mental health is deciding just what is involved in this type of health. Whenever mental health is related to religion, another problem arises in that since mental health is usually defined as a very positive thing, and since for the religionist at least, religion is defined as a very positive thing, it is easy to conclude without ever researching the question, that the only possible relationship between religion and mental health is also a positive one. This equates to acceptance of the premise that religion always contributes to mental health and mental health always contributes to religion. To suggest that religion may be a cause of mental illness is quite foreign to such line of reasoning and likely to be rejected outright by many.

If one starts his analysis from an ISAS orientation he recognizes that taking into account the configuration of the component elements involved, of which religion and mental health are but two, a given combination may contribute to mental health while another combination may contribute to mental illness. Religion, in fact, may be a major contributing factor to mental illness. Individuals develop mental illness over things which are highly evaluated (HIVD) not over trivial things. Religion concerns HIVDs. All types of religion do not have identical consequences for all individuals in all situations with reference to all types of problems.

Thus, Mormonism may contribute to the mental health of one individual in a given situation while it may contribute to the mental illness of another in his situation. Rather than just assuming that the interrelationship is a known given factor, research is needed to identify the configuration of components which are likely to lead to a given consequence. Available research concerning Mormons is very limited.

The fact that the divorce rate is higher in interfaith marriages than in one-faith marriages indicates that religion is a factor which contributes to marital dissolution, which may in turn contribute to mental problems. This obviously is not always the situation. Marital dissolution may solve problems rather than create them. In the case of the interfaith marriage, it is a particular combination of religious elements which contribute to the divorce. Given another combination of a complex set of religious elements, "religion" may have contributed to mental health and marital happiness.

In a society which incorporates racial and ethnic differentials, the religion which contributes to acceptance of social inequalities may also contribute to the mental health of the individual who does not want to disrupt the status quo. On the other hand, the religion which makes one discontented with and unhappy about social injustices may contribute to the state of mental "disequilibrium." The degree of mental upset would, of course, be related to many other factors as well.

The basic point being emphasized is that a given religion or a given component or aspect of religion, utilized by a given individual as he relates to a given audience in a given situation may contribute to either mental health or mental illness. Mental health does not automatically follow any given religious interpretation or behavior. Mormons are no exception to this generalization. An earlier chapter has identified some of the components of a missionary experience which contribute to poor mental health.

### Early Utah Period

In their 1925 analysis of the "Fruits of Mormonism," Harris and Butt indicate that while Mormons constituted nearly 62% of the population during the period of January 1, 1918 to February 12, 1922, they accounted for 34.5% of those classified as insane. They also indicate that during the World War I only 3 or 4 states had a lower rate of rejection for mental deficiency or epilepsy. Any statistics for that period of time have to be interpreted in terms of the definitions of "insanity" with which the society worked. The meaning of mental health and mental illness is quite different today than it was in the 1920s.

In a study of the mental health movement in Utah, Sainz (1974:32-33) indicates that in many respects the development in Utah followed a pattern similar to that found in other states. Information about the way in which mentally ill persons were treated is rather limited. It appears that such individuals could be sold to the lowest bidder, with the county government making the payment.

The initial public mental health facility was established in 1869 about twenty years after the Mormons arrived. The Mormons did not involve themselves in the developing national movement, possibly because the difficult journey to the valley may have served to eliminate those with difficult problems--physical and mental. Available records, which may be of questionable validity, indicate that there were few in Utah who were considered to be mentally ill. Such records, reflect the classification schemes in use at that time. Another related factor is that the Mormon Church did not evaluate the medical profession very highly at that time. There may have been a reluctance then to accept medical diagnoses.

Sainz further points out that the Mormon emphasis upon religious and family values may have also worked against the involvement in the mental health movement. He indicates that

...the Mormons of that time were a close group with different values and religious beliefs, wanting to isolate themselves and to take care of their own affairs in their own ways. Outsiders were mistrusted, therefore aberrations and peculiarities of members of their group were more readily accepted or tolerated by the family and community at large.

The first mental health facility in Utah, the Salt Lake City Asylum and Hospital, was funded by the Territorial Legislature approximately 100 years after the first national hospital was established. At that time Salt Lake City was approximately 12,000 in size.

### Contemporary Period

Contemporary mental health clinics and hospitals in Utah service Mormon clients. There is little evidence published to answer the question whether Mormon are over or under represented. Fairbanks (1974) concluded from his analysis of statistics from the Utah State Hospital and from Community Mental Health Centers that the rate of emotional and mental problems and illness of Utah Mormons is a little less than it is for non-Mormons in Utah.

There is no reason to believe that Mormons are more accepting of psychiatrists than are non-Mormons. It may well be the reverse. Psychiatrists may be defined in negative terms by many Mormons, with the accompanying consequence that those who seek the services of psychiatrists are subjected to negative

evaluations. In personal conversations with a Salt Lake City child psychiatrist who is a Mormon, it was indicated that one of his frequent initial problems was to get parents of his child clients to define the relationship between psychiatrist and client (and indirectly client-family) as an acceptable one. Many seem to accept the premise that Morally wholesome individuals who live their religion do not (or should not) need to seek the services of a psychiatrist. This may be accompanied by the belief that the help provided by religious counselors or by religious technics such as fasting and praying should be all that is needed to solve problems.

The fact that the Mormon Church includes psychiatrists as experts available to help church members, as a part of the Social Services Program, suggests a more positive evaluation on the part of at least some of the high-echelon authorities. Some seem to be willing to ask whether in a given situation for specific individuals, with particular types of problems, fasting and praying may not be the solution and may in fact contribute to the problem.

One slight indication of the mental health of Mormons comes from a study by Moe (1965) involving four communities. One which he called "Beta City" was a metropolitan area, population 550,000 in North-Central United States. The other three were Utah communities. The communities were compared on the responses to the five items on the Srole Scale. The percentage of people in each community providing responses indicative of discouragement and despair were as follows:

Beta City	29%
Bountiful, Utah	25%
Park City, Utah	32%
Richfield, Utah	39%

It was found that Catholics evidenced the least discouragement and those with no affiliation the most. The Mormons and the Protestants were in between. The Mormons were closest to the Catholics and the Protestants were more like those with no religious affiliation. Those whose religious affiliation differed from that of their parents were most likely to express a high level of discouragement and despair.

Data presented elsewhere concerning the high rate of alcoholism among Mormons who drink, and the rate of drug use by Mormons, suggests that problems which develop may be "treated" thru these two means, which procedure, of course, then serves to create new problems which may contribute to poor mental health.

#### Summary

Religion may contribute to or help reduce mental illness. Information, especially research generated information, about these two patterns for Mormons is very limited. The mental health movement developed slower in Utah than in the society in general. It appears that the level of mental health in Utah today is about average.

Some Mormons may have problems accepting professional psychiatric help. Psychiatric help, however, is available as a part of the comprehensive Social Services Program.



## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

### DEVIANT BEHAVIOR AMONG MORMONS

No religious group has a monopoly on either deviant or non-deviant behavior. There is no such thing as a group all the members of which conform completely to the established standards of either the group itself or the larger society of which the group is a participating member. The Mormon Church is no exception. It contains within its membership individuals who by established standards are labeled deviant. As a group, the Church, one way or another, concerns itself with deviant behavior. Efforts are made to reduce or eliminate deviant behavior, or to rehabilitate deviant individuals to a more conforming way of life. It would be naive, however, not to also recognize that the Church is also a contributing factor to the creation of deviant behavior. As such it is one of many complex factors which contribute to the deviancy found within the society. This chapter considers some of these aspects of Mormonism.

Positive and Negative Deviancy. Although the concept of "deviancy" is typically used to refer to unapproved deviancy, it is important to recognize that deviancy is always relative to some established pattern or standard (symbolic model) and that behavior may be either above or below any given standard. Mormons are deviant, then, in having a death rate which is lower than the majority of their society. Stated differently, Mormons have a life expectancy which is longer than the average for their society. In this sense, as a group they are deviant, and quite likely pleased to be so deviant. Among those classified as criminals and/or delinquents in Utah and elsewhere will be found members of the Mormon Church. In this sense also these individuals are deviant, and many fellow Mormons are not pleased with this type of deviancy.

We can also make a meaningful distinction between (1) secular deviancy and (2) church or religious deviancy. The above discussion concerned secular or non-religious deviancy. The church as a functioning social entity has established standards, and thus provides the criteria by which religious behavior and beliefs can be compared. From this perspective individuals who are typically called "inactive members" are in a deviant category. Those who attend Sacrament Meeting once or twice a year are deviant when compared with a standard requiring regular attendance. In a positive deviancy category would be those members who receive their individual awards which certify and publicly recognize that they exceed the average individual or an established standard in the specified activities.

An important perspective on deviant behavior is contained in the fact that the Mormon Church would most likely have never come into existence if Joseph Smith had not been a deviant individual.

Religious Deviancy. As has been previously indicated, the Mormon Church is a record-keeping organization. One thing which is related to extensive record keeping is the fact that deviancy becomes visible thereby. Without records which permit comparison of individual A with some standard or comparison of the First Ward with the Tenth Ward, those involved may not be aware of their differences and hence be unaware of existing deviancy.

Record keeping permits (in fact almost demands) that the individuals

responsible for a poor showing be identified and "worked with." Concern with the one lost sheep is no stranger in Mormon bureaucratic circles. Giving public awards to those who have met the established standards also by default calls to attention those who do not receive a reward. Publicly praising the achievers again by default, turns out to be public down-grading of those who did not receive the award.

A record-keeping church is a deviancy-recognizing church.

#### Official Crime and Delinquency

An analysis of the relationship between membership and activity in the LDS Church and official criminal and delinquent behavior in early Utah is provided by Harris and Butts (Chpt. 14). At that time Utah ranked among the states with a very low rate of penitentiary confinements. From a comparison of penitentiary statistics of Utah by county, they concluded that as the per cent of county population which was Mormon increased the crime rate decreased. Rate of convictions increased regularly with the decrease in proportion of Mormons in the county. Available statistics of religious affiliation of prisoners, indicated that the Mormons furnished criminals at a rate of 13 per 100,000 as compared with 34 per 100,000 for the state as a whole. A similar pattern was reported for Idaho. Utah was one of the six states which had no lynchings between 1885 and 1920. Harris and Butts conclude by indicating that they at that time could find no reliable data indicating that the Mormons did not rank high in freedom from crime.

In more contemporary times the Utah State Prison reports that about 35% to 45% of its inmates are Mormons, with the rate remaining fairly constant over the past 25 years. (Biennial Report of the Board of Corrections, 1944, 1950, 1972 and present census.) Juvenile Court records have a religious affiliation breakdown only back to 1967. These reports show that about 65 to 70 per cent of those referred to Juvenile Court as Mormon (Annual Report of the Juvenile Court, 1967-1971.)

Fairbanks (1974) from his analysis of statistics from the Utah Juvenile Court concluded that the evidence suggested that the Utah Mormon delinquency rate is slightly higher than the Utah non-Mormon delinquency rate. He also indicates with reference to criminal behavior that the 1973 FBI Uniform Crime Report shows that Utah's total crime index is slightly higher than the national total crime index although 1958 thru 1973 inclusive, a 16-year period, contained only two years (1973 and 1960) in which the total crime index for Utah was higher than for the nation. He concluded that as far as official crime is concerned, Utah is about the same as the society as a whole.

White (19 ) in a study of 555 prisoners at the Utah State Prison, who participated in vocational rehabilitation programs during 1958-68 provided the following tabulation of the religious affiliation reported by the inmates. Whether they were reporting affiliation or preference is not known.

TABLE 1: RELIGION OF INMATES

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Number of Inmates</u>	<u>Percent of Inmates</u>
L.D.S.	225	40.5
Catholic	158	28.5
Protestant	57	10.3
Baptist	40	7.2
Methodist	11	2.0
None	35	6.3
Other	29	5.2

In a study of Salt Lake City youth in which they provided information as to whether they had done various deviant acts whether detected or not, Detton (1975) found that for the Mormon youth, the further a youth moved along the continuum toward coming into negative contact with police, the more likely he was to attend church infrequently.

When Vernon (1968) asked college age students "Do you feel that capital punishment is warranted under any circumstances?" the religious group with the highest percent of "yes" answers was the Mormons with 58.5%.

### Drug Use

Problems associated with drug use are much more likely to be people problems than drug problems. The major causes of the problem use of drug are the people involved (the Individual and his audience). This includes the drug user and those to whom he relates himself or with whom he has important meaningful experiences. Church people and church experiences then may be factors contributing to either (or both) proper drug use and drug abuse.

Jolley (1972) provides some insights concerning the manner in which Mormon Bishops are involved in the drug use behavior. His research involved a questionnaire mailed to Protestant, Catholic and Mormon clergymen in the Metropolitan Salt Lake City area. In his analysis he utilized responses from 47% of the total clergy in that area. He measured two components of drug abuse awareness: (1) knowledge of drug abuse situations and (2) personal experiences. Of the three groups, the Protestant clergymen were in the lowest category in both areas. Over 90% of all clergymen indicated that they had read at least five to ten magazine or newspaper articles during the year preceding the study, but from 16% (Catholic) to 34% (Mormon) had read no book on drug related problems during the five years prior to the study. Catholic clergy had viewed more TV programs about drug problems than either of the other groups.

Information was secured on the number of hours spent counseling or otherwise in direct contact with drug users. Catholic clergymen reported a significantly higher percentage than Protestants and Mormons in numbers having counseled drug users and in mean hours spent in personal counseling. More Protestant clergy, however, had counseled in social agencies, with Catholic and Protestant number of mean hours involved being similar and the number for Mormon Bishops being significantly lower.

None were favorable to the legalization of LSD or heroin. Protestant clergy were more favorable than Catholic and Mormon clergy of legalizing possession of Marijuana and amphetamines. Few Mormon clergy favored legalization of any of the drugs identified in the study. Mormon clergy were found to be more punitive than the others, being the group most favorable to classifying drug possession as a felony.

Catholics were lower than Protestants or Mormons in their responses agreeing that religious organizations should sponsor drug abuse education programs. All of the groups were highly in favor of non-religious-sponsored drug abuse education for the general public and the clergy. Catholics had a lower percent than the other two groups favoring preaching of drug abuse from the pulpit. Giving drug information to congregational members in other than general church meetings was endorsed by 94% of all groups. More than 60% of the three groups reported they were favorable to interfaith counseling centers.

Jolley concluded that the ministers did not expect the social agencies or professional sources to be very effective in working with drug problems, but with the exception of Mormon Bishops, these agencies were more often chosen than other clergymen for referral. Few of the clergy felt that they could be of major assistance as a helping resource. Rather, they viewed their role as being of minor assistance while referring to others. Mormon Bishops were more willing than other clergymen to notify legal authorities--60%, as compared with 29% and 21%). Practically all of the clergy indicated that they considered drug use to be sinful, and almost as many indicated that they believed that most members of their congregations would also consider drug use sinful. When asked whether they would deny drug users the church sacraments, 31% of the Mormon Bishops said yes. This compared with 11% and 14% for the two other groups.

A 1973 publication by Carl D. Chambers, et. al. reports research by the Resource Planning Corporation of Washington D.C. on drug use and alcoholic consumption in Utah, providing data on the entire state and seven regions. The study utilizes self reported data. The authors caution that the figures presented "represent estimations of the real or actual incidence and prevalence of drug-taking in Utah, based on projections from a scientifically delineated sample of individuals." Following is a summary comparison of Mormons and non-Mormons, reporting the per cent of Mormons in the total group who reported use of the specific drugs, and the per cent of Mormons in the state. On the first item, for instance, of all those who reported that they used non-barbiturates, 96.5% were Mormon, while 78.8% of the total group involved were LDS.

	Mormons <u>Over-Represented</u>	<u>Consonant</u>	Mormons <u>Under-Represented</u>
Legal Drugs	Non-Barbituarate	Diet Pills	Barbiturates
	Sedative-Hypnotics (96.5% v 78.8%)	(74.3% v 78.8%)	(73.5% v 78.8%)
	Relaxants, Minor Tranquilizers (86.5% v 78.8%)	Non-Controlled Narcotics (81.9% v 78.8%)	Controlled Narcotics (56.4% v 78.8%)
	Major Tranquilizers (100%)		
	Antidepressants (87.1% v 78.8%)		
	Pep Pills (97.1%)		
	Stimulants (non- amphetamines) (88.9% v 78.8%)		
Illegal Drugs	L.S.D. (94.4% v 78.8%)		Marijuana/ Nashish (64.7% v 78.8%)
	Other Psychotogens (100%)		
	Methadrine/Methampheta- mine (100%)		
	Heroin (100%)		
	Cocaine (92.3% v 78.8%)		
	Solvent/Inhalants (100%)		

Even discounting the estimates, it is clear that Utah Mormons are not unfamiliar with the use of both legal and illegal drugs.

### Use of Alcohol

The Mormon Church has a prohibition against the use of alcohol for other than medicinal purposes. We are concerned here with questions as to how extensively the taboo is honored in actual behavior, and with the social factors which are related to different use patterns. Research is limited. There is, however, evidence to suggest that the per cent of Mormons who use alcohol is low when compared with the society in general. However, among the Mormons who do drink, in comparison with the societal members in general who drink, the per cent of alcoholism is high. (Bacon 1957:179-181)

Preston (1969) conducted research exploring the relationship between religiosity and adolescent drinking behavior. The research did not focus specifically upon Mormons. However, the results provide suggestive insights about the situation just described. Preston's research involved 516 randomly selected high school students from two communities. He distinguished between members of churches whose official policy opposed the use of alcohol and did so on moral grounds, and churches that advocated personal temperance but did not define moderate use of alcohol as sinful. The third category involved churches that did not oppose the temperate use of alcohol.

It was found that, as would be expected, students from churches which did not oppose temperate use of alcohol provided the highest per cent of drinkers-- 75%. One in three of those who identified with churches officially opposed to all alcohol use were drinkers. Only one in ten of the respondents in the second category (mixed policy) were drinkers. Concerning the frequency of use of alcohol, however, there was a tendency for the student drinkers who identified with the churches opposing alcohol use, to drink more frequently than those in the other two categories.

Preston points out that the student drinker from a prohibitionist church is in a "precarious position." The individual has strong ambivalence about alcohol, which is contrary with his desire to "try the forbidden fruit." His broader society encourages him to drink. His religious reference group discourages such behavior. He is cross-pressured. He drinks, but also feels guilty about doing so, so drinks more to compensate for his guilt. Also because of the taboo his drinking tends to be secretive and when he drinks he may conclude that he has to drink all the beverage before returning home. He thus frequently overconsumes.

For the entire group it was found that students whose parents emphasized religion by frequent church attendance were less likely to drink than were students whose parents did not do so. The relationship was stronger for females than for males.

Trice (1966) indicates that Mormons and Methodists endorse a total abstinence view. Methodists, however, do drink. Drawing on a comprehensive study of college students from various religious groups, Trice indicates that Mormons who drink frequently have alcohol problems. Apparently the Mormon who drink learn from non-members or deviant members and experience no adequate controls from their home or church. Straus and Bacon (1953) found that Mormon users of alcohol showed higher social complications due to drinking and were more likely to have been drunk from alcohol than were members of other religious groups. They found that 1/5 of the Mormon men who went to church regularly were users of alcoholic beverages as compared with 3/4 of those who were less active in their religion. The study involved 17,000 students at 27 colleges

and found that the percent of members who use alcohol was as follows:

Jewish - 94%  
Catholics - 90%

Protestants - 77%  
Mormons - 54%

The 1973 Resource Planning Corporation research which provided the data about drug use also included a Mormon-non-Mormon comparison of alcohol use and related problems. The summary they provided is as follows.

<u>Mormons Over-</u> <u>Represented</u>	<u>Consant</u>	<u>Mormons Under-</u> <u>Represented</u>
		Regular Drinkers (63.5% v 78.3%)
		Heavy Drinkers (58.6% v 63.6%)
Self-Defined Heavy Drinkers (97.8% v 63.6%)		
Miss Drinking if Forced to Stop (81.8% v 63.6%)		
	Worried or Concerned about Drinking (60.6% v 63.6%)	
Solitary Drinking (76.4% v 63.6%)		
One Alcohol Related Problem (72.8% v 63.6%)		
	Multi Alcohol Related Problem (67.4% v 63.6%)	
Family Problems (77.4% v 63.6%)		
Legal Problems (70.2% v 63.6%)		
		Occupational Problems (20.2% v 63.6%)

In the above figures the number of regular drinkers is compared with the total state figure. All of the rest of the figures are percentages of those who defined themselves as regular drinkers.

Mormons, according to these findings, who regularly drink, are more likely than members of other religious groups to have several problems associated with that drinking.

Fairbanks (1974) took the figures for the total Utah consumption of distilled alcohol and subtracted an estimate of what the Utah Non-Mormon population drinks. He concluded that there was enough alcohol left for 42% of the Utah Mormons to drink at the same rate as the estimated drinking for the Utah non-Mormons.

Keller indicates that Utah, which has approximately 13,800 alcoholics, one of every six being a woman, has done and is doing much to help these individuals. These program and facilities are not restricted to Mormons.

### Suicide

Fairbanks (1974) reports a study done for the LDS Social Services Dept. involving some estimated suicide rates for Utah Mormons and Utah non-Mormons for the years 1970 and 1972. The study found no significant differences between the suicide rates for the two populations.

### L.D.S. Social Services

In 1966 President McKay identified two major functions of the Church. The first was to take Mormonism to the world. The second was "to translate truth into a better social order or in other words, to make our religion effective in the individual lives of men and in improving social conditions." (Hovey 1967). A continuing concern with social conditions is evidenced by the establishment of the United Order in 1874 under Brigham Young, and the creation of the Welfare Plan in 1936. The Relief Society has been a licensed adoption agency since 1890, and the Indian Placement Program was initiated in 1954.

The L.D.S. Social Services program was initiated in 19 . The program functions under the leadership of ward, stake and regional leaders, with General Authorities involved as appropriate. The program includes use of counselors, social workers, psychiatrists, public mental health services, foster homes, day camps, employment services, alcohol and drug centers and hospitals. Efforts to prevent problems include holding of seminars on any subject such as crime prevention, family budgeting, premarital problems, job placement, drug abuse and training of volunteers.

Administratively the Managing Director is an Assistant to the Council of the Twelve; a member of the Presiding Bishopric is the associate director and a professional from the Social Sciences is the Assistant Director. The staff included in 1971 better than 125 professional personnel to administer the direct services. This includes the Indian Placement Program, Foster Parent, Adoption, Youth Guidance, Prison Services and a Suicide Prevention Line. (Annual Report 1971: The Social Services of the Church)

## CHAPTER FOURTEEN

### SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF MORMONISM

#### Introduction

No church is a socioeconomic island. Any activity has its economic component. Likewise, although it may be stretching the point a bit, most every belief has its economic aspects. It is impossible for a church to exist without having economic components at both the informal and formal levels. This chapter concerns such matters.

If the research technics were available, it would be interesting to attempt to determine how much maintaining some particular belief costs the Mormon Church and the members thereof. What, for instance, did they have to pay for their belief in Plural Marriage. How much does the configuration which we might call "Temple Beliefs" cost today. How much does a non-smoking belief cost the Church and likewise how much does it save non-smoking Mormons? What are the costs of a large-family belief? No implication is made that the "products" would not be considered to be well worth the cost by the general church membership. The only point being made is that to maintain a particular belief is an economic phenomenon along with many other things.

#### Early Church Economic Factors

Arrington (1951) contrasts the early Mormon definitions of property with those in other parts of the society. He points out that the laissez-faire definition of absolute property rights endorsed by the majority of the 19th century Americans was not accepted by the Mormons during their first 50 years or so in the Great Basin. To the Mormons a principle of stewardship applied. From this perspective, the earth was seen as belonging to the Lord, with the human occupants thereof being obligated to use the land and other properties under the direction of church leaders, with the overarching goal of building up the kingdom of God here on earth. The involvement of religion in economic matters is obvious. Property holders were expected to use the property in what the group defined as the right way. Natural resources were defined as public resources. Income from business property was regulated and the owners were expected to contribute their property to the community. This extensive involvement of the Church in economic matters, then contrasted with the form of capitalism being developed in the rest of the society.

The development of events following the completion of the transcontinental railroad in the late 1860s set into motion trends which changed the whole configuration of interwoven elements. The "Mormon system" was changed as machinery, equipment and consumer goods were imported from the East. The resistance on the part of Utah Mormons to the developing system is suggested in the following account provided by Arrington (1973)



... A small group of LDS businessmen and intellectuals under the leadership of William S. Godbe proposed the immediate accommodation of the Mormon economy to the greater economy of the nation. They hoped this would lead to cultural and political accommodation as well. Brigham Young and his closest advisers however regarded these proposals as a betrayal of the Mormon dream of separateness, and Godbe and his friends were excommunicated for apostasy.

Programs to fight this encroachment were undertaken including the establishment of Schools of the Prophet (town councils), cooperative undertakings called "United Orders" and exclusively Mormon promotional and regulative associations called Zion's Boards of Trade. Arrington points out that cooperative railroads, textile mills, clothing factories, tanneries, iron works, furniture shops and wholesaling and retailing establishment were developed and encouraged.

Toth (1974) provides an analysis of the development of Orderville as a part of this effort. He develops the thesis that the major reason which contributed to the changing of the system to harmonize with the larger societal system, was the success which the societal system was experiencing, especially among the Mormons involved therein in Utah.

Following World War I, the situation changed considerably. Cooperative rather than segregated enterprises were established. The Church sold controlling interests in beet sugar, salt, hydroelectric power, railroad, to investors from the East. The distinctions between Mormons and non-Mormons in the economic area were accordingly reduced.

#### Church Welfare Plan

Charity has long been of concern to Religion. Many aspects of charity originated by various churches have been adopted by the government and made a regular part of the political obligation. An important aspect of Mormon charitable work is the Church Welfare Plan which was originated in the 1930s, following the depression. The goal of the program was to provide help for the "worthy poor" in the nature of employment and/or commodities for those in need. Some 150 Bishops Storehouses were set up to process and distribute the goods involved. Surplus food and other products from one area were sent to areas where these products were in short supply. In effect, an exchange program was instituted.

Arrington (1973) indicates that by the 1950's the Church owned and operated some 700 separate enterprises throughout the U.S. Such diverse products as peanut farms and peanut butter factories in Texas, cotton farms and grapefruit orchards and canneries in Arizona, orange groves and canneries in Southern California, apple orchards in Washington, pineapple and sugar plantations in Hawaii, shaving cream and toothpaste factories in Chicago, dairies and cheese plants in Northern Utah, salmon canneries in Oregon, a gelatin factory in Kansas City, vitamin pills and show politsh factories in New Jersey and cattle ranches in Wyoming, were involved.

The extend of the program is indicated by the fact that approximately 100,000 church members were provided with approximately seven million dollars in cash and welfare products each year. The scope of the program is suggested by the following list of projects which was provided by Arrington (1973)

- o At the close of World War II, 140 railroad cars of food, clothing, bedding and other items were sent to Europe.
- o In 1953 following floods in Holland, quilts and blankets were sent.
- o In 1954, following an earthquake in Greece, canned fruits, vegetables and flour were sent.
- o In 1960, following an earthquake in Chile, food, bedding and medicine were provided.
- o In 1962 hugh trailer trucks loaded with emergency aid were sent to those affected by floods in Northern Utah, southern Idaho and parts of Nevada.
- o In recent years, large-scale and immediate aid was provided for victims of earthquakes, hurricans and floods in Peru, Turkey, Japan, U.S., Canada and Mexico.

#### Deseret Industries

The Church has also set up Deseret Industries to provide employment for unskilled and handicapped labor in programs which reprocess discarded goods and provide an outlet for them through Deseret Industries Stores in various well-populated areas.

#### Mormonism and Unionism

Davies (1966) has provided information about the state of unionism prior to statehood in which he points out that unionism in Utah did not develop first among the exploited or the industrial worker, but among the "skilled and prosperous workers." The Utah experience is somewhat distinctive. The first known labor union in Utah was established before February 24, 1852. This was a most unique union, motivated more strongly by religious ideals than economic goals. Many church leaders, including Brigham Young played leading roles in this development.

Davies points out that when the local unions merged with national unions, religious motivation and controls were reduced. Local religious leaders were less and less able to influence the decisions and actions of the union. Eventually, this led to a breaking point in the relationship between worker and organization and the Mormon Church in the 1870s. However, there was apparently no real evidence of any strong antagonism prior to that point. Actually the break could be attributed to a great influx of non-Mormons which resulted in a dilution of church influence culminating in the loss by Mormons of political control of Salt Lake City and the County in early 1890. The Knights of Labor which formed

nationally in 1869 was a secret organization and the secrecy element provided problems for the relationship between the Mormon Church and Unionism.

Some experiences, such as the election of 1890, served to create somewhat of a partnership between the two, but it was a tenuous relationship. Utah achieved statehood in 1896 and with its birth as a state, came a rebirth of unionism which had almost been destroyed by the depression in 1893-94. The weakening of unions had followed the national pattern, though local union leadership may have blamed the Mormon Church. With each depression, unions weakened while with each period of prosperity, it had generally prospered. Utah was no exception. Utah unionism with help from the American Federation of Labor, Railroad Brotherhoods, and several internationals, was to bounce back with renewed vigor.

### Mormonism and the Closed Shop

Davies (1962) also provides an analysis of the relationship between Mormonism and the Closed Shop, in which he provides the following information. Early in 1955, Utah's predominantly Mormon and Republican Legislature passed a "right-to-work" law, which was signed by Governor J. Bracken Lee, a Republican and non-Mormon of Mormon ancestry. The reasons for this legislation have deep historical and theological roots for the Mormons.

The states earliest settlers were emigres from a hostile East; they constituted an occupational cross section of the U.S. Although some of these pioneer craftsmen undoubtedly brought with them some experience in the infant labor movement, the real founders of unionism in Utah were the immigrant-converts from an already industrialized and unionized England, and the non-Mormons who came to the territory after the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869.

Utah's first labor union, an unaffiliated local of typographers, was formed in 1852, Davies indicates, 4½ years after the pioneers first entered the Valley. The 1870's and 80's saw considerable extension of the mining and railroad industries and accompanying labor unions which attracted many non-Mormons into the territory. Some were converted to the Mormon Church but most remained outside, becoming increasingly antagonistic to and antagonized by the ubiquitous and straight-laced Mormon culture.

By the 1880's the Royal Order of Knights of Labor had penetrated the area. It was a secret, oath-bound union organization, organized for the purpose of self preservation. This caused the Mormon leaders some concern, but for years the leaders saw cooperation with the Royal Knights and others as the solution for labor problems. In 1886 a schism developed, however, beginning with editorials in which the church said that unions had no right to prevent other men from doing the work which they refused to perform. An exchange followed and seems to be the start of church-labor conflicts which have to some extent continued up to now. A hardening of the Mormon position toward unions and the antipathy toward union

security may be seen in a series of editorials during several local strikes in 1889 and 1890. A general denunciation of union security provisions was related to the concern expressed by the President of the church that one Mormon might take the "unbrotherly" action of denying another Mormon a job because he did not belong to a union.

An "open-shop" movement, Davies continues, developed in the American Plan of the 1920's. As more businesses accepted the plan to fight the unions, the workers organizations took stronger action to protect themselves. Increasingly, union men refused to work with non-union men, and even good church members took action against other members. This brought reactions from the general authorities. Up until 1955, the time in which the right-to-work was instituted, various laws were passed and different factions and groups arose in support of and in opposition to the open-shop. Eventually union strength increased in Utah, but on the question of union security, the church leaders were victorious with the passage of the right to work law in 1955.

The whole experience in Utah involved motivating factors which were somewhat distinctively local. In Utah the justification included a religious factor whereas elsewhere it was primarily political and economic. Two factors involved in Utah were (1) acceptance of the theological doctrine of free agency and (2) acceptance of a world view which reflected either the agricultural middle class or the professional middle class which itself developed from agrarian beginnings. The church leaders had almost no industrial experience. Davies concludes that these factors help account for the negative evaluations by church leaders and editors of compulsory unions.

#### Female Labor Force

Wheeler (1973) studied the trend from 1940 to 1970 of the female labor force in Utah comparing this with the trend in religious evaluations of such participation, as expressed by the Mormon leaders. She used U.S. Decennial census data and statements by religious leaders drawn from the Mormon publication, The Improvement Era.

Analysis of the economic trends found that both crude and age-adjusted rates (using the 1940 population as a standard) showed an increment of about twenty-two percentage points in overall Utah female labor force participation from 1940 to 1970. Age-specific rates increased for each group. The notable upswing in the participation of older women resulted in the emergence of a bimodal curve for participation by age. Work rates by marital status showed that the overall increase was generally attributed to the rising labor force activities of non-single women, especially married women living with their husbands. These figures include both the Mormon and non-Mormon Utahns.

The content analysis of church publications showed that statements made about the female labor force are most often negative.

That tendency became stronger from 1940 to 1970. Approval when expressed was always qualified. No increase was found in the explicit use of a claim to supernatural endorsement of statements concerning women's work activity. Such a claim was at times used to fortify disapproval, while approval was never observed here to receive that support.

Evidence of religious resistance to alterations in female work force activity were identified by Wheeler as follows: The larger ratio of negative to positive statements in the 1960's than in the 1940's; the increased frequency of all statements; the expansion of imputed undesirable consequences of wives working; and the greater frequency of disapproving references to actual labor trends.

Wheeler concluded that the economic and religious trends have not been in the same direction. Female labor force participation has evidenced an overall increase for all age groups, while official religious values have maintained a predominantly negative evaluation of this increasing activity. In some respects the negativeness of such evaluations has increased. Married women, women in childbearing ages, and women with children living at home have been particularly criticized for working. Yet, married women living with their husbands and women in the childbearing and childrearing age groups have substantially increased their participation from 1940 to 1970. Conflict or dissonance then obtains between changing behavior patterns and official church evaluations thereof.

Fairbanks (1974) indicated that in 1970 Utah had 41.5% of its females 17 years of age and older in its labor force, with this being just about the same as the average societal figure. He quotes a statement from a publication of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research at the University of Utah (Feb. 1974, p. 9) as follows: "The Utah woman who works is very similar to her counterpart in the rest of the country. She works before she has children, often works when her children are pre-schoolers, and almost half of her number work between the ages of 45 and 54."

#### Economic Dependency Orientations

In a study of American Nineteenth Century economic dependency orientations, Anderson (1967) explored the question of whether the younger generations evidenced a higher economic dependency orientation than the older generations. A "public dependency scale" was administered to two matched samples of adolescent students, one from a Mormon junior college and one from a western state university. Two adult samples consisted of Mormon Sunday School attenders and parents of non-Mormon state university students.

Anderson found considerable support for the hypothesis that younger generations are more dependency oriented than older generations. However, male Mormon students and female non-Mormon adults provided unexplained contradictions to this general pattern. To the extent that these Mormons represent their larger group, it can be said that the economic dependency orientations of Mormons is little different from non-Mormons with similar educational level.

The assertion that Mormon economic values are more representative of the 19th century than the orientations of other groups is provided little support. It appears that contemporary Mormons hold economic values too similar to other Americans to serve as a useful group for establishing a baseline for 19th century economic dependency orientations.

### Religious Affiliation and Income

Data collected in 1962 from a large sample of the U.S. population provides some research evidence on the relationship between religious affiliation and income. Interviews were conducted in almost 12,000 households. A cross-section of 7,518 fully employed men who were head of households in 1962 was utilized.

A major concern of the study was to investigate the extent to which differences in reported family income among thirteen religious groups could be explained by religious affiliation. The study used a regression approach in which income was the dependent variable and education, occupation, religion, race, region and size of place were the independent variables. By assigning to all thirteen religious groups the means on educational and occupational attainment, plus the national distribution of race, region and size of place, the research statistically eliminated the effects of differences in these characteristics on the mean incomes of these groups. The apparent differences in actual income from group to group were substantially reduced and for specific comparisons were eliminated. For only three groups, Congregationalists, Episcopalians and Jews was the effect of religious affiliation found to produce an adjusted annual family income which departed more than \$500 from the grand means, once compositional effects had been removed.

This suggests, then, that being a Mormon did not seem to have a direct influence upon the income of individuals taken collectively. On the basis of this evidence it appears that Mormons as a group do not have a higher rate of income than others groups. The Mormon experience did not contribute to making more money than one's neighbor.

### Home Ownership

Cox (1975:8) indicated that home ownership is an important value for Mormons, and in her research she found that there was a significant relationship between the percentage of owner-occupied homes and percentage of Mormon population in the Salt Lake area.

### Bankruptcy

Fairbanks (1974) using statistics provided by the University of Utah Bureau of Economic and Business Research, found that for the five-year period 1969-1973 inclusive, Utah's non-business or personal bankruptcy rate has been higher than the national rate. However, Utah's rate decreased a great deal during the period. The Utah rate, however, is still higher than the national rate, and includes both Mormons and non-Mormons.

### Unemployment Rate

Fairbanks (1974) also indicates that for the 21-year period

from 1953 to 1973, Utah had a slightly higher unemployment rate than the society as a whole.

### Religious and Economic Interface

The interface between religion and industrial-economic factors was explored by John Clark in his 1973 study. He identified some of the roles which church leaders held in the economic world, including ownership or strong directing influence in organizations such as Union Pacific, U & I Sugar, Beneficial Life (wholly church owned). Interesting research could be done to see what type of "cross-fertilization" takes place in each role. How does each influence the other. As a member of the Union Pacific Board of Directors does the church president behave, think, decide and evaluate differently than he does in his religious role. Is there a common ground which is neither, or maybe both religious and secular?

The Dyer-Quinn research on leadership styles, discussed in the chapter on Leadership, provides data which suggests that somewhat different behavior may be involved in each role.

Cannon (1968) analyzed the membership of a club of high-level executives in the New York area whose members had Utah and Mormon backgrounds. He found that while "active Mormons comprise a majority of the group, they are a minority of those Lochinvars who have climbed to the highest pinnacle of corporate power." He suggested that for the Salt Lake area "the business elite... tends to be non-Mormon or Jack-Mormons."

Cannon (1968:73) reports on the fact that "A recent study by a management consulting company revealed that more presidents of 471 of America's largest companies had been born in Utah, in relation to its population, than in any other state." He also indicated that preliminary efforts to identify the Utahns included in the study indicated that most of them had a Mormon background and that Mormons were playing significant roles in corporate hierarchies.

Looking at the broad picture, Cannon indicated that the first "significant thrust of Mormon achievement in the secular world appears to have been in the natural sciences" This he says was followed by achievement in high-level government executive positions, with the third thrust being in "overlapping the government executive phase with the business executive phase. Cannon concludes that "the Mormon production of high achievers in the executive world is part of a larger achievement of excellence."

### Economic Worth of the Church

Figures as to the economic worth of the Mormon Church are hard to come by, and those available are estimates rather than "hard data." The annual report of the 126th Annual Conference (1956) was the last to include financial information. Reported therein was a grand total of "expenditures both from Budgeted Church General Funds and From Other Contributions" was "54,801,068.00. "Building project outlay" was \$31,723,267.00. Total expenditures for 1955 were \$86,524,335.00 No report of income was provided.

Some estimates of church income have been published by non-church sources. A daily income figure of approximately \$1 million has been suggested by Morgan (1962), Newsweek (1962) and Forbes (1971). The accuracy of his statement would be difficult to check but Freedgood writing in 1964 in Fortune indicated that "The L.D.S. Church may not yet, as some Utah 'gentiles' believe, be the world's richest religious organization on a per capita basis. But it is rich indeed."

#### Summary

The history of Mormonism evidences a long term trend from economic distinctiveness to economic compatability. Early property stewardship beliefs were changed. Orderville and other United Order communities were changed. Segregated ownership was changed. Early church-sponsored and religiously motivated unions evolved into separate and somewhat church-conflicting unions. A general rejection of the closed shop has developed. Mormons today generally endorse basic American economic practices and are about equally effective as other Americans in achieving economic success. Some limited evidence of economic leaders suggests that having Mormon experiences may contribute to the achievement of eminence in some economic areas.

Mormon female have been experiencing economic cross-pressures. There has been continuing rejection of female participation in the working forces, accompanied by increasing actual involvement.

Home ownership among Mormons is higher than average. Personal bankruptcy rates appear to be higher than average. The Church Welfare Plan provides help for distressed church members and seems to involve an effective production-distribution system.

The economic value of church properties appears to be high.



## CHAPTER FIFTEEN

### SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND MORMONISM

#### Introduction

The material in this chapter which focuses upon stratification is closely related to that in the previous chapter on economic factors and to the following chapter on racial and ethnic group relations. All of these chapters are concerned with differential behavior patterns among church members. While each is abstracted for separate treatment, all are a part of a larger package of on-going interaction.

#### Celestial Stratification

The Mormon view of the afterlife society incorporates a caste system, consisting of three major divisions (with many subdivisions) which are called the Celestial, Telestial and Terrestrial "Degrees." In Mormon terminology these are "Degrees of Glory." The Mormon teaching a lesson about these would never think to identify them as "castes". As conceptualized by many Mormons there is no between-caste mobility.

#### Class Composition of the LDS Church

Davies (1963) has provided one of the most elaborate studies exploring the class composition of Mormonism. His findings are presented in some detail below. He first points out that Utah has experienced much the same change as the rest of the United States from a predominantly rural-agrarian socio-economic structure to an Urban-industrial one. The Mormon Church has followed and/or participated in this change.

His study universe was the total number of Stakes within the continental U.S. Information was solicited from general membership, from Stake Presidents (SP) and from Bishops (B). The membership was divided into seven different classes based upon their responses to questions dealing with:

- a. Degree of belief in the Church
- b. Attendance at, listening to, or reading the sermons of the General Conference
- c. Attendance at Sunday School and Sacrament Meetings
- d. Attendance at Stake Conference
- e. Financial contributions to the Church
- f. Present positions of Church leadership
- g. Past leadership positions.

Davies' findings on four selected characteristics are as follows:

### Schooling.

SP were by far the best educated, with 42.8% in this category B were next with 25.0% followed closely by Class I members with 23.1%. Classes 6 and 7 were least educated with 9.0% and 10.1% respectively. For the membership in general, 13.2% of those questioned had completed college.

### Political Affiliation.

An even clearer correlation between church activity and political preference was apparent than existed for schooling.

SP = 89.3% Republican

B = 55.6% Republican

Class I = 58.4% Republican

Moving from class I to 7, generally each group was less Republican than the previous. The opposite picture holds true for percent Democratic, i.e., the greater the church activity, the greater the Republican tendency.

### Occupational Structure.

Generally speaking the greater the inactivity, the more were members found to be skilled or unskilled workers.

SP comprised 0% of the skilled-unskilled class

B comprised 16.7%

General membership comprised 37.5%

The SP had a higher percentage of their number in supervisory or ownership positions than any other group--60.7% compared with 30.6% of B.

### Union Activity.

None of the SP were union members, though some (10.7%) had been.

B = 16.7% union members

Class I = 18.8% union members

The least active group of church members had a larger percentage of the group as union members.

The research then documents that there is a correlation between church activity and political preference, education and occupation. Agriculturists are becoming relatively less important in the Church.

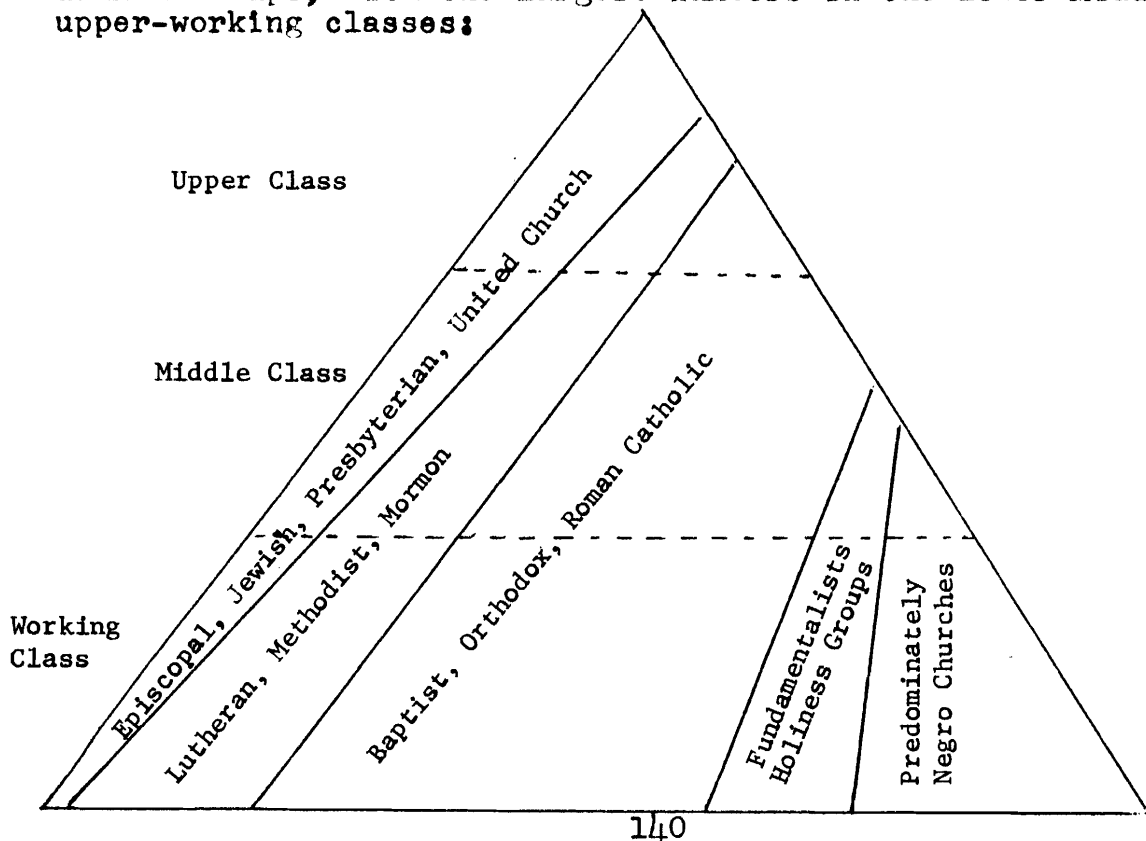
Even at the level of the General Authorities, there is some indication of a trend in change of attitudes toward a middle-class point of view, with middle class including executives, owners, sales personnel, teachers, professional people, and farmers. He reached this conclusion from a content analysis of the recorded public addresses of the General Authorities as well as the editorials of the Deseret News. A comparison of articles from 1855 to the time of the study was made.

Davies suggests that the relationships found in his research might be related to the following factors:

1. Something about the Church theology
2. Religion of the Church stimulates education
3. Something about the Church is distinctively middle class and therefore is more attractive to members of that class
4. Church may encourage education, Republicanism, and middle-class occupations at the same time.

This analysis of possible causal relationships suggests that there may be something about the Church that tends to drive the working class member out of activity. Leaders outside the Church usually Middle Class or Upper Class, also become leaders in the Church, which is not doubt related to the practice of having lay leadership in the church who are economically self supporting. This means that church leadership will tend to be middle class because this is where secular leadership is found and also where those who can afford to be a church leader are found. This then would constitute a built-in bias. Also, with regards to standards of conduct, it is possible that manual labor encourages a "rough" life, i.e. working shifts and working solely with men who may encourage the use of tobacco, alcohol, profanity and sexual behavior deviant by middle class standards. The very fact that leaders and most active church members are better educated may lead to the less-educated manual workers feeling insecure and unwanted. Sermons and participation in various classes may be on such a level that the manual workers do not understand very well what is being said. The better educated may exhibit a "superior" attitude which serves to alienate others.

Yinger (1970) provides the following figure representing the American class structure, divided according to religious affiliation. He indicates that the pyramidal shape may misrepresent the class distribution which, by many criteria, approximates a diamond shape, with the largest numbers in the lower-middle and upper-working classes:



Cowgill (1960) in a study of Wichita, Kansas, identified high-income, medium-income, and low-income sections of the city and found that individuals stating a preference for Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Congregationalist, or Jewish tended to concentrate in the high-income areas. In the medium-income sections the preferences were Unitarian, Christian Scientist, Unity and Lutheran, Methodist, Christian, Evangelical and Reformed, Quaker and Mormon. In the poorer sections were concentrated the individuals who preferred the Nazarene, Adventist, Baptist, Assembly of God, Church of Christ, Church of God, United Brethren, Jehovah's Witnesses, Salvation Army, Four Square Gospel, and Pentecostal groups.

Schneider (1952) provided the following:

#### SOCIAL CLASS PROFILES OF AMERICAN RELIGIOUS GROUPS

Denomination	Upper	Middle	Lower	N
Christian Scientist	24.8%	36.5%	38.7%	137
Episcopal	24.1	33.7	42.2	590
Congregational	23.9	42.6	33.5	376
Presbyterian	21.9	40.0	38.1	961
Jewish	21.8	32.0	46.2	537
Reformed	19.1	31.3	49.6	131
Methodist	12.7	35.6	51.7	2100
Lutheran	10.9	36.1	53.0	723
Christian	10.0	35.4	54.6	370
Protestant (small bodies)	10.0	27.3	62.7	888
Roman Catholic	8.7	24.7	66.6	2390
Baptist	8.0	24.0	68.0	1381
Mormon	5.1	28.6	66.3	175
No Preference	13.3	26.0	60.7	466
Protestant (undesigned)	12.4	24.1	63.5	460
Atheist, Agnostic	33.3	46.7	20.0	15
Don't Know	11.0	29.5	59.5	319

Dyer and Quinn (1974) for their study of leadership style randomly selected a sample of 130 Bishops and Stake Presidents of whom 52 responded to the invitation to participate in the study and 42 subsequently were actually involved. Of these 42 leaders, only two were non-professional in occupation. Professional positions ranged from school principals to corporation presidents, with ages ranging from 30 to 60. It would appear from this data that professional individuals are much more likely than others to be selected for church leadership positions.

Vernon (1966) asked sociology students at Brigham Young University to respond to the following question: "Circle the name of the religious group which you think would have the greatest appeal to upper class individuals." Then followed identical questions for the middle, working and lower classes. BYU student answers were compared with student answers from Central Michigan University.

	Upper		Middle		Working		Lower	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
BYU	64	16	161	39	127	31	59	14
CMU	0	0	2	12	7	44	7	44

From this very limited evidence, it would appear that Mormons see the class appeal of Mormonism to be higher than some non-Mormons do.

The same two groups of students answered the question of whether they considered it to be justifiable for a person to change his religious affiliation as he changes his class position. Their answers were as follows:

	<u>BYU Students</u>	<u>CMU Students</u>
Yes	9%	35%
No	83%	54%
Undecided	8%	11%

### Sex Roles

As has been previously suggested, the Mormon Church is clearly, at least in the official bureaucratic structure, a male oriented and a male dominated organization. Previous discussions have also indicated that in comparison with other churches in the U.S. the Mormons, and the Jews, are distinctive in that they do not evidence the greater religiosity of females than males.

However, the actual picture may not be as clear cut as this statement suggests. When one considers only the female priesthood prohibition, the church is clearly male-oriented. This has to be qualified somewhat by the fact that in some respects (but certainly not all) the Relief Society does for the women what the Priesthood does for the men. Further when the records are checked it frequently is found that the females of the ward are doing a better job than the males. The Primary Association which provides the activities and instruction for the pre-teenagers functions under the supervision of the male priesthood, but is officered and run almost exclusively by females. The programs for the youth of the church above the Primary age, are run jointly by a female and a male set of officers. The Sunday School has a male presidency but the Junior Sunday School is typically headed by a female. The formal worship services, the Sacrament Meetings, are under the direction of the Bishopric, and hence male dominated.

It is likely that the number of hours invested in church work is about equal for the females and the males of a ward. It is likely that the females do as much of the actual work of the ward as do the males, but without the "halo effect" of the priesthood.

Material included in the chapter on the family, as well as the one on Leadership, suggests that over the years there has been an increase of "female power" in the church and the family, and that the increase has been accomplished while maintaining the previous beliefs and statements about male dominance, such as in the patriarchal organization of the family. The Hulett analysis of early polygyny in the Church also pointed out that in such things as managing one's own farm, one's own household, and involvement in some civic affairs, that some of the wives in polygyny were more "menacipated" than some monogamous wives.

Woman's Exponent. A journal for Mormon women, Woman's Exponent, was founded in 1872 and included material with which 1970 advocates of Equal Rights would be right at home. The family was viewed as of major importance. Mothers were encouraged and expected to be loving, supportive wives running an efficient household. Various other "rights" were also endorsed such as

- o the right to "enjoy and exercise the elective franchise."
- o All avenues and levels of education
- o The right to earn her living by any means of industry open to man for which she has the capacity.

The Journal was started again in 1974 endorsing the same goals.

In 1886, disfranchisement of Utah women was proposed as part of the battle between the Federal government and the territory concerning Polygyny. Utah women had been given the right to vote in 1870 with the hope, on the part of some, that with this power the women of Utah would eliminate plural marriage in "Mormon Country." This did not happen. There was strong opposition from the women to the disfranchisement move, but they were not successful. They did not regain the vote until the 18th ademdment on women suffrage in 1920.

Mormon women are told in the Book of Mormon (2nd Nephi 26:33) that

...God... doeth nothing save it be plain unto the children of men; and he inviteth them all to come unto him and partake of his goodness and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female.

Conflict Potential. Many dimensions of the conflict potential associated with the role of women in the church are illustrated in the following statement provided by a student in a Sociology of Mormonism class.

About a year ago, I took a seminar on the subject of Life Choices. It dealt with making plans for your life and stressed considering alternatives and a periodic re-assessment of goals and restatement of objectives. The class was highly personal and included discussions of who we were, what we had done, and where we would go from here. One young Mormon woman disturbed me greatly because of her comments on the choices open to females who belonged to the L.D.S. Church. When asked what her objectives for the future were, she said, "To get married," although she had earlier said she wasn't engaged or romantically interested in anyone. She was twenty years old, had come to college to "meet a man," and absolutely refused to consider any alternative plans for career or lifestyle. One of the men asked, out of desperation, "What if no one asks you to marry them? What would you do then?" Her answer shocked us all. She said, "I guess I'd just have to kill myself because without a husband life isn't worth living."

## CHAPTER SIXTEEN

### MINORITIES AND MORMONS

#### Introduction

There is an important distinction between abstract values and applied values; between abstract theology and applied theology. Decision making is a complex process usually involving both abstract and applied components. Making decisions about actual on-going behavior is quite different from symbolically constructing a theological model which, as a model, does not apply to any specific behavior. It is abstract--abstracted from the give and take, the anguish and the ecstasy of human interaction. As was suggested in the earlier discussion of values, that which is ideal-abstract always loses something of its absoluteness when applied to actual behavior.

The difference between abstract and applied definitions acquires more significance when it is related to the fact that at the abstract level, humans can endorse mutually contradictory premises. As long as they remain at the abstract level the likelihood of the people involved experiencing related cross pressures is not great. The problems of being cross pressured or in effect figuratively being pulled in two different directions at the same time, develop when one attempts to apply the two abstract values to an interaction episode in which both abstract values are involved. This discussion of abstract values can be meaningfully applied to the Mormon-minority configuration.

The two abstract evaluations most directly involved are the following: (1) The basic premise of Christianity is that the Christian is admonished and expected to love God and to love others, or to strive for a brotherhood of all humans, thru behavior such as treating others in the way one would like to be treated. God loves everyone equally, therefore humans should love everyone equally. (2) Individuals are evaluated differently according to certain criteria such as whether they are righteous or unrighteous, whether they are saints or sinners, whether they are obedient or disobedient, whether they have accepted or rejected a blueprint of life considered to be divine, whether their behavior is moral or immoral.

The first premise, in effect, draws a symbolic boundary line around everyone, classifying everyone in one category, possibly a "child of God", calling attention to universal uniformities. The second, by way of contrast, segregates or subdivides humans into differing, competing, conflicting "camps"--into an in-group and an out-group. "We" and "they" are then meaningful distinctions.

Since religion involves high intensity or "super" components, it is unlikely that such dividing lines would be interpreted lightly or in a non-high intensity manner.

Mormons provide high intensity endorsement for these two conflicting abstract theological principles. The manner in which the applied conflicts have been handled is discussed in this chapter.

### The Minority-ness of Mormons

The Mormons have been and continue to be a minority group. Their minority-ness is numerical as well as doctrinal-behavioral. In some respects many Mormons pride themselves in being a "distinctive" people. Among U.S. religious groups, the Mormons are a relatively small minority group. They have been subjected to all types of minority prejudice and minority discrimination. As a group they have been driven from their "homeland." At Hawn's Mill they experienced a massacre including rape, death, burning, destruction of property, etc. At Nauvoo they left behind their homes and businesses and "left the country." They were told by government officials that although their cause was just there was nothing which could be done officially to help them and protect them and/or their property. In Utah they fought for statehood in the face of having their church property taken over by the government, having their marriage patterns declared illegal and having an army sent to control them.

They experienced the martyrdom of their first prophet, plus less spectacular or dramatic deaths as they moved by oxen and hand carts to the West.

Historically most of the classic prejudice/discrimination patterns can be illustrated with Mormon examples.

Occasionally one hears expressed, the wish that persecution would be reinstituted so that the ranks of Mormonism would be cleansed of those considered to be not quite so good and that those involved would have a chance to prove themselves (to themselves and to others, including God) to be true believers and defenders of the faith.

Minority Self Definitions. The minority-ness of the Mormons leads on the part of individuals who belong to the church, to definitions which reflect this fact. The individual Mormon, then, is typically aware that his church is a minority church. He takes this minority identification into account when he defines himself and is likewise aware that others with whom he interacts are taking the same characteristic into account. It is likely that many of the characteristics which are discussed in this book, one way or another, reflect the awareness of being a minority group.

The minority definitions are, however, counterbalanced by other larger-group identifications such as societal identity. Thus, while taking minority status into account, Mormons also in some respects try to "out American" other Americans and thus define their society in very favorable terms. The constitution is divinely inspired. American war efforts are moral. Being Mormon Americans or American Mormons is great!

In the society Mormons are a minority group. In certain regions they are the dominant majority group. As American Christians they share dominant Christian status as contrasted with minority Jewish status. Racially they are primarily within the majority white category



and thus are involved in societal white-black differences. In Utah, the societal-based label WASP (white, anglo saxon Protestant) becomes WASM--white, anglo saxon Mormon. A complex interplay of identities is involved in Mormons being Mormons in the United States. Some of these relationships are discussed here. Attention will first be given to Jewish-Mormon relationships.

### Mormon - Jewish Interrelationships

Research concerning the characteristics of Jewish-Mormon relationships is not extensive. Mauss (1968:458) points out that Mormons are told that Mormons and Jews literally have the same ethnic origin. In a study involving a purposive sample of 250 Mormons living in the San Francisco Bay Area, the Mormons were found to be less likely than the other studied denominations to report secular anti-Jewish definitions such as that the Jews cheat in business, or are disloyal or unpatriotic. While the Mormons did tend to believe in certain negative religious ideas about Jews such as that God was punishing them for their unfaithfulness, these definitions were neutralized by the simultaneous acceptance of the doctrine of "Semitic Identification," and thus were not carried over in the form of negative secular ideas about Jews. Various subcategories of Mormons evidenced no significant change in these patterns.

Mauss (1968) indicates that while the Mormons share common beliefs with other Christians about the Jews and their future, they also have some distinctive unique beliefs.

..The Jews are not the only "chosen people"; God's covenant was made with all of Israel's descendants, the Twelve Tribes, of whom the Jews are only one tribe. The other tribes will be gathered and redeemed too, but on the American continent. In anticipation of this other gathering, the Tribe of Ephraim has been chosen as a kind of vanguard to make certain necessary preparations. Many descendants of the Tribe of Ephraim have been called out of the Gentile world by the Spirit of God during the past century or so and converted to the Mormon Church, comprising most of the membership thereof."

Mormons then define themselves as being genealogically also Israelites. Expressions of this relationship are contained in widely-used Mormon self labels such as "Elders of Israel".

In 1971 the University of Utah student newspaper reported a student study of Mormon-Jewish relationships in Utah (Stark 1971). It was reported that each of the two groups regard the values of the other with respect. A frequently-used comment was some variation of the statement, "I have great respect for the      Religion, but..." A Mormon professor at the LDS Institute pointed out the obvious differences in the manner in which Christ is defined, while also indicating that "Mormons are nearer to the Jews than they are to any other Christian denomination because we believe we are both of Israel. They are our Jewish brethren."

A Salt Lake City Jew was quoted as saying, "It has been my experience that there's a warmer feeling for Jews in Salt Lake City

than probably in any other large city in the United States." The Rabbi of Temple B'Nai Israel is quoted as saying that "Mormons stress fundamental values: family, home, taking care of one's own and--obviously--going to church. A great many of these values have rubbed off on the non-Mormon community.

### Mormons and Indians

Almost from the beginning of the Church, Mormons have had an interest in the American Indians. They believe that the "Lamanites" who play an important role in the Book of Mormon story were the ancestors of the American Indians. Given this definition, they have evidenced a concern to convert the Indians to the Mormon Church. This concern has been primarily that of conversion rather than helping the Indians to gain greater equality and civil rights in the larger society. They may believe that the second goal can be best accomplished by joining the Church. Many church members assume that the greater equality would follow from joining the church and that in working for conversion they were, indirectly at least, working for the other goals. This does not necessarily follow, however.

Contemporary concern with Indians is evidenced in the fact that the Church has a number of grade schools for Indians as well as nine Indian seminaries in which some 15,000 students are enrolled. At the B.Y.U. a comprehensive program for Indian students has been established. The church also sponsors what is called an "Indian Placement" program whereby approximately 5,000 Indian students are integrated into the family-life and home of Mormon families and thus provided with support while they attend local schools. Arrington (1973) indicates that approximately 30 full-time missionaries who reside on reservations assist Indian groups with their agriculture problems in much the same way as county farm and home agents have in the past.

Schimmelpfennig(1971) identifies the following as some of the problems experienced by Indians in the Student Placement Program.

Oppressive rules and requirements, lack of equality and autonomy, suppression of tribal identity, sensitivity to Anglo allusions to race, financial conflict with the foster home, authoritarian caseworkers, ridicule of superstitions based upon their hereditary religion, white bias in history classes, and failure of the schools to instruct them concerning the achievements of contemporary, noteworthy Indians (p. 87).

Collin (1971) studied the Ute Indians in the Basin. As one part of his study, he identified some of the relationships between the White Mormons and the Indians living there. In his random survey of 54 households, 74 per cent were classified as active Mormons using church attendance as the criteria. The remaining 26 per cent were classified as other faiths or non-active Mormons as being equally conservative in social and political issues. Both groups are against government spending in spite of the fact that much of their local economy is based on the presence of federal and state administrative agencies. They have little tolerance for idleness or public assistance for those in need of support. They view low economic status as a result of individual inadequacy and inferiority.

This set of value definitions tends to influence their definitions of their Indian neighbors and has contributed to the racial separatism there.

An assessment of the white attitudes was made by utilizing a semantic differential test. The results of this assessment indicate that for the white sample the attitudes toward Indians are generally negative in terms of potency and activity. They tend to believe that the "average" Indian is weak, soft, slow, dirty, drunk, unsuccessful and poor. Neutral ratings were found for the paired-word opposites good-bad, smart-dumb, and goodlooking-ugly. The one positive rating was on the happy-sad continuum. This overall negative evaluation was found to be frequently expressed in conversation and in action by whites of all ages and at all levels of social influence. Unfavorable comments were frequently heard on the Indian's poor work performance, lack of thrift, and immorality. The Indian is considered to be lazy and undeserving of public assistance. One female shop-keeper casually commented on a recent Indian killing: "This thing happens all the time. It's nothing to be surprised at." The county jail is commonly referred to as the "Ute hotel."

Interaction is usually restricted to business matters.

Collins found that the negative image of the Indian gets incorporated into religious activities, despite the special place which the Indian has in Mormon teachings. The Indians, are the object of considerable mission work by the Mormons. However, the Mormons have generally ignored the Basin Indians. Only limited efforts have been made to convert the Utes. When conversion occurs, attempts to integrate them into the hierarchial structure appear to be less than sincere. For example, a special ward or Indian Branch at Randlett serves all Utes on the southern part of the reservation. Except for the white missionaries specially appointed to serve this Branch, no local whites are involved. Instead, the white residents of Randlett travel to another ward to attend segregated services. In Whiterocks, the same church building serves both the local whites and Utes, but at separate times and in different capacities.

Collins points out that a few Ute informants who had been converted to and then subsequently left the Mormon Church described a general lack of acceptance by white members. One woman explained, "The whites were always talking behind my back. They acted like they didn't want me in their activities." A Ute who served as a Mormon missionary returned to the Basin expecting to gain employment in local white-owned business. Apparently his expectations were unfounded. He said, "They (white church officials) just told me to go look for a job back at the agency; they couldn't help me." His Indian partner on the same mission had a similar disappointing experience. Assuming that he had gained full social mobility in the white community, he began dating a white girl. After the Indian had visited the girl in her home, her father informed him that he was no longer welcome because an Indian was not good enough for his daughter.

A study by Sloan (1973:64) included the following brief item about Indians and the Salt Lake City churches.

As in many cities, there are in Salt Lake City, churches that are exclusively Indian. The LDS Church has an Indian Ward, and until only recently had a second Indian Ward in West Jordan. It was estimated by Mr. Stewart Durant, Church Coordinator for Indian Programs, that nearly 300 Indians participated in these two wards.

Mr. Reed Egbert was the branch president of the West Jordan Ward; however, he said that the Church Authorities decided to discontinue the ward due to decreasing attendance. He claimed that the older Indians were not very active, and that the youth wanted to attend the wards in which they lived.

Rapport (1954) conducted a study of the Galilean and Mormon missions among the Rimrock Navaho. He reports that the Indians who wished to identify with white men were those who felt that they could not achieve satisfaction through the conventional Navaho patterns. Some were ignorant of the Navaho ways, and others were familiar with them but felt unfulfilled.

#### Mormonism and Chicanos

Very little information is available about relationships between Mormons and Chicanos. The rapid growth of converts from Mexico as well as South America will have a marked impact upon the church. This is a part of the internationalization process which has already been discussed somewhat.

In a private conversation, a Chicano Mormon from central Utah reported an experience following his giving speeches in sacrament meetings in the neighboring rural areas. In the informal interaction which follows the official close of the meeting, he was thanked by members of the ward for making a fine speech and then was told some variation of the statement, "and isn't it wonderful that you will eventually become white and delightful like the rest of us."

#### Mormons and Blacks

From early church times till the present, Mormons have been involved with Blacks. The relationships have taken on increased social significance as a result of the efforts on the part of Blacks to achieve greater equality and civil rights in the society.

#### The Priesthood Prohibition and Symbolic Dissonance

That the Mormon Church has an established prohibition against Blacks holding the priesthood is a well-known fact, and a fact which has been given lots of attention by Mormons and non-Mormons as well as by Blacks and Whites. Dissonance, however, is clearly evident with reference to the following aspects of that prohibition:

1. How did the prohibition originate?
2. How is the prohibition justified or validated by those who accept it?
3. Has the prohibition been systematically enforced throughout church history?
4. Is the prohibition a matter of dogma or doctrine or a matter of administrative policy?
5. Is the existence of the prohibition a factor which influences more secular behavior--i.e. either increasing the likelihood or decreasing the likelihood or having no influence?

We will look at each of these aspects. However, before doing so it is important to recognize that the existence of dissonance per se, does not necessarily lead directly to any dissonance-related behavior. In a dissonance situation no one is completely satisfied with the situation since in effect with reference to a given course of action you are "damned if you do and damned if you don't." What one does about dissonance then is related to a complex configuration of ISAS elements.

### Dissonance and Ambiguity Concerning Origin

The contemporary official explanation of where the prohibition came from boils down to "God is responsible." Exactly how God accomplished this is not specified, and what type of validation or justification should be associated with the interpretation is uncertain. For some who accept the God-responsibility interpretation this alone is adequate. They are not concerned with any of the related questions. The importance of symbols in human interaction is emphasized by the fact that apparently nowhere is anything recorded as to how this particular revelation or instruction from God was believed to have been received. Yet, it is real to those who real-ize it.

A letter signed by the two counselors of President David O. McKay specified that the prohibition had a supernatural origin. It also indicated that the prohibition would most likely be removed at some future time. However, uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the letter exists. Is a letter signed by the two counselors in the First Presidency but not by the President to be interpreted as one signed by the one individual who is considered to be the "prophet, seer and revelator?" A legitimate question seems to be "why didn't President McKay sign the letter?"

The search for historical antecedents for the current position is productive of conflicting data. The movement of Mormon settlers into Missouri created the following situation:

1. Northerners from states where the abolitionist movement was strong were interacting with southerners who were favorable to slavery.
2. Mormons who defined themselves as God's "Chosen People" and thus as having legitimate claim to the territory they were moving into were interacting with earlier settlers who defined them as new migrants moving into their (the southerner's) territory, and hence to be subject to the folkways, mores, and laws of the host state.

3. Mormons who believed in close-knit, intimate community relationships of hard working, thrifty and industrious individuals were now interacting with the "permanent party" or "establishment" with somewhat different orientations.
4. Mormons who were friendly to the Indians providing Indians with a positive meaning which related to their newly acquired scriptures were interacting with old settlers who were strongly anti-Indian.
5. Mormons who were preaching a brotherhood of all mankind were interacting with the earlier settlers who were not willing to classify Blacks as brothers or for that matter as being completely human.

Behavior is relative to the interactants (I - A) and the symbols or meaning introduced by each and the larger situation in which the interaction takes place. The above configuration of elements then could be interpreted as "conflict waiting to find a place to occur."

In the situation including these elements, the Church controlled newspaper introduced a catalyst which turned out to be the spark which ignited strong anti-Mormon demonstrations. The paper was The Evening and the Morning Star, edited by W. E. Phelps. Whether Phelps was speaking as an official representative of the Church is an open question. That he was interpreted as being an official church spokesman by some is apparent. The newspaper items which moved the Missouri anti-Mormons from a passive definition to an active behavioral demonstration was the following:

Slaves are real estate in this and other states, and wisdom would dictate great care among the branches of the church of Christ in the subject so long as we have no special rule in the church, as to people of color, let prudence guide; and while they, as well as we, are in the hands of a merciful God we say, shun every appearance of evil.

To prevent any misunderstanding among the churches abroad, respecting free people of color, who may think of coming to the western boundaries of Missouri, as members of the church we quote the following clauses from the laws of Missouri:

Sect. 4: ... no free negro or mulatto, other than a citizen of some of the United States, shall come into or settle in this state under any pretext whatsoever.

Sect. 5: If any person shall after the taking effect of this act, bring into this state any free negro or mulatto, not having in his possession a certificate of citizenship as required by this act, he or she shall forfeit and pay, for every person so brought in, the sum of five hundred dollars.

"An open invitation to free blacks to migrate to Missouri" was the interpretation given this article by many Missourians. Events moved rapidly. An assembly was summoned at the courthouse. A manifesto was drawn up calling for an immediate expulsion of Mormons:

We therefore agree that after timely warning, and receiving an adequate compensation for what little property they cannot take with them; if they refuse to leave us in peace, as they found us--we agree to use such means as may be sufficient to remove them, and to that end we pledge to each other our bodily powers, our lives, fortunes and sacred honors... (Brodie p. 132)

An extra was prepared by the paper which included the following:

Having learned with extreme regret that an article entitled "Free People of Color" in the last number of the Star, has been misunderstood, we feel in duty bound to state in this Extra that our intention was not only to stop free people of color from emigrating to this state, but to prevent them from being admitted as members of the church.

Violent conflict developed. The printing office was destroyed. The state and national officials were asked for help. A group of Mormons, from out of the state marched into the state. The outcome was the migration of Mormons from Missouri to Illinois.

Several elements are intermingled in this episode, including slavery, freed slaves, church membership, and a whole complex configuration of political-power elements. The episode is preliminary to the priesthood prohibition, but apparently contained nothing about the prohibition per se.

#### Supernatural Origin Ambiguity

Mormons who investigate the factors involved are confronted with conflicting elements, some of which are pro-prohibitionist and some of which are anti-prohibitionist. Anti-prohibitionist elements include the following scriptural statements:

2nd Nephi 26:33 - For God doeth that which is good among the children of man, and he doeth nothing save it be plain unto the children of men: and he inviteth them all to come unto him and partake of his goodness and he denieth none that come unto him, black and white, bond and free, male and female.

Acts 10:34. God is no respecter of persons.

D&C 93:38. Man was innocent upon coming to earth, having been redeemed from the fall of Adam.

"Man will be punished for his own sins and not for Adam's transgression" is a widely quoted Mormon statement. The Pro-prohibitionists may be concerned with reconciling what may appear to be an inconsistency of God--a God believed to be consistent. Their troublesome question is how would a God who proclaims equality in His sight of Blacks and Whites, initiate a prohibition against the Blacks. Further in an era of racial troubles why would not God provide some clear-cut statement?

Joseph Smith's definitions of the Blacks evidence a close similarity to those of his society, with no evidence of any

particular religious significance being attached to them. His views were already contained within 19th century Protestantism in the Cain-Ham-Canaan theory.

Brigham Young also accepted the Cain-Ham-Canaan theory. He apparently made no mention about any premortal theories such as those endorsed by some church leaders following him. Wilford Woodruff was the first church president to mention the premortal interpretation. However, he did not unite the two theories as some modern writers do. He evidently saw a distinct difference between them.

Pro-Prohibitionist elements--the Curse Interpretation. In its most elementary form this validation indicates that Blacks were cursed by God and therefore man is justified in treating them in an inferior manner. The curse was imposed because of some pre-earth-life behavior. The curse is related by some to the Genesis account of Cain, who it is believed was punished because he killed Abel. With reference to Cain, Joseph Fielding Smith, in The Way to Perfection (p. 101) says "not only was Cain called upon to suffer, but because of his wickedness he became the father of an inferior race." He indicated that the black skin of the Negro is "emblematic of eternal darkness," and suggests that the spirits in the pre-existence who were undecided or "on the fence" about following Christ were the ones who came to earth thru unfavorable or black parentage.

Brigham Young also indicated that Cain had committed murder and that God had placed a mark upon his posterity. However, neither the Old Testament or the Pearl of Great Price account provides information about a "curse." It is indicated that a "mark" was placed upon Cain, but just what the mark was is not specified. The Old Testament includes other accounts of curses. The curse of blackness, however, is not related to any priesthood prohibition.

B. H. Roberts (in Tanner & Tanner) is quoted as saying:

Only those, however, who wickedly rebelled against God were adjudged to deserve banishment from heaven, and become the devil and his angels. Others there were, who may not have rebelled against God, and yet were so indifferent in their support of the righteous cause of our Redeemer, that they forfeited certain privileges and powers granted to those who were more valiant for God and correct principles. We have, I think, a demonstration of this in the seed of Man... I believe that race is the one through which it is ordained those spirits that were not valiant in the great rebellion in heaven should come; who through their indifference or lack of integrity to righteousness rendered themselves unworthy of the priesthood and its powers, and hence it is withheld from them to this day.

Those who accept the curse interpretation may have difficulty explaining how Cain's posterity were punished for Cain's transgressions when they are also told that man shall be punished for his own sins and not for Adams transgressions.



Brigham Young made a strong pro-prohibition statement in a territorial address on January 16, 1852, as recorded in the Journal of Wilford Woodruff: "... any man having one drop of the seed of (Cain)... in him cannot hold the priesthood and if no other prophet ever spake it before I will say it now in the name of Jesus Christ." (Bush 1973:26)

David O. McKay, however, indicated "I know of no scriptural basis for denying the Priesthood to Negroes other than one verse in the Book of Abraham (1:26..." (Letter dated Nov. 3, 1947 in Berrett, 1967:19).

Among those who accept the curse interpretation, one interpretational component is rarely if ever considered. Even if God did in fact curse some particular individual or group, does this then mean that those in the non-cursed category somehow have an obligation to treat the out-group members in a negative manner? Does a God-curse have to be behaviorally translated into a human-curse? In no case does the "curse" scripture incorporate a blueprint statement to humans about their treatment of those cursed.

The Old Testament includes information on several curses of God upon humans. Humans seem to assume that they have some obligation to do something about a God-curse. Many seem to insist that they engage in some negative out-group treatment or discrimination, without considering the question of just what a God-curse means. It is possible that some use the God-curse to justify the discrimination they would engage in anyway.

The Cain-Ham-Canaan interpretation was a widely accepted Protestant interpretation. Mormons did not invent the theory. Those who accepted it in essence borrowed it from the already established churches.

#### Initial Definitions of Joseph Smith

The visionary, change-oriented prophet of any new group is involved in making changes, in establishing new perspective, new insights. He has visions. His pronouncements may be written or they may not. It is not of great importance at that time whether they are formally recorded, because he is there to answer questions about whatever may be of concern to his disciples. On the questions associated with the priesthood prohibition history provides no evidence that any formal statements were made. In the absence of a formal statement, questions can be raised about the status of any remembered (re-remembered or re-constituted) statements by others. One might question whether any revelation was received, since none was apparently preserved. Whatever happened then can be interpreted as being in a less-than-revelation category.

Let's look, however, at what is known about Joseph Smith's behavior and beliefs on this matter. First, he apparently knew that Elijah Abel, a Black Mormon, did hold the priesthood.

1836 - Joseph Smith Maintained that no one should interfere with slaves in opposition to the desires of their owners. Any slave owner who joined the Church was expected to treat slaves kindly. Further, slaves were accountable to God. (Lythgoe:330)

Joseph Smith also accepted the "Canaan argument" that slavery was a divine institution which could not be changed by humans.

1832 - The Saints moved to Illinois which was a free state. They now were living in quite a different situation than they did in Missouri.

1834 - Around this time, he began to informally advise others that they should not ordain Negroes. As the initial instructions were informal and as no supporting theological justification or validation was developed, it may well be that the initial instructions were oriented toward the safety of church members in a pro-slavery state. The prohibition was precautionary rather than theological or "revelational." If this is true (and it can't be definitely proven as of now) then he established a policy which later became re-defined as a dogma.

1842 - Priesthood prohibition was provided with some theological justification from certain interpretations of the Pearl of Great Price, which was published. This was more than 8 years after the practice was started, however.

1844 - Joseph Smith publically endorsed an abolitionist policy with this endorsement possibly reflecting his awareness that he was or was going to become a potential candidate for the U.S. Presidency. He suggested that slavery should be abolished by 1850 and that the U.S. government should pay for the slaves freed from money secured from the sale of public lands. Slavery he maintained was a social evil which could and should be abolished.

1848 - Joseph Smith indicated that Negroes have souls, and are subject to salvation. He further endorsed a social-symbolic deterministic position that the Negroes were whatever they were because of social (including symbolic or meaning) factors. Thus if Whites and Blacks were to exchange places each would behave as the other does.

Brodie (1971, 2nd ed.) describes the reversal as follows:

Then in a complete reversal of his earlier stand he advocated freeing the slaves.... By now Joseph's attitude toward the Negro had become so liberal... that he argued with Orson Hyde that if the roles of Negro and white were reversed the former would quickly assume the characteristics of the latter. The demagogic Hyde was not impressed, and his conviction that the abolitionists were trying to make void the curse of God was never wholly erased from Mormon thinking, particularly since it could be reinforced by the unfortunate anti-Negro sentiments in Joseph's Book of Abraham. The Utah Church accepted the ideological fruits of Joseph's earlier stand, which actually had been a political compromise, and rejected this more courageous about-face because it was merely an utterance in a political campaign.

Black Priesthood Holders. The following are Blacks who held the priesthood:

1. Elijah Abel, a free Black, was baptized in September, 1832 by Ezekiel Roberts, a Mormon missionary, and in 1836 he was ordained to the Priesthood. (Taggart) On April 4, 1832, he was ordained a member of the Seventy.
2. In a letter sent to Brigham Young by L. Appleby it is stated that Walker Lewis, a barber residing in New York state was ordained an elder by William Smith. (Taggart)

While Joseph Smith was aware of the Abel ordination, it was not until he was questioned about the propriety thereof that he made a definite stand. (William E. Berrett, "The Church and the Negroit People" supplement to John J. Stewart, Mormonism and the Negro, pp. 8-10)

Green and Coltrin episode. In 1834, Joseph Smith was approached by two church members, Green and Coltrin, to settle an argument about the priesthood prohibition. He knew that admitting Negroes to full fellowship, particularly in the South, or even worse, having them given leadership positions, could be disastrous for the safety of the southern church members. Apparently, Joseph Smith did not feel it necessary to make his statement to Green and Coltrin a matter of official policy.

Other occasions on which members approached Joseph Smith for advice on what to do are also recorded. That none of them knew what to do without first consulting the president indicates that there was no general consensus or policy at least as late as 1838.

### Dissonance

There is then conflicting and contradictory evidence about the priesthood prohibition. One component concerns whether the prohibition is a matter of theological doctrine or a matter of administrative policy. The importance of labels (symbols) is very evident here. If the prohibition is defined as church policy, the prohibition can be prohibited by a policy decision of the governing individual or body, that the policy has been changed. If the prohibition is labeled "doctrine" or "dogma" or in Mormon terms as a "thus-saith-the-Lord" prohibition, then, by established procedures, changes therein require another "thus-saith-the Lord" statement. Man can change the one but not the other.

McMurrin (1970) has been somewhat of a spokesman for the "policy" position. He suggested in 1970 that President David O. McKay as early as 1954 said that "there is no doctrine in this church and there never was a doctrine in this church to the effect that the Negroes are under any kind of divine curse.... As a matter of fact, there is no doctrine in this church whatever that pertains to the Negroes."

Change Procedures. If one starts with the premise that the priesthood prohibition is a God-initiated phenomenon, change can be introduced only a God. The change will come when God is ready for it to come. However, this can be coupled, if one wants to,

with the related premise that God will remove the prohibition when man is ready for it and that man has to do something about it. A typical result of this approach is to believe and wait. Be true to what you believe God has said, and wait for him to change it.

If one starts with the premise that the prohibition is a matter of man-made policy, then change can be introduced by man. Those who make policy decisions must change the policy. It is man's responsibility, not God's. No revelation is needed for this type of change.

### Some Contemporary Questions

Much of the literature and spoken words about Mormons and Blacks starts with the unquestioned assumption that there is a clear meaning to the words "Black" or "Negro", which permits one to clearly differentiate between Blacks and Whites. Anthropological evidence, however, sharply questions this assumption. There is strong reason to doubt whether many people today could be accurately classified as "pure Black" or "pure White." Most people are a mixture of racial types. "Human race" is a much more meaningful term than either "Black race" or "White race".

It may very well be, then, in terms of biological classifications, that there are individuals today defined as "White priesthood holders" who in reality are "White-Black priesthood holders."

In a society which contains many types of mixtures, a meaningful question is how much "Black blood" makes the individual "Black"? A related question, of course, is how much "White blood" makes an individual White? If "one drop" of "Black blood" makes an individual Black, can't the same line of reasoning be used to conclude that "one drop" of White blood makes an individual White. Further, there is the underlying question of what difference does blood make anyway? There really is no such thing as Black or White blood.

Is major concern with Race or Authority? The sociology of religion makes one aware of the potential problems of bureaucratization of a church group. The small sect group is only loosely organized, whereas the denomination is highly structured, officered or bureaucratized. Being so permits the development of types of problems which would otherwise be unlikely to develop. In a denomination a power structure is created which requires structure maintenance if the group is to persist and the bureaucracy is to function. Power prerogatives can be jealously guarded and protected with both physical and symbolic boundaries, roadblocks, gateways, passwords, or with symbolic locks and keys.

Church members then can become concerned with or dedicated to (1) obedience within the established power structure and (2) anxiously engaged in a good cause, such as establishing a brotherhood or familyhood of all humans. However, given the right ISAS combination these two goals can work at cross purposes. Individual members can be cross-pressured.

With reference to the priesthood prohibition specifically, this means that church members may individually oppose Blacks being

given the priesthood not because of any racial factors per se, but rather because they feel that they must defend their leaders and indirectly their God. To publically (and for some privately) oppose the priesthood prohibition is seen as not supporting those in authority over them. Particularly for Mormon with a ritualistic orientation this may be of major importance.

The same pattern exists with reference to the Roman Catholic birth control prohibition. To the obedience-oriented Catholic to endorse birth control is tantamount to declaring that the Pope made an error. One way to solve the problems is to redefine the prohibition as not being in the infallible category--it is a matter of church policy not dogma. The same solution is open to the Mormons and their priesthood prohibition.

### Spillover into Secular Behavior?

Does the existence of the priesthood prohibition have any relationship to non-religious, secular behavior? This is the question to which we now turn attention. In this area there is research from which we can begin to establish an answer.

Mauss (1966) in a study of members of three Mormon wards in the San Francisco Bay Area, secured what he considered to be measures of the secular (as contrasted with religious) attitudes toward Blacks. He found no systematic differences in such definitions between Mormons themselves or between orthodox and unorthodox Mormons. In most of their responses, Mormons resembled the "moderate denominations" (such as Episcopalian, Congregational, and Presbyterian) rather than the fundamentalist sects. The Mormons did differ among themselves in their definitions but the differences did not seem to be related so much between the orthodox and unorthodox, or active and inactive, as between the educated and uneducated, the manual and the professional, the old and the young, or the rural and urban, as in any denomination. Especially strong as predictors of Mormon race definitions were urbanism, education and occupation. This harmonizes with other studies of other groups which found that socio-economic status was an important determinant of definitions of minority groups.

Mauss expressed a concern with having conclusions that religious definitions have a direct influence upon secular or non-religious definitions supported by research rather than just assumed.

From the basis of theory alone, either a relationship or a non-relationship could be supported. Any existing pattern or relationship would be relative to the larger ISAS configuration.

In an analysis of various factors related to the LDS priesthood prohibition, Mauss (1967) presents his conclusions that (1) the actual authoritative doctrine on the "Negro question" is extremely parsimonious, although it is not entirely without biblical precedent, and it is not too difficult to accept if it is linked cautiously with the doctrine of pre-existence; (2) although there are scriptural references to the war in heaven, to the curse and mark on Cain, to the curse on Canaan, and to the blackness of Cain's descendants, there is no scriptural warrant for linking any of these to a denial of the priesthood; and (3) none of this has anything to do with the civil rights issue until it can be demonstrated (and not just inferred) that the Church's internal ecclesiastical policy carries over, in the form of civil bigotry into the secular behavior of Mormons.

Mauss continues his discussion by emphasizing that no reasons have been given in any scriptures, ancient or modern, for this prohibition; the official stance of the church leaders has been simply that the Lord has so decreed and that no change can take place in this policy until He decrees otherwise. Mormons simply do not have information as to why such a proscription exists. Interpretations involving punishments merited for performance in the pre-existence as a form of explanation cannot be defended. Mauss further suggests that interpretations by church members and leaders in relation to scriptural precedent are noted as being entirely extra-scriptural and extra-doctrinal. In addition, and in relation to such interpretations, Mauss indicates that there is the lack of scriptural evidence as a source of substantiation for assuming that anything Ham or Cain did was involved in the denial of the priesthood.

Douglas and Mauss (1968) using an anonymous questionnaire mailed to a modified random sample of residents of Logan, Utah, and its environs studied the relationships between three variables and definitions of Negroes and other ethnic groups. One variable was religious affiliation and belief in the LDS Church doctrine and policy about Blacks. The other variables were secular: (1) degree of presumptive secularization and (2) degree of childhood exposure to Negroes. The results of this study are somewhat at variance with those of the 1966 Mauss study, which, as has been indicated, found that such secularizing factors as education and urban origin intervened to reduce or eliminate the differences between orthodox Mormons and others. This study found that secular factors seemed to have no effect, for the differences between strongly believing Mormons and others remained great at all levels of the "scale of Presumptive Secularization."

The above study identified another important secular determinant of racial attitudes--the degree of childhood exposure to Blacks. This factor had the same kind of effect in the Logan study that education and urban origin had in the California study, which was virtually to eliminate religious factors as explanations of the differences between Mormons and non-Mormons in their attitudes toward ethnic minority groups. Such a finding harmonizes with other studies which have examined exposure to Blacks as a depressant of ethnic prejudice.

A small bit of evidence on the prejudice component comes from a study by Fairbanks and Hough (1973) involving the heads-of-household in a large six-city survey project, including Columbus, Ohio (N=375), Linton, Indiana (N=298), Phoenix, Arizona (N=686), Yuma, Arizona (N=375) and Safford, Arizona (N=306). The researchers concluded that while it was clear that the Mormons were no different from other religious groups in conventional morality and punitiveness, they were more prejudiced.

Brewer (1970) undertook research to explore the relationship between religious and secular definitions, checking to see whether individuals who subscribe to a restrictive church racial policy also tended to accept restrictive race definitions in non-church matters. He studied from the state of Utah, government elites, Mormon Church elites ("decision making elites") and other religious

influentials, academic influentials, professional influentials (physicians and lawyers). His hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Leaders who express conservative perspectives regarding LDS Church Negro policy will also tend to express conservative perspective regarding civil rights legislation in Utah

Hypothesis 2: Leaders who express conservative racial perspectives of either kind (religious or secular) will tend to express the view that the LDS Church Negro policy has little or no effect upon race relations in civil life.

Hypothesis 3: Mormon Church decision-makers will tend to express more conservative perspectives concerning the norms they control (Mormon Church Negro Policy) than will Utah governmental decision-makers regarding the norms they control (potential civil rights law)

The findings indicate that for the group Brewer studied there was a relation between secular and religious perspectives. The findings then were contradictory to those found by Mauss. Mauss however dealt with ward members not with elites. Neither finding then actually contradicts the other.

Brewer also found that among the individuals studied, excluding the Mormon Church leaders, that there was no significant relationship between age and attitude toward church policy. Younger leader, however, were significantly more favorable to civil rights legislation than were the older leaders.

With reference to both secular and religious racial definitions among the respondents excluding the Mormon Church leaders, the non-Mormons tended to be more liberal but the differences were not statistically significant.

The racial perspectives of the Mormon Church leaders were most conservative, while those of academic and non-Mormon church leaders were most liberal.

Brewer's results can be summarized as follows:

1. There was a positive relationship between being favorable toward civil rights and being favorable toward liberalizing church policy.
2. Government decision makers tend to express more liberal views than Mormon Church decision makers.
3. Influential leaders perceive government decision makers as more accessible than Mormon Church decision makers.
4. The state of Utah has been noticeably slow in passing civil rights legislation, in comparison with the rest of the society.

Research by Johnson and Bunker (1975) provides some addition data involving a different dimension. Using respondents from one high school and one college in Utah and two high schools and two colleges in California, with 616 students being involved, they

measured tolerance and intolerance toward Negroes, American Indians, and/or Mexican Americans, utilizing questions about compensatory education, involving stated willingness to create or use compensatory education programs for minority group students. Thus, a somewhat indirect measure of prejudice was involved.

Those responding evidenced a general tolerance toward compensatory education for the minority groups used in the study. Attitudes toward culturally disadvantaged whites and American Indians were not significantly different. Neither were attitudes toward Negroes and Mexican Americans. However, each of these combinations of two groups were significantly different, evidencing more favorability toward culturally disadvantaged whites and American Indians than toward the others.

There were however no significant Mormon-non-Mormon differences. Since Mormons provide a strong endorsement for education in general this finding may suggest that this positive evaluation is generally extended to others as well. However, the finding does suggest that the "spill over" from the priesthood prohibition to other aspects of behavior may not be extensive if it does in fact exist. It appears that Mormon minority prejudices may be more closely related to societal factors (societal religion) than to strictly Mormon Church factors.

Johnson and Bunker (pp. 81-82) caution that "...the results neither rule out the possibility that proscriptions against giving Negroes the priesthood decreases tolerance, nor that the doctrine of Semitic identification as applied to Indians and Mexican Americans increases tolerance. It is possible that other determinants of tolerance/intolerance are simply attenuating the effects of the above tenets." They continue

It is noteworthy that not only were Mormons different from non-Mormons with respect to religious preference but they also came from different geographical areas of the country. The Mauss (1970) study indicated that Utah Mormons tend to be less tolerant than California Mormons. It may be that, had geographical location been controlled for, Mormons as compared to others in the general population may have been more tolerant of the ethnic groups used in this work.

#### New Zealand Mormons

Behavior is relative to the situation and the audience. Mol's study of religion and race in New Zealand documents this point with reference to the Mormons. From his study he concluded that among the religious groups of New Zealand, the Mormons were the most successful of all major groups in implementation of a policy of racial integration. The integration involved the dark skinned Maori people, not Negroes.

Mol's analysis of the successful integration emphasized the following points, with his major point being that the relative increase in Mormon membership could be traced partly to its functional social organization. The church, he said, has a system of checks



and balances for its membership. It's requirements of tithing, church-going, abstinence of stimulants are commensurate to what it supplies its members: Belonging to a cohesive group, where equality is practiced, where performances are rewarded, where non-conformity is visible and checked (visitation) and where recreation is well provided. The whole system is then tightened by the institutional dedication and example of non-salaried missionaries and the insistence on Christian love as the integrating element.

Because of its essential non-Maoriness, it was thought that the Mormons would have a large turnover of membership. However, this was not found to be true. It appears that the demands have a negative affect on the accretion of new members, rather than the withdrawal of old ones. The temptation to slacken the demands is resisted for doctrinal reasons. If it were not, a temporary advantage of increased membership would soon be offset by the long run disadvantage of amorphism, which appears to be the prime problem of almost all Protestant denominations in general and of the Anglican Church in particular.

On a much smaller scale the integration of students from many different racial groups into the program of the Polynesian Culture Center associated with the Brigham Young University--Hawaii program also provides an illustration the how the Mormon Church has been able to help those with different biological characteristics work together in harmony and familyhood.

The New Zealand experience underscores a basic fact of human behavior. It is not the color of the skin per se (or any other biological factor, for that matter) which determines behavior, or determines what people do about that factor. The behavior of any individual which takes biological factors into account is in response to the meaning of those factors, not the factors per se. Meaning is socially constructed and hence inherently changeable. Blackness or whiteness can be defined in many different ways.

### Black Mormons

The New York Times, on April 6, 1972 included an article on the Genesis Group, which is an organization of Black Mormons. The group has a group presidency and officers and teachers who are Black. The Genesis Group was first discussed in an official church publication in June, 1974. (Hartley 1974:46-50). Exactly how many Blacks are Mormons is unknown.

Every individual has many different identities. Each belongs to different groups. Black Mormons are categorized in the two categories included in that name. What apparently happens is that for these Mormons the Mormon identity is given greater saliency than the racial identity. In some neutralizing process the discrimination taking into account a biological/racial factor is outweighed by the religious factor. As is true of any one identity, it is sociologically unrealistic that the same factor would be weighted or evaluated identically by all who share it. Humans are not one-identity beings.

## CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

### MORMON MARRIAGE PATTERNS

#### Introduction

A major concern of the Mormon Church and the Mormon individual is the Mormon family. These three units might be considered as the L.D.S. "earthly trinity." There is such a complex and necessary interrelationship between these three that you can't have one without the other, or at least you typically would not find one without the others.

The LDS Church defines the family as the most important aspect of the church, and says that if there should be a conflict between the family and the church, the family obligations should be given preference. It is unlikely that those who accept this premise would ever visualize such a conflict situation, especially since the family is asked to follow the teachings of the church and to obey divine injunctions.

In answering the question "who am I?" the Mormon typically, as a part of the answer, locates himself in a family frame which he sees extending far into the past and projecting far into the future. The Mormon encouragement to engage in genealogy work in effect facilitates the individual to locate himself in a broader extended family context. The individual may anticipate that future generations will be concerned with his identity as a part of the "family tree" and believe that his name will be included upon many future family group sheets. It would be hard to be an active Mormon and not identify oneself within an extended family frame.

Mormon beliefs that high awards and rewards (such as being in the Celestial Degree) in the afterlife are a joint husband-wife accomplishment focus attention upon and provide legitimation for family behavior. Mormons are encouraged to attend church as a family and further to sit in the congregation as a family. The family is a frequent topic for sermons. Mormon leaders frequently define themselves as having expert knowledge about family behavior and as having expertise in helping others (and self) work out family problems. Family home evening is a major concern of the church.

#### Family Modeling

Members of the Mormon Church are provided with leaders at all levels who are seen as authorities in ecclesiastical matters. However, the personal, family behavior of these leaders is also used as a model which the general membership believes they should follow. Stories told in meetings frequently relate in great detail the family behavior of church members. President David O. McKay has frequently been used as a model or ideal husband.

Individuals who occupy the high-level positions are almost always themselves married. When the wife of a general authority dies, he is usually expected to remarry. The unmarried, divorced or separated individual is usually not called to a major administrative position. This contrasts with the situation found in some other churches in which the leaders are typically celibate. The personal behavior of such leaders then cannot be used by members as a model for their own family behavior.

In the Mormon Church as Bean (1973) points out, the leaders are almost all married and have a higher-than-average fertility rate. In the Catholic Church the leaders are unmarried and have no fertility rate. Research could explore which of the two groups most closely follows the advice of their leaders on marital matters.

### Ritualistic Family Supports

Formal religious rituals in the LDS Church provide support and reinforcement for getting married and having children. These include the ritualistic naming of the child in a public ceremony. Such a process emphasizes the family, and in effect incorporates the infant's name (the symbolic person) securely within the name or the symbols of the family group and the church group. In effect the name is jointly introduced into the family and the church, which in turn may serve to weld together the church and the family. To function as a member of a family, spouse, parent and child each has to be symbolically adopted and converted. The individual has to be convinced (to real-ize) that he/she is a family member. Mormons have many validating-converting mechanisms. In a sense the naming ritual can be viewed as the formal "adoption ceremony." The ritual may include a statement to the effect that the name which is given the child is the name by which the person will be known upon the records of the church.

Certificates which certify that the name was given, are to church members important identity documents which are accumulated on each child. While official church records are maintained, the original signed certificate is maintained within the family, and a file of such documents is accumulated over the years, as the child is named, confirmed a member of the church, graduates from Primary, enters the Priesthood and progresses thru the established positions (Deacon, Teacher, Priest, Elder, Seventy, High Priest, possibly Bishop) and married. One can easily chart or re-present his changes by reviewing his church records. The fact and act of having written documents about oneself serves to solidify for the one named therein the identity "symbolized" there. Having written records of past events is quite different from re-membering them. "Out of the books ye shall be judged" has different implications than "out of remembered events ye shall be judged."

The fact that these rituals typically take place within a "religious space" as a part of a "religious ritual" serves to integrate the family behavior into the larger configuration of behavior considered to be religious behavior. The sponsoring of the Family Home Evening as an official program of the Church and continuous efforts to check up on members to see if the Family Home Evening is in fact being held also focus attention upon the family and family behavior as a part of the larger phenomenon called "religious behavior."

### Official and Unofficial Sanctioning

Various sanctioning technics and devices are utilized which encourage conformity to what is believed to be official church standards. Families believed to exemplify the standards are discussed or referred to in sermons. In the process of bearing testimony in the monthly Fast Meeting, ward families believed to exemplify specific standards may be identified by name and may be thanked for what they have done, or how they have behaved.

Leaders and other speakers, frequently incorporate within their formal presentations, statement as to how appreciative they are of the support and help provided by family members, especially the wife. Public proclamations of love of wife are frequently made. Such statement incorporate a "thanks"

component and endorsement of the status quo and an implied expectation that the behavior patterns will continue in the future.

Teams of two male members each, functioning in the name of the priesthood are expected to visit the home of each ward family, with similar visits also being made by a team of two female members functioning as members of the ward Relief Society. The discussions involved are expected to provide both positive and negative sanctions for the behavior of the family members. The fact that the "church" (or at least those functioning in the name of the church) physically comes to the home, provides reinforcement for the symbolic ties the church is attempting to create and reinforce.

#### Some Research on Family Interaction

In 1949, Hardy studied 162 adults in Salt Lake City. He found that there was a positive relationship between respondents attitude toward the church and respondent perception of the attitude of father, mother and spouse. The strongest relationship was between respondent and spouse.

In 1959 Whiting and D'Andrade studied child rearing practices among three culturally divergent communities in southwestern U.S. One item studied was whether nursing infants slept in the parental bed. The Mormon evaluations were distinctive in that they reported believing that it was good to sleep with the infant, and to do so even though there was adequate space for the baby to have his own crib.

In 1968, Sellars studied eight Utah communities focusing upon religion and alienation as they related to participation in a statewide immunization program. It was found that Mormon mothers had their children immunized at a higher rate than non-Mormon mothers. When socioeconomic status (SES) and education were held constant the differences persisted only in the lower SES and low education group. It was also found that Mormon mothers were lower in alienation than non-Mormon mothers. However, in the lower SES and education groups there were no significant differences. When alienation was held constant, there was a significant difference between Mormon and non-Mormon mothers' immunization rates in both the high and low alienation groups.

#### The Non-Married

The strong emphasis upon marriage, has contributed to evaluations of those in the non-married category of second-class members. Recognition of this is reflected in the efforts of the Church during the 1970s to establish programs within the church oriented specifically for non-married members.

#### Power Structure of the Family

Behavior of a spouse is in response to symbols, relative to the audience(s) and the situation. What happens in any given family stems more from the combination of elements involved than from whether any one element conforms to some abstract standard.

Wise and Carter (1965) studied the manner in which two generations of LDS women defined "homemaker," with their sample including 132 young married women in Weber County, Utah in 1960 and 84 of their mothers. They utilized a role conception inventory. They hypothesized that they would discover no significant trend away from the traditional toward the contemporary role for women. The hypothesis was confirmed.

Some significant differences were found between mothers' and daughters' statement such as "I think an education like my husband's would help me to be a better wife and mother " which was affirmed by 26.2% of the mothers, compared with 40.0% of the daughters. A greater difference occurred between the education of the husband and wife in the mother group with 61.0% of the wives having finished high school as compared with 41% of the husbands. An equal number of college graduates appeared in this group. Since the wives in this group had more education than their husbands, they would not be expected to desire to lower their educational level in order to have an education like their husbands. On the other hand, education in the daughters group was more nearly similar for husbands and wives, with fewer than 5 per cent of the husbands having more education at the college and graduate levels. Thus, it appears that there would be more challenge to the wives in the daughter group to have an education more like their husbands.

The greatest difference between mothers' and daughters' responses to traditional items in the inventory occurred for the statement, "I think it should be my duty as a wife to do practically all the housework." This was checked as applicable to 83.0% of the daughters and 66.0% of the mothers. Apparently, daughters at this point in their lives are inclined to feel more traditional than their mothers. The attitude could be the result of their stage of family life development.

Support was found for the hypothesis that in certain behaviors the expressed attitudes of women and their actual traditional or contemporary role definitions would not be in agreement. A large number of married women were employed in opposition to their traditional responses on the inventory.

Wise and Carter conclude that women in this particular culture are participating as "provider" in the move to factory and office but are evidently not ready to define their role accordingly. In this respect the behavior somewhat parallels or has a similar characteristic of sexual behavior in which the percent engaging in premarital coitus is greater than the percent indicating approval thereof, as will be brought out in a subsequent chapter. The dissonance in each case has to be worked out somehow by those involved.

Differences between the two generations with regard to child discipline, spanking, etc. were found to be slight. There was a decrease of 21.0% in participation in family prayer from the parental families of the husbands to the subjects' families and a decrease of 9.0% from the wives' parental families. Mothers of the older generation were found to be more ardent in their church participation and orthodoxy.

In both generations there was more of a tendency for the husband to assume a conciliatory role than for the wives. In matters of parent-child conflict, the replies indicate that there was a slightly greater tendency toward leniency and democratic interaction than in the parental families.

There seemed to be little indication from the results of this study that any consistent father-controlled, dictatorial type of authority pattern existed in the families studied to a greater extent than in the non-Mormon families reported by other investigators.

As to whether there has been an increase or decrease in the exercise of patriarchal authority from one generation to the other, the evidence of the Wise-Carter study suggests that in general there has been a decrease, but probably not to the extent reflected by the American society in general.

In the Mormon Church, these authors suggest, the patriarchal pattern has become an institutional pattern and has survived as a religious concept. However, in the translation to daily family living, it has been adapted and modified to meet the needs of the family in a changing society.

Christopherson (1956) did research on this power question, asking the question of whether patriarchal authority in the Church is merely a time-worn theological concept, or whether as a result of theological motivation, it has withstood by modification or circumvention, the societal forces of the last century, and has remained an operational concept. He studied sixty-one Mormon families chosen at random from within a twenty-mile radius of Salt Lake City. He secured data on the concepts of patriarchal authority held by the respondents and secondly upon the exercise of patriarchal authority in daily living on the part of the subjects and their parents.

The study findings suggest that patriarchal authority is still considered to be very much a part of family life of these respondents. Of the husbands 93.9% and 73.0% of the wives agreed that the husband is the head of the family in both religious and non-religious matters. At the same time, 77.0% of the husbands and 93.0% of the wives were of the opinion that the husbands authority operates chiefly in matters pertaining to religion. Religion seems to be the special area for the exercise of patriarchal authority. Some other structure obtains for the remainder of family behavior. This harmonizes with the premise that it is the priesthood which is the foundation of the power structure and the priesthood is an exclusive male phenomenon. It is believed, however, that the woman can share in the blessings of the priesthood by marrying a man upon whom the priesthood has been conferred.

The belief that patriarchal authority is as necessary now as in former times was accepted by 78.0% of the respondents, while 81.0% indicated that the Mormon father has duties and obligations to his family that are different from those of the non-Mormon such as providing for the religious education of the children. The belief that their concept of patriarchal authority was due to religious teachings was endorsed by 83.0% of the respondents and 16.0% attributed their concepts to parental influence.

With reference to discipline, recreation, general family decisions, financial matters, and religion, Christopherson indicated that the respondents endorsed the belief that patriarchal authority played an important role in at least several of these areas. However, many of those involved made comments that patriarchal authority was more of an unseen force or presence, sanctioning, for the most part, the shared control of family policies and functions.

The interviewer noted a curious discrepancy between the concept of patriarchal authority and its exercise. In 17 instances, he reported that the woman would just finish expressing a point of view to the effect that in her family the husband was regarded as the ultimate seat of recourse and then in almost the same breath, would interrupt her husband to correct him with an air of finality with regard to a point of church doctrine. There seemed reflected a curious compartmentalization of concept remote from any conscious awareness of paradox with respect to the application of patriarchal authority.

There seemed to be greater evidence of more participation by the husbands in the sample than in the previous generation with regards to routine household matters. In response to areas such as feeding the children, cleanliness of the children, sickness of children, etc. the responses indicated a greater degree of responsibility and participation on the part of the husbands of the present generation than in the parental families of the previous generation.

The Dyer-Quinn (1975) research concerning the manner in which the participating bishops and stake presidents interpreted their behavior which was compared with the interpretations of such behavior by those with whom they worked at the office, at church and at home, found that at home these fathers tended to interpret their behavior as being less participatory or democratic than the spouses and children perceived that behavior. The authors point out that family members were cautious in what they told the father-husband. However, they indicated that they got plenty of feedback and that they had some influence in the relationship.

One way of interpreting this finding is that the male priesthood holders saw their behavior as being more patriarchal than did the other family members. It appears that those who think they should behave in a patriarchal manner tend to view their actual behavior as being patriarchal even when the "patriarchalness" of the behavior has been reduced. What we might call "minimum patriarchalness" is labeled just patriarchal and thus in the same category as "maximum patriarchalness."

What we might call the "expected patriarchal syndrome" seems to be reflected in the hypotheses which Kunz reported for his research. He hypothesized that Mormon families would tend to be directive and have independence expectations for their children to a higher degree than non-Mormons. Findings rejected his expectations. It may be that Mormons expect other Mormons to be more patriarchal-authoritarian than they are, and the Mormon males expect themselves to be, and experience their own behavior as being more patriarchal-authoritarian than it is. Labels can be maintained even when the related behavior changes.

#### Working Wives

Family behavior is influenced by out-of-the-family experiences in the world of work. The occupation or profession of the "bread winner" including such things as financial returns, time involvement, interaction with co-workers, and many other factors is involved. An important component is whether the wife is involved in bread winning activities out of the home and how this influences her bread making and related activities at home. Church influences may provide cross pressures in this area. Education is positively evaluated, as is providing adequately for family, and stories are told of hard working widows (it is always a widow, not a married woman) who work long hard hours to put a child thru college. Parents receive positive reinforcement for the secular successes of their children.

On the other hand, Mormons are also told that success in the home is of greater importance than success out of the home, and that doing without secular-economic things does not justify doing without the mother in the home. The afterlife rewards of females are viewed as being related to mother-wife activities rather than economic-professional achievements. The success of the leaders of the Relief Society and the Primary Association, however, are given positive evaluation, and the church recommendation that members be actively involved in their community affairs is not restricted to males.

Research reported in the chapter on economic matters, indicates that a sizeable percent of Mormon females are in the working force and that the negative evaluation of such work by the Church has remained constant. As has been suggested, this is a high conflict potential area.

### Some Parent-child Interaction

Parent-child relationships are of concern for the church and the family alike. While the family organization is seen as ideally being patriarchal, there is encouragement to hold family councils in which the children have an opportunity to make meaningful input. The parents involved may be able to sincerely accept the fact that children may have different interpretations and values than do the parents, and to work out some configuration of elements so that all members can have their input given serious attention. Other parents may see the family council not as a mechanism by which the children can be heard, but rather as an effective psychological technic by which parents can get the children to accept what the parents have already decided. Most likely in such situations the children, especially the older ones, are aware of the manipulation involved and may develop anti-parental reactions.

### Family Home Evening

The Family Home Evening program of the Church involves the family spending an evening at home during which they engage in various types of family activities including recreational activities. No other Church activities are scheduled for that evening--Monday. Mauss and Mauss (1970) researched some aspects of the program. Respondents came from Salt Lake City and Northern California between 1964 and 1969. Questionnaires were used, being sent to all homes in each of ten randomly selected Mormon wards in Salt Lake City, alternately to the husband and to the wife at successive addresses, as well as to all unmarried heads of households. The 960 questionnaires anonymously returned represented a return rate of 60%. The researchers conclude that their figures were most likely indicative of the maximal levels of compliance with the program. The secular variables they studied evidenced only an ambiguous relation to FHE participation. Three religious variables all had very strong positive relationships, particularly ritual religiosity. Those who were the most regular in Family Home Evening participation were the ones who were most regular in their involvement in other religious rituals. The authors indicate that this finding harmonizes with a previous finding from research by Robert Larson, who also suggested that in the absence of strong church sanctions the FHE participation could be expected to take place regularly only to the extent that it was found to be satisfying to the participants themselves.

The research found that those with a weekly FHE participation rate were twice as likely as non-participants to be highly knowledgeable about Mormon scripture and lore. Weekly participation was a very strong predictor of high orthodoxy. On the basis of this limited study, the authors conclude that the program is functioning toward the kind of religious retrenchment intended by the church leaders, at least among the church members who are participating, but that those who would be considered most in need are not yet participating.

### Parental Discipline and Achievement Demands

Kunz (1963) researched the question of whether the Mormon ideology has an influence upon child-rearing behavior, testing the following hypotheses:

1. LDS parents are more strict than non-LDS parents in disciplining children.
2. LDS parents make earlier personal achievement demands on their children than do non-LDS parents.

He utilized questionnaire responses from 145 Mormon, 111 non-Mormon, and 12 Independent mothers. Respondents were secured by asking students from an



introductory sociology class to send two questionnaires to LDS mothers and two to non-LDS mothers from their home area. Kunz defined "discipline" as some negative sanctions of the child's behavior imposed by the child's parents. "Achievement demands" was defined as those demands made of the child by the parents which tend to place responsibility on the child in preparation for successful competition in the adult world.

Neither hypothesis was supported at a statistically significant level. In his analysis of this unexpected finding, Kunz suggests that while Mormon parents are serious about their child-rearing obligations it seems that other teachings in their religion neutralize the strict authoritarian family system. This would include the doctrine that patience and perseverance should prevail in child rearing. He suggests that while Mormon parents are striving to help the child accept responsibility and learn to do for himself, as indicated by the early age at which they start the child to household chores and start him walking, they do not punish him for failure as was originally hypothesized, perhaps thinking that punishment may alienate him further from the desired goals.

Weigert and Thomas (1972) studied all members of the Mormon Church in a small western university town of about 20,000 who attended Sunday School on the day the questionnaires were administered. They studied the relationships between "parental support and control" and Mormon youth's perception and practice of religion, satisfaction with the church, frequency of attendance, and rating of religious Sunday School teachers. Previous research involving non-Mormons found consistent relationships between the degree of support, or positive affect, which adolescents report receiving from their parents and a range of dependent variables such as self-esteem, conformity and religiosity. This study of Mormon youth corroborated the general trend of the previous studies. Youth who reported a high degree of both support and control also tended to have the highest scores on all three aspects of religion. On the other hand, those reporting the lowest degree of parental support and control had the lowest scores on the religious variables. The one difference in this research from that reported earlier is that control emerges as a consistent source of variation in the dimensions of religiosity. The finding with respect to church attendance is at odds with those reported earlier concerning religious practice, in that control is more significant than support. Previous findings indicated that in general support explained more of the variance in religious practice than did control.

#### Geriatric Mormons

Writing in 1953, Carruth identified the following factors which it was felt would contribute to the positiveness of the experiences of older Mormons.

- o Older persons do genealogy and temple work and are accorded considerable prestige.
- o The church welfare plan is a source of subsistence security for them
- o In many church-owned businesses, elderly people are not retired but are retained in positions commensurate with their abilities.
- o Age is a factor in advancement in the levels of the authority hierarchy; therefore older people are generally honored and given seniority.
- o Belief in the eternal nature of marriage and family relationships predominate and therefore those with large posterity have relative status.

#### Adoption

The Church started its own adoption agency in 1916. Today it is one of the busiest such agencies in the U.S. In 1974 there were 17 adoption agencies

in the U.S. and there was discussion of the possibility of a world-wide service within the church. The adoption program works closely with the Church Unwed Mothers Program, which is also directly under the LDS Social Services. With the help of the Unwed Mothers Program the prospective mother if she so desires can go away from home to have her baby and then return home. She would stay with an L.D.S. family. She is not pressured to put the child up for adoption, and the family with whom she stays is cautioned to leave the decision to her. If she is in high school the program arranges for a tutor.

Adoption decisions take into account factors such as church membership, Bishop's evaluation, age, mental and physical age, infertility, marriage stability, size of family, financial situation, housing and reimbursements.

After a child is adopted the child may be sealed to the new family, and the new family is sealed to the child for eternity, in the appropriate rituals in a church temple.

### Polygyny

One of the most widely known facts about early Mormonism is that what Mormons typically call plural marriage was practiced for a while and then discontinued, with the discontinuing thereof facilitating the achievement of statehood for Utah.

Plural marriage was first accepted and initiated by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo. The practice did not receive attention from non-Mormons until under the direction of Brigham Young in Utah the practice was officially announced and openly practiced. During efforts to achieve statehood, the practice became one of the major conflict points which led eventually to the passage of the Edmunds Act in 1882 and the Edmunds-Tucker Act of 1887 which divested the church of funds and assets which were confiscated and placed under the control of government receivers. Houses of worship and burial grounds were excluded. When the Supreme Court decided that the act was constitutional, the Woodruff manifesto was issued which proclaimed the discontinuance of approval for the practice of polygyny.

Marriages which were contracted prior to the manifesto were generally tolerated. Some families were separated, with the father being officially connected to but one family. Some Mormon leaders did not accept the manifesto and performed such marriages in Canada, Mexico and on the high seas. Such marriages, while few in number, were a problem for the Church. In 1904 two members of the Apostles who had performed such marriages were disfellowshipped. Today the practice is not approved and when known may lead to rapid excommunication. (See Arrington)

In his analysis of plural marriages, Hulett (19 ) indicated that among the consequences of this pattern of marriage were the following:

- o Contributed to the creation of a place for women in the official church program--i.e. the creation of the Relief Society.
- o Provided freedom for some of the wives such as Eliza R. Snow, to become active in some civic programs, in social work and in church programs.
- o Contributed to the establishment of political suffrage for females
- o Married women could own and control separate property, which then provided power for the wife which she could exert upon her husband.
- o Facilitated female involvement in such economic activities as teaching, dressmaking, telegraphy, clerking and independent farming.

In 1963 Christiansen, using respondents from a small rural community in central Utah, studied attitudes toward polygyny. He contacted 72 males and 82 females who were married and living with spouse when interviewed. He found that early Mormon polygyny practices were condoned by a majority of the respondents; the possibility of practicing polygyny was rejected and possible future practices were anticipated by only a minority.

Certain similarities were noted in the attitudes of the contemporary Mormons and those of early Mormons. First, the attitudes of males and females did not differ greatly. Second, the principle reason given for practicing polygyny was that it was a commandment of God. Third, even under legal and religiously approved circumstances, only a minority wished to practice polygyny.

In response to a question "how do you feel about the practice of polygyny in the early days of the Church?" the majority, 59% approved. Of the remainder, 8% gave responses which indicated a conditional approval of the practice, and 26% responded with answers which indicated disapproval. Responses were similar between the sexes with no statistically significant differences. Two-thirds approved to some extent.

In response to a question, "how do you feel about the practice today?" two thirds disapproved without explanation, while others gave varied reasons for their disapproval such as "against the laws of the land."

To a question, "Under what circumstances would you practice polygyny?" 49% answered that they would not practice it under any circumstances. Forty per cent replied that they would practice it only if God commanded them, while 6% replied they "didn't know."

In two respects the modern answers were the same as those known to apply to early Mormons. Women in both cases were generally in favor of the practice. Justification for the practice was similar in both cases--commandments from God.

Another question was, "Could you love your spouse as much if you were practicing polygamy as you could if you were not?" Of the men, 36%, and of the women 26% answered "Yes." whereas 49% of the men and 62% of the women answered "no." 15% (males) and 12% (females) answers could not be placed in either category.

Considerable doubt was included in the answers to the question "How do you feel about the practice in the next life?" Forty-three per cent who believed it would be practiced indicated they would participate, with 10% indicating that they might. The remainder, 36%, did not want to practice or said they would not (11%) even though believing that the practice would exist and be sanctioned by God.

Christiansen suggests that continued positive evaluation of polygyny is related to the following four factors:

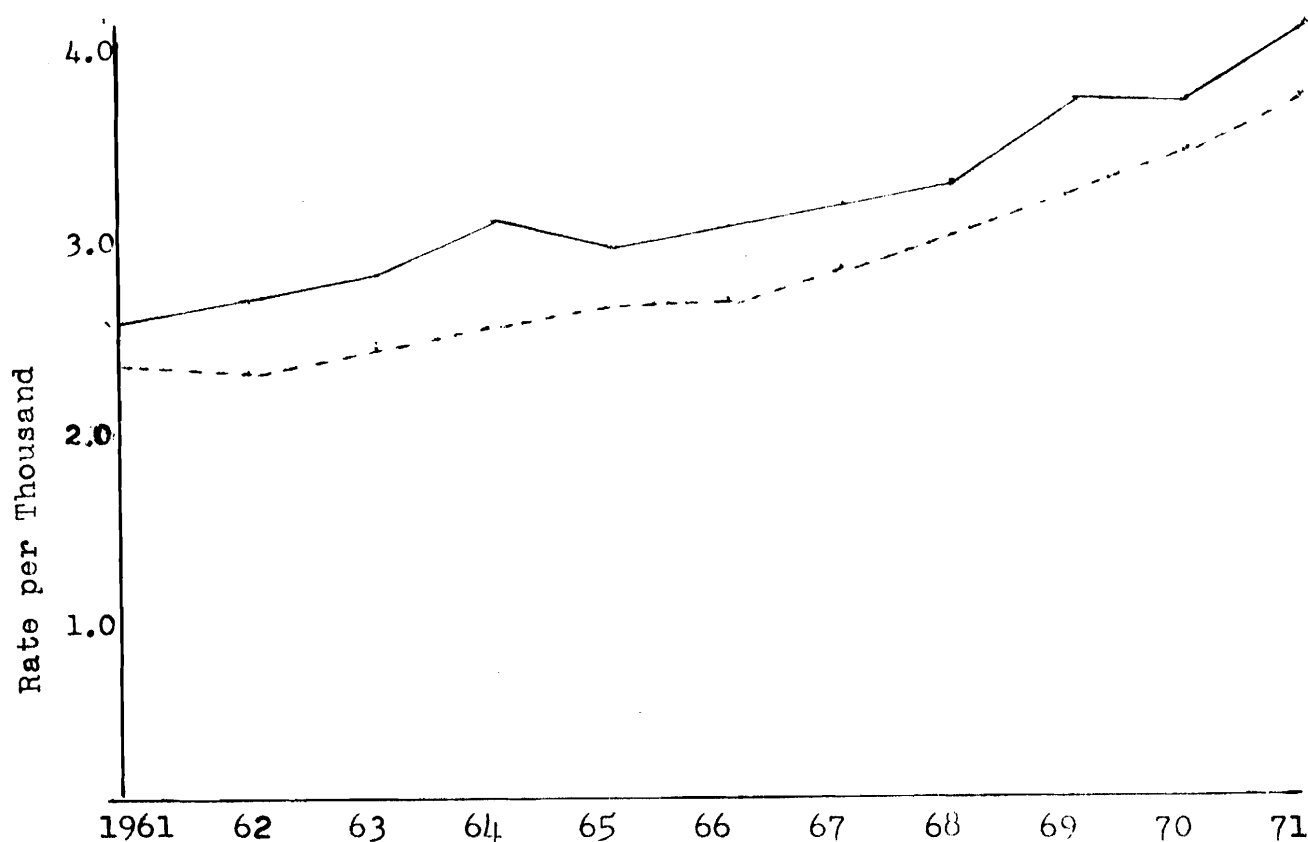
- o Identification with forebearers who practiced polygyny.
- o Acceptance, socially transmitted, of the practice as one of the Mormon mores.
- o Bitterness over the harsh treatment and humiliation bestowed upon Mormon ancestors and the Mormon Church during the persecution period.
- o Continuous religious beliefs that certain individuals will be in a polygynous relation after death.

Becker (1973) sensitizes us to another potential consequence of the practice, indicating that engaging in socially disapproved behavior, as in deviant marriage patterns, serves to tie those doing so to their group. The group is the only or the major source of validation or legitimation. Limited group-specific validation is involved. The leaders of such groups can also benefit from the practices, in that once the socially disapproved behavior is initiated, those doing so increase their loyalty and commitment to their group leaders. Leaders may use the societal guilt component for their own purposes. They may use the anxiety or may even arouse it, by calling attention to the deviancy. This may serve to keep the "deviants" docile and obedient for further deviancy.

### Family Stability

Divorce statistics for the state of Utah which includes Mormons and non-Mormons from 1961 to 1971 are provided in Figure 1. The slightly higher than average (for the U.S.) differential has remained relatively consistent during the time covered. Mormon divorce patterns may be somewhat lower than for the entire state but with the same general pattern of change.

Figure 1: Divorces per 1,000 population: U.S. and Utah, 1961 - 1971.



Source: John E. Brockert and Lyman J. Olsen, (Utah State Division of Health) Marriage and Divorce in Utah 1971, p. 38

In a study of divorce patterns among Mormons, Kunz (1964) secured family information from 451 students in introductory sociology classes at two western universities. From his data he concluded that the fewest divorces took place took place among the Mormon group, with the next highest number being within the mixed group and the most divorces occurring among the non-Mormon groups. Divorce related factors were analyzed as follows:

Type of Marriage. Of the Mormon couples who had had civil marriages, 12.3% were divorced while only less than 3.0% of the religious marriages of Mormons had ended in divorce. Within the mixed category, 22.3% of the civil marriages ended in divorce whereas none of the religious marriages was so dissolved. For the non-Mormon group of those married in a civil ceremony 23.7% had divorced and 19.3% of the religious marriages had ended in divorce.

Church Attendance. Of the Mormon parents who attended church always, 1.9% of the fathers were divorced and 2.3% of the mothers were. Of those who attended church never, 18.2% of the fathers and 25.0% of the mothers were divorced.

Mormon Marriages. Data indicated that the civil marriages for Mormons are more likely to terminate in divorce (12.3%) than either church (3.2%) or temple marriages (2.2%)

The pattern of decreasing divorce frequency as one moves from temple marriage to other religious marriage to civil marriage has been found in other research as follows:

Christensen and Cannon (1964). Of 5,157 marriages performed in Utah between 1949 and 1951, after ten years of marriage there were --  
1 in 7 divorces for those married by civil authorities  
1 in 10 divorces for LDS married by LDS authorities in civil ceremonies  
1 in 55 divorces for LDS temple marriages.

Widstoe (1952). Analysis of divorces for three areas for 1936--Salt Lake, St. George, and Arizona temple areas -- found the following  
Temple marriages: 6.4% divorced during 15 years  
Civil marriage by ward and stake leaders: 15.6% divorced during 15 years  
Civil marriages: 19.4% divorced.

Evans, Richard L. (1942). provides the following ratios for 1940:  
U.S. - 1 divorce for each six marriages  
LDS civil marriages - 1 divorce to 9.7 civil marriages  
LDS temple marriages - 1 divorce to 27.0 marriages  
LDS all marriages - 1 divorce to 17.8 marriages

McKay, David O. (1945) cites the following  
1920 - 1922,

LDS temple & stake and ward authorities	1 divorce to every 38.24 marriages
Civil	1 divorce to every 13.20 marriages

1923 - 1925

LDS temple & stake and ward authorities	1 divorce to every 33 marriages
Civil	1 divorce to every 15 marriages

1938 - 1940	
LDS Temple & stake-ward	1 divorce to every 26.61 marriages
LDS civil	1 divorce to every 10.13 marriages
1935 - 1937	
LDS Temple & stake-ward	1 divorce to every 37 marriages
LDS civil	1 divorce to every 12.52 marriages

Church Statistics. Kunz (1964) reports that in 1952 the church became aware that Church statistics secured from certain church forms were not accurate, indicating that some reports of marriages were as much as 20% off. The record were not always right. Many couples married by a bishop were married by a bishop other than their own and some of these marriages were not recorded in Church records. Then, often, when a couple got a divorce they did not tell the bishop and the divorce was not recorded. A decision was made, therefore, that such information would not be given out since the data was not accurate enough for research purposes.

In a study of 419 couples married in 1955, Steed (1971) concluded that the divorce rate for Mormons married outside the church was almost twice as high as for those married in the church, but not in the temple. At the time of the study, 97.2% of the temple-married Mormons and 13.4% of the non-temple married Mormons were not divorced. He also reports that when the age of the bride was 15 years or under, the divorce rate was 50%. Age 16 was associated with a divorce rate of 27.3% and 21 and over with a rate of 3.6%

Mitchell and Peterson (1972) analyzed family histories of approximately 1,000 couples from the genealogical archives of the church. Information was incomplete on some variables. They utilized histories of four families, covering roughly 140 years from 1820 to 1960. Obviously the results cannot be generalized. The following findings, however, are suggestive.

1. Temple-married Mormons have a lower divorce rate than those married elsewhere.
2. Divorce was not related significantly to urban residence
3. The lower the age at time of marriage the higher the divorce rate.
4. Age differential of mates was not related to divorce rate.
5. High residential mobility was related to lower divorce.
6. The lower the male educational level the greater the likelihood of divorce.
7. The lower the occupational prestige the greater the likelihood of divorce.
8. Whether or not the wife worked outside the family was not a divorce related factor.

Harris and Butts (1925) provide the following information about marriage patterns in Utah prior to 1925:

1. Utah ranked higher than the average state in divorce rate, with counties with high Mormon percentage being considerably lower than others.
2. Church records indicated a Mormon marriage rate exceeded by very few other sections in the U.S. and a divorce rate lower than all but four states.
3. Divorce from temple marriages was lower in proportion to the number of marriages than perhaps any other large group in the U.S.

## Interfaith Marriage

Available statistics indicate that in the last 40 or so years there has been an increase in the rate of interfaith marriages among Mormons, particularly women. The likelihood of entering such a marriage is related to several factors, some of which are identified in the following research.

Research. Vincent (1964) reports on four studies of interfaith marriages involving Mormons. The evidence indicates that Mormon (and Catholic and Lutheran) females marry outside their church more often than males, with three females for every two males doing so. A reverse pattern exists for Jews. The studies reviewed by Vincent found the following "out-marriage" rates:

Los Angeles, 1937	20%	Berkeley	30%
Oakland, 1955	47%	Salt Lake City, 1937	7%

The likelihood of a Mormon marrying a non-Mormon is relative to the area and the time.

Anderson (1968) studied 26 Mormon academics and a representative sample from the community in which the university was located, finding that 11% of the non-academics had inter-married while 19% of the faculty had. This suggests that those with higher education are more likely than those with less education to select as a spouse someone from outside their church. Anderson also found that Mormons evidence greater opposition to intermarriage than Protestants who in turn evidence greater opposition than Catholics.

Christensen (1970) in a study of Salt Lake Catholics found that for those he studied, the Mormons were the group least likely to be involved in an interfaith marriage with Salt Lake Catholics.

Coombs (1962) studied married couples at the University of Utah, with the sample universe including many, but not being restricted to, Mormons. His questionnaire was administered to 121 couples with husband and wife responding largely independent of one another. His findings support the premise that marriages tend to be socially homogamous. In each of the social characteristics studied, there was a disproportionate incidence of homogamy over heterogamy. He found that over 99% had married within racial boundaries, 94.1% within nationality lines and 79.5% within religious boundaries. Males and females were alike.

He concluded that from his study it seems that the parental home exerts and influences homogamy. There was a positive correlation between home influence and homogamy as measured by church affiliation for 87.8% of the couples who communicated daily with their parents while living at home chose a mate of a similar religious background. This percentage decreased to 79.6% when only one of the pair was exposed to this influence and dropped to 63.6% when neither was living at home. Differences between groups and and three were significant at the .05 level.

A study done in the Inglewood Stake (California) was reported by the Prices (1967:74) as follows:

The current marriage statistics in Inglewood Stake point to a problem among young adults, especially among young women. In 1965, of the seventeen members of the Church who married non-Members, fifteen were women. These fifteen represent 33% of the women in the stake who

were married during the year and the two men represent only 6% of the men married during the year. The totals for the six years from 1960 through 1965 show that although the stake population consists of the same number of single women as men, more than twice as many women married non-members as men, and that more than one-third of all the women's marriages were to non-members.

They also point out (p. 77-78) that of the women married to non-members, 41% indicated that they would do so again, 41% said that they would not, while 18% said that they might. When asked to indicate the satisfactoryness of their marriage, 41% indicated "satisfactory," 41% "less than satisfactory" and 18% partly satisfactory.

Jenkin (1973:20) suggests that the power structure of the Church may be a factor influencing these marriages. "The female does not have the same regular succession of expected duties and offices, and occupies a secondary position. Her primary role expectation is that of wife and mother. Therefore her concern in dating and courting areas would tend to be higher." Mormons experience the same societal conditions as other Americans and thus may be influenced by such things as American beliefs about romantic love, parental authority changes, the mass media, ecumenical orientations, woman's liberation programs, and etc.

#### Age of Marriage

Mormonism encourages early marriage. However, the official encouragement of securing an education and being economically successful may serve to somewhat at least neutralize this early marriage factors. Early marriage is related to higher birth rate of Mormons.

#### Means and Ends

As has been indicated, Mormons tend to highly evaluate the family. The high intensity evaluation of the family is typically accompanied by high intensity of the means believed to be necessary to create strong families. Highly evaluated (HIVD) means tend to be associated with highly evaluated goals (HIVD goals). If one is highly confident that a given procedure is a necessary factor in the achievement of a given goal, he tends to defend and support the means rather than to question it. When questions may arise about the means concerning just how essential the given means is, such Mormons may find themselves in a high potential conflict situation.

In the 1970 American society a conflict potential exists for the following family "means."

- o Having the wife work outside the home.
- o Changes in the patriarchal power structure
- o Acceptance and practice of birth control
- o pre-marital masturbation

Available research evidence suggests that for given couples in particular situations, within a given configuration of meaning, the presumed relationship between means and ends may not exist. However, a rejection of a given means does not mean that the highly evaluated goal has been also rejected. It is easy for those who make official pronouncements and those who seek official pronouncements to minimize, overlook or even reject such research findings.



## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

### SEXUAL BEHAVIOR AND MORMONISM

#### Introduction

On a strictly abstract level, it would be highly surprising if two aspects of behavior as important as the sexual and religious areas did not have strong interrelationships. It really is no surprise that some aspects of sexual experiences are frequently seen as being religious (or anti-religious) in nature and conversely that some aspects of religion are frequently seen as being sexual in nature or as having important sexual components. The interrelationships will be explored within the context of Mormonism.

Sexual behavior is never exclusively biological in nature. Sexual behavior is in response to sexual symbols, relative to the audience and relative to the situation. The consequences of beliefs or symbols about sexual behavior and of the behavior per se extend in ripple-like fashion throughout the warp and woof of human behavior, penetrating deeply into the religious component. For instance, Westoff, et. al (1970) concluded from their studies of fertility patterns that of the social factors they considered, religion was by far the most accurate predictor of fertility patterns. It is to the fertility of Mormons that our attention is first given.

#### Fertility Patterns

With reference to fertility, little is known about the processes by which symbolic models or symbolically pre-created behavior gets transformed into the biological behavior of conception. The desire to have children and having the desired children are two very different things. We do not know much about how the two get interrelated. The fact that there is general Mormon encouragement to have large families is well documented, as is the fact that they do have families larger than the average in the U.S. society. The differential is apparently generally maintained while change is experienced in both the societal and the church reproductive rates. In addition to each other, church couples are obviously "listening to" or responding to two "drummers"--their society and their church. This is most likely true of all behavior not just reproductive behavior. Behavior is relative to the audience(s).

Multiple audiences with multiple meanings (the symbolic component of the ISAS paradigm) are involved in most behavior. The details of the process of synthesizing the symbolic input into decisions which result in the actual conception-birth of children, however are largely unknown and unstudied. Both official and unofficial behavior is most likely involved. Our analysis of Mormon fertility provides some suggested insights into such phenomena.

The evidence suggests that the number of children considered to constitute a "large" family does not remain constant, however. It

apparently involves a sliding scale, in which "large" means "large by comparison with whatever the current societal patterns are." It is not a constant number.

### Research Evidence

Spicer and Gustavus (1974) provide research data about Mormon fertility. Their research involved (1) an examination of church literature to ascertain the reproductive ideals endorsed by church leaders and (2) using data secured from the Historical Department of the LDS Church, an investigation of fertility patterns between 1920 and 1969. The findings are summarized in Table 1 and Figure 1. During this period Mormons had higher birth rates than either the total population of Utah (which includes, of course, the Mormon portion thereof) or the U.S. population as reported in the census. The pattern of change for each evidenced strong similarities. All three groups show a decline from 1920 through the depression. Around 1935 the rate started to increase. There was a sharp increase during the post World War II baby boom. This trend peaked for all three populations in the mid 1950s. There was then a rapid drop in the birth rate until 1965 at which time both the Mormon and the Utah rates increased slightly, while the U.S. rate continued to decline. This latter period reflects the baby boom babies coming into childbearing ages. Throughout the entire period the differences in the rates is very stable.

Spicer and Gustavus concluded that Mormon leaders have not specified an ideal family size as a guideline. Mormon couples, however, know that the church generally supports high fertility. Examination of Mormon and U.S. birth rates, however, indicated that Mormon couples have apparently responded in planning their families to the same set of societal circumstances that have influenced other Americans during these periods--i.e. economic depressions, wars, prosperity, and etc. Attention has previously been called to the fact that Mormonism incorporates a significant amount of Americanism. This may be a contributing factor to the fertility patterns.

Further supportive evidence of the influence upon Mormon birth rate of societal input is found in a small study of the birth rate of Mormon Bishops who represent those in the higher-echelon positions and who are in some respects different from (more orthodox) the lay members. Nelson (in Hoult 1952) provides data on the median number of children ever born to Mormon Bishops by year, in an Idaho city, as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of children born to total sample</u>	<u>Number of children born to those having completed families</u>
1925	5.1	7.6
1930	4.9	6.4
1935	4.4	5.7

In a study of college females, Westoff and Potvin (1963:41) found that Mormon women had more siblings than any other religious group included in their study and also the smallest percentage of women with no siblings.

TABLE 1: Crude Birth Rates, Mormons, Utah Residents, and United States Population: 1920 to 1969

	Mormon <sup>1</sup>	Utah <sup>2</sup>	U.S. <sup>2</sup>
1920	38	31.2	27.7
1925	32	28.6	25.1
1930	29.7	25.4	21.3
1935	27.9	24.0	18.7
1940	31.9	25.2	19.4
1945	32.1	27.4	20.4
1950	37.34	31.1	24.1
1955	37.65	21.5	25.0
1960	34.62	29.5	23.7
1965	27.23	22.5	19.4
1969	28.18	23.6	17.7

Sources: 1 Historical Dept., L.D.C. Church; 2 Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1921 through 1970.

FIGURE 1: Birth Rates--Mormons, Utah and United States--1920-1969



Writing in 1938, Fox (1938) from his critique of Mortality Statistics concluded that the Mormon population has a low median age, and a high birth rate with the average family being large, i.e. in 1930 the average Utah family consisted of 4.4 persons compared with 4.1 for the entire United States.

Fairbanks (1974) points out that married women ages 15-24 in Utah have in the past had a high birth rate, but that the 1970 census figures show the birth rate for married women in Utah in this age group to have decreased to 35th in the 50 states, and thus below the national average. Fairbanks concludes that the evidence is clear that married Utah women 15-24 inclusive have been a little more effective in practicing birth control than other married women in this age group in the U.S. Utah women still marry younger than the national average and Utah women in 1970 ranked 37th in the nation in relation to the percentage of its women 25 years and older having a four year college education.

Hastings and Bowers (1970) studied demographic data for 390 alumni of the University of Utah, including 225 males and 165 females with mean ages of 50.3 and 48.4. The respondents represent stable family units where family building was uncomplicated by childlessness, plural births, child mortality or abortions. They concluded that homogamous Mormon couples had higher fertility and shorter time intervals between their children than non-Mormon couples. Findings from this study cannot be generalized to the entire church membership. It suggests, however, that Mormons as a whole may have their children during a shorter time than do those with lower birth rates.

DeHart using 1930 census data made a comparison of rural counties in Utah and adjacent states that had a high percentage of Mormons living in them with 17 counties that had a low percentage of Mormons but were roughly similar in socio-economic structure. He found that Mormon counties had a significantly higher fertility ratio.

Pitcher, Peterson and Kunz (1974) utilizing Mormon genealogical records of couples born between 1800 and 1940, studied birth rates of Mormons living in three areas: (1) Utah, (2) Intermountain States, including Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Arizona and Nevada, and (3) West Coast states of California, Oregon and Washington. They assumed that Mormons living on the West coast would be in a minority status and thus living in an environment (situation) somewhat foreign to "Mormon Country." They hypothesized that Mormon families bearing children in an environment favoring small family size would tend to have smaller families themselves than contemporary Mormons living in predominantly Mormon areas. Their research supported their hypothesis. The urbanization of the West Coast may be a contributing factor. Mormon fertility was higher than the overall population in all three areas.

Birth behavior of Mormons is relative to the larger situation in which Mormons live.

Merril and Peterson (1972) completed research using data from the genealogical records of the Mormon Church, securing biographical records on 1,220 husbands with their families. A random sample of 305 husbands was selected, with the remaining husbands being related to the original 305 thru a father-son relationship for four generations. The study involved 350 cases of four generations each randomly drawn from the overall group. Of the men, 78% and of the women 83% were considered to have been raised in the Church and the remainder were classified as converts.

They confirmed their hypothesis that both male and female converts would have significantly larger families than those born into the Church. They also found that those married in the temple tended to have larger families than those married elsewhere. The conclusion concern converts harmonizes with the previously identified studies which found that converts tended to evidence greater orthodoxy than non-converts.

Wise and Condie (1972) using the genealogical resources of the Church, randomly selected 400 families in which the wife was born between 1825 and 1850, securing data on the lines of descent of these persons. They utilized 1070 family group sheets spanning 140 years consisting of 402 families in the first generation, 329 second, 248 third and 89 fourth generations.

They hypothesized that a positive correlation would be found between family size in successive generations and that the magnitude of the correlation would decrease over time. They found that while there was a relationship between the size of the family of orientation and the family of procreation, there was erratic variation between marriage cohorts and further that there was a negative correlation or a reversal of the relationship between the 3rd and 4th generations.

### Meaning of Fertility

Mormons have large families. Having large families is related to beliefs about children and about families. We now turn attention to such beliefs (definitions). That religious beliefs in general have an influence upon fertility is suggested by the following relationship which Westoff and Potvin (1967) found between the stated importance of religion and the mean number of children desired for the 383 Mormon college females included in their study:

<u>Indicated Importance of Religion</u>	<u>Indicated mean number of Desired Children</u>
Very much	5.3
Much	3.9
Some	3.4
Very little	2.8

Part of the Spicer-Gustavus (1974) research to which we have referred involved an examination of the literature of the Church to see whether Mormon leaders advocated a specific number of children. They concluded that in general, the position of the leaders is pro-natalist. However, there is no recommended number. Apparently, ideal size may vary with the emotional and physical circumstances of the particular couple.

These researchers suggested that the high birth rate may be related to social factors such as the early practice of polygyny which set a precedent of large families. The historical and theological bases as well strength the emphasis on family life, and support couples in maintaining high levels of fertility.

Hastings, et al (1972) explored the relationship between birth definitions at the official and at the unofficial or lay levels within the Church. They emphasize that Mormon theology plus a cohesive social organization leads to strong motivation and support for large families. They examined the historical position of the Church on birth planning, and such shifts in lay members definitions and behavior as they could document from available sources.

Two factors were identified as providing an early influence on fertility definitions: (1) Geographic, economic and social problems had to be solved to ensure physical survival and (2) religious activities and belief statements had to be systematized for the Church to survive in the face of hostility from the outside community. High levels of fertility enhanced the attainment of these goals. These authors point out that anti-polygamists and Malthusian thinkers threatened the high levels of fertility to the point that some Mormon leaders contended that the very survival of their religion and the fate of the nation was dependent upon the outcome of the hotly debated issues.

The Church's stand against fertility limitations was also based on theological considerations. The commandment to "multiply and replenish the earth" was taken seriously. In addition the doctrine of a "pre-existence" meant that the myriad of spirits had to have bodies provided by the people here upon earth. The eternal nature of the family unit as perceived in theology elaborates the importance of fertility to the Mormons. Many leaders have been outspoken concerning the undesirability of birth control and limiting the possibilities of "eternal progression." The "multiply and replenish" admonition has been apparently interpreted to mean multiply extensively and quickly, even though no such qualifications are specifically included in the Biblical injunction.

The time frame involved in this conclusion has not been given much attention. Mormons believe in the pre-existence of individuals as has been indicated. It appears that many Mormons assume that there is a limited amount of time during which the available spirits can come to earth. This then relates to the belief that Mormons have an obligation to have as many children as possible during that time span to provide as many as possible with good (i.e. Mormon) homes. If the time system involved is viewed not as a ~~unilinear~~ phenomenon with pre-established component units and a pre-established cut-off point, but rather as an "event time" phenomenon in which the time period starts when conditions are properly prepared and ends when the event is completed rather than according to some mechanical clock-time deadline, the "multiply quickly" component of the belief is greatly reduced. The widely quoted belief that no one knows the exact time when an event such as the second coming of Christ is going to actually occur incorporates an event-time perspective rather than a mechanical

pre-determined perspective. The event will take place when the situation including the individuals involved therein, is ready for it.

The belief that those who reach the highest degree of glory in the afterlife will be married, facilitates marriage and having children. This orientation is expressed in the statement that there are no "career girls in the Celestial Kingdom--only wives and mothers."

Review of the writings of the Church on the morality of birth control fails to identify a definite pro or con position. This is reflected in the following quotations from a letter by the First Presidency (David O. McKay, Hugh B. Brown and N. Eldon Tanner) dated April 14, 1969.

... We seriously regret that there should exist a sentiment or feeling among any members of the Church to curtail the birth of their children. We have been commanded to multiply and replenish the earth that we may have joy and rejoicing in our posterity.

Where husband and wife enjoy health and vigor and are free from impurities that would be entailed upon their posterity, it is contrary to the teachings of the Church artificially to curtail the birth of children. We believe that those who practice birth control will reap disappointment by and by.

However, we feel that men must be considerate of their wives who bear the greater responsibility not only of bearing children, but of caring for them through childhood. To this end the mother's health and strength should be conserved and the husband's consideration for his wife is his first duty, and self-control a dominant factor in all their relationships.

It is our further feeling that married couples should seek inspiration and wisdom from the Lord that they may exercise discretion in solving their marital problems, and that they may be permitted to rear their children in accordance with the teachings of the gospel.

Westoff and Potvin (1967) studied the fertility value definitions and the reproductive behavior of college women, concluding that the Mormon college women specified a desired family size for those who expected to plan both the number and the spacing of children which was only slightly less than the number among a similar group of Catholic women. The Mormon females who did not expect to plan either the number or the spacing, indicated that the desired number of children was higher than that specified by a comparable group of Catholic women (6.3 vs 6.0 children).

#### Ideal Size of Families and Willingness to Sanction Deviations Therefrom

Using a purposive sample of married female University of Utah students living in university housing, Spicer (197 ) secured data

on what each considered to be the ideal size of family for herself and data on her beliefs as to the ideal size family endorsed by members of other religious groups. Questions were also asked about respondent willingness to impose negative sanctions (verbal) upon others for deviating from what the respondent considered to be an ideal sized family.

With reference to the "average" American family, these female respondents tended to react negatively to couples who remain voluntarily childless or who have only one child.

The Mormons were distinctive in that they expressed far greater willingness than did the other respondents to plan the spacing and the number of children. These Mormons were in favor of birth planning, but contrary to typical U.S. patterns which endorse control to secure small sized families, the control or planning endorsed by these Mormons was to secure large sized families. The approved control involved decisions about time interval between births. The Spicer-Gustavus research to which we have referred, suggests that the definable patterns in Mormon child birth are indicative of effective birth control. The Hasting-Bowers (197 ) research which found that Mormon couples in their sample of graduates of the University of Utah had a shorter time interval between births than did the non-Mormons, suggests that the Spicer-identified planning apparently becomes actualized in the lives of these Mormons.

There is a conflict potential involved. Those who accept the premise that God decides when to send children, and those who see themselves and other Mormons deciding when they will have children may have problems working out an acceptable synthesis of the two premises.

The stated ideal size family preferred for Mormons was higher than that for Catholics. Mormon and Catholic wives indicated higher boundaries and a larger range of acceptable behavior than did the Protestants and the non-affiliated individuals.

The findings indicated that a respondent tended to believe that her friends tended to approve having fewer children than she did and also fewer than the respondent believed her parents would approve. Friends were apparently viewed as being more responsive to contemporary low fertility pressures than self or parents. The one exception to this was that Catholics believed their friends approve the smallest range.

Respondents indicated an essentially accurate awareness of the affiliation differentials we have been discussing. In indicating the number of children they would be inclined to sanction, the respondents took the affiliation differential into account. Non-Mormons were more prone to sanction Protestants than Mormons for having large families. They also evidenced greater tolerance on the upper limits than on the lower family limits. Variations in the non-sanctionable limits varied more with the affiliation of those doing the sanctioning than of those being sanctioned. Each group expressed greater willingness to sanction typical Americans than to impose sanctions upon members of specific religious groups.



Respondents would take religious beliefs into account in decisions about potential sanctions.

The non-affiliated individuals were more willing than the affiliated respondents to impose sanctions upon large families. Mormons were more willing than others to impose sanctions for smallness. Catholics, Protestants and non-affiliated individuals all expressed greater willingness to sanction largeness than smallness. Mormons on the other hand, were more likely to express willingness to sanction smallness than largeness.

Mormons who know other Mormons better than do non-Mormons, indicated that other Mormons were more influenced by societal norms than non-Mormons see Mormons being influenced thereby. Mormons are probably more aware of intra-Mormon differences than are non-Mormons who may tend to view Mormons as one big consensus-conscious group, unwilling to deviate from authoritatively established standards.

### Birth Meanings

Reproductive behavior is in response to the meaning of the components thereof. Meaning is socially constructed and the same act or the same phenomenon can be defined differently by different people. Whatever meaning one constructs or realizes becomes an active component of the larger experience or frame. "Where do babies come from?" is a frequently asked question, which may mean something quite different to the children starting to be exposed to the "facts of life" and to the adult searching for his larger-framed, complex "facts of life." Once the facts about biological reproduction are known there is still a "why" question unanswered. Does God send babies to a couple? Is God the determining factor? Is the birth process under the control or direction of supernatural factors or is birth control a human process? Given the non-empirical or supernatural nature of supernatural control, it is possible to combine the two components in such a way that whatever happens at the human biological level can be interpreted as being just what God planned or produced. That God accomplished whatever happened can't be empirically (scientifically or non-religiously) disproved. Whatever happens can be viewed as a joint endeavor.

Those who accept the premise that God decides when a couple will "be given" a child, may also wonder why if, as a Mormon song says, God will not force the human mind, why he would "force the human body." Questions may also center around questions about whether if the glory of God is intelligence, why intelligent human decisions should not be given greater attention than human biology.

### Proscriptions and Prescriptions

Efforts to influence behavior may include both positive and negative components, specifying what should and should not be done. These are not necessarily the exact opposite of each other. With reference to birth behavior, the prescription to not practice unapproved forms of birth control may be used. The positive prescription to have children and to do certain things with those children is also involved. Religious requirements that parents have the responsibility to have children and to bring them up in

the church, including teaching their children the gospel are involved. The joys of having children are also emphasized. This emphasis extends in the Mormon Church beyond the grave, to incorporate the "eternal family" which the living are able to pre-create and take into account in meaningful ways. Eternal salvation as understood by Mormons typically incorporates a family component.

### Sexual Behavior

Premarital pregnancy. Christensen and Cannon (1964) using a technic of matching marriage, birth and divorce records in two Utah counties, found that by a considerable amount, Mormons married in the temple had the lowest premarital pregnancy rate. The "other church" marriage group came next. Mormon non-temple marriages were in third place. Those with a civil wedding had the highest rate.

Christensen and Carpenter (1962) and Christensen (1967) compared the premarital sexual behavior and definitions thereof in an intermountain state (Utah), a midwestern state (Indiana) and Denmark. The intermountain group was composed mainly of Mormons. They found that the midwestern respondents had a higher permissiveness score and higher coital rates than did the Mormons. They also found that

1. In all three areas, males had higher permissiveness rates and coital rates than females, although the sex differences were relatively small in Denmark.
2. In the Danish society, approval of premarital coitus ran ahead of the actual practice, whereas for the American respondents the reverse was true, the actual practice was higher than the approval rate. The American respondents reported greater associated guilt.
3. Of those who reported having experienced premarital intercourse, the largest percentages reporting guilt, remorse, fear and the like following the first experience were found for the Mormons.
4. Danish couples reported experiencing little pressure to step up the wedding even when premaritally pregnant. Midwestern couples however tended to marry right after the discovery of pregnancy. Couples from Mormon country appeared to have hurried the wedding once intercourse had taken place, without waiting for pregnancy to force them into it.
4. Though each of the three groups showed higher divorce percentages for the premaritally pregnant than the postmaritally pregnant, this difference in divorce rate was very slight in Denmark, but very large and the greatest of the three in Mormon country.

Of the three groups, Mormons evidenced the highest percentage engaging in terminal petting, which suggests that its very strict prescription against premarital coitus may be resulting in an excess of pre-coital activity carried out for its own sake. At least there seems to be a tendency for Mormons, more than the other groups, and especially the Danish, to draw the line separating moral and immoral sexual behavior just short of chastity.

Christensen and Carpenter from their research suggest that there is evidence that sexual restrictiveness tends to converge male and female attitudes perhaps by idealizing the male; while sexual permissiveness tends to converge male and female behavior, perhaps by liberalizing the female. Apparently, a possibly stronger male sex desire causes males more than females in the restrictive groups to "break over the traces," so that - in regards to behavior but not attitude - cross-cultural differentials are less for males than females.

But, though the male in the restrictive culture seems to have the greater discrepancy between what he believes and how he behaves sexually, both sexes within such cultures experience some discrepancy that causes the guilt feelings, the dulled sexual experiences, the lack of satisfaction in courtship-marriage status, the higher divorce rate, and possibly other negative effects which seem to be highest in restrictive cultures. In other words, it may be the "value-behavior discrepancy" as much or even more than the behavior itself, that is causing the difficulty.

In a 1975 comparison of University of Utah students and Denmark students, Boregson found a comparable lower premarital frequency rate for the Utah respondents, with an indication of an accompanying higher-than-Denmark guilt component. The Utah students were largely Mormon.

Premarital Intercourse. Wilford Smith (1974) using self reports of Western college students for the years 1950, 1961 and 1972 found a lower non-marital coitus rate for Mormons than for non-Mormons. From 1950 to 1972 the differential increased, as did church attendance for the Mormons. There was a correlation between these two factors. Higher church attendance rates were associated with lower non-marital coitus rates. During this period students at the state schools evidenced greater permissiveness, whereas students from the Mormon Church school (BYU) became more conservative. Differences were also found between Mormon students at state schools and Mormon students at BYU.

The changes in church attendance and non-marital coitus were found for Mormon students at both BYU and the state schools, and for males and females. Females however reported greater abstinence. High-attendance Mormons at both BYU and at the state schools reported similar patterns.

Sexual Deviancy. Approval of "normal" sexual behavior is a part of LDS teachings. Concern with "original sin" defined as sexual in nature is quite foreign to Mormon teachings. Disapproval of "non-normal" or deviant sexual behavior is strong. An evaluation of homosexuality, for instance, is provided by President Spencer W. Kimball (1965) as follows:

Homosexuality is an ugly sin, repugnant to those who find no temptation in it, as well as to many past offenders who are seeking their way out of its clutches. Clearly, it is hostile to God's purposes, in that it negates His first and great commandment to multiply and replenish the earth. This is an abominable practice. Because of the seriousness of this sin, it carries a heavy penalty for the unrepentant.

Masturbation is also rejected by church leaders. The contemporary conflict potential in this area is suggested by a statement from Belnap and Griffin (1968) in a book written for LDS teenagers, in which they indicate that the best source for information in this area is not psychologists, medical surveys, associates in the locker room or girls at a slumber party but the prophet of the Lord.

Illegitimacy. Fairbanks (1974) indicates that the illegitimacy rate for Utah as a whole is considerably lower than that for the society. However, the age at first marriage is also lower than the national average. This could tend to lower the illegitimacy rate.

### Summary

Mormons are generally encouraged by church leaders to have, want to have, and do have large families. The meaning of "large" however is variable, changing as societal patterns change, thus permitting Mormons to maintain a fairly consistent degree of being "a peculiar people" while still responding to the societal conditions which lead to change. Mormon birth behavior is in response to a complex configuration of Mormon-American meaning, relative to Mormon-American audiences and to the situation in which they live. Those in a Mormon-majority area have higher fertility than those in Mormon-minority areas. Converts tend to have more children than "born" Mormons. Birth control-planning, including having a shorter-than-average between birth intervals is effective.

Limited research indicates that the higher fertility characteristic applies to Mormon Bishops as well as lay persons. According to genealogical record research, those raised in large families tend themselves to have large families, with, however, a reversal of this pattern for fourth generation Mormons.

Beliefs that Mormons are expected to have large families are derived primarily from individual statements by church leaders not from official church pronouncements. A Church Presidency letter for instance incorporates a relative rather than an absolute evaluation. Actual birth behavior apparently takes into account a complex configuration of individual evaluations.

Non-marital sex is not approved by the Church and is lower in Utah than the U.S. Midwest which in turn is lower than in Denmark (the areas included in the reported research). However, the Utah percent negatively evaluating premarital sex is lower than the percent reporting having such experiences, with a correspondingly high report of associated guilt definitions. This contrasts with Denmark where the experience reported is lower than the approval percentages.

Illegitimacy is lower in temple marriages than non-temple marriages and lower for Mormons as a group than for Americans generally, which may reflect in part the early age of female marriages among Mormons.

Western Mormon students, both male and female, attending BYU report lower non-marital experiences and more frequent church attendance than Mormon students attending state colleges, with these differences being eliminated for frequent church attending state-school Mormons who are similar to BYU students. Mormons differ from non-Mormons in reporting lower non-marital activity and more frequent church attendance with the differential increasing from 1950 to 1972.

## CHAPTER NINETEEN

### BIOLOGY AND MORMONISM

#### Introduction

Humans do not live by bread (biology) alone. Bread sustains the biology of man, but bread must be defined as being body-sustaining before humans use it for that purpose. Words also have to be coupled with the biology if interaction systems (including religious systems) are to be created and sustained. Behavior of biological beings is in response to symbols. The human cannot not take his biology into account. This chapter focuses upon the ways in which Mormonism does this.

#### Meaning of Biology

A frequent point of controversy when humans provide interpretations as to why humans behave the way they do, focuses upon the relative impact of biology and learning--nature and nurture. To the religious individual the nurture-nature dichotomy may become a tricotomy of nurture-nature-supernature. Which aspects of behavior are caused by (1) nature or biology (2) learning or as a result of learning experiences or by society and (3) by supernatural powers, forces or beings? What does the individual cause; what does God cause; what does society cause?

Humans, of course, are still in the process of trying to come up with an adequate interpretation of human behavior. Historically many configurations of nature-nurture-supernature have been created. What has been seen as being supernatural has frequently been related to the prior decision as to what was societal (nurture or man-made). A frequently-used procedure has been to attribute to supernatural factors (to God) those aspects of behavior which it appeared were not social in origin, or which were poorly understood. Thus, when the biological aspects of "twinning" were not understood, the conception and birth of human twins was given a supernatural meaning. When the natural origins of earthquakes and tornados were not well understood, supernatural meanings were provided. In a certain sense, then, "God" became the name that was used to explain the otherwise unexplainable.

Thus, in an age when the social-symbolic nature of human interaction was poorly understood, it was easy to provide a biological-supernatural interpretation of behavior. To the biological behavior of the heart, for instance, was added certain cognitive or meaning aspects. Such an orientation or combination is contained in the statement "I know it in my heart." "The heart has understanding of which man knows not." Actually the heart beats, it does not "know." The individual knows.

What happens is that when certain interpretations of events were accepted or realized, the heart beat would increase. Not knowing the biology involved, the increased heart beat then could

be interpreted as a message from a supernatural source that the interpretation was correct or was from God. "The kingdom of God is within you." Some interpret this as "among you" collectively. However, if literally interpreted, the meaning or proof of meaning of God is within you. It is biological. The biological reaction is, in such an interpretation, seen as coming from God, without introducing into the explanation the symbolic components which in effect "triggered" the biological reaction.

In such an interpretation, humans in effect deify their biology.

Also, in certain respects, they answer their own prayers, or their biology provides an answer to their prayers. If as a result of praying or of talking thru a problem with God, the individual reaches a decision which "makes him happy biologically," the biological reaction can be interpreted as being supernatural in origin. The individual hears or receives his own prayer symbols, evaluates or reacts to his prayer symbols, makes a tentative decision, and then provides his interpretation of his biological reaction to his tentative decision about the problem. Believing that he has a supernatural answer, becomes in some respects a self-fulfilling belief. If one believes that God has directed that he do such and such, this increases the likelihood that he will, in fact, engage in the behavior necessary to accomplish that behavior. Believing that one can or should do something facilitates doing it.

If one does not well understand the natural factors which contribute to his good health, it is easy (and in some respects simpler) to attribute the good health to God and maybe to express thanks to God for the good health one enjoys. To do so seems to synthesize a whole series of factors including such things as the health condition of his mother, his eating habits, diet, the level of understanding of nutrition in his society, the level of medical care available, and many more. To account for the natural elements which have produced the good health is a much more difficult task than to synthesize them all into one "supernatural" concept.

#### Non-Verbal or Body Communication

The ability to create symbols to which humans respond is a most distinctive human characteristic. The spoken and/or written symbols are the ones with which most individuals are most familiar. However, involved in all interaction which includes visual contact, is a silent or non-verbal language which may go essentially unnoticed by those involved or by observers. "Body language" is a term used to identify this type of communication. The process by which we learn the meaning of body language is not well understood. The meaning of this type of language is learned and hence subject to all of the characteristics of other learned symbols. Differences of interpretation frequently occur.

Such symbols are involved in Mormon behavior. One major type of behavior is ritualistic behavior. In their non-ritualistic behavior Mormons utilize the same body language as their society. Some illustrations of widely used body language in Mormon rituals are as follows.

Laying on of hands. In some rituals or ordinances, those performing the ritual physically place their hands upon the head of the one receiving the blessing. Feeling the hands of those involved upon one's head adds significance to the verbal symbols used. It is a physical evidence or maybe reminder that something important is taking place. For the ritual to be effective, it is believed that the hands must be physically placed upon the head of the recipient.

Baptism. In the Mormon baptism ritual the entire body of the one being baptized is emersed or submerged in water. If some part of the body such as a hand does not go completely under the water, it is required that the ritual be done again. Importance is attached to total emersion.

The one doing the baptizing also utilizes body language in that he raises his right arm in the air, bringing the arm "to the square" or making a right or square angle at the elbow. Note that it is the right arm which is the right (appropriate) arm to use.

The baptismal prayer is one of the few Mormon prayers which requires that the words (symbols) be spoken in an exact prescribed sequence. The sacramental prayers are also of this nature. For the baptism ritual both the body language and the spoken symbols have to be manipulated in the prescribed fashion in order for the ritual to be viewed as valid.

Naming a child. While giving a baby a name (the Mormon christening ceremony) the baby is held in the hands of those directly participating. When the father or father-substitute finds it necessary to hold the baby to his body, possibly to quiet crying or to forstall crying or fear on the part of the child, the others involved place their hands upon the child in some fashion so that physical contact is secured. Importance is attached to the physical contact.

Sustaining. When officers and/or teachers are chosen for particular roles, their name is typically presented to the congregation members for a "sustaining vote." This is not a vote to decide between two candidates, but rather is an indication that the "voter" will sustain the named individual in the identified role. Again, a physical evidence is involved. The congregation is asked to indicate a favorable vote by "the uplifted hand", with the hand being designated by the one officiating being the right hand. Most likely nothing would be done if it were the left hand used in this voting, but the expectation is that it is right to use the right. The officiating individual who called for a sustaining vote by "the uplifted left hand" would probably be called upon to explain his behavior.

The physical act of raising one's hand in the sustaining vote provides the individual involved with biological evidence of his commitment to sustain the one being sustained. This in turn most likely encourages him to live up to his commitment. The fact that such sustaining is done in a public meeting, means that it is done in view of others. The one raising his hand then is aware that



others have seen him do so and that they are accordingly aware of his public commitment. This then serves to increase the likelihood of compliance. To the extent that this act becomes routinized it loses much of this significance.

Sacrament. In the Mormon sacrament ritual, it is expected that the one taking the bread or the water from the tray which is passed to him, will do so with his right hand. Nothing official would likely be done if the left hand were used, but it is the expected pattern that the right hand be used. Again the right is right. Mothers and teachers encourage children to use the right hand.

At one time it was not uncommon that the priesthood holder saying the sacrament prayer would bring his right arm "to the square" as is done in the baptismal ritual. This practice has however been discontinued. The individual saying the prayer, however, is also required to place his body in a kneeling position while the prayer is being repeated.

Sermonizing. Mormon sermonizing frequently involves gestures to add emphasis to a particular point.

#### Informal Body Language

Included as a part of the body language is the movements of the song leader. Mormons like to sing. A possibly unnoticed aspect of song leading is what we might call the "interlude gesture." This involves the one leading the music turning his head slightly toward the organist as an indication that at the end of the verse being sung, the organist is expected to provide a brief music interlude, after which the congregation will sing the next verse. It frequently appears from the audience that while the song leader has made his movement and he knows he has done so, the organist makes no return gesture to communicate that the message has been received. The audience then is left in anticipation. Will the organist provide the interlude which the leader has requested? If the organist does not in fact play the interlude, the leader then would be in the position of having the organist "go on ahead with the next verse" while the "leader" waited for the interlude--a potentially embarrassing situation.

Prayers in the Mormon Church are usually given by members of the ward. Most can be called upon to give an opening or a closing prayer. In some meetings which involve separate classes, the closing prayer may be given in each class by someone from that class. When the one called to give the prayer is sitting in the audience, he typically will stand. He also typically moves his body away from his initial standing position. Doing so apparently signifies that praying is not a seating-activity, but rather a distinctive type of behavior--addressing God.

Hand shaking. When Mormon meets and greets Mormon at church meetings or in non-church affairs, a firm handshake is seen as not only appropriate but expected. Informal comments will most likely be made about those whose handshake is weak or "like a dishrag. Missionaries are expected to use a firm grip while shaking hands, with the belief that this communicates something important to the one receiving the handshake. In some non-U.S. societies such as the Maori, appropriate bringing together of noses and/or other

parts of the face are utilized.

### Biology as a Validating Mechanism

The Book of Mormon contains the statement addressed to the reader that after one has read the book, he can determine the truthfulness thereof by (1) praying to God inquiring if it is true and (2) checking to see if he experiences a "burning within" which he is told is the appropriate way for God to answer that particular prayer. The belief is that God will communicate to the individual thru his biology or by creating a particular type of biological reaction in response to his question. No attention is given in Mormon circles as to why this type of communication is used. It is just the proper way to do it. If one uses as his starting premise the Mormon statement that "the glory of God is intelligence" one could conclude that communications of truthfulness should come thru language or symbols rather than thru biology. However, there is no reason why an intelligent God could not communicate thru biology or any other way for that matter.

Whatever actually happens, the belief that God causes the internal response tends to, in effect, deify man's biology.

### Ascribed or Achieved Roles

One of the most significant conflicts in the early church centered around the death of the first prophet, Joseph Smith. The question was whether the succession of leadership should be determined by biology or otherwise--whether the role of church president was an ascribed one or an achieved one. The initial division between the Reorganized Church (RLDS) and the "Utah Mormons" (LDS) was drawn along these lines. The Reorganized Church accepted the ascribed procedure, and Joseph Smith's son eventually became the official head of this Church. The group going to Utah utilizing an "achieved" orientation eventually selected Brigham Young as its leader.

The office of Church Patriarch is officially viewed as being ascribed, thus requiring a descendant of Hyrum Smith to fill that position.

### The Body Per Se

Among Mormons the body per se is typically given a very positive evaluation. Mormon theology places a strong emphasis upon the importance of the spirit receiving a body. Individuals are believed to have a spiritual existence as identifiable entities before being born "on earth." Receiving the body is seen as a necessary part of the progression of the spirit. Part of the rejection of birth control relates to this belief, in that Mormons are at times instructed that they should provide bodies for as many spirit children as they can or at least provide for a large number. Qualification are however introduced.

The positive evaluation of the body is likely reflected in the Mormon definition of cremation which is permitted but not encouraged. Burying the body in the ground is seen as more respectful

and "natural" than cremating it, despite the fact that once decomposition occurs the body is equally destroyed by either method. Likewise, fire is as natural as decomposition processes.

Most Mormons believe in a literal resurrection of the body. This resurrection involves a reuniting of the spirit and the body. The body is essential for the eternal salvation of the individual. God is believed to have a resurrected body.

The positive evaluation of the body is increased by the belief that the body is the earthly tabernacle of the spirit.

The "Natural man"? A frequently-used Mormon statement is that the "natural man" is an enemy of God. If "natural man" is equated with "biological man" such a statement contradicts the positive evaluation of human biology we have been presenting. Also at times sexual behavior is defined as being "of the body" and thus by implication at least, as being inferior to more spiritual behavior which is presumably "not of the body." Human appetites, urges and etc. are sometimes considered to be biological in origin or nature and are thus at times negatively evaluated. As has been implied there is a conflict potential in such definitions.

#### Summary

Behavior of biological beings in response to symbols has two or dual major components--biological and symbolic. Biological including internal components are labeled and responded to in the typical symbol using manner. Biological components, however, can be symbolized (interpreted) in any number of different ways. Mormons have adopted many of the societal ways such as attributing to the heart a "knowing" power. They also in the right situation with reference to the right audience attribute truth validating ability to internal "burnings."

Mormons make use of nonverbal, body communication in such practices as laying on of hands, complete body baptism, the sustaining vote, sacrament service and sermonizing, with the nonverbal accompanying the symbolic communication. Informal body language is involved in the "interlude gesture", in praying space and posture and in shaking hands. While rejecting presidency transition determined by birth, Mormons do endorse biological determinism for the role of Patriarch. The body per se is typically given a positive evaluation, although the "natural man" may be defined as an "enemy of God."

## CHAPTER TWENTY

### HEALTH, ILLNESS, AND DEATH

#### Introduction

Health, illness and death all have important biological components. Many view each of these as being primarily if not exclusively biological in nature. The fact that a discussion of these phenomena is included here in an analysis of religion, suggests that each of these is much more than just biological. Each has a social aspect. Each has a religious aspect. It is with the social-symbolic-religious aspects with which we are here concerned. The material included in this chapter is closely related to that presented in the chapter on the Biological Aspects of Mormonism.

#### Health Code

Mormon scriptures contain what has come to be called the "Word of Wisdom" which in certain respects is a health code with which church members are expected to comply. The typical interpretation of this code is that it prohibits the use of tea, coffee, ("hot drinks") alcohol, tobacco, and specifies the use of meat sparingly and the use of fruits "in the season thereof." In practice, more attention has been given to the four taboos than to the restricted use of meat. Some within group conflict has centered around the use of cocoa and chocolate drinks as well as cola drinks. Some include within the "hot drinks" category cocoa and chocolate drinks while others do not. Although popular interpretations of the coffee taboo see the taboo as relating to the caffeine contained therein, the use of cola drinks which contain caffeine (some of which is taken from decaffeinated coffee) is not officially restricted.

Exactly what the biological and social consequences of having and living the Word of Wisdom are is uncertain. There is some limited research which indicates that there may be identifiable consequences which stem from this health code.

Health History. A suggestion that Mormons may, as a group, experience a higher health level than some others is found in the data presented in Table 1, which comes from Vernon's 1968 study of death-related behavior. Respondents were asked to respond to the question, "How would you describe your health history?" As can be seen, Mormons and Expisopalians had 69.1% and 69.9% who answered "excellent" with the other groups all having a percentage in this category below this level.

#### Death Patterns

Vernon and Waddell (1974) provide evidence that Mormons as a group have a distinctively low death rate. Utah, with 72% of its population claimed by the Mormon Church in 1971, had the lowest death rate of any state in continental U.S. See Table 2.

Table 1: Answers to question "How would you describe your health history?"

Religious Affiliation	N	Excellent	Generally Good	Average	Poor
Independent	85	34.1	45.9	11.8	4.7
Catholic	466	49.8	42.3	6.4	.6
Methodist	269	48.0	39.9	11.5	1.5
Presbyterian	34	60.0	37.1	2.9	---
Episcopalian	73	69.9	27.4	2.7	---
Congregational	208	51.9	39.9	7.2	.5
Lutheran	58	48.3	43.1	8.5	---
Baptist	181	36.5	52.5	8.8	2.2
Mormon	275	69.1	27.6	2.2	.7
"Protestant"	43	48.8	30.2	20.9	---
Total Non-Jewish	1693	51.8	39.2	6.6	1.1
Jewish	150	46.7	46.7	4.7	2.0

Table 2: Death Rates per 1,000--Mormons, Utah Residents, and the United States Population: 1920 - 1970

Year	Mormon <sup>a</sup>	Utah <sup>b</sup>	United States <sup>b</sup>
1920	9.0	11.5	13.0
1925	7.7	9.3	11.8
1930	7.6	9.9	11.3
1935	7.3	9.8	10.9
1940	6.5	8.9	10.8
1945	6.4	7.9	10.6
1950	6.0	6.8	9.6
1955	5.5	6.7	9.3
1960	5.3	6.8	9.5
1965	5.2	6.7	9.4
1970	4.8	6.9	9.4

<sup>a</sup>Historical Dept., Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints.

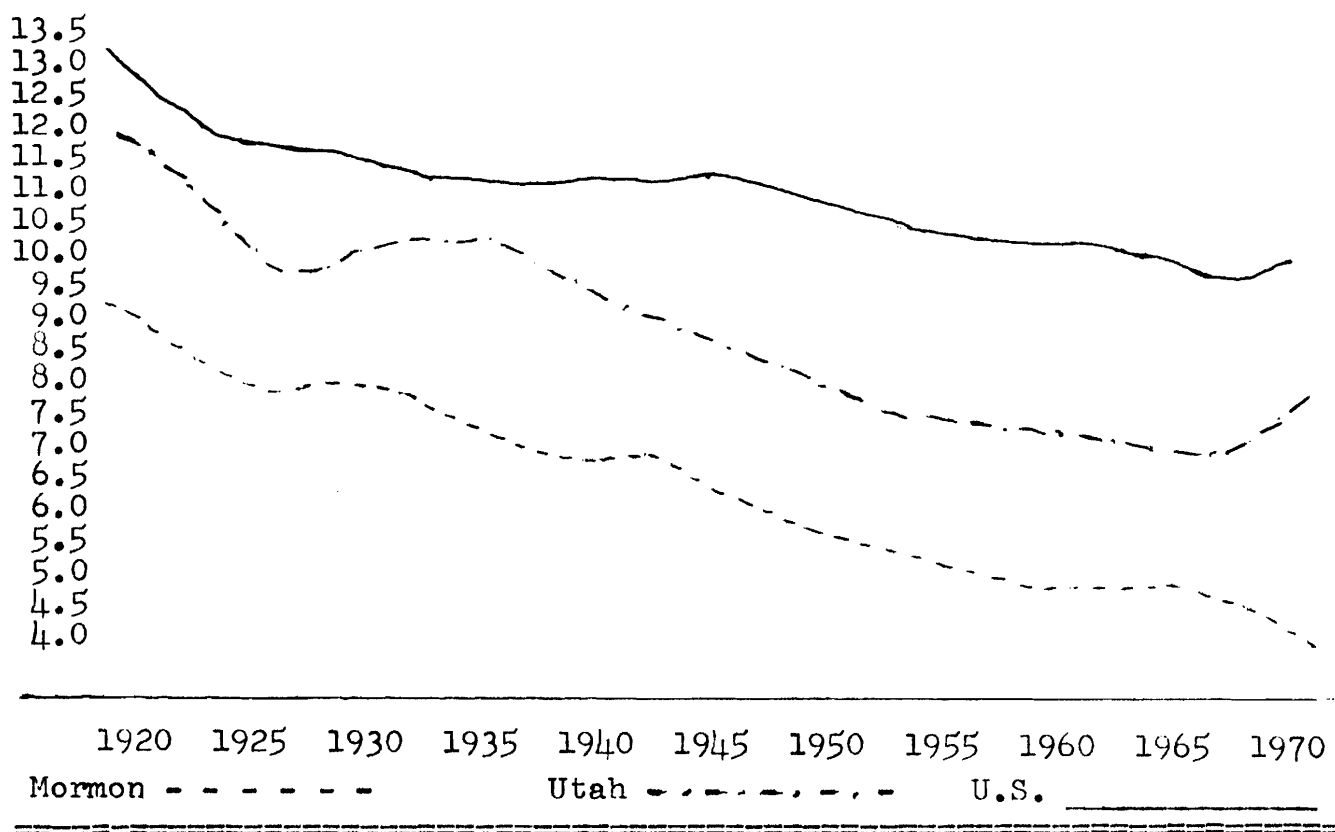
<sup>b</sup> Statistical Abstracts, 1922 through 1972.

These findings are also presented in Figure 1 on the next page.

**Death Causes.** Table 2 indicates that according to the U.S. Statistical Abstracts, heart, cancer and liver-related diseases, three of the ten leading causes of death in the U.S. which are somewhat related to smoking and drinking, are less prevalent in Utah than in the U.S. generally. However, with respect to death by accident and early infancy diseases, there appears to be no significant differences between Utah and the rest of the U.S. Thus, it is possible that Mormon death behavior is partially in response to health-related symbols such as the "Word of Wisdom."

**Cancer Deaths.** Research by Lyon (1975) and colleagues at the University of Utah checked the occurrence of cancer in Utah from data reported in the Cancer Registry and from death certificate data, comparing the Third National Cancer Survey and white U.S.

Figure 1: Death Rates per 1,000--Mormon, Utah and the United States:  
1920 - 1970



population. Utah was found to have 20% less cancer than expected. Cancer sites associated with cigarette smoking and alcohol consumption accounted for nearly half of this reduction. Consumption of tobacco and alcohol among Utah residence is approximately half that of the U.S. averages and agrees closely with this reduction. The researchers suggest that the high proportion of Mormons in the state likely explains some of the decreased cancer occurrence.

They also found that several major sites unrelated to smoking were also reduced. These include colon, rectum, female breast, uterine cervix and ovary. Lip cancer was three to four times more common than expected.

Research by Enstrom and Phillips found that the cancer rate for Mormons and Seventh-Day Adventists is 50 to 70 per cent lower than the cancer rate for the total population of California, depending on the cancer site. Since the life styles of these two religious groups is somewhat alike, the research suggests that the low cancer rate is related to the way Adventists and Mormons live.

Using data secured from the genealogical library of the Mormon Church, Merrill and Peterson (1972) reasoned that if converts have large families (as they do) and if those with larger families live longer, then converts should live longer than non-converts. They found that for wives, there was a very slight indication that this might be true, but for husbands there was no relationship found. Interestingly, however, husbands married in the temple consistently lived longer than those not so married.

Harris and Butts (1925) from their analysis of the death rates for years 1911 to 1920 found that Utah was third from the top with a rate of 11.0 per 1,000 population. The societal average was 14.0. In Utah the counties with high Mormon percentages had a lower rate than the others. They also point out (p. 92) that Utah stood well in the top ranks of states with low death rates from preventable causes. The low death rates for tuberculosis, cancer of the buccal cavity, kidney diseases, and perhaps other causes of this nature.

### Hospitals

Support of hospitals is a frequent concern of religious groups. The Mormons are no exception. According to Arrington (1973) the Mormon Church in 1973 maintained 15 hospitals in Utah, Idaho and Wyoming. The Primary Children's Hospital in Salt Lake City, received patients from the Americas and from the South Pacific as well. Aid was provided for non-paying welfare cases. The hospital was Utah's major pediatric center. Recently, however, the church divested itself of hospital ownership, turning the hospitals over to a non-church organization established specifically for this purpose. Church efforts are now directed more to providing health services for members world-wide, rather than providing hospital services for members living within limited geographical areas.

### Death-Related Behavior/Beliefs

Sorenson (1962) engaged in research concerning the manner in which Mormons faced death and burial occasions. Data were obtained from a variety of sources including participant observation, literature, interviews and questionnaires both in the Los Angeles area (1956) and in Utah. He hypothesized two axes of change, one involving Mormons in the national trend from fundamentalist religious orientation to liberal views and another suggested by movement toward the urban end of a folk-urban dichotomy. He concluded that Mormon patterns were more similar to old, fundamentalist, "folk" ways than to modern, liberal practices. Still he found clear evidence of change in Mormon practices in the past generation toward increasingly secular, liberal "Americanism."

Vernon studied more than 1500 American respondents throughout the U.S. who were primarily of college age. These respondents are not representative of any larger group and the results are consequently suggestive of relationships between variables, but should be applied to any particular group with caution. The percentages reported for the Mormon respondents are not applicable to the entire membership. There is research evidence that college students in general and Mormon college students in particular are not a representative sample of any church. Earlier chapters here have explored the way in which educational variables were found to be related to various aspects of Mormonism.

It is interesting, however, to analyze these findings and consider possible explanations for the differences which were found.

The study restricted comparisons to those religious groups for which there were at least 35 members included in the universe of study. The groups included are Independent, Roman Catholic, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Congregational, Lutheran, Baptist, Mormon, "Protestant" and Jewish. "Independent" is the name used to identify those who indicated that they did not belong to any formal church group. "Protestant" is used to identify those who did not specify affiliation with a particular Protestant group.

One caution is needed. The answers which will be here considered should be related only to the particular question as stated in the research. Religious meaning is frequently a complex phenomenon. Changing the wording of a question may introduce different meaning. Comparisons with other research should always take this factor into account.

For purposes of this presentation questions with a direct specific religious content will be analyzed first and separated from those which are not so directly related to religion, even though some religious factors may influence the answers given.

### Religiously Oriented Dimensions

In this analysis, the eleven groups are ranked from high to low according to the percent of each group who answered the question in a particular way. We are concerned here only with the relative rank of the Mormon respondents, ignoring for purposes of this analysis the particular percentages involved other than to merely identify the percent of the respondents who answered each question in the category or combination of categories used in making the ranking.

The wording of the question as it appeared on the questionnaire is used.

1. Is it your personal belief that there will be a future existence of some kind after death? Percent answering "yes": Mormon 92.0, Catholic 77.5, Baptist 70.7, Lutheran 69.0, Jewish 65.3, Methodist 61.0, Episcopalian 52.1, Congregational 49.5, "Protestant" 48.8, Presbyterian 48.6, and Independent 25.9.

2. Do you have a strong wish to live after death? Percent answering "yes": Mormon 88.4, Lutheran 63.8, Catholic 61.1, Baptist 59.7, Jewish 52.7, Methodist 50.2, Presbyterian 45.7, "Protestant" 44.2, Congregational 43.8, Episcopalian 37.0, and Independent 20.0.



3. Do you anticipate reunion with your loved ones in an afterlife? Percent answering "yes": Mormon 90.2, Catholic 52.8, Baptist 52.5, Lutheran 51.7, Presbyterian 42.9, Methodist 40.9, "Protestant" 34.9, Jewish 34.7, Congregational 34.1, Episcopalian 28.8, and Independent 16.5.

4. Do you feel that religious observances by the living can somehow benefit the state of those already dead? Percent answering "yes": Mormon 67.6, Catholic 65.7, Jewish 38.0, "Protestant" 18.6, Episcopalian 13.7, Baptist 13.3, Methodist 11.9, Independent 11.8, Presbyterian 8.6, Lutheran 8.6, and Congregational 7.2.

5. Have your religious experiences in general served to increase or decrease fear toward your own death? Percent answering "Decrease fear": Mormon 85.8, Lutheran 63.8, Jewish 60.7, Presbyterian 60.0, Methodist 59.5, Episcopalian 58.9, Catholic 57.1, Baptist 56.9, "Protestant" 55.8, Congregational 51.9, and Independent 20.0.

6. Please indicate which of the following best expresses your concept of immortality: Biological, social, work accomplishments, transcendental, don't believe in immortality. Percent answering "Transcendental": Mormon 68.7, Lutheran 65.5, Catholic 61.2, Baptist 53.0, Methodist 39.0, Jewish 35.3, Presbyterian 34.3, "Protestant" 27.9, Episcopalian 27.4, Congregational 26.9, and Independent 8.2.

7. If you knew positively that there was no life after death in store for you, do you think that your manner of living in the present would be changed? Percent answering "Considerable change" and "Extensive change": Mormon 46.6, Catholic 30.6, Jewish 22.0, Episcopalian 21.9, Baptist 21.0, Lutheran 19.0, Methodist 17.1, "Protestant" 16.3, Congregational 12.5, Independent 9.4, and Presbyterian 8.6.

8. Does the question of a future life worry you considerably? Percent answering "no": Presbyterian 85.7, Mormon 80.7, Congregational 78.4, Independent 75.3, Methodist 74.0, Episcopalian 74.0, "Protestant" 69.8, Lutheran 63.8, Catholic 62.7, Jewish 62.0, and Baptist 59.7.

9. Would you prefer to know about the future life positively or would you prefer to have it left a matter of faith or belief? Percent answering "know positively": Independents 51.8, Mormon 51.3, Catholic 43.8, Presbyterian 37.1, Jewish 36.0, Lutheran 34.5, Methodist 32.7, Congregational 31.7, Baptist 31.5, "Protestant" 27.9, and Episcopalian 23.3.

Of the nine items which had a religious content, the Mormons ranked at the top of the distribution for seven items and were next to the top for the other two.

### Non-religiously Oriented Questions

1. How frequently do you think of your own death? Percent answering "very rarely" and "rarely": Mormon 61.1, Presbyterian 48.5, Jewish 47.3, Independent 47.0, Episcopalian 46.6, Lutheran 44.9, Methodist 44.2, Congregational 44.2, "Protestant" 44.2, Baptist 37.0, and Catholic 39.7.

2. Do you approve of cremation for others? Percent answering "no": Jewish 51.3, Mormon 45.1, Catholic 28.3, Baptist 21.0, Lutheran 19.0, "Protestant" 14.0, Methodist 11.9, Congregational 10.1, Independent 9.4, Presbyterian 8.6, and Episcopalian 6.8.

3. Do you approve of cremation for yourself? Percent answering "no": Jewish 84.0, Mormon 78.5, Catholic 60.9, Baptist 51.9, Lutheran 50.0, Methodist 43.5, Presbyterian 40.0, "Protestant" 32.6, Congregational 30.8, Episcopalian 23.3, and Independent 17.6.

4. Childhood questions about death were generally answered adequately. Percent answering "yes": Mormon 81.5, Episcopalian 72.6, Congregational 71.6, Baptist 71.3, Catholic 70.8, Presbyterian 65.7, Lutheran 65.5, Methodist 62.5, "Protestant" 60.5, Jewish 54.7, and Independent 47.1.

5. It has been suggested that a unit of study on the "mental hygiene of grief" be developed and taught in our schools, much the same way that physical hygiene is taught. What do you think of this idea? Percent answering "I agree": "Protestant" 32.6, Mormon 32.0, Presbyterian 31.4, Independent 30.6, Baptist 26.5, Congregational 25.5, Methodist 24.9, Catholic 23.2, Episcopalian 20.5, Jewish 19.3, and Lutheran 10.3.

6. Do you feel that you could currently adequately face the death of a loved one? Percent answering "yes": Mormon 62.2, Independent 50.6, "Protestant" 48.8, Congregational 45.2, Catholic 43.6, Methodist 42.0, Episcopalian 39.7, Lutheran 36.2, Baptist 35.9, Presbyterian 34.3, and Jewish 29.3.

7. Have you ever seriously discussed the subject of death--not in reference to a specific incident or disaster, but as a general concept which applies universally to all human beings? Percent answering "yes": Mormon 83.6,

Episcopalian 74.0, Presbyterian 71.4, Jewish 69.3, Congregational 69.2, Catholic 68.9, Independent 63.5, Baptist 61.9, Lutheran 60.3, Methodist 58.0, and "Protestant" 53.5.

The Mormons as a group were also distinctive in their answers concerning non-religiously oriented aspects of death. On four of the seven questions they exceeded all other groups in endorsing or accepting certain premises. On three items they had next to the highest percentage.

Further, Mormon respondents tended to answer either positively or negatively rather than select an "undecided" category. Their only high "undecided" category was with reference to a hygiene of death question. The research suggests the Mormons when compared with others have given more extensive consideration to death-related matters which in turn appears to be related to more clarity or definitiveness of answers. It would appear that death is less of a taboo topic for Mormons than for the others included in the study.

Knowing that a particular group has the highest percentage in some category tells us nothing about the significance of the percentage. There is a big difference between 30% and 89% being higher than any others. What this particular article does is call attention to the distinctive pattern of Mormon beliefs. Clearly as a group they differ from others. The significance of any particular belief merits specific attention in its own right.

Apparently there are aspects to what we might call the "Mormon experience" which led to a distinctive interpretation and experience of death.

### Religious Items

From this limited evidence the attitudes of the Mormons toward death can be characterized as including more strongly than the other groups included a strong transcendental belief in a future existence coupled with a strong wish to live after death and in that existence to experience reunion with loved ones whose after-life existence they believe can be influenced by what they do here on earth. They do not worry considerably about or fear this future life and they see this orientation as being related to their religious experiences. If a choice were possible they would prefer to know the truth about a possible future life rather than leave it a matter of faith and they believe that knowing that there actually is no such future life would lead to extensive change in their life style here. Such potential change might be related to the acceptance of a moral system which is other-worldly oriented rather than viewing the good life as being its own reward, and to church programs such as genealogy work.

It may be well to mention again, that not every Mormon fits this picture. In fact on every one of these items, there are church members who endorse contradictory interpretations. The point being made here is that as a group they more closely than the other groups studied, approximate this model or configuration. In this respect they are distinctive.

Analysis of the groups who most closely approximate the Mormons in these beliefs indicates that more than any of the other groups included in the study, the Catholics closely approximate the pattern we have just described. The Catholics, however, evidence greater fear and worry about death than the Mormons. On particular items there is similarity between the Mormons and the Jewish, the Lutheran and the Independent respondents.

### Non-religious Items

On items not specifically religious, the Mormons again are somewhat distinctive, although not so much as on the religious items. They more than other groups, indicate that their childhood questions about death were answered adequately, that they have discussed death as an abstract subject, approve of school study of the mental hygiene of grief, but rarely think of their own death. They reject cremation both for self and others, and believe that they could adequately face the death of a loved one. No single other group closely approximates the identified pattern. As on the other items, there are various percentages of Mormons who reject each of these items. The pattern, however, is distinctive.

It is interesting to note that the group most closely approximating the Mormons in the belief that they could adequately face the death of a loved one was the Independents or the unaffiliated respondents. Belonging to a church for some individuals then is not necessary to develop the conviction that they can adequately face death. Other research indicates that the content of the fear or the concern about death is different for church members and Independents. Church members are more likely to be concerned about the afterlife and about the sinfulness of their own state or condition when they enter such an existence, whereas the non-church member is more concerned about this-worldly matters such as what will happen to his family and projects.

It would appear that having engaged in discussions about death in the abstract is related to a lowered fear of death.

Clearly from the material we have analyzed, the meaning of death endorsed by the Mormons is somewhat distinctive in comparison with the other groups involved. The distinctiveness has been identified, but the fuller meaning of these patterns cannot be explored from the data available. Additional research seems to be called for.

## Return from the Dead Stories

Canning (1965) has provided an analysis of return from the dead stories from Mormon respondents, from research limited to firsthand accounts of seven apparently normal and reliable persons who were believed to have died and were adjudged dead by objective standards and then returned to life and described the experience. He reached the following conclusions.

1. The typical description of death was a displacement of the conscious self from the physical body. Most subjects reported seeing the shell of the body lying in death. Not only consciousness remained, but somehow a superconsciousness as well.
2. Travel thru time and space was frequently reported.
3. All except one reported that there was no delay in leaving the earthly environment.
4. Most implied an anthropomorphic (human like) spirit form, frequently with increased powers of perception, travel and insight.
5. The spirit was not visible to those around the dead body.
6. Two reported interaction or a relationship with a guardian angel or guide.
7. Descriptions of the physical features of the afterworld differed.
8. Activities in the afterworld were characterized by orderliness and pleasant busyness, frequently involving church work.
9. Several subjects described conversations with friends or relatives who had died.
10. Only one respondent gave information bearing upon the question "Were the dead now the same age as at the time of their death?"
11. Two reported on clothing patterns--usually dressed in white.
12. No information was given as to whether individuals handicapped in life were whole in the afterlife.
13. Only three respondents reported that they resisted returning to live.
14. Five described the sensations of returning to life.
15. Respondents differed in whether the experience had moral meaning.
16. The majority reported social rewards for themselves from telling of their experience.

## Birth and Death

A previous chapter has reported the higher than average birth rates of Mormons. One possible interpretation of the high birth rate is that this is one of the Mormon methods of overcoming death.

## CHAPTER TWENTY ONE

### TIME DEFINITIONS

Time is one of the dimensions of living which humans define and then respond to their definitions thereof. The experience of time is always mediated thru the symbols used to identify and define it. There are more than one time system in which or thru which humans operate. O'Dea (1970) presents an analysis of the Mormon conception and experience of time, upon which we draw heavily for the analysis presented here.

A frequently used interpretation of time utilizes the circle or circular model, in which time is seen as being experienced, re-experienced, and experienced again. The journey thru time is circular in nature, involving an eternal returning to a previous point.

A contrasting model cuts the circle of time and stretches the time line into a straight upward line, which continues even beyond the human ability to perceive the end. It goes on indefinitely or eternally and the upward movement of that line is suggestive of change or progress. This perspective is incorporated in the Mormon expression "eternal progression." Progress (change) is an eternal phenomenon. In the Mormon conception where one in effect "enters" the eternal progression is strongly influenced by the here and now. If in the after life one enters the time system in a different caste than does another person, he will continue eternally to have this relative progression differential. In his efforts to achieve the top eternal reward, man is in effect a collaborator with God.

O'Dea indicates that the Mormons are a typical American religious movement. As such, he sees Mormonism presenting a heightened, a more explicit formulation and a summation of the American experience of time and of America's timeliness.

To the Mormons, man is essentially free from past or pre-earth determining characteristics. Mormon theology rejects predestination. There is, however, a belief that certain leaders at least were chosen for their leadership position before they came to earth. This however was contingent upon their worthiness and was not a guaranteed result. They were "foreordained" not predestined. Man's activity on earth has an eternal progression component or directionality. With hard work, and by doing the right things, what happens today influences the future. Today is a part of a broad historical past and a potential future which provides purpose and meaning. Past and future elements are accordingly incorporated into contemporary interpretations of life in its broadest meaning as well as in here-and-now living.

O'Dea sees the Mormon perspective as providing additional meaning and strength to the American belief that their entire society was a society of future potential in which the past could be forgotten or at least discounted. This is transcendentalism within

time itself. The Mormon conception of time is a conception without an end. It is the prolonged moment of becoming--the moment of fruition never quite but always to be realized.

Working with this conception of time, it is easy to create a strong deferred gratification orientation. Such an orientation includes the belief that some of the important rewards for behavior now will be received at some future time. They are deferred. The belief that God will provide such future rewards is frequently incorporated into Mormon interpretations of what is done today. One does not live the good life just to obtain immediate rewards, but also to secure future blessings for oneself and possibly for one's posterity. Such a time perspective is included in beliefs about the family, including the belief that the family unit may be perpetuated eternally.

### Socially Constructed Time Systems

Time per se exists independent of man's labels. The precise way in which time is subdivided, however, is determined by man. Seconds, minutes, hours, day and years do not exist for man to discover. Humans in effect symbolically cut up the time continuum into units which have been humanly constructed. In a less precise way humans also create infancy, childhood, adolescence, young adulthood, adulthood, and old age. As identifiable periods of time these do not exist independent of our classificatory system. Humans create them by labeling them. They are frequently treated as tho their existence was somehow predetermined by nonhuman, possibly biological forces.

One such time system is incorporated within the priesthood system, within which there are six major components, themselves combined into two larger categories as follows:

Aaronic Priesthood: Deacon, Teacher, Priest

Melchizedek Priesthood: Elder, Seventy, High Priest

Within the Aaronic Priesthood, movement from one office to another involves a time component plus a worthiness component. It is the time component with which we are concerned here. When the boy is of sufficient age, he can, if considered to be worthy, be advanced to the next higher level. The point here is that these categories are constructed by humans, not discovered.

Transition within the Melchizedek Priesthood has no specified time component, although there appears to be an unofficial concern for what might be called the "over-aged Elder" who is then moved into the High Priest category.

### Time and Free Agency

The belief in the freedom from pre-earth determinism is related to the Mormon conception of Free Agency. "Free Agency," however, is given somewhat different interpretations by different people within the church. An interpretation which harmonizes well with the Symbolic Interactionist perspective being used in our analysis, is that behavior which is in response to symbols or which

involves a spiritual-symbolic component is behavior which could not at the same time be biologically determined. Symbols have socially constructed meaning, not biologically provided meaning. Behavior which is in response to symbols is behavior without a direct (non-symbolic) connection to the empirical-biological world. Responding to symbols is a distinctively human process. Thus, assuming that pre-earth influences would be incorporated within the biology which the individual acquires in the process of conception and birth, the absence of biologically determining factors would permit symbol-audience influences to operate.

The individual then is free from biological determining factors or forces and is consequently free to respond to symbols or to make decisions about his behavior. He is not free from social influences or from being influenced by and in turn influencing other humans. Behavior is always relative to the audience. Being asked to grant to some agency such as the state, the community or the church, the right to make certain decisions is sometimes viewed as being contrary to free agency. Such an interpretation is contrary to the one here employed. Having or not having some social (Individual-Audience) right or decisional power, is something which interacting humans decide. In the absence of biological determiners (being free from biological forces) in fact carries with it the fact that relating to other humans is a requisite of human behavior. It is not a question of whether the individual will engage in interaction, the only questions concerns what type of interaction. Who will make which type of decision is not determined biologically. It is determined socially-symbolically. If free agency is a God-given characteristic, it could not be voided by human decisions. If I give my family, my employing organization or my church the right to make certain decisions, I am not losing my free agency. I am using it in a particular way.

### Hope and Faith

Hope is future oriented. It involves acceptance, maybe just tentatively, of a symbolically pre-created future, which the hoping individual has faith will materialize as each future day becomes the present. Those with a strong commitment to a future, are likely to take that future (symbolically pre-created) into account as they make on-going decisions in their daily living. To the typical Mormon the after-life is very real. The future is very real, and thus is an important factor to take into account.

This strong future orientation has several potential present consequences, depending upon the configuration of ISAS elements involved. Potential consequences include the following:

- o An individual may define himself as working with God, or as involved in some eternal scheme of things. With such a definition the involvement is not just a passive thing but rather is an active phenomenon.
- o An individual may use fear tactics in effort to control others. Children or others over whom an individual has influence may be told in sophisticated or simplistic



terms that they had better do such and such or they will be punished or maybe not receive certain blessings in the afterlife. Conformity then may stem more from fear not to do something than from a desire to do something.

- o Motivation for deferred gratification is provided. This of course is related to the fear-tactics element just discussed.
- o Eternal human relationships, such as family relationships, may be realized.

### Event-Time Systems

A rather widely-used but poorly understood time system is what could be called "event time." This system does not emphasize pre-determined starting and stopping times. The event which is happening is the important thing, not the clock. At a Mormon meeting in the chapel, the clock-time system is involved in starting the event and in stopping the event. Sunday School starts at 10:30 and classes should be dismissed at 12:00. The interaction which takes place in the foyer after the meeting is dismissed however, functions within an event-time system. The small group who start talking about something had no predetermined starting time. They have no set stopping time. They started the event when they were ready and they stop when they decide to stop. Some events are very short. Others are prolonged. The point is that the time system is constructed by those involved.

Many human activities utilize such an event-time system. The Indians who say that time is what happens when the corn grows and matures are familiar with an event-time system. Teachers who in order to cover a predetermined amount of material within a predetermined amount of clock time, may stop an interesting discussion before the discussion event is completed. To them clock time is of more importance than event time.

It would appear that broader human-superhuman experiences also utilize such a system. The statement that no man knows the hour when Christ will return suggests that the per-coming episode will be terminated when certain things have happened not when a certain amount of time has passed. The episode will be over when it is over. It might also be that in an eternity with no death-imposed deadlines that extensive use may be made of event-time systems.

### Summary

The Mormon conception of time rejects circularity of time and accepts a linear conception which is incorporated into the basic concept of eternal progression, which facilitates acceptance of a deferred gratification orientation. Mormons believe that in a limitless time system, individuals as individuals have always and will always exist as individuals, with the earth-time period being basically free from pre-existence carry over, and thus including freedom to respond to symbols with the creative potential thereof, including symbolically pre-creating future time and in now time take into account hope and faith in that future.

## CHAPTER TWENTY TWO

### SPACE DEFINITIONS AND SPACING

#### Introduction

All behavior takes place in some space or "upon some stage." The spatial components influence behavior in many different ways. Space per se is a part of the "situational" component of the ISAS paradigm. As with all other factors, humans define space and then respond to the space definitions. Space per se and space definitions have influenced Mormonism. This chapter considers such matters.

#### Spatial distributions in Salt Lake Valley

Cox (1975) describes the spatial distribution of Mormons in the Salt Lake Valley, especially Salt Lake City. She indicates that previous research has shown that from the time of the first non-Mormon immigration into Salt Lake Valley there have been distinctive Mormon areas and distinctive non-Mormon or Gentile areas. These distributional patterns have persisted until contemporary times.

Although the Church did not encourage it, early Mormons did sell land to outsiders who established their own businesses and the businesses did flourish. Z.C.M.I. was set up in part to discourage trade with non-Mormons. This contributed to a separation in the business district, with Mormons locating largely in the northern part and non-Mormons largely in the southern section. An influx of non-Mormons was facilitated by the introduction of the railroad, the expansion of the mining industry involving primarily non-Mormons and a growing number of government employees. These individuals supported the non-Mormon businesses.

By World War I, Salt Lake City proper was predominantly non-Mormon. This trend however, was reversed during the next fifty years, being influenced by the high Mormon birth rate and their low death rate. Cox indicates that the Mormon majority probably reached a peak in the late 1950's and has steadily declined, being influenced by increasing non-Mormon immigration and the movement of Mormons to the suburbs.

Cox points out however the the physical segregation is related to more than strictly religious factors.

By 1960, Cox indicates, the number of predominantly non-Mormon areas had decreased, with the number of predominantly Mormon areas increasing even though the overall proportion of Mormon population experienced a decrease. She indicates that

... this indicates decreasing religious segregation, if indeed segregation is the proper word. For the Mormon population had always been numerous enough to preclude

its exclusion from any area, and the Gentiles had often been wealthy enough to settle into any area they chose.

Drawing on recent studies, Cox indicates that in the 1960s the areas with highest and lowest percentages of Mormons were essentially all outside the formal city limits. For example, residents of Greenfield Village (2000 East, 7000 South) were 60% Protestant with three fourths of them being active members. Many of these were non-native Utahans and spontaneously indicated to the researcher that the similarity of the area to their previous home area as a major factor in their decision to live there.

In a 1937 study of Murray, a community south of Salt Lake City, Clegg reported on the conflict which existed between Mormons and non-Mormons. He indicated that this clash exhibited itself in the sharp division of the community into East and West sides with the accompanying evaluations that the West side with its inadequate housing facilities was good enough for "foreigners."

### Rural-Urban Differences

The physical space in which the majority of early Mormons lived was rural in nature. Utah has, of course, been involved in the urbanization process which the whole society has been experiencing. The present generation of Mormons is the first one in the history of the Church to be predominantly urban. The Mormon Church has accordingly been strongly influenced by the urbanization process. In their discussion of the Family Home Evening, Mauss and Mauss indicate that the Church has chosen to "stand and fight" the urban secularization process and has focused upon the family as its vanguard in the struggle.

The urbanization of Utah Mormons has been accompanied by an expanding Mormon population located in cities outside Utah. The growing percentage of Church members outside the Mountain West, was related to the policy after World War II in which converts were encouraged to remain in the area of their conversion instead of migrating to "Zion" (Utah).

Smith's (1959) research on the use of non-approved Word of Wisdom items by Mormons found that rural families were significantly more orthodox on such behavior than were urban families. He also found that non-Mormon rural families did not differ significantly from non-Mormon urban families except in claimed possession liquor and beer in their homes. The rural families claimed greater abstinence. Rural responses fell into fewer categories than the responses of urban Mormons. Rural Mormons evidenced greater homogeneity and greater orthodoxy than did urban Mormons.

### Urban Planning: The City of Zion

Early Mormons created their own blueprint for their ideal city. During their experiences in Missouri, Illinois and Ohio, a plan for "the City of Zion" was developed. This plan was created during a period characterized by the following: (1) a strong spirit of nationalism in which the Mormons defined their society as a choice land, (2) economic disorganization and industrial unrest, (3) the doctrine of free land, and (4) a major emphasis

on agriculture. The plan was believed to be an ideal arrangement for a city in which the Saviour would dwell when he returned.

According to the blueprint, all people were to live within the city limits, the same being one mile square. Blocks were divided into 10 acreas, each cut in half, thus making 20 half acre lots, allowing 20 houses on a block. The streets were eight rods wide, intersecting one another at right angles and running north and south, east and west. There was a middle tier of blocks half again as large as the others. The three middle blocks were to be used for schools, churches and public buildings. All farm lands were north and south of the city and barns and stables were located outside the city limits.

This plan was used in Kirtland, Ohio (1834), Far West (1836) Adamondi-Ahman, Missouri and Nauvoo, Illinois (1837). Salt Lake City and Escalante, Ephraim and American Fork were also laid out following this blueprint.

In its physical characteristics the plan was patterned after the rectangular survey method of the federal government and the New England town. Yet, the religious belief behind its combination of the two became the major force involved. When they moved the in essence took their city with them--or at least set about to build the new City of Zion.

Nelson (1952b) points out that the Great Basin was a favorable location for this type of city. Because of its geographic features it provided security, facilitated cooperative efficiency, and an effective social intercourse between leaders and members. He suggests further that the Mormon settlements in the west today are a result of this plan, the development of a group solidarity, and a favorable setting in the Great Basin. (The above discussion draws heavily upon Nelson's work.)

Sopher (1967) describes the city of Zion as follows.

... Under the guidance of a religious hierarchy that for a while maintained a true theocracy, the Mormon settlement was built as a religiously inspired representation of the City of Zion, with square blocks, wide streets, fields bordered by Lombardy populars, frame church of unpainted cedar, and a compact arrangement of irrigated land around the nuclear settlement...

### Symbolic and Physical Space

In formal meetings, meaning is frequently attached to the arrangement of people in physical space. Knowing where one behaves tells us something about how he behaves. In the general conferences of the Church, for instance, the General Authorities have a required and thus an expected seating arrangement. The general pattern is that they arrange themselves in order of seniority. The longer an individual has been an Apostle, for instance, the nearer he sits to the President of the Church. The physical seating arrangement becomes symbolic of how close (in symbolic space) a given apostle is to becoming the next President. Thus,

to those observers from the congregation or on TV, a visual cue is provided as to who is "next in line" for the Presidency and one is able to roughly calculate the chances that Apostle X will become the President of the Church before he dies.

Spatial meaning is also incorporated in the fact that the temples of the Church are built facing east. As has been indicated elsewhere, extensive ritualistic use is made of the "right right" hand. Space may be given a sacred definition as is the case with the "Sacred Grove" where Joseph Smith is believed to have received his first vision. Movement thru symbolic space is included in the concept of "moving up" in the priesthood.

#### Summary

Religious distinctions between Mormons and non-Mormons in Salt Lake Valley have frequently been associated with spatial distinctions (segregation) which have taken religio-economic factors into account. Over the years a predominantly rural church has been replaced with a predominantly urban church. Brigham Young's blueprint for cities of Zion involved arrangements of Mormons in space to achieve related goals.

Mormons take symbolic space into account as evidenced in the seating arrangements of the General Authorities in official meetings, the "facing" of the church temples, and the upward movement (thru symbolic space) associated with priesthood changes.

## CHAPTER TWENTY THREE

### SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIOLOGY OF FAMILIAR MORMONISM

The Sociology of the Familiar focuses attention upon the world most taken for granted by those involved therein. The components of this familiar, taken-for-granted world which includes human and non-human elements are accepted at face value, and hence are not scrutinized very closely. One doesn't ask why do we do this; one just does it. It is not problematic. It happens regularly. Our concern here is to focus attention upon some of these components of Mormonism. The material presented comes not from any formal research, but largely from years of participant observation. The material may have to be modified as research in the areas is conducted. It is presented, then, in a tentative manner in an effort to call to attention the aspects considered.

Presiding Officers Introductory Words. Any episode of behavior is separated from continuous episodes by some symbolic boundary markers which are frequently ritualistic in nature. Doing so permits those involved to identify the segment of behavior as a unity or as an entity and present their behavior in the manner considered to be appropriate for such an episode and likewise to interpret the behavior of their audiences as a part of that on-going episode, with awareness that they are providing the same boundaries for interpretation of his behavior.

In the Mormon religious meeting, such as Sunday School, what is identified as prelude music, usually on the organ or a piano if an organ is not available, serves as a cue to the participants that the meeting is about to start. When the presiding officer stands at the podium this is a cue to the organist and the congregation that he is ready to present his introductory or meeting-starting words. A major component of these remarks is to welcome those attending.

"Weather Comments." Frequently included in the introductory "package" is a comment upon the weather. If the weather is considered to be nice, this is commented upon. If the weather is considered to be bad this is also commented upon with maybe a word of praise to those who are attending despite the bad weather. The current state of the weather has no direct involvement in the religious service. The consistent inclusion of the "weather comment" then appears to be somewhat ritualistic in nature. It is expected as a part of the "package" while it serves no direct function for the religious service per se. Whatever the actual weather, one comments upon it. Quite possibly one reason for the establishment of this practice is that the weather is a "safe" topic upon which there is likely to be no differences of opinion which might serve to divide the congregation into opposing factions.

"Would Like To...". The introductory comments are also likely to include some variation of the statement "I would like to welcome..." which as stated incorporates a future orientation. Taken literally, it would mean that the officiating person is

communicating the fact that he would like to do something. He, however, never does get around to doing it. The statement of intention or desire is accepted as the actual welcome. "I welcome you..." is a more direct statement. This introductory time orientation may be a component part of a broader time orientation of Mormons about which O'Dea has written and which will be discussed later.

Space Definitions and Spatial Distribution. Mormons by their behavior provide a strong endorsement for those who arrive first at a meeting sitting in or near the back. Occasional suggestions or "invitations" for the congregation to move to the front are honored for that one time, after which the back-area seating is re-instituted.

Directionality. It is typical that Mormons living in the intermountain west use the expression "back east" rather than just "east." This suggests a continuation of the pioneer perspective when the Mormons were establishing themselves in Utah, and were concerned with what they were and what they were not, which included where they were and where they were not. Significance is also attached to directionality in such practices as having the temple always face east, and in locating the head of the person being buried toward the west.

In Mormon thinking, directionality and morality are at times combined since the right is right. Ritualistic use is made of the right hand, as when the person performing a baptism raises his right hand to the square. Those partaking of the sacrament are expected to do so with the right hand. The sustaining vote is accomplished by raising the right hand. In these cases, then, it is right to use the right, and would be wrong to use the left. This is not a distinctive Mormon practice, but is found throughout many parts of the world.

Brother and Sister Labels. It is customary that group members are referred to as brother and sister. Doing so serves to facilitate defining the congregation in family terms, with the Bishop as the father of the ward. It also indirectly calls attention to the brotherhood-fatherhood components of the Godhead. What is not so well known is that the major exception to this labeling occurs when it is a "doctor" being identified. He is frequently referred to as "Dr." rather than brother. In some informal assessment procedure, it has apparently been decided that the Doctor label takes precedence over the brother label.

Home Teaching Admonitions. One of the best known and least recognized informal ritualistic behavior utilized in some formal meetings, especially priesthood meetings, is a reminder for those attending by those conducting to "get their home teaching done." If there were any direct relationship between the number of times members are requested to do this teaching and the actual accomplishment of the task, the success rate should certainly be 100% or maybe 101%. What seems to happen is that the speaker or the "reminderer" gets satisfaction from making the ritualistic reminder, while the

"remindee" gets satisfaction from his ritualistic awareness of being reminded and then everyone immediately forgets about it. The ritual has been accomplished and can be comfortably forgotten until the next time for this particular reitualistic exchange.

Meeting Participation. One of the basic foundation stones of "doing Mormonism" is participation in meetings. Considerable time and effort is spent in planning for meeting, holding meetings, and critiquing meetings already held, in part to secure information upon which to plan other meetings. It is a rare Mormon who asks whether this is the most effective way to be religious. It is likewise an unresearched question as to what are the consequences of frequent meeting involvement. The belief that the consequences are no doubt positive is widely accepted, just what the specific positive consequences are is most usually left undetermined.

Without meetings in which to get involved, it would seem that many Mormons would be somewhat religiously lost.

The importance of meeting participation is related to the near universal "holding of the priesthood" which requires that the responsibility for holding meetings rests with the members rather than with a paid professional clergy.

Record Keeping. Closely related to the extensive involvement in meetings is keeping a record of meeting attendance, plus other "effectiveness" analyses of past meetings and programs. It may be that the record keeping becomes for many somewhat an end in itself. Why do we keep so many records? Because Mormons are a record-keeping people. The general positive evaluations of "taking roll" is suggested by the concern of non-officiating class members that the roll gets around to everyone present, or to see that everyone's name is included on the roll. Class members do not consider it to be out of place during a lesson, to stand up and hand the roll book or sheet to those in another section of the room.

The emphasis upon roll keeping and roll taking causes those involved to be concerned with the symbols (names or labels) which re-present church members, and it may be that the concern with their records or symbols may be generalized to a concern with the individuals whose names are so judicially shepherded. On the other hand, it may not.

Use of full names. One method utilized to add emphasis and significance to rituals is the use of an individual's complete name, which typically includes the full middle name, rather than just an initial. Doing so serves to set the related behavior apart from non-ritual behavior as something special.

"Gentiles." An item in a "believe it or not" newspaper column indicated that Salt Lake City was the only major city in which a Jew was also a Gentile. Mormons dichotomize the entire human group into two categories--Mormons and Gentiles. No symbolic middle ground is available. If you are not with us, you are against us. The "gentile" concept is related to the Mormon practice of identifying themselves as being of the "House of Israel". In that sense, the Jews, who are also of the House of Israel, would technically not be gentiles.



"Testimony Love." It is common in Testimony Meetings that the person bearing testimony will make a public statement about how much the spouse and family members are loved. The non-Mormon observer might wonder why such expressions of love are made in public. "Doesn't he tell his wife at home that he loves her?"

Significant numbers. Attention is given to certain numbers in church organization. The significance thereof stems from the practices rather than from specific symbolic importance being given thereto. The numbers which show up disproportionately in Mormon organizations and activities are as follows:

Three. The presidency of the various organizations consists typically of three individuals. This is, however, not an unbending regulation since at one time there were five members of the First Presidency. The Godhead or Holy Trinity has three components.

Twelve. The apostles as a body are twelve in number and are known as "The Twelve." A Deacon's quorum has twelve members, Teachers quorum 24 and a Priest's quorum 48 (multiples of 12). In the temple, there are twelve oxen holding up the baptismal font.

7 and 70. The Quorum of the Seventy is one of the major bodies of general authorities. The directing body of that group consists of the 7 Presidents of Seventy. This leadership pattern is followed in the lower-echelon counterparts.

Temple Recommend. The manifest function or purpose of a temple recommend is that it permits one to enter a church temple and participate in the sacred activities which take place there. It is a "pass key." There is, however, a latent function which is also important. The recommend in effect becomes a "badge of orthodoxy" for many non-temple evaluations. Knowing who has and who does not have a recommend permits one to hierarchialize themselves and others into meaningful categories. This use is facilitated by the fact that the recommend per se is identifiable and visable. To secure one requires going thru an established procedure which terminates in being given the important identity document. The recommend is interpreted by many as poof of the person's righteousness. Those who have recommends then are considered to be living right.

The fact that members need a recommend to attend temple sessions provides the Bishop with an indirect justification for interviewing ward members to check on their religious behavior. This in turn provides the ward members an opportunity to check on themselves. The recommend interview functions somewhat the same as a confessional procedure in other churches. The temple recommend is not only a means of gaining entrance into the temple it is also one of many structural factors which encourage Mormons to live in accordance with Mormon standards.

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